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OPERASI SNIPER DI DALAM PEPERANGAN HARI INI

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AN INSIGHT INTO THE MILITARY VETERINARY SERVICES OF THE MALAYSIAN ARMED FORCES

By Lt Kol (Dr) Leong Yim Fong

SYNOPSIS

The Malaysian military veterinary service had started in a small way in 1971 involving the caring for the employment of military working dogs. Over the years, the veterinary staff has gained much experience and exposure with the British, Australian and the American military veterinarians. The foresight now is in the future expansion of its services to the military in the fields of providing veterinary medical care for more military working animals, public health in food safety and water quality assurance, medical research and development, total family healthcare and epidemiology in zoonotic diseases with special focus on anti-terrorism and agro-terrorism.

INTRODUCTION

Veterinary services in the military are well gazetted in history since World War I and II. The uses of animals in support of war operations were well known and much appreciated till this day. Horses, mules, donkeys, camels, llamas, dogs and dolphins are still being used to assist in transportation and some specialized tasks. New technology has replaced some of the well-documented tasks of military working dogs during the Second World War, such as, the "Messenger Dogs" and the "Anti-tank Buster Dogs". However, new technology has also helped to improve the management, breeding, training and employment of these working animals. Many countries are now experiencing difficulty in procuring limited good quality working animals worldwide because the demand is getting greater than the supply.

Military veterinary services have gone beyond the scope of caring for the employment of working animals and have entered the fields of food safety and water quality assurance for military consumption, military medical research and development, especially in the chemical, biological, radioactive, nuclear and environmental (CBRNE) preventive



warfare, pre-eminently useful in anti-terrorism. Military veterinary services have propagated to provide animal medical care, food and water safety and quality assurance, and veterinary preventive medicine in support of all military units, agencies, personnel and their families.

The military animals' role has moved from front-line confrontation to rear supportive ones like maintaining security through patrols, guarding, sentry and various sniffing works for explosives, drugs,

weapons, chemicals, gases, human casualties and others. As warfare changes drastically from counter insurgency to conventional and lately to terrorism, the role of military animals must also change to be relevant. Instead of clearing jungle paths from booby traps and tracking down enemies, urban guerrilla warfare requires military working dogs (MWDs) to sniff out explosives and enemies from high rise buildings or houses, motor vehicles, household items, underground passages and so on. Tactics may be different but the basic principles of human sense or smell of materials never escape the noses of these MWDs. Similarly, the untiring military dolphins scour the waters of the perimeters of their warships preventing any intruder from planting any explosive near the ships.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYSIAN MILITARY VETERINARY SERVICE

The Malaysian military veterinary service began in the Malaysian Armed Forces in a very humble but significant way in 1971. About 3 km from the small town of ULU TIRAM, in the southern part of Johore, the Army War Dog Unit was established with 26 military working dogs, 26 dog handlers and two seconded British officers at the then Jungle Warfare School that was better known now as Pusat Latihan Tempur Tentera Darat (PULADA). One of the British officers, the late Major (Dr) Arthur Gorton Wilder, was the first Veterinary Surgeon and Officer-in-Command of the Unit and was seconded from the British Royal Army Veterinary Corps (RAVC). Veterinary services were then merely concentrated at ensuring the good health of the tracker dogs that were utilized in tracking down the Communist terrorists in the Malaysian jungles of Peninsular as well as in the inland of Sarawak. The fight against the Communist insurgents required much more effort and the unit was expanded to the strength of 97 dogs, 135 personnel and 4 officers in 1978. By October 1978, with the employment of a pioneer veterinary graduate of the new University of Agriculture, Malaysia (Universiti Pertanian Malaysia; presently known as Universiti Putra Malaysia), the Army War Dog Unit is totally "Malaysianised". As a veterinary surgeon, he was placed under the command of the Royal Medical and Dental Corps. Henceforth, the emergence of veterinary services in the health services of the Malaysian Armed Forces.

However, throughout the 1980's, military veterinary services were still very much confined to the health management, training, breeding, procurement and the employment of tracker, search (booby traps) and guard dogs. Veterinary classes were organized for the teaching of preventive medicine, treatment and the control of dangerous diseases among dog handlers and trainers. A short stint in medical research was made available as contact was made with the American military veterinarians working at the Institute of Medical Research (IMR), Kuala Lumpur, under the United States Army Medical Research Unit (USAMRU). Through their services, a case of Chronic Canine Paraquat Poisoning was diagnosed. It was also through them that one of our Malaysian non-commissioned officers at the Army War Dog Unit was sent to the Walter Reed Medical Research Centre, Washington DC for a three-month Veterinary Specialist Care Course (91T10) in 1983.

The recession in the early 1980's made it financially difficult for the Army to purchase dogs from overseas. Other means of procurement of dogs for military works were looked into and local breeding was one of the viable alternatives. An ad hoc five-year local breeding programme was planned at PULADA from 1979 till 1983 and over a hundred pedigree puppies from 14 litters were born. However, the training of these locally bred pedigree dogs failed to make the grades¹ required and further breeding was discontinued and purchase with proper selection of dogs from overseas again resumed from 1984 onwards.

The surrender of the Communist armed struggle in 1989 might have seen the end of the military veterinary service. However, the nation's economic boom and the increased influx of illegal immigrants have generated a different need for Border Patrol Dogs and Beach Patrol Dogs. On a global situation, urban terrorism also prompted the increase in the requirement for Arms and Explosive Detection Dogs for anti-terrorism, and Guard Dogs for providing security at important vital installations. These two factors strengthened the need for veterinary services to remain within the Army.

¹ Only about 30% passing rate due to lack of social characters, working traits and bad genetic defects – cow-hocks, hare-foot, hip dysplasia,

Through the Malaysia Australia Joint Defence Programme (MAJDP) from 1994 – 1998, six Malaysian Army personnel and two Australian Army personnel were involved in the exchange programme to enhance the training, organizing and certification of the new Arms and Explosive Detection Dog (AEDD) Course. The AEDD Course was based on a syllabus of the model of the Australian Army. Much was achieved and four new dogs were trained as AED dogs for special tasks in anti-terrorism. These dogs are trained to search for explosives or weapons hidden in vehicles, buildings, roads or any open areas. Their speed in detection far supercedes the use of mechanical detectors operated by human subjects.

Around that time too, there was a suggestion from higher command to equip the Army working dogs for para-jumps to assist operations for rapid deployment forces. In March 1995, the first para-trained army dog made a maiden jump from ramp-air static at 400 feet. Subsequently, seven more army dogs were para-trained in combat jumps of 1000 feet. The knowledge, equipment and skill of doing so were all locally formulated as there was no foreknowledge and know-how on para-dogs. There is definitely a need for veterinary medical cover for all these four-legged animals during their daring endeavour whether during training at towers or the real jumps.

The setting up of the Ceremonial Horse Unit in 1996 of squadron strength of about 70 horses also enhanced the military veterinary service to include equine care, training and medication. The Royal Armoured Corps has initiated its tradition of horse riding in their gallant uniforms for parades and official military ceremonies. The training of more horse riders and the likes has boosted the equine sports and industry in Malaysia directly or indirectly. This value added military veterinary service has justified the employment of a second military veterinary surgeon into the Royal Health Corps in 2002.

At the turn of the 21st Century, a Navy exercise with the US Marine Corps (USMC), brought forth another profitable contact with the American military veterinarians through the Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) that took place for four years from 2000 – 2002 and 2004. Through

their Veterinary Civic Action Programme (VETCAP), local civilian government veterinary services were enhanced by the American participation in rural veterinary extension services. Through this, the Army was exposed to another likely area where military veterinary services could be introduced to the rural folks to win their hearts and minds for the government.

The increased workload had ultimately prompted the Army to rein in another veterinary surgeon in 2003. With the increase in veterinary manpower, INSAN (Institut Latihan Kesihatan Angkatan Tentera) or our Malaysian Armed Forces Health Training Institute has permitted the three veterinary surgeons to run the Veterinary Assistant Course Class I and II for seven non-commissioned personnel of the Royal Health Corps from year 2003 and thereafter. This step has taken the military veterinary services into the area of training, equipping and teaching of veterinary personnel to support the Armed Forces roles in peace and war.

FUTURE INTENTIONS

Military Working Animals. The need for military veterinary services within any armed forces depends very much on the performance of their military working animals of which the dogs and horses are the most used. The proven ability of military working dogs in assisting patrols, guarding, sniffing drugs, explosives or arms and tracking down of enemies is an economic asset for any armed forces in the face of reduced human resources. Horses as the traditional cavalry animals will maintain its rich heritage for ceremonial purposes. Retired ceremonial horses can still be retrained to be used for mounted patrol troops for border, airport or crowd control. The traditional role of the veterinary staff will be to ensure good health at all stages of their management, training and deployment of these working animals. These working animals, especially the dogs, are to be trained for all types of warfare, be it airborne or CBRNE. Their operational roles are dangerous and on many occasions are in the forefront of military confrontations. Their healthiness and alertness are required for successful military encounters. Hence, good military veterinary services are definitely a requirement that meets the needs of the day rather than a luxury. But, military working

dogs and horses are still very much confined to the domain of the Army in the Malaysian Armed Forces. The Malaysian Navy and Air Force are encouraged to have their own military working dogs as their counterparts in other countries are well advanced into the deployment of these working animals to assist them in their ever increasing security tasks.

Public Health (Food Safety and Water Quality Assurance). Veterinary personnel play an important role in food safety and water quality assurance in many military establishments worldwide, such as, the armed forces of the United States, Pakistan, Thailand, Bangladesh, Tunisia, Russia, India, Israel, United Kingdom, The Philippines, China and many others. Water and food (especially meat) are constantly tested for safe levels of possible spoilage or contamination. This will be especially important when the troops are deployed in areas where the level of living standards is very much below the desired normal daily living. The introduction of a proper system of monitoring for food safety and water quality assurance by trained personnel will be a step towards a higher standard of quality life for the Malaysian military personnel and their families. The involvement of our Malaysian Armed Forces in the peaceful efforts of the United Nations also brings our troops into the arenas of some debilitated environments that fail to support good food and water hygiene. Military veterinary back-up services will be an encouraging booster in the moral of these troops in the front-line.

The recent Tsunami crisis in many Indian Ocean countries has encouraged many volunteer veterinarians for disaster relief projects in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and India. Their experiences in small animals neutering techniques and mass rabies vaccination protocols including the running of mobile veterinary clinics have launched them as partners in the management role in public health with local animal welfare and veterinary organizations in these Indian Ocean countries. Good teamwork and management skills can be developed over the period and the military veterinary services can play a more active role in future disaster relief operations.

Military Medical Researches and Development. Military medical research and development is another vital area where veterinary staff can contribute to the advancement of military medical sciences. Veterinary staffs are frequently used in work related with laboratory animals, drugs and vaccine production experiments, disease analysis and most recently in biotechnology and bioterrorism. Some of the biological agents that terrorists may use against the human population are anthrax, tularaemia, haemorrhagic fevers, plague, yellow fever, Q fever and equine encephalitis viruses. Laboratory animals are also used for training and teaching purposes, especially for new surgical procedures for both veterinary and human medicine. Maintaining good healthy laboratory animals are definitely the business of veterinary staff. They can provide veterinary technical services and consultation to animal laboratory users, carry out quality biomedical research, organize training on the management and proper usage of laboratory animals, yet above all to supply quality laboratory animals for research and diagnostics.

Total Family Healthcare. Many military personnel are keeping companion animals or pets within their family household. More of them are beginning to regard these animals as one of their family members. Keeping these animals healthy is an indirect way of having a healthy environment for those military personnel. Healthy companion animals are also known to generate a healthy psychological effect on their owners. It is desirable that the military can extend its veterinary services to cover for the welfare and the well being of these animals in the confines of the household. Mobile military veterinary clinics can be an option to facilitate cheaper veterinary care and consultation so that the military personnel will not be lacking behind their civilian counterparts in social well-being. Its services can be a moral booster and an added incentive for serving military personnel who will be assured that total family healthcare is available for them.

Psychological Advantages. Mobile military veterinary clinics can also be fully utilized as a psychological tool for rural the extension of veterinary services to the aborigines in hard to reach areas where normal local civilian veterinary services are not available. Education on domestic animals

¹⁰ Ibid. Pp IV-4.

farming and wildlife hunting management can help to elevate their lifestyle and improve their meagre incomes. These rural extensions of veterinary services can be developed together with the rural health services to cover more areas of the life of rural folks. Their satisfaction and contentment will bring about a positive acceptance of governmental efforts in winning psychological advantage over them. Indirectly, this effort will also assist in the monitoring and control of infectious zoonotic wildlife diseases from infusion into the populace as a whole.

Zoonotic Diseases. The scope for military veterinary services is as wide as one can imagine. Other than working with trained animals, it has its responsibility in the field of epidemiology, especially with outbreaks of zoonotic diseases. Loss of human lives and a drastic collapse of an animal industry that may be due to an economic sabotage or better known as "agro-terrorism" may spur the military into civic actions for disease controls. The recent global and local outbreaks of Avian Flu (H5N1), Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FMD), Nipah Virus Disease (NVD), Newcastle Disease, rinderpest, swine fever, Hendra virus (an equine morbillivirus 1994), bovine tuberculosis (to disrupt milk supply) and Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) are some forms of diseases that the military need to understand in order to perform well when called to do so in their control measures. Soldiers should also be educated in safety measures when dealing with the culling of live animals and the disposal of dead animals or carcasses. Proper clothing and correct handling methods are important to prevent being infected by those zoonotic diseases. Properly trained military veterinary staff will be able to provide the guidance and teaching of such vital procedures to reduce any untoward incidences that may result in death.

New terrorist techniques of striking fear into the populace by using unconventional methods of chemical and biological warfare in contamination through postal mail (anthrax powder), drinking water (heavy metals), poisonous gas attacks (surin) and even suicide bombers have prompted the military to be able to handle such cases with proper knowledge and safety measures so as to counter and neutralize such activities without endangering the public and themselves.

CONCLUSION

The art of modern warfare has no clear frontline where troops of both fighting forces will face each other head-on. Even prior to a clear warfare, ground disruptions are planned in advance for political, economic, social and religious disorders that can cause multi-facet disturbances resulting to civil wars. The aim of instability is to create public disorder and the breakdown of rule and order in the society at large. Therefore, future warfare is not to be fought but is to be prevented and deterrence is a mightier force than full-scale warfare.

The military veterinary services will be a deterrent requirement rather than a luxury as modern warfare is not just limited to bullets and bombs but also includes artificial environmental and agricultural economic sabotages that can hurt the human physical well being. A physically weak soldier is a liability rather than an asset. Through food safety and water quality assurance, control of zoonotic diseases, quality total family healthcare, a sound veterinary backed-up research and development and healthy well-trained working animals, military veterinary services will play a more positive complementary role in ensuring a healthy fighting soldier.

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Lt Kol (Dr) Leong Yim Fong was a pioneer Veterinary Medicine graduate from Universiti Putra Malaysia in 1978 and was commissioned as the Veterinary Surgeon in Cawangan Anjing Perang, PULADA. He attended the Staff Duties (1983), All Arms Tactics Course (1984) and the Senior Command Course (1989). In 2002, he went for the Veterinary Medical Proficiency Course at the US Army Veterinary Headquarters Command Centre, Lackland, Texas. From 1991 to 1998, other than involvement with the Armed Forces Polo Club in Ampang, he was also the Officer-in-Command of Cawangan Anjing Perang, PULADA. Currently, he is the Senior Veterinary Surgeon in the Royal Health Corps.

BOTH HARD AND SOFT POWER WILL BE NECESSARY FOR A SUCCESSFUL U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN A GLOBAL INFORMATION AGE

— By : Mejar Christopher Ignatius Choong —

INTRODUCTION

Unilateralism "on behalf of self-defined global ends" undermines U.S. influence and creates coalitions against its interests. The U.S. economy and culture have a global reach that will inevitably increase. The information age inevitably spreads and thickens international ties. Thus, U.S. ties to - and interests in - the rest of the world will also increase and will have to be addressed in its foreign policy. Most of these interests can be materially facilitated by taking advantage of international coalitions or international agencies, and some of these interests - including some of the most important - can only be addressed with broad international cooperation.

This essay will discuss both hard and soft power being required for a successful U.S. foreign policy in a global information age. This essay will deliberate on the topic by defining hard power as well as soft power and how information age together with hard and soft power affects the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

DEFINITION

Soft Power. Joseph Nye (2003) coined the term "soft power" to describe a nation's ability to attract and persuade. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of its culture, political ideals, and policies. Soft power includes propaganda, but is considerably broader. It is much more than "image, public relations and temporary popularity." It constitutes very real power - an ability to gain objectives.

Hard Power. Hard power is a concept which is mainly used in realism in international relations and refers to national power which comes from

military and economic means. Hard power lies at the command end of the spectrum of behaviours and describes a nation's ability to coerce or induce another nation to perform a course of action. This can be done through military power which consists of coercive diplomacy, war and alliance using threats and force with the aim of coercion, deterrence and protection. Alternatively economic power can be used which relies on aid, bribes and economic sanctions in order to induce and coerce.

Information Age and Its Effect on U.S. Foreign Policy Formulation

The changes in technology, sometimes called the democratization of technology have seen a tremendous drop in the cost of computing and communications. Anytime something decreases in cost that dramatically, the barriers to entry go down. Everybody can get into the game. And what that means is that all sorts of non-governmental actors are empowered by the access to technology, which previously had been preserved for rich organizations and governments. For example, in 1970 if you wanted instantaneous, global communications you could do it, but you needed a big budget to be able to afford it. Today, anybody can have instantaneous global communications if you have access to an Internet cafe or even a PC at home.

There have been some very dramatic changes in terms of the democratisation of technology, and that's empowered a number of non-state actors. Some of which are good; Oxfam, Amnesty International and so forth, but some of them are very bad, such as Al Qaeda. And what has been

seen is these non-governmental actors have been able to play roles that are much different than they were in the past. Quite clearly terrorism throughout the 20th century and before used these technologies as a network for their “business”, which had cells in 50 or 60 different countries and was able to communicate across these distances, meant that there was a greater agility and lethality to terrorism than anyone could have experienced before. This was obvious, again, during the tragedy on September 11, 2001.

The information age has paved the way for groups that are irresponsible and causing grievous hurt to multitudes of people around the world. Surely the most powerful and richest country in the world would not let this happen and thus this is how the tremendous change in the information age has somewhat formulated the United States of America’s foreign policy outlook.

The Necessity for Hard and Soft Power

If power is the ability to get others to do what you want, or in other words to influence them to get the outcomes you want. There are three main ways of doing that. One is you can threaten or coerce people; another is to conduce people with payments and the third is to attract people or co-opt them, getting them to want what you want and that third is soft power.

Nye (2003) argues that successful states need both hard and soft power - the ability to coerce others as well as the ability to shape their long-term attitudes and preferences. The United States can dominate others, but it has also excelled in projecting soft power, with the help of its companies, foundations, universities, churches, and other institutions of civil society; the U.S. culture, ideals, and values have been extraordinarily important in helping Washington attract partners and supporters. But there are limits to soft power: it tends to have diffuse effects on the outside world and is not easily wielded to achieve specific outcomes. Indeed, societies often embrace American values and culture but resist U.S. foreign policies. But overall, U.S. security hinges as much on winning hearts and minds as it does on winning wars.

Hard power remains crucial in a world of states trying to guard their independence and of non-state groups willing to turn to violence. But as the Bush administration maps out its foreign policy, the importance of nurturing soft power too is important. It is soft power that will help prevent terrorists from recruiting supporters from among the moderate majority. And it is soft power that will help the United States deal with critical global issues that require multilateral cooperation. America needs to move in a new direction.

Standing in contrast to the coercive force of hard power, soft power “rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others,” and relies on the values expressed by institutions and culture, examples set by practices and policies, and relations with others. For example, the Bush administration’s near total reliance on hard military and economic power, suggesting that the incorporation of soft power into foreign policy-making requires greater public diplomacy, a willingness to examine domestic policies that make the U.S. less attractive to others (such as the death penalty), and more attention to the question of the perception of legitimacy bestowed by cooperation with the United Nations or multinational coalitions.

The shortcomings of unilateralism and reliance solely on military power in confronting the threat posed by Islamic extremists is strong, all the more so because it is virtually devoid of political learnings. The go-it-alone approach, has led to an unprecedented drop in support for the U.S. abroad, which leaves them scrambling to rebuild Iraq almost single-handedly, overstressing itself militarily and economically. It also hampers efforts to secure the voluntary cooperation of foreign governments essential to dismantling terrorist cells spread throughout the globe. The answer lies in a return to the mix of soft and hard power that cemented the Western alliance and won the Cold War.

The need is to use all three types of power, both the military and economic dimensions of hard power to succeed in the struggle against terrorism and soft power. For example the U.S. used military power effectively did in Afghanistan to remove the Taliban government or as they did in the three and a half week campaign in Iraq, but the problems of

wrapping up an organization like Al-Qaeda or governing a country like Iraq is that they are much less susceptible to solutions by military power alone. Looking at Afghanistan it is notice that the U.S. were able to replace the Taliban Government quickly but they only wrapped up about a quarter of Al Qaeda using military power.

If there is a terrorist network with cells in 50 or 60 countries the U.S. simply can't bomb them all. Some of these cells are in places like Hamburg or Detroit, where you can't bomb them, the only way it can be dealt with is through close civilian cooperation. Meaning intelligence sharing, police work across borders, tracing financial flows and so forth, which is in fact soft power. The difficulty here is that if the Americans focus solely on its military power and solely on hard power, they may forget that what they really need is to get others to cooperate with them to deal with these new types of threats.

The U.S. typically sees policy options through the dichotomous lens of hard and soft power. Hard power is the use of military force and economic measures, often in response to short and intermediate crises; its policies are generally more coercive. Soft power is what makes America's ideas and society more attractive, in the words of Joe Nye (2003), and includes measures such as cultural exchanges and public diplomacy. Soft power is applied consistently over the long term, and is designed to encourage cooperation and accommodation.

Take another example, the **suppression of terrorism**, and the achievement of a wide variety of other national objectives require the willing assistance of other nations and peoples. "According to the national security strategy, the greatest threats that the American people face are transnational terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, and particularly their combination."

However, many objectives in countering these threats are not entirely - or even primarily - in U.S. hands.

- Efforts to promote democracy cannot succeed without widespread support.

- Reconstruction and peacekeeping in Iraq, Afghanistan and other stricken states "are far more likely to succeed and to be less costly if shared with others". This is one of the many costly lessons of the conflict in Iraq.

The "hard power" of military and economic strength is, of course, essential, but the use of "carrots and sticks" alone cannot achieve these objectives.

The U.S. may have achieved greater relative military and economic supremacy than any other nation since the Roman Empire, but there is still much that is beyond its capacity and beyond its control. It cannot start wars wherever it pleases without alienating much of the world. There are places where it cannot go in search of terrorist leaders. It needs broad cooperation for intelligence gathering and the restriction of terrorist finances.

The style of the U.S. foreign policy can certainly be improved without cost and with much benefit. The danger of arrogance and the wisdom of humility should be recognized. When military action is required, efforts should be made for the widest possible international support. The U.N. Security Council has only on two occasions approved military action and may have to be bypassed - as it was frequently during the Cold War - but the U.N. and other international agencies should be used in practical ways as may be possible - as was the case throughout the Cold War. There should be constant emphasis on the development of alliances - also as was the case throughout the Cold War.

Soft power in international politics arises from such nebulous but very real factors as the dominant values, internal practices and policies, and the manner of conducting international relations. The U.S. has always wielded significant soft power due to its ability to "inspire the dreams and desires of others."

Military force, too, has limitations. Even as military capabilities grow, its limitations increase. Tiny European armies controlled vast empires in the 19th century. Today, democracies are more focused on welfare than on glory. It requires considerable moral justification to ensure moral support for conflict.

The formidable sources of U.S. soft power
- Its massive economic strength provides not only the hard power of money and material resources but also the soft power of economic influence. Immigration flows, Hollywood films, multinational corporations, foreign students, books, music, internet websites, Nobel laureates, scientific achievements - all are sources of attraction and influence.

"The United States needs to develop a strategy to make soft and hard power complement each other. There's no doubt the U.S. is great at applying the hard power of the military. But leading by example, showing people we're in line with what they want and economic assistance - the ultimate show of soft power - will make applying U.S. power easier," said Nye (2003). For example, hard power can be used to kill Osama bin Laden or Mullah Omar, but soft power should be used to attract moderate Muslims.

Hard power and all that go with it - what Nye (2003) called bribes and threat - can only get a nation so far, he said. Using dialogue to get people to accomplish your aims is a safer bet for long-term power. Soft power resides in three areas: cultural, political values and foreign policy. Nye (2003) said high technology has indeed made the U.S. more efficient and complex and has also made it vulnerable. That democratisation of technology has also made weapons of mass destruction smaller and cheaper.

CONCLUSION

In summary both hard and soft power, as discussed here, is a requirement and a necessity in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy in a global information age. **Hard power** is a concept which is mainly used in realism in international relations and refers to national power which comes from military and economic means. It is used in contrast to soft

power, which refers to power that comes from diplomacy and culture. As stated by Nye (2003), "the U.S. needs to complement both hard and **soft power** in its foreign policy making."

The problem for the U.S. power in the twenty first century is that more and more continues to fall outside the control of even the most powerful state. Although the United States does well on the traditional measures of hard power, these measures fail to capture the ongoing transformation of world politics brought about by globalisation and the democratisation of technology. The paradox of American power is that world politics is changing in a way that makes it impossible for the strongest world power since Rome to achieve some of its most crucial international goals alone. The United States lacks both the international and the domestic capacity to resolve conflicts that are internal to other societies and to monitor and control transnational developments that threaten Americans at home.

On many of today's key issues, such as international financial stability, drug trafficking, the spread of diseases, and especially the new terrorism, military power alone simply cannot produce success, and its use can sometimes be counterproductive. Instead, as the most powerful country, the United States must mobilize international coalitions to address these shared threats and challenges. By devaluing soft power and institutions, the new unilateralist coalition of Jacksonians and neo-Wilsonians is depriving Washington of some of its most important instruments for the implementation of the new national security strategy. If they manage to continue with this tack, the United States could fail what Henry Kissinger called the historical test for this generation of American leaders: to use current preponderant U.S. power to achieve an international consensus behind widely accepted norms that will protect American values in a more uncertain future. Fortunately, this outcome is not preordained.

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Mej Christopher Ignatius Choong was commissioned into the Royal Ranger Regiment on 25 Aug 1984. He is a graduate of the Malaysian Armed Staff College, Haigate in 1998 and holds a Diploma in Strategic and Defence Studies and Masters in Management (Distinction) from UM. He is also a graduate of the Army Command and Staff College, Bangkok, Thailand in 2000. He has served at several units, training establishment as well as MINDEF. Currently he is the SO 2 Publication at the Army Training Headquarters.

OPERASI SNIPER DI DALAM PEPERANGAN HARI INI - Bahagian Pertama

Oleh Lt Kol Mazlan Md Sahalan



PENDAHULUAN

Pada hari ini peperangan telah berubah dengan menggunakan kombinasi pasukan konvensional dan kumpulan kecil yang terlatih menentang kumpulan yang besar dalam melemahkan lawannya. Ini adalah disebabkan sejarah telah membuktikan dengan penggunaan **taktik dan peralatan terkini** melibatkan bala tentera yang besar oleh negara kuasa besar tidak semestinya boleh mendatangkan satu kejayaan. Penentangan secara **kumpulan kecil terpaksa diteruskan** bagi mencapai kepuasan kepada kumpulan yang lemah. Oleh yang demikian teknik menggunakan kumpulan kecil yang telah menunjukkan kejayaan kembali diimplementasikan demi memperoleh kejayaan oleh sesuatu angkatan tentera pada masa kini dan mendatang.

TUJUAN

Esei ini bertujuan untuk memberi pendedahan keperluan operasi sniper boleh difikirkan untuk dijadikan salah satu aset peperangan pada masa kini dan mendatang. Ianya adalah selaras dengan teknologi, taktik dan teknik yang sentiasa berubah dari masa ke masa.

Esei ini akan menjelaskan betapa pentingnya operasi sniper sebagai satu opsyen atau input kepada negara-negara sedang membangun untuk memperkukuhkan lagi pertahanan masing-masing.

METODOLOGI

Merujuk kepada esei ini, persoalan utama yang signifikan dan diingini adalah "Operasi Sniper Dalam Peperangan Hari Ini". Sememangnya untuk memperkatakan dan memperincikan "Operasi Sniper" meliputi ruang lingkup yang luas. "Operasi Sniper" dalam peperangan semasa dapat diuraikan melalui beberapa perspektif sama ada sumbangan secara terus atau tidak langsung di dalam keberkesanan peperangan semasa. Menyedari "Operasi Sniper" dapat menyumbang secara terus atau tidak langsung, maka esei ini akan menjurus kepada latar belakang atau sejarah atau operasi sniper yang telah dilaksanakan sebelum ini. Ini di susuli dengan pendedahan bersabit keupayaan anggota sniper dan kelebihan atur gerak tim sniper. Esei ini akan diakhiri dengan kebaikan dan kelemahan operasi sniper di dalam konteks peperangan semasa.

PENGERTIAN

Bagi memahami esei ini beberapa pengertian akan di perelaskan dengan merujuk kepada kamus Strategis ilmu peperangan. Melalui kamus *Military Science*, *Sniper* diertikan sebagai 'A concealed, skilled rifleman who shoots at exposed enemy soldiers'.

Perkataan 'sniper' pada asalnya pula digunakan di kurun ke-15 oleh tentera British di India di mana perkataan "*snipe*" diambil daripada perkataan penembak tepat yang merupakan kegiatan yang amat diminati pada masa itu. Di dalam ketenteraan pula sniper adalah seseorang yang mempunyai kemahiran mencari maklumat dan sasaran tanpa dikesan dan dapat menembak sasaran terpilih dengan tembakan tepatnya.

SEJARAH SNIPER

Peperangan yang mula menggunakan penembak tepat adalah semasa Perang Revolusi di Amerika Syarikat (1775 – 1781). Pelopor yang mula menggunakan taktik dan teknik penembak tepat ialah General Hiram Berdan di mana beliau telah memperkenalkan seni penembak tepat ("snipe") di dalam Perang Saudara Amerika (1861 – 1865). Banyak kejayaan telah dicapai oleh Tentera Utara dibantu oleh penembak-penembak tepat yang menembak sasaran yang melemahkan Tentera Selatan. Semasa Perang Dunia Pertama (1914-1915) tentera Jerman yang menggunakan senjata yang dipasang alat pandang jauh (teleskop) telah mendapat kejayaan besar dan menggalakkan. Ini memaksa tentera British menggunakan taktik yang sama dan di bawah kepimpinan Mej Hesketh – Pritchard. Beliau telah menubuhkan sebuah pusat latihan untuk melatih sniper (*The First Army School of Sniping, Observing and Scout*) dan melaksanakan kursus sniper pertama di mana pada akhir peperangan pihak British dapat mengalahkan pihak Jerman yang dibantu dengan atur gerak tim sniper. Seterusnya kursus ini telah didaftarkan di dalam senarai kursus di dalam tentera United Kingdom pada 1968.

Setelah tamat Perang Dunia Pertama, taktik sniper mula dilupakan. Walau bagaimanapun hanya

negara Rusia saja menyerapkan teknik dan taktik sniper serta meningkatkan keupayaan unit infantri mereka di antara Perang Dunia Pertama dan Kedua. Dalam tahun 1930, Rusia mula melatih dan melengkapkan keperluan tim sniper dari aspek keanggotaan dan peralatan. Apabila Perang Dunia Kedua meletus, tentera Rusia telah mahir dengan tugas dan peranan yang perlu dilaksanakan dalam setiap fasa peperangan. Tim sniper mereka boleh bergerak dan menjalankan tugas dengan berkesan. Ini terbukti di mana dengan tidak memahami penugasan tim sniper, tentera Amerika Syarikat gagal melaksanakan tugas dengan berkesan walaupun mempunyai senjata yang canggih seperti M1, M1C dan M103 Springfield semasa Perang Korea (1951-1953).

Peranan sniper di dalam Perang Dunia Pertama, Kedua dan Perang Korea telah memberikan kesedaran kepada tentera Amerika untuk menubuhkan tim sniper. Pengajaran yang diterima dari Perang Korea telah memberikan kesedaran kepada tentera Amerika di mana ia telah cuba mengatasi kelemahannya serta mempelajari menggunakan taktik tindak balas sniper (*counter sniping*). Tentera Amerika seterusnya menggunakan sniper dan telah terbukti berkesan di dalam konflik Vietnam (1960-1975) di mana di dalam jangka masa lima bulan pertama pasukan 3 Div USMC (United State Marines Corp) telah berjaya membunuh 1,187 tentera Vietcong. Anggota sniper yang paling berjaya ialah Gysyt Carlos Hathcock kerana berjaya membunuh 93 tentera Vietcong.

Semasa konflik Bosnia - Herzegovina pula penggunaan sniper amat berleluasa dan amat efektif sekali digunakan oleh kumpulan yang bermusuhan hinggan Pasukan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu mengatur gerakan kumpulan counter sniper mereka untuk mengesan kedudukan sniper pihak yang bermusuhan itu. Pada hari ini tentera Amerika Syarikat dan sekutunya masih terus menggunakan Tim Sniper seperti yang di laksanakan di Iraq dalam menangani gerila yang memberontak yang juga menggunakan tim sniper terhadap pasukan bersekutu yang menceroboh negara itu. Senarai nama 'Penembak Curi' atau 'Sniper' yang berjaya membunuh musuh sejak Perang Dunia Pertama adalah seperti di rajah 1.

Rajah 1 : Senarai penembak curi yang berjaya membunuh musuh.

Bil	Nama	Konflik	Negara/Unit	Jumlah yang dibunuh
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Simo Hayha	Perang Dunia ke 2	Finland	500+
2.	Nikolay Yakovlevich	Perang Dunia ke 2	Rusia	496
3.	Ilyin Vasill Zaitsev	Perang Dunia ke 2	Rusia	400
4.	Matthias Hetzenauer	Perang Dunia ke 2	Jerman	345
5.	Sepp Allerberger	Perang Dunia ke 2	Jerman	257
6.	Billy Sing	Perang Dunia Pertama	AIF	150
7.	Adelbert Waldron III	Vietnam	Tentera Darat Amerika	109
8.	Charles B. Mawhinney	Vietnam	RVN	103
9.	Neville Methven	Perang Dunia Pertama	Afrika Selatan	100+
10.	Carlos Hathcock	Vietnam	USMC	93
11.	Helmut Wirnsberger	Perang Dunia ke 2	Jerman	64
12.	Joseph T. Ward	Vietnam	USMC	63
13.	Philip G. Morgan	Vietnam	5th SFG(A) MACV-SOG	53
14.	Tatang K	E. Timor & Indonesia	Vietnam Utara AF	41
15.	Tom Ferran	Vietnam N Sumatera	UCMC	41
16.	William Lucas	Vietnam	Tentera Darat Amerika	38
17.	Riel	Perang Dunia Pertama	Kanada	30
18.	Ron Szpond	Vietnam	USMC	12
19.	Garry J. Brown	Vietnam	Tentera Laut Amerika	17
20.	Jeffrey N Tucker	Panama	USMC	3
21.	Un-Named	Desert Storm	USMC	13
22.	Frank Griehl	Desert Storm	USMC	15
23.	Joseph McElheny	Desert Storm	USMC	13
24.	Dave Dayter	Desert Storm	USMC	3

KEUPAYAAN ANGGOTA SNIPER

Pada umumnya peranan dan tugas anggota sniper adalah mencabar di mana ia memerlukan anggota yang mempunyai kepakaran yang terbaik seperti mahir di dalam pengendalian senjata, ilmu

medan perang, ketahanan mental dan fizikal, keyakinan diri dan kemahiran asas ketenteraan dalam menyerapkan teknik dan taktik sniper dalam mengatasi dan memusnahkan musuh.

Seseorang anggota sniper juga perlu memahami dan menguasai sepenuhnya keperluan ilmu medan perang dalam melaksanakan tugas dengan berkesan seperti yang diterangkan di atas. Namun beberapa perkara seperti berikut perlulah di titik beratkan dalam menjayakan suatu tugas yang dipertanggungjawabkan:

- Pergerakan individu (Merangkak Kera, Merangkak Harimau, Merangkak Biawak/ Buaya).
- Penyamaran dan Penyembunyian (tidak boleh dilihat dan di kesan tetapi kalau dapat dilihat atau dikesan tiada harapan bagi anggota yang di kesan).
- Taktik atur gerak tim sniper (kumpulan kecil melalui darat/laut/udara).
- Pandu arah dan membaca peta (chart laut/ bintang/keadaan semula jadi).
- Pengiraan gambar udara.
- Lakaran Panorama.
- Mencatat dan mengumpul maklumat .
- Perhubungan (sama ada teknik konvensional atau bantuan agensi lain seperti udara dan laut).
- Kad jarak dan menunjuk sasaran (sama ada melalui peralatan konvensional optik atau optronik).

KELEBIHAN ATUR GERAK

Pada kebiasaannya Tim Sniper diatur gerakan secara berpasangan. Namun begitu di dalam keadaan tertentu ia boleh juga diatur gerakan secara individu. Setiap anggota sniper mempunyai tugas dan peranannya tersendiri dan sekiranya ia diatur gerakan berpasangan tugas dan peranan akan dibahagikan mengikut keperluan melaksanakan sesuatu misi.

Tim sniper berupaya untuk diatur gerakan bersendirian bagi merapati sasaran tanpa tembakan perlindungan. Ia juga boleh melaksanakan tugas

dalam jangka masa yang panjang tanpa di kesan kehadirannya. Ini adalah kerana latihan berterusan yang berlainan dan menitikberatkan kepada keperluan ilmu medan perang seperti yang di jelaskan sebelum ini. Anggota sniper juga berupaya menghadapi tekanan dan keletihan (*stress and strain*) semasa melaksanakan tugas di samping mempunyai daya tahan (*survivability*).



Ada masanya tim sniper memerlukan tembakan bantuan dari pesawat pejuang dan kapal laut dalam tugas yang tertentu. Selain daripada itu perancangan penyusupan dan penarikan keluar juga dirancang dengan teliti dan keperluan bantuan pesawat udara atau kapal laut juga boleh dilaksanakan. Ini mengikut tugas yang dipertanggungjawab dan di arahkan kepada mereka oleh pihak atasan.

Selain daripada itu, kelebihan tim sniper adalah atur gerak yang tidak terbatas seperti organisasi lain sama ada dalam masa aman atau perang. Ia boleh diatur gerakan dalam semua fasa peperangan konvensional, menentang insurgensi, kawasan terbina ataupun konflik tahap rendah yang memerlukan kepakaran sniper. Kepelbagaian medan atur gerak ini menjadikan tim sniper amat popular di samping menjimatkan tenaga manusia dan kos serta mencapai kejayaan yang membanggakan.

KEBAIKAN DAN KEBURUKAN OPERASI SNIPER

Seperti yang telah dijelaskan atur gerak tim sniper mempunyai banyak kelebihan dalam meluaskan kawasan tanggungjawab tanpa banyak pergerakan dari menggunakan anggota yang ramai dan lebih efektif dalam operasi di kawasan terbina selain dari membantu pasukan konvensional dalam sebarang operasi terbuka. Dengan kepakaran yang diperoleh tim ini dapat menjalankan tugas yang lebih efektif dengan penyusupan dan pengunduran yang tidak dapat dikesan oleh pihak musuh.

Namun jika dilihat dari perspektif keupayaan tim, ianya terdedah dari yang diperoleh dari sebarang ancaman jika ianya dikesan. Ia juga adalah terbatas dari sebarang bantuan tembakan pasukan sahabat dan terbatas dalam pergerakan. Oleh yang demikian tim sniper memerlukan kemahiran ilmu peperangan oleh individu dalam merealisasikan tugas mereka dilaksanakan dengan berjaya.

RUMUSAN

Nilai keupayaan dan kecekapan anggota sniper telah terbukti berkesan melalui peperangan dan konflik yang lepas. Menembak Curi (*sniping*) adalah merupakan teknik yang dapat menimbulkan masalah yang berpanjangan atau constant kepada musuh dalam kawasan operasi di zon kombatan, operasi atau strategik musuh. Kehadiran Tim Sniper boleh menimbulkan unsur-unsur ketakutan dan siapsiaga yang mempengaruhi secara langsung terhadap tindakan yang bakal diambil oleh pihak musuh serta dapat melemahkan moral musuh.

Pada hari ini keupayaan sesuatu angkatan tentera dapat ditingkatkan dengan menggunakan Tim Sniper di dalam sebarang operasi ketenteraan. Ini dapat dilihat dalam konflik masa lalu dan kini iaitu Bosnia - Herzegovina, Perang Teluk, Chechnya dan konflik yang masih lagi berterusan hingga ke hari ini terutama di Iraq. Sama ada pihak yang diperangi atau pihak yang mempunyai angkatan tentera yang terlatih dan tersusun, namun mereka tetap menggunakan teknik dan taktik sniper dalam menangani pihak lawan, lebih-lebih lagi dalam konflik yang rata-ratanya melibatkan kawasan terbina.



PENUTUP

Pembentangan rencana ini adalah untuk memberi pendedahan terhadap keupayaan dan kepentingan Tim Sniper di dalam pengatur gerakannya di dalam sebarang operasi 'non-conventional' atau 'conventional'. Sejarah telah membuktikan pengoperasiannya dapat mendorong kepada mengharu perancangan musuh sambil membolehkan seseorang ketua dapat merancang dan menyusun tindakan untuk memusnahkan musuh di dalam sesuatu operasi.

Many of the men who enjoyed sniping were by no means remarkable shots, but they would creep up so close to the enemy that they could not miss. In fact this game stalking is as important as shooting

*Brigadier Peter Young's
British Army*

As there are no set rules for sniping, other than for accurate, quick shooting with good camouflage, I believe my most useful contribution for new snipers is to relate my experience as a sniper for about three months on Gallipoli at Anzac.

Mr Alan J. Campbell Anzac Veteran

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BIOGRAPHY



Lt Kol Mazlan bin Md Sahalan telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Kor Gerak Khas pada 31 Disember 1979. Di sepanjang perkhidmatan, beliau telah menghadiri berbagai kursus di dalam dan di luar negara, di antaranya ialah Kursus Asas Sniper di PLPK, Kursus Sniper Instructor di NeW Zealand, Kursus Special Forces Qualification, Static Line Jump Master, Pathfinder, Air Assault, Psychological dan Military Free Fall di Amerika Syarikat. Beliau pernah berkhidmat di bawah PBB pada 1999 sebagai Pegawai Staf 2 Operasi dan Ketua Sektor di United Nation Transaction East Timor (UNTAET). Beliau juga pernah menjawat jawatan sebagai Ketua Jurulatih di PULPAK pada tahun 2004 dan kini menjawat jawatan Pegawai Memerintah Garison Kem Iskandar Mersing.

PEPERANGAN MAKLUMAT (IW) - SATU CABARAN SERTA ANCAMAN BARU

— Oleh : Lt Mohd Rizal bin Abd Wahid —

SINOPSIS

Perkembangan teknologi maklumat jelas menunjukkan negara kita memasuki era maklumat. Dalam konteks ini, sistem telekomunikasi global, rangkaian media komputer telah memberi kesan terhadap budaya masyarakat seluruhnya. Teknologi internet yang banyak menyumbang ke arah teknologi dan globalisasi. Angkatan Tentera Malaysia juga meningkatkan penggunaan senjata-senjata moden yang berteknologi tinggi. Pengeksploitasian maklumat yang merangkumi tindakan memperoleh, menghalang, menjejaskan ataupun memutarbelitkan maklumat boleh menjejaskan keselamatan negara yang kini berkonsepkan peperangan maklumat (IW) yang mana akan mengubah ciri-ciri pengurusan akan datang. Pada dasarnya IW amat meluas. Skopnya merangkumi perhubungan teknologi maklumat, masyarakat semakin bergantung kepada maklumat, peperangan maklumat, kesan serta implikasi ancaman, sumber serta motif ancaman IW dan IW di dalam perspektif serangan dan pertahanan. Apa yang penting sekali ialah mengenal pasti dan memusnahkan pengganas-pengganas siber. Oleh yang demikian kita perlu lebih prihatin ke atas sumber-sumber ancaman yang mana banyak melibatkan penggunaan media elektronik. Dengan itu IW di dalam perspektif serangan dan pertahanan memainkan peranan yang penting dalam penyebaran maklumat penting amnya dan maklumat ketenteraan khususnya ke luar negara. Oleh itu semua pihak harus bekerjasama dengan Angkatan Tentera Malaysia dalam memerangi peperangan maklumat agar kita lebih bersedia menghadapi ancaman dari luar negara

PENDAHULUAN

Kita semua sedang melangkah ke era maklumat dan perkembangan pesat dalam bidang teknologi maklumat (IT) tidak boleh dielakkan. Negara serta masyarakat semakin bergantung kepada maklumat dan infrastruktur berkaitan. Oleh itu, teknologi ini wajar dioptimumkan sebaik mungkin supaya kita tidak ketinggalan dalam menyahut cabaran Yang Amat Berhormat (YAB) Perdana Menteri bagi menempuhi era baru ini. Bagaimanapun, perkembangan teknologi tersebut merupakan "pedang bermata dua". Walaupun aplikasi IT ke arah pembangunan negara adalah satu perkembangan yang positif, namun ia juga

merupakan satu kelemahan yang boleh dieksploitasi oleh pihak-pihak tertentu. Kini timbul konsep Peperangan Maklumat atau '*Information Warfare*' (IW).

Ancaman IW terhadap keselamatan negara wujud, dan tidak harus dinafikan. Kesan ancaman serta serangan IW adalah serius dan membimbangkan. Penubuhan organisasi IW yang khusus di peringkat tertinggi kerajaan beberapa negara maju serta polisi IW yang menyeluruh, jelas menunjukkan penekanan yang diberikan terhadap konsep IW oleh negara-negara tersebut.

Isu keselamatan negara (*national security*) dalam era maklumat semakin mencabar dan kompleks apabila kita melangkah ke alaf baru. Memandangkan sumber (kewangan dan tenaga) yang semakin terhad berbanding peranan yang semakin meningkat, kemajuan IT perlu dioptimumkan. Implikasi dari ancaman IW ini tidak boleh diabaikan, malah ia perlu diperamati oleh pihak-pihak yang sensitif terhadap isu keselamatan negara.

PERKEMBANGAN TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT

Negara kita seperti negara-negara lain di dunia sedang memasuki satu era baru iaitu era maklumat. Sejak beberapa tahun ini, kita telah melihat perkembangan yang pesat di dalam bidang Teknologi Maklumat (IT). Salah satu punca utama adalah peningkatan keupayaan komputer serta kemajuan pesat di bidang teknologi komputer walaupun kos yang berkaitan secara relatif telah menurun. Komputer PC biasa dengan keupayaan 64Mb RAM serta cekera keras 2.5Gb yang kini berharga lebih kurang RM5000 sebagai contoh adalah jauh lebih tinggi keupayaannya berbanding komputer 'main frame' (Digital PDP-11/44 dengan 32Kb RAM dan simpanan cekera 2.5Mb). Bayangkan, komputer yang terdapat dalam kereta Ford Taurus juga adalah lebih tinggi keupayaannya dan canggih berbanding dengan sistem komputer yang digunakan dalam roket Apollo 11 semasa misi pendaratan Neil Armstrong di bulan¹.

Perkembangan tersebut membolehkan lebih ramai masyarakat biasa memperoleh serta menggunakan IT untuk berbagai keperluan seharian. Teknologi ini tidak lagi terhad kepada syarikat-syarikat besar atau agensi-agensi tertentu. Secara tidak langsung juga, negara-negara Dunia Ketiga atau yang sedang membangun kini berupaya mengejar kemajuan yang dinikmati oleh negara-negara maju dengan lebih cepat. Dalam konteks ini, Malaysia juga tidak ketinggalan dalam perlumbaan berkenaan, dan bagi mencapai hasrat tersebut kerajaan telah menetapkan komitmen yang serius terhadap Projek Koridor Raya Multimedia (MSC) dan penubuhan Majlis Teknologi Maklumat Negara (NITC).

Sistem telekomunikasi global, rangkaian media dan perkembangan teknologi rangkaian komputer telah memberi kesan yang dramatik terhadap budaya masyarakat sekarang. Sebagai contoh, penggunaan telefon 'cellular' yang lima tahun lepas merupakan satu kemewahan, kini menjadi keperluan biasa bagi sebahagian dari masyarakat kita. Pada masa yang sama, penggunaan komputer juga semakin meningkat, malahan, semakin ramai kanak-kanak sekarang telah didedahkan kepada penggunaan komputer di sekolah-sekolah rendah.

Kini timbul pula internet, yang dipercayai akan terus mengubah ciri-ciri budaya komunikasi selanjutnya. Kewujudan internet lebih kurang 20 tahun lepas, pada mulanya adalah khusus untuk kegunaan agensi pertahanan Amerika Syarikat (AS). Tetapi ia kini merupakan lebuh raya maklumat untuk semua lapisan masyarakat seluruh dunia di mana penggunaannya telah berkembang dengan begitu pesat sekali, sehinggakan gejala skim cepat kaya pun sekarang telah wujud dalam Internet. Operasi skim cepat kaya ini dikendalikan oleh sindiket di negara-negara barat seperti AS dan Jerman². Konsep perhubungan di antara negara telah berubah bila jarak serta sempadan tidak lagi menjadi halangan dalam menjalankan sesuatu urusan. Ia secara langsung akan terus mengubah budaya kerja serta cara hidup masyarakat sejagat dalam kerancangan revolusi teknologi dan globalisasi.

MASYARAKAT SEMAKIN BERGANTUNG KEPADA MAKLUMAT

Seiring dengan perkembangan pesat dunia IT, negara-negara serta masyarakatnya semakin bergantung kepada teknologi yang berasaskan maklumat untuk berbagai urusan. Ini meliputi semua skop termasuk kewangan, industri, sosial, perubatan, pendidikan dan sebagainya. Sebagai contoh, urusan bank, pasaran saham dan mata wang negara, telekomunikasi, media, pengendalian perkhidmatan seperti tenaga elektrik, gas dan sistem pengangkutan, semuanya bergantung kepada penggunaan komputer. Di dalam hal ini, Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) juga tidak ketinggalan dengan penggunaan sistem-sistem persenjataan

1. The New York Times, 5 Jun 96 - Kenyataan Presiden Clinton mengenai evolusi teknologi maklumat.

2. Berita Harian Online - <http://www.jaring.my/bharian/>, 4 Dis 1997 - Skim Cepat Kaya dalam Internet.

moden serta matlamatnya untuk mengintegrasikan infrastruktur maklumat ketiga-tiga perkhidmatan bagi memenuhi keperluan pertahanan selanjutnya. Pelaksanaan Sistem C3I (Sistem Kawalan, Komunikasi, Pemerintahan dan Maklumat) bagi ATM adalah satu contoh terbaru ke arah pencapaian matlamat tersebut³.

Sekarang ini semua syarikat serta pejabat-pejabat kerajaan dilengkapi dengan komputer. Dalam Tentera Laut Diraja Malaysia (TLDM) contohnya, kapal-kapal ronda kecil pun telah dibekalkan dengan komputer untuk keperluan pentadbiran dan pengurusan seharian. Semakin banyak urusan kini dilaksanakan dengan bantuan komputer yang seharusnya penting bagi meningkatkan produktiviti. Selain dari itu juga, berbagai-bagai maklumat serta data-data penting kini disimpan dan diproses dalam komputer. Pada amnya, jika dilihat sekeliling kita hari ini, hampir kesemua yang kita nampak adalah bergantung atau berhubung kait dengan komputer dan teknologi maklumat.

Walaupun perkembangan tersebut dianggap sebagai satu perkembangan yang positif dan memberangsangkan, ia juga boleh menimbulkan implikasi serta ancaman yang serius apabila ia dieksploitasi oleh pihak-pihak tertentu untuk mencapai sesuatu objektif yang tersendiri. Eksploitasi maklumat yang dimaksudkan ini merangkumi tindakan memperoleh, menghalang, menjejaskan ataupun manipulasi maklumat (*manipulation of information*), khususnya terhadap data atau maklumat kritikal yang boleh menjejaskan keselamatan negara ataupun urusan sesuatu organisasi. Kini muncul konsep 'Information Warfare' (IW) atau Peperangan Maklumat yang dipercayai akan mengubah ciri-ciri konflik serta pengurusan krisis di masa akan datang.

PEPERANGAN MAKLUMAT (IW)

IW masih merupakan satu konsep yang agak baru walaupun di negara-negara maju seperti AS, namun elemen-elemen yang berkaitan telah lama wujud. Sejarah peperangan-peperangan yang lepas

membuktikan bahawa keputusan sesuatu konflik banyak bergantung kepada penggunaan atau salah penggunaan maklumat yang diterima. Ahli strategi Cina, Sun Tzu juga telah menekankan betapa pentingnya elemen maklumat dan muslihat semasa peperangan dalam buku bertajuk '*Art of War*' yang ditulis 2500 tahun dahulu⁴.

Kini terdapat berbagai definisi bagi istilah IW di mana ia bergantung kepada skop penggunaan serta pihak yang menggunakannya. Definisi ketenteraan yang digunakan oleh Departmen Pertahanan AS (*US Department of Defence*) adalah seperti berikut:

*"Action taken to achieve information superiority by affecting adversary's information, information-based processes, information system, and computer-based networks while defending own's information, information-based processes, information system and computer-based networks"*⁵.

Pada dasarnya skop IW amat luas, IW pada amnya boleh juga ditakrifkan sebagai tindakan manipulasi, menjejaskan, merosakkan ataupun memusnahkan maklumat (atau infrastrukturnya) sama ada untuk memperoleh kelebihan (*advantage*) ke atas pihak lawan/berkenaan serta mempunyai motif tersendiri bagi mencapai objektif tertentu. Pada masa yang sama ia juga meliputi tindakan bagi menentukan maklumat sendiri (atau infrastrukturnya) dipertahankan dari dieksploitasi oleh pihak yang tidak diingini.

IW berbeza dengan kebanyakan konsep peperangan yang lain, iaitu ia boleh dilaksanakan di masa aman dan tidak hanya terhad kepada situasi konflik atau perang. Spektrum IW juga merangkumi aktiviti politik, ekonomi, komersial dan tidak terhad kepada aktiviti ketenteraan. Oleh itu, ada juga pihak yang merasakan istilah '*Information Assurance*' atau '*Information Operation*'⁶ mungkin lebih sesuai digunakan kerana IW mempunyai konotasi "ketenteraan". Isu IW hangat diperbincangkan sekarang ini di negara-negara maju dan banyak kajian dilakukan terutama sekali di pusat penyelidikan strategik, institusi pertahanan, serta institusi pengajian tinggi khususnya di AS. Hasil dari

3 Berita Harian Online - <http://www.jaring.my/bharian/Jun 1997> - Kenyataan Menteri Pertahanan Malaysia mengenai usaha mengintegrasikan ketiga-tiga perkhidmatan ATM.

4 Sun Tzu, "The Art of War". Terjemahan oleh Samuel B. Griffith, Oxford University Press, 1971.

5 Approved Terminology. Joint Pub 1-02, DOD Dictionary, updated through April 1997, ms 26.

kajian-kajian yang dijalankan, jelas menunjukkan bahawa implikasi IW boleh menimbulkan ancaman kepada keselamatan negara (*national security*). Semasa persidangan IW yang pertama diadakan di London pada 13 - 14 November 1997, isu ancaman IW serta masalah-masalah yang berkaitan telah diutarakan. Konsep IW semakin berkembang dan implikasinya amat membimbangkan, namun penyelesaian yang menyeluruh masih belum tercapai. Apa yang jelas adalah ancaman yang timbul akibat eksploitasi maklumat perlu diberi perhatian serius sehingga ke peringkat tertinggi dalam sesuatu organisasi khususnya kerajaan.

KESAN SERTA IMPLIKASI ANCAMAN

Sistem telekomunikasi serta sistem teknologi maklumat telah membolehkan maklumat atau data diperoleh, disalurkan dan seterusnya diproses dengan cepat agar sesuatu keputusan atau tindakan yang efektif dapat diambil dengan segera. Kejayaan di medan perang contohnya, banyak bergantung kepada siapa yang mengambil tindakan yang terdahulu apabila maklumat yang diperlukan diterima dengan tepat dan cepat berbanding dengan pihak lawan.

Pihak tentera seperti juga sektor swasta semakin banyak bergantung kepada infrastruktur telekomunikasi awam khususnya dalam perhubungan antara rangkaian komputer (*networking*). Infrastruktur telekomunikasi digunakan dalam semua peringkat organisasi tentera untuk keperluan kawalan dan pemerintahan (*command and control*). Malangnya, semua infrastruktur telekomunikasi ini, khususnya sistem talian telefon termasuk juga radio ada kelemahannya (*vulnerabilities*). Di AS contohnya, 95% daripada komunikasi ketenteraan adalah melalui sistem talian telefon swasta. Walaupun, 'encryption' digunakan untuk keperluan yang kritikal, risiko talian berkenaan terputus atau "diganggu" menimbulkan kesan yang serius⁷. Di Malaysia, sistem telekomunikasi dulunya cuma dikendalikan oleh Jabatan Telekom di bawah Kementerian Telekom, Tenaga dan Pos. Setelah

penswastaannya kepada Syarikat Telekom Malaysia serta bertambahnya syarikat-syarikat telekomunikasi yang lain, keperluan kawalan keselamatan ke atas sistem infrastruktur maklumat semakin kompleks serta mencabar.

Sebelum ini, kes-kes yang melibatkan isu pertahanan tidak dihebahkan kepada masyarakat umum. Di AS, banyak insiden 'hacking' melibatkan kes anak-anak muda berjaya mencerooboh masuk sistem komputer agensi kerajaan termasuk pertahanannya. Menyedari kelemahan ini, kajian terperinci ke atas keselamatan sistem maklumat mereka telah diadakan. Menurut laporan Kongres AS tahun 1996, 250, 000 percubaan mencerooboh masuk sistem komputer Pentagon (Departmen Pertahanan AS) telah dianggarkan di mana 160, 000 daripada percubaan yang dilakukan dipercayai telah berjaya. Daripada jumlah itu, 95% pencerobohan tidak dilaporkan kepada pihak keselamatan ataupun tidak disedari oleh pengguna sistem. Seterusnya, dalam usaha untuk menguji sistem keselamatannya, satu pasukan khas telah ditubuhkan untuk "mencerooboh masuk" 8932 komputer Pentagon dengan menggunakan teknik yang biasa dipraktikkan oleh 'hackers'. Statistik yang diperoleh adalah memeranjatkan di mana pasukan tersebut dengan agak mudah berjaya memasuki 88% daripada sistem komputer yang terlibat, dan dari jumlah tersebut cuma 4% sahaja yang menyedari komputer mereka telah diceroobohi. Malangnya, cuma 0.2% sahaja yang melaporkannya.

Di negara kita, kes-kes penipuan komersial melalui penggunaan komputer juga semakin meningkat. Baru-baru ini gejala pengklonan telefon bimbit dan kad "ATM" (*Auto Teller Machine*) menjadi isu hangat. Dalam jangka masa 9 bulan pertama tahun 1997 sahaja, sejumlah 1,981 kes penipuan bank menggunakan kad ATM telah dilaporkan kepada Bank Negara melibatkan kerugian sejumlah RM3,000,000⁸. Di AS, aktiviti penipuan institusi perbankan melalui komputer sangat membimbangkan dan melibatkan kerugian ratusan juta dolar setahun. Adalah dipercayai lebih banyak lagi kes-kes seperti ini tidak dikesan ataupun tidak

6 Richard W. Aldrich, "The International Legal Implications of Information Warfare", Institute For National Security Studies (INSS), Colorado, April 1996, ms 11.

7. Philip H.J Davies, "Information Warfare and Its Implications For Future Intelligence Services". Kertas yang dipersembahkan semasa Persidangan IW pertama di London, November 1997.

8. Berita Harian On-line, 4 Dis 1997. Kenyataan Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Menteri Kewangan Malaysia mengenai 1,981 kes kecurian wang simpanan bank melalui ATM yang dilaporkan ke BNM.

dilaporkan oleh syarikat kewangan, syarikat telekomunikasi atau institusi perbankan yang terlibat. Ini adalah kerana ia boleh menjejaskan kewibawaan institusi tersebut serta kepercayaan orang ramai terhadap sistem mereka.

Dari segi strategik, krisis kewangan yang melibatkan kejatuhan nilai mata wang ringgit serta pasaran saham tempatan baru-baru ini telah menjejaskan ekonomi negara. Ia adalah akibat "manipulasi pasaran saham" serta spekulasi negatif pihak-pihak tertentu⁹. Insiden kerosakan sistem perhubungan telefon yang pernah dialami oleh agensi kerajaan serta pangkalan tentera ataupun masalah 'power blackout' yang kerap berlaku akibat gangguan grid tenaga elektrik juga telah mengakibatkan kekecohan serta kerugian masa dan wang ringgit. Kemungkinan besar krisis serta insiden seperti ini berpunca daripada masalah teknikal. Sebaliknya, cuba kita bayangkan kesannya kelak, sekiranya krisis atau insiden seperti ini berlaku akibat serangan IW oleh pihak-pihak yang tidak diingini dengan motif tertentu. Secara tidak langsung ia boleh menjejaskan ekonomi negara ataupun dalam situasi tertentu boleh melumpuhkan negara. Bagaimana pula jika keadaan ini berlaku di sesuatu masa yang genting atau dalam situasi konflik. Senario seperti ini telah pun digunakan dalam latihan-latihan olah perang IW di AS¹⁰.

Manakala di peringkat operasi atau taktikal pula, selain dari menjejaskan sistem kawalan dan pemerintahan, ancaman IW juga menjejaskan keberkesanan sistem-sistem yang digunakan oleh tentera seperti sistem pengawasan, sistem persenjataan meriam dan misil. Maklumat mengenai arahan pergerakan tentera, logistik dan perisikan jika diputarbelitkan akan mengakibatkan kegagalan sesuatu misi. Sebagai contoh, jika sesuatu arahan operasi dipinda secara haram oleh pihak lawan, bukan sahaja matlamat operasi tersebut terjejas, bahkan ia boleh mengakibatkan kekalahan semasa pertempuran. Bagi sistem-sistem persenjataan pula, walau bagaimana canggih pun sesuatu sistem itu, masalah serangan virus atau kod perosak boleh mengakibatkannya tidak berfungsi atau menjejaskan keberkesananannya.

Projek Koridor Raya Multimedia yang dilancarkan baru-baru ini merupakan salah satu persediaan kerajaan bagi menempuh era maklumat di alaf baru. Projek tersebut bertujuan untuk menjadikan industri IT sebagai "enjin" pertumbuhan ekonomi negara sejajar dengan wawasan 2020 YAB Perdana Menteri. Bagaimanapun, serangan IW boleh mengancam kejayaan projek berkenaan sekiranya langkah-langkah positif tidak diambil segera. Kejayaan projek ini seperti juga pertumbuhan ekonomi negara, banyak bergantung kepada kepercayaan pelabur khususnya daripada syarikat-syarikat luar negara. Selain dari itu, aspirasi kerajaan ke arah menyatupadukan infrastruktur maklumat serta objektif pentadbiran 'paperless' akan merupakan satu "sasaran strategik" yang boleh dieksplotasi oleh pihak-pihak yang tidak diingini¹¹.

Kesan ancaman IW terhadap keselamatan negara wujud dan implikasinya adalah serius. Konsep IW mempunyai banyak potensinya, dan apa yang boleh dibayangkan pada masa ini cuma merupakan "tip of the iceberg". Sehubungan itu, adalah penting bagi masyarakat kita menyedari bahawa, isu keselamatan negara bukan sahaja terhad kepada tentera atau polis. Agensi kerajaan yang lain serta sektor swasta dan industri juga mempunyai penglibatan yang besar, oleh itu ancaman IW perlu difahami dan ditangani bersama.

SUMBER SERTA MOTIF ANCAMAN IW

Pihak-pihak yang merupakan sumber ancaman IW semakin meningkat. Pada mulanya ia cuma terdiri daripada 'hackers'¹² (anak-anak muda yang hobi mereka suka mencerooboh komputer), kini ia merangkumi kumpulan pendesak, penjenayah, "broker maklumat", pengganas, agensi perisikan negara asing dan pihak tentera lawan. Selain dari itu, kita juga perlu peka bahawa "orang dalam" juga boleh merupakan sumber ancaman IW, sama ada secara sengaja ataupun tidak sengaja (akibat kesilapan atau cuai ketika menggunakan sistem komputer).

9 Berita Harian On-line, 4 Dis 1997. Kenyataan YAB Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad mengenai krisis mata wang angkara spekulator.

10 Louise Kehoe, "US Squares Up To Cyber terrorist", The Financial Times, 11 Jun 96, ms. 13.

11 Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, kenyataan rasmi semasa pelancaran MSC, 1997.

12 Stephen Farrell, "Once A Hacker, Always A Hacker", The Times, 22 Nov 1997, ms

Motif atau tujuan mereka mencero bohi sesuatu sistem komputer juga berbeza. 'Hackers' biasanya hanya suka-suka, cabar mencabar, dendam atau rasa tidak puas hati dengan organisasi tertentu ataupun cuma ingin tahu sahaja. Penjenayah, kumpulan haram seperti sindiket pengedar dadah, sindiket skim cepat kaya dan "broker maklumat" pula biasanya mempunyai motif kewangan¹³. Aktiviti mereka ini telah mula merebak ke negara kita khususnya dengan berkembangnya penyelewengan dalam Internet. Ini mengakibatkan penguatkuasaan undang-undang menjadi semakin kompleks. Sebagai contoh, kerajaan tidak dapat mengambil tindakan undang-undang terhadap sindiket skim cepat kaya yang berpangkalan di luar negara, akhirnya yang menjadi mangsa adalah masyarakat kita juga.

Manakala "pengganas siber", kumpulan pelampau dan kumpulan pendesak pula, motif mereka biasanya berunsur politik. Sebagai contoh aktiviti manipulasi maklumat untuk tujuan propaganda negatif juga kini banyak dilakukan dalam internet. Bagi agensi perisikan negara asing dan tentera lawan pula, motif mereka adalah memperoleh maklumat perisikan khususnya semasa aman ataupun menjejaskan infrastruktur maklumat serta kawalan dan pemerintahan tentera semasa atau sebelum sesuatu konflik berlaku¹⁴.

Akhir sekali, motif "orang dalam" pula berpunca daripada rasa tidak puas hati, dendam terhadap pihak pengurusan ataupun untuk kepentingan diri sendiri. Selain dari itu mereka juga mungkin diugut oleh pihak tertentu yang ingin mendapatkan maklumat secara haram daripada organisasi tersebut. Oleh yang demikian, kita perlu lebih prihatin ke atas sumber ancaman seperti ini yang merupakan "musuh dalam selimut" kerana ia lebih sukar dikesan serta dikawal.

IW DI DALAM PERSPEKTIF SERANGAN DAN PERTAHANAN (OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE IW)

Sejajar dengan definisi ketenteraan yang dihuraikan, konsep IW¹⁵ boleh dikaji daripada dua aspek. Aspek pertama adalah "*Offensive IW*" yang merangkumi tindakan mengeksploitasi maklumat atau infrastrukturnya manakala aspek kedua pula dipanggil "*Defensive IW*". Aspek ini merangkumi tindakan serta usaha bagi menentukan maklumat atau infrastruktur berkaitan dipertahankan daripada serangan IW.

"Offensive Information Warfare" (OIW).

Skop aktiviti OIW yang boleh dilaksanakan adalah luas dan ia melibatkan implikasi perundangan, moral dan etika. Oleh itu subjek ini adalah sensitif dan kurang diperbincangkan secara terbuka. Secara ringkas teknik OIW merangkumi penggunaan teknologi-teknologi moden (*advanced technologies*) bertujuan memperdaya, menghalang, mengeksploitasi, merosakkan ataupun memusnahkan sistem maklumat pihak lawan. Pada amnya, objektif OIW menjejaskan sistem komunikasi serta mengubahsuai atau manipulasi data-data kritikal dalam sistem maklumat sasaran. Sebahagian teknik-teknik OIW yang dikaji adalah seperti berikut:

- **Mengubahsuai Perkakasan.** Ini merangkumi tindakan mengubahsuai perkakasan seperti cip mikro di mana "kod perosak" disorokkan di dalamnya. Kod perosak ini boleh dihidupkan (*activated*) pada ketika tertentu sama ada mengikut masa atau apabila "arahan" tertentu diterima. Kod berkenaan boleh dimasukkan semasa sesuatu sistem dibeli atau semasa perkakasan tersebut dibaiki oleh pihak yang tidak bertanggungjawab.
- **Mengubahsuai Perisian.** Seperti juga pengubahsuaian perkakasan, perisian juga boleh diubahsuai bagi mencapai objektif yang sama. Kod perosak boleh disorokkan dalam pakej perisian sesuatu sistem dan bertindak pada ketika atau apabila menerima "arahan" tertentu. Ia juga boleh disalurkan melalui saluran telekomunikasi ataupun dimasukkan oleh "orang dalam". Masalah ini sama seperti masalah virus

13 Artikel mengenai "hacker" Mathew Bevan dan Richard Pryce yang berjaya mencero bohi berbagai sistem komputer di AS.

14 <http://www.hacked.net> - Contoh propaganda negatif yang digunakan oleh pihak tertentu dengan mengubah "Home Page" sasaran termasuk Kerajaan Indonesia.

15 Martin Libicki, "What Is Information Warfare", National Defense University, 1996, ms3.

komputer yang berleluasa sekarang, cuma ia berbeza dari aspek objektifnya dan sasarannya dikenal pasti. Kod perosak yang dimaksudkan digelar "*logic bombs*", "*trojan horses*", "*worms*" dan sebagainya.

- **Merosakkan atau Memusnahkan Sistem/Infrastruktur Maklumat.** Tindakan ini khusus dilakukan bagi menjejaskan fungsi kawalan dan pemerintahan terutama sekali terhadap organisasi pertahanan atau infrastruktur perkhidmatan am yang kritikal. Setiap misi tentera bergantung kepada maklumat yang diperoleh serta sistem komunikasi berkaitan, jika ia terjejas, kejayaan misi juga terjejas. Objektif merosakkan atau memusnahkan infrastruktur tersebut juga boleh dilaksanakan secara logik (menggunakan kod perosak) atau fizikal ataupun kedua-duanya sekali. Penyelidikan ke atas senjata "*Directed Energy*" yang berupaya merosakkan sistem komputer tanpa sentuhan fizikal sedang dilaksanakan.

- **Manipulasi Maklumat/Data-Data.** Fungsi serta operasi sesuatu sistem boleh terjejas sekiranya data komputer atau maklumat berkaitan diubah secara haram. Sebagai contoh, sistem kewangan sesuatu negara boleh terjejas apabila pasaran stok dan mata wangnya dimanipulasikan. Selain dari itu juga, maklumat operasi tentera jika diubah boleh menjejaskan kejayaan sesuatu misi. Sistem pengangkutan udara dan laut serta peluru berpandu yang menggunakan sistem navigasi satelit juga boleh terjejas sekiranya data posisi yang diterima dipinda. Bayangkan kesannya kelak sekiranya ini berlaku!¹⁶

Tindakan OIW juga diberi tumpuan penting oleh kerana serangan boleh dilaksanakan tanpa kesan di mana mangsa serangan sukar mengesan puncanya atau mengetahui siapa yang melakukannya. Oleh itu, ia boleh dijadikan sebagai alat politik semasa aman seperti memberi tekanan ekonomi ke atas sesebuah negara bagi mencapai objektif tertentu. Semasa situasi konflik atau pra-konflik pula, ia boleh membantu tindakan ketenteraan, contohnya menjejaskan sistem bekalan elektrik negara, sistem kawalan trafik udara, sistem telekomunikasi, serta sistem pertahanan pada ketika

tertentu sebelum sesuatu tindakan serangan tentera berlaku. Potensi teknik serta tindakan OIW seperti ini adalah luas dan implikasinya amat membimbangkan. Apa yang jelas pada ketika ini adalah, banyak negara maju telah memulakan penyelidikan ke atas teknik OIW. Persoalannya sekarang apakah objektif mereka?

Bagaimanapun, seperti yang diterangkan, aktiviti OIW mempunyai implikasi perundangan dan AS sentiasa mengkaji implikasi perundangan antarabangsa yang mungkin timbul, khususnya jika aktiviti tersebut dilaksanakan terhadap negara mereka sendiri. Mereka percaya bahawa dalam situasi semasa, AS menghadapi risiko ancaman IW yang paling tinggi memandangkan kebergantungan mereka terhadap infrastruktur maklumat dan teknologi berkaitan.

"Defensive Information Warfare" (DIW).

Memandangkan implikasi serta perkembangan yang membimbangkan, organisasi serta kerajaan terpaksa memberi tumpuan yang serius terhadap langkah-langkah mempertahankan maklumat serta infrastruktur berkaitan. Usaha DIW bukan sahaja memerlukan fahaman ke atas ancaman IW semasa atau teknik OIW yang digunakan, bahkan ia juga memerlukan fahaman yang mendalam mengenai infrastruktur sistem maklumat sendiri serta mengenal pasti kelemahan-kelemahan yang boleh dieksploitasi. Sehubungan itu, dalam pelaksanaan projek MSC, isu "perundangan siber" perlu dihalusi, agar kewibawaan kerajaan terpelihara.

Pada peringkat awal ini, kesedaran merupakan langkah penting yang perlu diberi tumpuan utama. Memandangkan konsep IW masih baru di Malaysia, usaha giat perlu dilaksanakan segera agar semua agensi kerajaan serta pihak-pihak swasta dan industri IT peka dan sedar mengenai ancaman yang bakal dihadapi. Usaha mengubah mahupun mempengaruhi pemikiran dan seterusnya meyakinkan pihak-pihak yang terbabit ini merupakan cabaran yang pertama. Selain dari masalah penglibatan berbagai agensi, usaha ini memerlukan koordinasi serta kerjasama semua pihak terlibat dan isu ancaman IW tidak seharusnya terhad kepada pihak Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) sahaja.

¹⁶ PC Magazine keluaran bulan Jun 1997.

Pada amnya, aktiviti DIW merangkumi pencegahan dan pengawasan. Langkah-langkah pencegahan dan tindakan pengawasan keselamatan sistem maklumat memerlukan disiplin khususnya semasa menggunakan sistem rangkaian komputer. Ini merangkumi penjagaan kata laluan, memeriksa virus sebelum muat turun atau membuat salinan fail-fail, penggunaan disket yang sah dan juga menentukan komputer tidak terbiar tanpa operatornya. Tapisan keselamatan ke atas operator serta pihak yang menyelenggarakan sistem komputer juga perlu dititikberatkan. Latihan bagi pengguna juga sangat penting, kerana salah satu punca utama kehilangan atau kerosakan data dalam komputer disebabkan oleh penggunaanya tidak mahir. Kita semua perlu lebih prihatin serta sensitif terhadap isu keselamatan maklumat. Sememangnya semua ini merupakan langkah-langkah keselamatan yang asas, tetapi persoalannya adakah ia sentiasa dipatuhi?

Berdasarkan peningkatan penggunaan teknologi '*Commercial Off-The-Shelf*' (COTS) dalam peralatan tentera, masalah menangani isu OIW akan menjadi semakin mencabar dari aspek perolehan peralatan tentera di masa akan datang. Pembuatan peralatan serta sistem berdasarkan COTS ini tidak dapat dielakkan kerana ia merupakan penyelesaian yang paling kos-efektif. Bagaimanapun, langkah-langkah tertentu perlu dirumuskan agar risiko ancaman IW dapat ditangani dengan berkesan. Ini termasuk usaha mengkaji spesifikasi teknikal ke atas perolehan sistem-sistem utama dengan mengambil kira aspek-aspek pertahanan tertentu.

Kita perlu menerima hakikat bahawa tiada sistem maklumat di dunia ini yang boleh dianggap '*fool proof*' atau kebal. Oleh itu polisi serta langkah-langkah keselamatan yang menyeluruh perlu dititikberatkan, terutama sekali terhadap usaha kawalan serta pengawasan yang efektif ke atas infrastruktur sistem maklumat yang digunakan sekarang ataupun yang dirancang. Langkah-langkah kontijensi bagi memulihkan keadaan akibat serangan IW juga perlu fikirkan. Usaha yang dilaksanakan kelak perlu dikaji dari masa ke masa mengikut kesesuaiannya. Sikap negatif serta leka (*complacency*) akan meningkatkan risiko ancaman dan ianya harus dikikis.

KESIMPULAN

Apabila dunia melangkah ke era maklumat, kemajuan pesat di bidang teknologi maklumat seterusnya tidak boleh dielakkan. Negara serta masyarakatnya semakin bergantung kepada maklumat dan infrastruktur berkaitan. Oleh itu, teknologi ini wajar dioptimumkan sebaik mungkin supaya kita tidak ketinggalan dalam menyahut cabaran era baru ini. Perkembangan teknologi tersebut adalah merupakan "pedang bermata dua" di mana aplikasi IT ke arah pembangunan negara adalah satu perkembangan yang positif, namun ia juga merupakan satu kelemahan yang boleh dieksploitasi oleh pihak-pihak tertentu bagi mencapai objektif tersendiri¹⁷.

Ancaman IW terhadap keselamatan negara sentiasa wujud dan tidak harus dinafikan. Kesan ancaman serta serangan IW di masa akan datang adalah serius dan membimbangkan. Penubuhan organisasi IW yang khusus di peringkat tertinggi kerajaan oleh negara-negara maju serta polisi IW yang dirumuskan, jelas menunjukkan penekanan serta tumpuan khusus diberikan terhadap konsep IW. Oleh itu, objektif mereka mempertingkatkan keupayaan di bidang IW, terutama sekali dari aspek '*Offensive Information Warfare*' perlu dipandang berat oleh semua pihak, bukan sahaja agensi kerajaan malah syarikat swasta serta industri terbabit.

Pada masa yang sama, aspek '*Defensive Information Warfare*' juga perlu diberi tumpuan yang sama. Polisi keselamatan perlu dikaji semula agar ia lebih menyeluruh dan mengambil kira risiko ancaman akibat perkembangan semasa. Organisasi serta agensi yang berkenaan perlu mempertingkatkan aspek kebolehpercayaan atau '*reliability*' serta mengenal pasti kelemahan atau '*vulnerabilities*' sistem maklumat serta infrastruktur berkaitan. Walaupun risiko ancaman IW sukar dielakkan, ia seharusnya perlu ditangani berdasarkan pengurusan risiko yang efektif.

Pendekatan yang boleh diambil kelak, perlu melibatkan semua pihak yang berkaitan. Kesedaran terhadap ancaman IW harus dipupuk di antara agensi kerajaan, industri pertahanan, syarikat swasta

17 Berita Harian- Online, 10 Dis 97. "Sahut Cabaran Era Maklumat - PM"

atau pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam menyediakan perkhidmatan yang penting. Kerjasama serta koordinasi semua pihak yang terbabit perlu diutamakan dan ia wajar diterajui oleh peringkat tertinggi seperti Majlis Keselamatan Negara (MKN).

Perancangan pertahanan dalam era maklumat ini akan menjadi semakin mencabar dan kompleks apabila kita melangkah ke alaf baru. Memandangkan masalah kegawatan ekonomi negara sekarang ini di mana sumber (kewangan dan tenaga) yang semakin terhad berbanding peranan yang semakin meningkat serta mencabar, kemajuan IT perlu dioptimumkan. Implikasi dari ancaman IW ini tidak boleh diabaikan, malah ia perlu diperamati

oleh pihak-pihak yang sensitif terhadap isu keselamatan negara. Sehubungan itu, kita perlu bersikap pro-aktif agar langkah-langkah positif boleh diambil bagi menangani isu tersebut. Ia memerlukan komitmen dari pihak-pihak yang terbabit, dan pada peringkat awal ini, kesedaran semua peringkat ATM perlu diutamakan dan tidak dilengah-lengahkan.

Akhir sekali, kertas ini bertujuan untuk memberi penerangan serta peringatan kepada semua masyarakat dalam agensi-agensi kerajaan khususnya ATM bahawa ancaman IW sentiasa wujud dan kesannya adalah serius. Oleh yang demikian, tindakan yang menyeluruh oleh semua peringkat amat penting dan perlu dititikberatkan.

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Lt Mohd Rizal bin Abdul Wahid telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Rejimen Artileri Diraja pada 3 September 2001. Beliau adalah seorang pegawai graduan yang mempunyai kelulusan Diploma Pengurusan Bank pada tahun 1999 dari UiTM. Beliau kini bertugas di Rejimen Ke-7 Artileri Diraja, Kem Batu 3, 28000 Temerloh, Pahang Darul Makmur.

SEJAUH MANAKAH KEBERKESANAN PENERAPAN NILAI-NILAI ISLAM DALAM ANGKATAN TENTERA MALAYSIA

Oleh : Lt Mashitah bte Mukhtar

PENGENALAN

Penerapan nilai-nilai Islam dalam pentadbiran negara merupakan dasar kerajaan yang telah diperkenalkan sejak beberapa tahun yang lalu. Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) sebagai sebuah agensi kerajaan telah menyahut seruan yang amat murni ini. Beberapa langkah telah diambil sejajar dengan hasrat kerajaan untuk memastikan setiap agen pentadbirannya lebih berkesan, cekap, bersih dan berwibawa. Kepimpinan di setiap peringkat perlu menyedari serta menghayati nilai-nilai murni dan menjauhi sifat-sifat negatif bagi memastikan aspek pertahanan dan kesejahteraan dapat dikekalkan.

Salah satu daripada perintah ulung bekas Panglima Tentera Darat (PTD) dan juga bekas Panglima Angkatan Tentera (PAT) Jeneral Tan Sri Dato' Sri Mohd Zahidi bin Haji Zainuddin ialah membina keperibadian individu yang sempurna dan unggul berasaskan nilai-nilai murni sejagat. Terdapat sembilan cabaran utama wawasan 2020 yang mesti dipenuhi atau ditempuhi agar segala hasrat dan cita-cita tersebut tercapai. Salah satu ciri terpenting itu ialah pembinaan sahsiah diri setiap warga negara khususnya negara Muslim.

TUJUAN

Kertas kerja ini di buat bertujuan untuk mengetahui sejauh manakah kejayaan dan keberkesanan penerapan nilai-nilai Islam dalam ATM. Terdapat banyak perubahan dan kejayaan yang telah berlaku dan akan dibuat bagi memastikan pentadbiran yang dilakukan berlandaskan pada lunas-lunas Islam. Usaha ini dibuat untuk melahirkan anggota tentera yang berilmu, berakhlak mulia dan bertanggungjawab dalam pentadbiran yang akan dilakukan.

Untuk mengetahui sejauh manakah kejayaan penerapan nilai-nilai Islam ini, terdapat pelbagai perkara yang harus diambil kira. Kertas kerja ini dibuat bagi mengupas bagaimanakah cara yang dilakukan, masalah yang dihadapi, penerimaan bagi setiap peringkat, ciri-ciri dan cara pelaksanaan yang dilakukan.

LATAR BELAKANG

Setelah Malaysia mencapai kemerdekaan, ATM telah mengalami perubahan-perubahan tertentu. Penukaran ini, sebenarnya telah menukar iklim ATM yang berorientasikan British dan mula diubah suai dengan persekitaran tempatan dan Islam, di samping mengekalkan elemen-elemen positif yang diwarisi dari Angkatan Tentera British.

Pihak penjajah Inggeris menyedari bahawa semangat keagamaan merupakan satu kuasa atau kekuatan yang boleh meruntuhkan sistem penjajah. Manakala agama Islam merupakan agama perjuangan bangsa Melayu. Walaupun Inggeris tidak merumuskan peranan agama di dalam perkhidmatan tentera, namun begitu guru-guru agama tentera yang dilantik dari masa ke semasa giat mengajar dan membimbing anggota tentera. Banyak perkara pentadbiran dan program yang telah dikemukakan dan telah mendapat perhatian.

Namun terdapat banyak perubahan yang telah dilakukan dan antaranya penubuhan Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (KAGAT) yang bertujuan untuk memperkembangkan lagi organisasi perkhidmatan agama dalam pentadbiran ketenteraan. Akhir-akhir ini, semangat kesedaran Islam telah menjadi satu fenomena sejagat. Arus kebangkitan ini juga dirasai

di dalam institusi ketenteraan .

Pada 1 Mac 2001 yang lepas genaplah Tentera Darat (TD) menjangkau usia 68 tahun. Dalam tempoh masa dan usia tersebut TD telah mengalami pelbagai perubahan dan mampu mencapai tahap profesionalisme yang tinggi. Dalam konteks organisasi pula khususnya TD, menganalisis kembali secara kritikal, jujur dan ikhlas berdasarkan ciri-ciri Islam dan kebenaran perlu dilaksanakan bagi terus memastikan organisasi dan barisan kepimpinan dapat menjalankan tugas dan matlamat yang di redai oleh Allah.

OBJEKTIF

Sebenarnya proses pembangunan rohani dan mental jauh lebih sukar di tangani berbanding aspek kemahiran fizikal dan taktikal. Memupuk pembangunan rohani sememangnya memerlukan usaha jitu daripada pelbagai peringkat berpandukan satu program dan pengajian latihan yang terarah dan tersusun.

Namun demikian suntikan elemen kerohanian memerlukan satu pendekatan agama yang benar-benar berkesan bagi menggarap minda dan hati murni untuk melahirkan warga ATM yang berakidah, berakhlak dan bersemangat waja. Anggota yang tahu dan sedar arah tuju perjuangan hidup yang berpaksikan nilai-nilai murni keislaman bagi mencapai keredaan Ilahi akan berjaya.

Antara objektif yang menjadi matlamat bagi memastikan Dasar Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam dan sekali gus menjayakan pembangunan ATM ialah:

- Menerapkan nilai-nilai Islam yang unggul dan berasaskan kepada ajaran Islam dalam semua peringkat pentadbiran ATM.
- Mewujudkan suasana masyarakat tentera yang cenderung kepada nilai-nilai yang baik dan bersih serta bersikap positif di dalam menerima apa jua pandangan dan teguran yang menjurus kepada kebaikan dan kemurnian sejagat.
- Melahirkan anggota tentera yang berdisiplin, amanah, terlatih dan beriman kepada Allah s.w.t.

- Menghasilkan semangat daya tahan dan daya juang yang berterusan serta semangat bekerja dan berusaha semata-mata untuk menunaikan amanah masyarakat, negara dan agama.

- Melahirkan angkatan yang mempunyai anggota-anggota yang bersepadu (kesatuan ketahanan fizikal dan rohaniah) sehingga dapat melaksanakan tugas dengan sempurna dalam apa jua keadaan.

- Mengemaskinikan organisasi dan pentadbiran agama di dalam ATM.

Berdasarkan objektif yang telah digariskan ternyata penerapan nilai-nilai Islam penting dalam setiap anggota dan sekali gus kepada ATM. Matlamat keseluruhan dasar ini adalah untuk pembangunan ATM yang juga merupakan tunggak kekuatan negara dan ketahanan ummah seluruhnya.

FAKTOR KEJAYAAN YANG ASAS DAN TAHAP PENCAPAIAN

Asas-Asas Kejayaan Penerapan Nilai- Nilai Islam

Dalam usaha untuk menjamin matlamat yang amat murni dalam satu masa yang amat singkat adalah sesuatu yang amat sukar. Oleh yang demikian setiap individu perlu memahami Islam dengan sepenuhnya. Ini termasuklah:

- Menginsafi diri sebagai hamba Allah, yang semestinya mensyukuri nikmat dan rahmat. Penyertaan diri dalam memperjuangkan kedaulatan negara dan kesucian Islam merupakan tanda bersyukur kita kepada Allah.
- Memahami tasawwur Islam semurninya dan cuba menghayatinya. Setiap peringkat anggota tentera perlu memahami gambaran secara menyeluruh dan tidak hanya pada aspek yang kecil-kecil sahaja. Mereka juga haruslah mendalami bidang- bidang ekonomi, politik, ketenteraan, sosial dan sebagainya.

Kefahaman terhadap budaya setempat, masyarakat juga adalah perlu. Ini kerana Allah telah menjadikan setiap benda di atas muka bumi ini

mempunyai corak kehidupan tersendiri ini seharusnya diambil kira bagi memastikan pendekatan yang diambil adalah bersesuaian dan berkesan.

Dalam konteks kehidupan sekarang ini, penguasaan ilmu sangat penting terutama ilmu-ilmu yang berkaitan dengan Islam yang merupakan nadi kepada segala ilmu yang dipelajari bagi menentukan kejayaan penerapan nilai-nilai tersebut. Satu aspek yang penting setiap umat Islam khususnya anggota tentera iaitu aspek kemantapan iman dan takwa sebagai asas perjuangan. Oleh yang demikian keimanan yang kental di dalam diri pejuang akan menghasilkan kejayaan dan kecemerlangan.

Dasar Pembinaan Mental Dan Kerohanian Islam

Untuk memastikan dan menjayakan dasar-dasar penerapan nilai-nilai Islam ini, satu dasar yang mengarah satu pembentukan generasi tentera yang mempunyai nilai kerohanian yang mantap telah diusahakan. Dasar Pembinaan Mental dan Kerohanian Islam dalam ATM telah diluluskan oleh Majlis Angkatan Tentera (MAT) yang mempunyai matlamat dalam membina ketahanan mental dan ketahanan rohaniah.

Pembinaan ketahanan mental adalah melalui pengisian ilmu pengetahuan yang merangkumi ilmu-ilmu fardu ain dan fardu kifayah. Pembinaan ketahanan rohaniah pula adalah matlamat akhir dasar ini iaitu untuk melahirkan anggota yang mempunyai ciri-ciri sebagai Muslim, mukmin dan muhsin. Bagi membina peribadi anggota tentera sebagai peribadi Muslim, mukmin dan muhsin perlu mempunyai persediaan.

Pembentukan mental adalah bertujuan untuk membentuk, memelihara serta memantapkan pemikiran anggota-anggota tentera Malaysia supaya selari dengan ajaran-ajaran Islam. Ini adalah bertujuan sebagai pembentukan diri seorang insan yang sempurna dan dapat melaksanakan tugasnya dengan baik. Pembinaan rohani pula adalah untuk pembinaan jiwa seseorang agar dapat mempertingkatkan keimanan, moral, budi pekerti yang luhur dengan memperkuatkan keyakinan beragama melalui penghayatan yang sempurna.

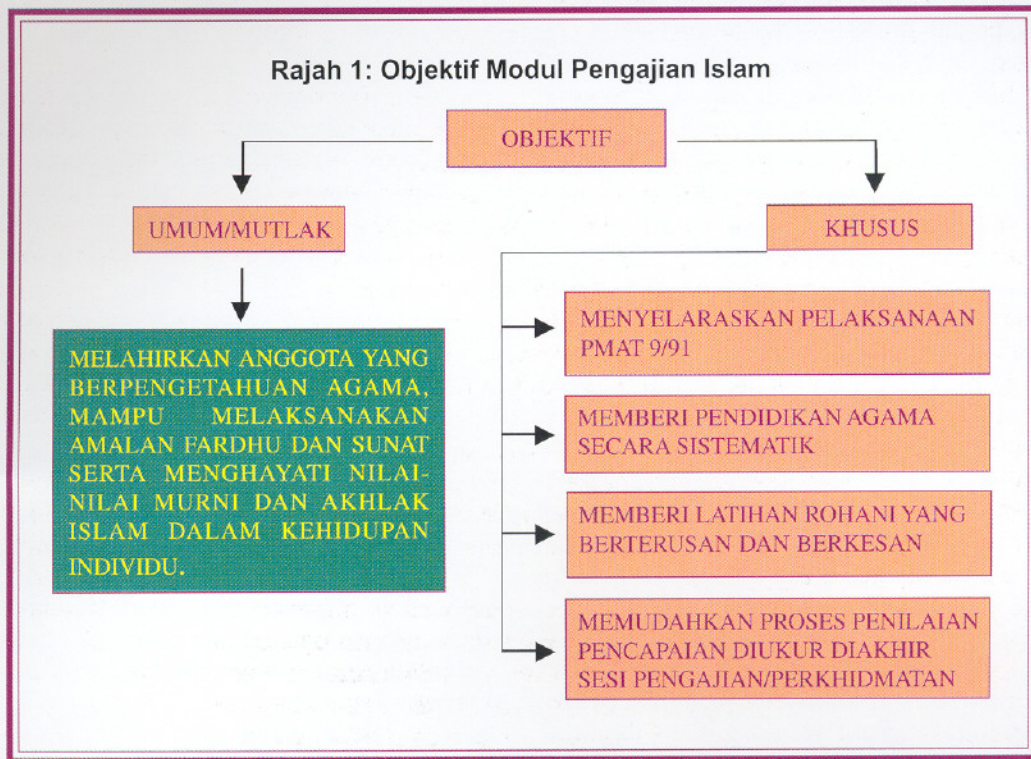
Pendekatan latihan kerohanian secara bersistem adalah dengan objektif-objektif seperti berikut:

- Membentuk fahaman akidah yang sihat berlandaskan hakikat ketuhanan yang sebenar.
- Menolak fahaman-fahaman yang tidak bertuhan, fahaman syirik dan fahaman yang bertentangan dengan 'fikrah Islamiah' sebenar.
- Memberi bimbingan dan latihan rohani kepada anggota-anggota tentera dalam melaksanakan ibadah harian bagi mendekatkan diri kepada Allah.
- Membentuk satu kekuatan diri dan jiwa anggota dalam mengawal diri dari godaan nafsu dan syaitan serta berusaha membersihkan diri dari segala bentuk dosa dan maksiat.
- Menimbulkan minat yang mendalam di kalangan anggota untuk membaca Al-Quran, memperbaiki mutu bacaan dan seterusnya memahami dan menghayati isi kandungan Al-Quran.
- Membangkitkan semangat perjuangan suci berlandaskan Al-Quran dan Sunnah serta berlatar belakangkan sejarah perjuangan Rasulullah serta para sahabat dan pejuang-pejuang Islam silam.

Program-program yang akan dilaksanakan menerusi dasar pembinaan mental dan kerohanian Islam ini memberikan penekanan kepada kematangan akidah, pegangan kepada ajaran agama yang mantap iaitu diterjemahkan dalam keluhuran budi (etika) yang sekali gus akan mengubah sistem nilai dalam organisasi.

Bagi memastikan program-program yang dirancang untuk pembinaan rohani ini berjaya, setiap anggota mesti mendapat latihan secara formal dalam aspek-aspek kerohanian sebanyak 857 jam dalam tempoh setahun dalam pelbagai aktiviti. Antara aktiviti tersebut adalah kelas-kelas agama, ibadah, sambutan hari kebesaran Islam, pengajian Al-Quran dan program-program pendidikan. Perkara ini terkandung dalam perintah Majlis Angkatan Tentera (PMAT) bilangan 9/91. Objektif pengajian

Islam dan kandungan modul ilmu-ilmu Islam seperti di **Rajah 1** dan **Rajah 2**.



Proses Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam Dalam Pengurusan Ketenteraan

Pengurusan yang diamalkan sekarang sekurang-kurangnya mempunyai tiga aspek iaitu falsafah, objektif dan amalan. Umumnya bolehlah dikatakan pengurusan ketiga-tiga aspek ini masih berorientasikan kepada prinsip-prinsip dan amalan Barat.

Dari aspek-aspek yang disebutkan di atas, falsafah dan objektif adalah dua aspek yang sangat penting diterapkan dengan nilai-nilai Islam. Apa yang dapat dikupaskan ialah:

- Sekiranya falsafah dan objektif pengurusan berteraskan nilai-nilai Islam, maka sudah tentulah amalan-amalan pengurusan juga dapat dilaksanakan mengikut lunas-lunas Islam.
- Falsafah dan objektif adalah berkait rapat dengan pemikiran, pegangan, kepercayaan dan keyakinan. Maka setiap apa yang dilakukan mestilah logik dan berteraskan nilai-nilai Islam.

- Penerapan nilai-nilai Islam itu sendiri adalah satu perkara yang berkaitan dengan iman, takwa, pegangan, kepercayaan, pemikiran dan lain-lain. Oleh itu proses penerapan nilai-nilai Islam tadi ke dalam pengurusan ketenteraan adalah serupa dengan proses menghayati falsafah dan objektif. Amalan dalam ketenteraan dapat dilihat dengan jelas sama ada secocok dengan nilai Islam atau tidak.

Dari segi perancangan dan pelaksanaan penerapan nilai-nilai Islam di dalam pengurusan tentera, banyak perkara yang perlu diambil tindakan. Dengan adanya amalan pengurusan dan masyarakat Islam yang wujud sekarang ini, proses penerapan nilai-nilai Islam harus dirancang dalam dua masa iaitu jangka masa pendek dan panjang. Rancangan jangka pendek bertujuan menerapkan bagi mereka yang benar-benar bersedia. Rancangan jangka pendek yang ingin dilaksanakan harus meliputi pengukuhan akidah, penyebaran ilmu yang relevan dan pengetahuan ilmu-ilmu.

Bagi menentukan supaya rancangan jangka pendek beroleh kejayaan, sistem inisiatif, motivasi, ganjaran atau pun menggubal peraturan yang sesuai bagi menentukan prinsip-prinsip Islam patut diwujudkan. Rancangan jangka pendek juga boleh dimuatkan dengan kursus-kursus pendek selama

beberapa hari atau minggu. Antaranya ialah:

- Kursus fardu ain di peringkat unit, Briged dan Divisyen.
- Kursus-kursus saudara kita, sama ada anjuran KAGAT atau anjuran bersama dengan agensi-agensi agama luar.
- Kelas-kelas pengajian di masjid/surau ATM.
- Mengeluarkan risalah-risalah agama bagi memenuhi keperluan fardu ain itu, seperti Panduan Sembahyang dan Doa, Fadilat Ramadhan dan Sembahyang Tarawih.
- Kajian/penyelidikan tahap pencapaian melalui soal jawab dan temu duga.

Selain dari kursus demikian kesedaran dan keazaman untuk melaksanakan segala rancangan ini tidaklah terhad kepada golongan atasan sahaja. Sukatan pelajaran yang ada harus dikaji untuk menentukan supaya masa yang cukup diberi bagi program peningkatan dan penghayatan nilai-nilai Islam. Program lain juga boleh diatur untuk anggota-anggota yang lain. Penerapan nilai-nilai Islam seperti di **Rajah 3**.

Rajah 3: Program Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam

Anggota		Tahun Perkhidmatan	Program	
Pegawai	Lain-lain Pangkat			
Lt Muda	LKpl	1	} Fardu Ain dan Islah Diri	
		2		
		3		
Lt - Kapten		Kpl	4	} Penghayatan
			5	
Kpl	6		} Baiki keluarga dan kepimpinan kumpulan	
	7			
	8		} Bersara pilihan	
	9			
	10			

KONSEP ASAS KEPIMPINAN ISLAM

Ke Arah Tentera Yang Beragama

Nadwah Kefahaman Islam Pegawai-Pegawai Kanan ATM adalah salah satu contoh dan cara iaitu bagaimana maklumat terkini mengenai Islam dapat meningkatkan tahap kesedaran bagi membentuk keperibadian yang murni dan luhur. Memang menjadi hasrat ATM supaya kesemua pegawai-pegawai kanan dan setiap anggota tentera ketiga-tiga perkhidmatan mempunyai kefahaman dalam Islam.

Salah satu contoh yang paling dekat sekali ialah solat. Ini kerana solat adalah latihan ketakwaan dan keikhlasan dalam mewujudkan disiplin. Jika tentera berlatih perang tanpa nilai-nilai solat, sudah tentu mereka tidak mungkin mencapai sebarang kejayaan. Adalah menjadi fungsi solat untuk melatih individu berdisiplin sama ada fizikal dan rohaniah dalam menghadapi pelbagai cabaran pada masa aman dan perang. Oleh kerana itu, kewajipan solat tetap akan berlaku walaupun dalam suasana peperangan.

Nilai-nilai kerohanian mempunyai hubungan yang amat rapat dengan pembinaan ketahanan sesebuah negara. Mengabaikan aspek kerohanian bererti terabainya satu faktor kekuatan dan ketahanan tentera dan umat. Islam sebagai agama yang mulia dan juga mahukan umatnya menjadi umat contoh (ummatan wasata) iaitu umat yang ada keseimbangan bagi memastikan kejayaan untuk pertahanan diri di dunia dan akhirat.

Pembangunan ke arah kemajuan tidak akan tercapai jika tidak mempunyai barisan tentera yang bersemangat juang yang tinggi demi mempertahankan kedaulatan negara dari ancaman musuh agama dan negara.

Ciri-Ciri Kepimpinan Secara Islam

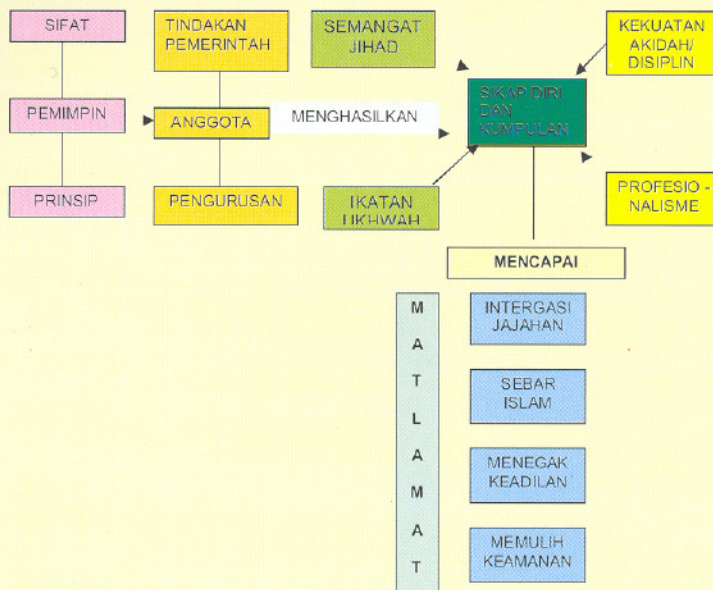
Pemimpin yang sempurna adalah pemimpin yang beriman, bertakwa dan dapat menerapkan nilai-nilai keislaman kepada pentadbiran, organisasi dan setiap anggota. Pemimpin yang berjaya tidak hanya mementingkan diri sendiri, malah sanggup berkorban dan mempertahankan institusi atau organisasi dalam apa jua ancaman luaran dan dalaman. Sesebuah negara

yang ingin membentuk satu kuasa tentera yang mampu mempertahankan negara, bangsa dan agama perlulah dititikberatkan nilai-nilai yang tinggi di dalam aspek kepimpinan yang berteraskan nilai-nilai kepimpinan Islam.

Setiap kepimpinan mestilah mempunyai ciri-ciri berikut dalam diri agar dapat mengatur langkah ke arah pemimpin yang sempurna. Antaranya ialah:

- Keadilan - Bersikap adil di dalam segala tanggungjawab.
- Keilmuan - Mempunyai ilmu pengetahuan Islam dan ketenteraan.
- Kesempurnaan Pancaindera - Mempunyai pancaindera yang sempurna.
- Kesihatan Tubuh Badan - Tidak cacat yang boleh menghalang pergerakan dan ketangkasan bertindak.
- Berpandangan Jauh - Mempunyai fikiran yang mantap dan berpandangan jauh.
- Keberanian - Berani menghadapi musuh dan tidak gentar menghadapi sebarang kemungkinan.
- Sabar dan Berpendirian Teguh - Sabar dan teguh menghadapi sebarang percubaan dan tentangan musuh.
- Kebersihan Jiwa dan Rohani - Asas utama yang boleh menghasilkan sesuatu kejayaan.
- Saling Kasih Mengasihi - Dapat melahirkan semangat silaturahmi.
- Kemahuan yang kuat - Seorang pemimpin mesti mempunyai sifat kemahuan yang kuat di dalam menjalankan tugas.
- Keikhlasan - Semangat keikhlasan adalah kemuncak ke arah menjadikan segala tugas yang dilaksanakan sebagai ibadah kepada Allah s.w.t.

Tugas utama pemimpin ialah menstrukturkan suasana dan memberi penerangan tentang sesuatu secara terang dan jelas berkaitan situasi yang sedang dan bakal ditempuhi oleh setiap anggota.

Rajah 4: Program Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam

Rata-rata pemimpin selalu mengharapkan orang lain menghormatinya, oleh itu dalam masa yang sama ia juga harus menghormati di atas penghormatan yang diberikan oleh orang bawahan. Dengan cara ini barulah wujud satu situasi bekerja yang harmoni dan berkasih sayang. Sistem peribadi pemimpin seperti di **Rajah 4**.

Prinsip-Prinsip Akhlak Dalam Islam

Akhlak, moral dan etika merupakan kata-kata yang menunjukkan tingkah laku dan perbuatan seseorang yang terdedah kepada persekitaran sepanjang hayatnya. Sesungguhnya Islam telah

menetapkan nilai-nilai akhlak yang menjadi kayu pengukur dan penentu sama ada baik ataupun yang tidak baik. Prinsip-prinsip akhlak dalam Islam:

Menurut Islam, pemimpin harus menjadi teladan kepada yang dipimpin. Teladan yang ditunjukkan bukan sahaja tentang gaya, kaedah dan juga komunikasi tetapi juga tentang akhlak dan amal ibadah. Seseorang yang baik dalam komunikasi tetapi kekurangan dalam bidang akhlak dan amal ibadah belum lagi boleh dianggap sebagai pemimpin yang baik.

Penampilan sebagai seorang pemimpin yang berwibawa sebenarnya tidak hanya ditunjukkan melalui imej menakutkan atau egoistik, tetapi seorang pemimpin yang dihormati atau disegani adalah pemimpin yang mempunyai ciri-ciri diajar oleh Islam. Setiap pemimpin mesti 'berjiwa rakyat' di samping tidak mengabaikan prinsip ketegasan dalam melaksanakan tugasnya. Tidak akan rugi jika seseorang pemimpin itu sentiasa bersikap liberal, toleransi dan rasional asalkan ia dilakukan dengan penuh hikmat dan bijaksana. Apa yang penting ia mesti menunjukkan contoh teladan yang baik dalam semua perkara sehingga menjadi ikutan. Seseorang pemimpin yang mempunyai latar belakang pengetahuan dan pengalaman yang luas akan jua dianggap kecewa jika ia tidak dapat menggembelng anggotanya dan semua sumber- sumber bagi mencapai matlamat yang ditetapkan.

- Sesungguhnya akhlak itu telah pun jelas diterangkan oleh Allah dalam Al-Quran, yang mana baik dan buruk. Perkara yang baik adalah untuk dilaksanakan dan yang jahat adalah untuk dijauhkan. Ini bermaksud dalam konteks amalan, perbuatan, adat resam ataupun apa yang kita lakukan sekiranya baik menurut nilai-nilai Islam maka ia boleh diamalkan dan dikekalkan.
- Nilai akhlak dalam Islam adalah sesuatu yang tetap. Ia tidak boleh berubah mengikut perubahan zaman dan tempat.
- Akhlak Islam mempunyai nilai-nilai sejagat. Pelaksanaannya adalah terbuka untuk seluruh umat manusia, seluruh tempat dan semua keadaan. Ia juga tidak dibatasi oleh batas-batas masa, daerah, kawasan dan sebagainya.
- Segala tingkah laku perbuatan manusia yang dilakukan selaras dengan Islam mempunyai nilai kemuliaan yang akan diberi ganjaran di akhirat kelak oleh Allah s.w.t.

Kesimpulannya akhlak merupakan nilai yang amat penting dan ia merupakan pendukung dalam menegakkan syariat Islam keseluruhannya.

PROGRAM DAN AKTIVITI SUSULAN

Kejayaan Islam telah berkembang di dalam pembentukan masyarakat yang berdisiplin dan berakhlak tinggi yang dianjurkan oleh Al-Quran dan hadis. Sesebuah negara yang ingin membentuk satu kuasa tentera yang mampu mempertahankan negara, bangsa dan agama perlulah menitik beratkan nilai-nilai yang tinggi dalam aspek latihan kepimpinan dan pentadbiran.

Dalam pembinaan kefahaman dan keilmuan Islam, Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera telah menyusun program-program yang dilaksanakan di semua peringkat antaranya:

- Kuliah-kuliah Agama.
- Khemah Ibadat.
- Kursus-kursus Kefahaman Islam.
- Usrah-usrah.
- Program Qiamullail.
- Kolokium Kefahaman Islam.
- Kursus Kekeluargaan.
- Sambutan Hari Kebesaran Islam.

Dengan adanya program seperti ini di harapkan dapat melahirkan anggota tentera yang berjasa bukan saja di sepanjang kerjayanya sebagai perajurit benteng negara tetapi penglibatan mereka di dalam aktiviti keagamaan.

PENUTUP

Bagi membina peribadi anggota tentera sebagai Muslim, mukmin dan muhsin perlu mempunyai persediaan. Oleh yang demikian pembinaan ini sudah tentu merujuk kepada tiga elemen yang penting iaitu intelektual akal, rohani dan jasmani yang baik.

Kepimpinan juga merupakan asas yang penting dalam menerajui sesebuah organisasi ataupun masyarakat. Dalam ATM khususnya, setiap pemimpin yang beragama Islam perlu menghayati dan menerapkan nilai-nilai keislaman dalam diri untuk menjadi pemimpin yang berkesan serta dapat mentadbir sesebuah organisasi dan masyarakat dengan baik.

Dengan memandang jauh ke hadapan, para pemimpin kita telah mengorak langkah membawa anggota tentera ke arah nilai-nilai keagamaan dan disemaikan dengan nilai-nilai keislaman dalam diri masing-masing. Ini dapat mengembalikan semangat dan sinar keislaman dan seterusnya memainkan peranan yang penting dalam mendidik anggota tentera dari segi agama sekali gus mempertingkatkan disiplin dan moral para anggota tentera.

Nilai-nilai Islam hendaklah dijadikan nilai paksi, bukan nilai pinggir atau serpihan yang sekadar berperanan pada keadaan dan tempat tertentu sahaja tetapi yang menentukan arah dan matlamat perjuangan itu sendiri.

Tahun 2001 memungkinan satu zaman kegemilangan TD. Sanjungan yang diberikan oleh masyarakat pastinya akan berterusan lagi. ATM khususnya menuju ke arah pembangunan yang pesat dan saintifik dengan usaha-usaha yang sedang dijalankan sekarang di samping mengorak langkah dan membawa tentera ke arah nilai-nilai keagamaan.

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Lt Mashitah bte Mukhtar telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Kor Perkhidmatan DiRaja pada 10 Feb 2001. Beliau amat meminati bidang penulisan dan pernah menyertai beberapa pertandingan menulis esei peringkat TD. Beliau juga pernah menjawat beberapa jawatan di pasukan dan kini beliau berkhidmat di PULMAT sebagai Ajutan.

SIERRA LEONE AN ANALYSIS OF THE WAR

— By : Lt Kol Amiruddin bin Ismail —

INTRODUCTION

The modern state of Sierra Leone, like its neighbouring Liberia, was the creation of the slave trade and its abolition. Liberia, the 'Land of Liberty', and Freetown, the 'City of the Free' were destinations for returning slaves coming home from the Americas. It was impractical to return each slave to their original family homes, so these settlements were set up on the Atlantic coast, and the communities that developed there were at the time considered the most modern and advanced in the region.

Even today, Freetown still has the flavour of that society - an astonishing number of lawyers and journalists, a social life based around the city's many churches. But that society was, and still is, very detached from the countryside. Sierra Leone's second mixed blessing, its mineral wealth, allowed the elite to ignore the countryside with relative impunity. The mining of diamond, and the rare metal, rutile, were largely in the hands of foreigners, but provided enough income for the country to get by without making any serious attempt at broader based development. Pre-war statistics for real social indicators like literacy and maternal and child mortality were shamefully poor. With a small pool of talent to draw on, the people running Sierra Leone were uninspiring, the army was mediocre and the economy lacklustre. But Sierra Leone could survive as a quiet backwater as long as none of these institutions were put to the test.

Onset Of Crisis

But in 1990 the test came - in the form of civil war in neighbouring Liberia. In early 1991, one of the Liberian warlords, Charles Taylor, opened a second front by starting a rebellion in Sierra Leone. At the head of it, he put Foday Sankoh. The

Revolutionary Front (RUF) was born, and the civil war began. The rebellion soon took on a life of its own. Many countries in the region have failed their youth, but Sierra Leone had failed them worse than most. With little education and no prospects, youngsters flocked to join the RUF. The war has best been characterized as a revolt of the young against the old, the poor against the rich, and the country against the town. Apart from Sankoh's vague socialist idealism, the rebellion had no agenda, no ideology. Yet, for thousands of teenagers, joining the rebels was a sensible career choice. The chance to get out of their village, carry a gun, eat meat and shoot grown-ups with infinitely preferable to scratching a subsistence living in the bush, with no prospect of anything better in the future. In this, there was little difference between the young recruits of the RUF and those of the Sierra Leone's national army. The army rapidly disintegrated with many of the soldiers joining the rebellion of becoming "sobels" - soldier by day and rebels by night.

While the rank and file fought out of frustration, the leadership fought for power- for the diamonds. It is no accident that the fiercest fighting has been in the diamond mining areas near the Liberian border, where the RUF has been devoting as much energy to digging as to fighting.

Roots Causes of the War

The conflict began in complex circumstances that involved both internal and external pressures. Rebels emerged amid bitterness over years of misrule by what they saw as a corrupt elite, which took over following the end of British rule in 1961. Poor rural people increasingly resented the richer ruling class of Freetown while battle to control the wealth of the

diamond of the diamond mines further fanned the flamed of conflict.

Corruption, one of the causes of the war, is still stronger than law in the country. However brutal the RUF became, its appeal for justice for the urban and rural poor struck a chord among thousands of half-literate, unemployable young people. Junior army officers and young soldiers who fought against the rebel found themselves to be much like their adversaries. Their common enemy was the Freetown elite – a mix of Sierra Leonean politico-entrepreneurs and bureaucrats, Lebanese businessmen and other foreigners. To the rebels, Freetown was the end of a pipe sucking out the wealth of this well-endowed country and sending it overseas, leaving millions living in Iron Age conditions. The tradition of people seeking political office to line their own pockets and that of their family, rather than to improve the life of their country, is still widespread and endangers the future. This tradition of corruption must be brought to an end.

Vengeance of the Youths

The weakness of the Sierra Leone state in the border region was largely a self-inflicted wound, reflecting economic mismanagement in the 1970s and 1980s and earlier political miscalculation. Also considered were the plight of the young people working in diamond mining on the border, trapped by economic recession, corruption and lack of educational opportunity. Youth culture in Sierra Leone reflects some of these dilemmas of state recession. This is seen especially in the interpretations of the Rambo film *First Blood*, viewed locally as a charter for self-empowerment under conditions of patrimonial decline. The rebels have tried to build on this legacy.

The point that strikes home about Rambo is social exclusion. Ejected from town by the corrupt forces of law and order, with only his wits for protection, Rambo is on his own in the forest. The result of social exclusion is unrestrained violence. That violence is cathartic, since it serves to wake up society at large to the neglected cleverness of youth. Perhaps the rebels then added to the unresolved conclusion of *First Blood* a final scene of their own devising, in which they hoped their one-time trainers might own up to the damaging consequences of abandoning their half-educated charges in the bush, while the sons and daughters of the elite were being

educated overseas. It also serves to remind the elders not to neglect the energy and cunning of the young.

The Excluded Intellectuals

Events during 1995 confirmed that the RUF had survived as a single movement, and remained at the heart of the turmoil in Sierra Leone, whatever other opportunist side -shows might have grown up around it. Although the spread of violence depends on factors that are independent of the wishes of insurgent activities it makes a logical starting point to consider the ambitions of the leadership.

The RUF when it first appeared was a small group of exiles, with a common experience of being driven to the margins of Sierra Leonean society. Living as exiles in Liberia when the civil war started, several preferred to accept the chance to fight their way back home than remain in Liberia as refugees. Some of these newer recruits share the same background- social exclusion for political protest and student activism. Some RUF recruits worked as rural teachers prior to the rebellion. Some graduates enter teaching only for lack of other preferment and see a rural secondary school as a punishment posting. Other recruits were rusticated student protesters or workers living on, unemployed, in an environment of the institutions from which they had been sacked. Once rescued, activists seemingly plan revenge against the institution that has shamed them.

Why the Rebellion Expands

The RUF has expanded through capturing the kind of young people it considers potential recruits to its cause. There is a calculated judgment that dislocated youths in mining-wrecked countryside will come to see their will. But how is this loyalty induced?

In the short term, fear must be a factor – especially fear of what government forces will do to any young person suspected of association with the movement, if re-captured. The summary execution of rebel suspects has served as a powerful aid to the RUF retention of its captive youngsters. But the rebels have more positive inducements to loyalty as well. Some are straightforwardly material. It is also important to realize that the rebels consider their bush camps an alternative to the failed schooling

found in the wider society. State recession means dysfunctional schooling. Teacher's salaries, pittances at best, were paid late or never at all.

For many seized youngster in the diamond districts functional schooling had broken down long before the RUF arrived. The rebellion was a chance to resume their education. Many captive children adapt quickly, and exult in newfound skills, and the chance, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to show what they can do.

Mention should also be made of the role of fear-inhibiting drugs in getting under-armed and inexperienced captive youngsters to fight. Insurgents seem to have made widespread use of crack cocaine, and possibly other substance for what they believed to be their confidence-boosting properties.

The Analysis

Much still had to be inferred about the RUF, its background, internal organization and motivation. My opportunity while serving as a military observer in Sierra Leone to interview a larger cross-section of young people with direct experience of fighting, including ex-combatant, allows a new sharpening of focus.

The RUF must be understood against a background of region-wide dilemmas concerning social exclusion of the young. That the increasing resort to violence stems from past corrupt patrimonial manipulation of educational and employment opportunities. It is also puzzling by the alliance that emerged between former enemies after the coup of 25 May 1997. It will be less puzzling if we tried to understand the violence as a manifestation of a wider social movement of marginalized youth. The rank and file combatants from all three main factions – the RUF, the NPRC-enlarged army and the Kamajor militia - show that it hardly matters to which faction a combatant belongs: all tend to share membership in an excluded and educationally-disadvantaged youth underclass. Young combatant are clear about the specific circumstantial; reasons they fight against each other. But they are even clearer about what they are fighting for – namely, education and jobs.

THE DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION (DDR) PROGRAM

Many feel more stressed in post-conflict Sierra Leone than during the war as part of the fighting forces. Many youths formerly with the RUF especially, feel extremely angry and call the DDR programs 'totally inadequate.' They believe they have been 'lied to' and threaten a return to fighting as the result of 'promises not being kept.' In addition to undermining the peace process, the gaps in the DDR program are also contributing to further protection problems. Many children, adolescents and women left behind by the DDR face a range of new, serious problems, including: an inability to provide for the children they bore while in captivity with armed groups; the experience of strong negative stigmatization within their communities and families; migration to urban areas in search of work; becoming homeless 'street kids;' using drugs and committing crimes; and becoming involved in commercial sex work.

Gaps in the DDR

Despite their distinct experiences within the fighting forces, no comprehensive programs existed to help women make considered decisions about their 'AK-47 marriages.' Apart from a handful of micro-credit schemes targeted at women serving with the fighting forces, no comprehensive approach or programs existed to support them. They were offered little additional protection should they opt out of, or manage to escape, these circumstances. It made their reintegration, often with small children to care for, even more difficult, as many were shunned as 'rebels.' Since rape is often a taboo subject in Sierra Leone, failure to confront the issue perpetuates a culture of silence that exacerbates an already difficult recovery from these crimes.

Even when functioning well, DDR programs are not enough to ensure the reintegration of former combatants in an environment of widespread devastation and poverty. In this environment, and as infrastructure redevelopment takes significant time, communities are not fully prepared to take in those returning from the fighting forces. As a result,

young former combatants previously involved with the fighting forces feel pressure to return home with something to offer. Many also simply need to be occupied, to ease the difficult transitions from positions of responsibility within the 'bush hierarchy' of fighting forces to no position in particular in civilian life. In this context, young people and members of their communities voiced several concerns. For example, the skills training offered through DDR are often not immediately useful to the young people. Local economies are not up and running, proper tools to accomplish their tasks are not available, and in many cases, family reunification has been prioritised over completion of their studies.

The majority of young people surveyed in Sierra Leone rank lack of education opportunities as their highest concern; thus interrupting their skills training is particularly troubling to many of them. They then have less to show upon return home, and lose hope that they are finally on a path of renewal. Combined with the shame often casts upon them by civilian communities, many wonder whether leaving the fighting force has actually been worth it.

The Way Forward: Restoring Dignity

Ten years of ruthless, senseless war stole from this generation the young and active participants of Sierra Leone. Active, they were the springboards of a various activities in and out of the country. The horrific war negatively re-oriented the minds of these youths. Some exploited this venture purely to amass ill-gotten wealth. Others were forcefully conscripted into the movement.

Youth's hope has been raised in the past. At the same time, promises broken. The youths had remained shrouded in the dark. What lies ahead for them? Statement made by officials are nothing but ambiguous and can be termed as farfetched materialism. The power of youth is the spirit of freedom. One major thing that stands so prominently with the youth group all over is the fight for power. With the influx of NGO's and the support they render for community development, in kind or cash, there is always chaos. The other major problem is the conflict of identity. Concerns were raised that elders

in the communities who are well over the youth age at the same time revolve round as youths. This has stifled the efforts of the youth in the communities.

The youths of this country have learnt their lesson. They are no more ready to succumb to political manipulations. The evil that blew them away into taking up arms is nothing but a silent past. They are not to be trained to believe that they are to be in conflict free situations. The youth must be seen working so as to preoccupy their minds with developmental activities. They should be resourceful thereby aspiring to a greater height in society. The readiness should stand out prominently to represent the country anywhere and at any time. All these can be realized when the youths are fully empowered and their dignities respected.

With overwhelming consistency, youth cite lack of educational opportunities, poverty and lack of health care as their top concerns. These are followed closely by lack of shelter/food/water, clothing, unemployment and lack of parental/family/home care. This grouping of concerns paints a picture of young people's conception of their lives as bereft of basic care and bereft of the basic means to care for themselves. Young people issue a common call for the equitable sharing of Sierra Leone's resources. They also underline the importance of education as a key solution for young people, providing them with a sense of hope and purpose and concrete skills to earn a livelihood.

Livelihood

Poverty and unemployment are among the youth top concerns. The few skills training programs available are under-resourced and ill equipped. Sierra Leone's economy is so poor, young people have difficulty using the skills they learn. Hoping to find better economic opportunities, they are flocking to already-overcrowded urban areas, and some communities are glutted with young people trained in the same skill. Unable to earn a living, many girls are turning to commercial sex work, and some boys are turning to crime. Others try their luck prospecting in diamond mines, away from family and in easy reach of former rebel commanders. Idle and

frustrated, they may easily become fodder for continued instability.

Sierra Leone's conflict was rooted in high unemployment and lack of economic opportunity. Feelings of political and economic marginalization and uneven distribution of resources led many to participate in the conflict against the government. Unemployment is as high as 80 percent, making it difficult for anyone, to earn a livelihood. Adolescents and youth perform a variety of jobs, and many are forced to have several jobs at once, including selling wares in the markets, farming, gardening and gathering wood, scrap iron and stones in the bush. Others are cobblers, fishers, brick makers or bread bakers. Regardless of the number of jobs they perform, young people say that they barely make enough to survive and have nothing left to invest in their future.

Psychosocial

The war's end declared no victors and no vanquished. Yet many youth describe themselves as the losers. Many express feelings of competition over scarce resources and argue about who has suffered the most. Despite these feelings of division, youths reveal many shared concerns. Virtually, many share a sense of victimization and marginalization. They express a deep mistrust of adults and believe they have been used and manipulated in the conflict and continue to be used in politics. Despite the fact that they have spoken out strongly as youth activists, they believe their concerns are not being heard and that they have no voice in making decisions that affect them.

Interviews also reveal an overwhelming preoccupation with wartime experiences and an urgent need to reconcile their experiences along the journey to forgiveness and healing. Youth employ a range of coping strategies to endure their circumstances – seeking control and sustenance in their lives through commercial sex work, asserting their strength through criminal activity, escaping their circumstances with drug use. Many more psychosocial programs are needed, including those that support changes in community attitudes to support the youth's recovery.

Young people are at a point of critical psychosocial transition. The new peace is calling on them to move on from the war, and they are eager to do so, but as they do, they are preoccupied and haunted by the brutal world of deprivation and abuse they have known for the past ten years, which has not yet fully changed.

Everyone has lost something – an arm, a leg, a home, property, family, school and job opportunities, respect and acceptance in their communities, their health, a discernable future. Many are still experiencing displacement and sexual violence and exploitation. Others are living on the street without support, and some remain with former fighting forces. At the same time, they contemplate reconciliation and dream of a stable peaceful future where they are cared for and their rights are respected.

Despite much excellent humanitarian work, protection and assistance schemes continue to fall far short of fulfilling the rights of most young people and alleviating their burdens. They find comparisons to their wartime and present situation confusing. They ask themselves repeatedly a number of disturbing and conflicting questions: Why did they fight in the war, and why did they agree to this peace and turn in their weapons? Were they used and manipulated by their commanders, or were they fighting for a just cause? Why are some of their families rejecting them, and how can they reconcile? Why are they not getting the help they need, and who can they turn to?

Disappointed in the lack of support from those who manage the peace, they turn to each other in blame and resentment. They are extremely frustrated and increasingly bitter. Blame is a constant preoccupation. With few exceptions, most young people perceive themselves to be the real victims, no matter which side they were on. Manipulated and turned against one another by adults in the conflict, and feeling ignored or betrayed by the promises of the peace process, it is difficult for them to see beyond their personal suffering now.

Summary

It is clear that the RUF is a coherent movement and that its political project cannot be ignored. It

paints a bleak picture of a vengeful movement of exiles wrecking the countryside and expanding through youth capture. What sense does it make to wreck the countryside in this way? In a market driven world we tend first to look for an economic rationale. The war in Sierra Leone has characterized the rebel leadership as an excluded intellectual elite. Their violence is an intellectual project in which the practical consequences have not been fully thought through.

Baffled international reaction to the war in Sierra Leone suggest little understanding of the socio-economic and forest bound conditions under which the RUF has expanded. According to outside assumptions, 'proper' rebellions should have 'people' (an ethnic identity), contiguous territory under unambiguous control of the rebels, and an announced program that the world as large can understand. None of these criteria apply to the rebel movement in Sierra Leone, so doubts were entertained about whether it existed at all. The RUF is a movement of the unresolved contradictions of the post-colonial state.

As a movement, the RUF manifests two main sets of political motives. The first is its apparent desire for revenge. A deeply embittered group of exiles seeks to reveal the official state as facade and fraud. Their violence trashes a rotten set, flapping in the breeze, of a film epic in which they no longer believe. But in recognizing the worthlessness of the patrimonial state, the rebel leadership also seeks the ground for experiments in bush education aimed at rebuilding society 'from within.' How these experiment are viewed depends on whether the patrimonial state is adjudged capable of reforms. If it is not, then the construction of radically new forms of political association may be an urgent necessity.

Vision and Hope

On balance, young people in Sierra Leone have a sound grasp of current environmental changes, and clear ideas about possible solutions. They appreciate that the country faces the challenge of managing a threatened resource base. They knew where the shoe pinches and have a clear idea about the solutions. Young women tend to favour technical solutions, young men, political solutions. Not only are young Sierra Leoneans remarkably positive about the future, despite the war, but they also see the creation of that positive future as a task for the nation, and a responsibility for young people themselves.

Coping with war depends on cultural and institutional resourcefulness in civil society. How can these resources be supported? Sierra Leoneans have the historical and cultural background to understand how rebels make power in zones 'beyond the state'. Green shoots of anti-war grass roots citizen action are beginning to appear. Citizens of weak nation like Sierra Leone need and deserve room for creative manoeuvre if they are successfully to build security with the limited material resources at their disposal. Given the manifest unwillingness of the rest of the world to involve itself in the problem of Sierra Leone, outside commentators owe a duty to care, not to weaken, through ill-informed misrepresentation, the cultural mortar with which these fragile structures will be cemented together.

While focusing on immediate actions required to address the essential needs of the country, it is most important to lay the foundation for consolidating peace and the transition towards sustainable development. Let us all pray that Sierra Leone will once again rise up on its feet and bring about prosperity to its people.

frustrated, they may easily become fodder for continued instability.

Sierra Leone's conflict was rooted in high unemployment and lack of economic opportunity. Feelings of political and economic marginalization and uneven distribution of resources led many to participate in the conflict against the government. Unemployment is as high as 80 percent, making it difficult for anyone, to earn a livelihood. Adolescents and youth perform a variety of jobs, and many are forced to have several jobs at once, including selling wares in the markets, farming, gardening and gathering wood, scrap iron and stones in the bush. Others are cobblers, fishers, brick makers or bread bakers. Regardless of the number of jobs they perform, young people say that they barely make enough to survive and have nothing left to invest in their future.

Psychosocial

The war's end declared no victors and no vanquished. Yet many youth describe themselves as the losers. Many express feelings of competition over scarce resources and argue about who has suffered the most. Despite these feelings of division, youths reveal many shared concerns. Virtually, many share a sense of victimization and marginalization. They express a deep mistrust of adults and believe they have been used and manipulated in the conflict and continue to be used in politics. Despite the fact that they have spoken out strongly as youth activists, they believe their concerns are not being heard and that they have no voice in making decisions that affect them.

Interviews also reveal an overwhelming preoccupation with wartime experiences and an urgent need to reconcile their experiences along the journey to forgiveness and healing. Youth employ a range of coping strategies to endure their circumstances – seeking control and sustenance in their lives through commercial sex work, asserting their strength through criminal activity, escaping their circumstances with drug use. Many more psychosocial programs are needed, including those that support changes in community attitudes to support the youth's recovery.

Young people are at a point of critical psychosocial transition. The new peace is calling on them to move on from the war, and they are eager to do so, but as they do, they are preoccupied and haunted by the brutal world of deprivation and abuse they have known for the past ten years, which has not yet fully changed.

Everyone has lost something – an arm, a leg, a home, property, family, school and job opportunities, respect and acceptance in their communities, their health, a discernable future. Many are still experiencing displacement and sexual violence and exploitation. Others are living on the street without support, and some remain with former fighting forces. At the same time, they contemplate reconciliation and dream of a stable peaceful future where they are cared for and their rights are respected.

Despite much excellent humanitarian work, protection and assistance schemes continue to fall far short of fulfilling the rights of most young people and alleviating their burdens. They find comparisons to their wartime and present situation confusing. They ask themselves repeatedly a number of disturbing and conflicting questions: Why did they fight in the war, and why did they agree to this peace and turn in their weapons? Were they used and manipulated by their commanders, or were they fighting for a just cause? Why are some of their families rejecting them, and how can they reconcile? Why are they not getting the help they need, and who can they turn to?

Disappointed in the lack of support from those who manage the peace, they turn to each other in blame and resentment. They are extremely frustrated and increasingly bitter. Blame is a constant preoccupation. With few exceptions, most young people perceive themselves to be the real victims, no matter which side they were on. Manipulated and turned against one another by adults in the conflict, and feeling ignored or betrayed by the promises of the peace process, it is difficult for them to see beyond their personal suffering now.

Summary

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paints a bleak picture of a vengeful movement of exiles wrecking the countryside and expanding through youth capture. What sense does it make to wreck the countryside in this way? In a market driven world we tend first to look for an economic rationale. The war in Sierra Leone has characterized the rebel leadership as an excluded intellectual elite. Their violence is an intellectual project in which the practical consequences have not been fully thought through.

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Coping with war depends on cultural and institutional resourcefulness in civil society. How can these resources be supported? Sierra Leoneans have the historical and cultural background to understand how rebels make power in zones 'beyond the state'. Green shoots of anti-war grass roots citizen action are beginning to appear. Citizens of weak nation like Sierra Leone need and deserve room for creative manoeuvre if they are successfully to build security with the limited material resources at their disposal. Given the manifest unwillingness of the rest of the world to involve itself in the problem of Sierra Leone, outside commentators owe a duty to care, not to weaken, through ill-informed misrepresentation, the cultural mortar with which these fragile structures will be cemented together.

While focusing on immediate actions required to address the essential needs of the country, it is most important to lay the foundation for consolidating peace and the transition towards sustainable development. Let us all pray that Sierra Leone will once again rise up on its feet and bring about prosperity to its people.

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Lt Kol Amiruddin bin Ismail was commissioned on 26 May 1977 into the Royal Signal Corps. He has served in various appointments within the Corps, as staff officer at MAF HQ and also served as a Military Observer in Sierra Leone in 2003. A graduate of Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College (2004) and holds a Masters Degree in Sports Science (Psychology) and Masters Degree in Strategic and Defence Studies, Diploma in Counselling Psychology, Diploma in Child Psychology, Diploma in Sports Psychology and Diploma in Management. Currently he is the staff officer at Communication and Electronic Department, Armed Forces Headquarters.

TERRORISM HAS PARALYSED THE CONVENTIONAL WAR STRATEGIES

— By : Lt Kol Saiful Anwar bin Md Ali —

INTRODUCTION

Before we proceed with the discussion on the topic concerned, let us ask the question whether terrorism is a new kind of war. The answer is no. The oldest terrorist was a holy warrior who killed civilians. For instance, in first century Palestine, Jewish Zealots would publicly slit the throats of Romans and their collaborators; in seventh century India, the Thuggee cult would ritually strangle passersby as sacrifices to the Hindu deity Kali; and in the eleventh century Middle East, the Shiite sect known as Assassins would eat hashish before murdering civilian foes¹. Historians can trace recognizably modern forms of terrorism back to such late nineteenth century organizations as Narodnaya Volya ('People's Will'), an anti-tsarist group in Russia. One particularly successful early case of terrorism was the 1914 assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serb extremist, an event that helped trigger World War I. Even more familiar forms of terrorism - often custom-made for TV cameras - first appeared on July 22, 1968, when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine undertook the first terrorist hijacking of a commercial airplane². Basing on these scenarios, it portrayed that the terrorism existed long time ago even before conventional warfare. Therefore, It can be argued that conventional war strategies have not been paralysed due to the emergence of recent terrorism acts.



in some manner from 'conventional' war. Contemporary use of the term by Western scholars, politicians, and journalists tends to mirror normative perceptions of what is 'unconventional'. Ronald Reagan described the 1983 destruction of the American marine barracks in Beirut, in which 241 U.S. servicemen were killed in an attack by a lone suicide bomber rather than an organised assault force as 'an act of terrorism'³ precisely because the incident was decidedly unconventional relative to the Western historical tradition of political bloodletting. Gary C. Gambill defines terrorism as the attempt to alter the policies of a state or non-state political actor through the use or threat of violence against its civilian constituency. In addition to its functional specifics, this definition has the connotation of the word 'terrorism', which was first used to describe violence against civilians employed by the Jacobin and Thermidorian regimes in France⁴.

DEFINING TERRORISM

Terrorism is generally understood to be a form of politically inspired violence that is distinguishable

Even though most people can recognise terrorism when they see it, experts have had difficulty

coming up with an ironclad definition. The US State Department defines terrorism as 'premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience'. In another useful attempt to produce a definition, Paul Pillar, a former deputy chief of the CIA's Counter-terrorist Centre, argues that there are four elements of terrorism:⁵

- It is premeditated - planned in advance, rather than an impulsive act of rage.
- It is political - not criminal, like the violence that groups such as the mafia use to get money, but designed to change the existing political order.
- It is aimed at civilians - not at military targets or combat-ready troops.
- It is carried out by sub-national groups – not by the army of a country.

According to the Columbia Encyclopaedia,⁶ terrorism is destruction of people or property by people not acting on behalf of an established government for the purpose of redressing a real or imaginary injustice attributed to an established government and aimed directly or indirectly at an established government. Without these characteristics an act of destruction of people or property is not terrorism. It is either an accident, or an act of war, or a matter of internal policy, or an ordinary common law crime. FBI definition states that terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.⁷

Basing on the definition itself, one can wonder that the term terrorism has had over 100 different definitions since it was first coined. Even today governments and terrorism experts cannot agree on the exact meaning of the word but the above mentioned is general outline of the evolution of the word in popular usage. But one thing is for sure, terrorism has its own targets and objectives to be achieved.

DEFINITION OF CONVENTIONAL WARFARE

The turning point of conventional warfare was during World War I and became famous during World War II and the Cold War. Conventional war employs and utilized the combination of armed forces of a nation to wage war. It must have a clear objective and will involve in war to defend their integrity, territory and sovereignty. Conventional war has to abide to war ethics, principles of war and legal dimensions. War must be declared and occurs between governments states or vice versa. It involves the armed forces of the states and all efforts will be concentrated toward winning the war. Hence, the need of strategic thinkers in order to conduct and win the war is necessary.

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Terrorism has occurred throughout history for a variety of reasons. Its causes can be historical, cultural, political, social, psychological, economic, or religious – or any combination of these. Some countries have proven to be particularly susceptible to terrorism at certain times, as Italy and West Germany were during the 1970s. Terrorist violence escalated precipitously in those two countries for a decade before declining equally dramatically. Other countries, such as Canada and The Netherlands, have proven to be more resistant, and have experienced only a few isolated terrorist incidents.

In general, democratic countries have provided more fertile ground for terrorism because of the open nature of their societies. In such societies citizens have fundamental rights, civil liberties are legally protected, and government control and constant surveillance of its citizens and their activities is absent. By the same token, repressive societies, in which the government closely monitors citizens and restricts their speech and movement, have often provided more difficult environments for terrorists. But even police states have not been immune to terrorism, despite limiting civil liberties and forbidding free speech and rights of assembly. Examples include Russia under the Tsarist rule and the Communist - ruled Union of the Soviet Republics, as well as the People's Republic of China, Myanmar, and Laos.

In broad terms the causes that have commonly compelled people to engage in terrorism are grievances borne of political oppression, cultural domination, economic exploitation, ethnic discrimination, and religious persecution. Perceived inequities in the distribution of wealth and political power have led some terrorists to attempt to overthrow democratically elected governments. To achieve a fairer society, they would replace these governments with socialist or communist regimes. Left-wing terrorist groups of the 1960s and 1970s with such aims include Germany's Baader-Meinhof Gang, Italy's Red Brigades, and the Weather Underground in the US.⁸ Other terrorists have sought to fulfill some mission that they believe to be divinely inspired or millennialist (related to the end of the world). The Japanese religious cult Aum Shinrikyo, responsible for a nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995 that killed 12 people,⁹ falls into this category. Still other terrorists have embraced comparatively more defined and comprehensible goals such as the re-establishment of a national homeland or the unification of a divided nation (Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland).

Finally, some terrorists are motivated by very specific issues, such as opposition to legalized abortion or nuclear energy, or the championing of environmental concerns and animal rights. They hope to pressure both the public and its representatives in the government to enact legislation directly reflecting their particular concern. Militant animal rights activists, for example have used violence against scientist and laboratory technicians in their campaign to halt medical experimentation involving animals. Radical environmentalists have sabotaged logging operations and the construction of power grids to protest the spoiling of the natural wilderness. Extremists who oppose legalized abortion in the U.S. have attacked clinics and murdered doctors and other employees in hopes of denying women the right to abortion.

National governments have at times aided terrorists to further their own foreign policy goals. So-called state-sponsored terrorism, however, falls into a different category altogether. State-sponsored terrorism is a form of covert (secret) warfare, a means to wage war secretly through the use of terrorist surrogates (stand-ins) as hired guns. The US Department of State designates countries as state sponsors of terrorism if they actively assist or aid

terrorists, and also if they harbour past terrorists or refuse to renounce terrorism as an instrument of policy.

State sponsorship has proven invaluable to some terrorist organizations – by supplying arms, money, and a safe haven, among other things. In doing so, it has transformed ordinary groups, with otherwise limited capabilities, into more powerful and menacing opponents. State sponsorship can also place at terrorists' disposal the resources of an established country's diplomatic, military, and intelligence services. These services improve the training of terrorists and facilitate planning and operations. Finally, governments have paid terrorists handsomely for their services. They thereby turn weak and financially impoverished groups into formidable, well-endowed terrorist organizations with an ability to attract recruits and sustain their struggle.

The US Department of State has designated seven countries as state sponsors of terrorism: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Cuba, North Korea, and Sudan. In the year 2000, it named Iran as the most active supporter of terrorism for aid to groups such as Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Palestine Islamic Jihad. Although the former Taliban government in Afghanistan sponsored al-Qaeda, the radical group led by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden, the US did not recognize the Taliban as a legitimate government and thus did not list it as a state sponsor of terrorism.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL WAR AND TERRORISM

Some people believe that little difference exists between conventional war and terrorism. After all, a bullet from a terrorist's gun can kill you just as easily as from a soldier's rifle. While there are some similarities, terrorism differs from conventional war in scale, cost, suffering, purpose and effect. Both terrorist actions and conventional war produce horrific results including loss of life and property. Participants in either one consider their cause just and morally right. Both war and terrorism run on money and bloodshed.

The differences however, far outnumber the similarities. While conventional war operates under legal authority of sovereign states in accordance with established international law and rules of conduct such as the Geneva Convention, terrorism functions

with a total disregard for any such laws and rules of conduct. Thus, terrorism makes no distinction between military and civilian targets. Only accidental destruction of civilian targets occurs during conventional war. Often the main purpose in terrorism involves killing civilians in the most terrible way possible. By achieving publicity through horrible acts, terrorist increase public awareness of their cause. Their use of force does not actually defeat an enemy, but it does strike fear in the hearts of citizens and lowers the morale of entire nation. The September 11 bombings prove how terrorism can change but not defeat a country. The citizens of the US pulled together to show a united front against terrorism, but for many people life will never be the same. Airports are no longer a carefree place for vacationers as we have read in newspapers and seen in the news. This included our Malaysian Prime Minister and its deputy during their trip to Washington recently. National guard men equipped with rifles stand on duty at every terminal.

Typically, conventional wars are large-scale operations conducted in a manner calculated to reduce or minimize the loss of life. Soldiers are visible and well trained, and use high tech, sophisticated weapons and weapon delivery system. Their objective attempts to achieve some military end such as winning a battle and sinking a ship. On the other hand, terrorism involves small-scale conflicts design to inflict maximum injury. The participants become invisible, non-military guerrillas, lacking in training and poorly equipped with low tech, unsophisticated weapons and weapon systems. Their purpose becomes the creation of shock.

Conventional war consumes so many resources, both human and material, that conflict cannot continue indefinitely. Unfortunately, terrorist actions consume relatively few resources and consequently, can last indefinitely. There is an argument on whether conventional warfare is to be used to defeat terrorism, but unfortunately it failed to do so. Therefore, the objective and aim of terrorism has to be studied in detail. The study of threat is vital and only then we can control and use military force.

TERRORISM AS A POLITICAL ACT

Terrorism is by nature political because it involves the acquisition and use of power for the purpose of forcing others to submit, or agree, to terrorist

demands. A terrorist attack, by generating publicly and focusing attention on the organization behind the attack, is designed to create this power. It also fosters an environment of fear and intimidation that the terrorists can manipulate. As a result terrorism's success is best measured by its ability to attract attention to the terrorists and their cause and by the psychological impact it exerts over a nation and its citizenry. It differs in this respect from conventional warfare, where success is measured by the amount of military assets destroyed, the amount of territory seized, and the number of enemy dead.

Terrorists typically attempt to justify their use of violence by arguing that they have been executed from, or frustrated by, the accepted processes of bringing about political change. They maintain that terrorism is the only option available to them, although their choice is a reluctant - even a regrettable - one. Whether someone agrees with this argument or not often depends on whether the person sympathises with the terrorists' cause or with the victims of the terrorist attack. The aphorism "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" underscores how use of the label terrorism can be highly subjective depending upon one's sympathies.

At the same time terrorist acts - including murder, kidnapping, bombing, and arson - have long been defined in both national and international law as crimes. Even in time of war, violence deliberately directed against innocent civilians is considered a crime. Similarly, violence that spreads beyond an acknowledged geographical theatre of war to violate the territory of neutral or non-combatant states is also deemed a war crime.

TERRORISM DOES NOT OVERSHADOW CONVENTIONAL WARFARE

Terrorism has been internationalised and could operated across the border. The events of September 11, 2001, have no precedent in the history of terrorism. On that day 19 terrorists belonging to bin Laden's al-Qaeda organization hijacked four passenger aircraft shortly after they departed from airports in Boston, Massachusetts; Newark; New Jersey; and Washington, DC. The first plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Centre in New York City shortly before 9.00am. About 15 minutes later, a second aircraft struck the south tower. Shortly afterwards, a third plane crashed into

the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. A fourth aircraft crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania after its passengers, hearing by cell phone of the other hijackings, attempted to take control of the plane from the hijackers before they could strike another target. Before September 11, terrorists have killed no more than about 1,000 Americans, in the US and abroad, during the modern era of international terrorism, which began in 1968. Approximately three times that number perished on September 11, 2001.

The attacks also showed a level patience and detailed planning rarely seen among terrorist movements today. The hijackers stunned the world with their determination to kill themselves and take the lives of the hijacked passengers and crews as well as the lives of thousands of people working in or visiting the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. The US reacted by declaring a global war against terrorism. In the first phase of the war, US forces launched a massive attack on al-Qaeda training and logistics bases in Afghanistan and toppled Afghanistan's ruling Taliban movement. The Taliban had provided bin Laden and his followers with sanctuary and an opportunity to plan and orchestrate their worldwide terrorist campaign. The US had conducted the campaign against terrorists using conventional warfare setting. It needs the strategies from conventional warfare to plan for the whole operation. This is one of the reasons why counter-terrorism has failed to achieve the end.

Chosen specialized targets have made the impact on terrorism popular. The targets vary,

installations, civilian targets, military targets or combination of them. The borderless world and the new technologies have made terrorism become complicated and difficult to be predicted. It made the world especially the US the sole power of the world become uneasy due to the changing of the order. Hence, whatever action has been conducted has been focussed towards countering the terrorism. The only way to implement this is through conventional warfare setting and the strategies of this kind of war are to be needed. Therefore to say that conventional war strategies have paralysed is not valid at all. They remain status quo.

CONCLUSION

The US has been the terrorist's most popular target. Since 1968 the US has annually led the list of countries whose citizens and property were most frequently attacked by terrorists. Several factors can account for this phenomenon, in addition to America's position as the sole remaining superpower and leader of the free world. These include the geographical scope and diversity of America's overseas business interests, the number of Americans travelling or working abroad, and the many US military bases around the world. Once it involves the US it will become a bigger scenario, and making conventional war strategies less popular but not paralysed. However the action taken to counter the terrorism will still use the conventional way as a means. War will be conventional in future and the need of the strategies in this field is vital.

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Lt Kol Saiful Anwar bin Md Ali was commissioned in 1985 into the Royal Malay Regiment. He has attended various military courses locally and attended Staff College in 1999. He has served in several appointments in units and training establishment. He holds a Master Degree in Policy Studies and Security Analysis from UKM, Advanced Diploma and Diploma in Strategic and Security Studies both from UKM and Diploma in Strategic and Defence Studies (UM). Currently he is serving as Commanding Officer of 6 RAMD.

TO WHAT EXTENT THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATION OF POWER IS APPLICABLE IN MALAYSIA

— By : Mej Mohd Hanim bin Saip —

“Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely”

INTRODUCTION

The doctrine of separation of power (SOP) has emerged in several forms at different periods and in different contexts. It is traceable back to Aristotle, developed by John Locke and its best formulation comes from the French Philosopher, Montesquieu. Montesquieu postulated the SOP based on his analysis of the English Constitution of the early 18th century, but an idealized rather than the real English Constitution.

Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) lived in a period when absolute monarchs reigned on the continent of Europe, and during the early part of Montesquieu's life the most despotic sovereign of them all, Louis XIV, was still on the French throne. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Montesquieu visited England in 1729, he should have been struck by the high degree of political liberty enjoyed there. Indeed, so profound was his impression that he was induced to undertake a major study of the reasons for this preservation of individual freedom, and the result was his *Esprit de Lois*, 1748, a book, which was widely acclaimed within two years of its publication. The *Spirit of the Laws* gave the idea to avoid concentration of power by separating the functions of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government so that one may operate as a balance against another and thus, power should be a check on power.

The Aim of the Paper

The central theme of this paper is to discuss to what extent the doctrine of separation of power is applicable in Malaysia. It begins by explaining the essence of this doctrine. Having discussed that, we

may then proceed to discuss the Malaysian political system and the applicability of this doctrine in Malaysia.

THE ESSENCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATION OF POWER

Montesquieu observed that the power of government were of three kinds i.e. legislative, executive and judicial. Tyranny results when all three powers are accumulated in the same hands, for then a government seeking to act despotically can pass such laws as it chooses, administer them without regard to the rights of the individual and judge corruptly any opposition to them. Thus, in order to preserve political liberty, the constitution should ensure that the legislative, executive and judiciary are independent of each other.

The doctrine of SOP as enunciated by Montesquieu is that when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty. Again there is no liberty if the judicial power is not separated from the legislative or executive power, the life and the liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control.

The meaning of this doctrine is that no one person or body should exercise all three types of government powers such as the executive, legislative and judiciary. The doctrine emphasizes on the separation both personal and functional. For simplicity the doctrine as propounded by Montesquieu and his followers may be stated as

follows:

- There are three main classes (types) of governmental function that is the executive, legislative and judiciary. These three main organs of government in a state each vested with one function as follows:
- **Legislative** - the power of making, altering and repealing laws by the appropriate organ of the state.
- **Executive** - the power of formulating policy and carrying out the actual task of government.
- **Judiciary** - the power of administering justice and interpreting laws.
- To concentrate more than one class of function in any one person or organ of government is a threat to individual liberty.

Put differently the doctrine means that the same person should not form part of more than one of the three organs of government e.g. that ministers should not sit in Parliament. That one organ of government should not control or interfere with the exercise of functions by another organ, e.g. that the judiciary should be independent of the executive or the ministers should not be responsible to Parliament. The one organ of government should not exercise the function of another, e.g. that the ministers should not be allowed to frame laws or acts as judges when breaches of law take place.

Purpose of the Doctrine

The underlying assumption of this doctrine is that absolute power corrupts absolutely, that person in whom power is vested is prone to abuse it and to stretch it to its limit. Montesquieu asserts that concentration of power is dangerous and leads to despotism. Concentration or accumulation of power in one organ will pose a threat to personal freedom because the organ can act in an arbitrary manner. As Locke said: It was unwise to give the law-makers the power of executing law because they might exempt themselves from obedience and suit the law to the private interests. But such abuse can be prevented by the separation of the three organs of

the state. By adherence to this doctrine it is possible to achieve two purposes i.e. to prevent tyranny and abuse of power and also to safeguard the liberty of the citizen.

A Critical Look of the Doctrine

The distinction between the theoretical and the practical aspect of the doctrine is important because it will assist us to appreciate some of the confusions that arise from these aspects. The wide theoretical divergence about what this doctrine actually means also weaken the force of the doctrine. Among the criticism put forward to this doctrine are the followings:

- It is wrong to suggest that the powers of the State are neatly divisible into three categories. The truth is that each of the three functions of government contains elements of the other two and that any attempt to rigidly define and separate these functions must either fail or cause serious inefficiency in government.
- Under the conditions prevailing in this century, it would be highly inconvenient and unworkable to insist on a rigorous separation of powers. For example, due to lack of time and expertise, Parliament is not able to frame each and every law, which governs the citizen. Quite often it delegates its legislative powers to members of the executive who then frame rules and regulations on its behalf. Such framing of legislation by an authority other than Parliament, on Parliamentary delegation, is called Delegated Legislation. It is a power partly legislative (because it related to making of laws) and partly executive or judicial (because it's exercised by a delegate belonging to either the executive or judicial branch).
- Parliamentary democracies require a blending and not separation of the executive and legislative branches.
- To concentrate a large quantity of power in the hands of one person, in the absence of proper safeguards, is surely more dangerous than to combine, in a limited manner, a few powers of different quality (type) in the same hands.

- Instead of calling for a water tight compartmentalization, Montesquieu should have asserted that while the three branches may have many points of contact, one branch of government should not be in a position to dominate the other.
- In all states with a supreme constitution, courts must be given the power to review the legality of state action on constitutional grounds.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE APPLICABILITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATION OF POWER IN MALAYSIA

The Malaysian political system is based on constitutional monarchy, where a written constitution i.e. the Federal Constitution (FC) (the entire article hereinafter refers to this as FC unless otherwise stated) is the supreme law. It is a grund norm and the fundamental law of the land. A Commonwealth Constitution Commission headed by the distinguished Lord of Appeal, Lord Scott Reid and four other constitutional expert justices from UK, Australia, India and Pakistan first drafted the Federal Constitution of Malaysia on August 31, 1957. Under the Constitution, the legislative authority of the government is in a bicameral Parliament consisting of the Yang DiPertuan Agong (YDA) and two Houses i.e. the Senate (Dewan Negara) and the House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat). A Cabinet is appointed from the members of Parliament and is collectively responsible to Parliament. The Constitution declares itself to be the supreme law of the Federation and any legislation passed after it came into effect that is inconsistent with terms of the Constitution is void. The YDA is elected by the Conference of Rulers for a term of five years. He may resign his office and the Special Court may remove him from office.

Malaysia practices Westminster Parliamentary democracy closer to the British model rather than the American model. In Malaysia there is a demarcation of power pertaining of the three organs of the government in the constitution. SOP in absolute sense is not practised in Malaysia but it has been modified as to take into consideration the practical aspects to facilitate the smooth operation of a Parliamentary democracy.

Authority of the Federation

The constitution divides the authority of the Federation into three kinds:

- Executive authority (i.e. the power to govern) which is vested by Article 39 in the YDA and exercise, subject to constitution and federal law, by him or the Cabinet or any minister authorized by the Cabinet.
- Legislative authority (i.e. the power to make law), which is vested by Article 44.
- Judicial power (i.e. the power to hear and determine disputes and to try offences and punish offenders) which is vested by Article 121(1).

The Executive

The executive branch of the government is the administrative branch, which controls the various state agencies and apparatus. The Cabinet exercises the executive authority of the Federation although in form its function is to advise the YDA. It is stated in Article 40 that the YDA must act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet unless otherwise provided. The Cabinet formulates policies, initiates legislation and exercises all other executive functions. The executive proposes amendments to the Constitution and the Parliament may accept or reject them.

Legislative

The Legislative has traditionally been considered one of the most important institutions in any democracy. It originates from the fact that by definition democracy means government by the people of the people to the people and ideally should be reflected in the general and popular will of the people. Legislation refers to law enacted by a body constituted for this purpose. Legislative authority is conferred on Parliament under Article 44. Article 44 provides: "The legislative authority of the Federation shall be vested in a Parliament, which, shall consist of the Yang DiPertuan Agong and two Majlis (Houses of Parliament) to be known as the Dewan Negara (Senate) and the Dewan Rakyat (House of Representative)". Laws that are enacted by

Parliament are referred to as Acts but those made after the Malayan Union in 1946 till independence, 1957 are called Ordinances whilst laws made by the State Legislative Assemblies are called Enactments with the exception of Sarawak which are called Ordinances. All three acting in agreement normally enacts laws.

Parliament has three main functions. First, Parliament is an important part of the democratic process in that it symbolizes the concept of majority rule. Secondly, because of its representative nature Parliament is the prime body for the making of a nation's law. Finally, Parliament, as a legislative body and as one of the three main components of government under Montesquieu's formulation of the doctrine of the SOP, has the function of controlling the executive in the exercise of its powers. The YDA is integral part of the legislative as his assent is required for all enactments. Article 159 gives the power to Parliament to amend the constitution if it so wishes, mostly by a two third majority. Parliament exists under a written Constitution so that its legislative acts must not be inconsistent with the Constitution. If any act is inconsistent with the Constitution, it is regarded as void on ground of unconstitutionality. The courts are entrusted with the function of safeguarding the Constitution and it is part of their task to pronounce on the validity of any legislative act.

Judiciary

The Malaysian Constitution provides for the exercise of power by the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. The judiciary plays an important role in this balance of power. It has the power to hear and determine civil and criminal matters, and to pronounce on the legality of any legislative or executive act. The Constitution also confers authority on it to interpret the Federal as well as State Constitution. The judicial role in maintaining law and order according to the constitution is crucial in the functioning of a democratic system of government. The judges in our courts use power granted to them under the constitution check arbitrary power and administrative abuse.

To enable it to perform its judicial functions impartially, the judiciary is relatively independent. The reputation that it enjoys of being able to decide without interference from the executive or the

legislative or indeed from anybody, contributes to confidence on the part of the members of the public generally that should they get involved in any dispute with the executive or each other they can be sure of a fair and patient hearing and that their disputes will be determined impartially and honestly in accordance with law and justice.

Practical Aspect

In Loh Kooi Choon v Govt. of Malaysia [1997] 2 MLJ 187, Raja Azlan Shah said: *...no single man or body shall exercise complete sovereign power but that it shall be distributed among the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government....* It may be concluded that the Malaysian constitution expressly provides for the SOP among the three organs of the government but in practice that is not clear. In order to see how far or to what extent the doctrine of SOP has been practised in Malaysia we have to examine the relations between the three government organs as follows:

• The relation between the executive and the legislative

Δ By virtue of the provision under the FC, it seems that there is no separation of executive and legislative power or function because of the cabinet type of organization. Under the parliamentary system, the cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Parliament and this is known as the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. This is stipulated under Article 43 (3) of the Constitution. In theory Parliament seem to control the executive as they can cost the government on a vote of no confidence as stipulated under Art 43 (4).

Δ Parliament can reject a bill presented by the government. However in practice it is the cabinet that usually controls the Parliament since the majority of members of Parliament are from the same party. Most of the Bills presented by the government are passed by the Parliament without many questions. Practice so far indicates that executive government controls Parliament through its majority although in theory, it is Parliament, which ultimately controls the government by approving or disallowing legislation, and as a final censure, dismissal of the government through a vote of no confidence.

The central notion of the parliamentary system is that a government governs but Parliament must rule. Parliament is seen as the ultimate instrument of democracy because it represents the popular will of the people. Such high ideals are not always achieved in the practice of government.

Δ Malaysia's executive arm has always dominated the government, more so in recent years at the expense of the judiciary, generally the weakest arm of the tripartite structure. The decline of the equal status of the judiciary is due to two principal factors as follows:

Δ First, the executive sees itself as the legitimate representative of the popular will expressed through its election and control of Parliament. This is also interpreted as a mandate for its legislative programs and therefore, resents judicial pronouncements that challenge legislative or executive acts. In 1988, a series of judicial decisions that went against the government irritated and provoked the Prime Minister that he lashed out with the remarks that judges described as "fiercely independent" were indirectly involved in opposition politics. No doubt the final straw that broke the camel's back was the judicial declaration that UMNO, the Prime Minister's political party that had existed since 1946, was in breach of the law and had become unlawful. The Prime Minister swiftly moved to contain what he perceived as likely damage to the credibility of his government. The problem between the executive power and the judicial power appears to have been caused by the conflicting perceptions of where ultimate authority lies. While the judiciary has always upheld the supremacy of the Constitution, the Prime Minister prefers that Parliament be the ultimate authority.

Δ The second factor causing the judicial downgrading flowed from the earlier events, that is, the enactment of the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1988, which amounted to a coup de grace. The enactment of the Amendment restricted the constitutional role of the judiciary and left no doubt as to its functions. Article 121, as it stood before the Amendment, started with the statement that "the judicial power of the Federation shall be vested in two High

Courts of co-ordinate jurisdiction and status and in such inferior courts as may be provided by federal law". This statement has now been substituted by the words, "There shall be two High Courts of co-ordinate jurisdiction and status... and such inferior courts as may be provided by federal law; and the High Court and inferior courts shall have such jurisdiction and powers as may be conferred by or under federal law". So, judicial power is no longer "vested" in the courts and laws enacted by Parliament define their jurisdictions and powers. In the practice of Parliamentary democracy in Malaysia, it is the executive that has the upper hand.

Δ In term of membership there is not strict separation between the executive and the legislative. Under the provision of Art 39 and 44, YDA as the head of executive is also an integral part of the Parliament. Under Art 43 (2) (a), members of executive are also members of the legislative while Art 38 states that conference of ruler can exercise both executive and legislative functions. Thus, as a conclusion under parliamentary system in Malaysia there is no separation between the executive and the legislative.

Δ **The relation between the executive and the judiciary.** There is a clear demarcation of membership between the two organs. No judge forms part of the executive as well as executive connected judicial functions such as the Minister of Justice. The Attorney General (AG) or Solicitor General are not judges even though the AG performs some quasi-judicial function. Appointment of judges and procedures of their removal indicate the dominance of the executive role. Judges are appointed by Y.D.A. with the concurrence of the executive. This is rightly stipulated under Art 122B (1) which states, "The Chief Justice of the Federal Court, the President of the Court of Appeal and the Chief Judges of the High Courts and the other judges of the Federal Court, of the Court of Appeal and of the High Courts shall be appointed by the YDA acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, after consulting the Conference of Rulers". However, even though judges are appointed by YDA on the advice of Prime Minister but once they are appointed they are independent to perform their duty. In order to ensure that judges are

independent there are provisions in the constitution as to their salaries remuneration, retirement and procedure of dismissal under Art 125.

This power of judiciary is sometimes explicitly vested in the superior courts of the land with Art 121 of the Constitution. Before it was amended in 1988, Art 121 vested the judicial power of the Federation in the High Court and such inferior courts as might be provided by federal law. After the 1988 and subsequent amendments, notably that of 1994, it merely provides for the jurisdiction of the High Courts, the Court of Appeal, and the Federal Court as been mentioned above following the decision from the case of **Dato' Yap Peng**.

The amendment removed the exclusive vesting of judicial power in the higher or ordinary courts, and also separated the jurisdiction of these courts and the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts. The Constitution (Amendment) Bill 1988 occurred as a result of a period of tension between the executive and the judiciary, which followed the abolition of the appeal to the Privy Council in 1985. The introduction of the Bill was accompanied by a general executive broadside against the judiciary, the gist of which was that the judiciary had gone too far in reviewing executive decisions and that the dividing line between executive and judiciary powers needed to be clarified. It was said that under the Amendments the legislature could take away any portion of the judicial power that the civil courts power of judicial review had been restricted, and that judicial powers had been codified.

The maximum conceivable effect of the deletion of the term 'judicial power' would merely be to prevent the courts from striking down legislation which interferes with the judicial power by vesting it elsewhere than in the hand of the higher courts, for example in the executive.

It is often said that the Executive is the strongest arm of the government. It controls the treasury, the army and the police, a combination sufficient for a dictatorship if this power is abused. But when Parliament is weak and becomes too aligned to the executive, or at least a large majority of its members, then the executive becomes even more powerful. The executive amasses even more clout and power

when the large majority in Parliament owes their seats in Parliament to executive patronage. It is the Cabinet, which is then in control, not Parliament.

• **The relation between the legislative and the judiciary.** In Malaysia there is a clear distinction of personnel between the legislative and the judiciary. The members of parliament, which consists of Dewan Rakyat and Dewan Negara, are elected and appointed and there are no judges sitting in Parliament like the situation in the British Parliament where House of Lords is one of the components of Parliament. The legislature has no control over the appointment and removal of judges and the judiciary also has no direct control over the legislative. Under Art 63, the judiciary cannot question the validity of any proceeding in either House of Parliament while under Art 127, Parliament cannot discuss the conduct of a judge except by motion given by not less than quarter of the total members of the house. In certain circumstances there are still relations between these two organs such as:

Δ The judiciary can declare any law passed by parliament invalid if it is against the provision of the Constitution. However the effect of a court decision may be altered by Parliament retrospectively. In the case of **Teh Cheng Poh v PP**, the Privy Council, in its last and most notable judgment on the Malaysian Constitution, held that, once Parliament had sat, the executive power to make regulations under emergency ordinances, as well as the power to enact ordinances, lapsed, so that all regulations made under the Emergency Proclamation since February 1971, when Parliament was summoned, were invalidated. In consequence Parliament passed the Emergency (Essential Powers) Act 1979, operative from 20 February 1971, to validate the regulations and all action taken under them.

Δ The application of judicial-precedent assumes that the judiciary has a legislative role. Judges are under duties to apply and interpret the law as enacted by Parliament and indirectly judges are also making laws.

CONCLUSION

Thus as a conclusion, in Malaysia it clearly seen that the executive had amassed enormous powers. The balance of power among the three arms of the government weaned into the Constitution now stands disturbed. Excessive delegated legislation is now on the increase. The administration becomes more powerful and it secures power to affect the rights of the individuals. Powers under emergency legislation are clear examples. Many administrative tribunals are entrusted with the task of resolving disputes between citizens and government departments. This sort of practice gives rise to critics that tribunals do exercise judicial functions.

With regards to this doctrine, the strict theory of separation of powers finds no place in Malaysia. The blending of the executive and the legislature is a fundamental characteristic of the Parliamentary government. But the check and balance theory of the separation of powers may still be said to apply.

This is because neither organ totally controls the others nor each is subject to some check and balance from the others. Of the three organs of the state, the executive is the most powerful. But its powers are controlled and checked by the other organs. For example, illegal acts by the ministers can be declared ultra vires by the courts. Cabinet decisions may be questioned on the floor of Parliament. During question time, ministers are required to answer questions. A cabinet, which conducts itself, totally against the wishes of Parliament maybe defeated and removed from office by vote of no confidence.

Some commenters suggest that in no country there is a total separation of power at the institutional level. But there is a functional separation at least as far as the independence of the judiciary is concerned. With regards to the doctrine of separation of power in Malaysia after considering all the points discussed above, the strict theory of this doctrine is not applicable in Malaysia. However the check and balance theory of separation of power does exist and is still applicable.

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Mej Mohd Hanim bin Saip was commissioned on 8 March 1986 into the Royal Military Police Corps. He has served in various appointments within the corps mostly as the Investigating Officer of the Special Investigation Branch and also as Staff Officer at Division Headquarters. He holds Bachelor of Law (UiTM) and a graduate of the Malaysian Armed Forces Staff College in 2003 with a Diploma in Strategic and Defence Studies (Dist) (UM). Currently he is pursuing his Master in Criminal Justice at UM.

WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE: ITS FREQUENCY CAN BE REDUCED BY ERADICATING THE ANARCHICAL CONDITIONS THAT ENCOURAGE IT

— By : Mej Hasni Suhaimi bin Hassan —

SYNOPSIS

Realists suggested that war is inevitable and will eventually occur in due time. However, this essay envisages that the frequency of its occurrences can be reduced by eradicating the anarchical conditions that are readily bound in the international system. In spite of the anarchical conditions, peace can be more readily anticipated within the triangular interactions of international institutions, strategic interdependence and practice of democracy

INTRODUCTION

One of the most difficult questions in International Relations is “why war occurs?” Ever since Thucydides analysed the Peloponnesian War, scholars have offered a wide range of explanations for the phenomenon of war. Some of these explanations focus on the imperfections of human beings. Other explanations focus on the role of states. There are also explanations focusing on the nature of the international system itself. Thus, war is actually rooted in a multiplicity of sources and a single factor is inadequate for its explanation.

In *Man, the State and War*, Kenneth Waltz sets forth a useful framework for understanding the causes of war. According to him, there are three factors or “images” that help to explain war; *people*, *states* and *the world system*.¹ War is rooted in the imperfections and moral inadequacies of people; the unjust behaviour of national governments (the states); and the anarchic character of the international system. Wars occur in the global system not only because people and states behave unjustly but also because there is nothing to stop them. According to Waltz, aggressive behaviour of

individuals and the unjust policies of states are the immediate causes of war, and because international institutions are unable to prevent them, the international system serves as a permissive cause of war.²

This essay envisages that the frequency of the occurrences of interstate wars can be minimised by eradicating the anarchical conditions that encourage its occurrences. Hence, the theories and causes of war will be argued upon based on the anarchical conditions, in relation to the three images; people, states and the world system. Circumstances, in which the frequency of war occurrences can be minimised, will be highlighted at the end before the conclusion.

UNDERSTANDING THE ANARCHICAL CONDITIONS

The state of *anarchy* can be related to the belief that all forms of government are unnecessary, oppressive, and undesirable, and should be abolished. Anarchists simply believe that no one

¹ See Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1959.

² *ibid.*, pp. 232-233

has the right to rule another person and they see the state as problems to mankind.³ However, when referring to the anarchical conditions of the international system, it brings about the Realist approach to international politics that focuses attention on the importance of power in the relations between states. Realists believe, as Robert Gilpin writes, "...the final arbiter of things political is power".⁴ Because of the absence of a sovereign to provide order and arbitrate disputes, states resort to rely on themselves (the logic that Waltz refers to as "self-help"). States tend to build up their own power and worry about the power of other states. However, attempts to increase one's own power can threaten other states, who are forced to keep pace, thus reducing security all around. This security dilemma is an enduring characteristic of the anarchic international order that eventually leads to war.

The Realists thought is the most influential amongst political scientists and scholars of International Relations. Realists view the international arena as a kind of anarchy, in which the will to power is of prime importance. Referring specifically to war, Realists believe that it is an intractable part of an anarchical world system. Once war has begun, a state ought to do whatever it can, to win. During the grim circumstances of war, "anything goes". Therefore, in Realism, states do not or cannot behave morally. States are simply not animated in terms of morality and justice. It's all about power, security and national interest to them.

THE THREE IMAGES

INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEINGS (THE PEOPLE)

Many prominent theorists believe that 'individuals' are chiefly responsible for war. They developed numerous hypotheses and theories, some of which emphasised the fundamental nature of persons and also the nature, role and constraints of decision-makers. Wars occur because of people's unjust and aggressive behaviour. Psychiatrist Sigmund Freud argued that the root cause of human

conflict is the aggressive impulse within people.⁵ Because these impulses are grounded in human nature, it is impossible to eliminate them. Despite his pessimistic view of human nature, Freud was not wholly pessimistic about the possibility of eliminating war. He identified civilisation as one way to promote harmony. He reckoned that civilisation and greater self-knowledge can continue to tame human instincts, making war culturally less acceptable.

Since the nature of human being is largely accepted as unchanging, limited new insights and findings can be uncovered on human nature that will help promote a more peaceful world. That explains why contemporary International Relations scholars' pay limited emphasis to the role of human nature in fostering conflict. Nevertheless, contemporary western scholars have been influenced by a general approach to knowledge namely Postmodernism (also known as critical theory or constructivism). According to this intellectual tradition, ideas matter because they determine how people behave. Moreover, because concepts and theories are developed by human beings, individuals ultimately bear responsibility for shaping the world they inhabit. Postmodernists allege that, because reality is "socially constructed", the major determinants of International Relations are the ideas and concepts that influence how people think. As John Mearsheimer observes, "How individuals think about and talk about the world, matters greatly for determining how states act in the international system".⁶

Other theorists assert that wars can also result from the whims of government leaders. This theory applies mainly to autocratic regimes and other governments in which their power face limited checks. It is less relevant to democracies in which contesting factions can check the power of each other and in which the decision to go to war will generally involve popular participation. The role of leadership can be clearly illustrated in the Iran-Iraq War. The war began because of Khomeini's personal animosity with Saddam Hussein. Ten years later, Iraq's invasions of Kuwait was undertaken largely

³ R. J. Rummel, "The Politics of Cold Blood", *Society* 27 (Nov/Dec), 1989, p. 33.

⁴ Robert Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism", in Robert O. Keohane (ed.) *Neorealism and Its Critics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1986, p. 304.

⁵ Sigmund Freud, "Why War?" in William Ebenstein, *Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present*, Dryden Press, Hinsdale, 1969, pp. 857-60.

⁶ John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Relations", *International Security*, 19 (Winter) 1994/95, p. 40.

because of Saddam's belief that such action would increase his country's regional influence and increase its oil revenues substantially. Because it is doubtful that the conflicts could be explained by strategic imperatives or the aggressiveness of the Iraqis, the most convincing explanation lies in the ambitions of the leaders.

Another explanation for war is the failure of accurate communication because of misperception of decision-makers. As mentioned by Jack Levy, decision-makers tend to exaggerate or underestimate an adversary's capabilities and intentions.⁷ John Stoessinger similarly argues that the distortion of an adversary's power can be highly damaging to foreign relations. Using his words, "a leader's misperception of his adversary's power is perhaps the quintessential cause of war... It is not the actual distribution that precipitates war; it is the way in which a leader thinks that power is distributed".⁸

Another related theory attributes war to decision-makers loss of control during international crises. Because of the difficulty of controlling the momentum of military operations once they have begun, some scholars argue that the loss of political control over military operations can contribute to war. Several scholars have suggested that a major cause of World War I was the military's reliance on offensive strategies, coupled with the loss of political control, once military mobilisation had commenced.⁹ Elsewhere, scholars have emphasised the dangers posed by miscalculation and pre-emptive use of force during nuclear crises. Secure and effective command and control of military forces is essential if decision-makers are to manage nuclear crises effectively. According to Richard Ned Lebow, the most effective way to reduce miscalculation and the possibility of losing control in time of crisis is to develop sound military strategies and command and control systems that ensure full political control of nuclear forces.¹⁰

⁷ Jack S. Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems", *World Politics*, 36 (October) 1983, pp. 82-91.

⁸ John G. Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1974, p.227.

⁹ See Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision-making and The Disasters of 1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1984.

¹⁰ Richard Ned Lebow, *Nuclear Crisis Management: A Dangerous Illusion*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987, pp. 23-28.

THE NATION STATE

According to this perspective, if peace is to be promoted in the world, the nature and behaviour of states need to be reformed. Because Morgenthau defines politics as a struggle for power, he also defines the fundamental goals of a state (the national interest), in terms of power. "We assume", writes Morgenthau, "that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power".¹¹ Because of the insecurity associated with the anarchic international order, the immediate goal of states is always the same i.e., the maximisation of power, which is the method of realising all other goals. Theoretically, states will venture into war to maximise their power. According to Raymond Aron, war is the ultimate instrument for settling interstate disputes.¹² Because there is no transnational government to regulate the international behaviour of states, the well being and security of states is ultimately dependent on each state's resources and capabilities. The international order is thus fundamentally a self-help system, which Kenneth Waltz defines as "one in which those who do not help themselves, or who do so 'less effectively than others', will fail to prosper, will lay themselves open to dangers, will suffer".¹³

Various other perspectives attributing the occurrences of war to different aspects of nation states are as follows:

Economic Structures of Nation States. In the 19th century, Karl Marx argued that the expansion of capitalism would inevitably lead to economic conflict within societies. The Marxist argument was found to be incorrect when capitalism in fact became stronger, not weaker, in the 20th century. Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union later argued that the reason for the situation was that capitalist states were extending the life of capitalism by exporting surplus capital overseas, finding new sources of cheap labour and raw materials, as well as new markets for excessive industrial production.

¹¹ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed., Random House, New York, 1978, p. 5.

¹² Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*, Praeger, New York, 1968, pp. 5-8 and 16.

¹³ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley, Reading: Mass, 1979, p. 118.

In *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*,¹⁴ Lenin argued that the expansion of capitalism led to intense international competition among leading capitalist states and inevitably led to war.

Therefore, the root cause of conflict was monopoly capitalism, characterised by an increasing concentration of wealth. As financial monopolies gained political influence, governments inevitably became instruments for industrial and financial elites, who sought to dominate and exploit workers domestically and to extend their influence internationally. The establishment of colonies in Asia and Africa by European empires was thus a by-product of monopoly capitalism. Because of the increasing competition for foreign sources of raw materials, markets and cheap labour, wars among capitalist states were thought to be an inevitable result of the expansion of global capitalism. In short, war is primarily the result of imperialistic policies of advanced capitalist states. The root cause of war is not human nature or even economic greed. Rather, the source is the economic system of capitalism, which perpetuates 'class conflict' domestically and internationally. Hence, according to this perspective, the way to peace is to promote a classless society in which economic classes and territorial borders cease to be significant.

The Military Industrial Complex of Nation States. Another view is that war is the product of specific elite groups who profit from military spending and international conflicts. Such elite groups, generally referred to as the military-industrial complex, comprised of the armed forces, the major weapons industries and government officials responsible for foreign and national security policy. Richard Barnett argues, "War is primarily a product of domestic social and economic institutions".¹⁵ Wars will cease, according to him, only when the military, political and economic structures of society are organised to make peace, not war. Barnett says that as long as the preparation for war is economically profitable, wars will continue.

Therefore, if one state or superpower is to become a force for peace in the world, its social and economic structures must be reformed so that military-industrial institutions no longer control the foreign policy process.

Undemocratic Regimes of Nation States. This theory assumes that warfare is more likely when regimes are undemocratic than when they are based on consent. The 19th century German philosopher Immanuel Kant argued in his essay *Perpetual Peace* that limited, constitutional governments are much less likely to go to war than autocratic regimes.¹⁶ Because the political participation by citizens would inhibit war, states are more prone to peace. In short, constitutional democracy breeds peace. The modern historical record has confirmed Kant's thesis. R. J. Rummel confirms that no war occurred between stable democracies in 175 long years from 1814 to 1989. Using Rummel's words, "Democratic states do not make war on each other".¹⁷ Because of the absence of war among democracies, scholars have developed the so-called "democratic peace thesis" which claims that democracies are conducive to peaceful International Relations.

The democratic peace thesis claims that democracies foster peace by propagating liberal ideas (e.g., freedom, tolerance, compromise and decision-making based on consent) that inhibit the use of force and by developing institutional structures (e.g., checks and balances, periodic elections) that inhibit a resort to force.¹⁸ Not only are democratic states more peaceful toward foreign countries, they are also less violent domestically. Authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, by contrast, are not only prone to war but are more violent toward their own people. Rummel confirms again that more than 119 million people have been killed by government genocide, massacres and other mass killings in the 20th century, whereas less than 36 million have died in battle in all foreign and domestic wars. Of those killed by civil wars, as many as 95 million were killed by communist regimes alone.¹⁹

¹⁴ Lenin's Theory of Imperialism as Monopoly Capitalism, http://venus.spaceports.com/~theory/economy_1.htm accessed on 17 Feb 2005.

¹⁵ Richard Barnett, *Roots of War*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1973, p. 337.

¹⁶ Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace", in Peter Gray (ed.), *The Enlightenment*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1974, p. 790.

¹⁷ R. J. Rummel, "The Politics of Cold Blood", p. 33. For further understanding of Democratic Peace, see Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs, Part 2", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (Fall) 1983, pp. 232-53.

¹⁸ Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, p. 119. See also Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace", *International Security* 19 (fall) 1994, p. 8.

¹⁹ R. J. Rummel, "The Politics of Cold Blood", p.33.

Nationalism. Another source of interstate war is nationalism i.e., the passionate desire for collective group identity. Nationalism is not patriotism. Nationalism is as Hans Kohn has noted, "a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation-state"²⁰, providing an ethical justification for using force to protect the members of a nation from other foreign groups. According to Walker Connor, when loyalty to state and loyalty to nation are in conflict, the latter (loyalty to nation) has proven to be more potent force in the international system.²¹ Many domestic and international conflicts in the 20th century have been rooted in conflicting nationalism. The origins of World War I, for example, have been attributed partly to the ethnic divisions and rivalries within the Balkans.²² The Arab-Israeli conflict, the Bosnian war in the former Yugoslavia and the demand by Chechnya for increasing political autonomy from Russia are all rooted in conflicting nationalistic claims. In view of the significant number of ethno-political conflicts in the post-Cold War era, it is clear that ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts pose major threats to the international community's stability. Moreover, because the drawing of territorial boundaries was rarely based on nationality but was the consequence of war and imperial conquest, the map of the world is rooted in boundaries established by force. For example, the map of Africa is rooted in boundaries established by European imperial powers, not by the wishes and desires of ethnic and tribal groups. Nationalistic groups tend to seek increased political autonomy or even secession from an existing nation-state, which lead to a separatist war such as the Sikhs in India, especially in Punjab, seeking greater political autonomy; and also Tamils in Sri Lanka fighting for greater independence from the Sinhalese-dominated government. In addition, a nationalistic war can also occur resulting from a foreign state's claim on a people and territory of another state such as Argentina's claim on the

Falkland Islands, China's claim on Taiwan, the Palestinian claim to the Holy Land and India and Pakistan's claim on Kashmir.

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

A third source of war is the decentralised world system itself. At a fundamental level, wars happen because no institution or structures exist to stop them i.e., the anarchical conditions of the system. As mentioned earlier, one of the most important concepts of the system is power. Because the world's resources are limited, and the wants of states are unlimited, conflict among nations is inevitable. States that have greater power will tend to be more successful in protecting and promoting their national interests than other states. Moreover, each state needs power because it is responsible for its own security. Kenneth Waltz observes that "power provides states with four important resources, namely: maintenance of autonomy, increased freedom of action, greater margin of safety and greater influence in the international community".²³

Nevertheless, the Balance of Power theory is one of the most widely accepted ideas in International Relations. According to the theory, peace and stability are a consequence of fundamental power equilibrium. The probability of war increases when power is distributed unequally among states. This is because states will automatically align themselves in such a way as to prevent a centralisation of power. Kenneth Waltz, writes that "states will ally with the devil to avoid the hell of military defeat".²⁴

On the other hand, there is another theory, which is opposite to Balance of Power, which is called the Hegemonic Stability Theory. This theory maintains that peace is best assured when one state has superior power.²⁵ In such a system in which the leader, or Hegemon, has the capability to impose its will on others, stability and order are maintained when the Hegemon uses its power to establish and maintain formal and informal international structures. According to this theory, the most dangerous

²⁰ Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*, Van Nostrand, New York, 1965, pp. 9-10. See also current arguments of Nationalism in Ernst B. Haas, "What is Nationalism", *International Organisation* 40 (Summer) 1986, pp. 707-44.

²¹ Walker Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethno-national Bond", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (July) 1993, pp. 376-77.

²² See James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, Longman, New York, 1984; and Samuel R. Williamson, "The Origin of World War I" in Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb (eds.), *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989, pp. 225-48.

²³ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 194-95.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 166.

²⁵ See Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984.

development occurs when two or more states achieve comparable power. In such a case, each state, fearing for its own position, is likely to initiate a war of rivalry with the other. Only when one power emerges victorious can the world order be restored. The US at present was said to have acquired this hegemonic power and her enduring and clearly superior position tends to stabilise the international system.

On top of the two theories, Joseph Nye Jr. predicts that power transition often lead to conflict whereby declining nations may attempt to put down rising competitors and at the same time, growing nations may attack declining ones, to secure a more favourable position in the international system.²⁶

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND INTERDEPENDENCE

In the *idealist* approach of International Relations, there is an optimistic view of the possibility of peace and global co-operation, thus reducing the anarchical conditions of the international system. The faith is rooted in the efficacy of global institutions. It assumes that global co-operation is a direct by-product of the work of international law, international governmental organisations, and informal global regimes that help to promote and sustain world order and peaceful conflict resolution.²⁷ During the Cold War, we witnessed that the United Nations, NATO and the Warsaw Pact were able to suppress regional or nationalistic conflicts within the bipolar world. However, co-operation may be harder to achieve in areas where political leaders have no mutual interests. Idealists believe that the greatest obstacle to co-operation is "cheating" or non-compliance by other states.²⁸

Additionally, the eradication of the anarchical conditions of the international political system can be clearly seen in the growing influence of Non-State

Actors. It is a contribution of the concept of interdependence whereby states are not regarded as the only actors in International Relations. Non-State Actors such as international organisations, multinational corporations (MNCs), and religious movements, have decreased the influence of nation states. Although states remain as important actors, but the governments are no longer the only determinants of International Relations. Since theoretically, states cannot be regarded as rational actors and more so contemporary issues became multidimensional, many non-governmental elites participated in making and implementing foreign policies, thus reducing the inevitability of inter-state war.

Nevertheless, the declining role of forces (military) also contributes to the eradication of anarchical conditions of international political system. This is another interdependence approach of explanation in view that social, cultural, and economic ties among states have increased tremendously. Trade, for example, makes nations more interdependent and so less likely to go to war.²⁹ Thus, governments can rely on instruments other than force to influence states. Because the world is more interdependent, militarily powerful states are vulnerable to important non-military developments in foreign countries. For example, environmental crises, such as the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant failure in the Soviet Union or the massive Kuwait petroleum fires in 1991 by Iraqi soldiers shortly before their withdrawal, can affect environmental and social conditions in other countries as well.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the international system is anarchical in nature that makes war inevitable as promoted by most Realists. Because insecurity was associated with the anarchical order, the immediate goal of every state is to maximise power. Only with "power", can other goals be achieved. More so, the ultimate causes of war are embedded in human nature itself, which makes the possible triggering mechanisms quantitatively many and varied, ranging

²⁶ Joseph Nye, Jr., "International Conflicts After the Cold War", in *Managing Conflict in the Post-Cold War World: The Role of Intervention*, Report of the Aspen Institute Conference, August 2-6, 1995 (Aspen, Colorado: Aspen Institute, 1996), p. 67. <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/nye4152.htm> accessed on 17 Feb 2005.

²⁷ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Little Brown, Boston, 1977, pp. 23-25.

²⁸ See Chap. 8 of John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalisation of International Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, London, 1997.

²⁹ Dale C. Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations", *International Security*, 20 (4) Spring, 1996. <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/copeland.htm> access on 16 Feb 2005.

from the competition for resources and power, authoritarian ruling, militant ethnic, religion and culture, corruption of governance, nationalism, and so on.

Because of the anarchic nature of the global system, territorial integrity and political sovereignty are not assured for states survivability. Because there is no common international government to defend the legitimate interests of states and to punish aggression, each state is ultimately responsible for protecting itself and for promoting its own interests in the world community.

Although there are a variety of means by which states promote their interests, realists assume that military force is the most important. Because a nation's interests are best protected through force or the threat of force, states continue to expand their political and economic capabilities so as to increase their military power and be prepared for war, thus war is said to be inevitable. However, the occurrence of war can be reduced in the sense that the anarchical conditions of the global system to an extent can be reduced through international institutions, strategic interdependence and practice of democracy.

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Mej Hasni Suhaimi bin Hassan was commissioned on 27 Jun 1981. Throughout his career, he experienced serving the Second and Fourth Line Transport Units, as well as a Staff at Infantry Brigade and Army Headquarters and as Officer Commanding of an Air Despatch Unit. He excelled in all his career courses up to MTAT (HAIGATE) in 1998. Academically he held a Post-Graduate Diploma in Strategic and Defence Studies from University Malaya in 1998 and a Masters Degree in Policy Studies and Security Analysis from UKM, Bangi in 2003. Currently, he serves as SO 2 Service at the Malaysian Army Logistic Headquarters.