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DARI MEJA EDITOR

Dengan Nama Allah Yang Maha Pengasih Lagi Maha Penyayang.

Salam Sejahtera,

Syukur Alhamdulillah, Edisi ke-56 Jurnal Sorotan Darat dapat dikeluarkan seperti mana yang dihasratkan. Sidang Redaksi merakamkan setinggi-tinggi penghargaan kepada semua penulis artikel yang telah menyumbang hasil penulisan masing-masing bagi Edisi ini. Pastinga artikel-artikel tersebut akan menjana minda para pembaca dalam usaha kami untuk mencungkil idea-idea bernas yang dapat memacu Tentera Darat untuk mencapai tahap prestasi yang lebih cemerlang di masa hadapan.

Penerbitan edisi ini memberi fokus kepada Kor Perkhidmatan DiRaja (KPD) sebagai penyumbang artikel muka depan. Artikel yang bertajuk "The Malaysian Army Aerial Delivery Support-Bridging The CSS Gap" memotretkan cabaran kepada KPD di dalam mengagihkan keperluan logistik bagi menyokong kejayaan operasi ATM.

Artikel-artikel lain yang diterbitkan pula menyentuh berbagai aspek penting dalam organisasi Tentera Darat seperti konflik/peperangan, kepimpinan, psikologi, pendidikan serta hubungan antarabangsa. Artikel-artikel ini merupakan sumbangan penulisan serta buah fikiran para pegawai Tentera Darat sama ada masih berkhidmat atau yang telah bersara, yang berpengalaman luas serta mempunyai pengetahuan dan kepakaran dalam bidang masing-masing. Diharapkan agar para pembaca merebut peluang untuk memanfaatkan ilmu yang dapat diperolehi dari artikel-artikel tersebut.

Akhir kata, sidang redaksi sentiasa mengalu-alukan sumbangan penulisan artikel dari kalangan warga Tentera Darat untuk dimuatkan dalam edisi-edisi Jurnal Sorotan Darat yang akan datang. Mudah-mudahan sumbangan penulisan yang berkualiti akan menyumbang kepada kemajuan Tentera Darat dalam menjadi satu organisasi yang unggul. Sebarang pendapat, komen, idea bernas serta maklum balas dari kalangan pembaca amatlah di alu-alukan untuk meningkatkan lagi kualiti penerbitan Jurnal Sorotan Darat.

Sekian, terima kasih.

Membaca Inspirasi Pengetahuan.



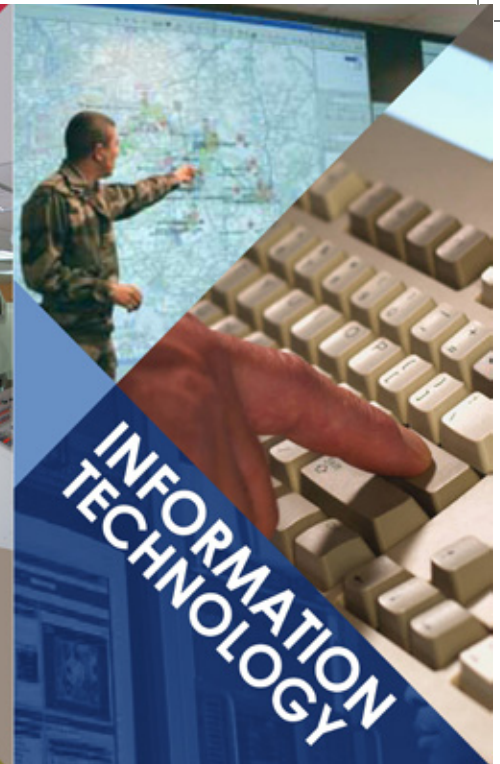
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THE MALAYSIAN ARMY AERIAL DELIVERY SUPPORT - BRIDGING THE CSS GAP

By Mej Muzafar Shah Bin Mosam Shah

“UNSEXY ENOUGH!”



It is considered militarily ‘unethical’ whenever operational commanders have differences in opinion with the logisticians in a military operation. This Love-Hate relationship among tacticians and their logistician counterparts definitely gives a greater challenge for them to translate and comply with the tactical commanders purpose, method and end state. Indeed, it is a factual dictum that to fight a battle is one thing and sustaining is another issue.

Current battlefields have very large area of operations (AOs); future battlefields will have even greater AOs. Combat organizations will operate within an area as large as 1,000 kilometers x 1,000 kilometers. Further, they will operate in a non-contiguous or non-linear battlespace with large unsecured areas. Units will have increasingly smaller logistics footprints and, therefore, require more responsive and efficient delivery systems. In addition, the lines of communications (LOC) will be longer with a large proportion of the support provided by Intermediate Staging Bases (ISBs) that could be hundreds of miles away. In this environment, aerial delivery will play an ever-

increasing role in the total distribution system. To be effective, friendly forces must control airspace throughout the AO and enemy ground-based air defences must be neutralized¹. Improved airdrop procedures and equipment currently being developed will somewhat mitigate the man-portable air defence system (MANPADS) threat to delivery aircraft and cargo.



The tendency of overextending the L of C in today’s fast paced and high operational tempo is clear and visible. More often, in order to sustain such an operation it requires much more flexible, diverse and responsive mode of support especially during the delivery and distribution. The intermodal logistic support system that employs aggressively all modes of transportation that includes sea (maritime), air and land were the system of choice. On the other hand, the strength of these methods poses a threat. This is due to the pace and tempo of modern warfare which creates the CSS gap that often influence a tactical commander’s initiatives and their freedom of action. Amongst all, the most

¹ US Army, FM 4-20-41 Aerial Delivery Distribution In The Theater, 2003, p 1.1

responsive method of closing these gaps is a crude method visualized by Leonardo Da Vinci that employs the parachute that later gave birth to aerial delivery.

4D MAF - THE FUTURE BATTLESPACE



George C. Thorpe, in his 1917 book *Pure Logistics: The Science of War Preparation*, wrote, "There is something more than academic interest in correctly defining Logistics, for the purpose of the definition is to establish a division of labor, and if two divisions are properly drawn while the third is not, there will be either duplication of effort or some functions will be overlooked entirely, with the result that certain preparations for war will not be made." As our Army transforms from the legacy force Army to the full-spectrum, brigade-centric modular force, we must ensure that we heed Thorpe's counsel and define our future CSS organizations and concepts for the most effective division of labour².

The Malaysian Army as the main thrust of the MAF had also evolved according to the later force development program known as 4D MAF. Relatively the MAF had undergone a full-scale transformation evolving from threat based force structure into a capability-based structure. A Balanced and Credible Force guided by sound operational strategies and concepts equipped with high-tech weapons and manned by competent professionals are some of the Key Mission Areas (KMA) identified for the 4D MAF program. Priorities being determined as standard are as follows; Limited resources required

in establishing clear mission priorities, capabilities that meet overall strategic needs and finally the emphasis on multi-tasking capabilities. However, it is stipulated that this new concept embraced firmly on the jointness and interoperability of the component within the MAF. As such it should be an orchestration of force encompassing land, sea and air components. In addition, the force capability must include command and control manifest features of jointness and interoperability. Finally, it must be emphasised that no single service can influence the outcome of future conflicts. As a result, the future direction of the MAF will be a shift towards a capability approach and developing various core capabilities within the Battlespace Operating System (BOS) in meeting multi spectral challenges thus developing into a Full Spectrum Operation (FSO) ready force. Conclusively, the overall interpretation of the 4D MAF is revolving within these three main features, which are Joint Force operational art, Information Superiority (C4ISR) and multi dimensional capable force with Sub-Surface, Surface, Air and Information Warfare. As a result, the MAF is to be transformed into a fully integrated and balanced force in all four dimensions by giving emphasis on jointness and inter-operability among the three Services.



In response to this, the Army in tandem embraces the 4D MAF concept into its newly developed manual M1.TD The Army and MD 3.0 Operations. The Army should be able to provide the effective outputs for the MAF. Land force capabilities that are relevant and capable could contribute to the MAF's ability to generate, deploy, sustain, protect and command potent combat forces. However the

² Brilecic J.C. *Logistics, CSS, Sustainment: Evolving Definitions of Support. Army Sustainment*, 2009, p.19.

Army must be able to develop and sustain this land force capability in peace and conflict³.

THIRD DIMENSION CSS – AERIAL DELIVERY AS AN OPTION?



For many years it has been fashionable to decry tactical airlift and, especially, airdrop as being anachronistic — a holdover from the Second World War-era when mass para-drops were a regular feature of combat operations. Given the increased lethality of air defences and the huge cost of military transport aircraft, many commanders questioned the efficacy of such risky operations. However, new technology, combined with emerging operational concepts that call for rapid force projection, distribution-based logistics and a minimal logistics footprint⁴, have produced an aerial delivery renaissance. Rather than being consigned to the scrap heap, airdrop is being recycled as an increasingly effective part of contemporary joint operations.

Aerial delivery is a vital link in the battlefield distribution system. This became very clear when the Army realized it had to move from the Army structure and mind-set of the Insurgency era of the 1980s, and evolve to the 4D MAF of the 21st century. Aerial delivery is no longer the last resort, but rather, through necessity, becoming a viable

³ TD, MD 3.0 Operations, 2005, p. 1-3.

⁴ Nancy Harrington and Edward Doucette, "Army After Next and Precision Airdrop," *Army Logistician*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January February 1999), p. 46.



mode of distribution to support the fight against a very flexible, fluid, and ever-changing threat environment. This trend will continue as the Army moves forward with the interim force and objective force reorganization. The Army transformation drives this doctrinal process; with its main goal of giving units a previously unknown freedom of movement by drastically reducing their dependence on logistical support. A primary objective of this transformation is to reduce the logistics footprint by substituting large, redundant supply bases with a distribution based logistics system. In this system the "pipeline" becomes the supply base. To achieve this objective, the speed of the supplies moving through the pipeline must be increased and the source of supply must be much farther to the rear.

Aerial delivery provides necessary acceleration and CSS reach capabilities. This delivery method provides support without hampering manoeuvres. As a result, aerial delivery, as a distribution enabler, is experiencing a renaissance. This time the change in attitude, coupled with current R&D, will have far reaching effects on future doctrine and the structure of aerial distribution operational units. It is becoming a viable distribution enabler not just at present, but for the foreseeable future; therefore, it is very important to understand the basic fundamentals of aerial delivery. Aerial delivery will play a role in every stage of future conflicts, from pre deployment and CSS through the redeployment of forces on every part of the battlefield. Exactly how the receiving unit gets the supplies depends, in large part, on the needs of the unit. These needs will drive the selection of aircraft, methods, and rigging equipment used. The decision process requires weighing the numerous aerial delivery advantages

and disadvantages to determine whether airdrop, airland, or under slung best suits the situation. In addition to that, both airland and airdrop operations require extensive Army and RMAF support structure working as a team with complementary skill-sets. The RMAF controls aircraft loading and provides aircraft assets whilst the Army provides and orchestrates the preparation and rigging of Army CSS requirements. Most of the support structure is common to both modes of aerial distribution and are generally not fixed. Rather, the support structure is comprised of provisional units organized and equipped to provide the required capabilities for the mission. The most notable exception is the Army airdrop-related units that properly rig and prepare cargo loads for airdrop.



MAF or even beyond, aerial delivery operation will, by necessity, be an equal partner with other forms of CSS distribution. Therefore, logistics planning should reflect the habitual use of aerial delivery at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels. A firm understanding and implementation of the responsibilities and request procedures discussed in this essay must also be applied to establish an aerial distribution system that is both efficient and effective.

For the objective force, precise and responsive aerial delivery will no longer be just a nice-to-have logistics resupply capability. By necessity, aerial delivery for the objective force will become a primary distribution platform. Aerial delivery assets must be seen as nothing more special as GS Cargo trucks in the MT line, that is, aerial distribution vehicle platforms. The threat is no longer



predictable or easily identified. This threat can no longer be constrained using an organized, linear engagement fought by strategically immobile units, further supported by a manpower intensive, flexible logistics system.

The events of Sep11, serve to show the magnitude and stark reality of this new threat environment. The Army's futuristic objective force is being designed to meet this new threat and will require a very responsive, far reaching, flexible, and austere distribution system to support it. This significant change in military thinking has been referred to as a revolution in military affairs (RMA). Today's CSS structure is encumbering this objective force design. Therefore, the logistics community is transforming into a CSS system requiring a much-reduced log-print with greatly increased capability. True to the tasks, Aerial delivery is an imminent option in providing sustainment capability to an operation. It will greatly influence the overall operational tempo especially within the deep area of the operational framework that are also classified as white areas or gaps⁵.

CLOSING THE GAP

After discussing of length the future battlespace of the MAF and the operational art employed in fulfilling those operational requirements, it is clear that aerial delivery would be the force multiplier

⁵ Matthew W. Zajac, *Managing the White Space: Non-contiguous Operations and the Operational Control Structure*. US Army SAMS, 2004. p. 8

element during the sustainment of deployed manoeuvre forces. Aerial delivery is the identified capability that allows an operational command to conduct operational logistics and personnel support without organizing a control structure capable of executing tactical tasks within its white space or gaps. Two initial conditions were identified which define how an aerial logistics delivery capability overcomes the challenges of the terrain between subordinate commands. The conditions found were that sufficient assets exist to conduct all required logistical support, and the transport platforms require no support locations between subordinate commands. These conditions are very similar to the initial conditions that enables the operational capability to conduct movement and manoeuvre while ignoring the conditions of the terrain gaps.

In closing these gaps, tactical commanders and their CSS operators must adhere to prerequisite requirements and conditions; namely: **Asset Availability** – If sufficient aerial logistics assets to conduct all required operational logistics and personnel support are no longer available, the operational command must resort to over-land logistic resupply operations. Just as with the switch from aerial platforms to ground delivery assets in the conduct of operational movement and manoeuvre, the assets used to provide CSS switches from an operational or strategic asset to a tactical asset which the operational command must integrate into its control structure. However, the option to assign operational transport assets to a subordinate command permanently does not doctrinally exist since the conduct of operational delivery is fundamentally a push system, not a pull system. This leads to a requirement for the operational control structure to integrate these assets. In our scenario, JFHQ is the proponent of such control be it at the operational or strategic level depending on the mission statement and operational environment. **Platform Reach** – The second initial condition that enable aerial logistics delivery to support the operational execution of non-contiguous operations is where the transport platforms required no support locations between subordinate commands. Just as with the change of the same condition for operational movement and manoeuvre, if this condition changes then the aerial platforms will require a stop somewhere or hub within the operational command's white space. The operational command will need to

physically manage this piece of terrain in its white space for as long as operational logistic operations requires it. Just as with an operational movement or manoeuvre that requires a long-term aerial platform interim support location, the necessity of managing this piece of terrain then drives the execution of tactical tasks to secure, maintain, and/or upgrade the terrain. Likewise, effectively managing this piece of terrain in the white space will require coordinating the capabilities of multiple assets for a lengthy period of time. At present the current RMAF transport fleet namely the C130H Hercs and its little brother the CN 235 are able to meet these requirements. These aircrafts are able to operate within the contiguous AO within specific periods with limited support.

Aerial Logistics Delivery and the Operational Control Structure - the loss of sufficient aerial logistics delivery capability introduces several requirements to execute tactical tasks in the operational command's white space. First, tactical ground units must be integrated into the operational control structure to deliver logistical support to subordinate commands. As discussed this may only require adding these forces to an existing, local control node or the creation of a node capable of controlling local ground transport operations. Second, the terrain itself within the white space may require reshaping not just to support the transit of ground capabilities but more importantly, to maximize the effectiveness of repeated logistical use. Third, security concerns along ground logistic routes may generate tactical tasks to secure these areas either permanently or for transitory periods. Last, the loss of the ability of aerial platforms to reach between subordinate commands may introduce the need to establish an intermediate resupply base between subordinate commands in the operational white space. Therefore it is proven that a change in the initial conditions of the capability to conduct aerial logistics delivery requires the operational control structure to execute tactical tasks within its white space in order to continue conducting operational logistical and personnel support. If these tactical tasks generate inefficiencies in the operational control structure then that requires the operational control structure to change. Although the MAF-JFHQ is still at its infancy stage, the J4 via its JLOG mechanism must be able to orchestrate and unify all service assets in order to make the aerial support operation more

agile, flexible, responsive and effective without compromising operational security and tempo.

CONCLUSION

Over 50 years ago, US General James Gavin (the father of the airborne troops) acknowledged that aerial delivery was not a new concept. He recognized the need for it as just as normal as other conventional CSS operations. Relatively, the MAF is able to close the gaps through the employment of a responsive aerial delivery assets, a radical organizational change that embraces unification of effort and also a more efficient and effective tactics,

techniques and procedures and without disregarding the overall operational security. However, the future of riggers or air dispatchers is still vague as these professional few will not be increasing in number. A scaled-down army will connote a reduction in capability and ability to provide aerial resupply support. Until now, it is a long standing belief that the roles of air dispatchers are still unknown, misunderstood, misused, and somewhat confusing to a majority of the Army. If not recognized, rectified and resolved, the future of aerial delivery support operation in closing the CSS gaps will be a failure. Hence, the aspiration of the army and MAF to be a Full Spectrum Operation capable forces will be hampered.

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Mejar MUZAFAR SHAH BIN MOSAM SHAH is a graduate of the Officer Class 10-92 at the Royal Military College. He joined the service soon after graduation from college where he had obtained the Diploma in Microbiology from the MARA Institute of Technology in 1992. He is a trained logistician specializing in supply and transport. However, during the later phase he was then assigned to the 10 Para Brigade's Aerial Delivery Platoon. From there on, he was trained extensively locally and abroad in the fields of air mobility and as a qualified Drop Master Rigger. He is currently the Parachute Brigade's G3-Air, whereby he is responsible for all air planning for the airborne battle-group, airborne training for the airborne brigade and he is also the Brigade's Rigger Officer, responsible for all technical aspect of the airborne operation. In terms of disaster relief operation, he was involved in the planning and operation of all air mobility resupply missions in various parts of the country and during some of the international responses, the most significant being the Aceh Tsunami (2005) and Dili (2006).

UNITED STATES FIELD ARTILLERY IN THE VIETNAM WAR -AN ANALYSIS AND LESSONS LEARNT

By Lt Kol Noor Sazali bin Puteh

SYNOPSIS

This paper will highlight the involvement of US in the Vietnam war particularly the employment of their field artillery tactics and weapons against the NVA and Vietcong in the dense jungles of Vietnam. Subsequently, an analysis of the deployment of field artillery techniques and tactics leading to lessons learnt from the artillery perspective is also mentioned.

INTRODUCTION

The ejection of French power from Indochina had divided Vietnam into two different ideologies. The North Vietnam adopted communist ideologies led by Ho Chi Minh and the South Vietnam became a democratic nation led by President Ngo Dinh Diem after winning the elections in 1961. The President was promised by United States (US) to increase military aids including military troops and advisors to assist South Vietnam in order to promote democracy and to stop the country from becoming another communist nation in Southeast Asia.

At the early stage of hostilities, South Vietnam possessed a conventional US Army trained and equipped to fight a Korean-style conflict and acknowledged that the conventional North Vietnamese Army (NVA) were their main enemies. However, the Vietnamese Communist Government had established the Army of Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) to deal with South Vietnam and US Army in anticipation to fight in a bigger scale guerrilla warfare. North Vietnam approached the war on a Maoist strategy, seeking to gain control by gradual stages rather than decisive military confrontations in a short term. The NVA was held in reserve early on, with the Vietcong guerrillas carrying out a low level insurgency that gradually gained in scope and intensity. Part of the strategy was to infiltrate

as many villages as possible and generate support bases for the Vietcong.

Vietnam itself was a guerrilla's paradise, with dense jungle interspersed with mountains. Road run through close terrain, offering countless opportunities for ambush followed by rapid escape into the jungle. The long border with Laos and Cambodia also gave the guerrillas an advantage since regular military units were unable to cross into another country in pursuit or intercept their movement, whereas insurgent forces did not care whether they had permission or not.

During the war, US Army had deployed their field artillery gun to support their combat troops to fight the NVA through conventional setting. Nevertheless, they also developed a new technique to fight against them in the jungle warfare. However, compared to the conventional warfare, artillery were less effective to fight against the guerrilla in the jungle especially when the observers have difficulties to observe and seek the target. This is further complicated when the enemy moves under the cover of the thick forest canopy whilst the ground itself provided protection to enemy from observation and artillery shell. Therefore, to augment the advantages of acquiring greater fire power, Artillery Corps of US Army had developed a new technique of deployment to fight in the jungle warfare.

This paper will highlight the involvement of US in the Vietnam War particularly the employment of their field artillery, tactics and weapons against the NVA and Vietcong in the dense jungles of Vietnam. Subsequently, an analysis of the deployment of field artillery techniques and tactics leading to lessons learnt from the artillery perspective is also discussed.

UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

Prior to 1965, US had been providing support and assistance in terms of military aid and advisors. Since 1965, US had deployed their combat troops and fighter aircraft against the NVA and Vietcong. Since the campaign started, US Army was demoralised by many major failures in many operations and the air strikes on logistics routes were proven ineffective. The operations against North Vietnam were hampered by political factors and on the ground the war became a campaign of attrition, with victory measured in terms of body count.

The arrival of US firepower assisted in turning the situation around. The US Forces relied on the use of massive fire power including artillery fire which was effectively proven against the conventional enemy. Nevertheless, it was less effective against the tactics used by NVA and Vietcong. In an attempt to control remote areas of the country, the US set up the Forward Support Bases (FSB) and it consisted of firebases mostly a strength of a battery. They were used in patrols to support the forward troops conducting operations in the field. This concept is similar tactics used by the Malaysian Army during the insurgency against the Communist Party of Malaya. The FSB's were defended with a mix of infantry support weapon, mortars and artillery guns and sometimes armour. As a weapon, the artillery is the most lethal form of land-based armament and played major roles to reduced casualties as well as inflicted major casualties to the friendly forces and enemies of both sides.

UNITED STATES FIELD ARTILLERY WEAPONS

The 105mm towed howitzer often served in the direct support role and because of its light weight, dependability and high rate of fire, it the

ideal weapon for moving with light infantry forces and responding quickly with high volumes of round and providing covering fire close to friendly forces. Units were initially equipped with the 105 mm M101A1 howitzer and by 1966 a new 105mm towed howitzer namely M102 was deployed in Vietnam. The gun was easily transported by helicopter into the remote FSBs and able to operate on the raft in the riverine operations. Certain field artillery units were equipped with M108 which is a 105mm self-propelled weapon. The M108 was too heavy to be lifted by helicopter, thus enable to support the highly mobile light infantry forces. Nevertheless, it was still effective and employed in general support role.

The next larger calibre artillery weapons were the 155mm howitzers. The firing units were equipped with either the towed M114A1 or the self-propelled M109. Both weapons normally provided area coverage or augmented direct support artillery. Occasionally, the 155mm self-propelled howitzer was used in direct support of manoeuvre units. However, the M114A1 proved invaluable because it was too heavy to be displaced by helicopter and could not provide continuous fire support because of road network limitations. The 155mm howitzers, whether towed or self-propelled, had a maximum range of 14,600 meters which is over 3,000 meters greater than 105mm howitzer.

The M107 self-propelled 175mm gun and the M110 8-inch howitzer have identical carriages but different tubes. The 175mm gun can fire a 174 pound projectile at the range of 33 kilometres. This impressive range made it a valuable weapon for providing an umbrella of protection over large areas. Another heavy was the M110 8-inch howitzer fired a 200 pound projectile at almost 17 kilometres and being the most accurate weapon in the field artillery. Both of the M110 8 inch howitzer and 175mm gun were field force artillery assets.

NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY / VIETCONG ARTILLERY WEAPONS

By late 1966, Soviet and Chinese Communist rockets were found in the NVA and Vietcong inventory and these rockets were not only more suitable than cannon artillery for attacking larger targets but also lighter and more adaptable. Since rockets are capable to fire low trajectory, it often

escaped from been located by the US AN/MPQ-4 counter mortar radar. By 1969, the advantages of rockets in terms of payload and mobility had become the prime weapon of the NVA and Vietcong artillery . The rocket units were organized into regiments, battalions, companies and platoons where the number of rockets and launchers per company varies with the calibre of the weapons.

In early 1967, the NVA and PLAF or Vietcong, started to utilise artillery to support the campaign against US Army when the NVA commander felt that the reason for their failure in Tet Offensive was because they had inadequate conventional weapons to fight the war. NVA needed more conventional method and in 1972, the regular NVA launched an attack across the border supported by Soviet supply tanks and artillery . Generally, NVA used Soviet cannon artillery and it had increased their long range destructive capabilities especially in major campaign.

A survey conducted by the US Army XXIV Corps Artillery over a seven months period in 1968 concluded that the hours most preferred by the NVA for firing were between 1000H to 1300H, 1400H to 1500H and 1600H to 1900H. The frequency rose steadily during the morning hours, peaked around 1130H and then dropped off considerably. Artillery fire peaked again around 1430H and 1830H and decreased significantly following each peak period. The preference for daylight hours according to the survey was probably determined by a desire to avoid counter battery fire. Frequent night time movement from position to position was mandatory to avoid detection whilst firing was limited to a few rounds per gun from several widely scattered positions.

ARTILLERY LIAISON OFFICER

There were three elements which required reliable and effective coordination in order for the field artillery to function at its best namely the Fire Support Coordination Centre (FSCC), Field Artillery Liaison Officer (FALO) and Artillery Warning Control Centres (AWAC)

The responsibility for coordinating the various types of fires available to the manoeuvre

commander falls largely on the FSCC. At all manoeuvre headquarters above company level, an artillery Fire Support Coordinator (FSCCOORD) is responsible for coordinating all available fire power from field artillery, armed helicopters, Air Force and Naval tactical air, air defence weapons in the ground support role and naval gunfire. In addition, an infantry battalion commander often delegates responsibility for coordinating the battalion heavy mortar fire to his artillery coordinator.

At company level, the Company Commander holds the responsibilities as fire support coordinator though a Field Artillery Forward Observer Officer (FOO) is available to aid and advised him. At battalion, the coordinator is a Liaison Officer (LO) direct support field artillery battalion. At formation levels, the Commanding Officer of the direct support field artillery in the force is responsible to advise and coordinate all artillery requirements but in practice he delegates the detailed coordination activities to a subordinate at the Headquarters Battery Commander (HQ BC). The artillery battalion commander delegates the duty to the artillery LO at the brigade. The Division and Corps artillery commanders delegates the duty to an assistant coordinator within each of the operation centres of manoeuvre forces. A coordinator establishes and supervises a fire support coordination activity, called a FSCC at battalion and brigade level including a fire support element (FSE) at division and higher. Representatives of all available fire support units are located in this centre

The second element, the FALO, or often called the Fire Support Officer with either a manoeuvre battalion or brigade was tasked as never before in other campaigns due to the advances in weapon technology during that period of time and number and types of fire support available. To complicate matters, each type of fire support could deliver a host of different munitions where each is designed for a different roles. The FALO ensured that the most appropriate ordnance available arrived at the right target at a specified time and that all the fires delivered complemented one another. Besides having more weapons to coordinate, the FALO had to support not only US Army forces but also Vietnamese military and paramilitary, South Korean, Australian, Thailand, New Zealand, Philippine and US Marine during joint operations. These

tasks required more than processing and passing requests to the appropriate support means. This is essential in establishing priorities as well as ensuring that the organic fires of the other forces were coordinated with the support being requested. This frequently called for him or a FOO to be on the scene to request, direct or coordinate the fires. However this may be complicated by differences in languages and in operating procedures.

To further complicate matters, FALO is required to obtain clearance to ensure that no civilians are in the area before employing weapons. Clearance should be obtained from the government district officer in which the supported force is operating and arrangements have to be made to establish and maintain the necessary radio nets in advance of an operation. Clearance are required in past US wars where the enemy was engaged forward of a battle line and was not operating among the friendly population. Another responsibility of the FALO was the coordination of air space usage.

AWAC's normally established at manoeuvre level to advise the numerous aircrafts flying over the area of operations. All support means were required to notify the warning centre before firing. The aircraft entering the area is mandatory to inform the centre and receive current information plus a flight path to follow to avoid firing the friendly ground forces.

DEPLOYMENT OF FIELD ARTILLERY

United States and Allied Forces. Instead of conventional deployment, US Field Artillery had developed a few techniques to employ and deploy their artillery assets in accordance with the environment especially the terrain and conditions of the battle. Some of the techniques established are FSB and Riverine artillery. A FSB was a military encampment designed to provide indirect fire artillery support to infantry operating in areas beyond the normal range of direct fire support from their own base camps. The base was a self contained and self defended from which the infantry operations, usually "search and destroy" mission could be supported. A typical of FSB could be expected to deploy a battery of six M102 105mm field howitzers, an infantry company for local defence, four 81 mm mortars from an infantry battalion, communications, medical and

administrative personnel. The FSB never isolated itself from supporting other units where supporting fire from other FSBs could always be called upon together with the helicopter gun ships and tactical air support . This type of base is similiar to FSB in Malaysia during fighting against the insurgency,

Riverine Artillery. The terrain of the Mekong Delta was a serious hindrance to fighting forces in Vietnam. The delta comprised of rivers and canals coupled with swamps and rice paddies while roads and dry ground are scarce. Hamlets and villages have long since been built on scarce dry ground. If artillery shared dry ground with a hamlet, the firing unsettled the people who supported the allies. Even when field artillery was positioned on dry ground, it was difficult to deploy because the high water table made the ground soft and it has an impact on the stability of the gun. As a result, the round fired was inaccurate and possibly dangerous to friendly forces during close fire. Without a firm firing base, cannons are bogged down and it was difficult to traverse besides it required constant checks for accuracy. All this lessened their responsiveness and effectiveness. Field Artillery support for the new riverine task force was initially provided from fixed locations, but the support was less than adequate. Field artillery needs to move and position itself to best support the ground action.

Deployment of Guns in Riverine. When a location for the battery was selected, the barges were pushed into position along the riverbank. The preferable position is one where the riverbank was clear of heavy vegetation. This facilitated helicopter re-supply, which could then be accomplished on the bank as close as possible to the weapons. Clear banks also provided better security for the battery. The barges normally were placed next to the riverbank opposite the primary target area so that the howitzers would fire away from the shoreline in support of the infantry. This served two purposes which weapons could be fired at the lowest angle possible to clear obstructions on the far bank and to stabilise the gun with grappling hooks, winches and standoff support on the bank side. Mooring lines were secured around the winches and reeled in or out to accommodate tide changes so that the barges would not be caught on either the bank or mudflats at low tide. Equipments to provide directional reference for the weapons-including aiming circle,

collimator and aiming posts was emplaced on the banks. Accuracy of fires proved to be comparable to that of ground mounted howitzers. Without this technique, US Army manoeuvre activities in the delta area would have been seriously curtailed or often had to take place out of range to provide fire support to friendly forces. All the weapons had a direct fire capability, definite asset in the event of an ambush. Then the howitzers often responded with direct fire, which usually broke up the ambush in short order.

CASUALTIES PROVIDED BY FIELD ARTILLERY

The statistics shown in Table 1 illustrates that artillery had caused a high numbers of casualties compared to the other causes. This proves that although artillery weapons is less effective in jungle warfare compared to conventional warfare but it still relevant as the most lethal weapons in the battlefield. Compared to Korean War, 35 percent of UN casualties were inflicted by North Korean Artillery and 75 percent of casualties of North Korean Armies inflicted by UN Artillery:

LESSON LEARNT

Vietnam War had demonstrated how the field artillery guns played an important role to support the US Army to survive the longest war in the US history. Even though, comparatively the effectiveness of the field artillery was less in jungle

or guerrilla warfare but it was still a major contributor to inflict casualties to the NVA. The lesson learnt from artillery during Vietnam War are as follows:

- US believed that they were fighting with the army that was similar to North Korea without taking into account that NVA was more experience and had previously fought against French Army since 1950s. The Communist also established the ARVN to deal with the South Vietnam and US Army, and forced them to fight in bigger scale guerrilla warfare. Sun Tzu in his book Art of War denotes “Thus one’s victories in battle cannot be repeated, they take their form in response to inexhaustibly changing circumstances”. US Army were trained in the conventional setting thus they required time to adjust themselves in guerrilla warfare and the limitation to maximising firepower provided the advantages to NVA who fight on their own environment.
- North Vietnam approached the war on a Maoist strategy, seeking to gain control by gradual stages rather than decisive military confrontations in short term. The disadvantages on mobility, firepower and technologies had been transferred to guerrilla warfare by carrying out a low level insurgency that gradually gained in scope and intensity. Later, the NVA who was held in reserve infiltrated as many villages as possible and generating the support bases for the Vietcong. The ultimate extension of this

Causes	Deaths	Wounds
(a)	(b)	(c)
Small Arms	51%	16%
Fragments from artillery	36%	65%
Booby traps, mines	11%	15%
Punji stakes	-	2%
Others	2%	2%

Table 1: The Casualties in Vietnam War.

evolution is guerrilla warfare, which exploits chaos by making disorder and unpredictable strategies. The guerrilla warfare never stopped to defence particular place, always moving, staying one step ahead. Guerrilla Army is pure mobility.

- The light guns often served in the direct support role to fight against guerrilla warfare because its characteristics of light weight, dependability and high rate of fire made it the ideal weapon for moving with light infantry forces and responding quickly with high volumes of round and providing covering fire close to friendly forces. The ability to be lifted by air had given the advantages to the light guns to be deployed everywhere in the operational areas. This new technology has developed the lighter light gun with bigger calibre and greater range.

- The responsibility for coordinating the various types of fires available to the manoeuvre commander falls largely on the field artillery. The Artillery FSCOORD is responsible for coordinating all available fire power from field artillery, armed helicopters, Air Force and Naval tactical air, air defence weapons in the ground support role and naval gunfire.

- Field Artillery Liaison Officer or FOO should be able to work with other services and forces, therefore they must understand and adjust themselves in different operating procedures in accordance to friendly forces operating in area of responsible.

- Establishing AWCC at battalion level and above had been able to avoid firing their own aircraft by ground forces. All the support means required to notify AWCC before firing onto aircraft as well as the aircraft needs to notify the AWCC before flying.

- Fire Support Bases are designed to provide indirect fire artillery support to infantry. They have been able to provide defensive fire to protect the bases from Vietcong attack and provide covering fire for patrolling troop in the operating areas. This technique is still relevant in Afghanistan where the allied forces established the FSB's to support the operations to fight the war against the Taliban even though in harsh mountainous environment.

- Artillery in riverine operation is only introduced in Vietnam. This technique is relevant in the delta and swampy areas. However not many types of gun is able to fire on the boat. The suitable gun for such condition is the light gun with platform and muzzle brake to reduce recoil after firing.

CONCLUSION

Fire power is one of the vital elements during the conflict and became the decisive factor when all elements are fully coordinated to cause destructions to the enemy. Vietnam War which had been fought during 1950 to 1975 brought a new dimension on the effectiveness of fire power by artillery to support a combat team which conduct operations in unconventional ways. The concentration of fire given from FSB and coordinated with air or naval gunfire support placed NVA or Vietcong guerrilla in a difficult time to fight the battle during the offensive strike. This was the main reason the NVA chose to fight the close combat in order to avoid the artillery fire.

The withdrawal of US troops in Vietnam demonstrated that the superiorities in weaponry, equipment and advances in technologies will not win a war. The willingness of soldiers to fight the war with courage, honour and dignity had resulted the effort to stop the South Vietnam from been overpowered by North Vietnam was failed.

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Lt Kol Noor Sazali bin Puteh was commissioned to the Royal Artillery Corps on 18 December 1982. He also had been selected to attend Regimental Gunnery Officer in Artillery School in Australia in 1992 and Artillery in Peace Support Operations in Artillery School in United Kingdom in 2003. He served as UN Observer in Liberia (UNMIL) in May 2008 until May 2009. Lt Kol Noor Sazali holds a Diploma in Strategy and Defence Study (UM) and Masters Degree in Management (UM). Among the important appointments held by Lt Kol Noor Sazali were Instructor of Gunnery in Artillery Training Centre, Staff Officer Grade 2 Technical and Career officers in Artillery Directorate, Commanding Officer of 4th Royal Artillery Regiment, Commandant of Artillery Training Center and currently as Staff Officer Grade 1 Doctrine of Combat Support in Army Training Command Headquarters.

MENGOPTIMUMKAN PENGURUSAN MINDA MAMPU MENJANA KECERDASAN EMOSI DALAM MENINGKATKAN PRODUKTIVITI DAN POTENSI DIRI SETIAP ANGGOTA TENTERA DARAT

Oleh Kapt Nurharyanis binti Abu Bakar

SINOPSIS

Sering kali kita mendengar tentang pengurusan organisasi tetapi pengurusan berkaitan minda jarang dibincangkan terutama di kalangan warga Tentera Darat. Kecerdasan emosi mampu untuk mempengaruhi pengurusan minda yang baik. Apabila individu mampu untuk menguruskan mindanya dengan seimbang maka ia akan membantu di dalam proses penghasilan keputusan. Ini amat penting kerana hasil dari pengawalan emosi akan membantu anggota atau individu untuk berfikir sebelum bertindak. Selain daripada itu, ianya juga mampu untuk meningkatkan daya pemerhatian dan pemusatan anggota terhadap kualiti dan mutu kerja serta beberapa kelebihan yang lain. Setiap individu khasnya anggota TD sepatutnya didedahkan dengan aspek kemahiran.

Pendahuluan

Setiap manusia di dalam dunia ini secara fitrahnya telah diberi oleh Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa satu kelebihan yang tidak ada pada makhluk-makhluk yang lain iaitu kelebihan akal. Ia menjadi satu platform yang membolehkan seorang manusia itu berfikir mengenai sesuatu melalui minda. Oleh itu, manusia atau insan yang mampu menggunakan atau menguruskan minda yang paling baik dan optimum akan mampu menjana kecerdasan emosinya bagi mengelakkan emosi menguasai akal. Jika minda di luar kewarasan maka kesannya akan berlaku sesuatu tindakan di luar jangkauan seperti pembunuhan, penderaan, pembuangan bayi serta lain-lain masalah keruntuhan akhlak dan jenayah yang sering berlaku pada masa kini. Jika permasalahan ini tidak dibendung maka dikhuatiri ianya akan menjadi satu tabiat yang biasa dan merebak seperti duri dalam daging di kalangan warga Tentera Darat (TD) atau menjadi musuh di dalam selimut.

Bercerita mengenai minda atau akal sudah semestinya setiap individu akan terbayang letaknya iaitu di dalam otak manusia. Kajian mengenai sistem pemikiran atau penggunaan otak manusia ini sering menjadi satu isu atau topik utama kerana pelbagai penemuan baru akan diperolehi. Sebagai satu sistem organisma yang amat kompleks, otak manusia mempunyai kuasa dan potensi yang amat menakjubkan di luar tanggapan manusia. Sering kita terdengar dan terbaca kajian-kajian dari Barat yang menyatakan secara kasar kebanyakan manusia menggunakan hanya 10 peratus sahaja daripada kemampuan otaknya. Pernyataan ini sebenarnya kini tidak lagi relevan kerana ramai penyelidik neurologi berpendapat dasawarsa ini manusia menggunakan kurang daripada satu peratus kemampuan dan potensi otaknya. Cuba anda bayangkan kerana lebih daripada 99 peratus daripada keupayaan otak itu masih belum digunakan dan bersedia untuk dikembangkan.

Dalam penggunaan otak atau minda ini pula, sering kita terbaca penggunaan otak kiri dan otak kanan, tapi pernahkah anda mendengar mengenai kuasa minda terancang (*conscious mind*) dan minda terpendam (*subconscious mind*). Mengikut kajian hampir 90 peratus aktiviti harian kita dikuasai oleh minda terpendam. Kedua-dua minda terancang dan terpendam ini perlu diintegrasikan melalui kuasa sasaran yang positif untuk meningkatkan fungsi otak. Mengapa pengurusan minda ini penting? Ini adalah kerana dengan meningkatkan daya pemusatan dan pemerhatian melalui minda, kita mampu untuk menggunakan kemampuan yang ada di dalam setiap diri individu yang tidak disedari atau tidak pernah diambil tahu.

Menyentuh mengenai kecerdasan emosi, hanya dengan penggunaan minda yang terancang sahajalah segala tekanan atau ketegangan jiwa akan dapat diatasi. Aspek ini amat penting kerana stres jika tidak dikawal akan menurunkan prestasi seseorang individu, tetapi jika disalurkan dengan cara yang betul, ia boleh memberikan tenaga untuk meningkatkan prestasi dan pengembangan diri. Justeru itu, jika elemen ini mampu diterapkan di kalangan anggota Tentera Darat (TD), secara tidak langsung ia mampu untuk meningkatkan produktiviti setiap anggota. Kesannya akan lahirnya warga TD yang benar-benar unggul, berketerampilan dan berpandangan jauh tidak kiralah di kalangan pihak atasan atau anggota bawahan.

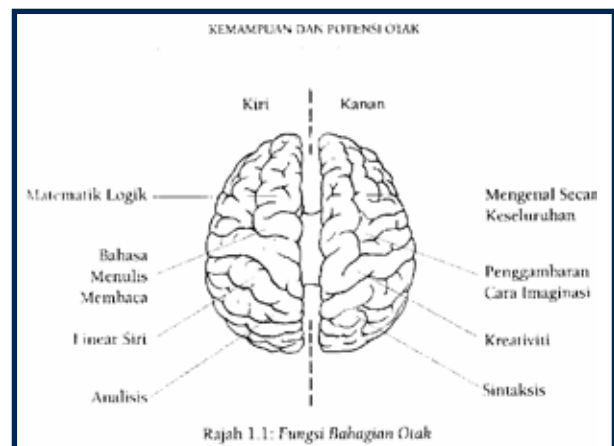
Kemampuan dan Potensi Otak

Tahukah anda bahawa otak seorang dewasa yang sederhana mengandungi lebih daripada 10 bilion neuron atau sel saraf dan beratnya lebih kurang tiga setengah paun iaitu lebih kurang dua peratus daripada berat badannya¹? Seekor lebah mampu membuat pelbagai kerja yang sungguh luar biasa seperti membina sarang tempat tinggal, memproses madu yang sangat tinggi nilainya, menganalisis cahaya suria untuk menentukan arahan dan boleh berkomunikasi antara satu sama lain untuk berkongsi pengetahuan sedangkan otaknya hanya sebesar butir garam yang halus. Oleh itu, boleh anda bayangkan kemampuan dan

potensi otak seorang manusia yang berpuluh juta lebih besar daripada otak seekor lebah. Walaupun sering diperkatakan manusia hanya menggunakan fungsi otak sebanyak satu hingga sepuluh peratus sahaja tetapi ahli penyelidik menegaskan bahawa kemampuan dan potensi otak manusia itu tiada hadnya. Semakin banyak kajian dibuat tentang otak manusia semakin luas kemampuan dan potensinya.

Fungsi Otak Kiri dan Kanan

Bermula atau sejak dari zaman Mesir tua lagi pembahagian otak seperti ini telah dikenalpasti di mana apabila sebahagian otak kiri cedera maka bahagian anggota badan di sebelah kanan menjadi layuh dan begitu juga sebaliknya. Pemenang hadiah Nobel, Dr. Sperry dan Dr. Ornstein dari Institute Technology California menegaskan bahawa kedua bahagian otak dihubungkan dengan lebih daripada 200 juta saraf yang dikenal sebagai *corpus collasum*². Mereka berjaya membuktikan bahawa kedua-dua bahagian otak ini juga mempunyai fungsi yang berbeza yang mana otak kiri lebih kepada aktiviti akademik seperti logik dan matematik. Manakala bahagian otak kanan menguasai perkara seperti muzik, imaginasi dan menilai corak secara keseluruhan. Kebanyakan pelajar lebih menggunakan otak kiri dan keupayaan serta aktiviti otak kanan hampir dilupakan. Jika sekiranya seseorang itu meluangkan sedikit masa menggunakan aktiviti otak kanan maka otak kirinya akan berfungsi lebih aktif.



¹ Abdul Fatah Hassan, Pengurusan Minda Dalam Kehidupan, 2008, Prin-Ad Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, ms1.

² Ornstein R. dan Sobel D., The Healing Brain, 1987, New York Simon & Schuster, ms 25.

Kajian menunjukkan pelajar yang menghadapi masalah dalam pembelajaran disebabkan oleh kedua bahagian otak tidak diintegrasikan dengan secara menyeluruh ataupun sebahagian otak sahaja berfungsi lebih banyak daripada sebahagian yang lain³. Oleh itu, setiap anggota (selain daripada pelajar) seharusnya menggunakan kedua fungsi otak dengan cara yang harmoni bagi membolehkan aktiviti belajar atau bekerja menjadi lebih seronok, daya pemusatan akan bertambah, daya ingatan akan menjadi kuat, penggambaran cara dan imaginasi akan bertambah baik untuk menyelesaikan sebarang masalah dan pemikiran akan menjadi lebih kreatif⁴. Berikut merupakan beberapa aktiviti yang boleh meningkatkan fungsi otak kiri⁵:

- a. Rancang satu aktiviti harian yang terperinci dan cuba laksanakan dalam masa seminggu.
- b. Fikirkan dengan cara terperinci suatu cara penyimpanan fail, nota atau resit.
- c. Dapatkan fakta-fakta penting dari sebuah buku atau majalah yang dibaca.

Seperti yang telah dinyatakan, penggunaan sebahagian otak sahaja tidak mampu untuk mendapatkan hasil yang terbaik. Antara aktiviti yang boleh meningkatkan penggunaan otak kanan adalah seperti berikut:

- a. Lakar bayangan minda mengenai Malaysia dalam tahun 2020 dari segi penduduk, infrastruktur, ekonomi dan sebagainya.
- b. Buat peta minda untuk catatkan ceramah agama atau kuliah solat Jumaat yang didengar.
- c. Buat sesuatu hobi seperti menanam pokok bunga, mendengar muzik atau melukis.

³ Abdul Fatah Hassan, *Pengurusan Minda Dalam Kehidupan*, 2008, Prin-Ad Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, ms 2.

⁴ Abdul Fatah Hassan, *Kecemerlangan Minda Dalam Pembelajaran Keseluruhan Otak dan Daya Berfikir*, 1996, Utusan Publication & Distributirs Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, ms 5.

⁵ *ibid*, ms 10.

Selain daripada aktiviti-aktiviti yang dinyatakan, terdapat juga aktiviti yang boleh mengintegrasikan kedua-kedua fungsi otak dalam masa yang sama seperti di bawah:

- a. Fikirkan semula keadaan kewangan anda pada minggu ini, bulan lepas dan pada tahun lepas (otak kiri) dan dalam masa yang sama ceritakan pengalaman yang paling menyeronokkan kepada kawan anda sehingga dia turut terhibur (otak kanan).
- b. Susun semula fail dan buku-buku yang terdapat di dalam pejabat anda secara sistematik (otak kiri) dan dalam masa yang sama luangkan masa untuk mendengar muzik kegemaran anda (otak kanan).
- c. Bersihkan meja pejabat anda dalam masa sepuluh minit (otak kiri) dan cuba ubahsuai susun atur perabot pejabat anda dengan cara lebih kreatif (otak kanan).

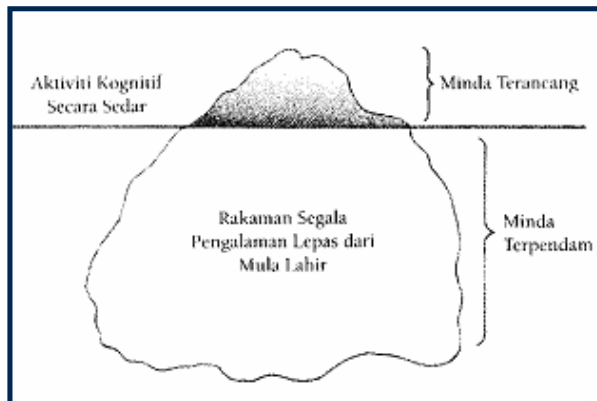
Mengikuti kajian Nedd Herrmann⁶ bapa kepada pemikiran keseluruhan otak, aktiviti harian ini amat penting diamalkan dalam masa enam minggu untuk mendapatkan hasil yang baik dan kreatif. Aktiviti ini boleh diubahsuai mengikut kesesuaian individu asalkan selaras dengan fungsi minda yang diterangkan.

Dualisme Minda (*The Duality of Mind*)

Sememangnya diakui bahawa setiap manusia hanya mempunyai satu minda sahaja namun tanpa diketahui minda ini boleh menjalankan dua fungsi yang berlainan. Kedua-dua fungsi minda ini mempunyai kuasa yang berlainan pula iaitu kuasa minda terancang dan kuasa minda terpendam. Ia juga dikenali dengan pelbagai jenis istilah lain seperti minda objektif dan subjektif, minda sedar dan minda di bawah sedar, minda jaga dan minda tidur (*the waking and the sleeping mind*) dan pelbagai jenis istilah lagi. Minda terancang mempunyai organ yang dinamakan *cerebrospinal* dan dikuasai oleh otak kiri manakala minda

⁶ Herrmann. N., *The Whole Brain Business Book*, 1996, Mc Graw-Hill, New York, ms 44.

terpendam mempunyai organ *sympathetic* dan dikuasai oleh otak kanan⁷.



Rajah 2.1: Perbandingan antara Minda Terancang dengan minda Terpendam

Minda terancang ini menerima maklumat luaran melalui pancaindera, pemerhatian, pengalaman dan juga penyelidikan. Fungsinya yang terpenting adalah untuk melaksanakan proses penaakulan. Minda terpendam pula memahami keadaan persekitaran tidak melalui pancaindera tetapi melalui intuisi dan gerak perasaan. Minda ini melaksanakan lebih 90 peratus fungsi otak dan pengaruhnya amat besar sekali dalam kehidupan manusia. Banyak kajian telah menunjukkan bahawa minda terpendam inilah kuasa sebenar minda manusia. Ia tidak boleh membezakan antara maklumat positif atau negatif. Ia akan menerima dan melaksanakan apa sahaja maklumat dan buah fikiran yang disaran oleh minda terancang⁸. Oleh itu, amat perlu sekali seseorang itu berusaha untuk mengawal minda supaya sentiasa dipenuhi oleh pemikiran positif. Masa yang paling baik sekali untuk mengawal minda terpendam adalah semasa istirahat misalnya pada waktu malam sebaik sahaja kita hampir tidur.

Segala pemikiran positif akan terakam di dalam minda terpendam semasa gambaran kejayaan dan kecemerlangan itu digambarkan sewaktu masa mengantuk walaupun akhirnya kita terus tertidur. Masa sebelum tertidur disebut *hyponogogic period*

di mana minda terpendam sangat menerima kepada sebarang saranan. Oleh itu, amat perlu memenuhkan minda dengan segala pemikiran positif kerana pemikiran yang positif dan negatif tidak boleh memenuhi minda secara serentak. Cara bagi membantu minda berfikir dengan positif adalah dengan menggunakan saranan pemikiran positif bentuk tinggi⁹, contohnya seperti membuat perancangan untuk berjaya dengan cemerlang. Begitu juga, jangan membuat perancangan untuk tidak sakit tapi buatlah perancangan supaya badan bertambah sihat dengan membuat penggambaran badan sihat. Demikian juga jangan membuat program supaya tidak membuang masa, tetapi rancanglah program pengurusan masa yang berkesan dengan membuat bayangan minda berhubung matlamat yang ditujui. Malah, segala pekerjaan dan aktiviti akan menjadi mudah dan menyeronokkan jika kuasa minda terancang dan minda terpendam ini dapat dikawal serta diintegrasikan melalui kuasa saranan positif. Demikian juga aktiviti seperti penggambaran cara, imaginasi, istirahat dan sebagainya, perlu dilakukan untuk meningkatkan fungsi minda dan otak.

Kecerdasan Emosi

Bagi mendapatkan kualiti dalam pengurusan minda, emosi turut memainkan peranan penting bagi melahirkan individu yang produktif. Ini kerana pengurusan minda yang optimum belum mampu untuk menguruskan emosi yang terkawal oleh itu wujud satu istilah yang lebih penting dan popular berbanding *Intelligent Quotient (IQ)*, iaitu *EI* atau lebih dikenali sebagai *Emotional Intelligent*. Kecerdasan Emosi amat penting pada masa kini kerana telah terbukti pelajar yang pintar belum tentu menjadi orang yang berjaya. Pelajar yang pintar juga tidak semestinya mampu untuk mengelakkan diri dari terjebak dalam kes keruntuhan akhlak dan jenayah. Misalnya, Bill Gate merupakan seorang pelajar yang tidak habis menuntut di Harvard tetapi mampu menjadi jutawan. Goh Tong peneraju Syarikat Genting juga merupakan seorang yang tidak menamatkan zaman persekolahan tetapi mampu menjadi jutawan ternama.

⁷ *ibid*, ms 67.

⁸ Peale, N. V., *The Power of Positive Thinking*, 1987, Ceder, William Heineman Ltd., London, ms 122.

⁹ *ibid* ms 57.

Pengertian Emosi

Perkataan emosi berasal dari bahasa Latin iaitu *emovere* yang bermaksud bergerak menjauh¹⁰. Ini menunjukkan bahawa kecenderungan bertindak merupakan tunggak utama dalam emosi. Menurut Daniel Goleman¹¹, emosi merujuk kepada satu perasaan dan pemikiran yang luas. Ianya satu keadaan biologi dan psikologi serta serangkaian kecenderungan untuk bertindak. Biasanya emosi merupakan reaksi terhadap rangsangan dari luar dan dalam diri individu. Sebagai contoh, emosi gembira mendorong perubahan suasana hati seseorang sehingga secara fisiologi terlihat tertawa manakala emosi sedih mendorong seseorang berperilaku menangis. Emosi merupakan salah satu aspek penting dalam kehidupan manusia kerana emosi merupakan faktor motivasi perilaku dalam peningkatan diri tetapi dalam masa yang sama juga dapat mengganggu perilaku intensional manusia¹².

Apa Yang Dikatakan Kecerdasan Emosi?

Orang pertama yang mengenalkan kecerdasan emosi adalah Daniel Goleman. Dalam bukunya *Emotional Intelligence* atau EQ, ia mengungkapkan bahawa terdapat lima aspek utama dalam Kecerdasan Emosi iaitu mengenali emosi diri, mengelola emosi, memotivasikan diri sendiri, mengenal emosi orang lain dan membina hubungan. Ertinya, jika kita memang mampu untuk memahami dan melaksanakan kelima-lima aspek utama tersebut, maka semua perjalanan aktiviti akan berjalan dengan lancar. Pada amnya terdapat perbezaan di antara Kecerdasan Emosional dengan Kecerdasan Intelektual. Goleman mengungkapkan Kecerdasan Intelektual itu sesungguhnya merupakan keturunan seseorang yang tidak dapat diubah disebabkan pembawaan sejak lahir. Sedangkan Kecerdasan Emosional tidak sedemikian ia merupakan jambatan antara apa yang kita ketahui dan apa yang kita lakukan. Semakin tinggi Kecerdasan Emosional

kita akan semakin berkeyakinan untuk melakukan apa-apapun yang diketahui benar. Dalam penelitian ini menjelaskan bahawa EI adalah kemampuan individu untuk mengenali emosi diri, mengelola emosi diri, memotivasikan diri sendiri, mengenali emosi orang lain (empati) dan kemampuan untuk membina hubungan (kerjasama) dengan orang lain.

Faktor-faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Kecerdasan Emosi

Terdapat lima kemampuan utama yang mempengaruhi atau menjadi faktor penting dalam kecerdasan emosi. Elemen-elemen inilah yang membentuk kekuatan atau menjadi nadi utama dalam menerangkan kecerdasan emosi secara lebih mendalam. Seseorang individu yang berupaya mengawal emosinya mempunyai ciri-ciri sebegini. Ianya dirungkai seperti berikut:

a. Keupayaan Mengenali Emosi Diri.

Mengenali emosi diri sendiri merupakan suatu kemampuan untuk mengenali perasaan sewaktu perasaan itu terjadi. Para ahli psikologi menyebutkan kesedaran diri sebagai *metamood* iaitu kesedaran seseorang akan emosinya sendiri. Menurut Mayer¹³ kesedaran diri adalah waspada terhadap kata hati kerana bila kurang waspada maka individu menjadi mudah terpengaruh dalam aliran emosi dan dikuasai oleh emosi. Kesedaran diri sememangnya belum menjamin penguasaan emosi namun ianya merupakan salah satu prasyarat penting untuk mengendali dan menyedari emosinya.

b. Mengelola Emosi.

Mengelola emosi merupakan kemampuan individu dalam menangani perasaan agar dapat diungkap dengan tepat atau selaras sehingga tercapai keseimbangan dalam diri individu tersebut. Keupayaan mengawal tekanan yang dihadapi merupakan kunci menuju kesejahteraan emosi. Emosi berlebihan yang meningkat dengan intensiti yang terlalu lama akan

¹⁰ Purdi E. Chandra, *Artikel Kecerdasan Emosi*, 2009, Jakarta, ms 2.

¹¹ Daniel G., *Mengapa EQ Lebih Penting Daripada IQ*, 2002, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, ms 411.

¹² Prawitasari, *Kiat-kiat Membesarkan Anak Yang Memiliki Kecerdasan Emosional (terjemahan)*, 1995, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, ms 102.

¹³ Goleman Daniel, *Working With Emotional Intelligence (terjemahan)*, 2000, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, ms 64.

mengganggu-gugah kestabilan kita¹⁴. Kemampuan ini mencakupi kemampuan untuk menghibur diri sendiri, melepaskan tekanan, kemurungan dan akibat-akibat yang ditimbulkannya serta kemampuan untuk bangkit dari perasaan-perasaan yang menekan.

c. **Memotivasi Diri Sendiri.** Prestasi yang wujud dalam diri individu adalah hasil dari motivasi diri yang tinggi. Ianya bererti memiliki ketekunan untuk menahan diri terhadap kepuasan dan mengendalikan dorongan hati serta mempunyai perasaan motivasi yang positif iaitu antusiasisme yang bermaksud ghairah, optimis dan berkeyakinan.

d. **Mengenali Emosi Orang Lain.** Kemampuan untuk mengenali emosi orang lain juga disebut sebagai empati, menurut Goleman¹⁵. Individu yang memiliki kemampuan empati lebih mampu menangkap isyarat-isyarat tersembunyi yang menunjukkan apa-apa yang diperkatakan oleh orang lain sehingga ia mampu menerima pandangan orang lain, peka terhadap perasaan orang lain dan lebih mampu untuk menjadi pendengar yang setia. Rosenthal dalam penelitiannya menunjukkan bahawa orang-orang yang mampu membaca perasaan dan isyarat *non verbal* lebih mampu menyesuaikan diri secara emosional, lebih popular, lebih mudah bergaul dan lebih peka¹⁶. Nowicki, ahli psikologi menjelaskan bahawa anak-anak yang tidak mampu membaca atau mengungkapkan emosi dengan baik akan terus menerus merasa tertekan¹⁷. Seseorang yang mampu membaca emosi orang lain juga memiliki kesedaran diri yang tinggi.

e. **Membina Hubungan.** Kemampuan dalam membina hubungan merupakan suatu keterampilan yang menunjang populariti, kepemimpinan dan keberhasilan antara peribadi (Goleman, 2002 : 59). Keterampilan dalam berkomunikasi merupakan kemampuan dasar dalam keberhasilan membina hubungan. Individu sukar untuk mendapatkan apa yang diinginkannya dan sulit juga memahami keinginan serta kemahuan orang lain. Orang-

orang yang hebat dalam keterampilan membina hubungan ini akan sukses dalam apa jua bidang yang diceburi. Orang yang berjaya dalam pergaulan adalah mereka yang mampu berkomunikasi dengan baik dengan orang lain. Orang-orang ini dikenali ramai dalam lingkungannya dan menjadi teman yang menyenangkan karena kemampuannya berkomunikasi (Goleman, 2002 :59). Ramah tamah, baik hati, hormat dan disukai orang lain dapat dijadikan petunjuk positif bagaimana seseorang mampu membina hubungan dengan orang lain. Sejauh mana keperibadian seseorang berkembang dilihat dari banyaknya hubungan interpersonal yang dilakukannya.

Kepentingan Pengurusan Minda Dan Kecerdasan Emosi

Definisi pengurusan minda dan kecerdasan emosi telah berjaya dikupas walaupun secara ringkas bagi pengetahuan pembaca. Apa yang akan dibentangkan di sini pula adalah kepentingan pengurusan minda yang optimum dalam menjana kecerdasan emosi bagi melahirkan warga TD yang produktif dan berkualiti. Persoalannya, mengapa kedua-dua perkara ini penting untuk dibincangkan. Ini kerana sering kali kita terlupa pengurusan minda bukanlah hanya untuk digunakan bagi pengajian akademik tetapi juga bagi menguruskan emosi melalui kaedah yang dipanggil kecerdasan emosi (*EI*). Di samping itu, aspek pengurusan yang sering kali diperkatakan adalah pengurusan organisasi sedangkan pengurusan minda ini juga tidak kurang pentingnya. Berikut akan diberikan beberapa kepentingan pengurusan mengikut pendapat penulis bagi diterap serta dipraktikkan oleh warga TD.

a. **Cabang Ilmu Pengetahuan.** Isu kemahiran berfikir atau ilmu akademik ini seperti yang pembaca sedia maklum merupakan satu cabang ilmu yang amat tidak *familiar* di kalangan warga TD. Begitu juga dengan kemahiran pengurusan minda dan konsep kecerdasan emosi. Jika perkara ini tidak didedahkan melalui bahan bacaan yang berbentuk ringkas seperti esei kemungkinan besar ilmu yang amat berguna seperti ini tidak akan didedahkan langsung kepada mereka. Oleh itu, dengan mempelajari atau seboleh mungkin membaca bahan bacaan

¹⁵ *ibid*, ms 57.

¹⁶ *ibid*, ms 163.

¹⁷ *ibid*, ms 172.

seperti ini akan menambahkan lagi ilmu pengetahuan anggota TD samada bagi pihak atasan atau anggota bawahan. Ilmu seperti ini akan membantu kita untuk berfikir secara *futuristic* dan luar dari kebiasaan. Anggota yang mempunyai kelebihan ilmu ini akan dapat dilihat melalui penampilan dan cara bekerja yang begitu sistematik dan profesional. Kelebihan ini membolehkan anggota TD berkeyakinan untuk menjalankan tugas dan tanggungjawab sehingga di peringkat antarabangsa terutamanya apabila menjalani latihan secara bersama dengan pasukan keselamatan dari luar negara. Justeru itu, sedikit sebanyak anggota TD mampu diletakkan setaraf dengan anggota tentera dari negara-negara berkuasa besar dan dalam masa yang sama dapat menaikkan nama baik Malaysia.

b. Meningkatkan Daya Pemerhatian dan Pemusatan. Daya pemerhatian dan pemusatan fikiran ini perlu dipertingkatkan supaya setiap anggota TD berupaya untuk meneruskan usaha untuk beberapa ketika yang diperlukan bagi melaksanakan sesuatu tugas. Minda yang menerawang semasa bekerja perlu dikawal agar daya pemusatan tidak lari dari objektif. Pablo Picasso, seorang seniman yang terkenal menyatakan bahawa semasa bekerja dia meletakkan jasadnya di luar pintu bilik sama halnya seperti orang Islam meninggalkan kasutnya semasa masuk ke dalam masjid¹⁸. Jika minda penuh dengan gangguan dan tidak tahu cara menghindari gangguan tersebut maka sudah pasti seseorang itu tidak akan dapat menghasilkan kerja yang tinggi mutunya. Perkara yang wajar dilakukan untuk membebaskan minda daripada gangguan adalah dengan cara merehatkan anggota badan sambil beransur-ansur menghilangkan perasaan gangguan daripada tekanan minda. Di sini dapat diperlihatkan bahawa betapa pentingnya ilmu pengurusan minda dan emosi bagi membolehkan setiap anggota melepaskan tekanan dengan cara yang paling baik dan selamat dan seterusnya dapat mengelakkan dari sebarang masalah disiplin. Minda yang waras yang jauh dari sebarang pengaruh

alkohol atau dadah sudah semestinya akan mampu untuk mengawal emosi dari melakukan sebarang perkara yang memudaratkan.

c. Pengurusan Masa. Seringkali kita dengar tentang kepentingan masa dalam kehidupan manusia dan masa sering diumpamakan seperti emas. Jika seseorang itu membazirkan masa bermakna dia membazirkan umurnya. Kerap kali dikatakan juga bahawa masa selalu bercanggah atau bertentangan dengan seseorang. Sebenarnya masa boleh menjadi sahabat karib apabila seseorang mempunyai kebolehan mengelolaknya. Masa boleh memberi faedah jika kita gunakan masa itu dengan bijak. Kita sedia maklum, dalam kehidupan seharian, seseorang itu selalu menghadapi pelbagai rintangan dan gangguan dalam melaksanakan tugas dengan berkesan dan cemerlang. Pengganggu masa ini boleh dibahagikan kepada dua bahagian iaitu;

(1) **Pengganggu masa utama.** Ini adalah seperti masalah yang berhubung dengan sikap, matlamat, objektif, keutamaan, perancangan dan kebolehan membuat keputusan.

(2) **Pengganggu masa sampingan.** Ini pula adalah masalah kecil yang mengganggu apabila seseorang itu hendak melaksanakan tugasnya. Ia termasuklah gangguan yang dihadapi pada hari itu misalnya pelawat yang datang di luar dugaan, panggilan telefon, mesyuarat tergepar, kecemasan dari keluarga, urusan peribadi dan sebagainya.

Untuk membina pengurusan masa yang berkesan adalah perlu menganalisis perkara yang boleh menjadi pengganggu masa terdekat. Justeru itu, dapat dilihat di sini betapa pentingnya ilmu pengurusan minda yang mencakupi pelbagai aspek agar dapat diaplikasikan dalam kehidupan dan tugas seharian anggota.

d. Mengenal Diri Sendiri. Dalam bahagian sebelum ini telah dijelaskan tentang kemampuan

¹⁸ Zukar G., *The Dancing Wu Li Masters*, 1989, Bantam Books, New York, ms 43.

¹⁹ *ibid*

dan potensi otak sebagai keupayaan yang amat penting kepada setiap individu. Keupayaan ini tidak akan memberi makna tanpa digunakan melalui usaha yang gigih untuk mencapai kejayaan dalam kehidupan di dunia dan akhirat. Mengikut Socrates¹⁹, ahli falsafah Yunan yang terkenal dalam dunia pendidikan lebih 2000 tahun dahulu, telah menegaskan bahawa langkah pertama untuk mencapai kejayaan dan kecemerlangan ialah konsep mengenal diri. Antara soalan yang sering ditanya ialah Siapakah diri anda? Apakah kemampuan anda? Kenapakah anda dijadikan? Siapakah yang menjadikan anda? Pertanyaan seperti ini yang perlu direnungkan. Mengapa ilmu mengenali diri penting bagi warga TD khususnya? Ini kerana dengan mengenal diri, individu tersebut akan dapat mengetahui kekuatan dan kelemahan dirinya seterusnya dapat meningkatkan keyakinan dan keupayaan diri. Sekiranya keyakinan diri individu tinggi ia akan menjadi satu motivasi kepada individu tersebut dan dalam masa yang sama dapat meningkatkan produktiviti anggota. Peningkatan produktiviti akan menunjukkan kepada masyarakat tentang sikap anggota TD yang baik dan cemerlang.

e. **Pengurusan Stres.** Stres atau ketegangan jiwa dapat menurunkan keberkesanan prestasi seseorang itu jika tidak dikawal. Jika disalurkan dengan cara yang betul stres boleh memberikan tenaga untuk meningkatkan prestasi dan pengembangan diri. Mengikut para pengkaji atau ahli psikologi, kebiasaannya stres berlaku atas tiga sebab utama iaitu faktor fizikal, minda dan sosial atau alam persekitaran. Isu yang paling penting di sini ialah bagaimana menangani stres ini dari menjadi satu penyakit

jiwa dan mendatangkan kesan yang amat buruk kepada warga TD. Tindakan awal yang boleh dilakukan adalah dengan mengenal pasti punca stres. Ini hanya boleh dilakukan apabila anggota berada dalam keadaan tenang, waras dan tidak emosional. Justeru itu, dapat dilihat di sini sekali lagi pengurusan minda yang optimum mampu untuk menjana kecerdasan emosi. Namun begitu, jangan jadikan stres sebagai satu penyebab utama kepada permasalahan diri individu tapi jadikan stress atau tekanan sebagai pendorong kepada kejayaan dan kecemerlangan diri. Manfaatkan tekanan yang dihadapi dengan berfikiran positif dan ini boleh menjadi tenaga tambahan bagi individu itu sendiri.

Kesimpulan

Kalau tidak dipecahkan ruyung manakan dapat sagunya. Itulah perumpamaan yang sering didengar bagi mendapatkan sesuatu. Begitu juga dalam menimba ilmu, jika tidak berusaha dengan bersungguh-sungguh bagaimana boleh mencapai kejayaan. Esei yang serba ringkas ini diharapkan mampu menjadi bahan bacaan yang menjana dan memotivasikan para pembaca untuk mencari dan menggali manfaat pengurusan minda yang optimum di samping kemahiran-kemahiran lain seperti kemahiran berfikir. Pembacaan sahaja juga tidak berguna jika tidak dipraktikkan. Justeru itu, mulai daripada hari ini ambil langkah pertama dengan mencuba untuk mengubah sikap dan minda diri anda dengan mengubah cara berfikir dan mengawal emosi.

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Kapt Nurharyanis binti Abu Bakar dilahirkan pada 6 Ogos 1980 di Kuching, Sarawak. Beliau mula menceburkan diri dalam angkatan tentera malaysia pada 7 jan 2004 dan telah ditauliahkan di dalam Kor Ordnans Diraja. Beliau memegang ijazah Sarjana Muda Ekonomi dari Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Pernah bertugas di 96 Depot Pengkalan Peluru, Masjid Tanah Melaka dan 92 Depot Kenderaan Pusat TD, Kem Batu Kentonmen. Sekarang beliau sedang bertugas di Pusat Latihan Kor Ordnans diRaja (PULNORD) dengan menjawat jawatan sebagai Ajutan. Beliau amat meminati bidang penulisan dan pernah menjadi Johan Pertandingan Mengarang Esei peringkat Tentera Darat pada tahun 2009. Pada masa lapang, beliau gemar membaca buku-buku berbentuk ilmiah .

MILITARY RULE VERSUS CIVILIAN RULE: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY ON THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE OF LEADERSHIP IN PAKISTAN

By Lt Kol Inderjit Singh a/l Tara Singh

SYNOPSIS

Pakistan has been under direct and indirect rule of the military, experiencing four series of coup d'état by the Army. The people of Pakistan welcomed military coup d'état as they felt the civilian government was not performing due to corruption, the feudal family clan system and cronyism. The military rule also has been involved in the economics of the country taking high appointments in many civilian based organizations but they too involved in corruption. The current civilian leaders have shown themselves to be poor managers, and have not inspired confidence in the market. But the military regime has failed in lifting the state's economy, and the mainstream of corruption has increased tremendously to portray a different outlook for the people. What the people of Pakistan want is a stable country and basic supportive requirements for them such as medical facilities, schools etc. For the people of Pakistan it does matter who rules the state although at one time military rule was more acceptable due to the weak civilian rule. Pakistan thus swings back and forth between military and civilian rule one side and feudal and capitalist economies on the other.

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan's history has been characterized by periods of military rule and political instability. It is a developing country that faces problems with high levels of poverty and illiteracy. For most of its existence, Pakistan has been under direct and indirect rule of the military experiencing four series of coup d'état by the Army from Ayub Khan to General Pervez Musharaff. The military has rule Pakistan for most of the country's existence and they have shaped and determined the internal politics, security and economic developments whilst at the same time negotiated its role in the region weakening the civilian leadership to be mere followers. The military has political influence over foreign, security and key domestic issues including mediating confrontations among the feuding political leaders, parties or state institutions which created political instability. It displaced a lawfully elected civilian government which had come into power

on the strength of an overwhelming vote by the Pakistani masses.



Governance in Pakistan is a delicate balancing act between the military chiefs and the elected civilian government (Huntington, 2006)¹. It is a power-sharing arrangement whereby the military has important influence and to mediate confrontations if such confrontations are deemed threatening to political order and stability. Although the civilian government enjoys considerable autonomy for political and economic management and exercise of state authority, it is always expected to consider the military's sensibilities. The military has repeatedly demonstrated that it can and will influence the nature and direction of political change without necessarily assuming power. The military-led government stated its intention to restructure the political, economic and electoral systems. Civilian governments have come and gone with bewildering rapidity, whether overthrown by military coups or stranded by the constantly shifting loyalty of their political supporters. Yet, the same people have gone on running these parties, and leading the same people or kinds of people at local level. The same has been true under military governments in Pakistan.

This paper will look into the military leadership and the civilian rule in Pakistan and make an analysis on the balance of leadership between the military and the civilian rule. This will ride into the consideration of Pakistan's political future and the issues which the political leadership will have to reckon with in order to ensure the future viability of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state. The author will give his views and opinions based on facts and research with appropriate references.

POLITICAL TRANSITION OF PAKISTAN LEADERSHIP

Pakistan has experimented with half a dozen constitutions within the first 25 years of its existence. Frequent coups and military rules ensured that neither the constitution nor the other institutions of governance were allowed to evolve. The first decade was crucial to shaping Pakistan's destiny and was marked by drift and chaos. Seven different prime ministers and eight different cabinets took

oaths of office during this disorderly period, resulting in the ascendancy of bureaucracy in the decision making, with the tacit support of the Army.



Pakistan Army the Helm of Controversial Issues in Pakistan Leadership

Pakistan's political system can best be understood as a pendulum between civilian rule and military rule and broken into 7 stages as mentioned by Syed Abidi's (2004)², as follows (Figure 1):

- The first stage was from 1947-1958 and was characterized by the Parliamentary system with the dominant class interest being the feudal land owners.
- The second stage was from 1958-1968. This was martial law with an American presidential system and saw the rise of the capitalist class.
- The third stage from 1968-1977 saw the end of Martial law (with a presidential and parliamentary system) and the beginning of the Bhutto era and the return of feudalism.
- With the coup by General Zia in 1977, military rule returned and the capitalist class was back in power. The fourth stage had begun and ended with his assassination in 1988.
- The fifth stage was characterized by civilian rule (Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Shariff) until Pervez Musharraf conducted his own coup in 1999 and began the sixth stage. With the

¹⁸ Zugar G., *The Dancing Wu Li Masters*, 1989, Bantam Books, New York, ms 43.

¹⁸ Syed Abidi, "Social Change and the Politics of Religion in Pakistan." Honolulu, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Hawaii, Department of Political Science, 1988.

events of 9/11, globalization and the rise of the internet, this phase has seen the return of the capitalist class.

- In 2008 the seventh stage of Pakistan’s politics appears to have begun. The military era is about to end and the civilians is back in power.

into power, feeling threatened by the military, they attempt to control them. As well, with their feudal roots, a pattern of patronage and corruption sets in.³

POLITICAL POWERS OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN RULE IN PAKISTAN

The military has seldom had to face opposition in coming into power. In fact, it has been invited in by political parties and sections of the public at large. Coups have been walk-over’s. With compromise rather than confrontation defining Pakistan’s political culture and tradition, and with willing partners to be found by different dispensations of ideology packaged by military generals, it is not surprising that the military has ruled Pakistan for 32 of its 60 years. Perhaps it is not the military which is to blame for Pakistan’s repeated military governments, but those who have invited it, and let it come and stay in power.

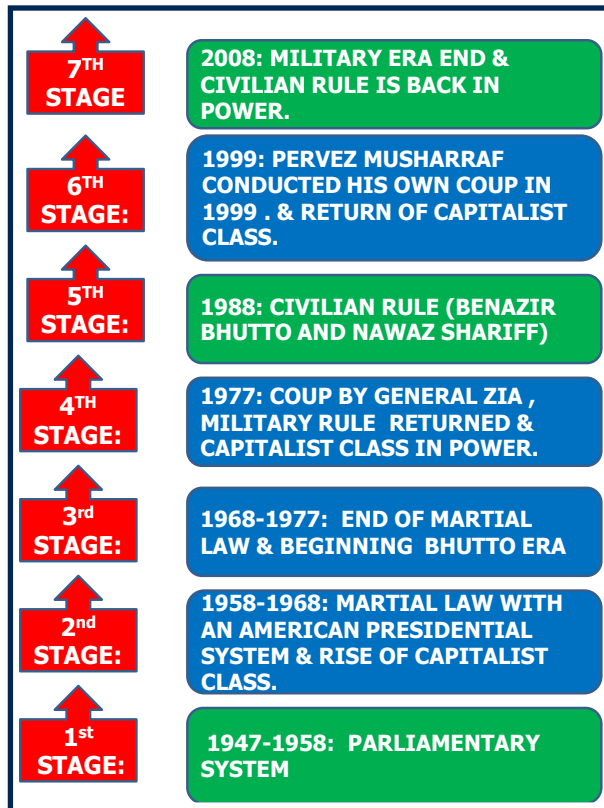


Figure 1: Stages of military & civilian leadership power in Pakistan

But why has Pakistan been dominated by the poles of military and civilian power and why the pendulum between these two poles? Noted political scientist and human rights advocate, Dr. C. Inayatullah (1998) in his classic book State and Democracy in Pakistan argues that one creates the conditions for the other. Military became more independent and powerful controlling national politics, its top brass developed an ideology and a set of perceptions to justify their political role. As guardians of the nation, they believe they have the right to rule the nation. Once the civilians come



Gen Zia ul Haq
1977-1998

The takeover by General Zia ul Haq in 1977 had crystallised the hegemony of the civil and military bureaucracy, not just on the political map of Pakistan. With political and administrative roles and interests, the civil and military bureaucracy emerged

³ The Future Of Democracy In Pakistan : A Liberal Perspective: Inayatullah, Sarah Inayatulla and Sohail Inayatullah

as a key and well-established entity in the economy. But it really take-off when the military returned to power and government, under General Musharraf in October 1999 when he declared the state of emergency which claimed to be equivalent to the state of Martial Law as the constitution of Pakistan of 1973, was suspended, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was fired. He also issued some amendments in the Military Act, which gave the Armed Forces some additional powers.

Pakistan succession of military and civilian rule has emphasized on Pitirim Sorokin's (1957)⁴ theory which states that events and stages of society and history are generally repeating themselves in cycles. Such a theory does not necessarily imply there cannot be any social progress. Following this theory of social change each system overreaches, becomes more corrupt, focuses on its own survival or makes long term decisions that may prove unpopular in domestic politics (peace in Kashmir, dismantling of extremist Islam), and then the other group comes in. Both have created a pendulum that only benefits their own strategies and worldview. Pakistan thus swings back and forth between military and civilian rule one side and feudal and capitalist economies on the other. Most commonly, the leader of the party or coalition with the most votes becomes the Prime Minister.

The position of the president in Pakistan which is the head of state has traditionally been one of a figurehead, with actual powers lying with the Prime Minister. However, at various times in history, often related with military coups and the subsequent return of civilian governments, changes in the Constitution have altered the powers and privileges associated with the office of the president. In 1986 the power-hungry Zia ul Haq brought in the eighth amendment to the constitution. It allows the president to hire or fire prime ministers, governors of provinces, Chiefs of the Armed Forces, judges of the Supreme Court. The current constitution gives the President reserved powers subject to Supreme Court approval or veto to dissolve the National Assembly, triggering new elections, and thereby

to dismiss the Prime Minister. The President also chairs the National Security Council and appoints the heads of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Martial law has been declared three times in Pakistan.

The issue of military compliance is also central to Michael Desch's book "*Civilian Control of the Military*" (1999)⁵. For him, "the best indicator of the state of civilian control is who prevails when civilian and military preferences diverge. If the military does, there is a problem; if the civilians do, there is not". He says that civilian control is easiest when threats are high and mostly international, hardest when they are primarily domestic. When neither kind predominates, the story is mixed and other factors such as military doctrine may strongly influence civilian control of the military.

IMPACT OF MILITARY RULE



Muhammed Ayub Khan President of Pakistan 1958-1969

The Pakistani military has played an influential role in mainstream politics throughout Pakistan's history, with military presidents ruling from 1958 to, 1977 to 1988 and from 1999 to 2008. Muhammad

⁴ Pitirim Alexandrovich Sorokin is a Russian-American sociologist born in Komi (Finno-Ugric region of Russia). Academic and political activist in Russia, he emigrated from Russia to the United States in 1923. He founded the Department of Sociology at Harvard University.

⁵ MICHAEL C. DESCH is the Associate Director of the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce and a member of the Department of Political Science at the University of Kentucky.

Ayub Khan was the first military ruler of Pakistan, serving as the President of Pakistan. As a result of his having control of the Pakistan Army, Ayub deposed his mentor President Iskander Mirza in a bloodless military coup triggering a succession of military takeover in Pakistan history.

This was actually welcomed in Pakistan, since the nation had experienced a very unstable political climate since independence. This would be the first of many instances in the history of Pakistan of the military becoming directly involved in politics. Ayub also faced criticisms during that time on questions of family corruption and cronyism through his business links. "Because the Army is Pakistan's only effective modern institution, because of the repeated failures of Pakistan's civilian governments, because of the security threats that Pakistan faces, and because of the ambitions of the generals, the Army is repeatedly drawn into the business of running other parts of the state".

Samuel Huntington (2006)⁶ states that a weak economy has a major positive impact on the probability of a coup d'état with low income and poor economic performances increases the risk of further coup d'état, which keep income and growth at low rates and therefore increase the chances of future. Pakistan is the typical example of this situation in which the military leadership hopes to change the situation as they felt the current civilian government is not pushing the economic growth and the rampant disturbances by external and internal threats. In other words, the risk of the military launching a coup in Pakistan is high if the military perceives a threat to its institutional interests, a threat to the nation's external security or domestic integrity or perceives the civilian government to be illegitimate, encroaching on military prerogatives or governing poorly (Amina Ibrahim,2009).⁷

In the late 1990s, the government of Nawaz Sharif improved the provision of key services to



Prime Minist Nawaz Sharif 2 Terms from 1990 to 1993 & 1997 to 1999

the population by bringing in the Army to help run everything from education to the distribution of water and power. So even before the coup of 1999 in which General Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif, the Army had taken over large parts of the state by invitation. The provocation for the Pakistan Army's military coup was that the dismissal of General Musharraf as Pakistan Army Chief, the second in a row by the Nawaz Sharif Government.

Since Musharraf stepped down in August 2008, the high command of the Army under General Ashfaq Kayani (Chief of the Army Staff) has repeatedly stated its desire to keep out of politics and government. For the moment at least, this desire is entirely sincere. After both previous periods of military rule the generals wanted to stay out of government for a long time so as to rebuild the public image of the Army as defenders of the country against outside (i.e. Indian) threats. The generals have also been well aware of how a long period in government makes any ruler in Pakistan unpopular. Because of the reasons set out above, no government, civilian or military, can ever give the population most of what it wants or needs. Pakistan gives a picture of a nation far more internally divided than it was under civilian rule.

Vast sections of the Pakistani society view General Musharraf as an American stooge who has bartered away Pakistan's self respect for his own continuance in power in Pakistan after the 9/11 incident in which he supported the US against the

⁶ Huntington, Samuel: 2006. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁷ Amina Ibrahim. 2009. *Guarding the State or Protecting the Economy? The Economic Factors of Pakistan's Military Coups*, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, London

Al Qaeda (Zaidi, 2008)⁸. This view is widely shared in the Islamic world all over, whose leadership Pakistan has always tried to claim.

CIVILIAN RULE IN PAKISTAN



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973 & Prime Minister from 1973 to 1977

Pakistan's first president was Iskander Mirza Habib, who was also the last Governor General. In 1958, he ended the constitution and declared martial law. A few weeks later, he was overthrown in a bloodless coup d'état by General Ayub Khan, who then declared himself President. After the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the new President and presided over the formation of a new constitution who served as the President of Pakistan. This constitution was completed in 1973, and reduced the presidency to a figurehead position, giving power to the Prime Minister. Bhutto stepped down as President and became Prime Minister, symbolizing the transition. The president was elected by legislative assembly members, not by popular vote. Popular vote would be used to

directly elect the members of the National Assembly, including the Prime Minister.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remains a controversial figure in Pakistan. While he was hailed for being a nationalist, Bhutto was roundly criticized for opportunism and intimidating his political opponents. He gave Pakistan its third constitution, oversaw Pakistan's nuclear programme, held peace talks with neighbour India and was more of an Internationalist with a secular image. He was sentenced to death on the charge of having ordered the assassination of a political opponent after an appeal to a higher court. Bhutto was hanged, despite appeals for clemency from several world leaders.

The electoral victory of Benazir Bhutto (daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) in the November 1988 Pakistani elections represents a noticeable shift from the previous pattern of male dominance in Pakistan politics. She was Pakistan's first and only female Prime Minister to date and served as Prime Minister twice, the first time Bhutto became prime minister in 1988 and after a successful 1993 re-election but on both occasions removed from office after only short stints on alleged corruption charges. Nawaz Sharif was twice elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan, serving two non-consecutive terms, the first in 1990 and the second in 1997. He is best known internationally for ordering Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests in response to India's nuclear tests, and the abrupt end of his final term in a dramatic coup d'état by the Pakistan military.

ANALYSIS ON MILITARY & CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP IN PAKISTAN

At the defense leadership level, Pakistani civil-military relations are shaped by several institutional and constitutional features, which have been highlighted by political practice through the years. The Chief of Army Staff, rather than the Defense Minister or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC), is the most powerful position in the defense arena. This is in large part a reflection of the disproportionate size, seniority and prestige

⁸ The Political Economy of Military Rule in Pakistan: The Musharraf Regime Professor Akbar Zaidi is an Independent Social Scientist in Pakistan.

⁹ Dr Cheema is President of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute. He has held senior positions in international relations, defence and security in government and universities in Pakistan and Germany.

of the Army among the three services (Cheema, 2002).⁹

The role of the military also changed in the Zia era compared to when it was first in power under General Ayub in the 1960s. Earlier, the military had played primarily an administrative role, but under Zia it became more and more visible in the economic sector. Many lucrative positions in the huge public sector were made available to retired and serving military personnel and it became far easier for private companies to curry favour and make economic progress if they had close ties with members of the military establishment. From the Zia period right up to today, the personal wealth of a very large number of military personnel has grown in a way that could not have originated from their official salaries. For instance the National Logistics Cell is the country's biggest public sector transport organization based on a hybrid civil-military management but its main four divisions are headed by active-duty Brigadier Generals and its operations are Army managed (Siddiq, 2007). Hundreds of army personnel have posts in civilian institutions whereby civilian officials have long complained about military officers taking up senior posts in the civil service, universities and ministries. Many critics have questioned about the commitment of the Pakistan Army which should be focus into their core business of national security rather than involving in business opportunities whereby the rate of corruption seems inevitable.



Current Pakistan President Asif Zardari & his late wife Benazir Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan

Pakistan has always inherited the feudal family clan hierarchy whereby business networks are shared amongst family members besides key appointment and ministers are kept in the family loop. The rise of a woman like Benazir Bhutto to the top of the political system in an extremely conservative male-dominated society is unheard of but thanks to the inheritance from her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Ms Bhutto's widower, the present President Asif Zardari, in turn became leader of the Pakistan People's Party and later President by inheritance from his murdered wife without previously ever having won a single election to as much as a municipal council seat.

In summarizing the main elements of the 1988-99 period, we can say that a middle class had begun to emerge in Pakistan and gradually acted as a political entity taking part in the many elections that were held throughout this decade. While politics was at the forefront of this period, the economy, due to numerous factors, suffered throughout. Due to the wasteful Zia years, domestic and international debt had increased well beyond sustainable limits, and during 1988-99, Pakistan had become a highly indebted country paying large amounts of interest to bilateral and multilateral donors, all under severe structural adjustment programmes enforced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

On numerous occasions, Pakistan's economy was nearing bankruptcy, and following the nuclear tests of May 1998, an economic crisis of major proportions had emerged and much of the economic growth under Zia, had begun to come undone¹⁰. While these political and economic changes were the main differences that marked the 1980s with the 1990s, the cultural and social agenda inherited from the Islamist Zia period, remained largely unchanged. As shown in Table 1 during the military rule there has been a downward trend in GDP growth, export value, income per capita growth rate and increased defence spending which paves the way for low quality of life for the people of Pakistan during the military rule. The period of military rule has not

¹⁰ American analyst Stephen Cohen, like so many others and including General Musharraf himself, called this ten year period the 'ten years of flawed democracy'; Stephen P Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2004, p 279, emphasis in original.

	GDP Growth Rate (%)	Export Value Growth Rate (%)	Income / Capita Growth Rate (%)	Defence Spending Growth Rate (%)
Average Of Sample ((1951 -1998)	5.208	14.953	2.236	-0.750
Average of Sample Less (t-1) Coup Years	5.497	15.778	2.248	-0.250
Average of (t-1) Coup Years	3.915	5.881	2.098	-6.189

Table 1: Economic Trends in Coup Years

Sources : 1. Central Statistical Office 1959-1972
 2. Federal Bureau of Statistics 2000, 2008a, 2008b
 3. Statistics Division (1998a 13-36) and (1998c 1-7,8-14.504)
 4. IMF International Financial Statistics 1948 (Assessed from Economic & Social Data Service 2008)

pushed the economy but reliance on high defence expenditure has traded this situation.

Coming into power and being welcomed by a large section of Pakistan's westernizing middle and upper classes, and by a large number of political parties which suffered under the previous Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, General Musharraf announced his arrival as Pakistan's Chief Executive. Bringing with him a new and fresh personal style of doing business compared to General Zia, Benazir Bhutto or Nawaz Sharif, Musharraf took on to solving Pakistan's 'problems' in the commando style he was trained in.

Given the fact that both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the two democratically elected Prime Ministers, were constantly working under the heavy shadow of the military and its numerous secret and covert agencies, and were always watching over their shoulders both were dismissed twice each when in power well before their terms ended. For the military to formally take over power and manage government overtly rather than as it had, covertly, must have given its leader supreme confidence.¹¹



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973 & Prime Minister from 1973 to 1977

From the past military and civilian autonomy in Pakistan, there is a strong possibility that military rule will prevail in the future, as mentioned in Pitirim Sorokin's (1957) theory about cycles of leadership in Pakistan. The masses of Pakistan needs the

¹¹ For an analysis and comparison of the earliest speeches made by General Ayub Khan, General Zia ul Haq and General Pervez Musharraf, see the Herald, November 1999.

military due to the internal threats of terrorism particularly al Qaeda and Taliban fighters as well as the border conflict with India at Kashmir. The Pakistan Army has always been associated with the thrust force in keeping the mainstream security in close governance. The masses will look into the military if the current civilian rule moves into the shadows of their former leaders in corruption, tightening the feudal family clan and other related activities which will hamper future foreign investors to enhance the current economic situation. The military's primary and official role is to serve as the protector of Pakistan's national and sovereignty. At present Pakistan Armed Forces are the final political authority and the guardian of its own economic interests. A governing civilian regime must work to establish an unquestioned dominance over the Armed Forces and therefore reduce the political and economic power.

WAY FORWARD

A year into its tenure, the civilian government is struggling to cope with the multiple challenges it faces, above all in the spheres of the economy and security. The security challenge is, of course, nothing new. In recent months the 'peace process' with India has been frozen following the terrorists attacks in Mumbai in 2009, for which India partly blames the Pakistan government. In the tribal areas, the security forces continue to struggle to contain, let alone defeat, militants with links to the Afghan Taliban and, in some cases, al-Qaeda. However, the security challenges have been compounded by spiralling economic decline as Pakistan is hit hard by the global financial crisis. Since civilian leaders assumed power, capital flight has been in the billions of dollars. Inflation on the Sensitive Price Index¹² has gone up 33 per cent, according to Pakistan's Federal Bureau of Statistics, and demand for energy grows, even as the country is being hit by blackouts each day. With many poverty-stricken Pakistanis unable to stretch their money, daily crime is on the rise. The civilian political elite in Pakistan has been characterised by some analysts as being as much part of Pakistan's problem as the military, not least when it comes to corruption and misuse of power.

¹² Sensitive Price Index is the tendency of the demand for a product or service to vary according to variations in price.

The economy experienced high growth from 1999 to 2007 under Musharraf with an average real rate of 7 % for the past five years. But economic issues were almost totally neglected during 2007's political turmoil. As global prices raised steeply, Pakistan's mechanism for the automatic adjustment of prices of oil products was dropped. The heavy cost of food and fuel subsidies caused reserves to drop from about \$14 billion in November 2008, enough to cover only two months of imports. The fiscal deficit rose to 7.5% of GDP, inflation to 25%, and the currency has depreciated by more than 20% since the start of the year. Foreign investment has dried up and investors have sought to withdraw their assets. International financial institutions estimate that some 5 billion dollars of extra financing is needed immediately if a financial crisis is to be averted, and twice that amount over two years¹³.



Gen Pervez Musharraf

Unlike Musharraf, current civilian leaders have shown themselves to be poor managers, and have not inspired confidence in the market.

Military rule in Pakistan is increasingly relying on the carrot rather than the stick. Also, in all three cases, the United States' government and

¹³ "Pakistan on the brink", IISS Strategic Comments, Vol. 14, Issue 9, November 2008.

Washington's financial institutions have played a key role in supporting the Generals rule in Pakistan. Without this financial, military and diplomatic support, none of the military governments would have survived as long as they did. This factor also explains why the decades of military rule show higher growth rates for the economy than do the democratic interregnums. In each of the three cases when generals ruled Pakistan, they received large amounts of financial backing from the United States and other Western governments, which allowed the military rulers to provide patronage and buy-off political opposition, but to also invest in economic resources. They could not have done this on their own.

The overall involvement of Pakistan's military in the ruling of this state is due to the masses requirement as the civilian rule has been infected with corruption, autocracy and mismanagement. Unfortunately the military rule has also been plagued with the same disease and the end of Musharraf's era will hopefully see the civilian power under President Asif Zardari bring peace and harmony between both parties for the future of Pakistan's people. The Army has repeatedly shown that it will not bow to civilians on national security, refusing a government order last year, for instance, to place the top spy agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence, under government control¹⁴.

CONCLUSION

Ironically it has been the history of Pakistan that Pakistani Army Chiefs have never relinquished power voluntarily. They have been pushed out of

¹⁴ "Pakistan identified as biggest foreign policy test", Guardian, 9 February 2009

power by another Pakistani General or assassination engineered from within the ranks of Pakistan's Armed Forces. The military-led government stated its intention to restructure the political, economic and electoral systems. It is time to take stock of what military rule has accomplished in Pakistan. General Musharraf is the fourth in a line of army chiefs who seized power on essentially the same pretext, getting rid of dishonest politicians, saving the economy from bankruptcy, and preserving the security and integrity of the country. None of the past three military rulers successfully achieved these goals, and all of them left their office involuntarily. Even when the Army is not actually running the state as a whole, it is often involved in matters far beyond its constitutional mandate of defending the country.

The military governments which took power promising to sweep away the political elites and their corruption also found themselves governing through them, partly because no military regime has been strong enough to govern for long without parliament.

The current civilian leaders have shown themselves to be poor managers, and have not inspired confidence in the market. The military regime has failed in lifting the state's economy and the mainstream of corruption has increased tremendously to portray a different outlook for the people. What the people of Pakistan want is a stable country and basic supportive requirements for them such as medical facilities, schools etc. For the people of Pakistan it does matter who rules the state whether military or civilian rule, although at one time military rule was more acceptable due to the weak civilian rule. Pakistan thus swings back and forth between military and civilian rule one side and feudal and capitalist economies on the other.

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Lt Kol Inderjit Singh was commissioned to the Royal Signals Regiment and has attended all Signal career courses, including Staff College in 1998. He served as a UN Military Observer and later was the first Malaysian to be selected as the MA to the Force Commander in the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) in 2003, earning a UN Commendation Award for his excellent service. He holds a Bachelors Degree in Science (Australia), Masters Degree in Information Technology (UM), Masters Degree in Management (UM), Diploma in Strategic and Defence Studies (UM) and Diploma Psychology (Counselling) from UKM. Currently he is a regular guest lecturer at the Royal Norwegian Command Defense & Staff College (Oslo), National Institute of Public Administration (INTAN), Institute of Diplomacy & Foreign Relations (IDFR) & the Armed Forces Leadership Centre on leadership, managing change, international negotiations and other soft management skills; besides being a prolific article contributor to the *New Straits Times* on general management.

THE VALUE OF LIVE FIRE TRAINING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUNIOR OFFICERS

By Capt Tim Robinson

SYNOPSIS

This essay discusses some of the benefits associated with increasing the exposure of cadets and graduate officers to Live Fire Training (Latihan Peluru Hidup) as part of the Malaysian Army Officer training syllabus. The essay outlines the potential benefits of live fire training in developing a warfighting focus, improving weapon safety, and developing professional mastery amongst junior officers. This essay aims to generate discussion as to the attributes and competencies desired amongst junior officers in the Malaysian Army, and how these are directly related to the syllabus and culture they are exposed to at Officer Training Institutions. Tactical manoeuvre with live ammunition is portrayed as the culmination of the soldier, leadership, and tactical skills that are already taught within the current syllabus, and a certification of the junior officer's competency for employment as a Platoon Commander in an operational setting.

“The Platoon Commander crawls towards his lead section commander, the cadet who has reported seeing an enemy camp on the crest of the adjacent spurline. Through his binoculars he can make out a 3-4 man enemy camp. Already commencing his CMAP (Combat Military Appreciation Process), he identifies a small knoll to his right that can be used for fire support, and dead ground in front. An ideal FUP he thinks to himself. He orders the section commander to remain out of view and writes up a quick SMEAC. Ten mins later,... under the careful gaze of the safety supervisor, the fire support section moves to the knoll as they were ordered. They commence suppressive fire of the enemy camp. The section commander notes with satisfaction that plumes of dust from the a GPMG indicate that the fire is having good effect on the target. On the order to cease fire, the section applies their safety catch and watches as their coursemates assault forward, firing and manoeuvring as they clear the enemy position”.

Introduction

The live fire training (latihan peluru hidup) continuum in the MAF officer training system



Part of the tactical training in the Army

currently halts at the individual sneaker range (lorong hutan) where cadets or graduate officers patrol along a jungle track and engage single targets with their personal weapons. Participants are required to identify the partially hidden targets and neutralise them. This experience brings together elements of fieldcraft, tactical movement, weapon handling, marksmanship and ROE theory that have been taught to students during their training, but

falls short of incorporating 'battle drills', 'fire and manoeuvre', CMAP and the SMEAC process into a realistic training scenario. In the current training program, the Lorong Hutan is the epitome of simulated combat experience that young officers will receive prior to their commissioning. This essay discusses the merits of increasing the exposure of cadets to live fire exercises during officer training. Specifically, this essay will discuss associated benefits to the cadet's warfighting focus, improved weapon safety and development of professional mastery within the junior ranks of the Malaysian Army Officer Corps. The essay will then outline some of the considerations and control measures for live fire training to be implemented effectively.

Warfighting Focus

To develop a warfighting focus amongst junior officers, there needs to be an underlying emphasis on warfighting within Officer Training Establishments. This can be achieved in a variety of ways, but one of the most credible is to train cadets to a standard where they can be exposed to simulated combat in a realistic but controlled manner. Live fire training brings together all the skills that are already taught to the cadet, in a relevant and realistic manner. Live fire training is serious, demanding and intense, but an immensely rewarding experience for dedicated young officers who aspire to command their soldiers in combat.

The live fire training continuum commences with exposure to the Lorong Hutan, but within an 18 month timeframe can easily be further developed to the level where cadets are participating in, and even commanding section and platoon live fire battle drills. Cadets in many of today's modern armies participate in Combat Team live fire manoeuvre (Armour, Artillery, Mechanised Infantry and Engineers) prior to their graduation. The experience of the live fire exercise gives the young officer a 'feel' for battle and consolidates their skills in leadership, C2, giving orders and infantry minor tactics. For these reasons, it is an invaluable experience for junior leaders and could be considered for further utilisation as a training tool within the Malaysian Officer Army Training Establishments.

Weapon Safety

Tests of Elementary Training (TOET's) and weapon carriage with 'blank' ammunition are the foundations for safe handling of individual weapons. These skills are drilled into the officer cadets during their basic training. The cadets also receive the theory of how to employ their weapon, rectify stoppages and safe handling. The participation of cadets in live fire training, however, develops an inescapable regard for the lethal nature of their personal weapon. Safe weapon handling becomes a very serious matter when the cadet knows that his carelessness could result in the death of a friend, and their attitude and behaviour adjusts accordingly. When cadets subscribe to this mindset, it is impossible to laugh off a 'misfire' during a blank firing activity, and there is no tolerance for the classmate who 'messes with his safety switch' or forgets to remove his magazine when conducting an unload drill. Far from being a safety risk, live fire training actually invests in the future safety of participants by inculcating a respect for personal weapons and an intolerance of carelessness. These are highly desirable attributes for junior officers in any army.

Professional Mastery

For a junior officer to have the confidence to manoeuvre his men in combat, he must have prior experience in doing so during training. Exposing the officer cadet to live fire training consolidates the lessons already taught to him as part of the extant training syllabus, and is another step towards further developing a warfighting focus within junior ranks of the Officer Corps. Knowing that he has the ability to manoeuvre a platoon, or a section and conduct an attack with live rounds, is a confidence boost for the junior leader who will seek to conduct similar training with his men. The result is not only confidence but professional mastery, teamwork and morale. Live fire training provides the 'hands on' training that cannot be gained from theory lessons. It is during the live fire battle drill that all the skills the cadet has learnt in the field are consolidated. He understands the effects and capabilities of his men and their weapons, he conducts his CMAP appreciation and issues his SMEAC orders to his men to execute

the mission. Competent participation in live fire training can provide certification that the cadet has assimilated war fighting theory and practical skills, and that he is suitable for commissioning within the profession of arms.

Implementation by Stages

This essay has argued that *Latihan Peluru Hidup* can be an important tool in the development of junior officers. However, it needs to be recognised that live fire exercises are the culmination of the trainee's small arms training, and that the implementation of such a program requires strict control measures to ensure that cadets are always certified competent prior to progressing to their next stage. The first step is for instructors to teach cadets how to use their weapon, how to clean it, how to fix the inevitable stoppages, and this needs to be a recurring part of their training. One way to increase cadet's familiarity and competence with their weapon is to consider the implementation of a 'weapons carriage day' once a week, where all trainees draw their weapons and a magazine of blank rounds. The cadets are instructed to carry the weapon with them to classes, unloading their weapon outside each building they enter, then going to the 'action' condition with the blank ammunition upon exit. Retraining is awarded to the trainee who shows they are unable to safely handle their weapon, and conduct an incorrect drill that results in a Negligent Discharge or 'misfire'. Such an initiative is easy to implement as no resources are consumed, and it develops the instinctive skills in weapon handling that are necessary for cadets to progress safely to the next step. Once the cadets are assessed by Instructors as competent to handle their weapons safely, their marksmanship is tested through the existing range shoots package. They are then taught infantry minor tactics 'pepper potting' in pairs, then sections. The cadets are first trained to 'pepper pot' with blank ammunition, where they learn the importance of communication amongst each other when they conduct 'fire and movement' during the assault. When instructors are confident that the trainee is able to manoeuvre safely with blank ammunition, the same manoeuvre is conducted with live ammunition under the supervision of safety staff.

Accreditation of Safety Staff

During live fire training, risk must be managed at a number of levels to ensure the safety of participants. Risk management begins with the qualification of safety staff and the Officer-In-Charge of the activity. Accreditation of safety staff in accordance with current MAF doctrinal requirements is an essential step prior to the introduction of live fire training into a syllabus. If it is not readily available in the MAF, considerable amounts of doctrine have been produced by other armies that facilitate the safe conduct of live fire activities¹. In some of these armies, a two week course accredits officers and NCOs to conduct and supervise live fire training. Perhaps the development of a 'Small Arms Cell' within the various Army Officer Training Institutions could be considered to oversee the planning and implementation of live fire exercises for cadets or graduate officers. This cell if established could not only coordinate planning of gazetted ranges and safe conduct by trainees, but also oversee all aspects of the cadets' weapons training and provide the certification of their readiness to commence live fire exercises based on their competence during preceding blank fire activities.

Maintenance of Skills



As has been previously discussed, the safe implementation of a live fire continuum requires a step by step approach, preceded by a foundation of blank fire activities to build the participants knowledge and competence. At an Officer Training Institution such as KTD or UPNM, all participants begin at the same standard, and the extension from

blank fire to live fire is already set up to progress using existing training provided in the Counter Insurgency and Conventional Warfare training packages as a foundation. It is probable that the majority of officers graduating will not be assigned to corps or units where it is essential to maintain the skills of commanding a live fire platoon attack. However if these skills have been taught to them during their Officer Training, they will have an understanding of the control measures required to support the execution of safe training amongst their troops should their units be required to increase readiness levels.

Resources Required

Live fire training does not have to be a resource intensive exercise. Once the foundation of safe movement during dry fire and blank fire manoeuvre has been completed, a magazine of live rounds is enough to expose trainees to 'fire and movement' in pairs on the Lorong Hutan, and two magazines can be enough for a section battle drill. Participation in either of these activities using live munitions would increase the level of combat training provided to our future leaders, and provide significant benefits in terms of individual confidence and warfighting focus.

Based on the level to which cadets are to be trained, and the budget allocated to the activity, additional resources including infantry support weapons and potentially artillery and armour corps assets can be included into training to increase combat readiness and develop understanding of the capabilities and implementation of the combined arms in a realistic combat scenario.

Conclusion

This essay has outlined some of the benefits on what an increased exposure to *Latihan Peluru Hidup* can provide to officer cadets and graduate officers within the Malaysian Armed Forces. It is acknowledged that the training considered appropriate by one country does not necessarily meet the requirements of another. However, this essay seeks to promote discussion amongst the MAF Officer Corps as to what qualities and competencies are desired from Graduates of Malaysian Army Officer Training Establishments.

Notes:

¹ Manual of Land Warfare 2-9-2 Range Regulations- Australian Army 2006



Capt Tim Robinson is an Instructor at Kolej Tentera Darat (KTD), as part of the Malaysia Australia Joint Defence Program (MAJDP). He is a graduate of the Royal Military College-Duntroon, and has served operationally as an Infantry Platoon Commander in Iraq, prior to service as a Company 2IC and Liaison Officer in Timor Leste. CAPT Robinson holds a Bachelor of Science (hons I) from the University of New South Wales.

PERILAKU MEMBISU DALAM ORGANISASI

Oleh Lt Kol Dr Zulkefli Ismail

PENDAHULUAN

Perilaku membisu membawa maksud keadaan yang menggambarkan kecenderungan ahli-ahli dalam organisasi menahan maklumat penting yang boleh mendatangkan potensi masalah kepada organisasi. Perilaku membisu adalah fenomena kolektif yang menjadi ancaman besar kepada organisasi. Menurut Morrison dan Milliken (2003), kebanyakan ahli-ahli dalam organisasi mengetahui perkara sebenar tentang sesuatu isu atau masalah tetapi tidak berani untuk bersuara kepada pihak atasan.

Perilaku membisu dalam organisasi adalah fenomena yang boleh menjejaskan daya inovasi. Budaya membisu diertikan sikap membatu serta membekukan idea dan komunikasi oleh mereka yang terbabit dalam situasi berkepentingan untuk menjana idea dan minda ke arah kemajuan organisasi. Sebagai contohnya, ahli-ahli mesyuarat berpengalaman dan berkepakaran kadangkala lebih suka berdiam diri dan menanti daripada berbicara. Tetapi bagi ahli-ahli yang dianggap hanya mempunyai ilmu sejengkal pula lebih banyak bercakap dan memberi idea merapu yang lebih bersifat mengampu. Jika ini berlaku dalam sesi perbincangan atau mesyuarat, implikasinya banyak memberi kesan negatif kepada pengurusan dan hala tuju organisasi (Rusinah Siron, 2007).

Persoalan utama yang ingin diutarakan dalam penulisan ini ialah tentang keengganan anggota-anggota bawahan dalam organisasi menyalurkan maklumat negatif yang penting bagi proses membuat keputusan kepada pengurusan atasan. Dalam persoalan ini, pelaku utama yang memulakan perilaku membisu dalam organisasi ialah ahli-ahli organisasi yang tidak berani menyalurkan maklumat negatif tetapi penting kepada organisasi sebab tidak

mahu menjatuhkan air muka pihak pengurusan. Tindakan ahli-ahli memerap maklumat negatif adalah berdasarkan pengalaman lalu hasil daripada persepsi mereka terhadap amalan pengurusan yang tidak suka kepada berita negatif. Jika sesebuah organisasi itu dibelenggu sindrom perilaku membisu, maka hasrat untuk melahirkan modal insan minda kelas pertama akan terbantut kerana ahli-ahli dalam organisasi tidak bebas menyuarakan pendapat. Organisasi akan mengalami kerugian kerana penjana idea bernas gagal dilaksanakan ke arah kecemerlangan organisasi.

KONSEP PERILAKU MEMBISU

Kajian awal tentang perilaku membisu telah dimulakan oleh ahli-ahli psikologi pada tahun 70-an. Walau bagaimanapun, istilah yang diguna pakai pada masa tersebut ialah *mum effect* (Rosen & Tesser, 1970). Kajian tentang *mum effect* menunjukkan individu pada umumnya enggan menyampaikan maklumat negatif kerana tidak mahu dikaitkan sebagai penyebar khabar buruk dalam organisasi (Conlee & Tesser, 1973). Terdapat banyak bukti yang menunjukkan ahli-ahli dalam organisasi berasa tidak selesa untuk menyampaikan maklumat tentang potensi masalah organisasi atau isu-isu penting kepada pihak atasan (Morrison & Milliken, 2000; Milliken, Morrison & Hewlin, 2003; Vakola & Bouradas, 2005; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008).

Konsep perilaku membisu mula diperkenalkan oleh Morrison dan Milliken pada tahun 2000. Melalui kajian di mana para pekerja mempunyai persepsi bahawa bersuara boleh mengundang padah dalam organisasi. Pinder dan Harlos (2001) pula memberi fokus tentang keputusan pekerja-pekerja sama ada untuk menyuarakan pendapat atau membisu

tentang sesuatu ketidakadilan yang berlaku dalam organisasi. Van Dyne, Ang dan Botero (2003) turut membantu mengembangkan lagi konsep serta pemahaman tentang bersuara dan membisu apabila mereka memperkenalkan konsep membisu secara pasif, membisu secara proaktif dan membisu secara prososial serta juga telah mengenal pasti hubungan antara bersuara dan membisu.

TEORI-TEORI YANG BERKAITAN TENTANG PERILAKU MEMBISU

Terdapat dua teori utama yang menerangkan tentang perilaku membisu iaitu Teori Pengurusan Air Muka dan Teori *Groupthink*.

- **Teori Pengurusan Air Muka (Face Negotiation Theory).** Teori ini diperkenalkan oleh Ting-Toomey (1988) menerangkan tentang peranan menjaga maruah atau air muka dalam menangani konflik dalam organisasi. Ia berkait rapat dengan komunikasi lisan dan bukan lisan. Menurut teori ini, adalah penting dalam komunikasi untuk menjaga mesej yang disampaikan agar tidak menyakiti atau menjatuhkan maruah si penyampai maklumat atau penerima.

Kepentingan menjaga air muka di kalangan mereka yang tergolong dalam budaya konteks tinggi adalah berbeza daripada kepentingan menjaga air muka dalam kalangan budaya konteks rendah. Kepentingan air muka yang berbeza menyebabkan gaya menangani konflik juga berbeza. Budaya konteks tinggi tidak membenarkan komunikasi secara terbuka terutamanya membincangkan isu-isu negatif tentang organisasi. Komunikasi dilakukan secara tidak terus dan mengandungi unsur-unsur berlindung atau 'cakap beralas' (Saodah Wok, Narimah Ismail & Mohd Yusof, 2005). Dalam budaya konteks tinggi, tindakan individu dikawal oleh norma kumpulan. Dalam budaya konteks rendah pula, komunikasi adalah berasaskan keperluan dan matlamat individu (Saodah Wok, Narimah Ismail & Mohd Yusof, 2005). Komunikasi dilakukan secara terus terang tanpa ada unsur-unsur terselindung. Kebiasaannya seseorang bebas memilih gaya pengurusan air muka.

Apabila organisasi mengamalkan gaya mengelak, maka ia akan mendorong ahli-ahli supaya mendiamkan diri daripada menyuarakan rasa tidak puas hati secara terbuka. Sekiranya pihak pengurusan memilih gaya obligasi pula, ia lebih menjurus kepada budaya kolektiviti di mana kepentingan kumpulan lebih diutamakan. Organisasi yang baik lazimnya akan mengamalkan gaya kompromi dan integrasi sebab ia lebih menguntungkan organisasi dalam jangka panjang apabila menyelesaikan sebarang konflik yang berlaku (Saodah Wok, Narimah Ismail & Mohd Yusof, 2005).

Teori Pengurusan Air Muka (Ting-Toomey, 1988) menjelaskan bahawa amalan pengurusan yang mengamalkan komunikasi secara tertutup akan menyebabkan anggota-anggota lebih berhati-hati sebab mereka tidak mahu menerima respons yang negatif daripada pihak pengurusan. Pengurusan akan cuba menyekat penyaluran maklumat negatif ke atas sebab jika dibiarkan ia boleh menjatuhkan air muka mereka di hadapan pekerja bawahan. Kepercayaan tersirat pengurusan tentang anggota-anggota bawahan yang disifatkan sebagai lebih mementingkan diri akan menimbulkan suasana komunikasi yang tertutup dalam organisasi.

Anggota-anggota bawahan sentiasa menilai suasana dalam organisasi sama ada sesuatu perkara itu boleh dibawa kepada pengurusan atasan atau sebaliknya. Iklim komunikasi yang tertutup akan mendorong anggota-anggota dalam organisasi bersikap membisu kerana jika mereka bersuara berkemungkinan akan menjatuhkan air muka pihak pengurusan. Anggota-anggota bawahan juga sentiasa membuat penilaian tentang kesan yang akan mereka hadapi jika mereka menyuarakan sesuatu yang negatif tentang organisasi. Jika mereka merasakan sesuatu perkara itu boleh menjejaskan kedudukan mereka akan memilih untuk membisu sebab ia lebih selamat demi masa depan dan kerjaya mereka dalam organisasi.

- **Teori *Groupthink*.** Teori ini diperkenalkan oleh Janis, 1982 membincangkan tentang fenomena dalam organisasi yang secara

sistematik menghalang penyaluran maklumat-maklumat yang negatif ke atas. Ia merupakan fenomena kolektif di mana ahli-ahli dalam organisasi amat mementingkan kesepaduan organisasi demi menjaga keharmonian dan lebih mengutamakan berita-berita yang baik tentang organisasi dan cuba menghindari daripada menyuarakan perkara-perkara negatif kerana bimbang dianggap melawan arus dan cuba memecah-belahkan kumpulan.

Groupthink hanya berlaku dalam organisasi yang mempunyai perpaduan yang kukuh. Organisasi akan mempertahankan setiap keputusan yang dibuat tanpa menghiraukan sebarang alternatif bagi menghadapi sebarang kemungkinan andai kata keputusan yang dibuat adalah silap. Sindrom *groupthink* boleh memberi kesan yang amat dahsyat kepada negara dan organisasi. Antara tragedi yang berlaku disebabkan oleh fenomena *groupthink* ialah kesilapan Rumah Putih memandang ringan kepada ancaman serangan Jepun terhadap Pearl Harbour, kesilapan keputusan Presiden Truman menyerang Korea Utara, kesilapan Presiden Johnson semasa Perang Vietnam dan krisis misil Cuba (Janis, 1982).

Menurut Robbins (1998), simptom *groupthink* boleh dikesan dalam organisasi dalam beberapa keadaan. Secara umumnya *groupthink* terjadi apabila anggota-anggota berperilaku membisu sewaktu menghadapi situasi yang tidak menentu. Membisu dianggap sebagai satu persetujuan terhadap keputusan yang dibuat. Walau bagaimanapun, menurut Robbins (1998), masih terdapat ahli-ahli yang tidak bersetuju dengan keputusan yang dibuat tetapi tidak berani bersuara kerana bimbang akan akibat buruk yang akan diterima kerana mempunyai pendapat yang berbeza dengan ketua. Ahli-ahli tidak berani bersuara kerana iklim komunikasi yang tidak mengizinkan. Teori sokongan berikut iaitu Teori Sistem Terbuka akan menerangkan tentang hubungan antara iklim komunikasi dengan perilaku membisu.

IMPAK PERILAKU MEMBISU TERHADAP ORGANISASI

Keengganan kakitangan bawahan menyampaikan maklumat negatif telah

menyebabkan kesan buruk seperti kematian 85,000 pesakit di hospital-hospital Amerika Syarikat pada setiap tahun disebabkan kesilapan perubatan (IOM, 2000). Jururawat-jururawat yang memang diakui terlatih dan mempunyai tahap profesionalisme yang tinggi terhadap keadaan pesakit kerap kali didapati membisu walaupun menyedari perbuatan tersebut boleh membahayakan pesakit. Masyarakat dunia juga keliru bagaimana golongan seperti jurutera-jurutera NASA sanggup membisu apabila menyedari berlaku masalah teknikal terhadap kapal angkasa Columbia sehingga menyebabkan kemalangan yang dahsyat (Schwartz & Wald, 2003).

Keruntuhan Syarikat Enron yang mengejutkan seluruh dunia berlaku disebabkan pekerja-pekerja yang menyedari kepincangan pengurusan kewangan yang berlaku dalam syarikat tetapi takut untuk membuat laporan (Oppel, 2002). Pekerja-pekerja akan menahan maklumat tertentu kerana tidak mahu menimbulkan situasi tegang (*rock the boat*) atau mengelak konflik (Ewing, 1977; Redding, 1985; Sprague & Rudd, 1988). Menurut Edmonson (1999), perilaku membisu subordinat dipengaruhi oleh persepsi terhadap ketua. Jika seseorang ketua itu defensif terhadap maklum balas negatif, maka kakitangan tidak akan menyalurkan maklum balas negatif ke atas. Iklim komunikasi sesebuah organisasi akan dapat menerangkan dengan lebih jelas lagi keadaan dalam organisasi yang akan menyebabkan berlakunya perilaku membisu. Jika iklim sesebuah organisasi itu terbuka, ahli-ahli akan menyuarakan pendapat demi kebaikan organisasi. Walau bagaimanapun, jika ahli-ahli merasakan iklim sesebuah organisasi itu bersifat defensif maka mereka akan memilih untuk membisu.

Di Malaysia pula, menurut Abdullah (1994) masyarakat di sini kurang berpuas hati dengan tatacara pemberian maklum balas yang agak tertutup dan tidak jelas. Menurut Abdullah (1994) lagi, masyarakat Malaysia juga dikatakan tidak berterus terang dalam menyalurkan kekecewaan, pendapat serta pandangan mereka. Keadaan sedemikian menyebabkan masalah dalam organisasi gagal dikenal pasti dan tidak dapat diselesaikan. Sungguhpun kesan perilaku membisu tidak didedahkan secara umum, adalah dipercayai sindrom perilaku membisu wujud dalam organisasi di Malaysia. Fenomena tersebut hanya ketara dalam sesebuah organisasi sahaja tanpa didedahkan untuk pengetahuan umum.

FAKTOR-FAKTOR YANG MENYEBABKAN BERLAKUNYA PERILAKU MEMBISU

Terdapat tiga faktor utama yang menyebabkan berlakunya perilaku membisu dalam organisasi seperti berikut:

- **Amalan Pengurusan.** Amalan ini berkisar tentang perancangan dan pelaksanaan pengurusan yang menjuruskan kepada perilaku membisu dalam kalangan subordinat. Menurut Morrison dan Milliken (2000), kepercayaan yang terbentuk hasil daripada persepsi pengurus tentang subordinat mempengaruhi pengurusan dalam menggubal polisi dan amalan yang akan memacu perjalanan organisasi. Gabungan daripada pelbagai faktor dan kepercayaan yang terbina akan menghasilkan amalan-amalan yang pada tanggapan pengurusan adalah yang terbaik untuk organisasi tetapi dalam masa yang sama menutup peluang kepada subordinat untuk menyuarakan pandangan dan komen.

Amalan pengurusan yang tidak suka kepada berita negatif menyebabkan anggota-anggota bawahan menghindari daripada menyampaikan maklumat negatif kepada pengurusan. Amalan pengurusan adalah terdiri daripada respons negatif terhadap maklum balas negatif, kurang mekanisme komunikasi ke atas dan kurang ruang menangani maklum balas negatif. Bagi organisasi yang mengamalkan budaya jarak kekuasaan yang tinggi, komunikasi secara terbuka tentang maklumat negatif tidak dibenarkan dalam organisasi. Pengurus percaya bahawa para pekerja lebih mementingkan diri dan tidak boleh diharap. Kepercayaan tersebut terbentuk berdasarkan rumusan pendapat McGregor (1960) iaitu mengenai Teori X. Menurut Teori X, individu adalah lebih mementingkan diri dan akan berusaha ke arah kepentingan mereka. Apabila pihak pengurusan mempunyai tanggapan yang negatif terhadap pekerja, mereka akan mengamalkan pengurusan yang secara tidak langsung akan menyekat komunikasi ke atas.

Morrison dan Milliken (2000) berpendapat, latar belakang budaya pengurusan atasan mempunyai pengaruh yang kuat terhadap

kepercayaan dalam kalangan pengurusan terhadap pekerja-pekerja. Jika sekiranya pengurusan atasan terdiri daripada kalangan budaya jarak kekuasaan yang tinggi, mereka akan membentuk kepercayaan bahawa mereka lebih mengetahui dalam segala hal berbanding dengan pekerja-pekerja. Dalam masa yang sama, anggota-anggota bawahan juga akan membentuk kepercayaan bahawa ketua adalah betul dalam segala hal. Perpaduan dianggap mempunyai nilai yang tinggi dalam kalangan pengurusan atasan daripada latar belakang budaya kolektiviti. Menurut Hofstede (1980), budaya kolektiviti amat mementingkan keharmonian dalam organisasi.

Oleh hal yang demikian menurut Morrison dan Milliken (2000), kombinasi antara budaya jarak kekuasaan tinggi dengan budaya kolektiviti akan mewujudkan perilaku membisu dalam organisasi.

- **Iklm Komunikasi.** Iklm komunikasi merupakan sebahagian (subset) daripada iklm organisasi. Menurut Pace (1983), iklm komunikasi berbeza daripada iklm organisasi sebab iklm komunikasi adalah tentang persepsi komunikasi yang berlaku dalam organisasi. Iklm komunikasi menerangkan tentang penyaluran maklumat dan amalan komunikasi dalam organisasi. Neher (1997) menyatakan bahawa iklm komunikasi adalah satu kualiti persekitaran dalaman organisasi di mana ia dapat dialami oleh ahli-ahli organisasi. Iklm komunikasi dapat mempengaruhi perlakuan mereka dan boleh diperihalkan dalam bentuk nilai-nilai yang dipegang oleh sesebuah organisasi. Putnam dan Cheney (1985) pula memberi definisi iklm komunikasi sebagai satu suasana tentang tingkah laku komunikasi yang diterima dalam organisasi.

Iklm komunikasi boleh memberikan implikasi positif atau pun negatif terhadap organisasi. Menurut Gibbs (1961), suasana organisasi terdiri daripada suasana defensif dan suasana yang membina. Bagi suasana defensif, organisasi akan menghukum, menyalahkan orang lain, mempersoalkan norma, cuba bertindak ke atas orang lain atau cuba mengubah sikap atau perilaku orang lain.

Suasana defensif diri memiliki ciri-ciri negatif seperti memutar belit, pentingkan diri sendiri dan menimbulkan perasaan kekurangan dalam diri orang lain. Walau bagaimanapun, Conrad (1985) mempunyai pandangan yang berbeza apabila mendakwa realiti yang berlaku dalam organisasi adalah komunikasi tertutup sebenarnya lebih diharapkan oleh pengurusan atasan.

Iklim organisasi adalah berkaitan dengan persekitaran atau suasana. Suasana kerja yang menggalakkan kreativiti memerlukan penyertaan dan kebebasan menyuarakan pendapat. Persekitaran organisasi yang baik mestilah mengizinkan interaksi secara menyeluruh tanpa sebarang halangan. Apabila anggota-anggota berinteraksi, mereka akan membentuk atau kadangkala menukar budaya organisasi (Andriopoulus, 2001). Walaupun rata-rata subordinat lebih gemar kepada keterbukaan namun mereka tidak berasa senang untuk memberikan sebarang maklumat sensitif kepada ketua yang difikirkan berpengaruh dalam organisasi. Ahli-ahli bawahan dalam organisasi bimbang akan risiko yang perlu ditanggung jika menyalurkan maklumat negatif tentang organisasi.

- **Jangkaan Kesan Negatif.** Seperti mana yang diterangkan dalam Teori *groupthink* (Janis, 1982), subordinat tidak berani menyuarakan pendapat atau tidak bersetuju dengan keputusan yang dibuat kerana bimbang akan akibat buruk yang akan diterima kerana mempunyai pendapat yang berbeza dengan ketua. Ia juga berkaitan dengan akibat buruk yang mungkin diterima hasil daripada perlakuan tersebut. Jangkaan kesan negatif timbul daripada persepsi subordinat.

Menurut Tynan (2005), jika subordinat beranggapan bahawa tindakan menyalurkan maklumat negatif ke atas boleh mengundang padah, mereka tidak akan melakukannya. Walaupun usaha memperbetulkan keadaan dilihat sesuatu yang baik bagi organisasi, namun daripada sudut jangkaan kesan negatif ia adalah tidak baik bagi penyampai maklumat.

CABARAN PERILAKU MEMBISU TERHADAP ORGANISASI PADA MASA KINI

Jika ahli-ahli dalam organisasi menahan dan menapis setiap maklumat penting yang sepatutnya disalurkan ke atas, 98.4% maklumat tidak akan diterima oleh pengurusan atasan untuk proses membuat keputusan (Conrad, 2005). Keadaan sedemikian akan menimbulkan masalah kepada pengurusan atasan untuk membuat keputusan yang tepat kerana masih terdapat banyak maklumat penting yang tidak dapat disampaikan akibat daripada perilaku membisu dalam kalangan anggota-anggota bawahan.

Milliken, Morrison dan Hewlin (2003) menjelaskan bahawa penyaluran maklumat penting ke atas tersekat disebabkan keengganan anggota-anggota menyuarakan pandangan atau komen kerana takut dihukum atau dilabel sebagai negatif. Mereka didapati lebih mementingkan keharmonian dalam organisasi.

Keupayaan menguruskan sistem komunikasi yang berkesan adalah aset yang amat penting bagi organisasi. Menurut Bevan (2001) yang membuat kajian tentang gedung perniagaan yang terkenal di United Kingdom iaitu Mark & Spencer, kerugian teruk yang dialami oleh syarikat berkenaan pada penghujung era 90-an adalah disebabkan pekerja-pekerja tidak berani menyampaikan maklumat negatif kepada pihak pengurusan. Pengerusi Mark & Spencer membuat pengakuan bahawa pihak pengurusan dengan sengaja menyekat maklumat negatif tentang syarikat itu daripada pengetahuan beliau. Perkara tersebut berlaku disebabkan pihak pengurusan takut dimarahi jika memaklumkan sebarang berita negatif tentang Mark & Spencer.

Pada hari ini pengurusan organisasi menjadi semakin rumit ekoran daripada gelagat dan perilaku ahli-ahli dalam organisasi. Menurut Quinn dan Spritze (1997), persaingan yang sengit dalam pasaran global pada hari ini memerlukan individu yang lebih berdaya saing, mempunyai inisiatif yang tinggi, berani menyuarakan pendapat dan lebih bertanggungjawab. Bagi organisasi yang ingin terus kekal bersaing, modal insan yang dinamik adalah diperlukan. Organisasi memerlukan ahli-ahli yang

berani menghadapi cabaran, tidak takut untuk berkongsi maklumat dan pengetahuan dan berani menyuarakan pendapat.

Menurut Buller dan Burgoon (1996), ahli-ahli dalam organisasi juga memanipulasikan maklumat sebab ingin menjaga maruah dan mengekalkan hubungan baik. Ting-Toomey (1988) menambah, menjaga maruah adalah penting dalam komunikasi agar tidak menyakiti atau menjatuhkan maruah penyampai atau penerima maklumat. Kenyataan tersebut menyokong pendapat Morrison dan Milliken (2000) yang menjelaskan bahawa pekerja berkongsi kepercayaan tentang bahaya atau padah yang akan diterima jika tersilap cakap atau menyuarakan sesuatu pendapat yang bertentangan dengan norma organisasi.

Maklumat adalah penting untuk proses membuat keputusan. Jika ahli-ahli tidak berani menyuarakan pendapat yang bertentangan dengan ketua maka berkemungkinan keputusan yang dibuat adalah tidak tepat. Keputusan yang tidak tepat menjejaskan prestasi organisasi kerana ia tidak menggambarkan pencapaian sebenar kerana masih terdapat maklumat penting yang tidak diambil kira semasa perbincangan.

CADANGAN BAGI MENGURANGKAN PERILAKU MEMBISU DALAM ORGANISASI

Perilaku membisu boleh dibendung jika pihak pengurusan mengamalkan amalan pengurusan bersifat komunikasi terbuka. Organisasi tidak seharusnya sentiasa memberi respons yang negatif terhadap maklum balas negatif. Realiti yang harus difahami oleh organisasi ialah di sebalik perkara negatif terselindung kesan positif yang baik untuk organisasi dalam jangka panjang. Organisasi juga perlu memberi ruang atau menyediakan mekanisme untuk penyaluran maklumat negatif ke atas tanpa prejudis kepada mana-mana pihak.

Selain itu, ahli-ahli yang selalu memberi pendapat yang berbeza daripada majoriti tidak

seharusnya dipandang serong atau dianggap melawan arus. Setiap ahli dalam organisasi perlu dilayan sama rata dan tidak dilabel negatif jika selalu memberi idea yang bertentangan dengan ketua. Ahli-ahli juga tidak sepatutnya dihukum jika sekiranya mendedahkan sesuatu yang negatif tentang organisasi kerana pada hakikat ia adalah untuk kebaikan organisasi. Ini adalah penting kerana ia adalah selaras dengan konsep organisasi pembelajaran yang memberi fokus kepada penambahbaikan berdasarkan kesilapan di masa lalu.

PENUTUP

Fenomena perilaku membisu boleh mengancam kepentingan organisasi jika tidak ditangani dengan berhati-hati. Ungkapan seperti “tiada berita menggambarkan keadaan adalah baik” kini sudah boleh dipertikaikan kerana keadaan tersebut mungkin tidak menggambarkan keadaan yang sebenarnya. Ketua yang bersikap defensif akan menyebabkan anggota-anggota bawahan bersikap membisu kerana ingin menjaga kepentingan diri. Organisasi perlu sentiasa mengkaji semula tentang amalan pengurusan agar ia relevan dengan persekitaran semasa. Sindrom membisu perlu dielakkan kerana ia menghalang penyaluran idea yang bernas untuk kebaikan organisasi dalam mengekalkan daya saing yang tinggi di samping melestarikan budaya inovasi dan kreativiti dalam organisasi.

Sungguhpun kesan perilaku membisu tidak begitu ketara dalam masyarakat di Malaysia pada masa kini, namun ia tidak boleh diabaikan. Kesan daripada perilaku membisu sebenarnya sudah mula dirasai tetapi tidak dilaporkan secara rasmi. Beberapa organisasi di negara maju seperti di Amerika Syarikat dan Britain telah menerima kesan yang serius akibat daripada perilaku membisu dalam organisasi. Potensi masalah adalah besar kerana ia boleh menjejaskan daya saing organisasi malah boleh menjejaskan keselamatan negara.

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Lt Kol Dr Zulkefli bin Ismail (3001676) ialah seorang pegawai dalam Kor Ordnans Diraja. Beliau telah dianugerahkan Ijazah Doktor Falsafah dalam bidang Gelagat Organisasi dan Komunikasi Organisasi daripada Universiti Utara Malaysia pada 27 Mac 2010. Sepanjang perkhidmatan, di antara jawatan-jawatan yang pernah beliau sandang ialah PS 2 Material A di Cawangan Logistik Markas Tentera Darat, PS 1 Ordnans Markas Divisyen Pertama Infantri Malaysia, Pegawai Memerintah 72 Batalion Kor Ordnans Diraja. Beliau juga pernah menjadi Jurulatih di Cawangan Kadet, Maktab Tentera Diraja dari tahun 1989 hingga tahun 1991. Jawatan beliau sekarang ialah sebagai Ketua Bahagian Pengurusan di 94 Depot Pangkalan Peluru.

INTEGRASI KAUM: SUMBANGANNYA KEPADA KESELAMATAN DAN KESTABILAN NEGARA

Oleh Lt Kol Abdul Rasek bin Ismail

PENDAHULUAN

Sebagai sebuah negara bangsa yang diwarnai dengan kepelbagaian kaumnya, isu integrasi kaum merupakan isu nasional yang mempunyai kaitannya dengan kelangsungan hidup negara pada masa ini dan di masa akan datang. Justeru, artikel ini akan membincangkan secara jelas mengenai integrasi kaum di negara ini dalam konteks sumbangannya kepada keselamatan dan kestabilan negara dengan memberi tumpuan terhadap tiga isu utama iaitu; integrasi kaum dalam konteks keselamatan dan kestabilan negara; cabaran terhadap pemupukan integrasi kaum dan akhir sekali artikel ini akan mencadangkan beberapa pendekatan ke arah memperkasakan integrasi kaum di negara ini. Di samping itu, artikel ini juga secara sepintas lalu akan memperjelaskan definisi integrasi kaum sebagai landasan perbincangan selanjutnya.

DEFINISI INTEGRASI KAUM

Menurut Tesaurus Melayu Moden dan *Times Lingua English Dictionary*, istilah integrasi kaum didefinisikan sebagai suatu situasi di mana wujudnya penyatuan, perpaduan atau perikatan di antara kaum sehingga membolehkan mereka boleh hidup sebagai satu entiti. Secara ringkasnya integrasi kaum ini boleh diterjemahkan sebagai bersatu dalam kepelbagaian dan bagi Malaysia integrasi kaum ini boleh dianggap sebagai tonggak atau *centre of gravity* kepada kekuatan serta kejayaan negara selama ini.

SEJARAH INTEGRASI KAUM DI MALAYSIA

Sejarah integrasi kaum di negara ini telah bermula seawal kebangkitan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka lagi yang memperlihatkan kejayaan

Melaka muncul sebagai lokasi pertembungan budaya dari seluruh pelusuk dunia melalui aktiviti perdagangannya. Keadaan ini berterusan dengan kedatangan kaum Cina dari tanah besar China serta kaum India dari benua India yang dibawa masuk oleh penjajah British di sepanjang tempoh penjajahan mereka di negara ini. Walaupun pada masa tersebut telah wujudnya kepelbagaian kaum di negara ini, namun kita melihat bahawa mereka telah dapat meneruskan kehidupan mereka dalam suasana harmoni sehingga meyakinkan pihak penjajah British bahawa Malaysia mampu untuk mencapai kemajuan walaupun tanpa dominasi mereka. Berlandaskan keyakinan inilah maka pihak kerajaan British telah bersetuju memberi kemerdekaan ini pada 31 Ogos 1957 tanpa sebarang pertumpahan darah. Senario keharmonian yang lahir sebagai manifestasi dari integrasi serta toleransi kaum di Malaysia telah berterusan sehinggalah ke hari ini walaupun ada ketikanya ia umpama air di dalam dulang yang sekali sekala berkocak apabila timbulnya isu-isu yang tertentu. Peristiwa berdarah 13 Mei 1969, peristiwa di Kampung Medan, isu HINDRAF serta isu penggunaan kalimah Allah oleh majalah *HERALD The Catholic Weekly* adalah di antara rentetan isu yang menggugat keutuhan integrasi kaum di negara ini. Isu-isu ini juga boleh diibaratkan sebagai sebahagian dari ombak kecil yang melanda pantai keharmonian negara.

Menganggap isu-isu kecil tersebut sebagai asam garam kehidupan bermasyarakat, ibarat kata pepatah Melayu 'sedangkan lidah lagi tergigit, inikan pula suami isteri' maka kita perlu secara rasional melihat bahawa integrasi kaum di negara ini sebenarnya mempunyai kaitan secara langsung terhadap keselamatan dan kestabilan negara dari dahulu hingga sekarang. Ini amat jelas kerana integrasi kaum yang telah dipupuk melalui pelbagai bentuk kerjasama sama ada melalui kerjasama

politik, sosio-budaya serta kerjasama ekonomi telah menyediakan platform yang cukup kukuh kepada ketahanan nasional sehingga membolehkan rakyat negara ini terus menjalani kehidupan harian masing-masing dalam suasana yang selesa dan harmoni.

Proses asimilasi serta semangat toleransi yang telah dipupuk oleh generasi terdahulu telah menjadikan rakyat Malaysia yang sanggup berkorban serta bertolak ansur dalam semua keadaan khususnya apabila ianya menyentuh soal kaum serta budaya. Mengambil contoh proses asimilasi kaum di negeri Kelantan, kita dapat melihat dengan jelas bagaimana masyarakat Cina di Kelantan bersedia menerima budaya serta cara hidup masyarakat Melayu Kelantan tanpa sebarang rasa kekok atau janggal. Ekoran dari toleransi itu, kita dapati masyarakat Cina Kelantan mampu meneruskan kehidupan mereka di tengah-tengah kelompok masyarakat Melayu dalam suasana yang harmoni, tanpa sebarang rasa takut atau curiga walaupun mereka merupakan golongan minoriti. Inilah nilai toleransi kaum yang wujud yang menyebabkan semua kaum dapat menerima kehadiran kaum lain seadanya. Dalam konteks ini, nikmat yang paling besar yang dinikmati oleh rakyat Malaysia sebagai ganjaran dari toleransi kaum ialah nikmat keselamatan serta kestabilan negara. Tanpa integrasi kaum mungkin negara kita sekarang mengalami nasib yang sama atau lebih buruk daripada apa yang berlaku di negara-negara Balkan, Mindanao serta Selatan Thailand akibat penghapusan etnik atau pertelingkahan agama yang tidak berkesudahan.

KEPENTINGAN INTEGRASI KAUM KEPADA MALAYSIA

Hasil dari integrasi kaum yang menjadi penyumbang utama kepada keselamatan serta kestabilan negara, kita dapati proses pembangunan negara menjadi lebih tersusun. Dari sebuah negara bekas jajahan British, Malaysia telah berjaya membina identitinya sendiri untuk terus bergerak maju dan menjadikan Wawasan 2020 sebagai tonggak kepada pembinaan negara bangsa yang cemerlang, gemilang dan terbilang bukan sahaja di peringkat nasional tetapi juga di peringkat global. Dalam masa yang sama pihak kerajaan telah dapat memberikan tumpuan mereka untuk

membangunkan negara ini sama ada di segi infra struktur, ekonomi atau sosio-budayanya untuk dinikmati oleh setiap rakyat negara ini secara adil dan saksama. Pendapatan negara dapat disalurkan sepenuhnya untuk pembangunan negara serta kebajikan rakyat dan bukannya terpaksa dihabiskan untuk menangani kes-kes rusuhan kaum, melindungi kaum minoriti dan sebagainya.

Dalam konteks yang sama, keselamatan serta kestabilan yang wujud di negara ini telah membolehkan pasukan keselamatan negara ini khususnya Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) menyumbangkan tenaga mereka untuk keamanan sejagat. Hari ini kita berbangga melihat perwira-perwira negara menaburkan bakti mereka di bumi Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kampuchea, Timor Leste, Mindanao, Lebanon serta beberapa negara lain sama ada sebagai kontinjen pengaman atau Pegawai Pemerhati Tentera di bawah Panji-Panji Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu dan Pertubuhan Negara-Negara Islam. Justeru, sebagai sebahagian dari rakyat Malaysia kita sepatutnya bersyukur dengan nikmat keselamatan serta kestabilan yang sedang kita lalui pada masa ini yang sebenarnya telah membantu negara meletakkan dirinya di kalangan negara-negara yang dihormati dan disegani bukan sahaja di rantau ini malah di peringkat antarabangsa.

Namun demikian, satu perkara yang perlu diingat bahawa di sebalik keselamatan serta kestabilan negara yang sedang kita nikmati sekarang, ada pihak-pihak tertentu yang mencemburui dan menunggu peluang untuk menghancurkan negara ini. Peluang ini akan terbuka luas sekiranya kita gagal mengekalkan integrasi kaum yang menjadi tonggak kepada keselamatan dan kestabilan negara. Justeru, sebagai rakyat Malaysia yang cintakan Negara, kita perlu berfikir sejenak secara rasional untuk merenung apakah cabaran-cabaran yang berada di hadapan kita yang boleh mengganggu gugat semangat integrasi kaum yang dilihat oleh sesetengah pihak sebagai telah mulai luntur terutama sekali selepas Pilihan raya Umum Ke-12 yang lalu.

Dalam hubungan ini, titah ucapan Ke Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Kedah semasa bertitah di Istiadat Konvokesyen Ke-22 Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) pada 3 Oktober 2009

seharusnya dijadikan loceng amaran untuk semua rakyat Malaysia kembali berpijak di bumi nyata dan tidak hanyut dibuai sejarah kekuatan integrasi kaum generasi terdahulu. Antara lain baginda melahirkan kebimbangan terhadap perpaduan di kalangan rakyat di mana pada pemerhatian baginda ia berada pada tahap yang rapuh. Justeru, baginda menzahirkan harapan agar setiap kaum perlu saling membantu di mana kepentingan sempit perkauman yang wujud perlu dicairkan dan rakyat perlu hidup bagaikan air yang dicincang tidak akan putus. Ini merupakan satu peringatan dan perlu diingat bahawa sejarah 13 Mei 1969 boleh berulang sekiranya kita lupa untuk mengambil iktibar dari sejarah yang lalu.

CABARAN TERHADAP INTEGRASI KAUM DI MALAYSIA

Cabaran-cabaran yang berada di hadapan kita sekarang dalam usaha untuk mengekal integrasi kaum di negara ini sebenarnya berkisar terhadap beberapa isu utama yang perlu ditangani secara holistik yang melibatkan semua kaum. Isu-isu yang dimaksudkan itu ialah kurangnya pemahaman mengenai sejarah tanah air; kecenderungan untuk membahaskan isu perkauman secara terbuka; perjuangan politik yang berasaskan kaum serta peranan media yang dilihat cuba mensensasikan sesuatu isu yang berbau perkauman.

Kurangnya pemahaman mengenai sejarah tanah air merupakan isu utama yang menyebabkan usaha mengekalkan integrasi kaum menjadi semakin sukar khususnya di kalangan generasi muda. Ianya berpunca daripada kegagalan generasi muda hari ini memahami sejarah pembentukan Tanah Melayu dan seterusnya Malaysia serta bagaimana rentetan sejarah menuntut kemerdekaan tanah air dari penjajahan British. Generasi muda hari ini dilihat telah melupai tentang sejarah toleransi kaum yang pernah wujud di antara kaum Melayu, Cina dan India ketika pemimpin-pemimpin negara berusaha meyakinkan pentadbiran British tentang kemampuan rakyat tempatan mentadbir negara ini walaupun mempunyai kaum-kaum yang berbeza. Mereka gagal untuk melihat serta menilai betapa pentingnya toleransi kaum ini dikekalkan oleh semua kaum di negara ini. Kegagalan ini besar kemungkinan berpunca daripada sikap generasi muda yang mengambil sikap sambil lewa atau

memandang remeh terhadap isu perpaduan kerana mereka tidak pernah mengalami atau melihat sendiri trauma Tragedi 13 Mei 1969 yang masih menjadi igauan ngeri kepada generasi terdahulu.

Isu kedua yang menjadi halangan kepada pemupukan integrasi kaum ialah terdapatnya kecenderungan masyarakat untuk membahaskan isu perkauman secara terbuka. Diperhatikan bahawa terdapat kecenderungan sama ada di kalangan ahli masyarakat, ahli-ahli akademik dan lebih-lebih lagi ahli politik untuk membahaskan isu-isu yang bersifat perkauman ini secara terbuka melalui media massa atau laman web masing-masing. Sebagai contoh, apabila isu ketuanan Melayu serta Dasar Ekonomi Baru dibangkitkan oleh pemimpin-pemimpin politik bukan Melayu di negara ini serta mengaitkannya dengan isu ketidakadilan atau penindasan kaum maka isu ini pasti mendapat sokongan golongan-golongan tertentu yang merasakan diri mereka dianiaya dan tidak mendapat pembelaan dari kerajaan sebagaimana yang mereka harapkan. Sokongan yang diterima ini menyebabkan pemimpin-pemimpin terlibat lebih ghairah untuk memperkatakan isu itu secara yang lebih terbuka sama ada di Dewan Parlimen atau Dewan Undangan Negeri semata-mata untuk mendesak kerajaan supaya bersikap lebih adil kepada kaum yang kononnya tertindas. Dalam keghairahan ini kita dapat melihat bahawa pemimpin-pemimpin yang berkenaan terlupa atau sengaja lupa bahawa isu yang mereka bangkitkan itu sebenarnya telah menyinggung perasaan serta menghiris hati orang-orang Melayu. Perlu diingatkan bahawa situasi sebegini boleh mendorong kepada wujudnya rasa dendam atau tidak puas hati di kalangan orang-orang Melayu yang merasakan bahawa selama ini mereka telah banyak berkorban dan mengalah kepada tuntutan kaum-kaum lain. Rasa dendam dan tidak puas hati ini sekiranya tidak ditangani secara yang betul boleh menjadi bom jangka yang akan meledak tanpa diduga.

Isu seterusnya yang boleh memberikan kesan kepada integrasi kaum ialah perjuangan politik berasaskan kaum. Walaupun konsep penubuhan parti-parti politik di negara ini pada awalnya adalah berasaskan kepada kaum-kaum tertentu seperti Parti UMNO yang mewakili orang-orang Melayu, Parti MCA yang mewakili kaum Cina serta Parti MIC yang mewakili kaum India namun pada asasnya pada masa tersebut parti-parti ini tidak menjadikan

kepentingan kaum sebagai agenda perjuangan parti masing-masing. Agenda utama yang mereka perjuangkan pada masa itu ialah untuk mencapai kemerdekaan dan seterusnya menggembelng tenaga ke arah membangunkan negara. Begitulah murninya perjuangan parti-parti politik terdahulu. Namun sekarang ini kemurnian itu dilihat semakin lupus atau ternoda akibat kerakusan politik individu atau kelompok-kelompok tertentu. Akibatnya kita dapati sekarang ini sudah tidak menjadi satu perkara yang asing apabila pemimpin-pemimpin parti politik yang mewakili parti masing-masing mula berhujah sama ada di Dewan Parlimen, Dewan Undangan Negeri atau di perhimpunan-perhimpunan politik membawakan isu-isu yang menyentuh kepentingan kaum yang diwakilinya tanpa mengambilkira sensitiviti kaum lain. Isu ini bukan sahaja ditimbulkan oleh pemimpin-pemimpin dari parti pembangkang tetapi juga turut disuarakan oleh pemimpin-pemimpin politik dari parti pemerintah atas alasan menjalankan amanah sebagai wakil rakyat dalam menyuarakan hasrat hati pengundi ataupun cuba bertindak sebagai hero kepada kelompok masing-masing. Ekoran dari sikap sebeginilah, timbulnya suara-suara yang mempersoalkan keistimewaan kaum bumiputera dalam sistem pendidikan negara, pemberian tender, pembangunan kawasan serta pelbagai isu lagi yang sebenarnya tidak perlu dijadikan agenda parti politik masing-masing.

Akhir sekali cabaran untuk mengekal serta memperkukuhkan integrasi kaum ini adalah berpunca dari peranan media yang dilihat cuba mensensasikan isu-isu sensitif perkauman. Isu-isu tersebut pada asalnya merupakan isu-isu kecil sahaja. Walau bagaimanapun, terdapat sesetengah pihak pengamal media mengambil kesempatan menjadikan isu-isu kecil yang bersifat perkauman ini sebagai isu sensasi bagi maksud melariskan jualan terbitan mereka maka ianya menjadi isu nasional. Ianya menjadi lebih serius apabila teks ucapan atau gambar-gambar yang berbau perkauman ini disiarkan secara langsung untuk tatapan umum. Akibatnya, mungkin ada kelompok kaum yang tersinggung kerana ianya menyentuh sensitiviti kaum mereka dan ini sebenarnya boleh menjadi api dalam sekam atau bom jangka yang menunggu masa untuk membakar atau meletup.

Mengambil kira kepentingan integrasi kaum terhadap keselamatan serta kestabilan negara dan

kesannya jika integrasi kaum gagal dikekalkan, maka semua rakyat negara ini tanpa mengira kaum, agama, fahaman politik serta status sosial perlu menjadikan integrasi kaum sebagai agenda perjuangan bersama. Ini amat penting bagi memastikan semua rakyat negara ini mempunyai sikap serta matlamat yang sama iaitu menjadikan integrasi kaum sebagai wadah perjuangan nasional yang akan menentukan kelangsungan hidup negara ini sebagai sebuah negara yang dihormati serta kekal berdaulat dan merdeka. Dalam konteks ini, seluruh rakyat Malaysia khususnya generasi muda dituntut untuk berfikir serta bertindak secara rasional di luar batasan perkauman yang sempit dalam menentukan integrasi kaum terus kekal berkembang memayungi keselamatan serta kestabilan negara.

CADANGAN KE ARAH MEMPERKASAKAN INTEGRASI KAUM DI MALAYSIA

Dalam usaha untuk memperkasakan integrasi kaum di negara ini, penulis ingin mencadangkan beberapa pendekatan yang dilihat boleh membantu ke arah pemupukan semangat tersebut. Pendekatan-pendekatan yang dicadangkan ialah merealisasikan Gagasan 1Malaysia; mengelakkan perbincangan isu-isu perkauman secara terbuka; tidak menjadikan isu perkauman sebagai agenda politik, meningkatkan pemahaman mengenai sejarah tanah air dan menghadkan kebebasan media dalam hal-hal yang bersifat perkauman.

Gagasan 1 Malaysia yang diperkenalkan oleh YAB Perdana Menteri, Datuk Sri Najib Razak pada 3 April 2009 sebaik sahaja mengambil alih teraju kepimpinan negara merupakan agenda nasional sebagai sebahagian daripada usaha kerajaan untuk memupuk integrasi kaum di negara ini. Seluruh warga negara tanpa mengira kaum, agama dan pegangan politik perlu menyokong gagasan ini secara menyeluruh supaya akan lahirnya satu bentuk toleransi kaum yang akan menjadi pendokong utama kepada keselamatan serta kestabilan negara. Nilai murni yang cuba diserapkan melalui Gagasan 1Malaysia perlu disemarakkan ke arah membina sebuah negara bangsa Malaysia yang bersatu padu. Ia menuntut setiap rakyat memahami warisan sejarah dan budaya yang sekali gus mampu melonjakkan pemikiran serta perasaan kekitaan dan bukan sebaliknya. Kita

perlu menterjemahkan gagasan tersebut sebagai satu landasan untuk kita bersatu teguh dalam konteks prinsip penerimaan bahawa semua kaum sebagai rakan setia serta rasa saling menghormati sesama kita. Dalam konteks ini, semua pihak tidak boleh beranggapan bahawa Gagasan 1Malaysia merupakan retorik politik semata-mata.

Pendekatan kedua yang boleh memupuk integrasi kaum di negara ini ialah dengan cara mengelakkan perbincangan isu-isu yang bersifat perkauman secara terbuka. Sebarang bentuk perbincangan mengenai isu-isu perkauman sama ada yang melibatkan soal-soal agama, kaum, sosio-budaya serta kepentingan ekonomi perlu dibincangkan secara tertutup sama ada melalui forum, simposium atau persidangan khas yang cuma melibatkan wakil-wakil kaum yang arif mengenai isu tersebut. Ini amat penting bagi menentukan perbincangan mengenai isu-isu tersebut dibuat atas dasar rasional serta disokong oleh fakta-fakta yang tepat dan bukannya didorong oleh sebarang bentuk sentimen atau emosi semata-mata. Dalam konteks ini penggunaan Akta Keselamatan Dalam Negeri adalah wajar sebagai satu mekanisme perundangan untuk menghalang golongan yang tidak bertanggungjawab memanipulasikan isu-isu perkauman untuk kepentingan peribadi atau kelompok masing-masing. Demokrasi tidak seharusnya digadai atas nama kebebasan bersuara tanpa batasan sehingga tidak lagi menghormati sensitiviti dan kemuliaan agama, sejarah dan budaya masyarakat lain.

Pendekatan seterusnya yang difikirkan boleh membantu memperkasakan integrasi kaum di negara ini ialah parti-parti politik tidak menjadikan isu perkauman sebagai sebahagian dari agenda politik parti. Ini merupakan pengorbanan yang perlu dilakukan oleh semua pemimpin politik sama ada dari pihak kerajaan mahupun parti pembangkang di negara ini. Mereka dalam apa jua keadaan tidak boleh menjadikan isu perkauman sebagai agenda politik yang diperjuangkan secara terbuka khususnya sebagai manifesto parti ataupun landasan perjuangan parti. Sebarang bentuk isu perkauman sekiranya diperjuangkan di atas pentas politik maka ianya akan menyemarakkan rasa tidak puas hati antara kaum yang sebenarnya merupakan simbahan petrol kepada bunga-bunga api yang sedia ada bersarang di antara kaum-kaum di

negara ini. Yang amat dibimbangkan ialah simbahan ini akan membakar toleransi kaum yang sedia wujud dan berkemungkinan akan mencetuskan satu lagi insiden 13 Mei 1969 yang sebenarnya bukan merupakan suatu peristiwa bersejarah untuk diingati. Justeru, untuk membendung kemungkinan ini maka pihak berkuasa perlu menggunakan segala bentuk sistem perundangan yang sedia ada termasuk Akta Keselamatan Dalam Negeri sebagai senjata untuk membendung sebarang bentuk penyalahgunaan pentas politik dalam memperjuangkan agenda berkepentingan individu atau kelompok-kelompok tertentu.

Pendekatan keempat yang ingin dikemukakan ialah memberikan pemahaman yang jelas tentang sejarah tanah air khususnya kepada generasi muda. Segala bentuk toleransi kaum yang pernah berlaku di awal pembentukan Malaysia perlu direkodkan dalam sejarah pembentukan negara ini dan ianya diajar di sekolah-sekolah terutamanya di peringkat sekolah rendah. Ini bagi membolehkan generasi muda memahami bahawa pembentukan negara ini adalah berdasarkan kepada toleransi kaum oleh generasi atau pemimpin terdahulu. Generasi muda perlu disedarkan bahawa jika rakyat bersatu di bawah satu bumbung yang berpaksikan kepada Perlembagaan, Rukun Negara serta prinsip penerimaan kepelbagaian kaum dan memahami rentetan sejarah pembentukan negara ini, maka sebarang usaha sama ada dari luar atau dalam negara untuk menghakis jati diri kita tidak akan tercapai.

Pendekatan terakhir yang ingin dikemukakan dalam usaha memperkasakan integrasi kaum ialah dengan cara mengawal peranan media supaya tidak mensensasikan isu-isu perkauman yang timbul. Media merupakan alat yang berupaya untuk mempengaruhi pemikiran rakyat kerana ianya mempunyai kuasa yang amat kuat sebagai sumber penyebaran maklumat kepada rakyat. Dalam konteks ini, media berpotensi untuk menghapuskan atau membetulkan salah faham terhadap sesuatu isu yang timbul. Namun, pada masa yang sama juga media berupaya untuk mencetuskan ketegangan serta membangkitkan rasa takut atau bimbang di kalangan rakyat terhadap sesuatu isu yang berlaku. Sebagai usaha untuk membantu memperkasakan integrasi kaum di negara ini, media adalah disarankan supaya menjadi mata dan telinga

yang peka, bertindak sebagai ejen reformasi dan transformasi yang berguna kepada bangsa dan negara. Dalam erti kata lain, media tidak boleh menjadikan dirinya sebagai pencetus ketegangan antara kaum dengan cara mensensasikan isu-isu perkauman yang sensitif. Ringkasnya pihak media tidak boleh terlalu ghairah dengan pergolakan, agenda, hegemoni dan wacana politik golongan tertentu. Pengamal media perlu menggunakan kemahiran dan wadah mereka untuk membantu Malaysia menjadi sebuah negara yang makmur, moden, progresif dan bersatu padu bagi mendokong Wawasan 2020.

PENUTUP

Sebagai penutup, penulis merumuskan bahawa nikmat keselamatan dan kestabilan yang sedang dinikmati oleh rakyat negara merupakan hasil dari integrasi kaum yang wujud selama ini. Justeru,

integrasi kaum merupakan tonggak atau *centre of gravity* kepada kestabilan negara. Hakikat ini perlu difahami secara menyeluruh oleh seluruh rakyat negara ini supaya kita tidak leka dan alpa sehingga menyebabkan integrasi kaum yang sedia wujud menjadi semakin pudar pada masa akan datang. Kepudaran ini sekiranya tidak ditangani secara berhemah boleh mendorong kepada tercetusnya ketegangan kaum seperti yang pernah berlaku 41 tahun yang lampau yang secara langsung boleh memberikan impak negatif kepada keselamatan serta kestabilan negara. Sememangnya terdapat banyak cabaran yang boleh mengganggu gugat keutuhan integrasi kaum di negara ini. Justeru semua rakyat perlu bersatu hati dan menjadikan roh Perlembagaan Negara yang mahukan rakyat hidup dalam harmoni, tiada yang tercicir menikmati pembangunan dan kehidupan serta menerima hakikat bahawa rakyat Malaysia terdiri dari berbilang kaum sebagai landasan ke arah memperkasakan integrasi kaum di negara ini.

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Ordnance



PARTNERSHIP IN DEFENCE

HANRUH DALAM MEMPERTAHANKAN KEDAULATAN DAN KEUTUHAN NEGARA - SATU PANDANGAN

Oleh Sjn Sazrul Hisham Bin Muhammad

SINOPSIS

Sebuah artikel yang menerangkan tentang konsep pertahanan negara berlandaskan dasar pertahanan negara. Membentangkan secara terperinci dalam konteks pelaksanaan dan langkah-langkah bagi menjayakan konsep HANRUH. Di samping merangsang minda pembaca, karya ini juga memberi tips-tips atau kaedah mengikut persepsi dan amalan dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat yang dapat memberi jaminan keharmonian dalam memimpin sesuatu organisasi. Selain itu, konsep tersebut juga berfungsi sebagai panduan kepada agensi-agensi dan jabatan-jabatan yang berada di negara ini.

PENGENALAN

HANRUH merupakan singkatan bagi Pertahanan Menyeluruh yang merupakan suatu konsep pertahanan yang menggabungkan peranan aktif Agensi-Agensi Kerajaan, Sektor Swasta, Badan-Badan Bukan Kerajaan (NGO) serta rakyat jelata dalam mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara. HANRUH turut menekankan supaya kesinambungan peranan mempertahankan negara bukan terletak di bahu anggota keselamatan semata-mata tetapi meliputi anggota masyarakat keseluruhannya. Justeru, HANRUH mempunyai makna atau erti yang sangat penting bagi kemakmuran dan kehidupan sejagat dalam sesebuah negara yang dicintai.

Pada amnya, HANRUH telah diperkenalkan oleh kerajaan kepada rakyat semenjak tahun 1986 lagi. Walaupun sudah lebih dua dekad diperkenalkan, majoriti rakyat Malaysia masih asing dengan ungkapan HANRUH kerana strategi ini tidak pernah dipraktikkan. Namun begitu, secara tersiratnya konsep tersebut sentiasa disuntik melalui kursus-kursus yang dianjurkan oleh Biro Tata Negara (BTN) walau pun ianya tidak didedahkan secara menyeluruh kepada rakyat

Malaysia. HANRUH juga telah dijadikan sebagai salah satu prinsip asas di dalam Dasar Pertahanan Negara yang mengandungi lima komponen teras iaitu Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan, Penyatuan dan Perpaduan Masyarakat, Kesiapsiagaan Awam, Daya Tahan Ekonomi dan Keutuhan Psikologi. Kesemua komponen yang dinyatakan tersebut boleh dikatakan mempunyai fungsi dan peranan yang tersendiri bagi mencapai aspirasi serta Modus Operandi yang cemerlang dan sempurna.

KESIAPSIAGAAN KESELAMATAN



Masyarakat Malaysia memberi sokongan dan berbangga dengan tahap pertahanan negara

Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan merupakan komponen yang teratas yang merangkumi kesiapsiagaan Tentera dan Polis bagi melindungi nyawa dan harta benda serta memelihara keselamatan awam. Polis Diraja Malaysia (PDRM) sebagai sebuah agensi peneraju utama semasa aman berupaya menjalankan tanggungjawab dengan penuh komitmen dan berdaya juang melalui kemahiran serta disiplin yang tinggi. Selain itu, Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) juga merupakan satu agensi keselamatan yang penting bagi memenuhi kehendak komponen ini tercapai. Antara contoh dan peranan organisasi tersebut bagi menjamin Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan adalah menjaga perairan dan sempadan negara mahupun di darat ataupun di udara. Semenjak dari dahulu lagi bermula dengan era Peperangan Dunia Kedua dan fasa Insurgensi, badan beruniform seperti Polis dan Tentera telah diamanahkan untuk menjaga keselamatan dan menentang anasir-anasir daripada dalam dan luar negara yang memberontak bagi menentukan keamanan dan kemakmuran di kecapi oleh semua warga negara.

Dalam mempersiapkan pelaksanaan konsep pertahanan menyeluruh ini, selain daripada institusi ATM dan PDRM, kepimpinan masyarakat juga harus dilibatkan bersama. Antara saranan yang telah diketengahkan adalah dengan mewujudkan Askar Wataniah di setiap Dewan Undangan Negeri (DUN). Kesenambungan itu, Menteri Pertahanan, Datuk Seri Ahmad Zahid Hamidi berkata, Kementerian Pertahanan akan menubuhkan satu Kompeni Askar Wataniah di kesemua 222 kawasan Parlimen dalam usaha memantapkan sistem pertahanan bagi seluruh negara. Katanya lagi, Pasukan pertahanan itu akan mengandungi 300 anggota bagi setiap kompeni yang terdiri daripada pelbagai kaum dengan bilangan anggota secara keseluruhan dijangka mencecah 600,000 orang dalam tempoh lima tahun akan datang.

Penubuhan Tentera Wataniah adalah sebagai usaha untuk membantu ATM dalam melaksanakan tugas menjaga keamanan negara. Kementerian Pertahanan juga perlu melibatkan persatuan bekas veteran tentera sebagai tanda penghargaan di atas perkhidmatan mereka dalam pasukan pertahanan pada masa lalu. Disamping itu ATM juga perlu bekerjasama dengan Kementerian Pelajaran

untuk menambahkan lagi jumlah pasukan kadet tentera di sekolah supaya pelajar dapat diberi pendedahan awal mengenai pasukan pertahanan selain membina semangat patriotisme di kalangan pelajar. Pelaksanaan ini harus dimulakan di peringkat pemimpin komuniti secara menyeluruh dengan harapan satu hari nanti konsep ini diterima dan dijiwai serta dipatuhi oleh semua rakyat.

Dalam pengaturan strategi yang tepat, bersistematik serta pelaksanaan tugas yang berkesan, realistik dan versatil selaras dengan Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan yang diamanahkan, pengaktifan semula agen-agen mahir seperti pesara tentera yang berumur kurang 55 tahun perlu dilaksana dan dipantau dari semasa ke semasa. Pihak berkuasa seharusnya meletakkan mereka di suatu tempat atau diberi tugas sampingan di kampung masing-masing yang dikawal selia oleh unit ATM yang berhampiran dalam konteks penugasan sebagai agen-agen pembantu. Alangkah ruginya negara yang telah melatih mereka dengan pelbagai kemahiran serta pengalaman dibiarkan begitu sahaja. Memang benar pesara-pesara berada dalam senarai pasukan simpanan tetap dan akan dipanggil apabila diperlukan tetapi ironinya pemeliharaan itu harus bermula dari peringkat awal bertujuan untuk mengekalkan mood, stamina dan moral mereka.

Penglibatan semula mereka ini dalam konsep HANRUH bukan sahaja akan membenteng setiap inci tanah air, malah ia juga merupakan pemangkin kepada pendapatan tambahan untuk kelangsungan hidup. Dalam konteks HANRUH, ATM telah berjaya melaksanakan usaha-usaha yang menyeluruh bersama agensi-agensi kerajaan dan swasta bagi menentukan pemeliharaan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara pada sebilang masa. Antara contoh yang telah dilaksanakan dengan berkesan adalah kerjasama antara PDRM dan ATM dalam pelbagai operasi. Aspek-aspek yang dipertekankan dalam Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan dari HANRUH bukan sahaja meliputi ketenteraan bahkan aspek pembentukan pemikiran rohani dan jasmani, material, perkhidmatan dan sumber manusia. Dengan cadangan yang diusulkan tersebut, sudah tentu Kesiapsiagaan Keselamatan negara sudah mempunyai barisan pertahanan yang mapan.

PENYATUAN DAN PERPADUAN MASYARAKAT

Penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat adalah merupakan komponen kedua yang terkandung dalam konsep HANRUH ini, dan Bangsa Malaysia perlu utuh dan bersatu padu serta hidup dalam keadaan harmonis tanpa mengira perbezaan status, kaum, agama, budaya dan negeri. Kemantapan integrasi nasional, integrasi budaya dan tanpa perbezaan wilayah dapat merealisasikan keutuhan Malaysia. Bagi melahirkan semangat penyatuan dan perpaduan dalam kalangan masyarakat, kita perlu mengamalkan sikap penyayang, toleransi, sikap permuafakatan, berkongsi matlamat dan mempunyai hala tuju serta wawasan yang sama demi memperkasakan negara dalam mengamalkan nilai-nilai yang murni dan bermaklumat. Walaupun konsep ini berada ditempat kedua dalam komponen HANRUH, penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat juga amat penting dalam memperkasa sebuah negara yang makmur serta terus membangun. Beberapa negara telah menyedari kepentingan penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat dan telah mempraktikkannya sejak perang dingin lagi atau *Cold War* oleh beberapa negara antaranya Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland dan Singapura. Ini menunjukkan konsep yang diamalkan oleh beberapa negara tersebut masih lagi relevan dan berkesan.

Negara kita adalah salah satu negara yang terkenal dengan perpaduan antara masyarakat dan pelbagai kaum. Kita seharusnya berterima kasih kepada pentadbir negara kerana telah memperkenalkan nilai-nilai harmoni untuk perpaduan seperti konsep HANRUH yang dikatakan mempunyai persamaan dengan konsep gagasan 1 Malaysia. Jika perkara ini tidak diperkenalkan dari awal lagi, sudah tentu negara kita akan mengalami pelbagai konflik yang akan memberikan kesan yang buruk terhadap pentadbiran, ekonomi dan sebagainya. Sebagai contoh, kesan konflik yang telah mengakibatkan kerosakan yang besar terhadap kemudahan awam dan harta benda masyarakat seperti yang dialami oleh negara Afghanistan, Iraq dan Lebanon telah jelas membuktikan kebenaran ini. Oleh yang demikian, masyarakat perlu menginsafi dan mengelakkan dari situasi yang dialami oleh negara tersebut demi mencapai aspirasi negara dan kemakmuran sejagat.

Berdasarkan rasional, konsep ini adalah penting bagi setiap rakyat untuk diberi kesedaran terhadap peranan dan tanggungjawab masing-masing dalam menjamin keutuhan serta kedaulatan negara. Semangat perpaduan antara masyarakat perlu dibentuk bagi menentang sebarang cabaran dalam mengekalkan kebebasan dan kemerdekaan bangsa dan negara. Penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat ini perlu disemai dan dipupuk secara berterusan. Antara langkah bagi memperkasakan konsep ini adalah dengan mengadakan program-program yang boleh menyatupadukan rakyat seperti amalan gotong royong dan kegiatan sosial seperti yang disarankan oleh Perdana Menteri kita, Dato' Seri Mohd Najib bin Tun Razak.

Aktiviti gotong royong merupakan satu program yang dapat memberikan kesan yang baik dan mendalam untuk menyatukan masyarakat. Contohnya seperti penghuni di sesuatu taman yang terdiri dari pelbagai bangsa iaitu Melayu, Cina dan India dapat bergaul dan bekerjasama di antara satu sama lain serta dapat bertukar informasi semasa aktiviti dilaksanakan. Selain dari membersihkan persekitaran taman, aktiviti ini juga dapat menyumbang ke arah amalan hidup yang sihat kepada penduduk seperti bebas dari penyakit disamping mewujudkan komitmen antara penduduk serta menghasilkan warga yang berintegriti tinggi.

Selain itu, aktiviti sosial kebudayaan juga banyak menyumbang hasil kepada negara ini dalam menyatukan perpaduan masyarakat seperti tarian 1 Malaysia yang diadakan pada 6 Disember 2009 bertempat di Dataran Merdeka. Tarian tersebut merupakan tarian yang terbesar yang pernah diadakan di Malaysia dan tercatat di dalam *Malaysia Book of Record* (MBR) dengan penyertaan seramai 10,000 peserta dari seluruh ceruk negeri di Malaysia. Tarian 1 Malaysia juga adalah merupakan hasil gabungan beberapa tarian termasuk tarian Cina, India, Melayu serta tarian etnik dari Sabah dan Sarawak. Tarian tersebut telah mempesonakan ramai pengunjung asing yang datang melawat ke negara ini dan telah nyata program tersebut telah berjaya menarik pengunjung asing serta memberi gambaran yang jelas berhubung dengan penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat di negara ini melalui komen-komen yang diperkatakan oleh pengunjung asing yang disiarkan oleh media masa.

Penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat telah diakui sebagai salah satu asas utama bagi membina pembangunan dan kesejahteraan negara yang mapan. Ini telah pun terbukti sejak negara kita mencapai kemerdekaan lagi di mana rakyat dan pemimpin serta anggota keselamatan telah bersepadu usaha dan tenaga dalam menentang ancaman komunis dan konfrontasi. Kerjasama semua pihak dan kaum telah membuahkan kemajuan negara sehingga sekarang. Penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat perlu dipupuk secara berterusan kerana kepincangan ini akan mengancam kesejahteraan negara.

KESIAPSIAGAAN AWAM

Kesiapsiagaan awam merupakan komponen yang ketiga dalam konsep HANRUH. Ia juga boleh didefinisikan sebagai kesediaan agensi-agensi awam, pihak swasta, pertubuhan sukarela dan orang awam dalam mengadakan kemudahan perlindungan nyawa dan harta benda kita dan negara dari bencana peperangan. Selain itu, kita perlu melibatkan diri dalam usaha-usaha pembekalan kemudahan asas yang berterusan dalam keadaan perang, darurat atau bencana. Komponen ini adalah lebih kepada komitmen yang menyeluruh dari segenap lapisan masyarakat. Kita perlu menyedari bahawa pertahanan negara tidak boleh dipertanggungjawabkan hanya kepada pasukan keselamatan sahaja, sebaliknya ia perlu dilihat sebagai *national concern* atau tanggungjawab bersama.

Kesiapsiagaan awam bukan sahaja bermaksud bersedia ketika menghadapi situasi perang atau darurat. Dalam situasi lain juga masyarakat perlu sedar komitmen masing-masing terhadap negara yang perlu diikuti dan dipatuhi. Contohnya, dalam menghadapi situasi bencana yang buruk seperti tsunami, banjir dan tanah runtuh. Rakyat perlu mematuhi dan akur jika kerajaan mengeluarkan amaran dan kenyataan tertentu bagi mengelakkan sebarang musibah yang akan berlaku. Di samping itu, sebagai rakyat yang prihatin kita perlulah bersedia membantu mangsa-mangsa yang terlibat dengan bencana seumpama itu. Rakyat juga disarankan agar menyemai semangat kesukarelaan, sedia memberikan bantuan dan pertolongan serta menghangai nyawa dan harta benda milik bersama.

Kita tidak boleh bersikap seperti berpeluk tubuh sahaja atau sentiasa mementingkan diri sendiri. Kita perlulah bermuafakat dan berganding bahu dengan pasukan keselamatan dalam membantu apa jua musibah yang timbul.

Berdasarkan kenyataan yang diterbitkan melalui akhbar, Jabatan Pertahanan Awam Malaysia (JPAM) disokong dengan kekuatan 60,033 anggota sukarelawan Pertahanan Awam dan 29,800 anggota Kadet Sekolah di seluruh negara. Jumlah yang disenaraikan itu masih belum dapat memenuhi piawai International Civil Defence Organization (ICDO) untuk melatih sekurang-kurangnya sepuluh peratus daripada penduduk awam di negara ini dengan pengetahuan persediaan menghadapi bencana dan kecemasan. Namun begitu, dengan kekuatan jumlah seperti yang dinyatakan itu ternyata tenaga sukarelawan yang menjadi tulang belakang JPAM di negara ini telah berjaya memberi komitmen yang tinggi semasa menghadapi krisis, bencana atau permasalahan yang timbul.

Bagi merealisasikan tujuan ini, Program Latihan Orang Awam perlulah dirangka dan dirancang melibatkan semua penduduk dan orang awam di negara ini. Program tersebut perlulah merangkumi teori, demonstrasi menyelamatkan dan pelbagai tindakan yang berkaitan. Dengan pendedahan tersebut, besar kemungkinan semasa bencana orang awam akan dapat melakukan kerja-kerja bantuan menyelamatkan awal sementara menunggu bantuan dari agensi-agensi penyelamat. Selain dari itu, kesiapsiagaan awam ini juga dapat mengurangkan risiko kehilangan nyawa dan harta benda penduduk awam.

Antara latihan pertahanan awam yang sering dijalankan adalah bencana dan kemalangan yang merangkumi aspek menyelamatkan dan mengeluarkan mangsa, mengawal lalu lintas, merawat, memulih dan mengambil tindakan bagi memastikan semua nyawa terpelihara. Selain itu, kebakaran, kecemasan lain dan khidmat kemanusiaan juga adalah merupakan latihan pertahanan awam yang sering dilaksanakan oleh sukarelawan yang merangkumi aspek bantuan kebajikan, gotong royong, pemulihan emosi dan persekitaran serta kaunseling, kawalan keselamatan dan apa jua langkah yang dapat mencegah dan memulihkan bencana serta menjamin keharmonian rakyat.

DAYA TAHAN EKONOMI

Daya Tahan Ekonomi merupakan komponen HANRUH yang keempat. Ketahanan ekonomi membawa erti kerajaan dan swasta di semua sektor ekonomi berganding bahu dan bersatu untuk memastikan kemampuan dan kekuatan ekonomi negara terus mantap di masa aman serta berupaya membantu keperluan pertahanan ketika menghadapi perang dan darurat. Bagi memenuhi keperluan ketahanan ekonomi, tumpuan akan diberikan kepada usaha penyimpanan stok bahan-bahan perlu dan memastikan kemudahan pengangkutan, tenaga dan sumber air tidak tergendala atau terancam semasa peperangan.

Berdasarkan fakta, krisis ekonomi yang melanda dunia kini bermula daripada kejatuhan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat yang selama ini mengamalkan sistem kapitalis yang amat terbuka dengan memberi kebebasan yang besar kepada syarikat-syarikat yang bukan dimiliki oleh kerajaan. Kerajaan Amerika tidak mengawal langsung dasar dan operasi syarikat-syarikat kapitalis yang beroperasi. Walaupun negara telah bersedia lebih awal lagi melalui pelan rangsangan ekonomi, namun kegawatan serta kejatuhan ekonomi dunia kini tetap akan dirasai di seluruh dunia termasuk Malaysia.

Antara langkah untuk memperkukuhkan daya tahan ekonomi negara adalah dengan mengambil kira persekitaran ekonomi global yang mencabar ini, pihak kerajaan perlu mengambil langkah tindak balas polisi bagi menangani krisis kewangan global. Di samping itu, dasar pengembangan fiskal perlu dilakukan dan ditingkatkan memandangkan negara mempunyai fleksibiliti untuk melaksanakan projek serta program berimpak tinggi berikutan daripada penjimatan subsidi minyak akibat penurunan harga minyak di peringkat global. Melalui penjimatan yang dijangkakan ini, pelbagai inisiatif melibatkan kewangan perlu dilaksanakan bagi memangkinkan aktiviti ekonomi dalam negeri serta merangsang aktiviti sektor swasta bagi menjamin kesejahteraan rakyat. Projek dan program yang diusulkan ini adalah selari dengan lima teras Misi Nasional dan juga selaras dengan tiga strategi khusus bajet negara iaitu menjamin kesejahteraan rakyat, membangunkan modal insan berkualiti dan memperkukuhkan daya tahan negara.

Selain dari pakej rangsangan yang dicadangkan itu, langkah-langkah lain juga perlu dipraktikkan bagi memperkukuhkan ekonomi negara iaitu meningkatkan keberkesanan perbelanjaan kerajaan seperti projek yang mempunyai kesan pengganda tinggi dan kandungan import yang rendah perlu diutamakan. Langkah seterusnya adalah menyediakan persekitaran perniagaan dan pelaburan yang kondusif serta penjana peluang pekerjaan yang mapan untuk sektor swasta, contohnya membangunkan tanah kerajaan di lokasi strategik dengan usaha sama sektor swasta yang dapat mempelbagaikan hasil kerajaan. Meningkatkan pendapatan boleh guna rakyat dan mengekalkan permintaan dalam negeri seperti melanjutkan tempoh bayaran balik pinjaman perumahan kerajaan sedia ada daripada 25 tahun kepada 30 tahun. Langkah-langkah tersebut merupakan pakej rangsangan yang komprehensif yang bukan sahaja disasarkan untuk menangani impak krisis kewangan global, malah meletakkan asas-asas yang kukuh bagi mengekalkan momentum pertumbuhan negara yang mapan demi mencapai objektif misi nasional dan Wawasan 2020.

KEUTUHAN PSIKOLOGI

Komponen yang terakhir dalam HANRUH adalah keutuhan psikologi. Keutuhan psikologi boleh didefinisikan sebagai kekuatan mental yang menunjukkan komitmen dan keyakinan yang padu terhadap kedaulatan dan pertahanan negara. Bagi membina bangsa Malaysia yang memiliki keutuhan psikologi, rakyat perlu memupuk sifat-sifat mulia seperti berani dan sanggup berkorban demi rasa cinta kepada negara, bijak memainkan peranan semasa aman dan darurat di samping mengamalkan nilai-nilai agama dan moral yang tinggi. Selain itu sebagai bangsa yang berpendirian, kita tidak sepatutnya mudah terpengaruh dengan dakyah musuh serta memiliki jasmani yang cergas lagi berdisiplin. Keutuhan psikologi ini merupakan elemen yang paling dominan dalam HANRUH. Tanpa keutuhan psikologi, maka elemen perpaduan, ekonomi, keutuhan keselamatan tidak akan berjaya. Psikologi yang tepat dan betul akan menyumbang kepada pembinaan modal insan negara yang bertaraf kelas pertama dalam peringkat global. Kelemahan dan rapuhnya semangat patriotik dan nasionalisme rakyat Malaysia pada masa kini

adalah kerana tiadanya aspek keutuhan psikologi dalam jati diri masing-masing.

Antara aspek keutuhan psikologi yang perlu dibina dan disuburkan sebagai jati diri rakyat Malaysia adalah cintakan negara. Cintakan negara adalah merupakan semangat dan tanggungjawab yang perlu ada dalam diri rakyat Malaysia. Namun sehingga kini semangat tersebut semakin terhakis kerana rakyat di negara ini telah hanyut dalam arus pemodenan dan kemakmuran yang dicapai oleh negara ini.

Rakyat dari negara lain seperti rakyat Palestin, Iraq dan Afghanistan sanggup berkorban segala-segalanya termasuk nyawa untuk menegakkan sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Semangat jati diri kepada negara, agama dan bangsa yang dipamerkan oleh rakyat negara-negara tersebut amat kental sekali. Mereka berjuang demi membina sebuah negara yang bebas dari dibelenggu oleh penjajah kuasa asing. Mereka berjuang dalam keadaan serba kekurangan tanpa memikirkan imbuhan dan kepentingan peribadi. Malaysia adalah sebuah negara yang makmur, stabil, aman dan rakyatnya hidup mewah tanpa sebarang kekacauan. Tidak ada rakyat Malaysia yang mati kelaparan, kalau ada hanyalah mati kerana makan dan mengidap pelbagai penyakit kronik. Kita perlu berbangga dengan keadaan dan pencapaian yang telah dilaksanakan oleh para pemimpin negara ini sejak dari merdeka lagi. Rakyat negara ini bebas mencari rezeki di negara ini. Walau bagaimanapun pada masa ini, begitu ramai pendatang asing datang ke negara ini dan yang paling menyedihkan pula rakyat kita yang menjadi malas serta memilih kerja sehingga kebanyakan sektor diisi oleh rakyat asing. Sebagai rakyat yang bertanggung jawab, kita perlu taat setia dan cintakan negara melebihi segalanya. Tanamkanlah semangat cinta kepada negara kerana kita seharusnya menyampaikan semangat tersebut kepada generasi yang mendatang.

Di samping itu, sebagai sebuah masyarakat yang cemerlang, kepekaan terhadap masalah sosial seperti rasuah juga sering menjadi agenda utama kejatuhan ekonomi negara. Justeru, dalam merealisasikan etika kerja yang berkepimpinan, salah satu perkara yang perlu dititikberatkan adalah budaya kerja berintegriti. Aspek integriti dirujuk sebagai harga maruah diri yang mencerminkan cara hidup, budaya dan etika kerja seseorang individu.

Selain itu, integriti juga merupakan manifestasi ketelusan, kecekapan dan akauntabiliti, sifat amanah serta tanggungjawab seseorang yang bergelar penjawat awam.

KESIMPULAN

Negara kita mungkin akan menjadi sebuah negara yang terbilang dan sebagai negara contoh kepada negara-negara lain jika kelima-lima komponen HANRUH tersebut diamalkan oleh semua rakyat Malaysia dan tidak bersikap melepaskan batuk di tangga sahaja apabila ditugaskan dan diamanahkan menjalankan sesuatu misi demi negara yang tercinta. Penerapan kelima-lima komponen tersebut seharusnya dibuat pendedahan awal kepada golongan pelajar supaya ia dapat dipraktikkan untuk kebaikan negara kelak. Dengan perkembangan arus pemodenan pada zaman sekarang adalah tidak mustahil bagi kita sebagai rakyat Malaysia memberi sokongan yang padu terhadap kehendak-kehendak pemerintah pada zaman sekarang untuk menjayakan matlamat negara sebagai negara yang disegani dan sebagai negara contoh atau role model kepada negara-negara lain. Antara contoh yang hangat diperkatakan pada masa sekarang adalah idea atau konsep pembentukan gagasan 1 Malaysia yang diusulkan oleh Perdana Menteri kita iaitu Dato' Seri Mohd Najib bin Tun Razak.

Bukan mudah untuk menjadi senang dan tidak susah untuk menjadi susah. Ungkapan tersebut perlu diselami oleh semua rakyat Malaysia dan memahami segala maksud yang tersirat di sebalik ungkapan tersebut. Rakyat perlulah bersyukur dengan keadaan negara pada masa kini kerana dapat hidup dalam keadaan yang serba baik dan makmur. Di samping itu, ekonomi negara juga semakin bertambah baik jika dibandingkan dari dulu dan semua rakyat di negara ini telah dinaikkan taraf berasaskan modus operandi negara bagi mengurangkan kemiskinan tegar. Selain itu, negara ini juga mempunyai bentuk muka bumi yang berpotensi untuk dibangunkan sebagai tempat beriadah dan destinasi pelancongan. Oleh itu, kita sebagai rakyat Malaysia perlulah sentiasa berhati-hati dan berwaspada sepanjang masa kerana tempat yang menarik seperti negara kita ini sudah tentu dapat menarik perhatian kuasa-kuasa asing yang menanti peluang untuk bertindak.

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Sjn Sazrul Hisyam Bin Muhammad telah menyertai Angkatan Tentera Malaysia pada 27 Jun 2002 di dalam Kor Armor DiRaja. Meminati bidang penulisan, beliau sering meluangkan masa membaca karya penulis tanah air seperti Keris Mas. Beliau juga sering mengambil bahagian di dalam pertandingan Menulis Esei Tentera Darat untuk mengasah bakat penulisan. Beliau kini bertugas sebagai Sarjan Kerani di Pusat Latihan Armor, Port Dickson.

THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT (ISA) HAS BEEN A SUCCESSFUL TOOL TOWARDS MAINTAINING INTERNAL SECURITY IN MALAYSIA BUT HEAVILY CRITICISED AS AN ABUSE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. DISCUSS.

By Lt Kol Amirudin bin Dato' Sulaiman

INTRODUCTION

There are several definitions of the term “security” as cited by Collins¹ and among the definitions provided, the one defined by Mohammed Ayooob is as follows: “Security-insecurity is defined in relation to vulnerabilities – *both internal and external* – that threaten or have the potential to bring down or weaken state structures, both territorial and institutional, and governing regimes (emphasis in original).”² So what does internal security mean? From the definition provided by Mohammed Ayooob, one can safely interpret internal security to mean the existence or the potential of real and/or perceived internal threats that threaten the survival of the state or government in power. Hence, internal security here would mean the security issues pertaining to or arising within the state or nation as a whole. The word “success” is defined as “do what one is trying to do; achieve the desired endstate” and “successful” is defined as “having success”.³ The word “tool” is defined as “anything used to do or achieve something”.⁴ From the definitions above, it can be deduced that the first part of this topic describes the extent to which the Internal Security Act 1960 (ISA) is successful in ensuring the internal security of the country so that peace and stability persists.

“Human rights” is defined as “an entitlement or legal claim you have by virtue of being human”.⁵

¹ A.Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford University Press, 2007. pp. 2-4.

² *ibid.* p.3.

³ A.S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 4th Edition. Oxford University Press, 1989, p.1284.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 1352.

⁵ Cited by Lt Col Rosli bin Mohd Yusof RMAF, *Human Rights and National Security in Malaysia*, UKM Thesis, 2004, p.15.

Individual rights include the right to life, liberty, prohibition of slavery, torture and cruelty including the right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention and the right to fair trial and a presumption of innocence until proven guilty.⁶ “Abuse” is defined as “bad use or wrong use of”.⁷ The second part of this topic deals with the criticisms that the utilisation of the ISA by the government is used wrongly that denies the human rights of the individuals detained under the Act. The aim of this paper is to discuss whether the ISA practiced in Malaysia for the purpose of maintaining internal security has abused the rights of detained individuals.

Historical Background To The ISA

On 12 June 1948, a state of emergency was proclaimed throughout Peninsula Malaya as a result of the declared policy of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) to wrest political power through armed struggle.⁸ Twelve years later, the Government announced its intention to declare the end of the Emergency at an end on 31 July 1960. In the same year, a Bill titled “an Act to provide for the internal security of the Federation, preventive detention, the prevention of subversion, the suppression of organised violence against persons and property in specified areas of the Federation and for matters incidental thereto” was moved in Parliament. The ISA 1960 became law in West Malaysia on 1 August 1960 and East Malaysia on 16 September 1963.⁹ It is clear that the purpose of the ISA was to

¹ *ibid.*, p.16.

⁷ A.S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 4th Edition. Oxford University Press, 1989, p.6.

⁸ Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, *Review of the Internal Security Act 1960, 2003*, Percetakan Watan Sdn Bhd, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, p. iii.

⁹ *ibid.*

get rid of the Communist terrorist threat. However, despite the fact that in December 1989 the CPM officially renounced its policy of armed struggle in Malaysia and signed a pact to that effect with the Government, the ISA remains in force till today. It is generally acknowledged that its application and proposed application have not been restricted solely to containing the Communist insurgency for specific reason. For example,¹⁰ the ISA has been used for reasons ranging from combating alleged Islamic militancy to containing alleged currency-counterfeiting and document falsification syndicates. In addition, there have also been reports on proposals to use the ISA in a number of instances, which include detaining tekongs (trawler skippers) in order to check the influx of illegal immigrants in Malaysia.¹¹

DISCUSSION

The ISA is a preventive detention law that is in force in Malaysia. Its fundamental nature is to allow for the arrest of any person without the need for trial in certain defined circumstances. Malaysia is one of the few countries in the world whose Constitution allows preventive detention during peacetime without safeguards whereas elsewhere it is a basic requirement for protecting the fundamental human rights. Section 8(1) of the ISA provides that *'if the minister is satisfied that the detention of any person is necessary ...'* then he/she may issue an order for his/her detention. The three grounds given in Section 8(1) upon which the order may be executed is where a person has acted in any manner prejudicial to the:¹²

- a. Security of Malaysia or part thereof; or
- b. Maintenance of essential services; or
- c. Economic life.

The power to detain seems to be restricted by Section 8(1) to a period of not exceeding two years

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² Internal Security Act 1960 (ACT 82) [With Notes on Cases]. Practitioner's Referencer. International Law Book Services, Kuala Lumpur, 2003, pp.30-33.

but the restriction is really an illusory matter because, by virtue of Section 8(7),¹³ the duration of the detention order may be extended for a further period not exceeding two years and thereafter for a further period not exceeding two years at a time. The extension to the detention order may be made on the same ground as those on which the original order was based or on different grounds.

In other words, the ISA provides the legal provisions for the detention, at the discretion of the Home Minister, without charge or trial of any person. That means the Home Minister must be satisfied that such detention is deemed necessary to prevent him or her from acting in any manner prejudicial to national security or to the maintenance of essential services or to the economic life in Malaysia.

Identifying Issues of Human Rights Abuses

The issues regarding the arbitrary arrest and detention of a person who is deemed a threat to internal security under the ISA is of great concern to the human rights movement. This is because any person arrested or detained under the ISA will be detained for 60 days and is incommunicable to the outside world including family members.¹⁴ Besides this, he/she can also be detained for another 2 years (which can be renewed indefinitely) at the discretion of the Home Minister. Based on such an arrangement, the ISA in relationship with the abuse of human rights is related to the following elements or factors:¹⁵

- a. **The Emergency Framework.** The enactment of the ISA was initially enacted to encounter communist terrorists. Hence, under this circumstance, it gave rise to a national emergency and international law that allowed the state to put aside human rights obligations for the interest of national security. Thus, once the emergency has passed, there is no longer the need or requirement of the ISA. However, the 9/11 incident has created another emergency not only for Malaysia but also for

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ N. Fritz & M. Flaherty, *Unjust Order: Malaysia's Internal Security Act*. The Joseph R. Crowley Program in International Human Rights, Fordham Law School, New York, USA, 2003. pp. xi-xviii.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

countries around the world with regards to global terrorism.

b. Probable Cause/Reasonable Suspicion. Usually ISA detainees were not given any reason for their arrest and the subsequent detention. It is alleged that the arrest of these detainees are not because of by their involvement that constitute a threat to internal security but more because of the information gathering by the police regarding their political organisations, its support and leadership, that may be a threat to the country as a whole.

c. Access to Legal Counsel. ISA detainees are not given any access to legal counsel and thus, unable to challenge the lawfulness of their arrests and detentions. Thus, they are more likely exposed to a greater likelihood of police mistreatments and abuses. Even when they are finally given counsel, access is often seen to be restricted.

d. Absence of Effective Forms of Review. It is said that in Malaysia, this review is non-existent due to the provisions under the ISA. It gives the police the avenue to necessitate defending the ISA detainees in court and prohibits detainees to provide any details of their interrogations. Thus making any form of review impossible. This situation contradicts many legal systems which grant judicial review to safeguard individuals against any abuse of powers by those in authority.

ANALYSIS

The ISA is a Successful Tool in Maintaining Internal Security

Malaysia is well known as the only country able to defeat the communist counter-insurgency, and the ISA has proven to be a successful tool in defeating the communists. It was during the emergency that the human rights issue was put aside. This was strictly tailored to the circumstances of the situation within the confines of international law.¹⁶ International law entitles Malaysia to put aside

¹⁶ *ibid*, p.xii.

its human rights obligations during the period of emergency. During the two periods of emergencies and the Confrontation with Indonesia, there were little or no criticisms of human rights abuses regarding the utilisation of the ISA.

The 9/11 incident has however renewed the way the ISA is to be implemented. Looking at the way in which the threat of terrorism has evolved, it has paved the way for the continued application of the ISA in order to contain these threats. The act of violence is no longer localised as in the case against the communist insurgency. Nowadays, the threat of terrorism can come from anywhere and in various forms, as the enemy is cunning in conducting its operations as seen in the Bali and J.W. Marriott bombings in Indonesia. The recent bombing at J.W. Marriott and the Ritz Carlton in Indonesia¹⁷ depicts the uncertainties of such a threat. Consequently, these uncertainties make it more challenging to contain it; and all the more dangerous if not contained at the earliest stage. Examples of this threat in Malaysia are the detainment and containment of individuals from the Jemaah Islamiah (JI), Kumpulan Al- Maunah and Kumpulan Mujahideen Malaysia (KMM).¹⁸ Again, the ISA has proven to be a successful tool here in containing these threats as Malaysia has not experienced, and we pray that it will remain so, any serious bombing threats by these violent elements. We must not be complacent and must continue to put serious efforts to overcome such threat in order to maintain the peace and stability of Malaysia. Under these circumstances, the ISA has remained relevant and thus it is not surprising that there are other countries which have enacted laws similar to the ISA for their internal security. A good example would be the United States of America with its Patriot Act. This Act can be said to be even worse and inhumane as seen by the actions taken by US military personnel on their detainees.¹⁹

Besides the threats described above, there are other threats to the internal security of Malaysia

¹⁷ *Cops seek bombings clues*, 2009, Star, 19 July.

¹⁸ Lt Col Rosli bin Mohd Yusof RMAF, *Human Rights and National Security in Malaysia*, UKM Thesis, 2004, pp.41-42.

¹⁹ R. Barnes, *Justice Say Detainees Can Seek Release*, 13 June 2008, *The Washington Post*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/12/AR20080612016>, (21 July 2009).

such as political extremism, racial extremism, religious extremism and illegal immigrants to name a few.²⁰ These threats can take the form of demonstrations by political opponents and in many cases have led to the destruction of private and public properties, causing injuries and even deaths as seen in the demonstrations of yesteryears. For example, the racial conflict in Kampung Rawa, Penang in 1998 and in Kampung Medan, Kuala Lumpur in 2001; the religious deviationist teachings of Al-Arqam, Ayah Pin and the Shi'ite Movement and the numerous serious crimes committed by illegal immigrants.²¹ Thus, the utilisation of the ISA has been successful in containing these threats to ensure the continued peace and stability in the country.

Alleged Human Rights Abuses Under the ISA

There are many ISA cases that were criticised for its human rights abuses. To deal with all the cases here would be a surmountable effort and example of cases such as the "Operation Lalang", the detention of Anwar Ibrahim and the leaders of Hindraf will be referred here. In 1987, the then Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, conducted "Operations Lalang" under the ISA during the difficult times of the economic recession, increasing Malay-Chinese tensions, leadership problems in UMNO and the arrest of opposition figures, trade unionists, academics, church workers, public intellectuals and NGO activists.²² Furthermore, the media was also subjected to restricted coverage of all events and the Supreme Court President Tun Salleh Abas was dismissed.²³

The criticisms on human rights abuse in such a case relates to the detention by the Royal Malaysian Police for the initial 60 days and at the end of the 60 days period, the detainees are then transferred to the Kamunting Detention Camp under

the order of the Home Minister to be detained for another two years (can be renewed indefinitely) when they are deemed to be a threat to internal security.²⁴ The detainees were not told of their offences nor given legal counsel, thus denying the detainees the opportunity to contest and disprove the government's allegations at a trial. It is also said that the detention cell is unventilated with few amenities. They were denied access to their family members and the prolonged periods of interrogation may affect the mental and physical state of the detainees even though the ISA mandates an internal review process. Nevertheless, the ISA offers "no meaningful prospect of release and to challenge the legality of the detention before a court are few".²⁵ The last of the detainees of "Operation Lalang" were finally released in 1989.²⁶ It is argued that the government has the right to implement the ISA in times of emergencies such as the fight against communist insurgency and terrorism as it is provided in international law²⁷, but not in times of peace. It is also argued that the government is also misusing the ISA with regards to the threat of terrorism to meet its own political ends. Thus, the human rights abuses discussed earlier in this paper are clearly reflected in this "Operation Lalang" case.

Other controversial ISA cases with regards to alleged human rights abuses was the detainment of Anwar Ibrahim in 1998 after he was dismissed as Deputy Prime Minister on alleged charges of sodomy and corruption.²⁸ He was found guilty of the charges and jailed but later released. Another case would be the detainment of the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) leaders in 2007 under the ISA because the demonstrations by them and their followers were deemed illegal as they did not have the permit for such gatherings as required by the authority.²⁹ They were later released in early

²⁰ Lecture by A/SAC 1 Dato' Abdul Hamid bin Bador, Chief Assistant Director, Special Branch, RMP on Threats and Challenges to Internal Security: Internal Sources and Factors, MAFDC, 15 July 2009.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Fritz, N. & Flaherty, M. *Unjust Order: Malaysia's Internal Security Act. The Joseph R. Crowley Program in International Human Rights*, Fordham Law School, New York, USA, 2003. p. 17.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

²⁶ V.Gayathry (ed.), *Malaysia Hak Asasi Dipertikaikan: Undang-undang Mengongkong Kebebasan di Sebuah Negara Demokrasi Berparlimen*, Amnesty International, 2003, p.32.

²⁷ N. Fritz & M. Flaherty, *Unjust Order: Malaysia's Internal Security Act. The Joseph R. Crowley Program in International Human Rights*, Fordham Law School, New York, USA, 2003. pp. xii.

²⁸ V.Gayathry (ed.), *Malaysia Hak Asasi Dipertikaikan: Undang-undang Mengongkong Kebebasan di Sebuah Negara Demokrasi Berparlimen*, Amnesty International, 2003, pp. 35-37.

2009. These cases were high profile cases as they had caught the attention of the international media concerning their plight and human rights. It is alleged that they had external connections in other countries that provided the support for their individual cause.³⁰ These cases were also criticised by human rights activists to be a serious breach of individual rights because it was not in times of an emergency. Their detention was only on suspicion of being a threat to internal security where no legal counsel was provided to them and during their detention, there was no review of their respective cases.

THE ISA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The ISA without question was successful in providing the platform for continuous peace and stability in the country. With political stability, foreign investors are keen to invest in the country which can then provide continuous socio-economic development. If there is political instability, as seen in our neighbouring countries and in Africa, the end result is a failed state that can lead to anarchy and utter chaos. In turn, it will drastically lead to the deterioration of direct foreign investments in that particular country and thus affect its socio-economic development as a whole. With political stability, the elected government is able to implement in-country investments through the development of infrastructures that support local industries economy, aimed to alleviate poverty among its citizens.

On the other hand, according to both internal and external human rights activists, there are controversies concerning the utilisation of the ISA and the alleged human rights abuses of the detainees under this piece of legislation. Among the arguments put forward was that the government had misused this Act in times of peace in order to ensure their continued survivability. All the issues which were identified by the human rights activities and discussed earlier in this paper were not given

accordingly to the detainees, and as such, is seen as a total violation of basic human rights.

There are also criticisms on the human rights issues such as advocated by Rohimi Hj. Shapiee, where he argues that it is a Western agenda and imposing the Western view of human rights on non-Western Societies.³¹ This argument can be strengthened further by Eide³², who argued that “the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is predominantly “Western” (or “Northern”) in approach. There is some truth to this perception, but it is often exaggerated”. Thus, the values and customs of the East are somewhat different when compared to the West’s, and are not included appropriately in the UDHR. As such, even though the actions taken by countries in the East such as Malaysia in implementing a legislation that is alleged to contravene human rights law, it may generally be acceptable by the people here because it assures peace and stability in the country. These arguments may provide the basis that despite the controversies of the ISA on human rights issues, the actions taken under the ISA by the authorities to subdue disturbances and threats are acceptable to a majority of the people as their “comfort zone” is secured. Otherwise, the elected government would not have been elected by the majority and the people have entrusted the responsibility of their livelihood and safety in the hands of the government.

CONCLUSION

There are always two sides to a coin and there will always be imperfections in this world as humans are imperfect in themselves. The ISA and the international law on human rights are made by humans and as such there will always be imperfections. More importantly, the continued survival of the state and the safety of its citizens will always be the uppermost priorities for the government in power. As such, the implementation of the ISA in Malaysia has ensured the continuous peace and stability for the country after the demise

²⁹ Ahmad Tarmizi Talib, *The Hindraf Issue: An Analysis Within the Malaysian Socio-Religious Tolerance Context*, [http://www.geocities.com/00-63-tarmizi-hindraf\[1\].pdf](http://www.geocities.com/00-63-tarmizi-hindraf[1].pdf) (secured), (12 July 2009).

³⁰ Lecture by A/SAC 1 Dato’ Abdul Hamid bin Bador, Chief Assistant Director, Special Branch, RMP on *Threats and Challenges to Internal Security: Internal Sources and Factors*, MAFDC, 15 July 2009.

³¹ Rohimi Hj. Shapiee, 1994, *Third Generation Human Rights, Rights of the Third World, Conception and Policy Considerations*, 1994, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, pp. vii-viii.

³² A. Eide, et al, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Commentary*, Scandinavian University Press, 1992, Oslo, p.11.

of the communists. In other words, it is a successful tool in maintaining the internal security of the country. On the other hand, efforts must be made domestically to amend the ISA so that it will remain relevant and be in line with the international law on human rights. The international law on human rights also needs to be rectified by the United Nations to include the values and customs of societies of the East and the indigenous people of the world. This is to ensure that it is not looked at only from the West's viewpoint whose societies are already developed as compared to the societies of the rest of the world

but rather holistically to ensure complete adherence and acceptability.

Being a realist, one has to look at priorities between internal security and human rights abuses of the ISA. From the realist point of view, the actions taken by the government of the day to bring peace and stability to the country outweighs that of its human rights abuses of the ISA. To ensure peace and stability in the country, there are times the government has to act as the saying goes: "one must be cruel to be kind".

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Lt Kol Amirudin bin Dato' Sulaiman was commissioned in 1985. He holds a Master Degree in Defence Studies from UKM. Currently he is the PS1 Concept/Strategy at Planning and Development Division, Army Headquarters. Prior to this, he was the Commanding Officer of Bn 301 (AW)/ 1 RS in Kelantan. Other important appointments he held was SO 1 Ops in Army Training HQ. Being an avid reader of Sorotan Darat, he frequently contributes articles to share his news on various aspects of interest particularly in relation to military perspectives.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IN DEALING WITH THE EFFECTS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

By Mej (K) Assoc Prof Dr Teoh Hsien-Jin

SYNOPSIS

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) create both physical and psychological impacts on civilian and military personnel. This is due to them not being able to see the target of an attack, and generally being unfamiliar with the mode of symptoms resulting from the attack. As psychological distress results in widespread panic, psychologists must work with the local military commanders to prepare the civilian and military population for a WMD attack, and also develop strategies to minimise the anxiety when it occurs. In addition to this, the discomfort from the continuous use of protective gear causes a reduction in effective functioning, and can also cause anxiety due to claustrophobia. Psychological techniques can therefore be used to assist personnel in coping with the discomfort and anxiety that result from using such equipment.

INTRODUCTION

Weapons of Mass Destruction include chemical agents, biological agents, and nuclear and radiological weapons. When these are unleashed, widespread panic and anxiety occurs amongst military as well as the civilian personnel. The victims of such a deadly weapon system require not only immediate medical attention but also the relentless effort by the psychologists during the rehabilitation process. This article briefly describes how psychologists can aid in reducing the psychological effects of WMD through preparation, active consultation with leaders and direct intervention with affected personnel.

DEFINITIONS AND TYPES OF WMD

Despite the end of the “Cold War”, the threat of WMD still exists. Contrary to common understanding, these weapons are not always nuclear, and exist in a variety of forms. Some of these are listed as follows:

- Chemical Agents which include more than 60 chemicals that have been stockpiled. Of

these long list, 12 have regularly been used by several countries. There are many categories include lethal chemicals designed to kill the enemy forces, and disabling chemicals which incapacitate, demoralise, or frighten the enemy forces.

- Blood Agents are normally absorbed through the skin or via inhalation. They affect living beings by interfering with the exchange of gasses (i.e., oxygen or carbon dioxide) in the blood. The main agent that is used is hydrogen cyanide.
- Nerve Agents affect the ability of the nerves to send impulses through the body. Due to this communication breakdown, death is caused by respiratory and circulatory system failures. The main agents are sarin, soman, cyclosarin, tabin and o-ethyl (VX).
- Vesicants or Blistering Agents cause blistering of the skin and internal airway tissue (i.e., oesophagus, lungs). They also cause temporary blindness. The main agents are sulphur mustard and lewisite.

- Lung Irritants or Choking Agents cause irritation to the eyes, nose, throat and lungs. They causes the lungs to fill up with fluid, which results in death. The main agents include phosgene, chloropicrin (pesticide), and perfluoroisobutene.
- Biological Agents are organic agents which are used to spread diseases. The agent can be dispersed by insects (i.e., mosquitoes) or aerosol. They mainly consist of bacteria (i.e., anthrax), fungi (i.e., coccidioidomycosis), viruses (e.g., ebola), and protozoa (i.e., toxoplasmosis).
- Nuclear and Radiological Agents produce ionising radiation in addition to the blast of the explosion, and the thermal effects produced by conventional weapons. It is estimated that in the event of detonation, 75% of targeted personnel would be affected by the radiation. Non-conventional methods that may be used include “Dirty bombs” which are conventional explosives combined with radioactive materials. The impact of the explosion results in mass disruption over a limited area.

HISTORY OF USAGE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AGENTS

Weapons of Mass Destruction are not a modern day invention and have been used throughout history as a means of destroying large numbers of enemy troops. The following are some of these the conflicts in which WMD had been used in the past:

- a. 1000 B.C. – Chinese used arsenic smoke.
 - b. 190 B.C. – Hannibal catapulted poisonous snakes into enemy ships
 - c. Middle ages – Projection of plague-infected bodies by catapult, or supplying leprosy-infected wine into enemy camps.
 - d. WWI – 26 million casualties from chemical agents in the trenches.
 - e. WWII – Nuclear weapons used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan.
- (1) Germany – 78,000 tons chemical agents produced.
 - (2) Japan – 8,000 tons chemical agents produced.
 - (3) U.S.A. – 146,000 tons chemical agents produced.
- f. 1960s – Yemen Civil war, Soviet-Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq war and Libyan invasion of Chad.

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

When WMD are employed on the field, there are both physical and psychological impacts on personnel. Combat Stress Reaction (CSR)'s are raised to a higher level when there is higher intensity of battle, surprise attacks, defeat and static interlocks in battles. It is worsen when there is limited combat experience, poor unit cohesion and tired or deficient leadership, i.e. with no significant preparation for managing the stress of combat.

As the effects of biological, chemical and radioactive agents are unfamiliar, uncontrollable, invisible and odourless, personnel react with anxiety and panic towards the unfamiliar “magical” symptoms, especially when there is an absence of sensory warnings (i.e., cannot see, hear or smell). Chaos occurs within the medical units due to panicking and over-reacting casualties which consist of those who have been exposed, and those who think they have been exposed. For example, during the Sarin gas attack inside the Japan’s underground train services, there were 12 cases of reported deaths. However, 5,500 people sought treatment. When a biological weapon is unleashed, vaccines need to be tested. As these are considered “experimental”, personnel and civilians react with anxiety and more panic as they consider themselves to be “human guinea-pigs” and thus lose confidence.

HOW PSYCHOLOGISTS CAN ASSIST MILITARY COMMANDERS

Once the WMD have been released, the

behaviours of all personnel and civilians must be managed. Poor preparation, coupled with extreme reactions can create more chaos for military operations, administration and rescue services. In this light, psychologists can work with local military commanders in a variety of ways when preparing for the impact of a WMD threat. The main aim would be to plan strategies to reduce the anxiety of personnel and civilians within the affected zones. Some of the modes of suggested assistance by the psychologist are as follows:

- a. Enhancing intelligence to increase likelihood of advance warning.
- b. Drills to familiarise with implementation of plans and instructions.
- c. Public education on the effects, and also procedures for containment and treatment.
- d. Travel restrictions that are clearly explained verbally and in writing.

HOW PSYCHOLOGISTS CAN ASSIST LOCAL LEADERS

The psychologists cannot just restrict their assistance to military commanders, instead, they must also work actively with the local civilian community leaders at the same time. In working with community leaders, they need to prepare the community leaders to consider and prepare to effectively communicate with the public, maintaining sources of emotional and practical support via emergency and health services, deal with fear and helplessness, resulting from actions taken by leaders in response to the crisis. Some of the key issues in the management of public reactions include:

- a. Creating training scenarios
- b. Avoid using quarantine, where possible use public education on exposure, and request voluntary curtailment of travel.
- c. Ensure that all officials are familiar with communication principles (i.e., express sympathy, provide accurate and honest information).

- d. Public education campaign on preparation.
- e. Educating and training first responders.
- f. Establishing a command and control centre.
- g. Ensuring security of communication systems.
- h. Plans for processing the dead in a culturally sensitive manner.
- i. Maintaining medical records.
- j. Educating medical staff on the effects of chemical and biological weapons.
- k. Training professionals to provide debriefings to rescue personnel.
- l. Ensuring adequate resources to maintain military medical readiness.

IMPACT ON FUNCTIONING WHEN WEARING PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT

During a WMD crisis, military personnel will have to wear protective clothing to prevent against contaminants. These normally include chemically resistant suits, hoods, gas masks, gloves and boots. Research indicates that having to wear protective equipment for an extended period of time may result in some psychological and physical problems.

When protective gear is worn, there are effects on the wearer's psychological, cognitive and physical functioning. Some of the effects are as follows:

- a. Decline in coordination and attention span.
- b. 20% reduction in airflow.
- c. Extreme physical and emotional distress.
- d. Negative thoughts "I can't breathe", "I'm going to pass out", "I can't stand this", and so on..



The Army trains the soldiers in preparing for WMD

In some cases, this may result in a decline in gas mask discipline. Poor gas mask discipline involves the gas mask being removed prematurely. This is usually caused by physical discomfort, shame, “gas hysteria”, claustrophobia, hyperventilation, tremors, and overheating. When

this occurs, personnel expose themselves to the toxic gasses that may kill them.

When dealing with anxiety caused by the usage of gas masks, there are ways by which a psychologist can assist with reducing the anxiety of personnel. Amongst the techniques that a psychologist uses to overcome this problem are:

- a. Educating military commanders on the existence of gas mask anxiety.
- b. Stress inoculation training.
- c. Frequent usage – habituation.
- d. Relaxation training.
- e. Systematic exposure and systematic desensitization.

CONCLUSION

In modern conflict, where both conventional and unconventional weapons are used, one has no idea who or when WMD will be used. In the aftermath of the attack, order needs to be restored for any form of activity to be carried out. As human beings begin to panic, it is crucial that the expertise of psychologists are used to assist with managing the crisis. The best form of action is however prevention, and when in the possibility that WMD may be used, the organisational, physical and psychological preparation must take place diligently.

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Mej (K) Assoc Prof Dr Teoh Hsien-Jin has been serving with Rejimen 515 (AW) since 1997. He has a Bachelors, Masters and PhD in the field of Clinical Psychology. He has held appointments with various government agencies in the areas of health, science and technology, women and families, and youth issues. He recently assisted Markas Latihan Tentera Darat with developing doctrine and training materials on Military Psychology. He is currently the Head of Health and Natural Sciences, Sunway University College. As an avid researcher, he frequently contributes articles to Sorotan Darat on issues related to Military Psychology.

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