



M/S3

PERANAN GENERASI MUDA DALAM PERKEMBANGAN DAKWAH ISLAM MASA KINI



M/S42

INVOLVEMENT OF THE MALAYSIAN ARMY IN THE NATIONAL BLUE OCEAN STRATEGY (NBOS): ISSUES OF RELEVANCY



M/S56

AN OVERVIEW OF READING TRENDS IN MALAYSIA. WAYS TO INculcate AND IMPROVE READING HABITS

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DARI MEJA EDITOR



Dengan Nama Allah Yang Maha Pengasih Lagi Maha Penyayang.
Salam Sejahtera,

Syukur Alhamdulillah, Edisi ke-59 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. Pastinya artikel-artikel tersebut akan menjana minda para pembaca dalam usaha kami untuk mencungkil idea-idea bernalas yang dapat memacu Tentera Darat untuk mencapai tahap prestasi yang lebih cemerlang di masa hadapan.

Penerbitan edisi ini memberi fokus kepada Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera sebagai penyumbang artikel muka depan. Artikel yang bertajuk "Peranan Generasi Muda Dalam Perkembangan Dakwah Islam Masa Kini Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera". Membincangkan cabaran yang ditempuhi oleh generasi muda dalam usaha untuk membantu perkembangan dakwah Islamiah. Golongan ini merupakan harapan untuk mempertahankan agama, bangsa dan negara.

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 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 bernalas serta maklum balas dari kalangan pembaca amatlah di alu-alukan untuk meningkatkan lagi kualiti penerbitan Jurnal Sorotan Darat.

Sekian, terima kasih.

Membaca Inspirasi Pengetahuan.

PERANAN GENERASI MUDA DALAM PERKEMBANGAN DAKWAH ISLAM MASA KINI

oleh Mej Mohd Ramizi bin Remli

-SINOPSIS-

Menjadi pemimpin pada masa kini adalah sesuatu yang mencabar, apatah lagi untuk berdakwah. Beberapa contoh kepimpinan terpuji dilakar dalam penulisan ini untuk memberi gambaran tentang peranan generasi muda untuk memperkembangkan dakwah Islam sedarwarsa.

PEMUDA HARAPAN ISLAM

Al - Quran telah mengisahkan perjuangan para Nabi dan Rasul a.s yang merupakan golongan terpilih daripada kalangan generasi muda. Perutusan para Nabi dan Rasul kebanyakannya berlaku pada usia sekitar empat puluhan. Bahkan ada di antara mereka yang telah diberi kemampuan untuk berdebat dan berdialog sebelum umurnya genap 18 tahun. Ibnu Abbas r.a berkata: "Tidak ada seorang nabi pun yang diutus Allah, melainkan ia dipilih di kalangan pemuda sahaja (yakni antara 30-40 tahun). Begitu pula tidak seorang alim pun yang diberi ilmu, melainkan ia (hanya) dari kalangan pemuda". Kemudian Ibnu Abbas membaca firman Allah SWT yang bermaksud:

"Mereka berkata: Kami dengar ada seorang pemuda yang mencela berhala-berhala ini yang bernama Ibrahim". (Al-Anbiya': 60) (Riwayat Al-Bukhari)



Mengenai Nabi Ibrahim a.s, Al-Quran menceritakan dengan lebih jauh lagi bahawa ketika usia belum menginjak dewasa, beliau telah berdebat dengan kaumnya, menentang peribadatan mereka serta menghancurkan patung-patung sembahhan kaumnya. Firman Allah SWT yang bermaksud:

"Dan sesungguhnya Kami telah memberikan kepada Ibrahim kepandaian sejak dahulu (sebelum mencapai remajanya) dan Kami kenal kemahirannya. Ketika dia berkata: "Sungguh kalian dan bapa-bapa kalian dalam kesesatan yang nyata." Mereka menjawab: "Apakah engkau membawa kebenaran kepada kami, ataukah engkau seorang yang bermain-main sahaja?" Dia berkata: "Tidak! Tuhan kamu adalah yang memiliki langit dan bumi yang diciptakan oleh-Nya; dan aku termasuk orang yang dapat memberikan bukti atas yang demikian itu." (Al-Anbiya': 51-56)

Perlu ditekankan bahawa para Nabi a.s itu hanya diutus untuk mengubah keadaan, sehingga setiap Nabi yang diutus merupakan orang yang terpilih dan hanya daripada kalangan pemuda sahaja. Bahkan, kebanyakan daripada pengikut mereka daripada kalangan pemuda juga (meskipun begitu ada juga pengikut mereka itu terdiri daripada mereka yang sudah tua dan juga yang masih kanak-kanak).

Sementara "Ashabul Kahfi", yang merupakan pengikut Nabi Isa a.s terdiri daripada sekumpulan generasi muda yang telah menolak kekuaran dan tidak mahu kembali kepada pegangan nenek moyang mereka yang melakukan kesyirikan terhadap Allah SWT. Oleh

kerana bilangan mereka yang sedikit, menurut sebahagian ahli tafsir hanya tujuh orang, mereka telah bermuafakat untuk mengasingkan diri daripada masyarakat dan berlindung di dalam sebuah gua. Fakta ini diperkuatkan oleh Al-Quran melalui Surah Al-Kahfi, antaranya firman Allah SWT yang bermaksud:

“(Ingatlah) tatkala pemuda-pemuda itu mencari tempat perlindungan (gua) lalu berdoa: “Wahai Tuhan kami berikanlah rahmat kepada kami dari sisi-Mu dan tolonglah kami dalam menempuh langkah yang tepat dalam urusan kami (ini).” (Al-Kahfi: 10)

Allah SWT telah merakam pujian terhadap tindakan mereka mempertahankan keimanan ini melalui firman-Nya yang bermaksud:

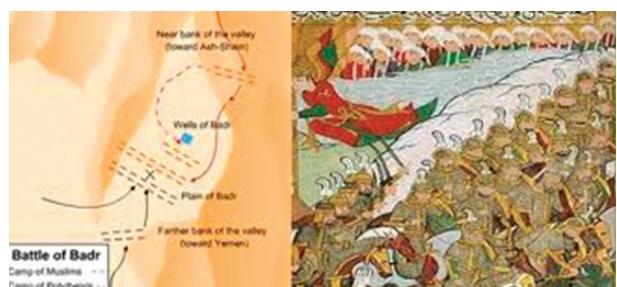
“Kami ceritakan kisah mereka kepadamu (Muhammad SAW) dengan sebenarnya. Sesungguhnya mereka itu adalah pemuda-pemuda yang beriman kepada Tuhan mereka (Yang Maha Pencipta) dan Kami beri mereka tambahan pimpinan (iman, takwa, ketetapan hati dan sebagainya).” (Al-Kahfi: 13)

Junjungan besar Nabi Muhammad SAW juga diutus menjadi Rasul setelah baginda berusia 40 tahun. Para sahabat yang menjadi pengikut dan pendukung dakwah baginda para peringkat awal juga kebanyakannya terdiri daripada generasi muda, bahkan ada yang masih kecil. Usia para pemuda Islam yang dididik pada peringkat awal oleh Rasulullah SAW di Darul Arqam bin Abi Al-Arqam meliputi antara usia lapan tahun hingga 50 tahun. Sejarah merakamkan nama-nama berikut:

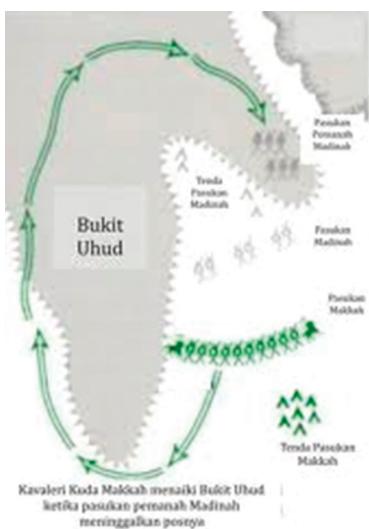
- a. Ali bin Abi Thalib (8 tahun).
- b. Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam (11 tahun).
- c. Talhah bin Ubaidillah (11 tahun).
- d. Al-Arqam bin Abil Al-Arqam (12 tahun).
- e. Abdullah bin Maz'un (17 tahun).
- f. Jaafar bin Abi Talib (18 tahun).
- g. Qudamah bin Abi Maz'un (19 tahun).
- h. Said bin Zaid (20 tahun).
- i. Suhaib Ar-Rumi (20 tahun)
- j. Amir bin Fahirah (23 tahun)
- k. Mus'ab bin Umair (24 tahun).
- l. Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad (24 tahun)
- m. Abdullah bin Jahsy (25 tahun)
- n. Umar bin Al-Khathab (26 tahun).
- o. Abu Ubaidah bin Al-Jarrah (30-an).
- p. Utbah bin Rabi'ah (30-an).

- q. 'Amir bin Rabiah (30-an).
- r. Nu'aim bin Abdillah (30-an).
- s. Usman bin Maz'un (30-an).
- t. Abu Salalah (30-an).
- u. Abdur Rahman bin Auf (30-an).
- v. Ammar bin Yasir (30-an).
- w. Abu Bakar As-Siddiq (37 tahun).
- x. Hamzah bin Abdul Muthalib (42 tahun)
- y. 'Ubaidah bin Al-Harith yang paling tua diantara mereka iaitu 50 tahun.

Malah ratusan ribu lagi para pejuang Islam yang terdiri daripada golongan muda. Mereka memperjuangkan dakwah Islam, menjadi pembawa panji-panji Islam, serta merekalah yang akan ke hadapan menjadi benteng pertahanan ataupun serangan bagi bala tentera Islam pada zaman Nabi mahupun sesudah itu. Mereka secara keseluruhannya merupakan generasi muda. Bahkan, ada di kalangan mereka yang masih remaja yang diberi amanah memimpin pasukan tentera. Usamah bin Zaid r.a yang hanya berusia 18 tahun telah dilantik mengetuai tentera melebarkan wilayah Islam ke Syam yang menjadi sebahagian daripada wilayah Rom ketika itu.



Sementara Abdullah bin Umar r.a pula, seorang yang memiliki semangat juang yang tinggi untuk berjihad meskipun baru 13 tahun. Ketika Rasulullah SAW sedang mempersiapkan pasukan tentera Perang Badar, Ibnu Umar bersama Al-Barra' telah datang kepada baginda meminta izin untuk turut serta keluar berjihad. Namun, Rasulullah SAW menyantuni mereka berdua dengan baik dan tidak memberi keizinan kepada mereka. Pada tahun berikutnya, mereka kembali menawarkan diri untuk Peperangan Uhud, namun hanya Al-Barra' yang diterima. Akhirnya, pada Peperangan Al-Ahzab barulah Nabi menerima Ibnu Umar sebagai anggota pasukan kaum muslimin.



Perang Uhud



Perang Al-Ahzab

Terdapat satu peristiwa yang sangat menarik untuk tatapan dan renungan generasi muda masa kini. Peristiwa lengkap yang diceritakan oleh Abdur Rahman bin Auf r.a: "Selagi aku berdiri di dalam barisan Perang Badar, aku melihat ke kanan dan ke kiriku. Saat itu tampaklah olehku dua orang Ansar yang masih muda belia. Aku

berharap semoga aku lebih kuat daripada mereka. Tiba-tiba salah seorang daripada mereka menanyaku sambil berkata: "Wahai pakcik apakah engkau mengenali Abu Jahal?" Aku menjawab: "Ya, apakah keperluanmu padanya, wahai anak saudaraku?" Dia menjawab: "Ada orang memberitahu bahawa Abu Jahal sering mencela Rasulullah SAW. Demi (Allah) yang jiwaku ada ditangan-Nya, jika aku menjumpainya tentulah tidak akan kulepaskan dia sampai siapa yang terlebih dulu mati antara aku dan dia!" Berkata Abdurrahman bin Auf: "Aku berasa hairan ketika mendengarkan ucapan anak muda itu." Kemudian anak muda yang satu lagi menanyaku pula dan berkata seperti temannya tadi. Tidak lama berselang daripada itu aku pun melihat Abu Jahal mundar-mandir di dalam barisannya, maka segera aku khabarkan (kepada dua anak muda itu): "Itulah orang yang sedang kamu cari."

Keduanya terus menyerang Abu Jahal dan menikamnya dengan pedang sehingga mati. Setelah itu mereka menghampiri Rasulullah SAW (dengan rasa bangga) memberitahu kejadian itu. Rasulullah bertanya: "Siapa di antara yang membunuhnya?" Masing-masing menjawab: "Sayalah yang membunuhnya." Lalu Rasulullah bertanya lagi: "Apakah kamu sudah membersihkan mata pedang masing-masing?" "Belum," jawab mereka serentak. Rasulullah pun kemudian melihat pedang mereka, seraya bersabda: "Kamu berdua telah membunuhnya. Akan tetapi segala pakaian dan senjata yang dipakai Abu Jahal (boleh) dimiliki Mu'az bin Al-Jamuh." (Berkata perawi hadis ini): Kedua pemuda itu adalah Mu'az bin Afra dan Mu'az bin Amru bin Al Jamuh." (Riwayat Al-Bukhari dan Muslim)

Pemuda seperti inilah yang sanggup memikul beban dakwah serta menghadapi berbagai cubaan dengan penuh kesabaran. Allah SWT berfirman yang bermaksud:

"Tetapi Rasul dan orang yang beriman bersama baginda, mereka berjihad dengan harta dan diri mereka. Dan mereka lah orang yang memperoleh berbagai kebaikan dan mereka lah orang yang beruntung." (At-Taubah: 88)

Rasulullah SAW menjanjikan bahawa Islam akan menguasai dunia seperti sabdanya: "Sesungguhnya Allah SWT telah memberikan kepadaku dunia ini, baik di ufuk Timur mahupun Barat. Dan kekuasaan umatku sampai kepada apa yang telah diberikan kepadaku daripada dunia ini." (Riwayat Muslim, Abu Daud, At-Tirmizi, Ibnu Majah dan Ahmad)

Dakwah Islam Masa Kini

Cabarannya dakwah masa kini kelihatannya amat kompleks, lantaran kelemahan umat Islam sendiri. Di samping ketidakfahaman umat terhadap Islam, terdapat pelbagai cabaran luaran yang sentiasa berkembang. Aliran pemikiran dan ideologi ciptaan manusia sentiasa mengajak kepada kekufturan. Nilai-nilai agama sentiasa dicabar dengan pelbagai perlakuan yang berada di luar batasan insani, bahkan telah melangkaui batasan haiwan.

Justeru, generasi muda masa kini perlu mempersiapkan diri dengan pemahaman Islam yang murni secara mendalam supaya mampu menampilkannya Islam sebagai sistem hidup yang komprehensif. Sistem Barat yang sedang memimpin dunia kini telah jelas terbukti tidak mampu menjamin kesejahteraan dan ketenteraman serta kebahagian masyarakat mereka, apatah lagi untuk umat manusia. Komunisme umpamanya telah dikuburkan oleh masyarakatnya sendiri pada tahun 1991. Manakala Kapitalisme kelihatannya sedang menuju ke noktahnya.

Situasi ini hendaknya dipandang secara optimis oleh generasi muda Islam masa kini. Peluang untuk Islam menerajui dunia sudah tersedia, namun prasyarat

yang menjadi bekalan hendaklah disediakan dengan secukupnya. Gerakan dakwah ditunjangi akidah yang mantap, ibadah yang sahih dan akhlak yang mapan hendaklah terus bergerak dengan penuh sinergi. Justeru, tenaga baharu yang dinamik daripada sumbangan generasi muda amat diperlukan.

Tanggungjawab generasi muda untuk mengembangkan dakwah Islam di tengah-tengah masyarakat Islam agar kembali kepada pegangan Islam sebagai cara hidup. Dalam masa yang sama menampilkan nilai-nilai universal Islam yang menjadi keperluan seluruh manusia kepada masyarakat bukan Islam dalam usaha untuk mengajak mereka agar bersama-sama umat Islam.

Rasulullah SAW telah menjanjikan kejayaan dakwah ini melalui sabda baginda yang bermaksud:

“Perkara ini (iaitu Islam) akan merebak ke segenap penjuru yang ditembus malam dan siang. Allah tidak akan membiarkan satu rumah pun, baik mahligai maupun pondok melainkan Islam akan memasukinya sehingga dapat memuliakan agama yang mulia dan menghinakan agama yang hina. Yang dimuliakan adalah Islam dan yang dihinakan adalah kekufturan.” (Riwayat Ibnu Hibban)

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Mejar Mohd Ramizi bin Remli merupakan Pegawai Staf 2 Penerbitan Jabatan Arah Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (KAGAT). Beliau menyertai KAGAT setelah berjaya memperolehi Sarjana Muda Pengajian Islam Dan Bahasa Arab daripada Universiti Al-Azhar, Kaherah, Mesir pada tahun 1997 dan ditauliahkan ke pangkat Kapten. Pernah berkhidmat sebagai Pegawai Agama Pangkalan Udara Kuching, Sarawak dari tahun 1998-2002. Kemudian bertukar ke Batalion Pertama Rejimen Askar Melayu DiRaja, Kem Sungai Besi, Kuala Lumpur dari tahun 2002-2006. Seterusnya bertukar ke Jabatan Arah KAGAT pada tahun 2006 dan menjawat jawatan Pegawai Staf 3 Dakwah/Tarbiah dan kemudiannya sebagai Pegawai Staf 3 Penerbitan. Pada tahun 2010, beliau telah dinaikkan pangkat ke pangkat Mejar dan menjawat jawatan Pegawai Staf 2 Penerbitan. Beliau telah menghasilkan beberapa buku dan makalah terbitan KAGAT dan ATM. Turut bertindak sebagai penulis, penyusun dan penyunting dalam beberapa hasil penerbitan.

FUNCTIONS OF ELECTRONIC WARFARE

by Brig Jen Dato' M. Zaki Wan Mahmood (Rtd)

-SYNOPSIS-

Activities of three divisions of electronic warfare are vital to military forces in peace and more so in war time. The electronic support measures are the main sources of intelligence. In peace time intelligence helps you to be prepared for war and in war time it keeps you ahead of your enemy. Intelligence obtained helps to prepare measures for electronic attack and electronic defences. These activities in peace time, if they are effective, will offer better chances of victories in war.

INTRODUCTION

Electronic Warfare (EW) is military forces' best friend as well as their worst enemy. Effective supports from their efficient EW assets are their most valuable intelligence source and their most reliable weapon to weaken enemy combat power. History proves the devastating effect EW had over opposing forces that have little EW capabilities. Since the World War 2 military forces found that combat forces will not go to war without adequate EW assets. *EW refers to any action involving the use of the electromagnetic spectrum or directed energy to control the spectrum, attack an enemy, or impede enemy assaults via the spectrum. The purpose of electronic warfare is to deny the opponent the advantage of, and ensure friendly unimpeded access to, the EM spectrum¹.*

Peace time EW efforts are mainly in intelligence activities. Through the use of EW assets all radio energy transmissions of military and security value are intercepted and analysed. Two major aspects of intelligence are derived from intercepted transmissions; one aspect is concerning developing threats and hostilities towards one own nation and the other is concerning technical perimeters of defence equipment that would threaten your force in combat.

Developing threat pictures are extracted from texts of intercepted messages being transmitted from adversary radio communications. Transmitted messages of interest are being intercepted during peace time and in war time by every military force that has EW capabilities. Vast amount of intelligence is derived from the intercept activity. Supported by intelligence from other sources a complete threat picture is formulated. In peace time the military is blessed by EW activities with early intelligence to prepare for war. In war time the military is than able to plan the necessary operations to counter enemy initiatives.

Technical intelligence in the form of technical perimeters obtained during peace time is used to develop suitable counter measures to nullify enemy equipment in combat. Lead time is necessary to ensure effective counter measures are made available. Same technical perimeters are loaded into combat computers on board military platforms to assist in threat recognition and prepare relevant counter measures for own defence.

The paper will discuss these EW activities to highlight the importance of EW functions to the militaries in peace time and in war time. It will show that EW assets are vital to the activities of all military forces. In war EW superiority gives victories to nation and in combat it gives success to commanders.

¹ Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia.

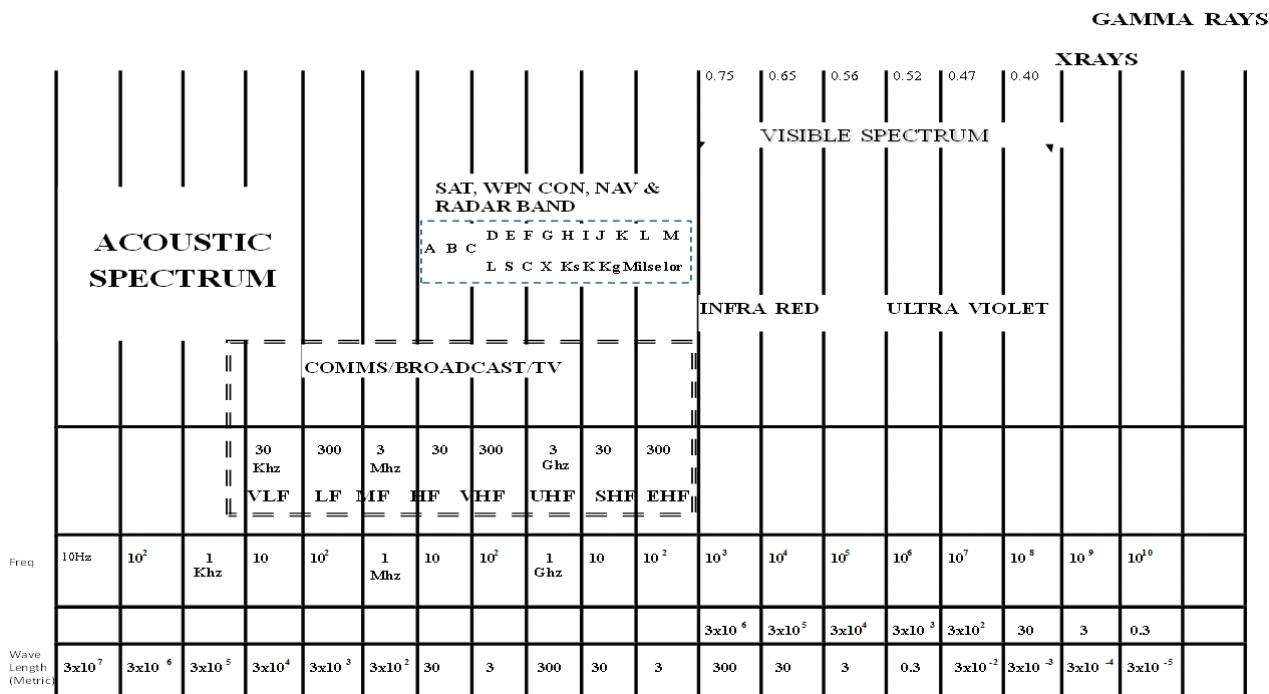


Figure 1. Electromagnetic Spectrum Utilisation

MILITARY UTILISATION OF ELECTROMAGNETIC SPECTRUM

The military uses equipment that transmits radio waves between very low frequency to extra high frequency bands. This portion of electromagnetic (EM) spectrum (see diagram below) is vital to military forces, in peace time and more so in war time.

The control of this portion of the EM spectrum is the wish of battle field commanders. The side that has control over it has the freedom to use its own defence equipment and hinder the use by its opponent. The military equipment that rely on the EM spectrum to function are as follows:

- Communications.
- Command & control.
- Surveillance.
- Navigation.
- Weapon control.
- Guidance system.

The above-mentioned equipment and systems radiate radio wave, thus they are exposed to EW threats. EW activities will be reviewed below to understand threats from EW and ways of overcoming these threats.

ELECTRONIC WARFARE ACTIVITIES

Definition. From its definition EW refers to military actions involving the use of radio energy to determine, exploit, reduce and to prevent or deny hostile use of the electromagnetic spectrum. EW activities are classified into three divisions; electronic support, electronic attack and electronic protection. If you are able to perform these activities at will, at the same time you restrict your enemy from doing the same, then you are having superiority in EW. EW activities are efforts towards an effective control over the EM spectrum in an area of interest, to achieve EW superiority. These activities of EW will have a strong effect on enemy network centric operations. Effective use of equipment that transmit and receive radio wave will be restricted and manipulated by the military force that has EW superiority.

Electronic Support Measures (Signal Intelligence).

The first division of EW activities, electronic support measures (ESM), also known as signal intelligence (SIGINT), are intelligence gathering activities which are performed by all military forces during peace time and war time. Actions here begin with detection of emissions of interest, locating of emitters and identification of emitters

and platforms. These emissions are then intercepted and analysed. Intelligence data extracted are used to assist in development of counter and protective measures for use in defences against enemy attacks and to protect own equipment. In combat these data are used to assist in the selection of correct defensive measures for electronic protection of combat platforms and command centres against enemy missiles. In other cases data may be used to formulate signals for jamming or deceiving opponent's radio receivers and radars. In combat there are two types of ESM; the CESM is for communications and RESM is for radars support measures.

With effective electronic counter measures the first benefit is that own valuable war assets of platforms, command posts and combat forces will be adequately protected against enemy missiles and other guided weapons. Second major benefit is that own communications and radars, within the network centric operations, will have protective measures and that their use is not affected by enemy EW actions. Third benefit is the valuable intelligence that can be obtained through EW operations.

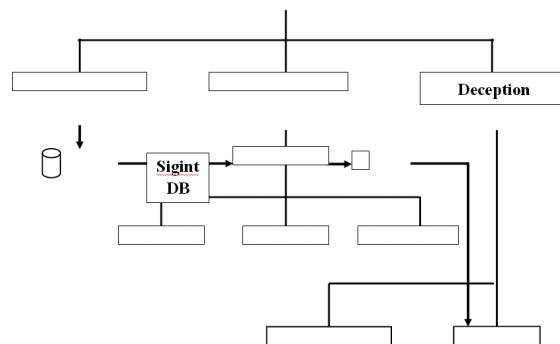
Electronic Attack (Counter Measures). The second division of EW activities is the electronic attack or electronic counter measures (ECM). Data from the electronic support is used to develop measures to perform electronic attacks onto enemy systems. The most popular attack is jamming. Jamming of enemy communications, radars, navigation and weapon control systems at crucial time will reduce effectiveness of his combat forces. Other form of electronic attack is deception. It is done to deceive the enemy into making a wrong plan, giving away vital information to us or painting to the enemy a wrong situational picture.

These offensive activities of jamming and deceiving are only effective if data received from electronic support activities is accurate and complete. Chaff, flares and other attack, jamming and deception devices are developed based on analysed data from intercepted emissions. These data are loaded into computers in defence centres and on-board combat platforms to perform threat recognition and prepare effective defences against enemy missiles.

Electronic Protection (Counter Countermeasures). A major peace time EW activity is to develop relevant

electronic protective measures or electronic counter countermeasures (ECCM) of tactics and facilities to ensure own electronic equipment will continue to function effectively despite enemy performing EW activities. Our protective measures are to prevent enemy from detecting, locating and identifying our electronic emissions and platforms. Through electronic protection vital emissions are preserved and not to be given away to the enemy during peace time. Emitters to be used in war time are only activated and used in combat, surprising the enemy with emissions that he is not familiar with. Our radars, communications and other electronic devices are equipped with protective measures developed in country to ensure their effectiveness and that enemy jamming and deception will have no effect on them.

Three Related Activities. As shown in the diagram of figure 2 below the three activities are related. One EW activity is in support of the other and a military force will need all the three activities. One activity will be more effective when it is supported by the others. The electronic support measure activities are the basic and primary EW activities. Information gathered in these activities are stored in a SIGINT database, to be used for the development of electronic counter measures and electronic protective measures. A military force needs a long lead time to acquire truly effective EW capabilities.



ROLES OF EW

Peace Time Roles. Intelligence organisations of most nations rely on their EW intelligence gathering activities for reliable intelligence inputs. Intercepts of communications transmissions from static strategic surveillance stations and from mobile airborne, seaborne and ground platforms bring in military, economic, political and diplomatic intelligence. Radar transmissions are of interest to the

military only. Intercepts of radar transmissions are done mainly from mobile platforms and little are achieved from static stations. EW peace time activities are to support national and defence intelligence needs. Most importantly they provide warnings of threats, protect national defence systems and help to prepare defence needs.

War Time Roles. In war, commanders attempt to dominate the electromagnetic spectrum. They do this by locating, targeting, exploiting, disrupting, degrading, deceiving, denying, or destroying the enemy's electronic systems that support military operations or deny the spectrum's use by friendly forces². During war time strategic EW surveillance stations will be more active than ever, to intercepts, analyse and disseminate intelligence. Most of intercepts will be useful to combat troops. Tactical ESM activities will be in support of combat operations during the four phases of war. Supports will be in the form of intelligence gathering, ensuring own effective use but denying enemy of the use of electronic equipment, protect command posts and platforms, as well as part of weapon systems.

In present day environment EW application is very wide. It is reported that any Israeli attack on Iran nuclear site *likely to include electronic warfare against Iran's electric grid, Internet, cell-phone network and emergency frequencies for firemen and police officers*³.

ELECTRONIC WARFARE COMBAT WINNING FACTOR

Effect of Electronic Warfare Superiority. In war a combat force supported in peace time by effective EW activities and has EW superiority in combat will have success in battles. The force will have the freedom of use of the electromagnetic spectrum. It will have an effective use of its own network centric operations (NCO) and will have a complete and accurate battle picture updated in real time.

Its combat electronic systems of communications, weapons and radars are functioning without enemy interruption, but enemy's equipment will be interrupted. Its platforms, deployed forces and command centres are safe from enemy destructive actions. A combat force

with superiority in EW will be able to enforce its will over its enemy. EW functions described below are towards achieving EW superiority in combat. Their effectiveness with minimum efforts makes them most popular with the military.

Intelligence Operations. Intelligence gathering through the use of EW facilities is very efficient. Surveillance of radio emissions will detect and record all transmissions of interest. Those from communications transmitters are for intelligence which can be derived from texts of messages, traffic density and communications equipment characteristics. Intercepts of transmissions from other than communications are recorded and analysed into intelligence of capabilities, coverage, affects, deployment and electronic order of battle. In addition to their intelligence value, they are valuable information for the preparation of counter measures for electronic attacks to nullify their affects in combat.

Ensure Function of Own Defence Systems. Intelligence gathered will indicate enemy combat capabilities and potential of his EW assets, his efforts in intelligence gathering and success in developing counter measures against our electronic defence devices. This knowledge will direct our development of protective measures to ensure our defence electronic systems are effective in the face of the enemy, despite his electronic attacks. Our electronic protections will also ensure enemy intelligence gathering activities are not successful.

Weaken Enemy Defence Systems. With prior knowledge of enemy electronic order of battle and his EW capabilities and we are armed with relevant and effective counter measures for electronic attacks, we therefore are said to have EW superiority. We are then able to weaken and disable enemy electronic defence systems, whilst our own are functioning effectively.

Protect Own Platforms and Command Headquarters. Our intelligence on enemy combat activities and weapon capabilities will direct our development of defensive measures to defend our command centres and combat platforms (ships, aircrafts and land vehicles) against enemy missiles and guided weapons. Effective protection against enemy missiles and weapon control facilities will be in the form of intelligence of enemy missile bases deployment, effective ranges and types of war heads. Our electronic defences will be deployed to reduce effectiveness of enemy missiles and electronic measures to jam or deceive in-coming missiles from hitting their

² US Army Field Manual No 3-36, Electronic Warfare in Operations, page 1-3.

³ The Daily Beast, World News 16 Nov 2011, Israel's Secret Iran Attack Plan: Electronic Warfare.

intended valued targets; our command posts and combat platforms.

Benefits from EW Activities. Given below is a table indicating some of benefits expected to be gained from effective EW operations in battle.

Enemy surveillance systems can be deceived, jammed and manipulated. His intelligence gathering efforts can be filled with deceiving information such that his planning will not be effective. His activities are known to friendly forces and counter measures are well in place to defeat the enemy.

S No	EW Activities	Benefits
1	SIGINT	Enemy electronic order of battle
2	SIGINT, ESM	Detection and early warning of enemy activity
3	COMINT	Discovery of covert alliances and actions
4	ECM	Deceive enemy with false operational plans
5	SIGINT, CESM, RESM	Identification of enemy units and locate them
6	SIGINT, RESM	Identification of enemy weapons and locate them
7	CESM, RESM	Enemy unit location, disposition and intention
8	RESM, ECM	Protection of own installations and platforms
9	CESM, RESM	Detection of enemy force deployment
10	RESM, ECM	In support of air defence operations
11	ECM	Masking of own force movement and plan
12	ECM	Deceive own weapon deployment
13	EPM	Ensure working of own comms, radars and weapons

Figure 3. Benefits from EW Activities

Element of Combat Power. From the chart above showing benefits of EW to commanders in battle, effective EW operations will result in superior combat power. A commander with such EW support will have a complete and accurate battle field picture and near real time situational awareness updates. He is able to prepare effective battle plans and dictate his will over his enemy.

Combat Intelligence. In battle fields EW is the main and most reliable source of intelligence. The enemy will have deception plans operating. Once enemy deceptions are identified and analysts are able to analyse intercepted transmissions of the enemy, A1 intelligence are in hand. Apart from information on situational awareness and enemy activities are made available, enemy threats are detected and identified. Appropriate defences are then initiated. Counter offensive actions are timely mounted to destroy approaching threats.

EW Weapon. EW activities are also considered as weapons to disrupt enemy command and control, surveillance and weapons. Enemy NCO can be made ineffective through the use of this non-lethal weapon of EW.

SUMMARY

Think EW. All commanders and staff at all levels will have to think EW. No military can be without EW. Thinking during peace time will save lives and achieve victories in battle. Peace time capability development of systems and human resource will have assured effective EW in the face of enemy. No combat force will go to battle fields without effective EW capabilities. Effective EW capabilities for the military are a must. EW departments to do EW thinking, planning and developing at all times have to be established in all military headquarters.

Main Source of Intelligence. Nations and military forces gain vast amount of intelligence from EW activities, which can function under most weather conditions and cover wide and deep into enemy rear. EW surveillance systems provide early warning of developing threats and of possible hostilities in the region. Force development of a nation's military is guided by intelligence receive from EW Activities. In battle fields EW is the eye and ear of commanders. Intelligence operations in peace and in war are incomplete without EW elements.

Protect Assets. Platforms, command posts and NCO assets are effectively protected by EW activities. Approaching threats to our valuable military assets will be forewarned and defensive and counter measures can be affected. Effective and relevant defensive measures can be prepared for use by all military electronic systems, based on intelligence data obtained from EW intelligence operations. Military forces with effective and efficient EW supports will not be surprised by the enemy but the enemy can be surprised by our operational plans.

Survival of Nations. For a nation to survive in peace time and in war it must have the support of most advanced EW capabilities. These capabilities must be regularly enhanced and upgraded to ensure they remain relevant and provide effective support. Regular planning is necessary for the nation to have credible EW capabilities.

Survival in Combat. EW is military action involving the use of electromagnetic and directed energy to control the electromagnetic spectrum or to attack the enemy. The three major subdivisions within electronic warfare are electronic attack, electronic protection, and electronic warfare support⁴. Diagram at figure 4 portrays some activities of electronic attacks that may take place in combat:

- a. Hard kill. Enemy effective radars for surveillance and weapon control may need to be destroyed through hard kill to stop them from functioning. Intelligence gathered during peace time signal intelligence operations and during war time ESM will confirm targets to be destroyed. Destruction actions may be in the form of air strike, artillery fire, naval gunfire, missiles or commando raids.
- b. Use Flare to Evade Missiles. Based on activities during peace time of intelligence collecting and development of counter and protective measures, appropriate flare is developed to be used to deceive enemy missile to lock onto flare and not on our aircraft.
- c. Chaff Cover Aircraft Operations. Adequate intelligence obtained from intercepted enemy radar transmissions and appropriate chaff developed for use to distort enemy detection and identification of our air craft.
- d. Jamming. Electronic intelligence gathered will allow us to develop effective jamming and deception signals for use against enemy electronic systems.

ELECTRONIC WARFARE DEVELOPMENT

Secrecy Concept. EW development, capabilities and deployment are to be kept secret then only EW operations are effective in the face of enemy. Military forces take hint from the practices of the Indian Armed Forces, as advised by their president. The electronic warfare system is a force multiplier system which needs high level of secrecy for maintaining surprise against adversary actions. In such a situation, it is essential that the system design, architecture and deployment knowledge is generated within the country and maintained as closely guarded information by the services. This is essential to ensuring tactical and strategic advantage for our armed forces during an operation⁵.

Relevancy Concept. EW Assets and capabilities have to be relevant to the requirements of the armed forces and their responsibilities. The capabilities must be able penetrate all enemy electronic protective measures and are effective in providing the necessary intelligence. Electronic protective measures are able to provide effective defences against enemy EW operations, and counter measures are at all times effective against enemy communications, radars and missiles.

Roles of Local Industry. The above two concepts can only be achieved through the cooperation of the local industry. The military will formulate requirements and jointly develop locally EW capabilities. These capabilities are regularly enhanced and upgraded to meet changing threats and environment. Information of their existence, specifications, applications and deployments are to be kept secret. The local industry will assist in human resource development and maintain continuity in EW development.

Must Do Now. The sooner the military force realises the urgent need for the EW capabilities the better for that military force. Developments of EW capabilities requires a long lead time. Firstly, human resource development has to take place, to enable the military to do the necessary development planning. Local industry and institutions of higher learning can support in human resource development. The qualified military people will then plan with the industry for EW development implementation plan.

⁴ Hill Science & Technology Dictionary: electronic warfare, McGraw.

⁵ Financial Daily of India, President of India, Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, 19 Jan 2004.

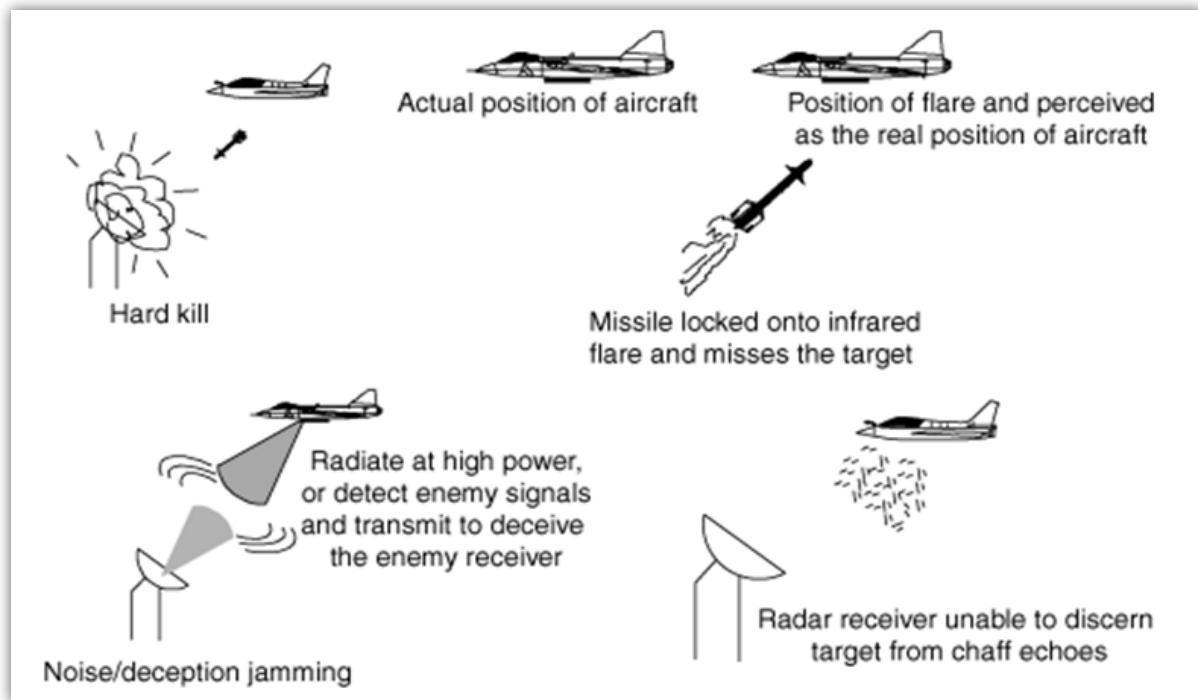


Figure 4. Summary of EW in Combat

CONCLUSION

Functions of EW are to provide vital supports for survival of military forces. EW assets are therefore vital to military forces. It is more than force multiplier; it is force survival kit in battle. EW operational activities are important to all military forces in peace time for intelligence and to be prepared to face enemy modern weapon systems in war time. In peace time EW helps to prepare the militaries for war and in war EW superiority

gives victories to commanders. Military commanders have to realize the urgent needs for EW capabilities. For assured effectiveness military forces have to develop their own EW capabilities with the support of their local industries. Information on EW assets has to be kept secret and EW capabilities have to be relevant at all times for them to be effective in war. EW capabilities are not something to be developed by foreigners nor are they to be offered for tender. The military has to pick reliable, trustworthy and dedicated local industries to be partners for the job.

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KEKUATAN KEROHANIAN MEMBENDUNG GEJALA SOSIAL DALAM KALANGAN REMAJA

oleh SSjn Rosli bin Salim

-SINOPSIS-

Alam remaja merupakan tempoh yang boleh dianggap mencabar, yang mana remaja-remaja mudah cenderung kepada perlakuan yang tidak rasional. Mereka mungkin kurang didikan agama, terpengaruh dengan budaya barat, belum matang dalam tindakan dan keputusan ataupun terpengaruh dengan hasutan rakan-rakan dek lemahnya ikatan keluarga didorong oleh jiwa yang inginkan kebebasan. Dengan terjebaknya mereka dalam kancang gejala sosial seperti punk dan emo serta pengambilan dadah, hidup mereka akan menjadi rumit dan secara tidak langsung merugikan kerajaan. Namun begitu, dengan didikan agama dan penerapan nilai-nilai murni disulam pula dengan pengukuhan jati diri dan kempen-kempen kesedarsan oleh kerajaan, remaja-remaja mungkin boleh disalvaj daripada menghancurkan diri sendiri mahupun masa depan mereka dan umumnya masa depan Negara.

Kekuatan kerohanian selalu dikaitkan dengan kekuatan dalaman seseorang dan merujuk kepada perkara-perkara yang berkaitan dengan roh. Selain itu, kerohanian juga dikaitkan dengan perasaan dalaman manusia yang melibatkan emosi kendiri. Setiap individu seharusnya mempunyai kekuatan kerohanian sebagai panduan hidup dan berada di landasan yang benar kerana ianya dapat. Menurut Kamus Dewan, kerohanian adalah perihal rohani atau sifat-sifat rohani.

Pada masa kini, terlalu banyak perlakuan yang tidak elok berlaku dan apa yang membimbangkan adalah masalah sosial yang melibatkan anak-anak remaja khasnya. Perkara ini hendaklah dipandang serius kerana anak-anak remaja merupakan pelapis generasi yang akan datang. Walaupun pelbagai langkah telah diambil oleh kerajaan untuk mengurangkan masalah ini, tetapi jika tiada kesedaran di dalam diri mereka, segala yang dilakukan hanyalah sia-sia.

Gejala sosial mempunyai kesan negatif ke atas pertumbuhan psikologikal, fizikal, ekonomi, pembangunan individu dan negara. Dalam mengharungi kehidupan dan dunia yang semakin mencabar, negara memerlukan pelapis daripada kalangan remaja untuk meneruskan wawasan negara serta mencapai status negara maju. Gejala sosial berlaku disebabkan oleh banyak faktor antaranya adalah kurang pengetahuan agama dalam diri. Ilmu pengetahuan khususnya agama adalah penting untuk

memastikan diri tidak melakukan perkara-perkara yang dilarang oleh agama.

Didikan yang secukupnya perlu diberikan agar anak-anak remaja ini tidak lalai di dalam melayari kehidupan sebagai remaja yang menyeronokkan. Telah banyak kisah yang selalu didedahkan tentang kemusnahan hidup anak-anak remaja kerana tersalah memilih jalan hidup yang melalaikan. Oleh sebab itu, didikan yang sempurna perlu diberikan agar mereka boleh memilih landasan yang betul berdasarkan kepada didikan yang diterima. Pengetahuan yang mereka dapat perlu bijak diaplilikasikan dalam kehidupan untuk kebaikan dan bukannya untuk menuju ke jalan yang membawa kepada kehancuran.

Ilmu pengetahuan dan didikan ini perlu diterapkan sejak kecil supaya mereka sentiasa ingat dan peka terhadap kehidupan yang semakin mencabar ini. Segala ilmu dan didikan yang dibekalkan perlu digunakan untuk pembentukan sahsiah diri sendiri sekali gus menjadi insan yang berguna kepada keluarga, bangsa dan juga negara. Sejak dahulu lagi mentaliti masyarakat di negara ini dibayangi dan dikuasai oleh negara barat. Budaya ini mempengaruhi pemikiran dan corak kehidupan khususnya kepada remaja-remaja yang terlalu taksub dengan budaya baru sehingga lupa kepada adat dan budaya di dalam negara sendiri.

Banyak budaya yang tidak elok dibawa masuk contohnya *punk*, *black metal*, *emo* dan berbagai-bagai lagi tidak seharusnya diikuti kerana ianya hanya merosakkan akhlak serta bercanggah dengan adat dan budaya di dalam negara ini. Remaja pada masa kini menjadi bangga jika mereka mengikut budaya barat kerana tidak mahu dikatakan ketinggalan zaman serta kolot serta mahu menjadi ikon fesyen kepada yang lain kerana terlalu menyanjung tinggi budaya tersebut. Budaya seperti ini tidak sepatutnya dicontohi oleh remaja-remaja yang mahukan kehidupan moden mengikut peredaran zaman dan perkembangan semasa.



Punk Anak-Anak Melayu.

Selain itu, mereka juga tidak tahu menilai yang mana baik dan buruk. Bagi mereka, melakukan perkara yang menyalah undang-undang adalah satu aktiviti yang menyeronokkan. Antara kes yang terdapat di negara kita ialah kes artis remaja, Salsabila yang lari mengikut pemuda Indonesia ke Lombok Tengah pada Julai tahun 2009. Remaja Indonesia tersebut, Asri Sukma yang bekerja di sebuah bengkel telah menipu bapa remaja berkenaan mengatakan bahawa dia adalah seorang rakyat Malaysia. Namun Salsabila akhirnya kembali ke pangkuan keluarga pada Februari 2010.

Faktor seterusnya ialah kegagalan institusi kekeluargaan. Keluarga memainkan peranan yang penting dalam pembentukan individu sejak kecil dan terus memberikan pengaruh yang amat besar kepada tingkah laku, sikap dan pemikiran individu itu di alam dewasa.

Jika dilihat dari gejala sosial remaja pada masa kini, kebanyakannya berpunca daripada kegagalan institusi keluarga. Ibu bapa yang terlalu sibuk bekerja mencari duit siang dan malam sehingga anak-anak ini terasa disisihkan.

Disebabkan sibuk bekerja ibu bapa ini kurang memberi perhatian kepada anak-anak mereka menyebabkan masa bersama anak-anak terbatas. Ibu bapa kini lebih cenderung untuk menyerahkan tanggungjawab mendidik dan mengasuh anak-anak kepada pembantu rumah lantaran sibuk dengan kerjaya. Tidak dapat dinafikan pada zaman ini, ibu bapa perlu bekerja keras demi menjamin kehidupan yang stabil. Walau bagaimanapun, ibu bapa perlulah bijak membahagikan dan meluangkan masa yang berkualiti bersama anak-anak.

Seperti yang kita sedia maklum, kebanyakan golongan remaja ini terdiri daripada pelajar. Oleh itu, menurut statistik yang dikeluarkan oleh Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat tahun 2007, 90 peratus daripada pelajar yang bermasalah mempunyai latar belakang keluarga yang juga bermasalah. Ibu bapa seharusnya berusaha untuk mewujudkan suasana ‘Rumahku Syurgaku’ supaya anak-anak berasa seronok dan tidak tertekan berada di samping keluarga. Masalah dalam keluarga memang tidak dapat dielakkan, namun ibu bapa perlu bijak menyelesaiannya, tanpa perlu sama mengheret anak-anak.

Faktor lain yang menyebabkan berlakunya gejala sosial ialah pengaruh rakan. Ada kalanya rakan boleh menjadi individu yang lebih penting daripada keluarga mereka sendiri. Tetapi apa yang membimbangkan ialah apabila rakan tersebut mengajak mereka membuat keburukan, dan secara tidak langsung ianya akan membawa kepada gejala sosial. Jika remaja ini berkawan dengan mereka yang bermasalah maka tidak mustahil mereka akan terpengaruh dengan ajakan rakan mereka untuk melakukan jenayah seperti meragut, menghisap dadah dan lain-lain lagi.

Faktor lain ialah remaja mahu mencari keseronokan dan bebas daripada kongkongan keluarga. Lumrah remaja inginkan kebebasan serta menikmati keseronokan dunia dan keluar daripada kongkongan keluarga. Sebagai contoh, mereka akan keluar rumah dan pulang pada lewat malam dan apabila ditegur oleh ibu bapa mereka, mereka



Dadah Merupakan Musuh Utama Negara.

akan melawan dan bertindak kasar terhadap orang tuanya. Seperti yang kita sedia maklum, zaman remaja adalah zaman yang penuh dengan keseronokan dan pada masa ini dapat dilihat sama ada para remaja ini berjaya dalam kehidupan atau terus hanyut dengan keseronokan dunia.

Kesan gejala sosial ialah hidup sentiasa diselubungi masalah. Mereka yang pernah melakukan jenayah akan sentiasa teringat-ingat kejahatan yang pernah mereka lakukan. Selain itu, mereka juga tidak mempunyai tujuan hidup serta sentiasa dipandang rendah oleh masyarakat. Sebagai contoh bekas banduan, kebanyakannya tidak diterima oleh keluarga mereka sendiri kerana perbuatan mereka telah menconteng arang ke muka keluarga. Selain itu, mereka juga sukar diterima untuk bekerja kerana majikan tidak mempunyai kepercayaan kepada mereka dan status mereka sebagai banduan tidak disenangi.

Kesan gejala sosial yang lain ialah kerugian yang dialami oleh kerajaan. Kerajaan terpaksa mengeluarkan belanja yang banyak untuk membendung gejala sosial ini. Sebagai contoh, kerajaan telah berbelanja besar untuk memerangi najis dadah. Pelbagai kempen telah dijalankan bagi memerangi gejala sosial ini, namun apa yang dilakukan oleh kerajaan hanya usaha yang sia-sia dan merugikan. Para remaja yang ada sekarang merupakan bakal pemimpin masa hadapan namun

apabila kebanyakan mereka terlibat di dalam gejala negatif maka bilangan pemimpin masa hadapan semakin berkurangan.

Untuk membendung gejala-gejala sosial ini makin berleluasa, langkah-langkah untuk mengatasi perlulah diambil untuk memastikan negara masih mempunyai remaja-remaja yang akan menjadi pelapis untuk memimpin dan membangunkan negara. Langkah-langkah yang diambil perlulah mempuai kerjasama dan perhatian daripada semua pihak.

Didikan agama yang secukupnya adalah langkah yang perlu diberikan perhatian khususnya ibu bapa. Pengetahuan agama adalah cukup penting dan mereka perlu tahu perkara yang dilarang oleh agama. Ibubapa juga seharusnya menjadi contoh yang baik kepada anak-anak mereka. Perhatian daripada ibubapa adalah penting untuk memastikan anak-anak tidak merasa mereka diabaikan dan disisihkan. Seringkali kita dengar bahawa kesibukan ibubapa menjadi penyebab utama remaja-remaja melakukan aktiviti yang salah di luar. Ibu bapa hanya menjalankan tanggungjawab mencari rezeki tetapi mereka tidak melaksanakan tanggungjawab menjaga anak-anak mereka.



Solat Jemaah Mampu Menjauhkan Kita Daripada Perkara Maksiat.

Penerapan nilai-nilai murni dalam kehidupan perlu diterapkan sejak kecil. Nilai-nilai murni yang diterapkan akan memantapkan lagi kerohanian dan iman yang ada di dalam diri setiap insan. Agama sendiri menggalakkan umatnya untuk meningkatkan dan memantapkan nilai-nilai murni di dalam kehidupan. Apabila nilai-nilai murni ini diterapkan, setiap perkara yang dilakukan adalah tidak

bertentangan dengan undang-undang atau hukum agama kerana ianya adalah sebahagian garis panduan dan asas yang penting di dalam kehidupan.

Selain itu, kempen-kempen kesedaran juga boleh dijalankan untuk menerangkan tentang gejala sosial ini. Masyarakat juga hendaklah diterangkan bagaimana gejala sosial ini boleh menyebabkan runtuhan institusi keluarga, masalah dalam masyarakat itu sendiri dan kepada negara. Selain itu, di dalam kempen ini juga boleh dibuat tayangan video remaja-remaja yang terjebak dalam kancang gejala sosial dan merana dalam kehidupan mereka. Remaja-remaja yang sudah kembali ke pangkuan jalan hendaklah diberi bantuan dan nasihat serta dorongan agar mereka tidak merasakan diri mereka disishkan sepanjang hidup mereka.



Kempen Kesedaran Dadah Perlu Dilaksanakan Di Sekolah-Sekolah.

Remaja-remaja juga perlulah bijak memilih rakan agar tidak mudah terpengaruh dengan rakan sebaya yang bermasalah. Keseronokan untuk berkawan membuatkan mereka tersalah pilih dan membawa mereka kepada jalan yang tidak benar. Rakan adalah tempat kita untuk berkongsi masalah dan tanpa rakan kita tidak akan dapat

menjalani kehidupan bersendirian. Memiliki kawan-kawan yang ramai adalah perlu tetapi perlulah bijak di dalam menjalinkan persahabatan kerana ada juga rakan yang mengambil kesempatan untuk menjatuhkan antara satu sama lain.

Kesedaran dan pengukuhan jati diri adalah sangat penting. Setiap kelakuan yang ditonjolkan menggambarkan perilaku masyarakat tersebut. Oleh itu, setiap individu perlu tahu menilai kebaikan dan keburukan demi agama, bangsa dan negara. Pihak-pihak bertanggungjawab hendaklah menyediakan pusat khidmat kaunseling di setiap jabatan atau organisasi supaya dapat mengetahui masalah setiap individu.

Secara keseluruhannya, gejala-gejala yang tidak sihat ini perlulah dibendung dengan kekuatan kerohanian yang dimiliki. Kerohanian yang mantap akan dapat menyelesaikan setiap, masalah yang datang dengan cara dan langkah yang betul tanpa menggunakan jalan pintas yang salah. Setiap pihak bertanggungjawab untuk membendung masalah ini. Mereka yang telah dipertanggungjawabkan selain daripada pemantapan kerohanian yang di perlukan untuk mengatasi gejala ini. Masyarakat khususnya remaja-remaja perlulah membuka mata dan meluaskan pemikiran mereka sebelum melakukan perkara-perkara yang tidak elok ini.

Semoga ianya menjadi titik tolak kepada semua masyarakat untuk membendung gejala ini daripada berleluasa dan secara tidak langsung meningkatkan keimanan dan ketaqwaan kepada Allah. Oleh yang demikian, kekuatan kerohanian dapat membendung gejala sosial daripada berleluasa dan ianya penting untuk menyelamatkan generasi-generasi pelapis yang akan datang demi memelihara maruah agama, bangsa dan negara.



1097916 SSJn Rosli bin Salim telah menceburkan diri dalam ATM pada 10 Apr 1993 dalam Kor Perkhidmatan Am (Bahagian Kerani). Beliau kini bertugas di PALAPES UUM dengan menjawat jawatan sebagai Ketua Kerani pasukan. Telah berumahtangga dan dikurniakan 3 cahaya mata.

WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH (OSH) MANAGEMENT AMONG MECHANICS

by Mej Hj Kamal bin Gasiman and Mej Mohd Zahir bin Wahab

INTRODUCTION

In Malaysian environment, Occupational Safety and Health Act 1994 (OSHA 1994) is an act to make further provisions for securing the safety, health and welfare of persons at work, for protecting others against risks to safety or health in connection with the activities of persons at work, to establish the National Council for Occupational Safety and Health, and for matters connected therewith¹. The act is pertaining to specific workplace hazards, as well as individual industries. OSHA standards ensure safer workplaces. The Malaysian Government imposes the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) in 1994, in order "to assure so far as possible every working man and woman in the nation safe and healthful working conditions and to preserve our human resources."

In the Malaysian Army Organisation or 'Tentera Darat (TD) Malaysia, the context, the guidelines on occupational safety and health management systems had been issued to support this effort. "Garis Panduan Pengurusan Keselamatan, Kesihatan dan Alam Sekitar Tentera Darat (2006)" was prepared based on a broad-based approach involving the TD. Workers, organizations, safety and health systems and the environment all stand to benefit. Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (REME) Corps is part of TD corps whereby the role is to provide engineering support to TD in terms of inspection, modification, recovery support, scales, repair and technical development of all common user equipment. Vehicle maintenance exposes TD corps to a variety of hazardous materials. Chemicals pose a wide range of health hazards (such as irritation, sensitization, and carcinogenicity) and physical hazards (such as flammability, corrosion, and reactivity). The positive impact of introducing OSH management systems at the organizational level, both on the reduction of hazards and risks and on productivity,

is now recognized by either employers (REME Corps) or employees (officers and men). TD is accountable for and has a duty to organize occupational safety and health. The implementation of an OSH management system is one useful approach to fulfilling this duty. All general industry standards apply to workers performing maintenance on all types of commercial motor vehicles and all other types of trucks. The categories of workshops in the REME units are vary based on their Lines of Support.

RELEVANT STUDIES ON OSH

There is no specific study ever conducted with regard to the safety and health of the mechanic of the workplace in the Army Camp in relation with their performance in practicing the OSH management practices. However, the academicians mostly carried out studies on facilities and their environmental performance in the workplace (e.g., References). Furthermore, an effective evaluation of a safety and health management system is an in depth process requiring a great deal of training and experience.

According to Jacqueline C. Vischer (2007), the growing knowledge about environmental effects on building occupants' productivity and morale creates a need to integrate workplace considerations into core business decision making. The range of workplace types is proliferating - open plan, teams pace, moveable furniture, personal harbours or personal environment modules, and group offices. Familiarity with the environmental psychology of workplace will help managers in any organization make more cost-effective and beneficial workplace decisions.

A recent review of studies of the effect of environment on productivity concluded that confusion about what productivity means has made it difficult to identify how environmental conditions affect worker performance

¹ Law of Malaysia, Act 514 dated 25th February 1994

(Jacqueline C. Vischer: 2007). Many studies use respondents' own self-reports of "improved" or "reduced" productivity. In order to make workplace performance a useful concept linking environmental design with workers' ability to perform tasks, it is useful to define worker productivity in terms of environmental design-relevant categories.

The productivity of workgroup at workplace is typically evaluated in terms of the quality and quantity of group processes, called collaborative teamwork (CTW) (A. Hedge: 2000). Nowadays, many companies experimented with workplaces designed for teams (team spaces), where space occupancy is a function of the size, duration, and importance of team projects. Tarcan et al. (2004) describe that the improvement of indoor environmental condition and health standards have a direct impact on the performance of the employees.

- **Workplace Environment** – Safety and Health at Work. Workplace accidents and occupational illnesses are caused by definable and identifiable factors in the workplace called 'hazards'. Butrej (1995) mentions that a hazard can be something straightforward, such as an oil spill on the workshop floor, noise produced by cutting machine, an unguarded stamping machine or absent of painting lines around safe area in the workshop. There are two types of hazards namely safety hazards and health hazards. An Oxford dictionary define a hazard as a situation which poses a level of threat to life, health, property or environment.
- **Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) at Workplace.** Safety hazards such as slippery floors, electricity, machine, fire and falling objects can cause injuries. Health hazards are hazards, which lead to illness, or disease such as exposure to noise, chemicals, dusts, stress or biological factors tends to result in illness, which does not appear until sometime later. Rooley (1997) indicates that among other symptoms that are considered to be in the illness category due to poor indoor air quality such as eye, nose and throat irritation, sensation of dry mucous membranes and skin, Erythema (skin rash), mental fatigue and headaches, high frequency of airway infections and cough.
- **Rules, Policy and Procedure on Occupational Safety and Health at Workplace.** Occupational safety and health (OSH) is a cross-disciplinary area concerned with protecting the safety, health and welfare of people engaged in work or employment.

In Malaysia, the Department of Occupational, Safety and Health (DOSH) created OSHA, Ministry of Human Resource is to encourage employers and employees to reduce workplace hazards and to implement safety and health programs.

- **Implementation of OSH Management at the Workplace.** Sullivan (1995) mention that the reasons for establishing good occupational safety and health standards are frequently identified in term of moral, economic aspect of it and legal perspective. Employers have an obligation to provide and maintain systems of work and a working environment, which are, as far as is reasonably practicable, safe and without risk to health. The duty extends to providing maintenance of safe plant and systems of work, information, training, supervision and adequate support. Absence management, both of short-term and long-term sickness, continues to be an issue.

CONDUCT OF STUDY

A study on 200 respondents who are REME mechanics that have vast experiences in carrying-out their tasks as repairers has been conducted to see whether.

H1 - There is a relationship between workplace environment and the implementation of OSH Management Practices.

H2 - There is a relationship between level of OSH knowledge among mechanic and the implementation of OSH Management Practices.

H3 - There is a relationship between, OSH rules, procedure, and the implementation of OSH management practices.

Among them, 81% is army personnel and the rest 19% is civilian mechanics. 92% of the sample were male, and about 47.5% of the respondents were 30 years old and above. 31.7% of the respondents had at least some college education, and 50.5% reported to have been in the service for more than 10 years. More than half of the respondents are of Malay ethnics and 77.0% reported to have experiences serving in more than one unit. Almost 73.5% of the respondents reported to have taken sick leaves for the past 3 months. When asked to state the duration admitted in hospital for receiving a treatment, many respondents (over 60%) reported to receive their treatment and 38% respondents reported never receive any treatment. 40% of respondents

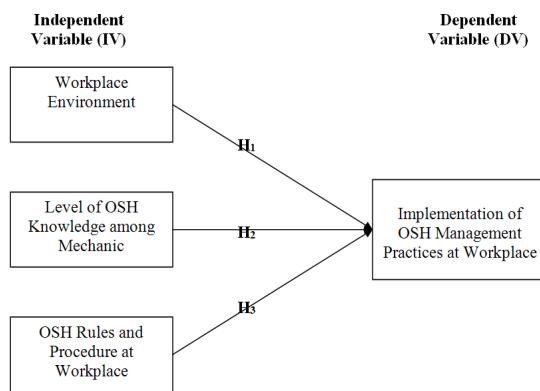
disagreed with the causes of sickness as coming from a workplace environment. 46.5% of the respondents said they had attended at least one OSH course, with almost 30.5% attending more than one and remaining 53.5% respondents have never attended OSH course. Respondents seemed relatively interested with 61.0% reporting their interests with OSH field leaving only 1% stating that they are not interested.

The study also intends to indicate the degree of OSH management practice at the workplace among the mechanics influenced by the following factors:

- a. Workplace Environment, which consists of indoor air quality, Lighting, Ergonomics, Noise and Fire Hazards.
- b. Degree of Occupational, Safety and Health Knowledge among Mechanic.
- c. Occupational, Safety and Health Rules and Procedure Provided at the Workplace.
- d. Degree of Occupational, Safety and Health Management Practice at the Workplace.
- e. Demographic profile of the respondent.

The framework for the aforementioned study is schematically represented as in **Figure 1** below:

Figure 1
**Theoretical
Framework**



The Independent Variables (IV) are the ones that influence the dependent variable (DV) in either positive or negative way. The perception by mechanic on safety and health pertaining to their workplace, level of OSH knowledge among mechanics and OSH rules and procedure at workplace are the independent variables (IV) as they influence the effectiveness of the implementation of OSH management practice at workplace. Safety and Health of the mechanics concerning the workplace are very important in order to have a productive tradesman.

For the dependent variables, it is the primary concern of the study because the implementation of OSH management practice will determine the relationship between the mechanic perception on the implementing the requirement with regard to safety and health aspect. Therefore in the study, the implementation of OSH management practice will be the dependent variables and the management should sensitive with the level of safety and health as this aspect is important as part of welfare to the mechanics.

- **Summary of Hypotheses Test.** **Table 3** contains a summary of the hypotheses, the correlation coefficients obtained from the pearson correlation. The correlation coefficients of H1, H2, and H3 are statistically significant at the level 0.01 (2-tailed) and support our theoretical framework model. All of the path coefficients are statistically significant. It shown that, this study have prove according to Heather Dilley and Brian H. Kleiner (1996), workplace which apply to a very wide range of workplaces, not only factories, shops and offices but also, for example, schools, hospitals, hotels and places of entertainment. From the output shown at Table 5.2, confirms the results of there is a significant positive relationship exists between Workplace Environment, Level of Knowledge among Mechanics and OSH rules and procedure provided at the workplace towards the implementation of OSH management practice at the workplace. The results also shown, that the correlation coefficient, followed by the significance level ($p = 0.000$) and correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). The significance value, $p < 0.05$, and prove that the correlation is statistically significant. It shown a positive approach to discipline is essential for creating a safety culture characterized by high levels of trust and employee involvement.

Table 3
Summary of Hypotheses and Correlation Coefficient, and Significant Levels

Hypotheses	Pearson Correlation coefficient
H_1 : There is a relationship between workplace environment and the implementation of OSH Management Practices.	0.624**
H_2 : There is a relationship between level of OSH knowledge among mechanic and the implementation of OSH Management Practices.	0.370**
H_3 : There is a relationship between, OSH rules, procedure, and the implementation of OSH management practices.	0.594**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 4
The predictive power of the theoretical framework

Construct	Variance Explained				
	R ²	Adj R ²	df	F	Sig.
The Implementation of OSH Management Practices at the Workplace	0.516	0.509	199	69.754	0.000

The predictive power of the refined theoretical framework model for the implementation of OSH management practices at the workplace was 50.9 percent (Adjusted R² = 0.509). When the implementation of OSH management practices at the workplace was measured with workplace environment, level of OSH knowledge among mechanics, and OSH rules and procedure at workplace, F test results showed the convenience of the model at the level of 0.000 (see Table 4). Therefore, it can be said that the predictive power of the refined theoretical framework model will be increased if new constructs are added to the model. The table indicates that, OSH Rules and Procedure at the

Workplace (with Beta = 0.637) has more influence on the DV (OSH Management at the Workplace) as compared to other variables. It clearly shows that the respective commander of the Army unit and their subordinate at middle level management should play a central role in and accept responsibility for identifying unsafe conditions. While accidents can happen anywhere, there are some special danger zones at the REME workshop workplace. The duty extends to providing maintenance of safe plant and systems of work, information, training, supervision and adequate support.

CONCLUSION

Studies indicate significant relationship among the workplace environmental conditions and the performance levels of employees and organizations. This study helps to predict relationships among the environment at the workplace, level of knowledge among mechanics, current OSH rules and procedure at workplace as well as OSH management practices. These relationships have been tested through a survey on army and civilian tradesmen who work in the REME workshop categorised as brigade workshop and training institutes. The result obtained indicated the implementation of OSH management practices at workplace to have a critical role in influencing the occupational, safety and health judgments of the tradesmen. These significantly relate to the building safety and health and the effect of the tradesmen occupying it. This study demonstrates the importance of workplace higher environmental performance levels and provides a basis for future studies in the entire Army camps as a whole.

RECOMMENDATION

REME Directorate must ensure this aspect included in their Operational Expenditure (OE) to maintain high productivity and effectiveness of the tradesmen, which very much depend on their physical health as well as safe working condition. They are often exposed to all sort of hazards while working in the workshop. Therefore, it is important for safety and health aspect to be given priority in any REME workshops.

This study can be further expanded to all REME workshops and subsequently to all Army units in Malaysia. Lack of safety facilities such as fire suppression system, old electrical wiring system, and inadequate lighting system, lack of noise absorption system, poor ventilation system and storage are common in these aging facilities.

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MANAGING 'GENERATION Y' IN THE MALAYSIAN ARMED FORCES: DIFFERENCES, CHALLENGES AND PROPOSITIONS

by Lt Kol Kwong Fook Wen

-SYNOPSIS-

The central idea of this essay is about managing Generation Y in the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) that could be enhanced by understanding the characteristics and challenges of the different generations working together in the unique MAF's working environment. The essay provides an overview of categorisation and explanations of the characteristics of the different generations. It examines the working environment and challenges faced in managing Generation Y. It offers thoughts on ways and management techniques to manage Generation Y in the MAF. The essay concludes that with appropriate measures, MAF would be able to manage the Generation Y towards a harmonious and effective organisation.

INTRODUCTION

The nation and her people recognise the effort and achievements of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) for putting Malaysia in the limelight. Some of the past glories of the MAF include: involvement in the United Nations Operation in Congo (UNOC) during the early 1960s, successful rescue operation Somalia, peacekeeping operation in Bosnia Herzegovina and defeating the communist terrorists in the local front.¹ The MAF had performed well to be accorded these recognitions locally and abroad. These achievements by the MAF were attained during different eras of war-fighting that were led and served by different 'generations' of leaders and soldiers. There were no contention during those periods of time regarding the different generations of officers and soldiers working together, neither was there any difficulty faced in the commanding and management of the younger generation that joined the MAF then.

From its modest beginning in 1933, the MAF has grown to about 130,000 troops.² Since its inception, managing human resource has been one of the focuses of the MAF. Continuous measures are being implemented to improve its personnel management and administration. For example, the MAF Fourth Dimension Capability Development Plan (4D MAF) listed human resource as one of the few domains to enhance its capability.³ At the single service level, the Royal Malaysian Air Force has established a study/research team in 2011 to identify appropriate cultures, customs and traditions that could be adopted.⁴ Likewise, the Malaysian Army has been using the Personnel Psychology Management System (SISPA) as one of the management tools for its workforce.⁵

² The International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 2011, Routledge, London, 2011, p. 256 and statistics obtained from Record and Pension Branch, Malaysian Armed Forces Personnel Division, Headquarters Malaysian Armed Forces.

³ The Malaysian Armed Forces Fourth Dimension Plan, Defence Planning Division, Headquarters Malaysian Armed Forces, Kuala Lumpur, 2008, pp.5-7.

⁴ Survey questionnaires were distributed to selected personnel in the Malaysian Armed Forces by the Research Team from the RMAF in 2011. The RMAF is in the process of disseminating the outcomes of the research. Information obtained from Lt Kol Ahmad Yusof (RMAF) on 27 May 2012.

⁵ SISPA Instruction, MK TD/G1/G/2102(P&K) dated 5 October 2012 and Z.A. Zulkifli, Contestation of Idea and effective execution, paper presented at the Malaysian Army Officers' Mess on 13 January 2012.

¹ Ministry of Defence, National Defence Policy, Percetakan Haji Jantan Sdn Bhd, Kuala Lumpur, 2010, p.33 and Headquarters Malaysian Army, Malaysian Army Transformation Plan, 91 Central Ordnance Depots, Kuala Lumpur, June 2011, p. 1.

Lately, it is often heard in the MAF that ‘Young officers and soldiers today do not have any sense of commitment’.⁶ Also, there were allegations that they are not performing in accordance with the norms that are practised by their predecessors and the older generations.⁷ It is not uncommon to hear the buzz word of ‘Generation Y’ and the “blame” being put on them that they are the cause of frustrations amongst the older generations. It has created some tension in the workplace. This situation raises a few questions: Are the differences between the older generations and Generation Y a cause of concern in the MAF? Is the working environment in the MAF a source of friction between the different generations? What are the challenges faced by the older generations in managing the younger generation? Are there possible ways to manage and create harmony and mutual trust amongst the generations in the MAF?



Confronted with the grey areas stated above, this essay will examine the management of Generation Y in the MAF from the aspects of differences, challenges and ways for enhancement towards a harmonious and effective organisation. The essay will first provide an understanding of the categories and characteristics of generations in the workforce. It will then examine the working environment in the workplace of the different generations. Subsequently, the essay will identify challenges that are faced by the older generations in managing Generation Y. The essay will end by providing some thoughts on the possible ways to improve the management of Generation Y in the MAF so that the different generations could work harmoniously to achieve common goals in the MAF.

⁶ Survey questionnaires were distributed to selected personnel in the Malaysian Armed Forces by the Research Team from RMAF in 2011 and M. McCrindle and E. Wolfinger, *The ABC of WYZ: Understanding the global generations*, University of New South Wales Press Ltd, Sydney, 2011, pp.1-125.

⁷ ibid.

UNDERSTANDING THE CATEGORY OF GENERATION

There are plenty of literatures on the theory of generation. Understanding the theory of generation is important because collective generational thinking can drive a worker’s behaviour in the workplace. In this regard, McCrindle (2011) describes generational theory as a complex amalgam of personal demographics and relationships, as well as of broader social and political influences.⁸ Peter Sheahan (2005), another generational expert, authored a book on Generation Y entitled *Generation Y: Thriving and Surviving with Generation Y at work*.⁹ Similarly, Rebecca Huntley (2006) wrote on *The World according to Y* that looks at those Australians entering their twenties.¹⁰ Traditionally, a generation has been defined as ‘the average interval of time between the birth of parents and the birth of their offspring’.¹¹ However, other generational experts, William Strauss and Neil Howe (2000) point out that a generation is shaped by a particular span of time.¹² According to them, generations are now defined sociologically rather than biologically. Hence, a generation refers to a cohort of people born within a similar time span who share a comparable age and life stage, and were shaped by a particular span of time (in relation to events, trends and developments).¹³

The theory of generation groups the generations into different categories. The categorisation of a generation is done in accordance with people who share common life experiences, common attitudes and traits.¹⁴ However, different people categorise generations in many different ways that can often overlap and conflict. For example, *Smartmanager* categorises generation in accordance with the groups of people born in the same 20-year time span.¹⁵

⁸ M. McCrindle and E. Wolfinger, *The ABC of WYZ: Understanding the global generations*, pp.1-125.

⁹ S. Peter, *Generation Y: Thriving and Surviving Y at work*, Hardie Grant Book, Victoria, 2005, pp.1-45.

¹⁰ R. Huntley, *The world according to Y*, Allen & Unwin, New South Wales, 2006, pp.1-228.

¹¹ M. McCrindle and E. Wolfinger, *The ABC of WYZ*.

¹² N. Howe and W. Strauss, *Millennial Rising: The next great generation*, Vintage book, New York, 2000, pp.1-20.

¹³ M. McCrindle and E. Wolfinger, *The ABC of WYZ*.

¹⁴ Smartmanager, *Getting workplace value from Generation Y*. Available from: http://www.smartmanager/en/pages/87/workplace_value_gen_y.html. Accessed on 25 May 2012.

¹⁵ ibid.

The workforce today is said to comprise four major generations namely; the World War II Generation (born before 1943), the Baby Boom generation (born from 1944 to 1960), Generation X (born between 1961 and 1980) and Generation Y (born from 1981 onwards). On the other hand, Jackson (2010) categorises the generations into Veterans (born prior to 1946), Baby Boomers (born between 1946 and 1964), Generation X (born between 1965 and 1975), Generation Y/Millennial (born between 1980 and 1995) and Generation Z (born after 1995).¹⁶ Where else, Archana and Heejin (2008) define Generation Y as a population group born in the year 1980 to 1994 and Pricewaterhouse Coopers (2009) refers Generation Y to individuals born from 1980 onwards and who entered the workforce after 1 July 2000.¹⁷ Additionally, Erickson (2008) defines Generation Y as those born since 1980 and UdaNagu (2009) for those born between 1978 and 2000.¹⁸



The categorisation above shows that different authors use different categorisations, different terms, and time span (years) to describe each category of generation. Therefore, from the perspective of a shared common range among the mentioned authors, Generation Y is established as those born from 1980 onwards and entered the workforce after the year 2000.¹⁹

Based on the categorisation of the generation above, the workforce in the MAF consists of personnel that are made up of three generational groups. It has a few Baby Boomers in the top management, Generation X in the senior leadership, command and management group as well as a substantiate number of the other personnel from Generation Y in the organisation.²⁰ The different categories of generations in the MAF bring about different behaviours, mind-sets, ways of interaction and different performance in the workplace. Though the MAF has certain practices, procedures, culture and characteristics, they are not devoid of those differences brought about by generational influences. Therefore, it is vital to understand the differences between the characteristics of the different generations in the MAF as this would be the source of friction that could jeopardise harmony and trust when they work together in the workplace.

DIFFERENCES IN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GENERATION



The literatures on generational theory show that Baby Boomers were raised in large traditional families where the father was the sole breadwinner.²¹ In their youth, Baby Boomers were open-minded and rebellious but became more conservative in their 30's and 40's. Job status and social standing are important to this generation who tend to be optimistic, ambitious, loyal and believe that employment is for life. This generation brought about the concept of "workaholic". Many amongst the older generations in the MAF should be very familiar with this term.

¹⁶ J. Jackson, Understanding the different generations and their characteristics, Sydney, 2010. Available from: <http://suite101.com/article/veterans-baby-boomers-gen-x-gen-y-gen-z-a185353>. Accessed on 25 May 2012.

¹⁷ K. Archana and L. Heejin, Age differences in mobile service perception: Comparison of Generation Y and Baby Boomers, Journal of Service Marketing, issue 7, Vol.22, p.568-577. Pricewaterhouse Coopers Malaysia conducted a survey of millennial at work in 2009 to come up with the ages of the different generation groups, New Straits Times, Kuala Lumpur, 28 December 2009, p.9.

¹⁸ T. Erickson, Plugged in: The Generation Y guide to thriving at work, Harvard Business School Publishing, Massachusetts, 2008, p 1-45 and U. Nagu, Understanding Generation Y, New Straits Times, Kuala Lumpur, 28 December 2009.

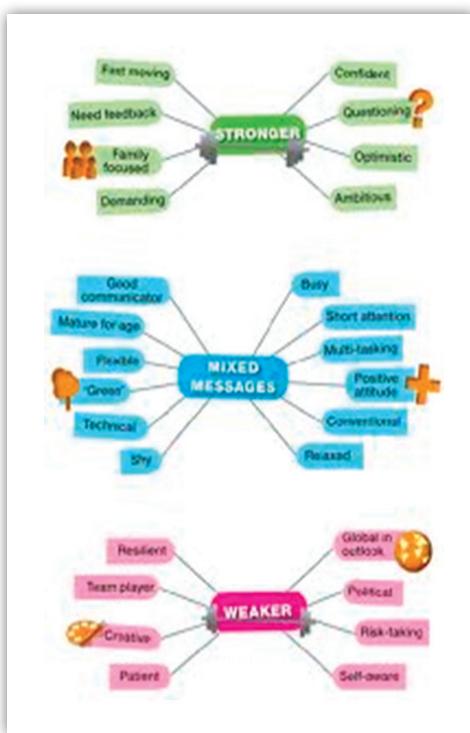
¹⁹ W. Wong, Factors affecting Generation Y's green brand perception and purchase decision, unpublished thesis (MA), University of Science Malaysia, 2010, p.16.

²⁰ Statistics obtained from Record and Pension Branch, Malaysian Armed Forces Personnel Division, Headquarters Malaysian Armed Forces.

²¹ M. McCrindle and E. Wolfinger, The ABC of WYZ.

As for Generation X, they are often kids raised by two working parents.²² They are well educated with many having tertiary qualifications and are resourceful, individualistic and self-reliant. In the workplace, they focus on relationships, outcomes, their rights and skills. They often have a “what’s in it for me” attitude. The Generation X lived out their young adult years in the pre-September 11 world of relative peace and prosperity. Though that may be the case, in the Malaysian context, this generation in the MAF has experience of fighting communist terrorists in the Malaysian jungles.

On the other hand, Generation Y is very technology savvy and comfortable with ethnically diverse groups.²³ They are optimistic, confident, sociable, have strong morals and a sense of civic duty. They expect great work flexibility and are likely to query and change employers frequently. Additionally, Generation Y has no fixed loyalty.²⁴ Generation Y, as young adults, are now living through the crisis period of post-September 11. Nevertheless, in the Malaysian context, Generation Y's personnel in the MAF are those that have no experience of war-fighting during the Counter Insurgency War in Malaysia.



²² ibid.

²³ J. Jackson, Understanding the different generations and their characteristics.

²⁴ A. Razak, The Star, ‘Generation Y’ voters may decide the outcome of 13th GE, Kuala Lumpur, Saturday, 9 June 2012, pp.1-2.

Each generation described above has its own set of distinct characteristics and values that is developed from social environment in their early years. Clearly, they have different values and beliefs regarding family, career, work/life balance, training development, loyalty, gender roles, expectations of leaders and the work environment.²⁵ These differences create some misperceptions and misconceptions amongst them in the workplace.

THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT IN THE MALAYSIAN ARMED FORCES

The MAF has to understand that the working environment is another influencing factor in managing Generation Y. Invariably, the working environment and job requirement in the MAF differs remarkably from the other government agencies, corporate and civil sectors. Therefore, the challenges brought about by the various generations working together in this unique environment might differ from those experienced elsewhere. To illustrate the uniqueness of the working environment in the MAF, unlike other organisations, leaders in the MAF function as commanders and managers.²⁶ These functions are often intertwined and an officer has to know when to play their role effectively in accordance to a particular situation or tasks.²⁷ The commander/leader is the prime mover in providing leadership and decision-making at the various levels of the chain of command.

Compared to other organisations, the MAF has a hierarchical organisation with a well established command and control structure and specified chain of command. Command and control functions are performed through an arrangement of personnel, equipment, communications, facilities, and procedures which are adopted by a commander in planning, directing, coordinating and controlling forces and operations in the accomplishment of the mission.²⁸ The exercise of authority and direction is done by a properly designated commander over assigned forces. The military command basically leans on three foundations; the moral and physical attributes of the leader through which he inspires confidence in his men, the authority with which the leader is vested by his political and military superiors as well as the discipline and

²⁵ J. Jackson, Understanding the different generations.

²⁶ Headquarters Training and Doctrine Command, Command, leadership and management, MD 0.1 TD, Kuala Lumpur, 2007, p.1-1.

²⁷ Leadership and its effect on personnel performance and retention, Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, Australian Defence College, Canberra, 2009, pp.1-15.

²⁸ Headquarters Training and Doctrine Command, Command and Control, MD 0.1 TD, Kuala Lumpur, 2007, pp.1-1.

abilities of his subordinates.²⁹ Therefore, underlying these foundations is the importance of the leader to inspire and his subordinates to perform. Hence, how well the unit/organisation performs hinges on the interaction of the leaders and the followers in the workplace of which the generation theory plays an important role.

Another peculiarity of the MAF is that the working environment demands the officers and soldiers to adopt professional ethic. This ethic sets out those values and principles of conduct which govern the officers and soldiers' behaviour both as a group and as individuals.³⁰ It strives to set the institution of the MAF and its purpose in the right perspective; which is service to the nation and be fully responsive to the needs of her people. For example, the Army ethic outlines several fundamentals and enduring principles, namely; loyalty to the institution, loyalty to the unit, personal responsibility, religious truth and selfless service.³¹ It builds upon the soldierly qualities and attempts to provide the value base for military service in the professional sense that helps to clarify how the military personnel differ from the broader society which they serve. To illustrate this aspect, the Malaysian Army focuses on four qualities essential to soldiers and their leaders, namely; commitment, competence, candour and courage.³²

Over time, the changes in human and scientific affairs coupled with advances in other fields have affected the nature and substance of the military professional role and changed the working environment in one way or another.³³ As a result, the perception of Generation Y and the other generations in the MAF on the fundamental of ethic, values and qualities of soldiers differ; resulting in unintended organisational culture and behaviour. A case in point was the study done by course participants of the Malaysian Army Senior Officers Institute on "Unit proficiencies in human resource and leadership performance focusing on organisational behaviour".³⁴

The study and findings of the research conducted found that the value and ethic factors have a positive correlation with organisational behaviour. Clearly, differences amongst the different generations in the workplace caused by the unique working environment in the MAF and the variation in perception are contributory toward challenges faced in managing Generation Y.

CHALLENGES OF MANAGING GENERATION Y

The main challenge of managing Generation Y in the MAF is ensuring the different generations working together under the same organisation actually work well together.³⁵ Though there are numerous challenges of managing Generation Y, only the pertinent challenges from the perspective of human behaviour, the leadership, ethic/values and differences in the workplace will be discussed.

Foremost is the challenge as a result of human behaviour. Undeniably, human behaviour has a profound effect to the value system, organisational culture, job design and the work environment.³⁶ Consequently, it is the root cause of generational conflicts. There are clashes of characteristics between Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers with the Generation Y-ers.³⁷ For example, the Baby Boomers tend to be workaholics but Generation Y-ers expect work flexibility.

This clash in characteristic leads to the perception from the older generations that Generation Y-ers are lazy and lack the professional ethic (work ethic) of military personnel. Additionally, the Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers are not comfortable that Generation Y-ers see work as a means to enjoy life and expect their work to be fun and flexible. Human behaviour and characteristics of the different generations also cause opposing viewpoints pertaining to loyalty. The Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers are loyal and view employment as for life.

²⁹ ibid, pp.1-2.

³⁰ H.Zain, A Guide to the professional conduct of an Army officer, Department of Army, Kuala Lumpur, 1982, pp.1-2.

³¹ ibid, pp.4-5.

³² ibid.

³³ ibid.

³⁴ The research was done on 5th Royal Artillery Regiment based in Desa Pahlawan Camp as reported by INSPEKA vide INSPEKA-LAT/G3/100 dated 22 Jun 2011.

³⁵ A. Chulik, Generation Y's impact in the work place. Available from: <http://msn.careerbuilder.com/Article/MSN-238-Leadership-Management-Gen-Ys-impact-in-the-workplace/>. Accessed on 25 May 2012.

³⁶ C.Hill, Competing in the global marketplace, McGraw-Hill/Irvin, New York, 2007, pp.465-468.

³⁷ 'Generation X-ers' and 'Generation Y-ers' refer to the individuals of the respective generations.

To these generations, job loyalty was shown by how long a person stayed in his job. However, Generation Y-ers' loyalties are measured by how hard a person worked and not by how long he stuck around. As a result, the older generations have low tolerance for Generation Y-ers whom they perceive as not loyal and having little respect for authority. This perception arises because Generation Y-ers have the tendency to 'disappear' from work and raise questions when they do not understand something and are not afraid to challenge the status-quo.

As for challenges from the perspective of leadership and ethic, one of the challenges is the diverging perception of leadership and ethic between the different generations. The older generations grew up in a military that was steep in tradition, customs and culture. They follow the guidelines of professional conduct of officers and soldiers diligently. The commitment, hard work, discipline, punctuality and attire/uniform turn-out of the older generations are often impeccable as compared to Generation Y-ers who are only willing to work hard at jobs that provide fulfilments in accordance with their expectations. Also, Generation Y-ers do not take the forms of attire in the work place seriously. An example is the lack of observation of dress code by Generation Y-ers in the Officers' mess and after office hours. Therefore, the challenge is on how to align the vision and requirement of work for today's military leaders/commanders with the vision and commitment of Generation Y-ers in the workplace.

Another challenge faced is the ability to compromise and reconcile on differences in the workplace. It is often that the older generations get hung up on details practised by Generation Y. Though Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers are comfortable with the use of traditional methods of communication, they should not expect their subordinates to be the same. On the contrary, Generation Y-ers are technology savvy and work is done through 'unconventional' means. They use *Dropbox* for online shared folders, *Evernote* to store and categorise information, and *Skype* video conferencing or the *iPhone's Facetime* application to connect with colleagues.³⁸ Technology and its flexibility allow them the opportunity to

carry out their job where ever they are. An example of this is the ability to access files right from the conference room during a meeting. Nevertheless, Generation Y-ers have to bear in mind that texting with senior officers in the MAF may be the fastest way of communication but may not be respectful and appropriate. Therefore, the challenge is the ability of the older generations to accept this new work culture and methods.

Challenges will continue to surface if the older generations and Generation Y continue to have opposing viewpoints and they are unable to compromise or resolve their differences. Therefore, settling these differences and challenges is one of the ways forward in managing Generation Y.

MANAGING GENERATION Y IN THE WORKPLACE

Managing Generation Y involves many domains that include human resource management (HRM), leadership, management of working environment and others. In the perspective of HRM, leaders/commanders/managers in the MAF must possess the skills needed in examining the relationship between managing human resource and organisational performance. HRM has been integrated into policies and doctrines formerly used to describe the functions of personnel management and personnel administration.³⁹ Of paramount importance in managing Generation Y is the necessity for the leaders/commanders/managers to have a good grasp and understanding of organisational behaviour. Stephen Robins (2009) says that organisational behaviour is a systematic study of the actions and attitudes that people exhibit within the organisation.⁴⁰ Therefore, managing Generation Y requires that opinions are not formed on the symptoms of an issue but the need to identify the root cause of the problem. The casual agents in determining human behaviour in Generation Y that affect the value system, the work environment and organisation culture must be studied. It is then the responsibility of the leaders/commanders/managers to facilitate communication amongst the older generations and Generation Y in the organisation and promote positive organisational culture for the good of the organisation.

³⁸ E. Dhawan, Gen-Y workforce and workplace are out of sync, Forbeswoman, 2012, p.1. Available from: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/85broads/2012/01/23/gen-y-workforce-and-workplace-are-out-of-sync/>. Accessed on 25 May 2012.

³⁹ The 24th Malaysian Chief of Army's 'Order of the Day' listed hablunmianas as a human relationship concept to strengthen personnel management. Elaboration of human resource management is stated in G. Dessler, Human Resource Management 7th Ed, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2008.

⁴⁰ S.P. Robins, Organisationalbehavior 14th Ed, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2009.

In the perspective of leadership, managing personnel in the MAF effectively involves both the leaders/commanders and the personnel being led. Currently at the strategic level in the MAF, the Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers lead while Generation Y-ers follow. Importantly, the leaders and followers must always work as a team to accomplish goals. The different generations in the workplace must understand the intricacies and inter-relationship of leadership, command and management in the MAF. They would then be able to play their respective roles in ensuring their differences are overcome. Therefore, the older generations must be able to manage Generation Y and work together harmoniously and mutually trusting each other in their workplaces. Working together involves sharing of knowledge from generation to generation. Unless they work well together, knowledge will be lost when the older generations retire and take with them decades of experience. This is pertinent in the MAF as the older generations i.e. Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers had gone through wars (Counter Insurgency War) and pertinent peacekeeping operations that Generation Y-ers have not and are still grasping. Thus, the most important aspect in managing Generation Y is to drive home the point amongst the different generations involved, that the attainment of the MAF's mission, roles and tasks supersede any differences that crop up in the workplace. This would allow knowledge to be shared in harmonious and mutual-trusting working atmosphere for the betterment of the organisation.

Managing Generation Y in the MAF should also look into its succession planning. The MAF has to manage Generation Y well as they will form 75% of the workforce by the year 2025.⁴¹ Hence, the MAF has to take advantage of its understanding of the management of Generation Y and transform that knowledge into management techniques to bring out the best in Generation Y for them to succeed at the helms of the organisation later. In this context, the Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers when working with Generation Y-ers in the MAF should implement some efficient management techniques. First, the older generations must provide the necessary leadership to Generation Y through mentorship programmes. This mentorship will help Generation Y to acclimatise to the MAF leadership requirement. At the same time, they will be able to learn the extent of the MAF tradition, culture, custom and values. Through this process, they will be able to increase their self-motivation and problem solving skills.

Another aspect of managing Generation Y is to overcome the perception of lack of respect for authority. The older generations must understand that Generation Y-ers have been raised by their parents to question everything. They must realise that Generation Y-ers expect a relationship with the older generations like the one they have with their parents. Therefore, the Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers have to understand that asking questions often lead to answers and solutions that are actually more efficient and effective. On the other hand, Generation Y officers and soldiers should learn not to question every single decision made and give their superior officers a chance to adapt to their style of work.

Finally, in the perspective of managing value/ethic in the workplace, managing Generation Y involves handling the delicate issue of poor work ethic amongst the younger generation. Generation Y-ers expect work to be flexible and fun. Therefore, leaders/commanders ought to keep Generation Y-ers engaged by implementing policies that reflect Generation Y-ers' need for connection to the world outside of work such as flexible work schedules and develop a work culture that is pleasant and positive.

In turn, Generation Y officers and soldiers may have to readjust some of their attitudes about task/work given in which they have traditionally been expected to work long hours. They may need to demonstrate that they are working just as hard as everyone else.

The older generations must inculcate into Generation Y the ethical value of the MAF. This could be done by ensuring Generation Y-ers understand the vision, mission and roles of the MAF. By understanding the higher organisation and the big-picture context of the MAF, they would be able to have clarity on their roles supporting the purpose and goals of the MAF. Regular seminars, workshops and trainings have to be organised to provide opportunities for Generation Y-ers to discuss their job performance, expectation and direction. The older generations must keep Generation Y-ers engaged by devising and implementing policies that reflect Generation Y-ers' need. Challenging incentive programmes that allow Generation Y-ers to progress rapidly within the MAF could also be introduced. Training programmes should be developed to reinforce the strength inherent in Generation Y-ers and overcome their weaknesses such as face-to-face interpersonal communication.

⁴¹ E. Dhawan, Gen-Y workforce and workplace are out of sync, Forbeswoman, 2012, p.1.

All in all, managing the different generations in the MAF requires every generation to adapt themselves to the other generations in the workplace. Therefore, an approach for managing Generation Y is by resolving the differing perceptions and conciliation of opinions of the different generations. The older generations have to accept Generation Y and the technological expertise they bring. In turn, Generation Y has to adapt itself to the older generations. When the different generations are able to work harmoniously and trust each other, there is a strong chance that the future of managing Generation Y will be effective and efficient.

CONCLUSION

The MAF has a workforce comprising of different generation groups and Generation Y is the growing segment amongst its personnel. It is perceived that there is tension among the different generations in the workplace. Faced with this predicament, managing Generation Y well is very important in order to create harmony and mutual trust in the work place for the betterment of the MAF.

Categorisation of a generation is based on time span and is also in accordance with a particular social environment that shapes the characteristics, values and beliefs of that generation. Generation Y is the generation born after 1980 and entered the workforce after the year 2000. This generation is technology savvy, confident and possesses distinct needs, desires and attitudes. These characteristics differ from that possessed by the Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers. The challenges of managing Generation Y are mainly due to differences in characteristics of the different generations working in the unique environment of the MAF. The challenges are primarily generated from differences of perception

and misconception of human resource management, leadership and professional ethics in the workplace.

Generation Y will take over the leadership of the MAF in the future. Therefore, managing Generation Y effectively is important in order to achieve the intended individual and organisational behaviour in the MAF. In turn, an understanding of the organisational behaviour would facilitate effective communication that promotes positive organisation culture in the MAF. Introduction of effective HRM is one of the ways to enhance the process of managing Generation Y. This could be done through the development of a consistent, aligned collection of practices, programmes and policies which could facilitate the achievement of the organisation's strategic objectives. Through good management, the different generations would be able to work well together in the workplace. Similarly, application of good command, leadership and management practices in the MAF could help the older generations in formulating effective management techniques in managing Generation Y and at the same time help Generation Y to understand the misperceptions and opposing viewpoints of the different generations. Equally important is the inculcation of positive ethical values amongst Generation Y that would promote harmonious and mutual-trust amongst the different generations in the MAF.

In conclusion, it is pertinent to realise that in managing people, military leaders and commanders must be able to see through the strength and weaknesses of its personnel to manage them well. Importantly, the MAF must seize the understanding of Generation Y and transform that knowledge into a strategy for managing and developing Generation Y's ability towards a harmonious as well as an effective and efficient organisation.

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SESUAI DENGAN KONSEP PERTAHANAN MENYELURUH (HANRUH) YANG DITERAPKAN DALAM DASAR PERTAHANAN NEGARA, PENUBUHAN LEBIH BANYAK REJIMEN ASKAR WATANIAH MENJADI SATU KEPERLUAN BAGI MEMANTAPKAN PERTAHANAN NEGARA.

oleh Major Siti Haizam binti Mohd Zin

-SINOPSIS-

Artikel ini membincangkan tentang sejauhmana konsep pertahanan menyeluruh (HANRUH) dalam Dasar Pertahanan Negara (DPN) yang diaplikasikan melalui penubuhan Rejimen Askar Wataniah diperlukan bagi memantapkan pertahanan negara. HANRUH merupakan strategi ketiga yang digariskan dalam DPN selepas strategi Deterrence dan Forward Defence. Bentuk pertahanan dalam HANRUH melibatkan secara menyeluruh dan bersepada agensi-agensi kerajaan, sektor swasta, badan-badan bukan kerajaan serta rakyat jelata dalam mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara. Konsep HANRUH terutamanya komponen kesiapsiagaan keselamatan berjaya diterapkan secara langsung dengan penubuhan Rejimen Askar Wataniah (RAW) melalui peranannya sebagai medium utama untuk seluruh masyarakat menyumbang tenaga dan mempertaruhkan nyawa bersama angkatan tentera demi mempertahankan negara tercinta.

PENDAHULUAN

Dunia kini menghadapi ancaman peperangan yang bukan lagi bersifat konvensional malah lebih mencabar, berbentuk assymetrical dan futuristic. Bagi mengatasi peperangan secara global, Dasar Pertahanan Negara sentiasa dikaji dan ditambah baik selaras dengan keperluan pertahanan berteraskan pembangunan keupayaan aset dan sumber manusia yang mampu menjamin kedaulatan dan kepentingan negara. Menyedari kesan konflik atau ancaman pada masa kini melibatkan pemusnahan harta benda dan kehilangan nyawa masyarakat awam, Dasar Pertahanan Negara (DPN) telah menggariskan konsep pertahanan menyeluruh (HANRUH) sebagai strategi ketiga dalam pelaksanaan pertahanan selepas Strategi Deterrence dan Forward Defence.

Pertahanan Menyeluruh atau HANRUH ialah satu bentuk pertahanan yang melibatkan secara menyeluruh dan bersepada agensi-agensi kerajaan, sektor swasta, badan-badan bukan kerajaan serta rakyat jelata dalam mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara. Konsep HANRUH bukanlah satu konsep pertahanan baru kerana ianya telah dilaksanakan sejak Perang Dingin lagi oleh beberapa negara seperti Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland dan Singapura. Walau bagaimanapun, di Malaysia, konsep HANRUH yang mula diilhamkan pada tahun 1986 hanya dapat direalisasikan

selepas mesyuarat Majlis Keselamatan Negara (MKN) pada September 2006. MKN merupakan badan induk yang bertanggungjawab terhadap perlaksanaan aktiviti HANRUH.



Angkatan Tentera Malaysia Menjadi Benteng Untuk Mempertahankan Negara

Objektif utama penubuhan HANRUH juga hampir serupa dengan negara-negara lain iaitu menyelaras usaha dan tindakan yang melibatkan sektor awam dan swasta khususnya dalam penggunaan sumber atau aset mereka untuk mempertahankan negara. Komponen HANRUH yang menjadi nadi penggerak konsep tersebut juga tidak jauh berbeza dengan negara-negara luar iaitu pertahanan psikologi, ketenteraan, awam, ekonomi dan keselamatan. Justeru komponen HANRUH di negara ini dibahagikan kepada 5 teras utama iaitu Keutuhan Psikologi, Penyatuan

dan Perpaduan Masyarakat, Kesiagaan Awam, Keutuhan Ekonomi dan Kesiagaan Keselamatan. Berlandaskan penerapan nilai dan kekuatan fizikal mahupun mental, setiap komponen dalam konsep HANRUH bertujuan untuk meningkatkan semangat nasionalisme dan patriotisme di kalangan rakyat jelata selain menyediakan tahap kesiapsiagaan yang tinggi agar masyarakat awam berupaya membantu dalam perperangan yang kini tahap dan bentuknya sukar diramalkan.

Ringkasnya, melalui konsep HANRUH, 27 juta rakyat Malaysia tanpa mengira kaum, bangsa, latarbelakang ekonomi dan kedudukan bertanggungjawab sepenuhnya menggembung tenaga dalam mempertahankan keselamatan negara. Perubahan dalam senario perperangan menunjukkan tugas menjaga keamanan dan, kepentingan strategik negara mahupun mendaulatkan bumi tercinta ini tidak lagi harus dipikul oleh anggota keselamatan sahaja. Platform paling strategik oleh masyarakat awam untuk turut serta memainkan peranan lebih maksimum dalam mengaplikasikan konsep HANRUH ialah dengan menyertai pasukan sukarela Tentera Darat atau dikenali sebagai Askar Wataniah. Sinonim sebagai benteng terakhir Tentera Darat dan barisan kedua dalam mempertahankan kedaulatan pertiwi, anggota dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah dilatih secara profesional sama seperti angkatan tetap bagi memahirkan mereka dengan selok belok perperangan dan kaedah menangani ancaman.

KONSEP HANRUH DAN PERKEMBANGAN REJIMEN ASKAR WATANIAH

Penambahan kompeni Askar Wataniah saban tahun menggambarkan keperluan, minat dan kesedaran masyarakat awam terhadap kepentingan melibatkan diri dalam pertahanan negara semakin meningkat. Sebagai contoh, sehingga penghujung tahun 2012 sebanyak 222 kawasan Parlimen mempunyai kompeni AW mereka sendiri. Persoalannya benarkah pertahanan negara akan lebih mantap dengan kehadiran pasukan simpanan sukarela daripada Tentera Darat ini? Sesungguhnya memang tidak dinafikan Rejimen Askar Wataniah memainkan peranan yang sangat penting dalam memperkuuhkan jentera keselamatan dan pertahanan negara berdasarkan penelitian-penelitian berikut:



Askar Wataniah Sebagai Benteng Pertahanan Kedua

Pertama, sejarah telah membuktikan penglibatan menyeluruh masyarakat awam dalam pertahanan negara melalui penubuhan Angkatan Sukarela sangat membantu dalam usaha menjaga keamanan semasa Perang Dunia Kedua, darurat 1948-1960 dan konfrantasi. Penglibatan dalam pertahanan nasional pasukan ini bermula dengan penubuhan Unit Sukarela Tentera Darat Negeri-Negeri Selat pada tahun 1861 di Pulau Pinang dengan nama *Penang Volunteers*, diikuti dengan penubuhan unit sukarela di Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu pada tahun 1902 dikenali sebagai *Malay State Volunteer Rifles*. Pasukan sukarela ini kemudian terus berkembang dengan penubuhan beberapa pasukan baru seperti *Malay Federated Malay States Volunteer Force*, *Unfederated Malay States Volunteer Force* dan *Straits Settlement Volunteer Force*. Pasukan sukarela ini telah diaturgerak dan berganding bahu bersama-sama pasukan tentera tetap dari Britain, India dan Australia untuk mempertahankan Tanah Melayu dan Singapura semasa meletusnya Perang Dunia Kedua.

Semasa berlakunya Darurat Tanah Melayu pada 1948, Pasukan Kawalan Kampung (Home Guard) yang terdiri daripada sukarelawan perang telah membantu mengawal keamanan dan keselamatan kampung. Pasukan ini yang terus ingin menyumbang khidmat sukarela selepas darurat akhirnya berkembang sebagai pasukan baru dikenali sebagai Askar Wataniah yang ditubuhkan secara rasmi pada 1Jun 1958 di bawah kuasa Ordinan Tentera Darat Simpanan. Seterusnya Askar Wataniah memainkan peranan sangat penting dalam

membantu negara menghadapi era konfrantasi dengan Indonesia. Ternyata konsep HANRUH yang menetapkan bantuan nasional daripada masyarakat awam mampu diaplikasikan dengan cemerlang dengan penubuhan lebih banyak angkatan Askar Wataniah. Penglibatan pasukan ini sejak sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua memanifestasikan bahawa pasukan sukarela tersebut sudah cukup matang, berpengalaman dan profesional untuk terus menggembung tenaga memantapkan barisan pertahanan Malaysia.



Artis Turut Sama Berganding Bahu Untuk Mempertahankan Negara

Kedua, penyertaan anggota awam dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah mampu membentuk jati diri dengan menyemai sifat cintakan Negara dan sanggup berkorban demi mempertahankannya. Sifat jati diri seumpama ini perlu dipupuk dan ditanamkan dalam setiap individu melalui aktiviti penyuburan semangat patriotisme. Tidak keterlaluan jika dikatakan sifat jati diri di kalangan rakyat Negara jiran seperti Singapura dan Indonesia lebih kental dan utuh terutamanya dalam isu-isu keselamatan dan pertahanan negara. Misalnya, isu harga bekalan air dianggap oleh rakyat Singapura sebagai isu pertahanan yang menggugat kedaulatan negara sehingga berlaku sedikit ketegangan dalam hubungan Kerajaan Malaysia khasnya Negeri Johor dan Singapura pada suatu masa dahulu. Sebaliknya isu ini dipandang sebagai isu ekonomi sahaja oleh kebanyakan rakyat negara ini. Kajian mendapati rakyat Singapura telah disuntik dengan semangat patriotisme melalui konsep Pertahanan Mutlak yang diamalkan sejak tahun 1984 dan perlaksanaan kerahan tenaga kepada belia dan remaja negara itu. Di Malaysia, walaupun wujud beberapa konsep dan program yang hampir serupa seperti HANRUH, Pusat Latihan Khidmat Negara (PLKN) dan Kursus Biro Tatanegara (BTN) namun perlaksanaannya masih di peringkat strategik sehingga keberkesanan program tersebut masih belum boleh dibanggakan.

Sehubungan itu, langkah terbaik untuk menyuburkan nilai-nilai kesetiaan terhadap negara tercinta di kalangan masyarakat awam adalah berganding bahu bersama dengan anggota Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) menggembung tenaga mempertahankan negara melalui penyertaan dalam Askar Wataniah. Menyedari hakikat ini, semakin ramai rakyat Malaysia mendaftar diri sebagai anggota Rejimen Askar Wataniah termasuk golongan artis dan selebriti. Jati diri dan kekentalan hati untuk turut sama memperjuangkan maruah dan kedaulatan tanah air dibuktikan oleh segelintir masyarakat berkerjaya tersebut yang sanggup mengorbankan masa dan tenaga menjadi sukarelawan Rejimen Askar Wataniah. Penyertaan mereka juga membuktikan kejayaan konsep HANRUH iaitu pertahanan menyeluruh dalam dasar pertahanan negara kerana semakin ramai anggota masyarakat sedar tentang tanggungjawab menjaga dan memastikan keamanan tidak terletak di tangan anggota tentera sahaja. Sesungguhnya Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) sangat menghargai kesedaran yang ditunjukkan oleh orang ramai ini seperti dinyatakan oleh Panglima Tentera Darat, Tan Sri Datuk Zulkifli Zainal Abidin dalam ucapannya sempena Pelancaran Kompeni Askar Wataniah Kawasan Setiawangsa, Batu, Bukit Bintang, Lembah Pantai, Seputeh dan Cheras di Rejimen 515 Askar Wataniah iaitu “kesedaran orang ramai menyertai Askar Wataniah adalah satu pengorbanan besar yang tidak ternilai dengan wang ringgit”.

Ketiga, benteng pertahanan negara akan bertambah kuat dengan bantuan pasukan simpanan yang mahir, cekap dan setaraf dengan angkatan tetap dalam menguruskan ancaman peperangan. Ini kerana walaupun status mereka sekadar sukarelawan, Askar Wataniah tetap menjalani latihan atas ketenteraan yang bertujuan menyediakan anggota dan pasukan yang mampu bergandingan dengan pasukan tetap sekiranya diperlukan. Konsep latihan ala ketenteraan amat diperlukan untuk mempersiapkan komuniti awam dengan kemahiran peperangan bagi membolehkan anggota awam diaturgerak pada sebilang masa dan keadaan. Latihan ini juga mendidik masyarakat awam dengan gaya dan budaya tentera yang penuh disiplin dan sentiasa akur dengan segala arahan pihak atasannya di mana iaanya akan memberi impak positif dalam pembentukan personaliti individu terutamanya sifat berani, setia dan sentiasa mendokong kedaulatan undang-undang. Sekiranya setiap warga Malaysia bersemangat waja dan sanggup berkorban mempertahankan maruah bangsa dan negara hingga ke titisan darah yang terakhir, matlamat ketiga Dasar Pertahanan Negara melalui perlaksanaan konsep HANRUH pasti tercapai.



Askar Wataniah Terdiri Daripada Pelbagai Latar Belakang Ekonomi

Keempat, Askar Wataniah berupaya menarik minat pelbagai golongan masyarakat dengan latar belakang akademik, sosio ekonomi dan profesion yang berbeza untuk turut mencurahkan khidmat bakti kepada negara. Terdiri daripada enam elemen iaitu Tempur, Bantuan Tempur, Bantuan Perkhidmatan, Pakar, PALAPES dan Pengurusan Sempadan, setiap kor dan rejimen dalam Tentera Darat Malaysia memiliki pasukan askar wataniahnya sendiri kecuali Rejimen Askar Melayu Diraja (RAMD), Rejimen Renjer Diraja (RRD), Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (KAGAT), Rejimen Gerak Khas (GGK) dan Pasukan Udara Tentera Darat (PUTD). Oleh itu, orang ramai yang menyertai Askar Wataniah terutama golongan profesional akan ditempatkan mengikut kepakaran masing-masing. Misalnya, seorang jurutera yang menyertai Askar Wataniah akan diserap di dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah kepunyaan Rejimen Askar Jurutera Diraja. Ini bermakna pertahanan Negara dibentuk daripada tenaga mahir dengan meminimumkan gangguan terhadap keadaan ekonomi dan sosial negara. Kehadiran anggota awam dengan kepakaran dan kemahiran tertentu sangat berguna dalam sistem keselamatan terutamanya di saat negara bakal menghadapi krisis perperangan yang mungkin tidak terjangkau oleh pemikiran normal.

Kelima, penglibatan anggota awam dalam Askar Wataniah dapat mengeratkan hubungan antara kaum. Sebagaimana kita sedia maklum, penglibatan masyarakat bukan bumiputra di dalam pasukan keselamatan negara adalah sangat menyedihkan di mana kurang 5% daripada jumlah anggota keselamatan merupakan kaum bukan Melayu sedangkan tugas mempertahankan bumi tercinta ini adalah tanggungjawab semua warganegara dan bukannya patut digalas hanya oleh kaum tertentu sahaja. Jurang ekonomi biasanya dijadikan faktor utama oleh

kaum minoriti untuk mengelak tanggungjawab terhadap negara namun peluang melibatkan diri dalam Askar Wataniah dapat mengatasi masalah ini. Setiap warga bebas mencari kekayaan atau mengaut keuntungan dari hasil bumi Malaysia tetapi tanggungjawab memelihara keharmoniannya adalah tanggungjawab bersama yang harus dipikul dengan apa cara sekalipun. Di sinilah pentingnya mewujudkan Rejimen Askar Wataniah di setiap kawasan Parlimen agar semua pihak dapat melunaskan tanggungjawab masing-masing terhadap negara. Pertahanan negara pasti bertambah mantap dengan konsep HANRUH yang direalisasikan bersama oleh seluruh rakyat tanpa prejedis terhadap perbezaan bangsa, kaum dan agama.



Malaysia Perlu Sentiasa Bersiapsiaga

Melalui penelitian-penelitian di atas didapati penglibatan anggota awam dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah memenuhi keperluan kesiapsiagaan keselamatan yang merupakan antara komponen dalam perlaksanaan konsep Pertahanan Menyeluruh. Memang tidak dapat dinafikan pertahanan negara akan bertambah mantap dan kukuh jika barisan pertahanan bukan sahaja terdiri daripada anggota Angkatan Tentera Malaysia malah anggota awam yang dilatih secara profesional dan berupaya melaksanakan tugas operasi setaraf dengan anggota tetap. Namun begitu, rancangan pelaksanaan HANRUH tidak seharusnya terhad kepada keperluan untuk menghadapi ancaman keselamatan seperti konflik atau peperangan sahaja. Perlaksanaan konsep HANRUH akan lebih praktikal dan bermakna jika rancangan pelaksanaannya berteraskan keupayaan menangani cabaran dan krisis negara seperti bencana alam atau krisis tenaga. Sehubungan itu, semua komponen dalam HANRUH harus dititikberatkan bagi memantapkan sistem pertahanan dan keselamatan Negara.

Kesejahteraan negara terletak kepada suasana masyarakat yang hidup bersatu padu dan harmoni tanpa mengira perbezaan status, kaum, agama, budaya dan negeri. Negara berusaha untuk melahirkan masyarakat bersikap penyayang, toleransi, muafakat, berkongsi wawasan, mengamalkan nilai murni dan bermaklumat melalui aplikasi konsep HANRUH yang didasari oleh keutuhan penyatuan dan perpaduan masyarakat. Sesungguhnya kemantapan integrasi nasional, integrasi budaya dan tanpa perbezaan wilayah adalah asas bagi merealisasikan keutuhan Malaysia. Masyarakat yang bersatu padu pula perlu mempunyai kekuatan mental dan keyakinan diri melalui keutuhan psikologi. Komponen ini jika dikembangkan dengan jayanya bakal mewujudkan rakyat yang mempunyai ciri-ciri positif seperti semangat cintakan negara, berani dan sanggup berkorban demi negara, tahu peranan masing-masing semasa aman dan perang, mengamalkan nilai agama dan moral yang tinggi, tidak terpengaruh dengan dakyah musuh dan mempunyai jasmani yang cergas.

Bagi terus merealisasikan konsep HANRUH, negara yang didiami oleh rakyat yang bersatu padu dan mempunyai ketahanan psikologi pula perlu dilengkapi dengan keutuhan ekonomi. Dalam konteks ini, kerajaan dan sektor swasta berganding bahu dan bersatu memastikan kemampuan dan kekuatan ekonomi berterusan, memastikan indeks ekonomi negara berada di landasan yang betul, bekerjasama memastikan stok simpanan barang perlu, sumber tenaga dan air tidak terganggu serta mewujudkan keseimbangan antara permintaan dan penawaran keperluan asas. Semasa menghadapi bencana mahupun peperangan, konsep Pertahanan Menyeluruh perlu menyaksikan kesediaan agensi-agensi awam, pihak swasta, pertubuhan sukarela dan orang awam dalam mengadakan kemudahan perlindungan nyawa dan harta benda mereka. Kesiapsiagaan awam ini melibatkan usaha-usaha pembekalan kemudahan asas dan bantuan logistik yang berterusan di dalam keadaan perang, darurat dan bencana.

Jelaslah konsep HANRUH yang diperkenalkan semenjak 26 tahun lepas hanya akan memberi kesan sinergi dalam memantapkan pertahanan negara dengan aktiviti dan kaedah yang dapat menyempurnakan kesemua rancangan dalam komponen HANRUH. Kesiapsiagaan keselamatan yang menjadi tunjang

kepada penglibatan masyarakat awam dalam aktiviti ketenteraan merupakan faktor utama kepada keperluan mendesak penubuhan lebih banyak Rejimen Askar Wataniah. Walau bagaimanapun, penyemaian semangat cintakan negara yang bakal mendorong seluruh rakyat mengambil bahagian dalam sistem pertahanan juga dapat dicapai melalui pelbagai inisiatif lain. Antaranya ialah penyuburan sifat keperwiraan, cintakan pertiwi dan setia kepada negara hendaklah dimulakan daripada awal secara berterusan di semua peringkat usia bak kata pepatah ‘melentur buluh biarlah daripada rebung’. Taman didikan kanak-kanak, sekolah, universiti tempatan dan kolej swasta mempunyai peranan masing-masing dalam memupuk generasi baru agar dapat menghayati erti kemerdekaan dan usaha untuk mengekalkannya. Masyarakat juga harus dapat digerakkan untuk mencintai negara dengan memperluaskan peranan penubuhan Rukun Tetangga, Jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung dan lain-lain. Jawatankuasa seumpama ini harus merancang kursus dan latihan yang dapat menjana semangat patriotisme di kalangan kelompok luar bandar ini. Sekiranya seluruh masyarakat Malaysia telah dibangunkan dengan jati diri kental dan semangat cintakan negara yang utuh, nescaya sambutan kemerdekaan yang bakal diraikan pada tanggal 31 Ogos setiap tahun akan menggambarkan klimaks daripada rasa cinta rakyat yang telah dipupuk dengan pelbagai cara sebelum ini.

Memperkuuhkan pertahanan melalui penglibatan seluruh masyarakat juga bukan satu usaha yang sukar jika rakyat yakin terhadap keupayaan tempur negara. Sebagai contoh, Singapura telah memperuntukkan 7% daripada Keluaran Dalam Negeri Kasar setiap tahun untuk perbelanjaan pertahanan agar rakyatnya mempunyai perasaan tenang bahawa negara mereka mampu menggungguli mana-mana pererangan dengan keupayaan pelbagai aset perang yang canggih lagi sofistikated. Ini merupakan antara faktor mengapa konsep Pertahanan Mutlak begitu berjaya di negara jiran itu. Di Malaysia, walaupun perbelanjaan pertahanan jauh untuk dibandingkan dengan Singapura, namun dewasa ini perolehan pelbagai aset perang setanding dengan negara serantau menjadi agenda utama negara. Pemodenan aset Angkatan Tentera Malaysia kini menggambarkan pasukan keselamatan tersebut mampu membentuk ketumbukan perang yang berupaya melewati garisan sempadan darat, udara dan maritim.



Tembakan roket SS-30 yang dilancarkan pada demonstrasi Sistem Roket Lancar Berganda (MLRS) Astros II.

Hal ini dapat dibuktikan dengan perolehan pakej persenjataan ASTROS 2 Sistem Roket Lancaran Berganda (SRLB) dan perolehan kereta kebal yang dilengkapi dengan sistem radar dan penangkis serangan kapal terbang kepunyaan Tentera Darat, perolehan kapal selam *Scorpene* yang berupaya melengkapkan Tentera Laut Diraja Malaysia dengan aspek peperangan menyeluruh dan pemilikan pesawat pejuang terbaik buatan Rusia iaitu *Sukhoi Su-30 MKM* oleh Tentera Udara Diraja Malaysia. Peningkatan keupayaan pertahanan ini pasti memberi ruang yang selesa untuk rakyat membuat pilihan bijak samada untuk turut sama berjuang bersama angkatan perang yang bukan sahaja kredibel, serba boleh dan mahir tetapi juga dibekalkan dengan pelbagai peralatan pertahanan moden. Pemodenan kelengkapan perang ini juga menunjukkan Angkatan Tentera Malaysia komited dalam memastikan keperluan masyarakat awam terutamanya ketenangan minda dan jiwa diambilkira sebelum menyeru mereka untuk turut sama memikul senjata bagi mempertahankan maruah bangsa dan negara bersesuaian dengan Teori Abraham Maslow. Teori ini menyatakan bahawa manusia memerlukan ransangan yang mampu memenuhi keperluannya sebelum berjaya mencapai matlamat.

Kesimpulannya, konsep Pertahanan Menyeluruh yang merupakan strategi ketiga dalam Dasar Pertahanan Negara dapat dijayakan dengan penglibatan komuniti awam dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah seterusnya meningkatkan kesiapsiagaan keselamatan dalam konsep Pertahanan Menyeluruh. Penyertaan orang ramai dalam pasukan sukarela ini mampu menjana masyarakat awam dengan jati diri kental lagi kukuh, bersatu padu, berdisiplin, mahir dan profesional di medan tempur yang pastinya memberi impak positif dalam memperkuuhkan sistem pertahanan Malaysia. Walau bagaimanapun barisan pertahanan negara akan bertambah kukuh dan mantap sekiranya semua elemen dalam konsep HANRUH dapat dipenuhi kerana kerajaan telah menetapkan bahawa objektif utama Dasar Pertahanan Negara adalah untuk melindungi dan mempertahankan kepentingan-kepentingan Malaysia berteraskan kepada kedaulatan negara, keutuhan wilayah serta kesejahteraan ekonomi. Oleh itu selain daripada kesiagaan keselamatan, keutuhan psikologi, perpaduan rakyat, keutuhan ekonomi dan kesiagaan awam perlu dilaksanakan secara efektif dalam memastikan Dasar Pertahanan Negara terus dapat diperkuuhkan.

Peningkatan pertahanan negara berdasarkan konsep HANRUH yang juga diaplikasikan secara sistematik dalam Rejimen Askar Wataniah juga boleh dicapai melalui penyuburan semangat patriotisme di kalangan rakyat daripada setiap generasi selain daripada membina keyakinan rakyat untuk menghulur bantuan nasional dengan mempersiapkan aset perang berteknologi tinggi bagi meningkatkan kesiapsiagaan tempur Angkatan Tentera Malaysia. Pendek kata, usaha memantapkan pertahanan Negara memerlukan komitmen dan kerjasama menyeluruh daripada segenap lapisan masyarakat serta merupakan usaha berterusan yang tidak bakal ada penamatnya.

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INVOLVEMENT OF THE MALAYSIAN ARMY IN THE NATIONAL BLUE OCEAN STRATEGY (NBOS): ISSUES OF RELEVANCY



by Capt James Hodge

-SYNOPSIS-

The Malaysian Army is fighting the perception that it has become less relevant in the absence of a real threat to national security. At the present time this can be viewed through the prism of a global economic slowdown and a desire by the Malaysian Government to expand the economy and raise living standards. This has placed strain on new programs for the Army. The National Blue Ocean Strategy is a government program that fully involves the Army through the innovative and efficient use of resources. However; it does not make the Army more relevant as a matter of course. Ultimately, the Army will always be relevant to the nation because as an armed force it is the only organisation that can defend the homeland and neutralize armed threats to the national interest. In order to reshape this perception of irrelevance the Army must provide government with capability and ensure it has forces that can respond to the needs of government, be it within the sovereign territory of Malaysia or overseas.

INTRODUCTION

The Malaysian Armed Forces and the Malaysian Army will always be relevant to the Nation as they fulfil a function that no other area of the government can. The lack of a current threat to national security and such events as a global economic slowdown will always lead people to question the relevance of the military and defence expenditure. Ultimately, the Army must shape this discussion by the delivery of capability, perennially, with the view of service to the nation and acting in the national interest.

The National Blue Ocean Strategy is an innovative and effective Government Plan but it is based on a whole of government approach which will not in itself solve the question of the Army's relevance. For the Army to be relevant it must demonstrate to government that no other part of the government can execute its function or deliver capability in the national interest in the same way. Only the Army and its leadership can do this.

THE ARMY AND NBOS

The National Blue Ocean Strategy involves all arms of the Government and is an important strategy for Malaysia to eliminate waste and maximise the use of government resources but it will not make the Army more

relevant to society and the nation except, in a superficial way. The Army is involved in the National Blue Ocean Strategy through the use of its detention facilities for certain prisoners, greater cooperation with the Police on border security and the agricultural use of its land. All of these programs are worthwhile and have benefits including inter agency-cooperation with both the Police and Prisons Department. In the multi-agency, complex wars amongst the people of the Middle East has particular relevance; however, none of these programs are related to the Malaysian Army's core function and consequently the National Blue Ocean Strategy does not make the Army more relevant to the Nation.

ARMYS CAPABILITY

In a democratic country such as Malaysia, an Army exists only for two reasons. One: to defend the country and two: to protect the national interest. At the present time Malaysia does not face a direct threat to its national security. This is the same situation faced by most professional militaries in the world today. So, the question that must be answered by the Malaysian Army is how do we best serve the Nation as an Armed Force? What capabilities must we provide to do that? To use one example, the last decade has seen a rise in transnational threats, particularly terrorism. If a Malaysian citizen were kidnapped in another country, such as Thailand, would the Malaysian Army have the capability to mount a rescue

operation? Is it conceivable the President would ask for this capability? This is the core question that must be solved by the Military. How do we best serve the national interest and what capabilities do we need to do that. The reason this is so important is that it provides focus to the Army for training to develop capability, it leads to the procurement of the necessary equipment to support the capability, and most importantly, if the capability is requested by government, the Army can say to government it has the capability and it is ready to execute the mission. Successfully focused training will then lead to successful execution and a belief by government that the Army is a force to be relied upon to act in the national interest.

An example of the development of capability in the national interest is a United States example, following the Oil embargoes carried out by the OPEC nations in the 1970s. As a consequence of the Oil embargoes, The President of the United States determined that a lack of access to sufficient supplies of petroleum constituted a threat to the national security of the United States and that furthermore, the US Military must have forces capable of deploying at short notice to secure oil supplies. This led to the development of the Rapid Deployment Force in 1983. The capability allowed the United States to deploy a Brigade of US Marines anywhere in the world in a very short time to protect its interests. The US Military actually took three years to develop this capability and the concept of a Rapid Deployment Force was copied in numerous other parts of the world including Australia. It is a clear example of a military force understanding the national security interest and developing a capability to meet the need. In short the relevance of the military is directly linked to the ability of its leadership to respond to the circumstances it is placed in.

ISSUES OF RELEVANCY

The situation faced by the Malaysian Army is not new. The very same situation was faced by the Australian Army as recently as 1999. The Australian Army was declining in its share of government budget, capability was stagnating and the function of the military was being called into question by sections of society. The Army had fought gallantly in World War 2 to defend the country against the threat of Japanese Invasion and was universally regarded as having contributed enormously to saving the country. This perception changed with Australian involvement in the war in South Vietnam. The Australian Army fought in South Vietnam against the Vietnamese Communists

from 1962 to 1971. The Vietnam War became unpopular with the people of Australia, principally, through the death of Australian soldiers in a war that did not appear vital to national security, and consequently, the war became politically unpopular. As a result, the Australian Army did not deploy overseas in large sized groups for over twenty years and all missions were UN sanctioned.

Eventually, there was a change of direction under Prime Minister John Howard. Australian soldiers were deployed to East Timor in large numbers in September 1999. Since that time the Australian Army has continually been on deployment as government confidence in its ability to deliver capability in the national interest has risen. The flow on effect to the Army has been greater access to the Government Budget, improved standing of the Army in the eyes of the public, increased recruitment and the development of new capabilities with a greater share of government resources. Importantly, the Army now has the ability to advise the Government that it is the only agency capable of executing its particular function.



CAPABILITY DEVELOPMENT

The development of capability must be balanced by political realities, remembering that the Army of a democracy exists to serve the government. This may place constraints on the Army. In 2005 the Japanese Army deployed for the first time since World War 2 outside Japan to Southern Iraq. The role approved by the Japanese Government was purely one of civil reconstruction. The Japanese Forces were not allowed to engage in any offensive action whatsoever. Likewise, the Malaysian Army must be able to ascertain what

capabilities are likely to be required by Malaysian Government and what courses of action the government would actually be willing to pursue with armed force. For example, the United States conducted a raid to kill Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan without notifying the Pakistani authorities. Is it likely than Malaysian Government would be willing to pursue a course of action like this? If the answer is no then there is very little point trying to develop such a capability particularly if there is no feasible threat profile.

The development of an Army's capability must also be influenced by the likelihood of future events. Armed conflict is an enduring part of the human experience and this is unlikely to change. The 21st century has been characterised by many political leaders as the Asian Century. India is developing economically and the Chinese economic boom is sustaining the economies of several other countries, whilst, at the same time China is a burgeoning military power. The United States has committed itself to involvement in the region and many commentators believe this will inevitably lead to armed conflict between the United States and China. It is conceivable that direct armed conflict will not occur but rather proxy wars within Southeast Asia. As a high functioning democracy Malaysia will inevitably be involved in these events even if only diplomatically and must prepare and develop capability to be involved in armed conflict wherever the national interest is involved.



Economic growth in Southeast Asia will place strain on the region's natural resources as there is increasing competition in the region for access to those resources. The only way to sustain economic growth at the present

time is to increase consumption of natural resources particularly, as it applies to energy. It is possible for armed conflict to occur in the pursuit of those resources. Malaysia is in possession of abundant supplies of petroleum and natural gas. It must always bear in mind that these resources would be attractive to other nations if they felt they could acquire them with minimal risk. Consequently, a strong and capable Army is vital to the national defence.

REASONS OF RELEVANCY

The Malaysian Army has 4 good reasons to be able to draw support from the civil population and to remain relevant to government. These are: disaster relief programs, the heroic defence of Malaysia during WW2, the defeat of Communist Insurgents during the emergency and the Chief of Defence Force's position on the National Security Council. Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Relief are particularly important as the Army provides Malaysia's citizens assistance in the time of greatest need. Consider the human impact of floods or storms and the material consequences including the many homes that are lost. The fact that the Army can respond rapidly and provide food and shelter to families is invaluable to the positive perception of the Army and the belief in its relevance. This is highlighted by the fact that Australian Army was the first international force to provide assistance in Aceh in Indonesia following the 2005 Tsunami and this is still remembered by local inhabitants today.

The heroic defence of Malaysia by the Malaysian Army in World War 2 is an excellent point of reference to draw the public's support for the Army. Particularly, the actions and courage of Officers like Lieutenant Adnan who sacrificed his own life in the defence of the homeland against the Japanese. Most citizens of Malaysia are familiar with the story and it highlights the importance of the Army's function. This is also the case with the defeat of the communist insurgents by the Army. There was real danger at the time of the emergency of the country being overrun by communist forces but due to significant sacrifice the Army was able to prevail. These sacrifices should not be forgotten but reinforced to the population as they illustrate why an armed force is essential to national security.

It is fundamentally important that the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Army have representation at the highest levels of government on national security matters. The Chief of Defence Force's membership of the National Security Council provides a forum for him to articulate

the role of the Defence Force and also to advise on the capability that can be provided by the Defence Force on any matter affecting national security or any national emergencies. This is critical to establishing relevance to political leaders and to government. It is also important that effective professional relationships are fostered by the Military with political leaders. Ultimately this allows the Military to remain relevant to government and to be in a position to influence debate on national security matters and allows the Army to illustrate a preparedness to provide capability at short notice.

PROFESSIONALISM

One of the fundamental inputs to capability is professionalism and no Army can hope to win the support of its people without professionalism. In the last 10 years the Australian Army has continually deployed on operations and assisted the civil populace through disaster relief operations. These efforts have led to an unprecedented level of confidence in the Australian Army by the civil populace. Ultimately this is driven by one quality; professionalism. Professionalism ensures all tasks and duties are carried out to the highest standard. This attitude must be inculcated by the Malaysian Army in all

Officer Cadets and Recruits and be maintained throughout their service to the nation. The simplest way to do this is to demand high standards of trainees, reinforce positive behaviour, correct negative behaviour and deliver high quality training. New members must understand that the function of the Army is to defend the homeland and protect the national interest. No other part of the government is capable of completing the task.

CONCLUSION

The Malaysian Army is the only Malaysian Government Organisation capable of defending the homeland. For this reason it will always be relevant to the people and the Government. The challenges of the 21st century and the absence of an immediate threat to the country have led to questions about the relevance of the Army. There is a feeling that the National Blue Ocean strategy has redefined the Army's relevance but substantially NBOS is unrelated to the Army's prime function and therefore does not make the Army more relevant. For the Army to redefine the perception of its relevance it must challenge itself honestly to deliver those capabilities now and in the future that will provide for the defence of the homeland and protect the national interest as only an armed force can.



Captain James Hodge enlisted in the Australian Army in 1993. After completion of Recruit and Rifleman training he was posted to the 8/9th Battalion Royal Australian Regiment. In 2003 Captain Hodge entered the Royal Military College Duntroon as a Staff Cadet. Upon graduation in 2004 Captain Hodge was posted to the 5/7th Battalion Royal Australian Regiment (mechanized). In the Battalion Captain Hodge commanded a Rifle Platoon and the Reconnaissance Platoon. During this time Captain Hodge served in Iraq. Upon return from Iraq Captain Hodge served as a Training Platoon Commander at the School of Infantry in 2006 and 2007. Captain Hodge served as the Mortar Platoon Commander before deploying to Afghanistan as a mentor to an Afghan Battalion Operations Officer. Captain Hodge is now the Australian Instructor at Kolej Tentera Darat as part of the Malaysia and Australia Joint Defence Program.

DASAR KESELAMATAN NASIONAL SINGAPURA SATU ANALISA

oleh Mejaz Ahmad Kamal bin Halib

-SINOPSIS-

Singapura mempunyai tanggungjawab untuk menjaga keselamatan dan kesejahteraan rakyatnya. Sebagai sebuah negara kecil yang berdaulat Singapura menggunakan konsep pertahanan menyeluruh “Total Defence” yang berperanan menjadi dasar mengembeling semua usaha menangani ancaman keselamatan meliputi pertahanan ketenteraan, pertahanan ekonomi, pertahanan sosial dan pertahanan psikologi. Asas kepada penggamalan prinsip pertahanan yang dibina berdasarkan model negara Switzerland dan Sweden adalah bertitik tolak daripada keunikan Singapura berbanding dengan negara lain.

PENDAHULUAN

Sebagai sebuah negara berdaulat, Singapura mempunyai tanggungjawab untuk menjaga keselamatan dan kesejahteraan rakyatnya. Singapura menggunakan konsep pertahanan menyeluruh “Total Defence” yang diperkenalkan dalam tahun 1984 berdasarkan model negara Switzerland dan Sweden. Jumlah penduduk yang kecil menghalang Singapura memperuntukkan tenaga kerja yang banyak untuk pertahanan. Pertahanan menyeluruh berperanan menjadi dasar mengembeling semua usaha menangani ancaman keselamatan meliputi pertahanan ketenteraan, pertahanan ekonomi, pertahanan, sosial dan pertahanan psikologi.

Singapura adalah di antara negara yang terkecil didunia dengan populasi penduduk seramai tiga juta orang, keluasan kawasannya 600 kilometer persegi dan tiada sumber asli. Jika mengambil kira “teori kuasa” oleh Hans Morgenthau yang menyatakan saiz, penduduk, ekonomi, ketenteraan dan sumber asli, Singapura sepatutnya hanya menjadi pemerhati dalam arena antarabangsa. Melihat pencapaian Singapura dan peranan yang dimainkannya di arena antarabangsa, jelas membuktikan bahawa saiz bukan sebagai takdir “size is not destiny” untuk penentuan dominasi sesebuah negara. Singapura telah mengambil langkah-langkah yang tepat dan strategik untuk memaksimakan kelebihannya dan berjaya menjadikan Singapura sebuah negara yang maju serta berdaya saing di arena antarabangsa.



Singapura Kini Maju dan Berdaya Saing

LATAR BELAKANG SINGAPURA

Singapura terbentuk dari 63 buah pulau kecil dan antaranya ialah Pulau Jurong, Pulau Tekong dan Pulau Ubin. Penempatan penduduk hanya tertumpu di pulau utama iaitu Pulau Singapura. Kawasan tertinggi ialah Bukit Timah dengan ketinggian 166m. Singapura mengatasi masalah kekurangan kawasan ini dengan projek penambakkan laut untuk pembangunan. Pulau Jurong antara pulau kecil yang digabungkan melalui penambakkan membolehkannya dibangunkan. Singapura disambungkan dengan Malaysia oleh Tambak Johor dan

Link kedua. Hanya 23 peratus dari kawasan di Singapura yang masih dikekalkan hijau dan selebihnya telah dibangunkan.

Penduduk Singapura terdiri dari berbagai bangsa dengan jumlah penduduk seramai hampir 5 juta orang. Pecahan penduduk terdiri dari 74 peratus berbangsa China, 13.4 peratus berbangsa melayu dan 9.2 peratus berbangsa India. Kadar kelahiran yang rendah merupakan salah satu masalah yang dihadapi oleh Singapura untuk membekalkan tenaga kerja mahir untuk perkembangan ekonominya. Pada masa kini Singapura bergantung hampir 70 peratus kepada tenaga kerja asing.



Peta Singapura

KONSEP PERTAHANAN DAN KESELAMATAN

Singapura mengamalkan konsep pertahanan yang unik berbanding negara lain. Oleh yang demikian pernyataan permasalahan dalam kajian ini terbahagi kepada dua iaitu pertama dengan mengamalkan dasar pertahanan nasional yang menyeluruh (*total defense*) yang mana pendekatannya berbeza dengan negara jiran lain. Manakala yang kedua mengenai keunikan Singapura berbanding dengan negara lain yang menyebabkannya memilih strategi sebegitu dalam dasar pertahanan negara.

Seperti negara-negara lain, Singapura mempunyai beberapa isu-isu dengan negara jiran yang ternyata boleh mengeruhkan hubungan. Bagi memastikan kepentingan negaranya terjamin, Singapura sentiasa pro-aktif dan berusaha untuk menyelesaikan isu-isu yang berbangkit ini dengan menggunakan saluran yang betul dan forum yang relevan tanpa menolak penggunaan ketenteraan.

ISU-ISU PERTINDIHAN DAN PERMASALAHAN PERTAHANAN

Pertindihan Tuntutan Terhadap Pulau Batu Putih

Pertindihan tuntutan kawasan seperti Pulau Batu Putih antara Malaysia dan Singapura berjaya diselesaikan dengan membawa kes tersebut ke Mahkamah Keadilan Antarabangsa. Singapura dan Malaysia menerima keputusan tersebut walaupun secara dasarnya ia itu tidak mewajibkan kedua-dua negara terikat dengan keputusan mahkamah. Penyelesaian ini boleh dilihat kepada komitmen kedua-dua negara untuk menggunakan saluran yang betul menyelesaikan sebarang pertelingkahan.

Namun demikian pertindihan kawasan ini masih belum selesai secara total apabila Malaysia mengemukakan rayuan kepada keputusan tersebut. Pertindihan kawasan juga melibatkan kawasan Zon Ekonomi Eksklusif (EEZ) yang bertindih antara Malaysia dan Singapura. Kawasan ini sering menjadi isu sensitif apabila nelayan Malaysia dihalau oleh pihak berkuasa Singapura kerana menangkap ikan di kawasan tersebut.

Kebanjiran Pendatang Asing

Kepesatan ekonomi Singapura menarik ramai pendatang asing ke negara tersebut samada secara sah ataupun tidak. Kebanjiran pendatang asing ini mendatangkan masalah kepada sistem sosial dan perkhidmatan Singapura.

Kebanyakan pendatang asing ini bekerja secara tidak sah terutamanya dalam sektor pembinaan dan sebagai tenaga buruh murah. Singapura membelanjakan kos yang tinggi untuk menghalang dan menghantar balik pendatang asing ke negara masing-masing. Bebanan kewangan semakin dirasakan apabila pendatang asing ditangkap dan ditahan di penjara Singapura.

Isu Air Di Singapura

Di awal penubuhannya Singapura bergantung sepenuhnya air kepada Malaysia. Ini disebabkan Singapura tidak mempunyai kawasan tадahan hujan secara semulajadi yang dapat membekalkan Singapura dengan sumber air. Pada tahun 1961 Persekutuan Tanah Melayu menandatangani perjanjian penjualan air

kepada Singapura sebanyak 86 juta gelen sehari dari sungai di Johor. Seterusnya, satu perjanjian tambahan telah ditandatangani pada tahun 1962 yang menambah keperluan Singapura kepada 250 juta gelen sehari dan perjanjian itu berkuatkuasa sehingga 2061. Kerajaan Malaysia mendakwa harga jualan tersebut terlalu rendah dan mempunyai hak untuk menaikkan kadar harga. Singapura sebaliknya menegaskan bahawa Malaysia tidak mempunyai hak untuk menaikkan harga kerana perjanjian tersebut telah ditanda tangani.

Isu keperluan air merupakan satu kelemahan kepada Singapura. Menyedari tentang aspek berkenaan beberapa pendekatan alternatif telah diambil untuk mengatasinya seperti mempelbagaikan sumber air dari proses kitar semula, penyimpanan air yang mencukupi dan usaha mengimport air dari Indonesia. Rentetan dengan permasalahan yang sebegini, Singapura sentiasa memberi perhatian kepada isu air dan menganggap bahawa membangkitkan isu itu boleh mencabar dan menggugat kepentingan negara. ‘Negara Sikecil Cili Padi’ ini tidak teragak-agak untuk menggunakan kuasa ketenteraan untuk mempertahankan kepentingannya.

Isu Penambakan Laut

Dengan limitasi kawasan yang sedia ada, demi menampung kepesatan pembangunan serta perkembangan ekonominya, Singapura giat melakukan penambakan laut. Usaha drastik ini diteruskan dan ianya telah menjadi satu isu apabila Singapura mula menambah laut di sekitar Pulau Tuas dan Pulau Tekong. Selaku negara jiran terdekat, bantahan telah dikemukakan kerana penambakan tersebut telah menjelaskan aliran air dan kedalaman pelabuhan di kawasan Malaysia. Pada 4 Julai 2003, Malaysia mengeluarkan notis kepada Singapura dan mahukan kes ini diadili oleh pihak ketiga dan kedua - dua negara bersetuju.

Sekumpulan pakar bebas telah dibentuk untuk mengkaji tentang isu penambakan laut ini dan ternyata hasil kajian memihak kepada Singapura. Berlanjutan dengan itu, Malaysia akur dan bersedia membatalkan bantahannya dan Singapura dibenarkan untuk meneruskan penambakan laut. Walau bagaimanapun isu tersebut tidak berakhir begitu sahaja. Ketegangan antara negara jiran terus berlanjut apabila Malaysia menguatkuasakan undang-undang mengharamkan penjualan pasir kepada Singapura sebagai langkah menyekat penambakan laut oleh Singapura.

ANCAMAN TRADISIONAL DAN TIDAK TRADISIONAL

Ancaman Sosial

Rakyat Singapura yang terdiri dari majoritinya orang Cina, merupakan kelainan dengan negara jirannya Malaysia dan Indonesia yang didominasi oleh kaum Melayu. Majoriti bangsa Cina di Singapura boleh dilihat dari sejarah penubuhannya bermula menjadi sebuah pelabuhan yang berkembang pesat. Bagi kaum Melayu generasi tua di Singapura, mereka masih mempunyai hubungan kekeluargaan dengan kaum Melayu di Malaysia ataupun Indonesia. Hubungan kekeluargaan ini terjalin sebelum perpisahan dan migrasi penduduk Asia dalam abad ke 19. Hubungan kekeluargaan ini menyebabkan nasib kaum Melayu di Singapura sentiasa menjadi perhatian oleh kaum Melayu di negara jiran Singapura.

Singapura melihat ancaman dari dua aspek tradisional dan tidak tradisional. Ancaman tradisional datangnya dari tindakan ketenteraan negara - negara lain. Senario ini sentiasa menjadi igauan Singapura memandangkan kedudukannya yang berhampiran dengan negara jiran dan mempunyai sejarah pertembungan politik dengan negara tersebut. Keadaan ini diburukkan lagi dengan jumlah anggota tentera negara berjiran dengan Singapura yang ramai manakala Singapura tidak berkemampuan menyediakan “*standing army*” yang besar disebabkan jumlah penduduk yang sedikit. Ancaman tradisional akan mendatangkan ancaman keselamatan secara lansung kepada keselamatan rakyat Singapura, kedaulatan dan autonomi Singapura.

Ancaman tidak tradisional pula dilihat oleh Singapura sebagai ancaman secara tidak lansung kepada keharmonian, kestabilan dan ketahanan Singapura. Singapura sangat bergantung kepada rakyatnya sebagai suatu sumber pertahanannya samada dari segi ekonomi, politik dan sosial bagi menjamin kesejahteraan Singapura. Sebarang bentuk tindakan kepada rakyat Singapura yang mengugat kemampuan dan komitmen rakyatnya terhadap pertahanan akan melemahkan negara tersebut. Ancaman tidak tradisional boleh menggugat ekonomi Singapura yang menjadi sumber kuasa negara ini.

Sebagai sebuah negara yang kecil, Singapura lebih terdedah kepada risiko dan ancaman dari negara yang besar yang boleh menggugat kedaulatannya. Ancaman secara lansung kepada kedaulatan adalah ancaman fizikal kawasan “*territorial integrity*” dan keselamatan rakyat

yang berpunca dari tindakan ketenteraan oleh negara lain. Ancaman fizikal kawasan boleh berpunca dari pertikaian kawasan dan perebutan kawasan strategik serta sumber asli. Kedudukan Singapura yang terletak di tengah-tengah laluan udara dan laut, serta pelabuhan yang dalam dan terlindung menjadikan Singapura sebuah negara yang ideal untuk pelabuhan antarabangsa serta menjadikannya satu lokasi yang berharga untuk dimiliki. Singapura mempunyai pertikaian tuntutan kawasan dengan negara jirannya.¹

Ancaman Politik dan Ekonomi

Ancaman politik kepada Singapura boleh dikategorikan kepada dua, ancaman luaran dan dalaman. Ancaman luaran lebih kepada tekanan politik oleh negara lain bertujuan memaksa Singapura untuk menukar sesuatu polisi yang diambil. Tekanan politik juga digunakan untuk memperolehi kelebihan dari segi politik. Sebagai contoh semasa bekas perdana menteri Singapura Lee Kuan Yew mengeluarkan kenyataan bahawa kawasan Johor terkenal dengan jenayah dan kecurian kereta, Malaysia mengenakan tekanan politik bagi memaksa Singapura menarik balik kenyataan tersebut. Singapura akhirnya akur dan Lee Kuan Yew memohon maaf atas kenyataan tersebut.²

Ancaman politik terbesar dihadapi oleh Singapura ialah kestabilan politik di Singapura. Singapura terdiri dari berbagai bangsa, agama dan kebudayaan yang mengamalkan cara hidup masing-masing. Kaum Cina merupakan majoriti penduduk dan kaum yang paling mendominasi ekonomi dan politik Singapura. Kepelbagaiannya kaum dan jurang kehidupan yang tinggi antara kaum-kaum di Singapura boleh menjadi pencetus kepada ketidakstabilan politik. Kepentingan sektor ekonomi kepada Singapura tidak dapat disangkal lagi memandangkan Singapura tidak mempunyai galian ataupun sumber asli bagi menjana pendapatan. Perdagangan merupakan sumber utama yang menjana ekonomi Singapura. Pembinaan kemudahan infrastruktur untuk perdagangan dan industri oleh Singapura membantu meningkatkan ekonomi negara tersebut. Kepentingan ekonomi dapat dilihat dengan perkembangan positif yang sangat drastik dalam peratusan pertumbuhan ekonomi Singapura.

Kadar pertumbuhan ekonomi Singapura bagi suku tahun pertama 2010 sebanyak 17.9 peratus, merupakan kadar pertumbuhan ekonomi yang tertinggi di dunia.³

Ancaman ekonomi kepada Singapura terbahagi kepada dua, secara langsung dan tidak langsung. Ancaman secara langsung merupakan ancaman secara fizikal keatas kepentingan ekonomi Singapura seperti pelabuhan, institusi perbankan dan infrastruktur. Pada tahun 2000 Singapura berjaya mematahkan ancaman keganasan oleh kumpulan Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) yang berpangkalan di Indonesia⁴ dengan mensasarkan pelabuhan dan kemudahan infrastruktur ekonomi Singapura. Tujuan serangan tersebut adalah untuk melumpuhkan ekonomi Singapura kerana didakwa perdagangan Singapura banyak membantu membantu ekonomi Amerika Syarikat yang digunakan bagi perperangan di Afghanistan. Ancaman secara tidak langsung keatas ekonomi Singapura adalah disebabkan pergantungan “*interdependent*” sektor ekonomi dengan negara yang lain. Dasar pasaran bebas yang diamalkan oleh Singapura menyebabkan sebarang situasi di dunia boleh memberi kesan keatas ekonominya. Sebagai contoh semasa krisis matawang Asia pada tahun 1997, Singapura mengalami penurunan nilai matawang dengan begitu drastik. Pelaburan asing berhenti melabur dan memindahkan pelaburan keluar negara. Namun demikian kesan keatas Singapura tidak begitu ketara kerana Singapura mampu mengimbangi krisi matawang dengan simpanan luar negara yang besar.

Bencana Alam

Ancaman yang paling besar kepada negara kecil ialah bencana alam. Bencana alam merangkumi, taufan, kemarau, gempa bumi, tsunami, tanah runtuhan dan banjir. Bencana alam pada masa kini semakin meningkat kekerapannya berbanding dengan masa lalu.

Bencana mendatangkan kesan yang besar bukan sahaja kepada infrastruktur tetapi juga kepada kesihatan, tumbuhan dan perniagaan. Kos untuk pulih dari bencana alam amat besar dan memberi kesan kepada peruntukan pembangunan negara.

¹ Tim Huxley “Defending The Lion City : The Armed Forces of Singapore” St Leonards, Allen and Unwin, 2000” P 48

² Lee Kuan Yew “From Third World To First: The Singapore Story 1965-2000” Singapore Times, 200, P 295.

³ <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/>

⁴ Zachary Abuza, Tentacles Of Terror: Al Qaeda’s Southeast Asian Network Contemporary Southeast Asia, Volume 24, Number 3, Disember 2003, p 431.

KONSEP PERTAHANAN MENYELURUH YANG DIAMALKAN

Singapura memerlukan pengerahan seluruh rakyatnya untuk membentuk ketahanan negara dan usaha ini bertindak sebagai “force multiplier” dalam sumber kuasa negara Singapura. Sebagai sebuah negara yang berbilang bangsa, agama, budaya dan bahasa, Singapura menganggap keharmonian kaum sebagai satu isu yang penting. Berbagai dasar dan program dilaksanakan untuk menentukan interaksi antara kaum berjalan dalam suasana yang harmoni antaranya program kuota perumahan mengikut kaum. Isu keum ditangani dengan berkesan oleh singapura kerana isu kaum sering menjadi mainan politik untuk meraih sokongan seperti yang berlaku dalam pilihanraya Singapura tahun 2011.

Keganasan boleh menyebabkan pelabur menjauhi Singapura dan melemahkan ekonomi negara Singapura. Keganasan juga akan menyebabkan penggunaan sumber tenaga yang tinggi untuk memastikan keselamatan dan pemantauan. Singapura tidak mempunyai kemewahan dalam sumber tenaga kerja. Penggunaan sumber tenaga kerja yang tinggi dalam keselamatan akan mengakibatkan sumber tenaga di sektor lain terpaksa dihadkan. Penggunaan sumber tenaga yang sememangnya terhad untuk keselamatan akan meningkatkan kos dan menghalang pertumbuhan sektor yang lain.

Dasar pertahanan Singapura yang utama berorientasi mempertahankan kedaulatan dan mengekalkan keselamatan negara. Manakala dasar pertahanan ketenteraan Singapura pula lebih menjurus kepada *“deterrence and diplomacy”*. Dasar pertahanan ketenteraan Singapura unik kerana ianya mengamalkan konsep pertahanan hadapan⁵ *“toward defence”* yang bersesuaian dengan ciri-ciri sebuah negara kecil yang tidak mempunyai kedalaman strategik *“strategic depth”*. Faktor-faktor lain yang menyumbang kepada doktrin pertahanan hadapan adalah disebabkan keadaan fizikal Singapura yang kecil dengan keluasan 600 km persegi, dikelilingi oleh negara jiran yang besar, kedudukan dalam jangkauan negara jiran serta dikelilingi laut memaksa Singapura mengamalkan doktrin pertahanan hadapan.

Walaupun Angkatan Tentera Singapura tidak pernah terlibat dalam sebarang pertempuran, Singapura telah memajukan pertahanannya mengikut keperluan pembangunan negara. Perubahan besar dalam perkembangan ketenteraan dan kemajuan pertahanan berlaku pada tahun 1984 apabila konsep pertahanan menyeluruh diperkenalkan. Konsep pertahanan menyeluruh ini diperkenalkan kerana Singapura mengenalpasti kepentingan negara dan ancamannya merangkumi pelbagai dimensi dan saling berkaitan antara satu sama lain. Justeru itu bagi memastikan keperluan keselamatan untuk seluruh negara terjamin pertahanan menyeluruh diadaptasi. Pertahanan menyeluruh tidak hanya berteraskan kepada kekuatan ketenteraan sahaja tetapi mengembangkan semua unsur dalam negara bagi tujuan pertahanan negara.

Konsep pertahanan menyeluruh yang diamalkan oleh Singapura melonjak menjadi perhatian negara-negara lain disebabkan peningkatan ancaman keganasan yang berlaku pada masa kini. Kejadian serangan penganas di negara jiran pengeboman kedutaan Philipina, Indonesia tahun 2000, pengeboman beberapa gereja di Medan tahun 2001, serangan bom di Bali 2002⁶ dan pengeboman beberapa restoran mewah tahun 2009, menunjukkan sasaran keganasan bukan hanya tertumpu kepada sasaran ketenteraan tetapi segala kepentingan negara.

Di samping pertahanan, dasar luar Singapura juga menekankan kepada hubungan yang harmoni dengan jiran serantau dalam segala bidang, ketenteraan, ekonomi, sosial dan politik sebagai wadah mencapai keamanan. Dasar ini dilaksanakan menggunakan ASEAN sebagai platform untuk pelaksanaannya. Dasar ASEAN yang menyokong kepada kerjasama serantau membantu Singapura mencapai hubungan baik dengan negara jiran. Faktor utama ASEAN digunakan oleh Singapura kerana kelebihan dasar ASEAN tidak campurtangan dalam hal dalaman sesebuah negara. Singapura sebagai sebuah negara *“micro state”* amat memerlukan dasar tidak campur tangan dalam ASEAN untuk mengekalkan kebebasan intergrasi dan kedaulatan negara. Singapura mempunyai hubungan diplomatik dengan 175 buah negara. Singapura juga menjadi ahli kepada Pertubuhan Bangsa - Bangsa Bersatu, Pertubuhan Commonwealth,

⁵ Tim Huxley. (200). Defending the Lion City: The armed forces of Singapore. St Leonards, N.S.W. Allen & Unwin. P 45.

⁶ Zachary Abuza, Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia, Routledge, New York, 2007

ASEAN, dan juga gerakan NAM “*Non Allied Movement*” berbanding dengan negara lain di rantau Asia Tenggara, Singapura ialah negara yang paling aktif mengekalkan hubungan dengan negara Eropah seperti Perancis, Jerman, Britain, Amerika Syarikat dan negara-negara kesatuan Eropah, “*Europen Union*”. Hubungan Singapura dengan negara luar merangkumi beberapa bidang dari segi ekonomi sehingga ketenteraan. Dasar pertahanan Singapura adalah unik dalam beberapa aspek seperti berikut⁷ seperti melalui pertahanan menyeluruh Singapura merancang untuk memastikan keselamatan dari ancaman musuh dari pelbagai dimensi. Selain itu dasar mobilisasi rakyat Singapura semasa keperluan dan ancaman adalah yang pertama di rantau ini dan ketiga di dunia. Dengan pembangunan Angkatan Tentera Singapura lebih tertumpu kepada keupayaan menangani peperangan konvensional dan berorientasikan serangan “*Offensive Posture*” serta perbelanjaan Angkatan Tentera Singapura berbanding pendapatan perkaita adalah yang terbesar (1998) selepas Israel dan Qatar dan menyumbang industri ketenteraan di Singapura adalah yang terbesar di rantau Asia yang berperanan menyumbang peralatan ketenteraan kepada Angkatan Tentera Singapura. Industri ketenteraan ini mengeluarkan peralatan ketentaraan yang pelbagai fungsi dan keupayaan untuk keperluan negara Singapura.

Singapura menggunakan hubungan antarabangsa ‘bilateral and multilateral’ dalam usaha meningkatkan kerjasama ketenteraan antara negara. Hubungan ini digunakan untuk perolehan peralatan ketenteraan dan kawasan latihan tentera seperti di Brunei, Hong Kong, Amerika Syarikat dan Australia. Sungguhpun Singapura mengekalkan hubungan baik dari segi ketenteraan dengan negara-negara lain, keupayaan, peralatan, dan organisasi ketenteraan masih dalam kerahsiaan dan tidak banyak didedahkan kepada umum.

Sebagai sebuah negara yang berdaulat Singapura perlu mampu mempertahankan kedaulatan, keselamatan sempadan dan kepentingan negara. Keadaan persekitaran keselamatan yang semakin kompleks menyebabkan ancaman keganasan yang semakin meningkat mensasarkan tidak hanya sasaran tentera malah kepentingan awam, menjadikan senario keselamatan semakin rumit dan pelbagai dimensi.

Definisi keganasan menyatakan terdapat keganasan yang mempunyai motif politik, mensasarkan orang awam untuk menekan kerajaan sesebuah negara tunduk kepada tuntutan mereka.⁸ Keganasan berbentuk demikian mensasarkan psikologi orang awam, kepentingan awam dan penggunaan media untuk memaksimakan impak tindakan keganasan. Sasaran “*soft target*” ini hanya boleh dilindungi dengan mengamalkan konsep pertahanan menyeluruh. Singapura hampir terlibat dalam senarion ancaman keganasan ini tetapi berjaya mematahkannya sebelum ianya berlaku. Atas dasar senario keselamatan pelbagai dimensi konsep pertahanan menyeluruh diadaptasi oleh Singapura.

Angkatan Tentera Singapura (SAF) adalah paksi utama dalam konsep pertahanan menyeluruh. Misi SAF adalah untuk melindungi kepentingan negara dari sebarang ancaman luaran. Selaras dengan perkembangan dimensi keselamatan, SAF telah berkembang dan melalui transformasi mempertingkatkan keupayaan tempurnya untuk berfungsi dalam pelbagai spektrum. Transformasi ini adalah berlanjutan dengan kertas dasar yang dikeluarkan oleh Kementerian Pertahanan Singapura “*Defending Singapore in the 21st Century*” pada tahun 2000 mengukuhkan lagi konsep pertahanan menyeluruh yang diperkenalkan dalam tahun 1984. Kekangan permodenan dan transformasi SAF yang utama adalah bilangan tenaga kerja yang boleh dikhaskan kepada ketenteraan adalah amat terhad. Dengan jumlah penduduk yang sedikit dan keperluan tenaga kerja dalam sektor perindustrian dan ekonomi, Singapura tidak berkemampuan untuk menyediakan tentera yang besar sebilang masa “*Big Standing Army*”. Namun demikian Singapura menangani masalah tersebut dengan penggunaan teknologi, latihan yang intensif, persenjataan terkini, dan automasi mesin. Perkhidmatan sokongan untuk organisasi SAF seperti logistik, perkhidmatan, kesihatan, pengurusan sumber manusia dan pengurusan peralatan diswastakan kepada organisasi awam. SAF mempertingkatkan serta memperkemasan pengurusan sumber manusia dengan penggunaan teknologi untuk meminimumkan tenaga kerja. Konsep kecekapan tenaga kerja dan kemahiran yang tinggi memperlihatkan unit tempur SAF adalah kecil tetapi masih mampu mengekalkan kemahiran dan siapsiaga yang tinggi dengan penggunaan peralatan terkini, latihan intensif dan penggunaan sumber terhad dengan lebih efisyen. Konsep “*Quality above Quantiti*” amat ditekankan dalam pengurusan sumber manusia SAF dan dapat dilihat dalam jumlah SAF yang berjumlah 72,500 (50,000

⁷ Tim Huxley. (200). Defending the Lion City: The armed forces of Singapore. St Leonards, N.S.W. Allen & Unwin. P xx.

⁸ David J. Whittaker, The terrorism reader, London Routledge, 2003, p3.

tentera darat, 9,000 tentera laut, dan 13,500 tentera udara). Jumlah ini disokong oleh 93,800 para military dan 312,500 tentera kerahan (300,000 tentara darat, 5,000 tentera laut dan 7,500 tentera udara)⁹

Pertahanan Awam Singapura adalah di bawah pengawasan Kementerian Dalam Negeri. Fungsi utama adalah untuk memberikan perkhidmatan melawan kebakaran, menyelamat, perkhidmatan ambulan, kawalan pencemaran tumpahan bahan berbahaya, keselamatan kebakaran dan perlindungan orang awam semasa bencana. Dasar Pertahanan Awam dilancarkan pada tahun 1982 sebagai persiapan Singapura menghadapi sebarang bencana. Akta Pertahanan Awam 1986 menjadikan Pertahanan Awam sebagai satu badan yang bebas dibawah kawalan

Kementerian Dalam Negeri dengan fungsi utama mengkordinasi segala usaha kesiapsiagaan terhadap bencana. Pertahanan Awam Singapura dibahagikan kepada 6 bahagian operasi dan latihan dibawah pentadbiran Markas Pertahanan Awam. Empat dari enam bahagian ini dikenali sebagai Divisyen Operasi Wilayah yang merangkumi utara, selatan, timur dan barat Singapura. Setiap Divisyen Operasi Wilayah diketuai oleh markas kawalannya sendiri yang berperanan mengkoordinasi usaha-usaha pertahanan awam. Pertahanan Awam Singapura berperanan memastikan keselamatan dan keperluan asas berfungsi untuk rakyat Singapura dimasa kecemasan agar kehidupan seharian dapat diteruskan tanpa gangguan. Matlamat ini dicapai dengan melatih rakyat biasa dalam kemahiran menyelamat, perpindahan kecemasan, pertolongan cemas dan kawalan bencana. Matlamat akhir Pertahanan Awam adalah melahirkan rakyat yang mahir dengan kemahiran asas untuk kelangsungan hidup seperti bekalan darah, air dan makanan. Pertahanan Awam adalah pelengkap sistem sokongan kepada organisasi lain dalam konsep pertahanan menyeluruh.

Kepentingan negara yang utama kepada Singapura ialah sektor ekonomi yang mana ianya menjana pendapatan negara. Singapura tidak mempunyai galian, bahan mentah ataupun tanaman untuk menjana pendapatan negara dan bergantung sepenuhnya kepada sektor ekonomi. Sektor ekonomi ini disokong dengan lokasi strategik Singapura sebagai pelabuhan “entreport”

dan sistem kewangan yang cekap. Dasar ketelusan, pasaran terbuka, kemudahan infrastruktur serta tenaga kerja mahir menjadi komponen penting dalam memajukan ekonomi Singapura.

Singapura adalah sebuah negara berbilang bangsa dan berbagai agama. Amalan budaya mengikut kaum juga banyak berbeza antara kaum di Singapura. Keharmonian di Singapura hanya boleh dicapai dengan perpaduan yang erat dan sikap toleransi antara kaum. Sejarah tahun 1964 yang dikenali sebagai rusuhan kaum antara kaum Cina dan Melayu mengakibatkan seramai 35 orang terburuh menunjukkan betapa pentingnya keharmonian antara kaum dipelihara. Pertahanan sosial bertujuan mengwujudkan kestabilan dan keharmonian antara kaum dan agama di Singapura. Keharmonian ini penting untuk memastikan keselamatan dan kesejahteraan hidup sentiasa terpelihara. Matlamat pertahanan sosial dicapai dengan mengadakan berbagai program yang mengwujudkan interaksi sihat antara kaum seperti pelancaran Riben Oren, kempen “*Harmony Walk*” kempen Riben oren ini dianjurkan oleh organisasi “*One People*” dibantu oleh Kementerian Pembangunan Komuniti Belia dan Sukan. Kempen ini bertujuan untuk mempromosi keharmonian kaum dan agama dengan menonjolkan kepelbagaiannya dalam adat dan budaya masyarakat Singapura. Disamping itu terdapat banyak program yang dilaksanakan dengan tujuan yang sama seperti acara sembahyang berbagai agama untuk mangsa di Kembanga dan Tsunami tahun 2004.

Pertahanan psikologi adalah penekanan yang diberikan kepada setiap rakyat Singapura untuk berjiwa patriotik terhadap negara. Semangat patriotik ini dapat mengelakkan rakyat Singapura sendiri menjadi ancaman ataupun menjadi dalang mengancam keselamatan negara. Pertahanan psikologi menanamkan rasa bertanggungjawab setiap individu untuk mempertahankan negara dalam apa jua situasi. Keberkesanan pertahanan psikologi ini dapat dilihat apabila rakyat Singapura menolak sebarang campurangan luar dalam menentukan hala tuju Singapura. Semangat patriotik yang dihasikan oleh pertahanan psikologi digunakan untuk melahirkan tenaga kerja di sektor swasta dan awam yang cekap dan komited kepada tugas. Singapura menekankan kepentingan pertahanan psikologi bagi membantu kerajaan untuk menangani ancaman yang tidak dapat dikesan atau dikenalpasti sebelum merebak.

⁹ The military Balance 2009.

Kewujudan Singapura sebagai sebuah negara perdagangan pada masa kini banyak dicorakkan oleh sejarahnya pada masa lalu. Sejak awal penubuhan Singapura, pemerintah terdahulu telah menyediakan negara Singapura dengan satu platform untuk perkembangan perdagangan. Tidak hairanlah sebaik sahaja mendapat kemerdekaan, perdagangan terus berkembang di Singapura sehingga ke hari ini. Perkembangan perdagangan ini juga dibantu oleh kedudukan Singapura yang strategik di tengah-tengah laluan perdagangan laut. Demografi Singapura unik berbanding dengan negara jiran yang lain. Keunikan ini disebabkan oleh sejarah perkembangan Singapura yang menyaksikan kebanjiran rakyat negara lain ke Singapura semasa pemerintahan British bagi sektor perdagangan. Kesan dari penghijrahan semasa perang dunia kedua dan perpisahan dari Malaysai juga mencorakkan demografi Singapura. Saiz keluasan Singapura yang kecil, ketiadaan kedalaman strategik “*strategic depth*”, lokasi kedudukannya yang sangat hampir dengan negara jiran dan dikelilingi oleh majoriti kaum Melayu menambahkan lagi keunikan Singapura.

PENUTUP

Singapura mempunyai beberapa isu yang penting yang boleh memberi kesan kepada Singapura secara dalaman mahupun hubungan antara negara jirannya. Isu-isu ini seperti pertindihan kawasan, pendatang asing, bekalan air, penambakan laut dan orang Melayu Singapura sentiasa menjadi batu halangan bagi Singapura untuk menjalinkan kerjasama yang lebih erat dengan negara jirannya. Walaupun beberapa isu ini berjaya diselesaikan diperingkat antarabangsa, secara dasarnya tiada penyelesaian mutlak dicapai. Sebarang tindakan dan reaksi Singapura terhadap sesuatu isu dunia sentiasa menjadi perhatian oleh negara jiran terutamanya isu-isu yang melibatkan rantau Asia. Singapura sama seperti negara lain menghadapi senario ancaman yang boleh mengugat kestabilan negara.

Perkembangan ekonomi yang pesat, penglibatan politik yang aktif di arena antarabangsa meningkatkan

lagi ancaman keapada Singapura. Ancaman dalaman seperti keharmonian kaum, keganasan dan alam sekitar juga mendarangkan masalah kepada Singapura. Perkembangan ekonomi dan perdagangan yang pesat oleh Singapura dan perubahan agenda keselamatan baru “*new security agenda*” meningkatkan lagi ancaman kepada Singapura dalam pelbagai aspek.

Singapura menanggani senario ancaman dengan pendekatan yang menyeluruh. Ianya melibatkan dasar pertahanan dan dasar luar negara yang mengerahkan seluruh sumber kekuatan yang ada untuk pertahanan. Pertahanan Singapura tidak hanya terbatas kepada ketenteraan semata mata, malah ketenteraan hanya merupakan salah satu dari lima konsep pertahanan menyeluruh Singapura. Pertahanan menyeluruh yang diamalkan oleh Singapura merangkumi pelbagai dimensi keselamatan sejajar dengan perubahan agenda keselamatan baru “*new security agenda*”.

Konsep pertahanan hadapan dan struktur ketenteraan yang bersifat ofensif adalah bersesuaian dengan Singapura yang tidak mempunyai kedalaman strategik. Pertahanan ekonomi pula bertujuan untuk mengekang sebarang tindakan oleh negara lain untuk melemahkan ekonomi Singapura disamping untuk bersedia menghadapi sebarang perubahan dalam ekonomi dunia. Pertahanan awam, sosial dan psikologi lebih menjurus kepada menyiapkan rakyat Singapura kepada sebarang kemungkinan perkara buruk yang akan berlaku. Pertahanan ini bertindak serampang dua mata, disamping memberikan latihan kemahiran asas menangani bencana, ianya juga berfungsi mengeratkan keharmonian di kalangan rakyat Singapura. Pertahanan psikologi pula berperanan menanam semangat jati diri dan patriotik rakyat Singapura sebagai benteng pertama dalam menangani ancaman terutamanya keganasan. Pertahanan psikologi ini bertepatan bagi menangkis serangan pengganas yang lebih mensasarkan psikologi penduduk dan menanamkan sikap takut dan syak wasangka antara satu sama lain lebih-lebih lagi dalam kepelbagaiaan penduduk di Singapura.

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Major Ahmad Kamal bin Halib (3006241) telah dinauliahkan dalam Kor Armor Diraja pada 22 Julai 1995 bertempat di Royal Military College Sungai Besi, Kuala Lumpur. Merupakan anak yang sulung kepada 3 adik beradik lelaki. Cahayamata kepada Halib bin Mahamad serta ibunya Alus binti Omar dilahirkan di Mata Air , Perlis pada 3 Mei 1975. Mendapat pendidikan awal di Sekolah Kebangsaan Oran dan meneruskan pengajian di peringkat menengah di Maktab Rendah Sain Mara Beseri, Perlis. Berkahwin dengan Pn Hasmani binti Hasyim dan dikurniakan dengan 3 anak perempuan. Beliau kini merupakan Ketua Cawangan Semboyan Pusat Latihan Armor setelah berjaya menamatkan pengajian di Maktab Turus Angkatan Tentera dan memiliki Diploma Strategik dan Pertahanan dari Universiti Malaya pada 2011.

AN OVERVIEW OF READING TRENDS IN MALAYSIA. WAYS TO INCULCATE AND IMPROVE READING HABITS

by Lt Kol Inderjit Singh

-SYNOPSIS-

From 178 countries around the world, Malaysia was placed at 88th with a recorded a literacy rate of 91.9 %. National Literacy Survey carried out in 2005 reported that Malaysians still read an average of two books a year which is very alarming. Reading is a cornerstone for success not just in schools but throughout life. Through reading, we acquire new ideas and knowledge, obtain needed information, relax the minds, and improve our command of language and vocabulary. It also serves as a good companion and provides pleasure, expand our horizons and enrich our lives. The holy grail of reading begins at home as parents promote the reading skill and later into a habit for their children. Besides teachers parents play a major role in ensuring reading habits are inculcated at an early age . They are role models for them to pick up this knowledgeable habit. Research has proven that Malaysian do not read enough and the mainstream of readers are students reading books for examinations rather than knowledge and pleasure. Technological advances in internet has open new avenues in reading moving into a paradigm shift into virtually any reading materials all over the world. Speed reading provides the move for faster reading gaining knowledge faster than the conventional reading. The Government and other organizations are pushing for more libraries and branding the reading habit to everyone but every individual must undertake the responsibility in reading and also ensuring others read too.

“Malaysians should embrace reading as part of their lifestyle to become a truly knowledge-based society”

Datuk Seri Najib Abdul Razak
Prime Minister of Malaysia (2010)

INTRODUCTION



**Children Reading With Parents and Adult's Guidance
is A Necessity to Cultivate Reading habits**

Based on the aspirations to become an industrialized nation, Malaysia has made many conscious efforts to improve and develop literacy so that it will achieve a literacy rate of 100% by the year 2020. The country still has a long way to go but there are positive indications that the literacy rate is increasing. The World Education Report (1993) states that Malaysia then had one of the lowest literacy rates (78.4%) compared to her other Southeast Asian neighbors, like Singapore (100%), Indonesia (81.6%), Thailand (93%), and the Philippines (89.7%), respectively. Today, the country's population is close to 20 million, the Malaysian literacy is 85%. All these will be quite impossible if our people, especially the young, do not cultivate good reading habits. We have been told about critical thinking skills, managerial skills, public speaking skills, but hardly do we consider reading skills. Reading is an aspect associated with literacy. However, the reading process is not simple in its nature. It does not merely involve recognizing a single character and pronouncing it

correctly or to recognize and pronounce a few characters that are arranged in a particular manner, but more importantly it is the ability to understand the meaning of these arrangements.

The literacy rate in Malaysia was about 52 per cent in 1957, when we achieved independence from the British, and it was recorded as 80 per cent in 1994 (New Straits Times, June 21, 1994). While this progress may paint a rosy picture, it cannot be assumed that this rate would continue to stabilize or increase in the coming years. Public attention has been drawn to the growing problem of non-reading among Malaysians, specifically among the students. Reading is regarded as a process, a mode of thinking, a kind of real experience and involves many complex skills: the ability to perceive printed words, to skim for information and then perhaps read intensively. With almost everyone in Malaysia owning a data based computer or phone, digital reading is much easier to access rather than the "hard copy" books which is costlier and occupy space. But why is that Malaysian are not reading enough and how do we inculcate the reading habits amongst them especially conditioning the younger generation to have a passion for reading. Research has proven that Malaysians are poor readers especially adults whilst children prefer to read in preparing for their examinations rather than read for entertainment and acquiring knowledge.

This essay will attempt to show the readings trends and relate the importance of reading and conditioning this behavior towards a habitual way of life amongst Malaysians. Certain past and current research will be used as a platform to provide solutions to improve and increase the intensity of reading amongst Malaysians.

IMPORTANCE OF READING



Means of Reading Through the Internet

Reading is a cornerstone for success not just in schools but throughout life. Through reading, we acquire new ideas and knowledge, obtain needed information, relax the minds, and improve our command of language and vocabulary. It also serves as a good companion and provides pleasure, expand our horizons and enrich our lives. We are fortunate as we can easily find libraries and bookshops throughout the country and we should know how to make good use of them. But sadly, this is not the case as many of our young people only visit the libraries and bookstores during examinations or in times of need. Reading has come to hold the most significant place in education as a means of communication in a highly literate society. The book is still very much part of people's lives in our modern society and in spite of the invention of the latest audio-visual materials, the book in its ordinary conventional form is still the most important means of communication ever invented. Reading is important for acquiring knowledge and information. The enrichment in knowledge would, in turn, enable one to present oneself more confidently. From the very young to the old and the sick, there are books to suit every taste.

In their research with adult readers, Kirsch and Guthrie (1984) found that reading contributes significantly to job success, career development, and ability to respond to change. The importance of reading has resulted in much research work conducted to understand the nature of the reading habits of individuals. With the growing amount of digital information available and the increasing amount of time that people spend reading electronic media, the digital environment has begun to affect people's reading behavior.

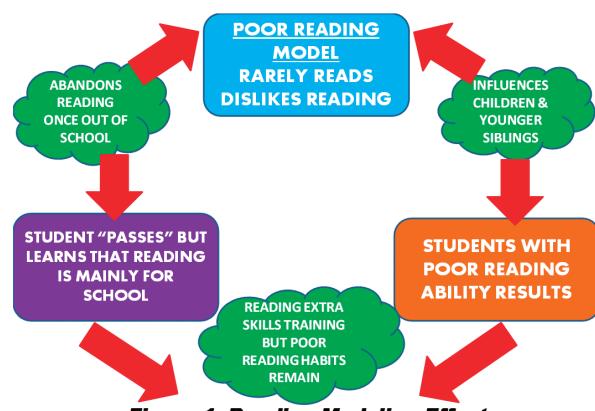


Figure 1: Reading Modeling Effects
(Source : Smith and Mikulecky 1978:78)

Studies have shown that ignoring reluctance is identical to sustaining the conditions for another generation of reading problems in the schools as the sons and daughters of non-reading parents complete the vicious cycle as shown in Figure 1 known as Reading Modeling Effects. This reading model presented alerts the importance of modeling effects. This study has found that unless people who read, do continue to read willingly for information and pleasure, we won't have models who can contribute effectively towards promoting positive reading behavior. The lack of positive reading behavior is one that breeds at both secondary school as well as university levels. If university students who read will continue to read after graduation, their influence as models in their respective homes, workplaces and schools if they are educators, will contribute to the amelioration of the problem of widespread reading reluctance in the nation

READING TRENDS AMONGST MALAYSIANS

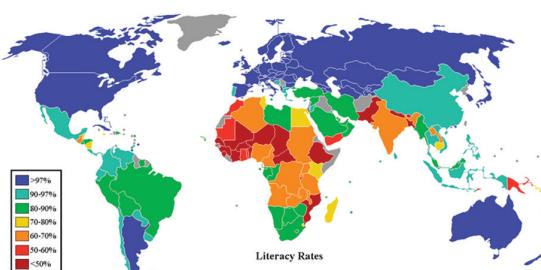


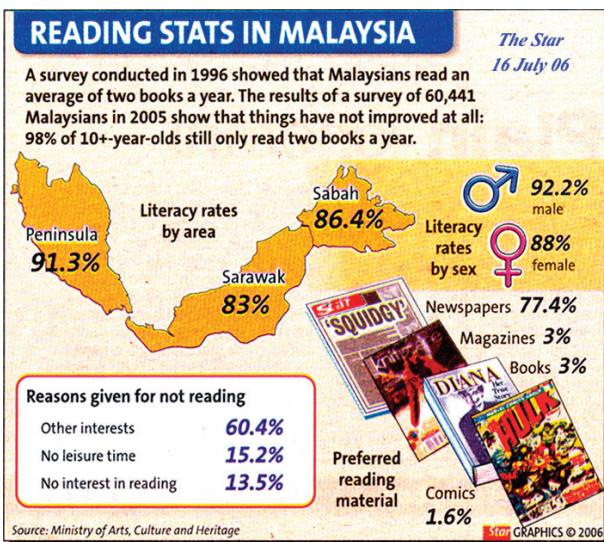
Diagram 1: World Map Indicating Literacy By Country 2007/2008
(Source: UNESCO Institute For Statistics 2007).

Data on adult literacy rates from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (UIS) April 2007, that combines direct national estimates with recent estimates based on its Global age-specific literacy projections model developed in 2007. The national estimates, made available through targeted effort by UIS to collect recent literacy data from countries, are obtained from national censuses or surveys between 1995 and 2005. From 178 countries around the world, Malaysia was placed at 88th with a recorded a literacy rate of 91.9 % at shown in **Diagram 1**.

In 1982, the National Literacy Survey carried out by the National Library reported that Malaysians only read an average of one to two pages a year. Fortunately, the reading habit among Malaysians improved to two books per year when the National Literacy Survey was repeated

in 1996. Nonetheless, the last National Literacy Survey carried out in 2005 reported that Malaysians still read an average of two books a year. In short, there had been no improvement.

In this research the main findings is that more than half of the 60,441 odd Malaysians surveyed read less than seven pages a day. This includes about two books a year for ages above ten years old excluding text books for students and books that are work related for working adults. Also shocking is that most of those who read books and magazines, read less than three hours a week. The older we get, the less we read was the consensus on this research. Not surprisingly reading is not even the favourite pastime of Malaysians as most prefer to watch television and video. The is frightening as the reading habit looks to be a thing of the past as the survey also unearthed the trend among the young who read only to acquire knowledge and for academic reasons rather than knowledge based.



But according to book chains stores from MPH and Borders, they report increasing sales and the book business locally is apparently worth two billion ringgit a year. This only means Malaysian probably buy books for studies or they buy books but never read them. It can be deduced that rural Malaysians read even fewer books than this. For children to pick up reading skills easily, one of the core pre-requisites is that they understand the pleasure of reading through having books read to them and seeing adults around them derive pleasure and meaning from print. In rural Malaysia, most children come to school without having had this experience.

According to Pandian (2000) there are two major concerns involving Malaysian readers. One is that only 20 percent of Malaysian read regularly. The rest of the population are called “reluctant readers”. Another concern involves students who read only to pass exams. Studies have shown that students were reluctant to read for information or pleasure. According to Pandian, “if this phenomenon is left unattended, the future of Malaysia will eventually be directed by reluctant readers, that is, by people who are ‘retarded’ in terms of knowledge, intelligence and maturity.” More rigorous studies need to be conducted in order to learn more about Malaysian readers. Among other findings, Pandian (2000) reported that, about 80 percent of Malaysian university students are reluctant readers of both English and Malay materials. Ethnicity, home environment, reading models, gender and school environment are important indicators of reading. Students from the urban areas are found to be reading more than the rural counterpart.

The coming of the digital media may explain the differences in reading behavior among Malaysians. More and more people are using the web and wireless solutions to satisfy their information needs. As a result, their reading habits and attitudes towards the printed text materials may be decreasing significantly. On the other hand, the implication on the patterns of reading is such that reading time is made shorter by just skimming and browsing the hypertexts that are less structured and non-linear. Computers should be provided to enable the students to utilize the internet for research and also to locate online reading materials.

Internet Usage by World Region

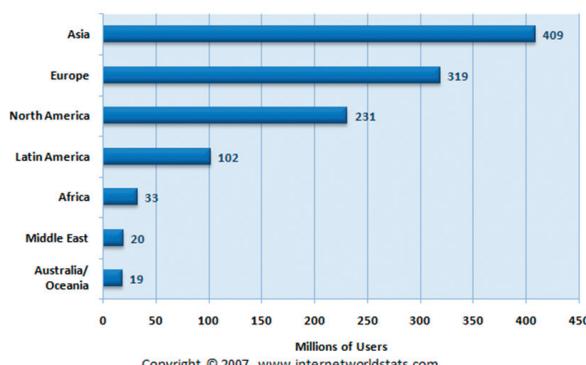


Table 2: World Internet Usage by World Region
(Source: International Design and Children IDC (2004).

According to International Design and Children IDC (2004) there are total of 1.1 billion internet users in the world as of June 2007, according to data published by Internet World Stats. 409 million of internet users are

coming from Asia as of June 2007, according to data published by Internet World Stats. \$1.6 trillion was made via e-commerce in 2003 and \$7.1 trillion is expected in 2007 as shown in Table 2. Reading from the internet provide impetus for readers to virtually quest their thirst of knowledge and increase their intellectual capital globally. In Malaysia being part of the majority Asian internet usage will be part of the back wagon in increasing the number of readers virtually. As a result, their reading habits and attitudes towards the printed text materials may be decreasing significantly. On the other hand, the implication on the patterns of reading is such that reading time is made shorter by just skimming and browsing the hypertexts that are less structured and non-linear.



Digital Reading Tools

The emergence of the new digital environment has also captured the interest of many researchers. With the growing amount of digital information available, people particularly young adults are found spending more time reading electronic materials (Liu, 2005; Ramirez, 2003). A growing amount of reading time are spent more on skimming and browsing for information on the internet. On the other hand, the nature and purpose of reading seems to deviate as well from the traditional reading methods, which are brief, linear and less structured. Some researchers argued that the growth of electronic media may give negative implication to the fact that people are less engaged in extensive reading and lack the ability to read deeply and to sustain a prolonged engagement in reading (Liu, 2005). Liu also provides the evidence that the age factor contributes to reading behavior on the internet. In addition, younger people can tolerate more time reading the screen-based materials. These resources are gaining importance particularly among younger people in Malaysia. This phenomenon may change the way people perceive about reading and how printed materials are being utilized to facilitate reading.

IMPROVING READING HABITS AMONGST MALAYSIANS

Although Malaysia has a fairly high literacy rate and a good educational system, the reading habit has not developed as it should. Relatively recently, reading research has broadened in scope to consider the way in which social contexts influence reading ability. The development of reading skills is now accepted to occur not only in the classroom, but also within social settings, at home and in the wider community, including the public library. International research provides powerful demonstrations of the impact of the actions of young people and family members as they combine languages, illiteracies and cultural practices from a variety of contexts. In many studies grounded in “real world settings”, in other words, beyond the school gates, children’s learning is supported and in turn supports the learning of others, in ways that are not necessarily recognized or understood within the school. It is much better to begin with to take books to the people than to expect people to come to libraries to look for books. There are two reasons for this. The first reason is that people do not go to libraries because it is not a culturally familiar thing to do. The second reason is that if people do pluck up courage and venture through library doors they often find that it is such an alien place that they leave as soon as possible and do not come back. Almost all our valuable life-enriching habits are given to us by our parents, our peers or our teachers.

There are some ways to inculcate the reading habit among Malaysians. Firstly, set times. You should have a few set times during every day when you’ll read for at least 5-10 minutes. For example, you can read during your breakfast and lunch or in time when you’re free like when



Students Must Inculcate An Overall Reading Habit And Not Just Reading For Examinations.

you go to bed or waiting for someone. You also have to set a reading goal. Your goal might be a book a month or one per week.

When you are reading, make it pleasurable and fine a quite place. Make your reading time your favourite time of day like have some good tea or coffee. Find a quite place that will be comfortable and be easy to understand what you read. A quite place will make you peace. If you find yourself stressful while reading the book, don’t continue reading under pressure like that. Reading is for pleasure, so don’t push yourself too hard that you can quit reading forever, or even if you can read, the outcome won’t be so good either.

After approximately 11 years in formal education, majority of Malaysian students are able to read efficiently after finishing their secondary education. However, even equipped with literacy skills particularly reading skills, the reading habits of students are still at an unsatisfactory level.. Society at large, especially parents, need to change this mindset and be more proactive in guiding and cultivating reading habits among children from a young age. The people that are culturally closest to us and who are therefore most influential are our parents and our peers. Reading begins at home and parents are the key indicators on whether their child is acquiring the habit of learning. Children at a tender age are like sponge feeding into their minds knowledge and information from their parents which act as their role model. Conditioning the child with positive reading habits must be inculcated at this young age to provide a strong pillar and platform for them to create a passion in reading. Teachers in schools are busy with their daily stressful job of educating children and this require the parents to push the extra mile in spending time reading and this will improve the social bondage between them. If our youth spend their free time in reading and cultivate critical thinking, we will have less social problems such as illegal racing, wild sex, baby-dumping, drug-taking and so on.

The Malaysian Army top management have expressed their concern over the deteriorating level of proficiency in the English language among their soldiers which includes cultivating good reading habits in general. The Chief of Army in his order premier (2010) mentioned about the need to relook the back to basic concepts especially creating proficiency in the English language for all soldiers. English has always been a restricting factor as majority of soldiers have problems in commanding the English language both in theory and spoken. The military

has also embarked on providing platforms for soldiers to cultivate a reading habit by providing practical English reading training classes and also short English courses in related training schools. Another forceful factor is the implementation of English as the medium of instruction in most career courses which is a coercive factor in ensuring they read English books and reference materials to ensure a fulfilling career path. Reading also provide a strong foundation in people of all ages and races to seek knowledge in their respective religion. Reading



The Chief of Armed Forces General Datuk Zulkifeli bin Mohd Zin Stresses on the Back to Basic

children and teenagers who love reading have comparatively higher IQs. They are more creative and do better in school and college. It is recommended that parents to inculcate the importance of reading to their children in the early years. Reading is said to significantly help in developing vocabulary, and reading aloud helps to build a strong emotional bond between parents and children. The children who start reading from an early age are observed to have good language skills, and they grasp the variances in phonics much better. One of the best ways for children to understand why reading is important, is for them to see those around them reading. Many adults have plenty of opportunities to ensure that children have a respect for the written word. Every time an adult picks up a newspaper, magazine, or reads a book in front of a child they are showing children that reading is important. In addition, it is also important that children understand that reading comprehension, vocabulary and spelling skills, and the ability to discern critically the information being read are important elements for successful reading. Adults should never hesitate to explain to children the importance of reading, building vocabulary skills, and increasing reading comprehension.

reading religious books will strengthen their spiritual power and condense a strong cognitive power in pursuing anything they want.

Children should be exposed to reading from the womb; however reading must be more to children than a time of fun and enjoyment. When asked why reading is important they should have the understanding that reading is the key to unlocking their future success. It is observed that

We are fortunate as we can easily find libraries and bookshops throughout the country and we should know how to make good use of them. But sadly, this is not the case as many of our young people only visit the libraries and bookstores during examinations or in times of need. The government involvement such as The “Knowledge Day”, organized by the Selangor Public Library Corporation in 2011 helps promote the culture of reading among the people which comprised staff from government agencies, public and private higher learning institutions, non-governmental organizations, corporations and school children and families gathered around the lake for an hour-long reading session. Such programs requires commitment from parents, teachers, students and even corporate leaders to participate and ensure the constant and consistent involvement at all government initiatives.

We should always have a book around and ensure reading resources or in digital materials in electronic devices are close at hand to be read when time permits. Set a reading goal is the first step towards reading more. Determine how much time you want to spend reading, or how many books you want to read over time. Your goal might be a book a month, one per week, or it might be to read 30 minutes a day. Start out with something attainable but still a stretch. Keep a list of the books you have read, or keep track of how much time you read each day. You might keep these lists in your journal or your day planner.

Another aspect of reading skill is the learning of speed reading which enables one to read and understand much faster and more knowledge in a shortest time. Speed reading is a collection of reading methods which attempt to increase rates of reading without greatly reducing comprehension or retention. The ability to read fast in a comprehensive manner is like any ability, something people can develop over time.

WAY FORWARD

Reading skills are important throughout our lifespan, particularly as we respond to new demands and changes in jobs and reading for pleasure or recreational has been found to improve reading comprehension, writing style, vocabulary, spelling and grammatical development. The importance on teaching students to read and ultimately reducing illiteracy has been a major agenda in Malaysia. When adults in today's age who can read, choose not to read, they are likely to create a generation of non-readers as well as perpetuate the problem of reading reluctance. The term reluctant readers to people who

can read but do not read and the term reluctance to describe the phenomenon of people who can read but choose not to read. The focus on reading is crucial given the development of communications technology and the changed reality we confront in contemporary societies. For reading to be meaningful, it is essential that young people learn not only to read but they cultivate reading behavior for lifelong learning. While new forms of reading texts (mass and multimedia) have emerged, it is still not certain if communications technology will be used to maintain their reading for pleasure and lifelong learning.

Reading habit should start from young itself. There for parents should play a main role in convincing and telling their children on how important it is for a person to read no matter what type of reading material it is but it must be beneficial. Nowadays it is understood that parents are busy with their work, but they must make sure their children reads daily. Other than that, parents should bring their kids to the national library at least once a week and they have to read together with their kids, so that the kids will be encouraged to read. Parents also can set up a mini library at home with the materials available and suitable for reading. Parents also should advise their adult children to read newspaper on a daily basis and not only reading story book or novels. This is to make sure that they are aware about the current issues. For adults, it will takes time to change their habit when they realize reading is very important. Government also must carry out campaign regarding reading habits.

As we move towards Vision 2020, which incorporates nine strategic objectives and the sixth is the challenge to establish a scientific and progressive society, a society that is innovative and forward looking, one that is not only a consumer of technology but also contributor to the scientific and technological civilization of the future. And being poor readers, it is not going to be easy for us to attain this goal. In this context, perhaps Malaysians can learn a thing or two from our Japanese friends. Japan is one of the most developed nations in the world and most Japanese are good readers. The introduction of the digital age in terms of electronic learning better known as E Learning is another reason why reading must be emphasized as anyone can learn from anywhere as long as they have a computer and internet access.

CONCLUSION

A reading habit is an essential life skill. Reading not only increases our knowledge, but it also builds maturity and character, sharpens our thinking, and widens our awareness in social, economic, political, and environmental issues. Reading helps in mental development and is known to stimulate the muscles of the eyes. Reading is an activity that involves greater levels of concentration and adds to the conversational skills of the reader. It is an indulgence that enhances the knowledge acquired, consistently. The habit of reading also helps readers to decipher new words and phrases that they come across in everyday conversations. The habit can become a healthy addiction and adds to the information available on various topics. The emergence of digital reading has create a much simpler paperless user friendly method of fun reading.

Other than parents, the school which is the primary educational institution of the society also has a crucial role to play in improving students' reading habits. The school library is one of the usual facilities found in a public school. Students in Malaysia however, for the most of the time have often associated reading with academic tasks and not for knowledge or pleasure. This does not enable the students who have the ability to read to use this activity in a significant way for self or social development. The holy grail of reading begins at home as parents educate the reading skill and later into a habit for their children. Reading must be fun and creative to ensure children are motivated and be conditioned to enjoy reading as a passion in the future. The Malaysian government has provided infra structures , campaign and other related events schools, universities and the corporate world to encourage reading for children and adults. Organization must start at grass roots to ensure reading becomes a lifestyle in the Malaysian people and sustain a lifelong reading habit with imaginative ways to improve reading. The way forward for all Malaysian is to increase the literacy rate and compound a vigorous learning attitude by reading consistently.

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THE ROLE OF MALAYSIA IN THE ISRAEL-LEBANON CONFLICT



by Mej Muhamad Shamsi bin Abdul Latip

-SYNOPSIS-

Malaysia has been actively involved in voicing out her objection and dissatisfaction towards Israel ever since its formation. Matters were more serious when the Palestinians were continuously victimized by the Zionist Regime in their effort to enlarge their territory at the Gaza Strip. Then came the Israel-Lebanon War and saw the active involvement of Malaysia in the peacekeeping through the UNIFIL-MALCON. Being an audible member of the OIC, she joined leaders of the Muslim world, and condemns Israel's attrition and force on Palestinians and Lebanese ever since the escalation of the Arab Israeli Conflict. Malaysia demanded an immediate end to Israeli attacks on Lebanon and Gaza and weighed inclusion of Muslim forces in peacekeeping operations. The attack of the death toll in heavily Muslim southern Lebanon made select members of the Organization of Islamic Conference, to gather in a special session more than three weeks after the start of the crisis. It was at that meeting that the then Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (now Tun), stated that Islamic nations must show preparedness to contribute forces for peacekeeping operations under the United Nations banner. The bold remark of Tun Abdullah saw a strong support by Muslim nations and thus beginning an active involvement of Malaysia in UN sponsored peacekeeping operations.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Israeli–Lebanese conflict is an ongoing military clash between Israel and her neighbor Lebanon, with Syrian involvement, as well as various non-state militias acting from within Lebanon. In addition, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) continues to recruit militants in Lebanon from among the families of Palestinian refugees who had been expelled or fled due to the creation of Israel in 1948 (UI Haq, 2006, p v). By 1968, the PLO and Israel were committing cross border attacks against each other. After the PLO leadership and its Fatah brigade were expelled from Jordan for fomenting a revolt, they entered Lebanon and the cross-border violence increased. Meanwhile, demographic tensions over the Lebanese National Pact led to the Lebanese Civil War that occurred from 1975 to 1990. Israel's 1978 invasion of Lebanon pushed the PLO north of the Litani River, but the PLO continued their campaign against Israel. Israel invaded Lebanon again in 1982 and forcibly expelled the PLO. Israel withdrew to a slim borderland buffer zone, held with the aid of proxy militants in the South Lebanon Army (SLA) (UI Haq, 2006, p v).

In 1985, Hezbollah, a Lebanese Shia resistance movement sponsored by Iran, called for armed struggle to end the Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory. When the Lebanese civil war ended and other warring factions agreed to disarm, Hezbollah and the SLA refused (Bickerton, et.al, 2003, p 13). Combat with Hezbollah weakened Israeli resolve and led to a collapse of the SLA and an Israeli withdrawal in 2000 to their side of the UN designated border. Citing Israeli control of the Shebaa farms territory, Hezbollah continued cross border attacks intermittently over the next six years. Hezbollah now sought freedom for Lebanese citizens in Israeli prisons and successfully used the tactic of capturing Israeli soldiers as leverage for a prisoner exchange in 2004. The capturing of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah ignited the 2006 Lebanon War. Its ceasefire called for the disarmament of Hezbollah and the remaining armed camps of the PLO, and for Lebanon to control its southern border militarily for the first time in four decades. Hostilities were suspended as of 8 September 2006. As of 2012 Hezbollah had not disarmed. On 18 June 2008, Israel declared that it was open to peace talks with Lebanon (Bickerton, et.al, 2003, p15).

Problem Statement

Although there has been numerous papers and research conducted on the conflict, a specific identification on the role of Malaysia in the context of the conflict has not been thoroughly published. There have been fragments of ideas, publications, theories and even articles to portray the involvement of Malaysia especially in providing military assistance in UN sponsored missions. The role of Malaysia has to be properly documented for further references, making it possible to deepen study on the policies of the nation in relation to Israel. The absence of a completed published paper on this matter causes the inability to study the actual history of the involvement of Malaysia, the context in which it is contributive and the issues that have emerged from this role.

Research Statements

This paper will study the role of Malaysia and the stand in the conflict. It will also look into the cause and consequences of the conflict and the influence on the approach of Malaysia. Being a member of the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), Malaysia has always been against any action by the Israelis on their Muslim counterparts. Malaysia has been actively condemning these actions and does not even have a diplomatic relation with Israel.

Recent Literature

The book, Israel-Lebanon War 2006 by Dr Noor Ul Haq, provides a detailed explanation of the conflict that escalated to the 2006 war. It further provides the political and social issues that were present in the time of conflict. To further support his writing, The 2006 CRS Report for Congress on Lebanon, titled the Israel-Hamas-Hezbollah Conflict 2006 explains the nature and the severity of the conflict. It also provides statistical references on the extent of casualties and economic impact on both warring sides. As for Malaysia's stand on the conflict, it can be seen in an article published online by Bernama entitled Malaysia Mulls Sending Peacekeeping Force to Lebanon.

The following paragraphs outline the essence of selected past research work by specific authors and their significance towards this research paper.

a. **Robert Fisk.** Robert Fisk's Pity the Nation: The abduction of Lebanon recounts Sharon and Arafat's

first deadly encounter in Lebanon in the early 1980s and explains why the Israel-Palestine relationship seems so difficult. A remarkable combination of war reporting and analysis by an author who has witnessed the carnage of Beirut for twenty-five years, Fisk, the first journalist to whom bin Laden announced his jihad against the U.S., is one of the world's most fearless and honoured foreign correspondents. He spares no one in this history of the civil war and subsequent Israeli invasion: the PLO, whose ruthless behaviour estranged most Lebanese; the various Lebanese factions, whose terrible brutality spared no one; the Syrians, who supported first the Christians and then the Muslims in their attempt to control Lebanon; and the Israelis, who tried to install their own puppets and, with their 1982 invasion, committed massive war crimes of their own. It includes a moving finale that recounts the travails of Fisk's friend Terry Anderson who was kidnapped by Hezbollah and spent 2,454 days in captivity. It is fully updated to include the Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon and Ariel Sharon's electoral victory over Ehud Barak.

b. **Charles D. Smith.** Smith in his book, Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict, provides a concise and impartial outright propaganda on the history of Palestine. He also relates the relevant historical facts, without judgmental commentary or irrelevant information. His sources for significant facts are thoroughly documented in plentiful footnotes at the end of each chapter, which is probably why this book is often used as a text in university courses. Smith's factual and scholarly approach to such a sensitive topic sets a new standard for one-sided apologetics. Some of the facts impartially reported by Smith invariably run over with popular misconceptions, which probably explain the defensive reactions reflected in some of the above polemical reviews of the book.

c. **Charles Winslow.** In the book Lebanon: War and Politics in a Fragmented Society, the author provides a comprehensive history and political analysis of Lebanon from ancient times to the present day. He focuses on the civil and sectarian conflict that has characterized the country's past and contemporary history. He examines the mid-19th century civil war periods in detail and discusses the conflicts in Lebanon during the two world wars, in 1958, in 1975-76, and during the last period of civil strife and foreign invasion from 1978-1990. He also explains the last phase of bitter conflict during which a million Lebanese and Palestinians were either killed or injured, much of the country's infrastructure was destroyed and its great city, Beirut, was reduced to ordinary status. His study of Lebanon begins with the proposition that the

politics of those who live in the Levant is a function of their geostrategic situation, both past and present. Battled back and forth by greater power on the outside, Levantines are “conflict prone” in the sense that they find it especially difficult to organize and maintain major systems on their own and are continually the victims of outsiders who do. An additional theme developed in the book examines the politics of the Lebanese in terms of the “inside-outside game.” Because people in the strategic Middle East, including Lebanon, are continually used by outsiders for external purposes, they have learned to use outsiders for internal purposes. Both victims and perpetrators, the Lebanese take net losses from the interplay that occurs in this process.

d. Ian Bickerton. The author in his publication, Contested Spaces: The Arab-Israeli Conflict covers the Arab-Israeli conflict in an impartial and clear manner. He also offers a wide variety of sources for further references on the ideas presented. The book also includes outcomes and historiography, timelines and a glossary of terms and definitions. Impartial in its nature, it shows opinions of particular events from both sides. A wide variety of source material is used including documents, maps, diagrams, photos, profiles of individuals and bibliographies.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT

The Israel-Lebanon Conflict

Being one of the many of the conflicts in the Middle East, the continuous war between Israel and Lebanon is a part of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It triggered mainly in 1948, when five Arab nations, including Lebanon, invaded Israel in a vain attempt to prevent the birth of the Jewish nation on land that the Arabs felt belonged to them (Smith, 2001, p 2). The land occupied by the Israelis is known as "Palestine" and those Arabs living there as "Palestinians." As a result of this and subsequent outbreaks of war, thousands of Palestinians fled to neighbouring Arab countries. Several Palestinian guerrilla armies formed to fight a guerrilla/terrorist war against Israel. Their attacks on Israeli targets prompted retaliation on the host nations of Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinian power became so great in Jordan, that a civil war was fought in 1970, resulting in the expulsion of Palestinian forces from that nation (Smith, 2001, p 4). At this point, the Palestinian resistance moved to Lebanon, a small nation located on Israel's northern border.

The newly resettled Palestinian forces, led by Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), had two important effects on Lebanon. First, their ongoing cross-border raiding brought violent responses from Israel. These retaliatory raids caused death and destruction for the local inhabitants of South Lebanon. Secondly, the large entry of mostly Muslim Palestinians upset the population balance between Lebanon's Christians and Muslims (Smith, 2001, p 237). These two religious groups fought a civil war in the 1950's, and an uneasy peace had existed since. By 1975, tensions between the Lebanese Christians on one side and the Lebanese Muslims and the PLO on the other side, erupted into a bloody civil war (Fisk, 2002, p 45). The Lebanese Army and government dissolved as rival Christian and Muslim militias battled for control of their nation. This conflict caused Lebanon's only two neighbours to intervene in its affairs. Soon after the war's beginning, Syria sent a 40,000 man-strong "peace-keeping" force into Eastern Lebanon (Fisk, 2002, p 46). Though officially a force for peace, the Syrians soon took the side of the Muslims and PLO and actively battled the Lebanese Christian forces. Israel began aiding the anti-Muslim forces with weapons and other assistance. As the Lebanese Civil War raged on, the PLO continued attacks on northern Israel. By 1978, Israel decided to invade Southern Lebanon, which was now almost fully controlled by the (Fisk, 2002, p 93).



Figure 2.1 Map of Lebanon-Israel

Israeli Invasions and Incursions into Lebanon

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1978 occurred when 25,000 Israeli troops invaded southern Lebanon on March 14, 1978 in a campaign to drive the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) out (Winslow, 1996, p 198). This attack was in response to PLO raids into northern Israel from their bases in southern Lebanon. After the 1970 Jordanian Civil War, in which the PLO was driven out of Jordan, southern Lebanon came under Palestinian control, with Yasser Arafat's forces creating a virtual 'state-within-a-state.' Their control became so dominant, that southern Lebanon was nicknamed "Fatahland," after al-Fatah, the name of Arafat's main PLO faction (Winslow, 1996, p 221). This Israeli military offensive forced an estimated 285,000 people to become refugees, with over 6,000 homes destroyed or badly damaged. Between 1,100 and 2,000 Lebanese civilians were killed. Twenty Israeli soldiers died, and an unknown number of Palestinian fighters (Fisk, 2002, p 105). The PLO forces retreated ahead of the Israelis and continued their attacks on Israel.

Tactically, the Israeli invasion was unsuccessful. Their target, PLO military units, left the area. Israel had failed to prevent the PLO retreat. As the Israelis withdrew in June, 1978, they turned control of the occupied territory over to the South Lebanon Army (SLA), led by Major Saad Haddad, a traitor Lebanese Army officer who set up his own militia (Winslow, 1996, p 201). The SLA served as Israel's proxy in South Lebanon, often engaging the PLO in combat. An estimated 285,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians became refugees due to Operation Litani. The PLO suffered an unknown number of casualties. In 1981, in response to PLO rocket attacks, Israeli forces began heavy bombing of PLO targets in Lebanon. The United States negotiated a cease-fire. Then on June 6 1982, Israel launched Operation Peace in Galilee (large region in northern Israel), an offensive into Lebanon in response to two specific terrorist acts; the bombing of a bus in northern Israel, and the assassination attempt on the life of Israel's ambassador to the United Kingdom, Shlomo Argov (Fisk, 2002, p 199). Israel invaded Lebanon up to the outskirts of the Lebanese capital, Beirut. While eventually allowing the PLO to leave Lebanon, Israeli forces remained in control of South Lebanon near the border until 2000, when the troops were withdrawn in order to end the ongoing guerrilla war with the Shiite Lebanese militia called Hezbollah (Fisk, 2002, p 630).

Eleven years later in 1993, Israeli Forces launched Operation Accountability a week-long military campaign from July 25 to July 31, which was directed at Hezbollah. The Lebanese referred this as The Seven-Day War (Winslow, 1996, p 278). In June, 1993, Hezbollah launched rockets against a settlement in northern Israel, and then in July, 1993, both Hezbollah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) launched attacks which killed five Israel Defence Forces (IDF) soldiers in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon (Winslow, 1996, p 278). Israel decided to respond to these attacks by making southern Lebanon an inhospitable environment for Hezbollah. During Operation Accountability, Israeli forces destroyed or damaged thousands of houses and buildings, causing some 300,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians from southern Lebanon to migrate towards Beirut and other areas outside of the combat zone (Fisk, 2002, p 638). Israeli forces also targeted Lebanese infrastructure, such as power stations, bridges, and roadways. This is a tactic that would be repeated in future Israeli attacks on Hezbollah and Lebanon. Hezbollah responded with more rocket attacks on Israeli civilian targets. At least 118 Lebanese civilians and two Israeli civilians died during this operation (Fisk, 2002, p 640).

From 11 to 27 April 1996, Operation Grapes of Wrath was launched. This was Israel's massive air and artillery attack on Hezbollah targets in southern Lebanon which attempted to end shelling of northern Israel by the Iranian and Syrian-backed Lebanese Islamic militia. Israel forces launched 1,100 air raids and fired nearly 25,132 shells at Hezbollah targets during the sixteen-day offensive (Fisk, 2002, p 669). A United Nations camp at Qana (village in southern Lebanon), Lebanon, was hit by Israeli shelling, killing 118 Lebanese civilians who sought shelter there. Nearly 640 Hezbollah rockets hit northern Israel in this time period, particularly the often-hit settlement of Kiryat Shemona. Israel's ally and proxy force, the South Lebanon Army, which is a mixed Christian and Shiite Muslim militia under the command of renegade Lebanese Major Saad Haddad, also engaged in ground fighting with Hezbollah. At least 350 civilians were wounded in Lebanon, and 62 Israeli civilians were wounded in Israel (Fisk, 2002). Later in 2006, in response to the killing of three Israeli soldiers and the capture of two others in July, 2006 Israel found itself immersed in yet another Lebanese war (UI Haq, 2006, p 17).

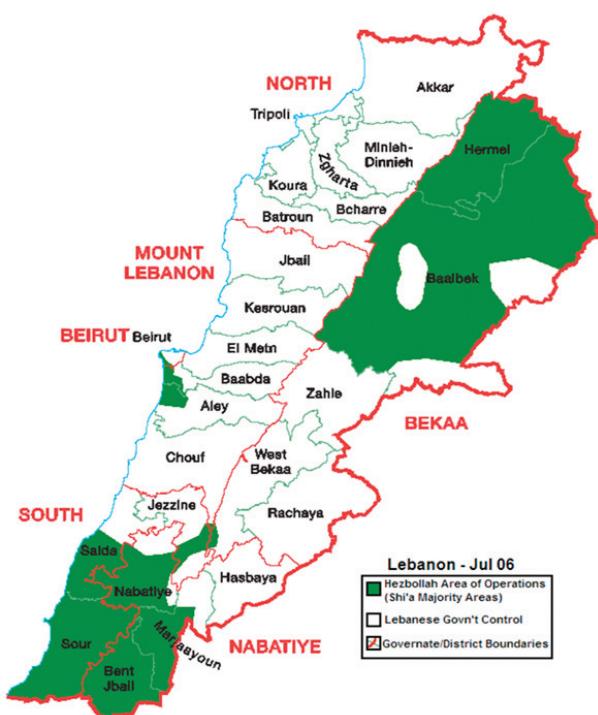


Figure 2.2 Area of Hezbollah Control as of July 2006

Source: UNIFIL Report, 2006

Israel-Lebanon 2006 War

Hezbollah's attack in northern Israel on July 12, 2006, which saw the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers, generated an Israeli military response that again involved the region in a multi-dimensional conflict. The month-long war touched upon an array of critical U.S. foreign policy issues in the Middle East, ranging from the continued instability arising from the lack of a comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli peace process, to the preservation of Lebanon's sovereignty and independence which remains hampered by the inability to disarm Hezbollah. Though the primary combatants were part of a triangular dynamic in which Israel was and still is at war with Hezbollah in Lebanon and with Palestinian militants, including Hamas, in the Gaza Strip, there were secondary players who added additional layers of complexity to the conflict, namely Iran and Syria (UI Haq, 2006, p 18). Both countries have played significant roles in arming, training, and financing Hezbollah and have used the Lebanese Shiite organization as a proxy to further their own goals in the region. The fighting in southern Lebanon was viewed by some as a contest between two of the Middle East's most bitter rivals and most powerful actors, Israel and Iran,

through its proxy, Hezbollah, and it could be a indication of future indirect confrontations between two possibly nuclear-armed nations (UI Haq, 2006, p 18).

Hezbollah's July 2006 attack inside Israeli territory and repeated Israeli-Palestinian clashes in the Gaza Strip and West Bank illustrated not only the risk posed by terrorist groups operating along Israel's borders, but more importantly, the risk to regional security in the absence of comprehensive peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, Lebanon, and Syria (UI Haq, 2006, p 21). Particularly along Israel's northern front, achieving peace between the major parties has been an elusive goal. The task has grown even more complex with the rising influence of non-state political movements and terrorist organizations, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, on Lebanon's southern border. Neither organization recognizes Israel's right to exist as a nation-state. The 2006 war in Lebanon is the latest manifestation of conflict along the Israeli- Lebanese-Syrian border, the final isolation of which has long been in dispute and is exacerbated by the technical or formal state of war that exists between Israel and its two northern neighbors (UI Haq, 2006, p 4). On the Lebanese side of the border, the Christian/Sunni-led governments paid slight attention to the southern portion of the country, a predominately Shiite area. Without much of an economy or government military presence in the south, the region was prone to penetration by outside groups mainly Palestinian opposed to Israel until the Shiites residing there formed their own militias.

Before Hezbollah came on the scene, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) used Lebanon as a base to wage a guerrilla war against Israel. Repeated PLO-Israeli clashes in Lebanon helped ignite the 15-year long Lebanese civil war (Winslow, 1996, p 194). To eliminate the PLO threat from its border, Israel occupied a buffer zone in southern Lebanon for 18 years, a policy which many observers believe accelerated the politicization of Lebanese Shiites there and, with significant assistance from Iran, led to the creation of Hezbollah (Smith, 2001, p 7). With the PLO long expelled from Lebanon and the Syrian armed forces no longer in Lebanon and at a major technological disadvantage vis-à-vis Israel's conventional forces, it is Hezbollah that has stepped in to fill the power vacuum in southern Lebanon and continue to threaten Israel with the full support of its foreign regulars namely, Syria and Iran. Syria seeks the return of the Golan Height which it lost to Israel in the June 1967 Six Day War and finds non-state groups like Hezbollah and other Palestinian terrorist organizations based in Damascus as

useful proxies (Bickerton, et.al, 2003, p 52). Most analysts believe the Israeli-Lebanese-Syrian tri-border area will remain a tinderbox that could spark future conflicts so long as territorial disputes remain unresolved. While Syria and Israel have at times come close to an agreement, most recently in 1999, significant differences between the two sides remain, particularly control over the shores of the Sea of Galilee, a critical source of fresh water with symbolic importance as well for both countries (Bickerton, et.al, 2003, p 87).

UN Involvement

In the wake of the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers, then Secretary General, Kofi Annan, demanded Hezbollah to free them. He sent a three man party to the Middle East to urge countries to show restraint. Meanwhile, Jan Egeland, a top UN humanitarian official, said that Israeli response is in violation of international law. He was equally critical of Hezbollah and Hamas for abducting Israeli soldiers. He also said that those who had seized Israeli soldiers and fired rockets into Israel from southern Lebanon bore their share of the blame (UI Haq, 2006, p 35). Egeland also criticized Hezbollah for using the civilian population as cover. Kofi Annan stated the urgency of an immediate cessation of hostilities. This resulted in Kofi Annan and then British Prime Minister Tony Blair, calling for an international force to be sent to Lebanon to stop the attacks on Israel by Hezbollah. Mr Blair was quoted as saying that the force could "stop the bombardment coming over into Israel and therefore gives Israel a reason to stop its attacks on Hezbollah" (UI Haq, 2006, p 1).

Kofi Annan went on to condemn Israel's use of force in southern Lebanon, and demand that Israeli troops be released immediately (UI Haq, 2006, p 36). He then demanded both sides to stop all violence immediately, condemning Hezbollah for sparking the conflict but also attacking Israel for its "excessive use of force". He stressed on the immediate need for cessation of hostilities for three vital reasons. The first is to prevent further loss of innocent life and the infliction of further suffering. Second, to allow full humanitarian access to those in need and third, to allow diplomacy the chance to work out a practical package of actions that would provide a lasting solution to the current crisis (UI Haq, 2006, p 45). It was not long before the USA stepped in to stop the UN from condemning Israel, and from issuing a statement that would have condemned Israel's bombing of a UN post on the Lebanon border that killed four military observers.

Jan Egeland, who is also the under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, appealed for a seventy-two hour ceasefire to allow for humanitarian relief of the civilian population in Lebanon. This was later disputed by the Israeli's as they said that all relief efforts were already ongoing. Following the bombing of Qana (village in southern Lebanon) by Israeli Air Force (IAF) the Secretary General condemned the attack and urged the UN Security Council to also condemn it. Immediately prior to the attack a second IAF bombing had taken place on a UN post and a crowd in Beirut had also attacked UN officials in anger for the Qana incident.

Reaffirming the stand of the UN, an Interim Force in Lebanon, or UNIFIL, which was created with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 425 and 426 on 19 March 1978, to confirm Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon which Israel had invaded five days prior, restore international peace and security, and help the Government of Lebanon restore its effective authority in the area. The first UNIFIL troops were deployed in the area on 23 March 1978 and were reassigned from other UN peacekeeping operations in the area such as the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force Zone. During the occupation, UNIFIL's function was mainly to provide humanitarian aid. UNIFIL's mandate is renewed by the UNSC annually and the current one expires on 31 August 2012¹.

MALAYSIA'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT

Malaysia Foreign Relations

Malaysia has a long history of relations with the Middle East embracing the political, social, religious and economic dimensions. In recent years, their relationship has grown steadily, especially in economic and social fields. Malaysia's political stability, economic progress and its image as a progressive Muslim country have attracted the attention of many countries in the Middle East to reinforce their relations with Malaysia. However, in unkindness of the growing interactions and cooperation in various fields, Malaysia-Middle East relations seem to lack the visibility, vibrancy and the force that characterised Malaysia's relations with its traditional friends and major trading partners. There is also question as to whether the country has a well-formulated and focused foreign

¹ These were extracted from the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) Report on 6 August 2009.

policy towards the region, one that might be beneficial for Malaysia in various aspects.

In its most basic definition, foreign policy is the policy of a sovereign state in its interactions with other sovereign states. It is a policy that a nation pursues in its dealings with other nations designed to fulfil its national objectives (Nair, 1997, p 248). Essentially therefore, foreign policy can be defined as goals that a nation seek to attain abroad, the values that give rise to those objectives, the means and instruments used to pursue them. A state's foreign policy is determined by both domestic and external factors, which may change from time to time, thus forcing it to review its foreign policy to ensure that it operates in the best possible conditions to achieve those objectives (Nair, 1997, p 248). Malaysia's foreign policy towards the Middle East has been largely determined by the need to balance the domestic factors and the external demands of international politics.

Strategic Approach

Malaysia has been a long time and audible member of the OIC. Joining the leaders of the Muslim world, Malaysia has relentlessly condemn Israel's attrition and force on Palestinians ever since the escalation of the Arab Israeli Conflict. Malaysia demanded an immediate end to Israeli attacks on Lebanon and Gaza and weighed inclusion of Muslim forces in peacekeeping operations. The attack of the death toll in heavily Muslim southern Lebanon made select members of the Organization of Islamic Conference, spearheaded by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to gather in a special session more than three weeks after the start of the crisis. It was at that meeting that the then Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (now Tun), stated that Islamic nations must show preparedness to contribute forces for peacekeeping operations under the United Nations banner. The bold remark of Tun Abdullah saw a strong support by Muslim nations and thus beginning an active involvement of Malaysia in UN sponsored peacekeeping operations.

Malaysia-Israel Relations

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett first visited Kuala Lumpur in 1956, one year before the Federation of Malaya was established. He described the reception of his proposal to appoint an Israeli consul as a favourable one without hesitation by Tunku Abdul Rahman (Abdullah Ahmad, 1985, p 116). The relations were further sprouted when Israel voted in support of Malaya's acceptance,

when the later bid for membership in the UN in 1957. Nevertheless, in the early 1960s, Malayans had declined numerous Israeli attempts to formalize low-level relations, explaining that domestic radical-Islamic opposition and foreign Arab pressures had put Malaya in a sensitive position vis-a-vis Israel (Abdullah Ahmad, 1985, p 116). As negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians gained momentum in the early 1990s, then Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (now Tun), considered establishing actual diplomatic relations with Israel. The Deputy Minister of International Trade and Industry at that time, Datuk Seri Chua Jui Meng, suggested in 1994 that Israel's market could eventually become a destination for Malaysian investments (Nair, 1997, p 252).

There was a massive transition in Malaysia's approach to Israel, eventually during the Mahathir era, where Anti-Zionism played a recurring role in the domestic politics of Malaysia and in the official Malaysian attitude toward Israel. Tun Mahathir, accused his critics of being agents of Zionism and has attributed to Zionists the goals of undermining Malaysia's integrity and trying to destroy Islam (Khoo Boo Teik, 1995, p 78). Mahathir had sent letters to Israeli Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin, Benjamin Netanyahu and Ehud Barak in the years 1993, 1997 and 1999, respectively. Recently, the contents of these letters were made public in order to drive out allegations that Mahathir's government had moved in the direction of recognizing the State of Israel.

From the economic point of view, Malaysian imports from Israel exceeded RM 11 million while exports to Israel totalled more than RM 2 million since 1971. Malaysia imposed a trade ban with Israel in 1974. Nevertheless, trade between Israel and Malaysia was conducted through intermediate countries such as Singapore and Thailand rather than directly. A 2002 report on Israel's trade relations with Indonesia and Malaysia from Israel's Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor showed that Israelis were interested in conducting business with Malaysian companies that have no opposition to trade and commercial relations as long as a low profile is kept. The same report stated that Israel's Intel factory accounted for some 98% of Israel's exports to Malaysia between 1999 and 2002. Thus in 1999 Israeli exports to Malaysia were worth RM 107 million, RM 5.3 million excluding Intel. In the same year Israeli imports from Malaysia were worth RM 23.6 million. Figures released by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics showed that trade between Israel and Malaysia during the years 2008–2011 fluctuated considerably. A

report compiled by the European Commission indicated that in 2010 Malaysia ranked 15th among Israel's major trade partners, accounting for 0.8% (€667.6 million) of Israel's trade in that year (Gonan, 2011, p 2).

Malaysia-Lebanon Relations

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties between Malaysia and Lebanon in 1965, the state of bilateral relations between the two countries has always been warm and cordial. Bilateral relations and cooperation between Malaysia and Lebanon have gained momentum since the opening of resident embassies in the respective capital. The Embassy of Malaysia in Beirut, Lebanon headed by an Ambassador was established on 19 September 2005 following a Cabinet decision on 1 September 2004 to reciprocate the opening of Lebanese Embassy in July 2004. The relations were focussed on economic interest on both sides. There was also a treaty signed in Putrajaya on the 17th of October 2003. It was then that ties between Malaysia and Lebanon reached new heights when businessmen from both countries forged a strategic partnership to establish the Malaysia Lebanon Business Council (MLBC). Both Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir have been urging for greater economic ties between the two nations. Prime Minister Hariri's Government is eager to attract foreign capital and has actively created investment opportunities. Lebanon has a market-oriented economy, a secure business environment, a highly skilled workforce, and provides important access to the Middle Eastern market. These factors provide Malaysian investors with an ideal environment for business (Ahmad Mokhtar Selat, 2006, p 12).

Malaysia's Stand

While Israel objects to Malaysia participating in the UN's peacekeeping forces on the Israel-Lebanon border on the ground that Malaysia and Israel have no diplomatic relation, Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Tun Razak said that Malaysia would send its troops despite Israel's objection. He stressed that it is the UN, not Israel, which decides whether Malaysia can be part of the peacekeeping force. Malaysia's relations with Lebanon, and its non-recognition of Israel, brought questions of the suitability and qualification of Malaysia as an impartial peacekeeper on the Israel-Lebanese border (Nair, 1997, p 249). As a matter of fact, Malaysia's official partiality or bias specifically in the Israeli-Lebanese conflicts had already been clearly shown when Malaysia publicly called on OIC countries to consider supplying arms to Israel's

battlefield enemy, Hezbollah. Strictly speaking, emotionally co-religionist and very immature call has, according to international laws and conventions of war, officially committed Malaysia to a state of armed hostility toward Israel.

In simple terms, there is a conflict of interest in Malaysia's Middle Eastern diplomacy. The willingness to participate as a peacekeeper, while supporting either one of the warring sides is a reasonable policy choice for a sovereign country to make. While opposing Israel's aggression on Lebanon is legitimate and acceptable, public and official call for OIC countries to supply arms to Hezbollah when fighting were still in operation on the battlefields has certainly crossed the red line and impeached Malaysia's neutrality and impartiality (Chandran, 2007, p 180). Moreover, sending Malaysia's troops as 'peacekeepers' to the Israel-Lebanon border unilaterally with Israel's reciprocal unfriendliness or hostility remain intact would increase the chances of Malaysia's men and women of uniform being put in harm's way.

Malaysia Involvement in UNIFIL II²

Based on the UNSC Resolution 1701, the UNIFIL II was established to reinforce peace and ensure a diplomatic end to the conflict in South Lebanon. The mission was laid down in five phases. Phase 1 focusses on the cessation of hostilities, Phase 2: Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) Disengagement, Phase 3: Transition Phase, Assisting Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) in the achievement of its full operational capacity, Phase 4: Stabilization Phase and Phase 5: UN military drawdown and withdrawal. The UNIFIL had 13,500 soldiers from 31 countries and supported by 400 International Staff and 600 National Staff. The initial budget was \$ 540 million USD.

The Malaysian Contingent established its APC elements on 14 July 2010 at Kem Batu 10, Kuantan as part of MALCON East 6. This contingent is continuity from the MALCON 1 to MALCON 5 that was started on 2006. The strength comprise of 4 Officers and 25 Other Ranks. The main requirement of this force is as a platform to the QRF Company and the Company Headquarters, fully utilising the strength, agility and the efficiency of an armoured unit. The APC element was deployed with the MALCON East 6 at UN Position 7-4, Kaoukaba, Hasbaya, South of Lebanon, which is the Eastern Sector. MALCON-

² Report taken Laporan Elemen APC MALCON East 6 Misi: United Nation Interims Force In Lebanon (UNIFIL) Dated November 2011

UNIFIL which was previously under the responsibility of the Eastern Sector is currently known as MALCON East UNIFIL (UN Posn 7-4) following the existence of a new location at the Western Sector known as MALBATT (UN Posn 2-45) at At-Tiri.

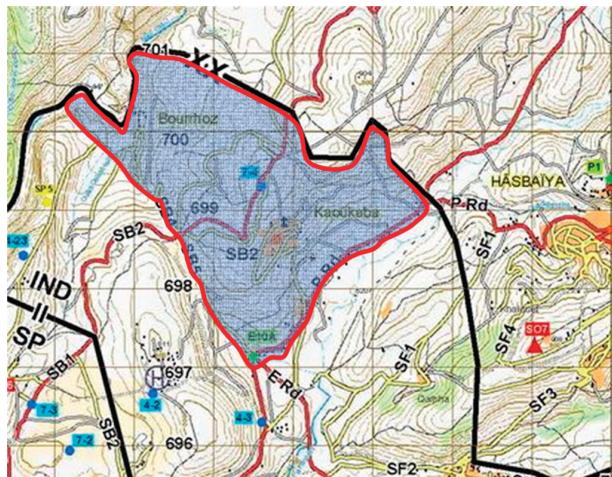


Figure 3.1 Location of MALCON UNIFIL

The force were equipped with 15 A Vehicles such as Condor 4 x 4 from Malaysia. The breakdown of the vehicles involved are as follows:

- 1 x RPZ Condor 4x4 ACV (Armoured Command Vehicle)
- 1 x RPZ Condor 4x4 Ambulance
- 4 x RPZ Condor 4x4 20 mm Oerlikon
- 9 x RPZ Condor 4x4 Twin GPMG

CHALLENGES FACED BY MALAYSIA

Challenges in Peacekeeping

The ceasefire in Lebanon is being followed by a complex series of maneuvers, under UNSC Resolution 1701, to try to ensure that conflict does not break out again. France has offered only 200 troops for the force leaving, Italy as a possible force leader. Other European countries including Spain, Belgium and Germany are also involved in the operations. This includes Asian countries

such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh and Nepal. Nevertheless, to complicate matters, the Israeli UN ambassador has raised another issue by saying that Israel will not accept those countries that do not recognize it,

referring specifically to Indonesia and Malaysia, though Israel has no prerogative to block individual contributors.

The first daunting task for Malaysia is to assist in the withdrawal by Israeli forces back into Israel. To influence the withdrawal is going to be difficult for any peacekeeping force. This was followed by the insertion of a 15,000-strong Lebanese army contingent down to the border that further complicated the mission. The expansion of the 2,000-strong UN peacekeeping force in South Lebanon (UNIFIL) into a more powerful international force of up to 15,000 troops began to demand for the removal of Hezbollah from southern Lebanon as an armed force. The failure to achieve any one of the requirements could put them all into danger. The disarming of Hezbollah in the south might prove to be the most difficult issue (UI Haq, 2006, p 11).

This leads to the next and overlapping maneuver which is the insertion of the Lebanon Army south of the Litani River. The Lebanese government has approved a force of 15,000 and it could begin to deploy to the north of the river. The plan, as laid out in Security Council resolution 1701, is for the "establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani River of an area free of any armed personnel, assets and weapons other than those of the government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL (UI Haq, 2006, p 43).

The two problems for the international force are its mandate and the relationship with Hezbollah. Resolution 1701 gives it quite a strong potential power. It is supposed to ensure that its area of operations is not utilized for hostile activities of any kind, and to resist attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties. This could set it in conflict with Hezbollah if Hezbollah does not withdraw or disarm in the area of operations. While the French are hesitant to operate until Hezbollah actually disarms, it is left to the forces from the Muslim countries to handle the issue, namely Malaysia. Although the Lebanese Defence Minister Elias Murr that there will be no other weapons or military presence other than the army after the deployment of the army south of the Litani, he stressed that the army would not disarm Hezbollah because that should be contained through a UN sponsored negotiation.

Malaysia Deployment and Logistics Issues

The terrain in Lebanon complicates the movement of Malaysia troops due to the limitations posed by the

vehicles used. Hence patrolling is restricted due to steep areas. This is further added by the fact that the climate is not compromising the Malaysian forces. The four season climate demands vehicles that are durable in all situations and weather and should one that is deployable regardless of weather and terrain. With limited visibility and mobility during winter, the snow chain is deemed vital in the mission.

The APC element was tasked at conducting patrol and observation post based on FRAGO (Fragmentation Order) issued from time to time. This is focussed in the Eastern Sector. Daily patrols were conducted using the Land Rover FFR together with members of the QRF and sometimes with the Lebanese Armed Forces. Nevertheless the operations were halted due to inability to obtain vehicle spare part throughout the mission. The force was also required to conduct Road Check Point (RCP). For this task, the 3 tonners are used instead of the RPZ Condor. This exposes troops to lurking danger during the mission.

The APC element is equipped with the Armor Comfit. Nevertheless these system has reached obsolescence. This has further disrupted a smooth flow of information and troops began to depend on manpack systems provided by the Signals Element.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Importance of Middle East

The region has one of the world's largest populations, consisting of many countries, but is also politically divided. For the purpose of this paper, the Middle East is divided into three groups of countries. The first is the Arab world which is made up of 22 countries who are also members of the Arab League (Shlaim, 2001, p 18). Geographically, this would also include the North African countries of Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Libya and Sudan. But it can also be said to have a commonality based on a common language, Arabic, and shared faith, Islam, even if some contend that these two elements provide only a loose identity of what the Arab World is all about. The second group of countries consist of non-Arab Muslim countries such as Iran and Turkey. The third is Israel, a state consisting of both Arabs and Jews, but whose existence in the heart of the Middle East has added to the political complexities of the region (Shlaim, 2001, p 18).

The Middle East has a history of political instability and has witnessed many conflicts and bloody wars. It is argued that the causes of conflicts in the Arab world –the competition for energy, the conflict with Israel, the weaknesses of the Arab statehood and the stagnation of politics are taking on the characteristics of a chronic condition, and self-enforcing. Wars and conflicts include those in Palestine, Iraq, Algeria, Sudan and sectarian conflicts in Iraq, Iran and Lebanon are symptomatic of the problem. Nearly a million have died in the past two decades of conflicts in various regions of the Arab world (Shlaim, 2001, p 554). They include the conflict in Darfur, Algerian civil war (1991-2002), the war in Iraq since 2003, Shiah rebellion in Iraq in 1991-1992, the Iraq-Kuwait war, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the war in Lebanon. They all have left deep political and social scars in the region and beyond, not to mention the adverse economic impact. Social discontent is on the rise and may turn into violence.

The Evolution of Malaysia's Relations with the Middle East

Despite the historical and social linkages between Malaysia and the Middle East, especially between Malaysia and Israel, there is a lack of deeper understanding among the public about the region's geopolitical complexities as well as its socio-economic realities. The limited knowledge and apparent lack of interest among Malaysians are compounded by their perception of the region through 'religious' lenses. The Middle East is seen as synonymous with Islam, which remains an important factor that influencing the government and public over many issues concerning the region. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to say that in the past, religion has been the most important single factor in shaping Malaysia's relations with the countries of the Middle East. It was not until recently that other considerations such as economics came to be in the picture. In the issue of Lebanon, the fact that the suppression has and is affecting millions of Muslim has given Malaysia the platform to contribute to the improvement in the situation in the Middle East.

Managing Bilateral Relations: Issues and Challenges

As a small country and geographically not near the Middle East, Malaysia is limited in its ability to affect or influence the course of events and decisions concerning

the region. As such and due to the limited resources, it has to make choices and options in defining and implementing its Middle East foreign policy. While the ‘Islamic factor’ remains as a part of the consideration, Malaysia’s foreign policy is increasingly conceived to secure its national interest as defined by the need and wishes of the state at a given period. Some of the pertinent issues to be considered are the Israel-Palestine issue, Malaysia’s role in OIC, economic potential and opportunities to be found in the region, enhancing social and cultural ties and the continuity of good political relations. If these are Malaysia’s interests in the region, the question that arises is how to obtain them in the best possible conditions so that its limited resources are not wasted or thinly stretched. Malaysia will also have to compete with other countries that are in a more advantageous position to do so.

Alternatively, in view of the changes that have taken place within the region, does it need a concept change in its foreign policy towards the Middle East? One of Malaysia’s foreign policy priorities, as it has been in the past, is to cultivate and maintain good political relations with countries of the Middle East for various reasons. In order to maximise gains from the existing cordial political relations Malaysia needs to establish priorities concerning bilateral relations. These priorities can be defined by the political, strategic, economic or social importance of these countries to Malaysia.

Forging Relationship: The Multilateral Initiatives

Besides bilateral relations, Malaysia’s relations with the Middle East can also be expanded through multilateral organisations. In re-prioritising his foreign policy after coming to power in 1981, Dr Mahathir wanted to maintain close relations with the Muslim world, if not bring that relationship to a higher level. As such has accorded the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) a high priority in Malaysia’s foreign policy. His efforts were rewarded when in October 2003, Malaysia was given the Chairmanship of OIC, at the same time when it became the Chairman of NAM. As chairman of OIC, it had the responsibility of monitoring the two main issues before the organisation namely the US-led war in Iraq and the search for a Middle East peace plan. An OIC meeting was held in Malaysia on 2nd April 2004 specifically to express its members’ dissatisfaction with George Bush for having openly sided with Israel’s so-called new proposal for a settlement, which Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi denounced in no uncertain terms. (Chandran, 2007, p 321)

Conclusion

There is the perception and belief that current policy towards Israel is on the right track and therefore there is no hurry for a change. Political relations are good with all the countries in the region and there is no critical issue that may disrupt this relationship. Domestically too, there is no pressure from Malaysia’s domestic constituencies to revise or alter the existing foreign policy. While Malaysia does not have the intention or the capacity to influence affairs of that region, it still has some influence in affecting the good will of these countries either bilaterally or within the OIC. This can be made use to project Malaysia’s economic and social relations in the way that it will not be marginalised or left out of any opportunities that the region can offer. Malaysia’s role in the OIC can also be redefined to suit its national interest. It has actively participated and strongly supported multilateralism and multilateral cooperation through OIC without reservation.

Malaysia is aware that its involvement in the conflict through UNIFIL, has triggered disregard from Israel. Nevertheless, it is in the best interest of the OIC and the international community that steps has to be taken to contain the issue before it escalates further. Foreign relations are surely the undermining factor in such situation, but in Malaysia’s case, fostering ties with Israel might not be the imminent answer to the conflict. There should be major inference from bigger super powers to put an end to the conflict. Malaysia is on its way to stamp the importance of such an effort and it is hoped that her voice is heard.

Recommendations

As for the UNIFIL MALCON force, it is inevitable that the government should focus on modernising the force to meet the demand of international peacekeeping efforts. There should be an approach to acquire equipments and systems that are sustainable and suitable in different geographical settings. The government should also be thorough in addressing the logistics of the force and play a role in ensuring that the UN provides what is essential to the force.

In the context of study in the field of Malaysia’s role in the Israel-Lebanon conflict, a deeper and academic based study must be conducted for future references. This must include the multi-dimensional security issues that were not addressed in this paper due to lack of academic materials. A detailed study is also needed in strategic aspects of this issue involving Malaysia and her relations with Israel and Lebanon.

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NOTA UNTUK PENULIS

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Mohammad Hatta, "One Indonesian View of the Malaysian Issue", Asian Survey, Vol. 5, November 1963, p.64.

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- * Jadual dan Gambarajah. Digunakan secara terhad di tempat yang sepatutnya diletakkan. Jadual dan gambarajah mestilah jelas dan dicetak dua kali ganda lebih besar daripada saiz sebenarnya.
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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

- * Length of Contribution. The suggested essay is within 4,000 to 6,000 words and uses the font Arial, size 12. Two hard copies and a soft copy or CD are to be submitted.
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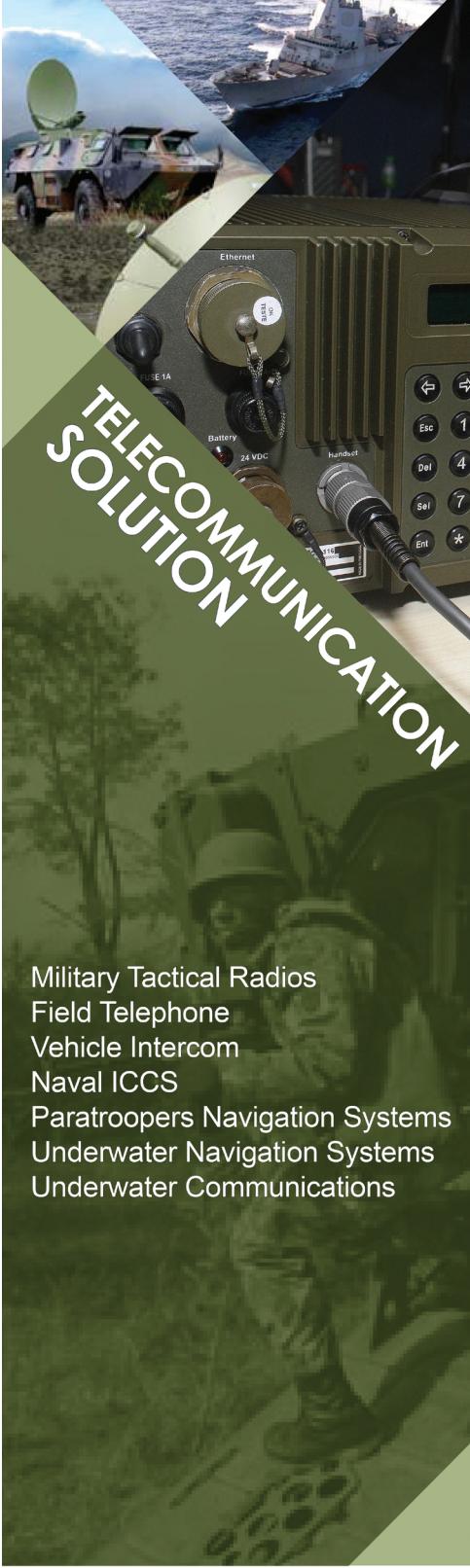


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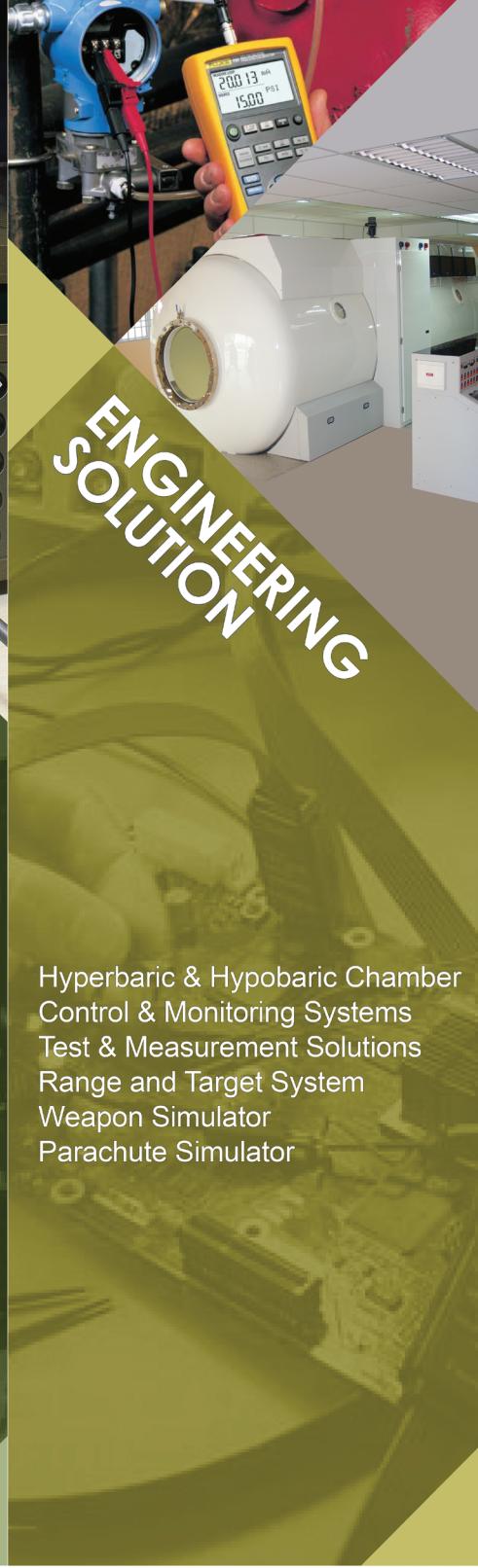
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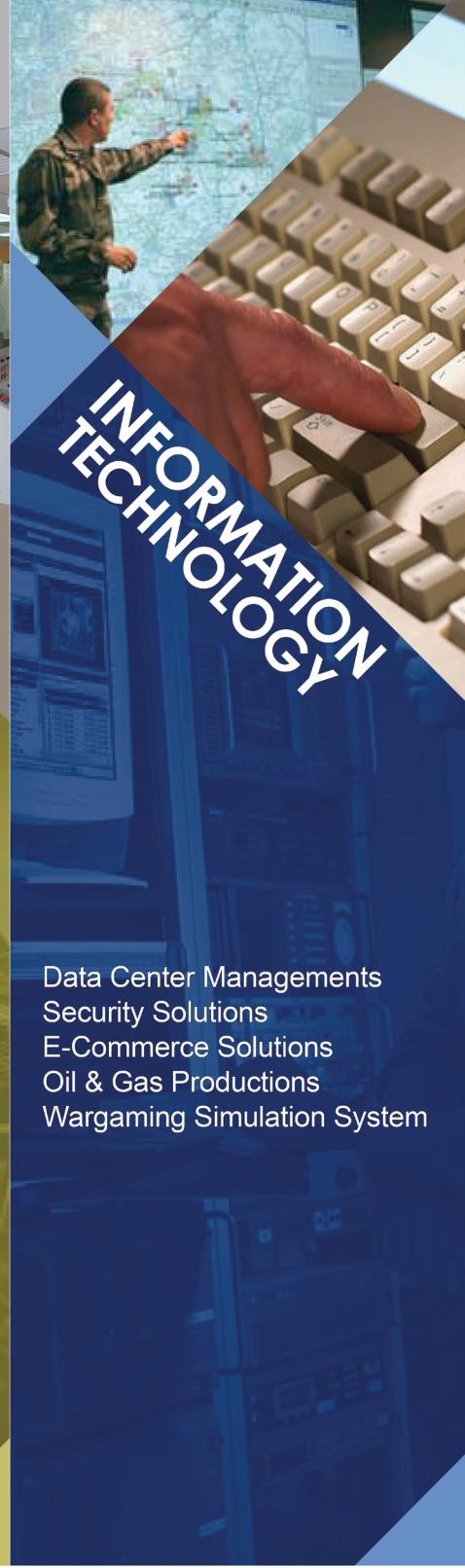
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