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THE JOURNAL OF THE MALAYSIAN ARMY

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KETERANGAN

Sorotan Darat ialah Jurnal rasmi Tentera Darat (TD), yang diterbitkan sejak 1 Mac 1983 bagi mempertingkatkan budaya ilmu di kalangan warga TD. Jangka masa pengeluaran ialah setiap 6 bulan iaitu pada bulan Jun dan Disember. Segala isi kandungannya termasuk sebarang ilustrasi, gambar, jadual, dan rajah tiada dibenarkan dicetak semula dalam corak apa sekalipun tanpa mendapat kebenaran Kementerian Pertahanan melalui MK PLDTD terlebih dahulu.

Selaku sebuah jurnal TD, Sorotan Darat adalah bertujuan mewujudkan satu forum bagi perbincangan perkara yang boleh menimbulkan minat profesional terhadap seorang perajurit. Artikel pelbagai isu dan tema adalah dipelawa dari segala peringkat dan sesiapa sahaja yang mempunyai pengetahuan khas atau minat terhadap hal ehwal ketenteraan. Isu-isu kontroversi biasanya menjadi nadi penggerak sesebuah jurnal profesional yang mana ia dapat menimbulkan pemikiran dan perbincangan yang sihat. Artikel-artikel seperti ini akan diberi keutamaan, manakala artikel-artikel mengenai operasi-operasi, idea-idea latihan atau kegunaan peralatan adalah antara topik-topik yang diidam-idamkan.

Semua pertanyaan mengenai Sorotan Darat mestilah dikemukakan kepada Kol Doktrin, MK PLDTD.

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- Had panjang artikel antara 4,000 ke 6,000 patah perkataan iaitu sekitar 8 hingga 11 muka surat. Penulisan menggunakan bentuk huruf Arial bersaiz 12. Teks artikel hendaklah di taip selang satu setengah baris yang menggunakan format kertas A4. Artikel boleh dimajukan secara bercetak ke Bahagian Pembangunan Doktrin, MK Latihan TD (UP: Ketua Editor Sorotan Darat), atau secara 'softcopy' kepada e-mel sorotandarat83@gmail.com.
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PERINGATAN: SEMUA ARTIKEL ADALAH HASIL PEMIKIRAN DAN IDEA YANG TULEN.

Semua idea yang dikemukakan oleh penulis melalui artikelnya dalam jurnal ini, sama ada sebahagian atau seluruhnya adalah pendapatnya sendiri. Lanya bukanlah pendapat oleh Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia atau pihak-pihak lain yang berkaitan.

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FROM CHIEF EDITOR DESK

Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Waabarakatuh.
May peace be upon you.

We are pleased to present the 72 Number of Journal SOROTAN DARAT.

Domestic challenges and ever increase the public high expectation toward the new government have resulted in radical changes in way of life, policies and strategies towards the development of a nation. In the case of the Malaysian Army, as we embark on our new development plan, Army4nextG and several strategic national initiatives predicted upon the principles of 'Malaysia Baru', issues regarding integrity, consensus, skills, and innovation have become increasingly important drivers of the Malaysian Army modernisation agenda or 'way forward'.

Nuggets of golden wisdom in thinking and actions come in many forms and can be extracted from various sources; SOROTAN DARAT provides such a platform for the extraction and sharing of ideas, knowledge and best practices among division/brigade/regiment etc in the Malaysian Army, whether at the domestic or at international level. The Editors are excited about a few articles in this volume relating to sharing information, thinking process, defence policy making, esprit de corps, and discipline of senior rank that can be replicated among the Malaysian Army organisations.

If the thinking and ideas does not connect with the reality and necessity, it will fail. Hence, we hope the articles in SOROTAN DARAT carry the values critical to Malaysian Army personnel's and meet the expectations of the commanders. We thank all contributors and hope that SOROTAN DARAT will be a guide and help trigger discussions on the critical questions of the Malaysian Army development and improvement.

Thank you.

Col Dr Mohd Radzi bin Hj Abdul Hamid
Chief Editor

**DEFENCE POLICY MAKING HAS BEEN FAR REMOVED FROM
THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF POLICY MAKING
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

By

**Col Dr. Mohd Radzi bin Hj Abdul Hamid
Royal Malay Regiment**

INTRODUCTION

The process of making the national defence policy in the developing countries is very complicated. It depends on military technology capability and the purchasing ability of the nation economic. Upon achieving its independence, developing countries found themselves confronted with the problems on law and order as well as initiating developmental programs. National identity challenges, social cultural divergences, population pressures, minority problems and economic difficulties such as unemployment, poverty, hunger and at certain cases where as a small portion of the populace are too rich and powerful who could undermine any strong government. It is a norm that most new government in the developing countries found them weak and unstable. Beside these glitches, the developing countries will face political experiences such as regime stigma. These problems are fundamentally different from those of the developed countries. In such situation what defence policy means to the people in the developed countries is not what it means there but it becomes more critical to understand that the developing countries has been totally controlled by a certain regime or leader. The developed countries, defence policy is important and huge amount of allocation is being invested for upgrading the armaments each year. As for the developing countries, defence policy means that developing country has to formulate allocation of its resources into two priorities that they have to choose; to keep alive or to defend for life which is still not guaranteed. For whatever reasons, the developing countries also will have their own defence policy either to accommodate the national interest or regime interest.

These two aspects especially regime interest is quite difficult to avoid because even in the developed countries, such regime interest is exist but in different form. They probably did not call regime but the concept such as political group which receive backup by their own government. Statement made by Malaysian parliament backbencher parties which regard to the government parties will benefit the elite group for the ruling party. Therefore, the first step is to understand the meaning of developing countries. If there is such a kind of developing countries, and developed countries or most developed. Who are they? The explanation of the developing countries will construct according to the three following questions (1) What is the efficacy of defence policy formulated under such circumstances?, (2) How would defence policy made under such circumstances balance between serving national interests and regime interests?, and (3) How can such situation can be rectified?. During the explanation, a few examples among ASEAN countries perspective will be coded

to make more flavour of understanding.

Definition of Developing Countries

During the cold war period, the term of 1st and 3rd world country is quite seldom used in social science. In fact, there have no 2nd world country. 1st world country is refers to the most developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and Germany. The 3rd world country was referred to the undeveloped countries which just granted their independence. The term of ‘developed’ and ‘undeveloped’ are very subjective and depending on the subject of references that have been used. In this explanation, both terms will be used accordingly which 1st world country was referred to developed countries and the 3rd world country was referred to developing countries. Surbhi (2015); has stated that in the World Trade Organization (WTO) which there is no definition of what comprises a developing countries. Characterization is up to a point dependent upon self-selection.

However, the WTO recognizes the categories of ‘developing’ and ‘least developed countries’ as being those which have been so designated by the United Nation.¹ To make a simple understanding, ‘developing countries’ includes ‘least developed countries’ members. According to International Institute of Social Studies, developing countries are vulnerable to internal and external shocks and regularly suffered from periods of economic instability. Stabilization policies are required to prevent and manage such shocks. However, macroeconomic stability is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for growth and poverty alleviation. Fernholz (2018) stated that many developing countries suffered from endemic poverty, slow economic growth, unequal distribution of income and wealth and poor environmental conditions caused by low and inefficient investment, shortage of foreign exchange, and the lack of effective government services. Luna (2017), describing the developing countries by addressing the nature of developing countries, as well as the legacy of colonization. It then explores issues such as population, urbanization, globalization, gender, ethnic conflict, and migration. To differentiate between developed and developing countries, Surbhi (2015) analyze nine characteristics as are comparison, as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1: Comparison Chart of Developed and Developing Countries

Basis Comparison	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
Meaning	A country having an effective rate of industrialization and individual income is known as Developed Country.	Developing Country is a country which has a slow rate of industrialization and low per capita income.
Unemployment and Poverty	Low	High

¹Anon. 2010. Who are the developing countries in the WTO?. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/devel_e/d1who_e.htm [6 Mac 2018].

Rates	Infant mortality rate, death rate and birth rate is low while the life expectancy rate is high.	High infant mortality rate, death rate and birth rate, along with low life expectancy rate.
Living conditions	Good	Moderate
Generates more revenue from	Industrial sector	Service sector
Growth	High industrial growth.	They rely on the developed countries for their growth.
Standard of living	High	Low
Distribution of Income	Equal	Unequal
Factors of Production	Effectively utilized	Ineffectively utilized

Source: Surbhi, S. 2015. *Difference Between Developed Countries and Developing Countries.* <https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-developed-countries-and-developing-countries.html> [12 Mac 2018]

The Democratic Process of Policy Making In Developing Countries

The defence policy making in the developing countries is by democratic process. It is just not seriously considered but has been thought at various levels because of certain reasons such as the thought or effort is given to that others thing are more important at domestic level. For example, Malaysia itself till now does not have a clear defence policy which is only discussed at higher level. This is due to the limited capability to develop a solid defence policy and the uncertainty of the defence budget. The limited dissemination ability is not only constraint by knowledge but also involved the allocation given to the Ministry of Defence by the Government. To answer the question of why, the discussion will zooming on to four factors which are the influencing of the potential adversary, the influencing of the developed countries, the cost of defence development and the 'syiok sendiri' modernization plan.

The Influence of Potential Adversary

Besides the developed countries, the potential adversary countries also have significant influence on developing countries defence policy making. The influence of potential adversary is not only limited in military threats, they also can use politic or diplomatic power to disagree the decisions made by developing countries. The decisions such as supplying or buying of defence equipments or agreements to place outside military power into their land. All these disagreements are impacting on their defence policing making. For example, when Philippines decided to agree on the United State army to remain on the Philippines land, most of the developing countries around have not consent to that decision. For whatever reasons, later, Philippines slowly reduced United States

defence participation in their country². On the other hand, looking at Singapore, they often acquire advance weaponry technology from the United States, thus this small nation has a military advantages over the neighbouring countries. This will instigate the neighbouring country to procure to match their ability and capability with regards to Singapore. This scenario automatically will affect the defence policy making.³

From another perspective, the developing countries defence policy making will be influenced by the interaction between the potential adversary and the developed countries, which they will become a strong ally. The closer they are, the greater of the potential adversary ability to influence the developed countries. This hampers the developing countries ability to acquire necessary weapons system or military technology. Conversely, the more polarized the relationship between them, the less the potential adversary is able to influence the developed countries level of support for the developing countries, improving their chances of acquiring the necessary weapons or military technology. This kind of relationship is reflected on the changes to the developed countries defence policy making. This implication becomes clearer after the end of cold war in 1991 and even after 21st century. The relationship became more dynamic and complex and at the same time the defence policy formulation in the developing countries also became dynamic and complex too.

The Influencing of the Developed Countries

Defence policy formulation is not a difficult to plan for any country but realistically it will be a difficult quest and challenging to strategies. Apart from budget planning (which will influence arms procurement), availability of skilled manpower, time factors, environment nation capability (to consider deterrent or balance of power), political disturbance and the government priority. On the other hand, the state of relationship with developed countries will play important roles in making developing countries defence policy becomes reality. The facts are defence policy of developing countries is much influenced by the developed countries which they are allied too. This related to the ability of purchasing the defence equipment's.

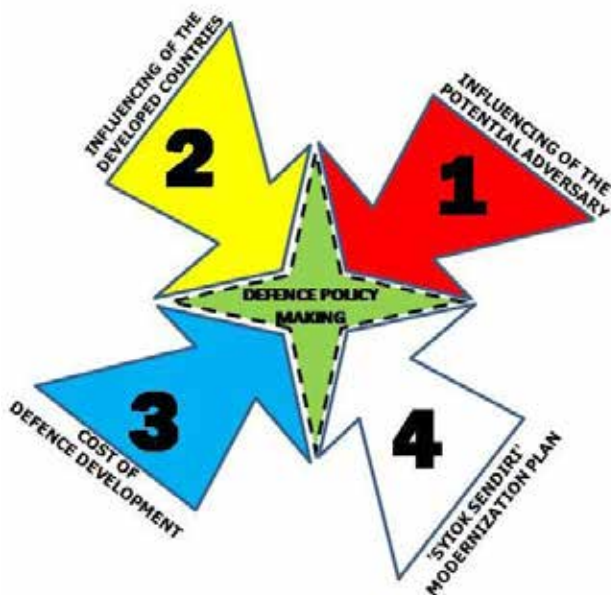
The significance factors are the developed countries such as the United State and Soviet Union which they will possess their own arms production, which results in greater independence in formulating their defence policy. The developing countries such as Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Indonesia are not fully incapable of their own military technology because of budget constraint or due to unstable economically government. Therefore, they do not have the leisure of independence or free to design their defence policy according to what they required. To overcome such kind of

² Pitlo III, L.B. 2017. Philippine Security Relations with the United States and Japan under Duterte: Bending, not Breaking. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiatives. <https://amti.csis.org/philippine-security-bending-not-breaking/> [12 Mac 2018].

³ Mogato, M. January 26, 2017. Philippines: U.S. military to upgrade bases, defense deal intact. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-usa-defence/philippines-says-u-s-military-to-upgrade-bases-defense-deal-intact-idUSKBN15A18Z> [12 Mac 2018]

challenges, they have to depend on major power ie developed countries in term of military hardware and its technology. This dependence makes the developing countries in the difficulty for making their own defence policy without considering or influencing by the developed countries. A classic example is the Philippines. The government of Philippines has to formulate their defence policy, to which more dependence towards United States due to their 70% defence budget relied on United States defence grant⁴. Therefore, Philippines government must adhere to procure the defence equipment's from United States. The grant awarded is in terms of military hardware and not the money. Those equipments are very much influence into shaping the defence policy. Philippines government does not have much choice due to limited economic resources and domestic problems. Because of such kind of influencing and facing serious domestic problem, some of the developing countries will not consider the defence policy making themselves which is beyond their capabilities and very much depend on other factors. To them, the survival of the peoples becomes much more priority.

According to Ascher (2017), in producing military equipments, states can be categorised into four. Firstly, are the countries such as the United State and Soviet Union having full control of ability to produce and sell? Secondly, country likes Japan which they does not produce anything although they have the ability to do so. This is because of the government priority in spending their allocation or others restrictions. Thirdly is the country which only capable to produce very significance equipment which only for internal use. And the last category is the country which doesn't have such kind of ability due to their economic or political reasons. Therefore, third and fourth categories (developing countries) of country are totally relying on the first category of the country for getting of military equipments and the technology. They have to oblige and bare on the cost and the constraint they have. For example, Malaysia has to agree for not having the 'source code' during the procurement of the combat aircraft from the United States. Due to those situations, most of the developing countries do not really consider to formulate their defence policy in their nation policing making process. As for Brunei, they only formulate their defence policy in 2004 after 20 years of independence. On



⁴Fisher, R. October 10, 2018. Rebuilding the U.S.-Philippine Alliance. <https://www.heritage.org/asia/report/rebuilding-the-us-philippine-alliance> [12 Mac 2018].

the same point, even Malaysia did not have a clear on their defence policy before year of 1991 until today.

The removing of the defence policy making from democratic process in the developing countries is not merely based on domestic strategic and an economic resource issues. The relationship with developed country will influence on making its decision on developing defence policy. It does not matter what kind of relationship between developed countries and the developing countries but it will have a significant impact on formulating their defence policy. By looking at their roles and relationships, we can clearly see the impact on the defence policymaking. Developed countries such as the United State and Soviet Union become a main resource provider and it will determine on policy devising. It becomes their role to provide the resources such as military aids, economic aids, defence assistance, weapons sales, daily needs items, cheaper food supply and even a guideline how to defence the country. The percentage of dependency will automatically provide the hidden power for the developed country to influence on the developing countries defence policy making.

When the developing countries internal issues such as economic and politic have been solved, it is a nation culture to develop their own defence industries and start looking on their more independencies to defend the country. They start on having clear relationship with their allies to assist on obtaining military equipment's. They cannot avoid that military technology is so complicated which they cannot run away from rest on their allies. Therefore, developed countries have an advantage to be an important, not just as supplier but manage the on the military technology transfer. They will determine how much and deep the technology transfer will be. For an example, Malaysia has upgrading program for fighter aircraft MIG-29N into four extra capabilities and it will depend on the main source provider which is the Russian. They will determine on what level of technological transfer it will be and provide. Even in buying the defence equipments, Malaysia is totally depending on the developed countries. It helps when Malaysia becomes an ally or equipment and technology provider, the developed country will use mutual defence as a pretext to influence or taking part in the formulation of the defence policy. At the same time, the defence policy of developing countries is also depends on their ally interest and strategic needs. They always limit and influence the defence policy of developing countries.

Normally, on facing the internal problems, the developing countries will face military threats due to the incapable to defence themselves. One of the strategies to curb fighting between them, developing countries would sign the mutual defence treaty. This will have an advantage to developed countries which they will have the advantage to provide protection on their strategic interest and the region. At some point, they will have the liberty and invited to dispatch military troop to assist the developing countries defence. For example, until now Brunei still has two battalions of British Ghurkhas in their land to protect certain important value such as the sultanate. If they did not sign any treaty, the developing countries will have a disadvantage due to insufficient military capabilities to prepare them to face threats from hostile nation. Therefore, the developing countries will always seek to upgrade or to develop their military capabilities by purchasing the weaponry technology especially from their allies. For example, during the cold war era, the developing countries

will have their own allies either on the United State or on Russia side, so they will get their military capability from the bloc that they supported or sided.

Due to insufficient military capabilities, the easiest way to overcome the problems is by relying on weapons system from the developed country. The level of weapons system supported from the developed countries will affect the formulation of the developing countries defence policy. Even later, when they become more stable, often the developing countries try to reduce their reliance on developed countries such Philippines with the United States. Then, the developing countries will attempt to develop its own defence industry to achieve independence in national defence or to change their direction. The facts is the developing countries still lacking in technology means that they still need to be provided by the developed countries. At this level, the process of making defence policy becomes complicated which they have to tie up with another form of treaty. The developed countries will control over the supply of weapons and technology to suppress the wrongdoing of developing countries. When the developing countries have increased in their military capabilities, their military strategy probably has changed from 'defence principle' to more active 'effective deterrence' or 'strong defence posture'. Simultaneously, the developed countries will protect their strategic interest and retain its stability to influence the developing countries political, military and international relations. Therefore, the volume of military resources provided and the limitations imposed by the developed countries play a critical role in the developing countries defence policy making.

The Cost of Defence Development

At the early stage of their independence, most of the developing countries are too weak or far capable to manage either on military and economic aspects. Therefore, most of the developing countries will depend with their alliance or colonial power to provide assistance especially on military and economic to support them to build a nation. During the cold war period, they really depend on the United States or Soviet Union to provide military aids. And after year 2000, the dependable more varies. The amount of support from the developed countries is depending on how close of their relationship or tie. For example, Philippines is one of the United States main military or economic aid recipients in South East Asia. It also became a place for the United States temporarily camp. After the end of cold war in 1991, the United States became the sole remaining superpower and has claimed the role of world police. The United States will send their army to any corner of the world to resist any kind of threats which threaten their interest or so called collective security.

The end of cold war also witness the former communist countries have cut their defence spending which led to decrease demand in the global arms market. This kind of situation off course will affect the defence policy making at each state which will involve the United State defence industries. To overcome the problems and helping their defence industries business, after year 2000, the United States has authorized the sale of their F-35 variant air combat aircraft to others country in order to make arm race move. The sale of this aircraft to certain nation such Singapore have influenced their defence policy making and

affected especially Malaysia and others neighbouring countries.⁵

The similar agreements have been achieved between the United States and Thailand whereby Thailand also has received of more anti-ship missiles from the United States such of five 84L Harpoon Block II surface-launched missiles and one RTM-84L Harpoon Block II. This is a reflection of that country's concerns about its decreasing geopolitical advantages in Southeast Asia and the continuing rise of Chinese influence in the region.⁶ Subsequently, Singapore has received their latest attack helicopters from the United States whereby Malaysia has eyeing on attack helicopters from others. From 2010 to 2014, Singapore received 24 F-15SG combat aircraft from the United States. It is also in the process of upgrading its fleet of 63 F-16C/D/D+ fighter jets. Those equipments are so expensive and the government has to give an extra allocation for the purpose of buying it. Therefore there are no attack helicopters in the Malaysian forces until now or probably for next ten years. For example, the buying of two Scorpion submarines by Malaysia are cost more than RM 3.4 billion (Mike Yeo, 2017). It also will affect the formulation of current defence policy because the defence ministry has to divide the allocation 'package'. Therefore, for the period of more than 5 years, the development in the army and the air force will be limited because of not enough 'cake'. It automatically will affect the future defence policy.

However, in the case of Brunei, it gives difference perspective. With the average of 4.5% GDP per year and 1% inflation rate, Brunei's really did not fond on the budget constraints for the purpose of procuring defence equipments. The Ministry of Defence (MinDef) has been allocated a budget of B\$451.79 million for the 2017-18 financial year, or B\$112.86 million, from the previous fiscals allocation.⁷ But still Brunei's only have their own defence white paper after 20 years of their independence and keep revising it. Therefore, budget constraints are not so absolute. This is because of every developing countries have their internal and external problems or priorities. For example, Brunei has facing manpower shortage while the others are not. Due to small size of Brunei's population (423,196 (2016)), it has severely constraint the modernization or expansion of Brunei's defence capabilities which will shape the defence policy. According to Azlan (2017), in 2015, the strength of RBAF has increased 15.3% (650 personnel) to 9,000 personnel. 650 personnel is only 2.3% from Brunei's population which increase from 2000 (367,000) to 2005 (395,000). From 2000 to 2005, Brunei's armed forces personnel only increase at 2.04% (100). This amount is only at 0.27% from Brunei's population which increase from 2000 (332,000) to 2016 (423,196). Other than military service, there have also another service which really requires manpower such as civil service. Therefore, the manpower constraint will become Brunei's major obstacle in their defence modernization plan.

What is the efficacy of a defence policy formulated under such circumstances? The

⁵Gady, F.S. August 10, 2016. Enough Air Power? Singapore Drops the F-35 Stealth Fighter. Singapore has put on hold an order for F-35B stealth combat aircraft. *Journal of The Diplomat*, p 76-83.

⁶Aud Jarint, W. August 12, 2017. Thailand closer to buying \$25m US missiles. *The Nation*. P 8.

⁷Azlan Othman. March 09, 2017. *Borneo Buletin*. Brunei Ministry of Defence Budget 2017/2018 \$451 million. P 6.

developing countries do not talk about the efficacy of their defence policy. The most important is to have the defence policy which will become guidance in developing their country and even in the distribution of function between related ministries. At the earlier stage, most of the developing countries defence policy only stated about the function of related ministries, vision, mission and objective. The discussion on defence doctrine, defence strategy, and defence procurement is not too detail. The design of their defence strategy only involves the defence equipments that currently in their inventory and other than that are planning for the future. For example, in 2004, Brunei had produced their first defence white paper⁸. Even in 2011, Brunei defence white paper revise version is more general rather than specific in its discussion of enhancing capability, continuity and change, defence policy assumptions, threat assessments, force structure, equipment, training, defence industries and personnel. About half of its pages have featured some photographs with a human interest slant as well as plenty of colourful design elements which give the feel of a coffee table book rather than a policy document upon which specific and discernable policy debates were trashed out and the details of policy implementation set forth.

Normally, developing countries defence policy will keep changing according to the budget allocation given to the defence ministry and the security environment. In 2011, Brunei had come out with their revise version of defence white paper. Therefore, it is quite difficult to measure the defence policy efficacy because there have no such measurement skill. However, in each defence policy, it will clearly state the vision and mission to achieve it. If the efficacy of defence policy will be measured by considering the percentage of achieving their vision and mission, the answer is yes.

Even though the developing countries have their own defence policy but the independencies are still limited because of so much dependency on their ally. Even, if there is the independencies factor but the developing countries are still incapable. They cannot afford to spend so much money on defence policy because of the domestic needs. There is no study has been done on the efficacy of defence policy in the developing countries. As mentioned earlier, the efficacy is not an objective but to have own defence policy will give certain value in nation sovereignty. However, by looking at the ASEAN members, they are still intact to each other until now and the development of their security forces keep on going with the involvement of new equipments, upgrading or having new structure. The defence policy, which was formulated under such circumstances, has managed to keep their country safe and remain the sovereignty. In these respects, there is efficacy in their defence policy. However the fact is the defence policy document or white paper is not laid down everything. The outsider only knows at the surface level and therefore the country itself only knows either their defence policy is efficacy or inefficacy.

⁸ Anon. 2015. Military Technology. Defence in Brunei: The Royal Brunei's Armed Forces development plan. Military Technology Vol. 43(8): 112-119.

The 'Syiok Sendiri' Modernization Plan

Most of the developing countries especially for those who's are facing with dreading internal threat, are very good in constructing their defence modernization plan. They are good in given a bombastic and beautiful sound name of their defence modernization plan. By looking at their defence modernization plan name, it is intended to draw in automatically a pop-up of 'wow' and it will amuse the reader. Worse scenario in those developing country they have separate service of security organization such as the air force, the army, the navy, the homeland security, the maritime, the national guard and the police; they will have many different security modernization plan and varies different budget requirement. It is intended to entice brilliant idea and proper planning to have security or defence modernization plan as a guideline in developing their capabilities.

However the security or defence modernization plan; so call restructuring plan in developing countries has interesting challenges. There are three challenges which critical and unavoidable. Isolated planning, secondly; the leaders dilemma and third is too much dream (desirable but could not afford). Most of the security or defence modernization plan are developed only among the top ranking leadership and only to be discuss within their own hierarchy. Therefore when the design on how security will look will be presented to the finance people that will make the budget allocation decision. The proposal also can be looked as if it is only be a dream.

However, according to the studies make by defence magazine among ASEAN countries since 1960s, not even one of those defence modernization plans are made materialized so call 'syiok sendiri'. Proposal will keep on modified, revise and change on their planning and slowly it will die off quietly. The problematic of the defence modernization plans are the element of 'syiok sendiri'. Most of the defence budget in the ASEAN countries for making modernization of equipment planning is solely base on high hope to the government allocation. They are hoping the civilian government will understand their problems, will honour their good relationship with some keys ministers, than dream to get an awesome allocation in the next country budget planning or even dream to get defence allocation higher than other department. In reality, the sweet dream ending with sad story and even the budget in their pocket has cut at certain percent. Most of the ASEAN countries defence modernization plan to keep on changing by the time the organization had a new leadership. The new leadership feel that the defence modernization plan setup prior are not properly designed and do have flaws and weaknesses. The present leaders anticipate that he has better and noble idea, which will keep on changing if the minister in charge keeps on changing.

How would a defence policy made under such circumstances balance between serving national interest and regime interest?

Military threats become force motivation for the developing countries to formulate their defence policy in the interest of both national and the regime. This is because of the military threats by potential adversary which will threaten both either towards national interests or regime interests. For example, in the ASEAN arena, each member will access

quietly at other members as their potential adversary. Both members will not spell out clearly because of the ASEAN spirit. However, if we are looking at their reaction towards other development especially in defence technology, everybody is seemed to endure to be better between each other. If the neighbouring countries increase their defence expenditure and buying new defence technology, the related country will demand on forcing to increase its arms procurement budget in order to maintain the parity. The close examples are the buying of Main Battle Tank PT 91, Beechcraft B200T aircraft fitted with the Thales Airborne Maritime Situation and Control System, and intent to acquire 29 155mm self-propelled M109A5 Paladin howitzers, by Malaysia and F-35B variant by Singapore (Kua Kia Soong, 2017). The defence budget had been increased every year for the reasons of to balance and counter the military threats. This will leads to arms race. By putting military threats as a factor of the necessity to have defence policy and it will balance both sides interest.

Most of the developing countries especially ASEAN will consider much on their national interests compared to the regime interests. Even though they cannot run away from fulfilling the regime interests but national interests will be considered first. If they cannot entertain both interests, it should be better. Regime interests seldom expressed and it will be fulfilled quietly with the most ethical manners.

However, in Myanmar, even after Myanmar's parliament elected Htin Kyaw as first president in April 1, 2016, the defence policy cannot cope with the regime and national interests. This is because of the regime is still in power (after 22 years) and have full capacity of influence on shaping the government decision. The regime will indirectly influence decision, which benefits the regime more. For example, From 1988 - 2010, Myanmar's gross domestic product (GDP) increased from \$12.6 bn to \$45.4 bn, while imports rose from \$246 m to \$4.8 bn, exports, from \$167 m to \$8.7 bn, and foreign investment, from \$4 m to \$8.3 bn. The amounts have put Burma's energy sector in the international spotlight. According to Asian Development Bank report (2017), the military regime has failed to make sure the income from oil and gas been used for national interests. The saddest fact is that the military leaders are happy with cronyism, a scale, which they could manage, and a cause, which continues fundamentally to back pedal the country's economy. The Generals still pursuing cronyism in economic affairs even they continue to ignore the interest of the people by failing to take up economic reforms. Therefore, gas in Burma can only entrench the power of the military junta as long as the policy makers fail to come up with a measure to best utilize it even after Burma first election in 2010. That is what I personally call as "regime maintenance".

How can such a situation be rectified?

There are few factors should be taken into consideration during the formulation of the defence policy. The factors are national interests, the capability, ability to achieve and the threats. The most important factors are the people or national interests. However, either developed or developing countries, they cannot run away from the regime interests. In the developing countries, they do not have absolute regime per say as per Myanmar but they do have cronyism. Both countries will try to follow defence procurement as per stated in the

defence policy but at the same time they will try to fulfil their regime interests.

There is such a way to rectify it. First, in any defence procurement, the non-sided body must analyse the type of defence hardware, which they need to procure. The non-sided body will decide which equipment's to buy or not to buy. By practice this; defence policy will serve the national interests more. But the problem here is when the regime is in power, they ignore to entertain such requirements.

CONCLUSION

On making the defence policy for the first time is quite difficult and becomes more complicated for developing countries. Furthermore, simultaneously on facing the domestic issues and security dilemma is driven by limited allocation. The new and unstable government has to decide between national interests or to develop their defence capabilities. However, even a small nation with weakest defence capabilities; they still required the defence policy in order to guide them move forward. The main problems are defence policy much more on procuring of defence equipments which are expensive. From the defence equipments which available, they can develop their defence strategy and defence doctrine. If not, their defence policy only based on assumption or notional/imagination. Developing countries cannot hide the defence equipments which they bought because it involved with developed countries whose supply it to them. At the beginning, their defence policy will influence so many elements such as developed countries, potential adversary, and economic capability and to fulfil requirement of national interests or regime interests. The effectiveness of the defence policy is the second issues but still important because it can keep on changing year to year. If they have enough allocation, the planning will continue, if there are not, the planning will have to wait in the pipe line.

The government does not have many choices for not having their own defence policy. They start with the most significance dependence to developing countries on developing defence policy. Either it is complicated or not, weak or strong, the developing countries should have their own defence policy. It does not matter if they have relied to developed countries or so, but for the start is acceptable. The developing countries must come to terms with this reality and adjust its defence policy in response to surrounding changes. Then can seek to profit from this complex and dynamic situation.

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Cinta Perajurit terbahagi kepada 6 bahagian:

Cinta perajurit kepada Tuhannya.

Cinta perajurit kepada Tanah airnya.

Cinta perajurit kepada pasukannya

Cinta perajurit kepada dirinya.

Cinta Perajurit kepada keluarganya.

Cinta Perajurit kepada Rakan-rakannya.

Pena Celoreng

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN THE LAHAD DATU STANDOFF

By

Major Jamalillah bin Abd Samad
Royal Service Corps**INTRODUCTION**

Lahad Datu is a town located on the peninsula north of Darvel Bay, Sabah. The history of Lahad Datu started around 1654 in which the Sultan of Brunei gave Sabah to the Sultan of Sulu, who is also part of the Philippine's government. In 1878, the Sultan of Sulu leased Sabah to the British North Borneo Company. In 1946, the company has handed over Sabah to Britain. Sabah became part of Malaysia in 1963 and has been recognized by the United Nations Organization. Sabah's population currently stands at 3.5 million and consist of 50 different groups of race and ethnic. The majority are Kadazan – Dusun composed of 18 % followed by Bajau (14 %), Brunei's Malays (5 %) and Murut (3 %) who emigrated from Sarawak while the rest consist of racial/ethnic minorities. Lahad Datu is surrounded by stretches of cocoa and oil palm plantations. Apart from that, it is also an important timber exporting port. Sabah state government is led by Barisan Nasional where the last General Election 2013, Barisan Nasional won 22 parliamentary seats and 48 to 60 seats of Dewan Undangan Negeri. Datuk Seri Musa Haji Aman had been selected to be the Chief Minister of Sabah on 6 May 2013 for the next term. Besides that, Lahad Datu was won by Dato' Haji Mohammad Yusof Apdal from Barisan Nasional's party.

The incident of Lahad Datu in Sabah on February 2013 began when a group of intruders from the group of Sulu Sultanate followers, Jamalul Kiram III, landed in Kg Tanduo. They have gradually entered the village at Felda Sahabat 17 and Kampung Tanduo. These aggressions were caused by the actions from the heir of the Sulu Sultanate, Raja Muda Azzimudie Kiram who has claimed that the Sulu Sultanate owns the state government and he wanted to claim it back. In the early stages, the Royal Malaysian Police has been mobilized to deal with this invasion before it was taken over by the Malaysian Armed Forces. The Lahad Datu invasion also gave a huge surprise to Malaysia because it involved non-state actors from outsiders who challenged the country's sovereignty.

Then media coverage of the events in that aggression was quite slow and many parties have blamed the government of a slow and too lenient towards the intruders. It was supported by the media reports that Malaysians security forces have been attacked by intruders and caused the bloodshed. It also involved some of our security personnel who have been killed. All media agencies around the world did not have any choice and decided to come to Malaysia personally to get the latest updates and report but they were not granted a lot of cooperation from the security forces. This situation happened when the Malaysian government has decided on the basis of public safety factors and didn't want to jeopardize the operations which have been planned. On that purpose, the media only obtained limited information from what had happened. Out of this situation, people were trying to seek and look for alternative information sources for the reason to follow latest

updates of the invasion. The reason people shifted to other media rather than having news from the mainstream media because the reports were outdated and the facts were controlled which caused the government to take the responsibility to maintain the morale of the security forces that have been involved in the operation and their family as well.

Lahad Datu Stand Off

These incidents raised a lot of questions regarding the capabilities of the country's defense structure and the failure of the Malaysian Armed Forces and Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency for delaying in identifying the entry of Sulu Sultanate militants and allowed them to occupy Kampung Tanduo and Felda Sahabat 17 in Sabah. Actually, the intruders have planned this invasion from their movement and tactics, undetected by the security forces and the locals.

“The group enters Malaysian waters in a boat and begins to gather in stages at Felda Sahabat 17, Kampung Tanduo in Lahad Datu” (...) The group breaks into a smaller groups to enter several locations in the village, namely Sungai Bakau village, village Surau and the house of one of the villagers, Ahmad Malandi”

(Asia One, 2 Mac 2013)

The presence of intruders have been covered by the camouflage of the elderly and women. The news from The Star on 12 March 2013 reported that the brother of Raja Muda Agbimuddin Kiram, Raja Azzimudie Kiram, is also involved in providing forms of needs and facilities required by intruders before and during the invasion. This is due to the migration of activities among the Filipinos in Sabah which is a normal matter; especially in the three main areas of Sabah (Lahad Datu, Sandakan and Tawau). The existence of community sulues residents from the Philippines has caused a chain migration from over a decade and brought their presence in Sabah continually. It also involved Kiram's family and close friends who lived in several areas in Sabah and Peninsular Malaysia. As fisherman who has lived together with his family in Lahad Datu in long duration of time, he well understands the local politics in Sabah, expertise in Lahad Datu routes and knows the weaknesses and strength of authorities' security control of the country's waters. The involvement of family members of intruders in Lahad Datu has made the invasion too difficult to detect. The physical geography of Sabah's water is wide so the security is an issue in terms of controlling besides the distance between Malaysia and the Philippine archipelago which is too close, based on the geostrategic factors.

In order to protect the security and sovereignty of the country, around 8,000 Malaysian security forces personnel were deployed in the mission of Ops Daulat. The Prime Minister had launched this operation on 5th March 2013 to clear the area from the intruders and make it safe. The operation had also arrested nearly 600 people, including 31 who have been trialled at court. The incident killed a total of 72 people of which 56 were from the Sulu Sultanate militants. 10 personnel of Malaysian's security forces and 6 civilians. According to a report from Astro AWANI on March 2013. It can be described in the following table:

Date (2013)	Events
Feb 9	- The group entered Malaysian waters in a boat and began to gather in stages at Felda Sahabat 17 and Kampung Tanduo in Lahad Datu.
Feb 11	- A gang from the group were discovered by a group of local fishermen at night. The fishermen lodged a police report that 100 armed men in military attire were putting up in Kampung Tanduo.
Feb 12	- The group dispersed into smaller groups to enter several locations in the Kampung Tanduo such as mangrove rivers area, surau and the house of one villager named Ahmad Malandi, also known as Mad Bon.
Feb 14	- Police identified the group of Filipinos who landed on the shore of Lahad Datu as being linked to the Sulu Sultanate.
Feb 14	- Minister of Home Affairs confirmed the group being a strong supporter of the Sulu Sultanate.
Feb 24	- The Philippine government sent a ship to ferry the 180 'Royal Army', including 30 armed guards.
Feb 26	- The deadline for expel passed but the negotiation are still in progress.
Feb 28	- Agbimuddin Kiram urged the Malaysian government to negotiate directly with his older brother, Jamalul Kiram III in Manila to make the 180 'Royal Army' to leave Felda Sahabat 17.
March 1	- A shootout between the security forces and the invaders occurs. The results were 2 policemen were killed, 3 wounded and 12 invaders were killed.
March 2	- The battle took place in Kampung Seri Jaya, Simunul, Semporna. 12 people were killed, including 6 policemen.
March 4	- President Benigno Aquino III promised to resolve the armed intrusion by negotiation.
March 5	- At 0700H, the security forces launched an attack on Kampung Tanduo. The Prime Minister announced the initiation 'Ops Daulat' to protect the dignity and sovereignty of the country.
March 22	- The total of intruders being killed were 63 people and Malaysian security forces had 10 casualties.

Source: Astro AWANI (9 March 2013)

Table 1: The Chronology of Incident in Lahad Datu

Role Of The Media

In today's world, the media has become as necessary as we need our food and housing. The media should plays their role to strengthen the society. Their duty to inform, educate and entertain the people. The media has a strong impact towards the social and cultural values of the society. To reach the number of the public, they must convey messages to build the public's opinion and awareness. The media as the medium spectrum between community and government in shaping the public's opinion and foster good relationship. When Lahad Datu standoff happened, several of information was given

to us, either through facts or comments. These news attracted the attention of all people within Malaysia and international as well. These news of the invasion also received the attention and coverage in the electronic and digital media. In the early stages of the Lahad Datu standoff, has a lot of concern come from the public, the media has been having hard time to get coverage from every possible angle to provide as much information possible to the public. To prevent chaos and panic among the people, the authorities have to monitor and control the coverage by the media regarding to this situation. The government must consider this controlling factor because the enthusiasm of the media where is trying to get readers' attention towards the issue without thinking of the security's aspect. Naturally, the media always will attempt to find the issue that can attract the attention of readers and listeners; they need to be aware and compelled to follow the development of the issue in minutes. The excitement of the media which will try to cover from every angle of the incident and gain information from various sources would spoil the precautions and safety that have been made by the government. In order to deal with the conflicts which arise, the media also jeopardized the strategies that had been planned by government especially in Lahad Datu; if their news and based on assumptions and opinion. From that perspective, that is how the media can influence the public through a range of issues that had been made.

In today's world, technology plays an important part in all aspects of our life, especially in getting information. It is undeniable, the media surround us will play their role and it had a great impact in our lives. No matter what or wherever we are, we will be constantly exposed to news and information from the mass media. Our lives are always exposed to the media until much of our lives are vulnerable and dependent on the media. The media will influence the way we think, the way we look at issues and problems, and also affect every decision that we make when facing any situation. In addition, the media can influence the thoughts, words, deeds; the media can also form even our ideology.

The influences of media will always make an impact in our daily lives effectively. Due to this influence, the media can form of the mindset of the society today. In this case, the media has to perform essential task in order to disperse its effects to the audience and maintain the society's stability. According to the functions of media, there are 5 functions that the media play for the specific role in the society as follows:

- ❖ Surveillance
- ❖ Interpretation
- ❖ Linkage
- ❖ Persuasion
- ❖ Transmission of Values

The coverage of the media during the crisis has shown that Lahad Datu played a major role of the media in disseminating information about the incident. The explanations of how the functions of the media mentioned above played a role in the crisis.

Surveillance

Surveillance relates to the public information or news about events occurring within the country and in the world. It is the most obvious of all functions of media. This feature is

the earliest human use and so the media whose full attention is on the source of information and is not concerned with the reaction of the recipient of the information. It refers to the news and information role of media. Correspondents for TV networks and newspapers are located around the world. The media will gather all the information for us that we cannot find it by ourselves. The surveillance function can be divided further into two types as follows:

- Beware or warning surveillance which occurs. The media should inform us about threats from weather changes, heavy rains, war and etc. As an example in Lahad Datu standoff, the media has been playing its role in carrying out this function. Media also revealed the role which had been done by the government; in addressing the effects of the crisis, the contributions and sacrifices of the security forces in protecting and defending the country from its enemies.
- Instrumental surveillance occurs when the information is useful in our life, such as, money exchange, new products and so on. People are also informed by the media; the information about how the incident could jeopardize and threaten the security and stability of the country. In the Lahad Datu's standoff, the media had been providing information about location of the invasion, the numbers of Lahad Datu's population and the progress of the incident. From that information, the society will know the current situation and follow the updates of the local.

Surveillance through the media also proven the useful information for our society. If news or information are not being controlled, it may trigger panic among our society. For example, news from the conflicts in some areas may result in to communal riots in many areas.

Interpretation

The media is not just meant for passing the information about facts and data, but also providing explanation about the goals, meaning and significance behind an event or situation. Media offer various explanations correlating and interpreting information to make the society clear. The interpretation the function of the media is closely linked to the monitoring function. The editor would determine the news before disseminate it based on the importance and priority. It will only be disseminating based on the interest of the society. Unlike normal reporting, interpretation functions provide knowledge.

In the Lahad Datu's standoff, all the media will generate a lot of chronology of the events either in an electronic or digital media. The media will act to report; where, when, why that incident happened and explain with relevant matters about the actual reality of the current issue. Due to this interpretation function, which is to provide information; therefore, the media should have journalists who have credibility, knowledge of the background on the issue and strong analytical ability.

Linkage

The function of media is being able to connect together with different elements of the society. For example, newspapers generate an opinion; develop feeling for whatever

happenings which are reported. Advertising through the media links together the needs of buyers with the products of sellers. It is also possible that media can create new social or professional groups by linking together the people of same interest. This function is also called 'public making', which is the ability of the mass media. For example, people interested in geography, science, and environment form a group and this phenomenon may account for the growth of some movement. Thus, the social groups can be mobilized quickly and this may lead to some main action.

During the Lahad Datu standoff, the media had played an important role to carry out the functions of linkage to cooperate among all forms of present media such as electronics, digital, stream and casting to build the relationship. In this case, various media have come together to raise funds from the public to help victims of the crisis in which they have never known each other before this. It showed that the function of linkage has been the practices of the media. The existence of digital media that connects people from all over the world nowadays has allowed information to be delivered more quickly to the and world without boundaries. However, the disadvantage of this function is that any group or individual can also misuse it when connecting to others, which may lead to security threats. Social media like Facebook; for example, can connect to another person who never had a relationship before.

Persuasion

The media have a role to influence and persuade their readers and listeners whether to accept, agree, or respond to certain issues. The media is able to influence the public in making a decision when it is used as a reference by the public to get information on everything. The media's influence can be positive or negative. For example, a campaign organized by the Ministry of Health such as the 'No Smoking Campaign' will have a positive effect upon the public's awareness; the danger of the smoking and ways for trying to quit. In the negative perspective, films that display acts of extreme violence and sex have a followers especially teenagers who could not differentiate good or bad impact for their lives.

The ability of the media to influence and form a personal view in any matter such as when the media displays kindness the government to give a subsidy and ease the people's burden will influence the decisions and make the people feel more confident to the government's willingness to help the people and for this reason, the people directly support the government to lead the country. In the Lahad Datu's standoff, the people gave a full support to the action which had been taken by the government to handle the incident. The media also showed the actions and sacrifices of the security forces at the front line; that were able to touch society's feelings and to influence or persuade them to accept the way of thinking that would be applied in their minds.

Transmission Of Values

The transmission of values is a subtle but an important function of the mass media. It is also called socialization function. Our society is portrayed in the mass media and by seeing, watching or reading this; people learn what are the important values. The media presents role models that people try to imitate. Thus, they teach us about people, show us

how they act and what is expected of them. At one level, value transmission via the media will aid the stability of the society. Common values and experiences are passed down to all members, thereby creating common bonds between them. On the other hand, the kinds of values and cultural information that are included in the mass media content are selected by media organizations that may select values and behaviors that encourage status quo.

From the television, viewers can evaluate and learn about what is good and right through the segments such as forums and documentaries about local cultures. With this, viewers will be able to learn and adopt their lives based on the environment. The Lahad Datu standoff and the dissemination of information by the media has made citizens of Malaysia to have the value of patriotism spirit of being Malaysians and feel compelled to contribute to the victims of invasion.

Analysis On Citizen's Response

The first news had been reported on the incident of Lahad Datu's invasion by the media were various reactions from the people of the two countries; Malaysia and the Philippines. All the reports were from different angles and covered different responses from the society. It showed that the differences of individuals who provided the feedback based on their personal, background, social and cultural variation.

The government and security forces have control of all the coverage created by the media. A lot of information has been kept secret from the media. Only the key personnel and a person selected will provide feedback on the real situation. This person who has been responsible by the government will communicate with the people through the selected media. Therefore, the people who are not satisfied will seek new media from any sources to investigate what actually happened there. For the present time, these people will be more focused on digital media for real news. Here are the quotes that have shown people are not satisfied with the government's decision to restrict the real report on the issue in Lahad Datu.

"It is sad and shameful that in the past fortnight, Sabahans and Malaysians have to search the Internet to read about what is happening with regard to the Lahad Datu standoff from the Philippines media as there is a serious information blackout of the issue in the Malaysian media - another international black-eye for Malaysia! "

(Lim Kit Siang for Malaysia, February 23, 2013)

"Ohh, yes we have TV1, TV2, TV3, NTV7, Star News Straits Times, Bernama, Utusan, all very good at this. If it is facts, they tell us the bad-half. If it is non-fact, they make it sound real, they even add spice to help make us angry and ready to kill. Fantastic News Media! "

(Desmond Sky, FMT.com, March 8, 2013)

In generally, people believe that the media is the source for their information. However, the comments above show that the public's were angry and against the media. This situation

happened because the media has acted accordingly and followed the instructions of the government; which broke the ethics of the media as a freelance agency that will deliver the right information to the public. In Malaysia, the media had been controlled and reacted accordingly to what are being stipulated by the government. In the modern era with the development of more sophisticated information technology which will cause people to get information from other sources such as foreign media reports from the interrupt.

The 13th general election was carried out in the short period then and this incident that occurred at the same time has given a bad perspective to the mainstream media. The media has been accused for trying to hide facts about the invasion to protect the interests of the government. At that time, the government had been seen to fail in dealing with the crisis that had caused many security personnel who killed during the operation in Lahad Datu. This have the provided an opportunity for opposition parties to provide a bad expression the effectiveness of government in dealing with the crisis. Meanwhile, the opposition parties have used this chance to make the audience switch from the mainstream media that couldn't be used by them to the alternative media. It would be the advantages to the opposition parties because the society does not have trust in the mainstream media.

"Now is the time for the nation to wake up from its slumber and get its priorities straight. When our borders have been breached and our national sovereignty is at stake, this is not the time for our politicians to bash opposing each other with the silly hope of scoring points to boost their oversized egos. "

(The Borneo Post Online, March 9, 2013)

It greatly adds that;

"I posted this message on Facebook a few days ago. "For once, can our politicians from both sides shut up and stop their silly, stupid and outrageous comments on Ops Daulat? Stop criticizing the work of our security forces there. This is a time when the nation has to come together. So put aside your political differences for once. If you are that smart and that brave, go and join our policemen and soldiers at the front line. If not, then shut up! "

(The Borneo Post, March 9, 2013)

The above says that the author has responded to the politicians involved in issuing political statement against the invasion of Lahad Datu. Feedback from the community was also many who have realized the seriousness of the crisis and felt that this issue should not be politicized. This is because people felt this issue was an issue involving the sovereignty of the state and should be addressed together rather than to blame.

CONCLUSION

The invasion by the militants in Lahad Datu involving non-state actors from a foreign country have a very large impact on the political, social and economic aspect to Malaysia and especially; Sabah. This tragedy had claimed 10 personnel who were killed;

part of the Malaysian Security Forces. Those were not the only cause of children who lost their father, wives had lost their husband and the parents lost their sons but it will remain a painful in the history of the country. Another solution that was highlighted was the ESSZONE (Eastern Sabah Security Zone), which was launched by the Prime Minister after invasion. The existence of ESSZONE was seen as a significant and symbolic move of strengthening the security, restoring the public order and protecting the people in the state.

As seen in the Lahad Datu issue, the media clearly helped in promoting good relationship and moral judgment in solving the problems. Freelance journalism was practiced by both online news portals. The media appeared to be more aggressive in promoting solutions such as suggesting legal actions and drastic measures to be taken. It was clear, in the case of Lahad Datu; the media was an important mediator between governments as well as in assuring the people that actions are taken to resolve the issue. The media should play a more effective role as a medium between community and local residents to detect early warning as to take precaution against the arrival of the intruders. The local citizen should have played their part to lodge a report to the authorities if they have known the invasion would happen and be more sensitive.

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Mejjamalillah bin Abdul Samad commissioned into Royal Service Corps in 26 Oct 2002. He is a graduate of the Malaysian Armed Forces Academy (ATMA) known as National Defence University with a Bachelor in Mechanical Engineering in 2002. As a military officer, he had undergone regimental duties and career courses while assuming variety of appointments. Mejjamalillah's career has included various staff appointments such as a Platoon Commander at 4th Transport Company; and Administrative Officer and Officer Commanding at 9th Transport Company, Sibul. He served with United Nation in Lebanon as Mechanical Transport Officer. Now, he already posted to 21st Logistic Group at Mersing as Administration and Logistics

Officer after graduated from Malaysian Staff College in 2017. He is married to Puan Rosliza binti Abdul Rahman and blessed with five lovely children. He loves travelling and reading during his leisure time.

Empat Tahap Kehinaan Manusia:

Yang pertama namanya orang bodoh.

Yang kedua namanya bodoh dan sesat.

Yang ketiga namanya bodoh, sesat, dan fasik.

Yang keempat namanya bodoh, sesat, fasik, dan jahat (durjana).

Hamka

**IMPLIKASI PENYEBARAN MAKLUMAT KETENTERAAN MELALUI
MEDIA SOSIAL TERHADAP KESELAMATAN MAKLUMAT ATM**

Oleh

Lt Wan Nurhidayat bin Wan Muhamad
Rejimen Semboyan Diraja**PENDAHULUAN**

Bayangkan situasi di mana kehidupan anda termasuk ke mana anda pergi, perincian aktiviti harian dan butir-butir diri anda diketahui oleh umum dan senang diperoleh begitu sahaja, dengan sesiapa sahaja anda berbicara mereka mengetahui butiran pergerakan anda. Adakah anda akan berasa selesa dengan situasi sebegini?. Penularan penggunaan aplikasi media sosial seperti Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, Telegram, Instagram dan seumpamanya meningkat secara mendadak seiring dengan perkembangan teknologi maklumat dan informasi (ICT) yang semakin pesat berkembang menjadikan kemungkinan dunia tanpa sempadan bukan lagi hanya satu imaginasi. Aplikasi-aplikasi dan laman sesawang ini dilihat sangat berguna dalam menghubungkan lagi antara majikan dan pekerja serta mewujudkan medium komunikasi yang efektif dan efisien. Di sebalik kebaikan yang ditawarkan oleh aplikasi laman sosial ini, terdapat pelbagai keburukan yang seterusnya membawa kepada ancaman kepada kebocoran maklumat sulit dan rahsia ketenteraan khususnya terhadap keselamatan maklumat Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM). Walaupun ATM telah mengeluarkan Perintah Pencegahan Pencemaran Maklumat ATM Melalui Platform Siber bertarikh 14 Januari 2013 dan Garis Panduan Media Sosial ATM, namun masih terdapat ramai daripada kalangan warga ATM yang tidak menyedari tentang implikasi pencemaran maklumat di media sosial terhadap keselamatan maklumat ATM. Esei ini seterusnya akan membincangkan implikasi-implikasi pencemaran maklumat di media sosial terhadap keselamatan maklumat ATM dan juga cadangan-cadangan bagi mengatasi permasalahan ini.

Merujuk kepada Perintah Pencegahan Pencemaran Maklumat ATM Melalui Platform Siber, media sosial boleh didefinisikan sebagai kemudahan aplikasi Internet yang berupaya untuk menyampaikan kandungan media dan membolehkan interaksi antara pengguna dengan penyedia kandungan. Media sosial ialah perkhidmatan atas talian (*online*), platform atau laman yang memfokuskan kepada pembangunan rangkaian sosial individu dan organisasi atau perhubungan sosial antara individu. Ia juga merupakan satu kaedah pengembangan rangkaian sosial individu atas talian dua hala berdasarkan kepada perkara yang dikongsi seperti minat ataupun aktiviti. Ia menawarkan profil pengguna sebagai wakil kepada data peribadi seseorang, rangkaian sosial sedia ada, dan platform komunikasi maya.

Mempunyai ciri-ciri lain seperti mel elektronik, laman sembang (*chatting*), laman bersemuka dan sebagainya.¹

Menurut laporan yang dikeluarkan oleh Cawangan Peperangan Siber, Direktorat Peperangan Informasi Bahagian Staf Perisikan Pertahanan (BSPP), terdapat 17 kes melibatkan pencemaran maklumat yang dilaporkan sepanjang tahun 2015 hingga 2016. Antara pencemaran maklumat yang pernah dilaporkan termasuklah penyebaran mesej-mesej sulit dan berdarjah ATM, penyamaran identiti atau *identity fraud*, penggunaan fungsi *geo-tagging* pada aplikasi berasaskan lokasi seperti Foursquare dan Facebook, dan juga penyebaran maklumat lokasi-lokasi strategik ATM.

Implikasi Penyebaran Maklumat Ketenteraan Melalui Media Sosial Terhadap Keselamatan Maklumat ATM

Penggunaan aplikasi medium perbualan atau *chatting* seperti Whatsapp dan Telegram memang tidak dinafikan lagi digunakan secara meluas dalam penyebaran maklumat-maklumat baik secara rasmi ataupun tidak rasmi dalam kalangan warga ATM. Memiliki akaun Whatsapp sudah menjadi suatu kelaziman atau kewajipan seterusnya menjadi suatu keperluan buat kita. Walhal mereka yang tidak memiliki aplikasi ini akan dianggap seperti ketinggalan zaman dan seterusnya dilabel sebagai tidak mengikut perkembangan semasa. Kini, penggunaan aplikasi ini bagi tujuan hubungan sosial dan kerja menjadi suatu kezaliman, dan ia menjadi salah satu jenis medium komunikasi penting termasuk dalam kalangan warga ATM. Tetapi, persoalannya sejauh manakah keselamatan maklumat yang disampaikan ini terpelihara?. Adakah penggunaan aplikasi bagi tujuan komunikasi berkaitan ketenteraan ini melanggar etika keselamatan dan kerahsiaan komunikasi ATM?.

Mengambil contoh aplikasi Whatsapp, ia dibangunkan di Amerika Syarikat oleh Jan Koum Brian Actum dan dimiliki oleh syarikat Facebook. Pangkalan data yang menyimpan segala data dalam bentuk teks, imej, suara dan format fail lain yang digunakan oleh hampir 1 bilion orang pengguna aktif Whatsapp ini tersimpan di Amerika Syarikat. Namun hal yang demikian, maklumat yang tersimpan ini tidak sewenang-wenangnya boleh dibaca dan diperoleh oleh pihak yang tidak bertanggungjawab memandangkan Whatsapp perlu mematuhi perjanjian pengguna yang dinyatakan dalam terma dan privasi dengan pengguna, selain tertakluk kepada undang-undang berpangkalan di California, Amerika Syarikat. Sebarang pelanggaran perjanjian ini akan membolehkan pengguna menyaman syarikat gergasi ini kerana melanggar garis panduan terma dan privasi yang telah ditetapkan dan dipersetujui bersama. Selain itu, aplikasi Whatsapp ini juga menggunakan enkripsi yang dinamakan *end-to-end encryption*, suatu enkripsi yang membolehkan hanya penghantar dan penerima sahaja boleh membaca segala bentuk data yang dihantar, serta tidak boleh dibaca oleh pihak lain dan terlindung daripada serangan *man-in-middle* atau sebarang pemintasan. Melalui enkripsi ini, penghantar akan menghantar data yang dilindungi dengan kunci, dan hanya penerima data sahaja yang mempunyai kunci unik dan boleh membaca mesej yang diterima. Enkripsi ini berlaku secara automatik dan tidak

¹Perintah Am Angkatan Tentera (PAAT) Bil 1/13 Perintah Pencegahan Pencemaran Maklumat ATM Melalui Platform Siber bertarikh 14 Jan 2013.

memerlukan pengguna untuk membuat tetapan, dengan syarat pengguna haruslah mengemas kini aplikasi pada peranti masing-masing kepada versi Whatsapp yang terkini.²

Namun hal yang demikian, persoalan seterusnya timbul apabila Whatsapp digunakan untuk perbualan-perbualan melibatkan maklumat ketenteraan, seperti menghantar sesuatu laporan, perkembangan latihan, makluman pergerakan, keperluan logistik dan sebagainya. Keselamatan amalan ini diragui kerana secara umumnya, maklumat ini mestilah dihantar dengan menggunakan khidmat *Defence Eletronics Messaging Systems* (DEMS), kiriman berita melalui Khidmat Hantaran Semboyan (KHS) ataupun khidmat kriptografi yang diyakini tahap kerahsiaan dan keselamatannya. Ancaman utama melalui penggunaan aplikasi seperti Whatsapp ini ialah sesuatu maklumat yang disampaikan berisiko tinggi untuk tersebar kepada individu yang tidak bertanggungjawab. Hanya dengan satu klik, maklumat yang disampaikan berkemungkinan akan disebar atau disampaikan kepada pihak yang tidak bertanggungjawab serta jatuh ke tangan musuh. Kepincangan-kepincangan yang berlaku terhadap beberapa laporan melalui Whatsapp yang tersebar kepada umum adalah seperti gambar rajah di bawah yang didapati di laman-laman sesawang yang boleh diakses oleh masyarakat umum. Implikasinya, penyebaran maklumat seperti ini walaupun pada awalnya berlandaskan nilai-nilai luhur dan murni, boleh memberi imej negatif kepada ATM dan seterusnya maklumat yang disampaikan boleh dimanipulasikan oleh pihak musuh untuk kepentingan perisikan maklumat strategik. Imej yang disertakan ialah contoh gambar yang tersebar melalui Whatsapp yang kemudiannya dimuat naik di blog.



Gambar 1.0: Gambar tersebar melalui Whatsapp yang dimuat naik di blog
Sumber:<http://omakkau.blogspot.my/2014/12/3-foto-trak-tentera-terbalik-.html>

² End-to-end Encryption, www.whatsapp.com/faq/en/general/28030015

Kedua-dua contoh imej yang dipaparkan adalah sebahagian daripada pencemaran maklumat ATM yang pada awalnya berpunca daripada penyebaran maklumat melalui aplikasi Whatsapp. Selain imej-imej yang dipaparkan, terdapat juga beberapa kes di mana mesej rasmi ketenteraan dikongsi di aplikasi Whatsapp ini yang seterusnya tersebar kepada umum. Hal ini secara jelasnya mewujudkan kompromi kepada keselamatan dan kerahsiaan maklumat ATM seterusnya dikhuatiri akan mengakibatkan kebocoran maklumat kepada musuh.



Gambar 2.0: Gambar anggota tentera yang diperoleh umum hasil daripada laporan awal anggota yang kemudiannya disebar di laman sosial.

Sumber:<http://kisahsekitarkita.blogspot.my/2014/09/tentera-darat-ditemui-tergantung-di.html>

Selain itu, pengguna internet amnya dan media sosial khususnya turut terdedah dengan serangan Malware. Malware ialah singkatan bagi perkataan *Malicious Software* atau perisian hasad dan digunakan untuk mengganggu operasi sesuatu sistem. Penggodam yang menggunakan serangan Malware ini boleh mendapatkan maklumat sulit yang disimpan pada storan mangsa, serta mengawal peranti dan komputer mangsa dari sebuah lokasi yang berbeza atau secara *remote*. Serangan ini boleh dilancarkan menggunakan cecacing dan virus yang terdapat pada sesuatu laman sosial. Manakala, merujuk kepada Garis Panduan Media Sosial ATM, Kod Perosak atau *Malicious Code* pula dicipta khusus untuk mengakibatkan kerosakan, kecurian maklumat, kemusnahan atau kesukaran kepada perjalanan lancar sistem ICT. Ia merupakan sebuah platform mudah untuk melaksanakan

kejuruteraan sosial (*social engineering*), eksploitasi siber dan juga serangan siber. Tafsiran kod perosak termasuk virus, *worm*, *trojan horse* dan *logic bomb*. Kod perosak mudah disebarkan melalui rangkaian-rangkaian media sosial seperti ketika sedang bersembang (*chatting*), muat turun sesuatu fail, perkongsian fail, penggunaan aplikasi diragui dan sebagainya.³

Antara Malware yang digunakan musuh bagi melancarkan serangan atau perisikan terhadap informasi-informasi sensitif pihak lawan termasuklah penggunaan perisian pengintipan yang dipasang kepada peranti elektronik atau sesebuah terminal komputer untuk mengumpul maklumat-maklumat sensitif musuh seperti kekuatan, senarai aset, latihan, taktik, perancangan dan sebagainya. Modus operandi yang digunakan penggodam ialah dengan cara menarik perhatian pengguna untuk melayari sesuatu pautan berita. Apabila mangsa melayari pautan yang diberi, mangsa akan melayari suatu laman web berbeza yang kemudiannya akan memberi ruang bagi muat turun Malware di terminal komputer masing-masing. Malware ini seterusnya digunakan bagi tujuan mencuri maklumat-maklumat sensitif, eksploitasi maklumat serta pengumpulan maklumat strategik oleh musuh seperti yang dinyatakan.

Seterusnya, penggunaan aplikasi berasaskan *geo-tagging* juga memberi ancaman kepada keselamatan maklumat ATM. Aplikasi *geo-tagging* seperti mengemas kini status atau imej berserta lokasi di Facebook, Twitter, dan Instagram. Antara contoh kawasan-kawasan sensitif yang sering dimuat naik di Internet tanpa disedari bahawa ia menjejaskan keselamatan maklumat dan kerahsiaan ATM termasuklah lokasi kem, stor senjata, gudang peluru, kawasan latihan, kawasan operasi dan sebagainya. Setiap lokasi yang dimuat naik boleh diakses dengan mudah oleh pihak musuh secara tepat. Selain itu, aplikasi *Global Positioning System* (GPS) juga boleh menjadi punca penjejakan lokasi oleh pihak musuh. Contoh sebenar serangan yang dilakukan berdasarkan fungsi *geo-tagging* dibuktikan pada tahun 2007 oleh Tentera Darat Amerika Syarikat. Ketika ketibaan helikopter bersama unit penerbangan yang berpangkalan di Iraq, beberapa orang tentera Amerika Syarikat mengambil gambar di lokasi pendaratan menggunakan telefon bimbit. Daripada gambar yang diambil dan dimuat naik di media sosial, musuh berjaya menjejaki lokasi sebenar dan tepat pasukan tentera Amerika Syarikat dan melancarkan serangan mortar, memusnahkan keempat-empat helikopter AH-64 Apache milik tentera Amerika Syarikat.⁴ Contoh yang diberikan memberi gambaran jelas tentang bahaya fungsi *geo-tagging* yang terdapat pada aplikasi-aplikasi media sosial. Bahagian Staf Perisikan Pertahanan juga telah mengeluarkan beberapa arahan tentang bahayanya penggunaan aplikasi berasaskan *geo-tagging* seperti larangan penggunaan aplikasi permainan Pokemon Go di kawasan kem dan yang terbaru larangan penggunaan aplikasi sukan berasaskan *geo-tagging* yang merekodkan trek larian atau rekod sebarang pergerakan di dalam kawasan kem.

Selain itu, perlombongan data atau *data mining* juga merupakan salah satu kaedah yang boleh digunakan musuh untuk mendapatkan maklumat sulit dan rahsia milik ATM yang seterusnya akan menjurus kepada pencemaran maklumat ATM. Perlombongan data

³ Garis Panduan Media Sosial Angkatan Tentera Malaysia

⁴https://m.army.mil/article/75165/Geotagging_poses_security_risks

merupakan kaedah mengkaji sejumlah data yang tersedia untuk mendapatkan sesuatu informasi yang baru. Ia melibatkan proses analisis data dari perspektif berbeza dan merumuskannya ke dalam suatu informasi yang berguna.⁵ Perlombongan data juga sering digunakan oleh agensi perisikan dan ketenteraan untuk mendapatkan sesuatu maklumat terutamanya daripada perisikan sumber terbuka atau *Open Source Intelligence* (OSINT). Selain aplikasi-aplikasi yang dibangunkan khas untuk tujuan ketenteraan, terdapat pelbagai laman sesawang yang menawarkan servis untuk membantu penganalisis ketenteraan melihat trend dari negara berbeza bagi sesuatu acara dan berita seperti protes, tunjuk perasaan dan sebagainya.⁶

Keghairahan pengguna Internet untuk mengemas kini perkembangan peribadi, kerja, pandangan dan sebagainya akan memudahkan lagi penganalisis menggunakan kaedah perlombongan data untuk mendapatkan informasi-informasi berguna bagi tujuan ketenteraan. Salah satu contoh laman sesawang yang boleh digunakan bagi kaedah perlombongan data ialah Trendmap.com yang memaparkan trend atau perkembangan terkini bagi pelbagai negara dan lokasi di seluruh dunia. Laman sesawang ini merumuskan perkara yang menjadi perhatian utama di sesuatu negara berdasarkan Tweet terkini yang dikemas kini oleh pengguna Twitter. Selain laman sesawang ini, terdapat juga laman sesawang lain seperti recordfuture.com yang membolehkan penganalisis ketenteraan menggunakan kaedah perlombongan data bagi membuat sesuatu ramalan berdasarkan beberapa sumber terbuka dari maklumat-maklumat media sosial. Sebagai contoh, maklumat-maklumat ramalan ini boleh digunakan bagi mengkaji sentimen-sentimen masyarakat di sesebuah negara seterusnya boleh digunakan untuk operasi perang saraf dan sebagainya. Kedua-dua contoh laman sesawang ini membuktikan bahawa maklumat-maklumat yang dipaparkan di media sosial mengakibatkan pencemaran maklumat ATM dan boleh digunakan sewenang-wenangnya oleh musuh negara untuk kepentingan yang tertentu.

Cadangan Mengatasi Ancaman Media Sosial

Terdapat beberapa garis panduan yang boleh diguna pakai oleh warga ATM dan keluarga dalam menggunakan media sosial dengan betul. Antaranya ialah Perintah Am Angkatan Tentera (PAAT) Bil 1/13 Perintah Pencegahan Pencemaran Maklumat ATM Melalui Platform Siber bertarikh 14 Jan 2013 dan Garis Panduan Media Sosial ATM yang dikeluarkan bagi memperjelaskan dengan lebih terperinci khusus mengenai penggunaan media sosial. Selain itu juga, kerajaan di bawah agensinya iaitu *Malaysian Administrative Modernisation and Management Planning Unit* (MAMPU) turut mengeluarkan beberapa garis panduan berkenaan penggunaan media sosial oleh kakitangan kerajaan seperti Garis Panduan Tatacara Pemilihan Kandungan Media Sosial MAMPU bertarikh 12 Oktober 2011, Surat Arahan Ketua Pengarah MAMPU “Amalan Terbaik Penggunaan Media Jaringan Sosial” bertarikh 8 April 2011, Surat Arahan Ketua Pengarah MAMPU “Penggunaan Media Jaringan Sosial di Sektor Awam” bertarikh 19 November 2009 dan Pekeliling Kemajuan Pentadbiran Awam Bilangan 1 Tahun 2003 iaitu “Garis Panduan Penggunaan Internet dan Mel Elektronik di Agensi-agensi Kerajaan”.

⁵ www.anderson.ucla.edu/technologies/datamining

⁶ <http://resources.infosecinstitute.com/category/security-awareness/>

Namun, harus diakui bahawa kesedaran dalam kalangan warga ATM tentang kewujudan garis panduan dan perintah ini masih lagi rendah. Pihak berkenaan seharusnya meningkatkan lagi kesedaran ancaman media sosial terhadap keselamatan maklumat ATM dan juga amalan-amalan yang selamat bagi penggunaan media sosial. Justeru, kempen-kempen kesedaran di peringkat pasukan, brigid, formasi dan juga perkhidmatan seharusnya dipertingkatkan bagi meningkatkan lagi kesedaran warga ATM bagi mengatasi



Gambar 3.0: Contoh dapatan dari perlombongan data di laman sesawang Trendmap.com yang memaparkan tumpuan utama pengguna twitter. Sumber <http://trendsmap.com/>

ancaman ini. Pasukan-pasukan seharusnya tidak meletakkan sepenuhnya tanggungjawab dalam melaksanakan kempen ini kepada pihak berkenaan sahaja memandangkan keselamatan dan kerahsiaan maklumat ialah tanggungjawab setiap individu dalam ATM, selari dengan Ikrar Kesateria kelima iaitu “menyimpan rahsia negara dengan seketat-ketatnya”. Kempen ini pula seharusnya tidak dilaksanakan secara *one-off* atau bermusim sebaliknya diteruskan sepanjang masa. Pengisian kempen dengan cara ceramah, seminar, bengkel, pertandingan syarahan, dan juga mengimplementasikan silibus berkaitan keselamatan media sosial dan siber sebagai silibus wajib kursus-kursus ATM.

Selain itu, kajian semula terhadap undang-undang sedia ada wajar dilaksanakan memandangkan ancaman penyebaran maklumat ATM melalui media sosial ialah perkara

yang serius dan sewajarnya dicegah sebelum menjadi lebih parah. Sudah tiba masanya undang-undang sedia ada dikaji semula dan dibuat pindaan bagi meningkatkan lagi tahap disiplin warga ATM dalam menggunakan laman sosial. Antara undang-undang sedia ada yang harus dipatuhi warga ATM termasuklah Akta Jenayah Komputer 1997, Akta Komunikasi dan Multimedia 1998 (Akta 563), Akta Rahsia Rasmi 1972, Akta Angkatan Tentera 1972, Arahan Keselamatan ATM atau FAFSI, Arahan BSPP 1987, Dasar Keselamatan ICT KEMANTAN dan undang-undang negara yang berkaitan yang dikeluarkan dari semasa ke semasa mengikut perkembangan teknologi.

KESIMPULAN

Secara kesimpulannya, penyebaran maklumat ATM sememangnya memberi impak yang negatif kepada keselamatan maklumat ATM. Langkah-langkah pencegahan, pengawasan dan penguatkuasaan garis panduan serta undang-undang tersedia seharusnya dilakukan secara drastik bermula hari ini sebelum lebih banyak lagi pencemaran maklumat dilakukan secara sedar atau tidak oleh warga ATM. Tuntasnya, kesedaran tentang bahaya penyebaran maklumat ATM melalui media sosial harus bermula dari dalam diri setiap individu itu sendiri. Memandangkan laman siber ialah suatu dimensi yang tidak terjangkau luasnya, tidak ada pihak yang lebih berkesan untuk mengawal penyebaran maklumat ini melainkan diri setiap individu dalam organisasi ATM ini. Prinsip dan etika kerahsiaan dan keselamatan harus dipegang teguh supaya keamanan dan kesejahteraan bumi tercinta ini akan terus terpelihara.

RUJUKAN

Perintah Am Angkatan Tentera (PAAT) Bil 1/13 Perintah Pencegahan Pencemaran Maklumat ATM Melalui Platform Siber bertarikh 14 Jan 2013.

End-to-end Encryption, www.whatsapp.com/faq/en/general/28030015

Garis Panduan Media Sosial Angkatan Tentera Malaysia

https://m.army.mil/article/75165/Geotagging_poses_security_risks

www.anderson.ucla.edu/technologies/datamining

<http://resources.infosecinstitute.com/category/security-awareness/>

<http://omakkau.blogspot.my/2014/12/3-foto-trak-tentera-terbalik-tujuh.html>

<http://kisahsekitarkita.blogspot.my/2014/09/tentera-darat-ditemui-tergantung-di.html>
<http://trendsmap.com>



Leftenan Wan Nurhidayat bin Wan Muhamad (3012685) ditauliahkan ke Rejimen Semboyan Diraja pada 1 Mac 2014. Beliau merupakan graduan Ijazah Sarjana Muda Sains Komputer Sistem Keselamatan (Kepujian) dari Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia. Pasukan pertama beliau ialah 93 Rejimen Semboyan Diraja (Peperangan Elektronik), dan kemudiannya berkhidmat di 1 Skuadron Semboyan Diraja sebagai Ketua Trup Radio dan kini beliau bertugas di Direktorat Peperangan Informasi, Bahagian Staf Perisikan Pertahanan sebagai Pegawai Tadbir Pusat Kawalan Peperangan Informasi. Antara Pencapaian terbaik beliau. Beliau pernah muncul sebagai Johan Pertandingan Menulis Esei Panglima Tentera Darat kategori Kapten ke bawah bagi tahun 2017.

Cinta itu perang, yakni perang yang hebat dalam rohani manusia.

Jika ia menang, akan didapati orang yang tulus ikhlas, luas fikiran, sabar dan tenang hati.

Jika ia kalah, akan didapati orang yang putus asa, sesat, lemah hati, kecil perasaan dan bahkan kadang-kadang hilang kepercayaan pada diri sendiri.

Hamka

THE FACTORS OF THE ESPRIT DE CORPS IN THE ARMY BETWEEN GENERATION X AND Y

By

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General Service Corps (Pay)

INTRODUCTION

Every standing army displays an esprit de corps. It was invoked by the tribunes of the Roman legions to arouse their soldiers' ardour for battle. In the feudal era, its potency seemed to dwindle, or else merely to take the form of the sentiment that linked the inhabitants of any one lord's domain and approximated to a parochial loyalty. However, it reappeared in a corporate form with the advent of mercenary armies. In the royal armies of the pre-Revolutionary period, it combined the feeling of corporate solidarity and the faithful fulfilment of undertakings entered into with the captain, by written contract or more often orally, and through the medium of the captain, with the sovereign. Thus, the men remained attached to their companies. Besides, they lost their seniority if they transferred from one company to another. Nevertheless, in the course of the eighteenth century, enlistment in the army tended to become mainly a commitment to the sovereign and the state. This provided a broader and more persuasive justification, if not a profounder one, for esprit de corps which, it seems, reached its apogee in the second half of the eighteenth century, and remained on a high plateau for a century, with long-term military service instilling a professional attitude into soldiers.

The differences between generation X and Y have created the gap known as generation gap and creates negatives perception between the generations. The characteristic of the generation Y that always ask 'why' before do any tasks also had to take serious precaution in order to prevent the declining of discipline and personality and image of the organisation. Today trendy for generation X and Y have grown up with internets and technological advancement dramatically. They are prone to use electronic gadgets and social media as their daily life. Recently, both generations misused of social media in term of spreading the issues. In view with this syndrome, it does can lead to the seamless communication each other. These portray negative aspect particularly in organization or unit. Information sharing in term of video, voice and data can be viral in matter of seconds doesn't mean good tool to foster esprit de corps in organization.

Esprit de Corps

Esprit de Corps can be defined in various perspectives from the business term, management tools or principles, and military tough. Houston (2000), defined "Esprit de corps is a belief that the rank and file get from the top which makes them feel they are

different from any better than other people and that the organization is more important than the individual". According to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary: Esprit is defined as "spirit, mind", a French adjective derived from the Latin spirits dated at 1591. (Little, Fowler & Coulson, 1959: 633). Corps is defined in a military sense as "A division of an army, forming a tactical unit; a body of troops regularly organized; a body of men assigned to a special service". It goes further to define "A body of persons associated in a common organization, or acting under a common direction." (Little et al, 1959: 398). Esprit de corps is then defined as a phrase being: "A spirit of jealous regard for the corporate honour and interests, and for those of each member of the Body as belonging to it." (Little et al, 1959: 633).

Upon further investigation, Esprit de corps is defined in the Collins Dictionary as: "...consciousness of and pride in belonging to a particular group; the sense of shared purpose and fellowship" (Wilkes & Krebs, 1988: 381). These suggests that the body or group described is greater than the individuals that make it up, and that there are both shared bonds between the individual and the organization as well as between the individuals themselves. These bonds exist purely because of the fact that the individuals concerned are members of that body. This notion is often the foundation on which concepts such as loyalty and devotion to the organisation are based. For example, the notions of "honour and glory" and can remain with members even on leaving the organization. Thus (Boyle, 2003) defined Esprit de corps is based around a group of individuals belonging to a special group or body, and having strength in the knowledge that it forms part of what they stand for or believe in, how others (outsiders) perceive them, and how they relate to fellow members (insiders). Clearly there are parallels between what is being described here and what is embodied in the concepts of organizational identity and image.

In this context of study, Esprit de corps is one of the management principles and here means team spirit and team work. This principle emphasizes on team work. Unity is strength is the essence of this principle. According to Fayol (1949), suggested that there should be a team spirit in the organisation and all the employees must consider themselves as member of the organisation. The organisation should be considered as a team and all the employees as its member. When the employees are considered as member, it develops a feeling of belongingness among them and thus each of them contributes to the achievement of the organisational goal. This sense of togetherness helps the employees to perform with greater efficiency and positive attitude towards the work.

This principle is based on two theories, "Unity is strength" and "Unity of staff is the foundation of success in any organisation". Thus, this principle states that both the workers and management should work together to accomplish the objectives. The reason behind this principle is that, team contribution is always better than individual contribution. This principle is very helpful in the organisation as well as in our daily life because this brings a sense of belongingness and association wherever human beings are involved.

Generation X and Y

The identification and grouping of people generation broadly published and differently describes accordance to vast references and justifications. According to William J. Schroer (2014), who is social librarian in US which published the identification and description of people generations accordance to demographers and market researchers. He describes people generation into eight groups. However author only focuses on Gen X and Gen Y pertaining to the highlighted issue.

Generation X is the generation of people born after baby boomers, especially those born in between the year 1966 – 1976 (William, 2014). Sometimes referred to as a "lost" generation, this was the first generation of "latchkey" kids, is exposed to a lot of care and divorce. Known as the generation who drop out without ever turning on the news or tuning to social issues around them? Gen X arguably the best educated generation with a bachelor's degree or higher (compared to previous generation). Fears are running high over prevent burglary, children growing up without parents around, and financial planning. Burke and NG (2006) had classified generation X as the cohort of individuals born between the years of 1960-1979. Generation X is the individuals who experiences major world events such as the fall of the Soviet Union, Collapsed of Berlin Wall, HIV/AIDS epidemic and economic uncertainty involving a business world that went haywire with corporate downsizing and massive layoffs. They also marked the arrival of computers and Internet in the home. Generation X also known for their independent due to the absence of parents during childhood and it because they were less dependent on their parents and peers in decision making process and conducting the tasks.

Generation Y is the generation of people born in the 1977 till 1994 (William, 2014). The average age now for this generation is 40 years old and younger. Generation Y (also known as the Millennial) is the fastest growing segment of today's workforce. Gen Y kids are known as incredibly sophisticated, technology wise, immune to most traditional marketing and sales pitches. It is because they are not only grew up with it all, they've seen it all and been exposed to it all since early childhood. Generation Y or millennial defined by Stuart and Lyons (2008) and Twenge and Campbell (2008) as anyone born between the years of 1980 and 1994. This generation had grown up in an era characterized by globalisation, rapid technological advancement and increasing diversity. This generation is moving fulfilling the workforce and wish for reward through income growth and recognition for their contribution. According to Col Andre' L. Willey (2008) in his research paper mentioned that generation Y has a cultural bias that is different from current military cultures and values.

According to Army Human Resources Management (as of June 2017), **Table 1** show the number of each generation that in service in Malaysian Army. From the figures, it can see that the number of generation Y outnumbered the generation X. It indicates that the command structure of the Malaysian Army organisation were lead by the generation X and generation Y in the middle. Thus generation X needs to maintain esprit de corps between both generation because generation Y in the service are the main asset of the Army. Year to come slowly this generation will fill the gap in the organisation after the retirement of generation X in the services.

Ser	Subject	Officers	Other Ranks	Total
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Gen X	2,425	20,640	23,065
2.	Gen Y	2,213	51,893	54,106

Table 1: The number of each generation in the Malaysian Army

The Influence of New Technology toward Generation X and Y

MAF now changing to new environment, way of working and communicating with other parts of the world with seamless communication technologies to ensure competitive with others military forces. The technologies advancement has created new working style and environment for the new generation. Overview MAF personnel based on the position of people generation where Gen X is seem to be at the middle positions in organization, Baby Boomers or Boomers II holding down the top, while the Gen Y is pushing up from the bottom.

The study conducted by Suren Ramasubbu (2015) on the use of communication technology gadgets by every people generations. He identified that Gen X and Gen Y shows the highest numbers of usage the communication technology gadgets compared with Boomers groups. He conducted the study through interviews and over 2104 people in the US and the study summary shown at **Table 1** below.

Gadgets	Millennia's (Age : 18-34)	Gen X (Age : 35-46)	Boomers II (Age : 47-56)	Boomers I (Age : 57-65)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Cell phone	95	92	86	84
Desktop Computer	57	69	65	64
Laptop Computer	70	61	49	43
iPod/ MP3	74	56	42	26
Games Console	63	63	38	19
e-book Reader	5	5	7	3
Tablet	5	5	4	3
Totals	369%	351%	291%	242%

Table 2: Usage of Communication Technology Gadgets by Generation Gap

The above data shows the number of usage in percent toward communication technology gadgets by the people generations which increase starting Boomers I era. The large gap is shown between Gen X and Gen Y compared with boomers era. Although cell phone use for all generation gap does not show a big gap, but a study by Kathryn Zickuhr (2011) proved the difference on the method and purpose of usages. He found all generations may use the cell phone to take the picture, but millennial group use wider, such as improving the image, modify, improve to video mode, sharing in variety of meanings and etc.

Positive and Negative Impacts on Army Organization

Positive impact on new technology between both generations is the faster way of communication. Its will gives soldiers the ability to communicate with larger audiences faster and in new ways. It has become an important tool for messaging and outreach. New technology with updates social media is relevant in today's public affairs world. Over the year, army organizations have used social media to not only communicate important army messages, but they have used it to communicate during times of crisis. *Op Murni* during flood in Kelantan was a perfect example of how effective social media use can help distribute information to those in need while also detailing how the army supported relief efforts.

Additionally the negative impact of the new technology social media is indirectly release internal information to the public. The explosion of online social networking in recent years has caused damages to organizations due to leakage of information whether accidental or intentional, provides an opportunity to enemy to know what we were doing. There have been some high profile cases of soldier leaking confidential and sensitive information through online social networking reported in the media. A breach of confidentiality information are typically originating from staff inside an organization and usually resulting in internal information being disclosed into the public domain. For example, when the soldier uploads or updates status in the social media that he is in the operation area doing the operation, he reveals that his unit is not in the base. Revealed information can be exploited by enemy to obtain confidential information about the organizations in order to do espionage and sabotage. Before the existence of the social media, the leakage of confidential also happened but in small skill. For example during communist era, the spouse been ask by grosser who is the agent for the communist, why she buys a lot of stuff and the spouse unintentionally reveal the information that his husband will going to operation.

Within the context of this study, author observed the positive or negative impact to the army organization due the seamless communication between both generations. Thus esprit de corps plays an important role to win a thousand battles instead of modern weapons.

How To Generate Esprit De Corps Among Generation X And Y

Based on Robert Grosz (2008), generating esprit de corps is not a passive operation. There are a variety of concerns among existing personnel that may erode esprit de corps. Its establishment, especially within military organisation, is a concern because there the

measurement of success is not as easy as when one can measure the amount of service asked for and performed. In order to help reinforce or elevate esprit de corps, it would be productive to identify the elements of 3 categories that help to generate it. The model is shown at **Figure 1**.

- ❖ **Personal Elements.** What the individual needs to feel in order to experience the esprit de corps. These would include the needs to believe in what you are doing, to feel that you are not alone, to feel that you will be recognized, and to feel that you will be appreciated. If these needs are fulfilled, then the willingness to perform for the group, for the units, for the personals, and for the self is enhanced and the possibility of feeling pleasure in dedicating yourself is also enhanced.



Figure 1: Robert Grosz, How to Generate Esprit de Corps

- ❖ **Group Elements.** What the group offers the individual in order to enhance the esprit de corps. These would include units offering feelings of cooperation and support, contributing to a sense of security, contributing to the concern for each individual's welfare, and demonstrating that there is awareness that each individual is a part of the whole with the same mission even though the roles and contributions may vary.
- ❖ **Organisation Contributions.** The role of an organisation or units can play in order to foster esprit de corps. Among the units contributions would be an environment of open communications, a relaxed environment that includes physical comfort, fair methods of assessment, a pathway for dissent, honest leadership, mechanisms for change and/or development, a prevailing spirit of concern for the individual as a human, rather than identifying department through a function and realistic missions. Periodic assessment of these elements as well as potential solutions for

improvements should be of a cooperative nature. Spreading a sense of ownership enhances a feeling of investment and a desire for involvement.

In an effort to maintain present and / or attain even greater levels of esprit de corps, we should not overlook the possibility that we can benefit through the experience of others. A visitor certainly gets the feeling of the esprit de corps from the nature and mechanism of the training sessions or motivation workshops that take place in the units. However, if we examine the specific elements that help to establish esprit de corps, we can see that they commonly apply to any organization including business, entertainment, or government, as well as military organization. Thus we should not underestimate the value of morale.

Importance Of Esprit De Corp In The Army

Esprit de corps is an important aspect in the unit among the officers and men especially in the operational scenario where one's life depends on each other. Why its element is importance to the unit in order to achieving the organisation goal? The following factors determine how esprit de corps take placed in the unit organisation programme and activity.

- **Vision and Mission of the Unit.** In achieving a vision and mission of the unit, esprit de corps among the generation X and Y play an important part when each individual have the same spirit to achieving the objectives. These mean that the whole personals in the unit have the same understanding, same tracks and frequency although the role and contributions may vary for each others. As a total it's automatically will generate the unity of the unit itself.
- **Operational Glory.** To succeed in operational scenario, esprit de corps among those who are involved in the operational are highly required and need to be part of the operational principles. The operational environment is highly demand esprit de corps from each individual in order to bring the glory. The leader should play the rules to ensure each men in the operations area have the same tunes and understand the principles and also explained what is the benefits of its.
- **Security Aspect.** In order to maintain security aspect in the unit such as weapon and ammo, personals, documents, asset and media electronic, the whole departments in the unit should emphasize on the esprit de corps to every members in department. Therefore each member will contributing to a sense of security or reminds each other if there any mistake or misconduct in their respective departments. Indirectly the unit will maintain security in all aspect accordingly.
- **Training Programme.** Unit have so many training in order to prepare for the competent soldier in any situation. It does include individual and collective raining which are required internal committee members to run the training programme. Committee members should have highly esprit de corps in order to ensure the training conducted will be succeeded. Only personals with physical comfort will go to take part in the training activity.

- **Asset Management.** Managing asset in the unit need an honest leadership and experience personals in order to supervise generation Y. Through honest leadership and experience personals esprit de corps can be exercise to the generation Y in completing the task. By that, Generation Y feels pride and feels he is part of the unit and important to the group members.
- **Administrative Management.** Administrative play an important role in any unit in military organization and it's like a mirror image to the unit itself. When the unit perform tip top in administrative management, it's mean that the leader and the personals in the unit are competent and highly in esprit de corps. Open communication, relax working environment and look into personal welfare is the key to success.
- **Sport Competition.** For every competition which is unit involvement, the unity as a team to win the game is required. Most of the team in sport competition to succeed will depend on esprit de corps rather than individuals skill. Comradeship among the team members to fight until the end without surrender against opposite it's shown highly esprit de corps.

Recommendation

As a leader or commander, to foster the esprit de corps through organization or unit can be achieved by conducting activities as follows:

- ❖ **Firstly, Organize Sport Activity.** Sport competition inters departments which must be include generation X and Y. Sport activities either outdoor or indoor game, for example table tennis, snooker, badminton, futsal, football, basketball. The main purpose of these games is not to shown individual skilful or to determine the winners but more to develop comradeship, team works and to close the gap between the generation X and Y. In others word, it is to get together and socialise among generation. Automatically, it will develop esprit the corps among the personnel in the organization or unit.
- ❖ **Secondly, Conduct Team Building/Collective Programme.** Purpose of team building is to inspire individuals in the team to complete the given task with creative and innovative way. Supervisor or organizer need to create programme/ activities within the limitation time frame. It is depend on members of the team how to execute in order to accomplish the task. Each member has to show their commitment toward every activity that has been designed. Indirectly, it will generate spirit the corps among the members. The members of the team must be mixed together between generation X and Y.
- ❖ **Thirdly, Conduct Classes and Lecture.** Each department or unit should organised classes and lectures for specific topic on esprit the corps for their members. The aim of this programme is to highlight the values of esprit the corps and why it is very

important in the organization and working culture. Through this programme everybody will understand and aware of the cooperation, unity and sense of belonging among themselves.

- ❖ **Fourthly, Develop Group Mentoring.** The idea of this programme is for one's who has more knowledge, experience and skills to impart it within his group. For example, senior members of each organization or unit will act as a mentor to mentee four or five members. Mentoring group leader provide numerous kind of mentoring assistant including information sharing, advice, social support, coaching and empowering individual to greater competency.
- ❖ **Fifthly, Arrange a Group Assignment.** The purpose of group assignment is to develop team works in a specific group. Each team consist of generation X and Y. The main objective of group assignment is brainstorming, discuss and find out solution to the specific problems in the organization or unit. For example, this group assignment can be used in Creative and Innovative Project for better improvement in the unit.
- ❖ **Lastly, Organize a Group for Social Programme.** Social Programme such regimental and informal activities should be organised at least once a month depends on the activities of the organization or unit. Each member should given an opportunity to organise social activity of the department or unit. For example, department will organised family day and task will be divided to the generation X and Y. As a result, organising activities required good coordination and corporation among generation. This would be stimulating all members to do job well.

CONCLUSION

As the esprit de corps is based around a group of individuals belonging to a special group or body, there are a variety of concerns for leader or commander to erode esprit de corps. Within the army organisation especially generation X and Y, in order to elevate esprit de corps, it would be productive to identify the elements of 3 categories that will help to generate it that is personal elements, group elements and organisation contributions. Activities conducted in units involving organization with aim to close gaps between personnel and develop cooperation among them will foster the esprit de corps.

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**DISIPLIN PEMIMPIN RENDAH (PTT KANAN) DALAM
MEMBANTU PENGURUSAN SUMBER DI PASUKAN**

Oleh

1140496 SSjn Mohd Anwar bin Aziz
Rejimen Artileri Diraja**PENDAHULUAN**

Sikap yang dipamerkan oleh Pegawai Tidak Tauliah Kanan (PTT Kanan) terhadap anggota yang dipimpinya merupakan sesuatu perkara yang sangat penting bagi memelihara disiplin anggota yang dipimpin. Kepimpinan baik yang ditunjukkan oleh seorang PTT Kanan yang dilantik merupakan tunjang di sebalik kejayaan organisasi. Keberkesanan kepimpinan adalah cermin kepada kualiti PTT Kanan yang dilahirkan pada masa kini. Esei ini ditulis bagi memberi gambaran kepada PTT Kanan bahawasanya PTT Kanan bukan sahaja penghubung anggota bawahan kepada Pegawai Atasan malah memainkan peranan untuk menjadi contoh dan tauladan kepada anggota bawahan. Maklumat-maklumat disampaikan di dalam esei ini adalah untuk memberi kesedaran kepada semua PTT Kanan di pasukan-pasukan berkenaan kepentingan yang harus dimainkan agar menjadi contoh dan teladan kepada anggota bawahan.

Pegawai Tidak Bertauliah Kanan (PTT Kanan)

PTT Kanan merupakan seorang individu tentera yang dinaikkan pangkat anggota bawahan dari Koperal ke pangkat Sarjan dalam perkhidmatan Angkatan Tentera. Seseorang PTT Kanan itu adalah seorang yang dipilih khas berdasarkan kepada kebolehannya. Ianya adalah seorang yang boleh dijadikan teladan, beliau juga adalah orang yang paling rapat dengan anggota bawahan. Dengan kata lain PTT Kanan merupakan seorang yang bertanggungjawab untuk setiap anggota jagaannya di dalam sesebuah organisasi yang bertindak sebagai pemangkin, pendorong, pemudah cara dan penilai selain pegawai atasan. Seseorang PTT Kanan itu juga perlu mengagihkan input-input organisasi dengan cara perancangan, pengorganisasian, pengarah dan pengawalan kepada anggota bawahannya bagi mencapai objektif organisasi dengan berkesan.

Definisi

Istilah disiplin mempunyai berbagai-bagai definisi. Pada kebiasaannya disiplin diertikan sebagai latihan pemikiran dan kelakuan supaya boleh mengawal diri sendiri dan patuh pada tata tertib. Walau bagaimanapun dalam ketenteraan disiplin didefinisikan sebagai suatu peraturan yang ditetapkan untuk melatih seseorang individu supaya berkelakuan baik (Abu Saman, 2011). PTT Kanan dalam perkhidmatan Angkatan Tentera dan Tentera Darat amnya bukanlah suatu keistimewaan tetapi ia adalah suatu tanggungjawab yang perlu dipikul. Dengan menjadi PTT Kanan maka bertambahlah

tanggungjawabnya. Lebih tinggi bidang kepimpinannya lebih besar pula tanggungjawabnya. Pada mulanya seorang individu akan menjadi pemimpin kepada dirinya sendiri. Apabila ia membentuk keluarga dan menjadi pemimpin keluarga, tanggungjawab keluarga dan dirinya akan ditambah. Demikianlah makin luas bidang kepimpinannya, maka makin besar tanggungjawabnya. Begitu juga bagi seorang Ketua Negara bukan sahaja mengenai dirinya dan keluarganya tetapi mengenai rakyatnya. Justeru itu apabila tanggungjawab bertambah luas maka kewajipannya juga bertambah. Seterusnya di Akhirat kelak soalan-soalan di hadapan Allah SWT juga akan bertambah banyak. Oleh kerana dengan menjadi seorang PTT Kanan akan bertambah kewajipan seseorang anggota tentera tersebut dan makin banyak soalnya di hadapan Allah SWT, maka PTT Kanan yang berfikiran terbuka dan positif akan lebih bermotivasi serta berdisiplin. Ini kerana ia faham PTT Kanan bukan satu keistimewaan tetapi suatu tanggungjawab. Meskipun makin besar tanggungjawab, makin besar pula ganjaran baik yang sedia ada atau yang disediakan Allah SWT di hari Akhirat kepada sesiapa yang melaksanakan tanggungjawab itu. Namun jika PTT Kanan mengabaikan tanggungjawabnya besarlah risiko dan akibatnya di akhirat kelak. PTT Kanan mestilah seorang pemimpin yang berkelayakan dari segi kekuatan fizikalnya, ketaatan kepada Allah SWT, jasmani, kepintaran akal dan dihormati oleh anggota bawah kawalannya. Seorang PTT Kanan, pemimpin anggota bawahan dan penyeliaan biasanya dianggapkan sebagai suatu kegiatan yang sama. Sesungguhnya seseorang PTT Kanan yang paling berkesan merupakan seorang pemimpin anggota bawahan yang berkesan. Memimpin merupakan satu tugas yang memerlukan kelayakan dan kepakaran yang tinggi. Maka setiap individu yang terpilih untuk dinaikkan ke PTT Kanan ini, mereka akan dilatih dan diajar supaya memperoleh tahap kemahiran yang paling tinggi serta mengukur kemampuan dan memperbaiki kelemahan-kelemahan aktiviti-aktiviti pengurusan dan ketenteraan melalui suatu fungsi kawalan.

Hubungan PTT Dengan Anggota Yang Dipimpin

Pengelolaan anggota adalah satu cara yang baik bagi meninggikan mutu disiplin di dalam sesebuah organisasi. Jika semua anggota dilatih dan dikawal dengan baik, mereka akan berhati-hati dan tidak akan menjatuhkan nama baik dan maruah organisasi. Tanggungjawab seorang PTT Kanan untuk anggota bawah kawalannya mestilah mengetahui dan mengenali anggota-anggota kawalannya dengan lebih dekat dan rapat bagai mencapai matlamat di dalam satu organisasi atau pasukan. Perhubungan terbina dari asas keyakinan dan hormat menghormati antara satu sama lain. Jika anggota bawah kawalannya itu percaya yang PTT Kanan berkebolehan membuat keputusan yang waras dengan fikiran tenang walaupun pada saat-saat genting akan menimbulkan keyakinan anggota bawahannya. Perwatakan seseorang PTT Kanan adalah lebih berkeyakinan. Ini kerana PTT Kanan perlu melatih dirinya untuk menjadi teladan dan ikutan kepada anggota bawah kawalannya. Taraf sikap dan kelakuannya yang tinggi hendaklah sentiasa dipamerkan sebilang masa. Ia akan dihalusi serta dipraktikkan dalam perkhidmatan. Paling mustahak pemikiran setiap anggota adalah berfikiran positif dan inovatif.

Sebagaimana yang sering kita lihat senario perbezaan pangkat menyebabkan anggota-anggota bawahan sering memencilkan diri daripada pihak atasan. Keadaan ini adalah disebabkan daripada sifat segan dan takut yang telah diwarisi dari sejak mereka memasuki perkhidmatan. Maka dengan itu PTT Kanan perlu mengasuh dan membimbing dirinya cara

berkomunikasi dengan baik dan bertatasusila. Seterusnya anggota-anggota tersebut akan lebih berkeyakinan dan berketerampilan. Kedudukan sebagai seorang PTT Kanan perlulah diserlahkan dan keunggulannya hendaklah dirasai oleh anggota-anggota sehingga ianya menuntut kepada suatu penghormatan. Keadaan ini akan menzahirkan budaya hormat kepada anggota berpangkat tinggi dan seterusnya memelihara kewibawaan seorang pemimpin. Perkara inilah haruslah sentiasa dipraktikkan sebilang masa. Disiplin adalah ukuran tahap moral yang wujud di kalangan PTT Kanan. Akhlak dan moral tinggi mestilah dipupuk dengan menanamkan unsur-unsur keagamaan di dalam semua aspek pentadbiran dan pengurusan. PTT Kanan mestilah berketerampilan sebagai pemimpin-pemimpin yang berkebolehan, berdedikasi, bertanggungjawab, berinovatif dan bersifat positif. Ini kerana PTT Kanan berupaya memberi tunjuk ajar kepada anggota bawahan di dalam apa jua kerja yang perlu dilakukan. Bagi mempunyai kredibiliti dan kemampuan, seorang PTT Kanan mestilah mempunyai kebolehan dan pengetahuan yang mendalam mengenai kepakaran tugas penyeliaan. Mereka hendaklah lebih peka dengan tugas dan tanggungjawab mereka. Dengan adanya kredibiliti dan kemampuan ini ia dapat mengasuh atau membimbing semua anggota bawahannya.

PTT Kanan dan Kepimpinan

Kepimpinan ialah perkataan terbitan daripada “pimpin” yang membawa erti bimbing pandu atau tunjuk. Memimpin diberi erti sebagai memegang tangan dan membawa belanja menuju ke sesuatu tempat. Kepemimpinan membawa erti keupayaan memimpin dan kepimpinan pula keupayaan sebagai pemimpin daya seseorang pemimpin (Kamus Dewan bahasa, 1994). Kepimpinan ialah tingkah laku yang mempunyai keupayaan mengubah haluan sesuatu organisasi. Kepimpinan perlu memilih kriteria-kriteria tertentu dalam usaha mencapai objektif organisasi. Mereka boleh memantau orang bawahan agar mengikut kriteria yang dipilih untuk tujuan pembangunan dan kejayaan di samping dapat mempertahankan corak kerja berpasukan yang erat (Cartwright dan Zender, 1960) dan (Halpn, 1960). Kepimpinan merupakan satu subjek yang menarik kepada semua golongan masyarakat. Kepimpinan memberi gambaran individu yang berkuasa dan dinamik yang memerintah tentera atau mengarah empayar korporat. Sejarah manusia penuh dengan pemimpin tentera, politik, agama dan sosial. Perjuangan pemimpin yang berani dan bijaksana menjadi inti pati legenda dan mitos. Menurut Stodgill (1974), kepimpinan adalah satu konsep yang sukar dan kompleks. Dia melihat kepimpinan sebagai satu fenomena manusia yang *universal* dan sukar difahami. Kepimpinan ialah satu proses integrasi di antara individu dengan kumpulan atau khususnya di antara individu dengan keseluruhan ahli-ahli yang menganggotai kumpulan. Setiap yang terlibat dengan proses interaksi ini boleh di anggap memegang peranan yang tertentu yang membezakan antara satu sama lain. Asas yang membezakan antara satu dengan lain ini ialah pengaruh iaitu pemimpin mempengaruhi dan pengikut mematuhi (Gordon, 1955).

Seorang ahli pengurusan pula, mendefinisikan kepimpinan sebagai satu proses cubaan mempengaruhi sesuatu kumpulan dalam situasi dan masa yang khusus yang dapat merangsang ahli-ahli untuk berusaha secara suka rela hati bagi mencapai matlamat bersama (Gribben, 1972). Pemikiran lain berpendapat bahawa kepimpinan secara amnya bermakna pengaruh satu seni atau proses mempengaruhi manusia supaya mereka dapat berusaha secara sukarela ke arah mencapai matlamat bersama (Koontz, 1984). Kepimpinan melibatkan kedua-dua keupayaan atau kekuatan untuk meyakinkan orang lain

supaya kerja keras ke arah suatu matlamat dan kemahiran atau kebolehan untuk membantu mereka mencapainya (Fulmer, 1988). Dalam tulisannya "Leadership Dinamic" Hollander (1978) mendefinisikan kepemimpinan sebagai satu proses mempengaruhi di antara pemimpin dan pengikut. Walau pun pemimpin mempunyai kuasa tetapi kekuatan pengaruh lebih bergantung atas pujukan dari paksaan. Proses kepemimpinan selalunya melibatkan pertalian pengaruh yang bersifat dua arah dan tujuan utama ialah untuk mencapai matlamat bersama. Daripada pelbagai definisi yang dikemukakan di atas maka dapatlah dirumuskan seperti berikut:

- ❖ Kepimpinan wujud dalam apa jua aktiviti yang disusun secara rapi dan sistematik.
- ❖ Kepimpinan juga berkaitan secara langsung dan tidak langsung dengan keseluruhan aktiviti dalam organisasi.
- ❖ Kepimpinan mempunyai kaitan rapat dengan kuasa setiap ketua perlu memiliki perancangan sendiri yang mantap.

Pengikut menumbang kuasa yang besar kepada pemimpin mereka dan kepemimpinan di kaitkan dengan kejayaan atau kegagalan sesebuah organisasi. Drucker (1985) berpendapat kejayaan sesebuah organisasi adalah tanggungjawab eksekutif. Bagi organisasi seperti universiti kejayaan kejayaannya adalah tanggungjawab Kumpulan Pengurusan mereka yang bertanggungjawab terhadap prestasi sendiri pekerja hasil serta kualiti perkhidmatan. Edmond (1978) berpendapat "*principals can make a difference*" yang membawa maksud bahawa sesebuah organisasi boleh dimajukan dan kemajuannya berpunca daripada kepemimpinan pihak pengurusan dan keupayaan memupuk kerjasama antara pengurusan dan pekerjaan di dalam pelbagai aktiviti organisasi yang mana merupakan pra-syarat penting kepada pemimpin berkesan. Penyelidikan yang dibuat oleh pakar-pakar pengurusan menyatakan ciri-ciri kepemimpinan lazimnya ada pada semangat mereka mempunyai cita-cita, ketabahan, ketekunan, tekad, daya usaha, tenaga dan hasrat untuk berjaya. Kejujuran dan integriti mereka mempunyai sikap terbuka boleh dipercayai, jujur dan boleh diharap. Dorongan kepemimpinan mereka mempunyai hasrat yang tinggi mahu mempengaruhi individu lain supaya menyokong usaha mencapai tujuan dan matlamat yang sudah ditetapkan oleh pemimpin. Keyakinan diri mereka sangat percaya pada keupayaan diri sendiri. Kepintaran mereka berupaya menggabungkan dan mentafsirkan maklumat yang banyak. Kajian mendapatkan otak yang sangat pintar belum tentu boleh membuatkan seseorang itu menjadi pemimpin yang berjaya malah ada kalanya menimbulkan kesan negatif pula. Pengetahuan dalam bidang mereka mempunyai ilmu dan kepakaran yang cukup dalam bidang yang dipimpin. Kreativiti mereka berupaya mencipta idea-idea baru yang berguna. Fleksibiliti mereka berupaya menyesuaikan diri kepada keperluan individu yang mereka pimpin dengan keperluan situasi dan masa.

PTT Kanan dan Pengurusan

Bahagian Pengurusan sumber berperanan penting dalam menguruskan keperluan dan kemudahan sumber fizikal bagi kegunaan pegawai dan anggota pasukan mahu pun anggota yang berkursus di pasukan tersebut. Bahagian ini bertindak dalam menguruskan perkara berkaitan bangunan, peralatan, alat-alat tulis, kemudahan makmal komputer dan

ringkasan pusat sumber bagi memastikan sistem dan penyampaian latihan anggota di pasukan tersebut berjalan dengan lancar mengikut keperluan dan *standard* yang telah ditetapkan. Ini bagi memastikan pasukan memberi perkhidmatan dan latihan yang berkualiti seterusnya melahirkan anggota yang mahir dalam mengendalikan persenjataan daripada kemudahan yang terdapat di pasukan tersebut. Tugas dan kewajipan membawa pengertian sesuatu kegiatan yang perlu dilaksanakan bukan sahaja kerana ianya sebahagian dari kerjanya. Ia juga oleh kerana kewajipan dan tanggungjawab yang dituntut oleh pemegang pangkat atau jawatan yang disandang. Unsur ini menekankan kepada kawalan pelaksanaan kewajipan sebagai pemangkin kepada tanggungjawab seseorang PTT Kanan (Fitrah, 2005). Kegagalan melaksanakan kewajipan ini akan mengakibatkan pelbagai kerugian, disiplin, masa, wang, tenaga dan material serta mengakibatkan hasil keluaran PTT Kanan yang tidak memuaskan.

Seseorang PTT Kanan memerlukan kemahiran-kemahiran tertentu di dalam mengendalikan anggota di bawah jagaan beliau terutama PTT Kanan di dalam organisasi yang dianggotai oleh anggota dari pelbagai budaya. Keupayaan menggunakan pengetahuan yang spesifik, prosedur dan teknik dalam sesuatu bidang seperti penyeliaan, kewangan, mengajar dan sebagainya. Pengetahuan-pengetahuan ini diperoleh melalui pendidikan formal yang dilalui oleh PTT Kanan. Sungguhpun ini merupakan salah satu cara untuk mendapatkan kemahiran teknikal yang diperoleh dan pengalaman bekerja. Kemahiran ini amat diperlukan oleh PTT Kanan barisan hadapan kerana mereka perlu menyelesaikan masalah harian berkaitan dengan kerja yang dilakukan. Kemahiran-kemahiran teknikal adalah amat penting kepada PTT Kanan dalam sesebuah organisasi. Namun begitu kemahiran 'konseptual' juga diperlukan bagi menentukan mutu disiplin anggota berada dalam keadaan yang baik.

Seterusnya semakin tinggi pangkat yang disandang dalam ketenteraan semakin banyak kemahiran konseptual dan semakin sedikit kemahiran teknikal digunakan. PTT Kanan perlu mempunyai kebolehan untuk bekerja dalam satu pasukan atau organisasi. Mereka juga hendaklah bersedia untuk memahami cita rasa dan perasaan orang lain. PTT Kanan juga haruslah mempunyai kemampuan untuk memotivasikan anggota bawah jagaannya serta bersifat menghayati perasaan anggota. PTT Kanan yang mempunyai kemahiran ini biasanya mempunyai kelebihan untuk berkomunikasi dengan individu yang lain dan memotivasikan individu yang lain. Seorang PTT Kanan yang mempunyai kemahiran tersebut adalah seorang individu yang baik dan mempunyai kesedaran yang tinggi dan berkeupayaan untuk memahami perasaan orang lain. Seterusnya mutu disiplin anggota bawahannya dapat dipertingkatkan. Kemahiran konseptual adalah yang berkaitan dengan kemampuan untuk mengkoordinasi dan mengintegrasikan ke semua aktiviti organisasi. Dengan kata lain ia melibatkan keupayaan untuk melihat organisasi sebagai satu aset yang menyeluruh untuk memahami hubungan kait di antara bahagian-bahagian di dalam organisasi dan mengetahui sama ada organisasi dapat menyesuaikan diri dalam konteks yang lebih besar iaitu konteks kemasyarakatan dan keseluruhan organisasi. Kemahiran ini melibatkan keupayaan untuk menganalisis, menjangka, mengenal pasti masalah, memulihkan keadaan dan membuat keputusan dalam usaha untuk memperbaiki prestasi organisasi dan seterusnya peningkatan disiplin tercapai.

PTT Kanan dan Kebijaksanaan

Kebijaksanaan seseorang PTT Kanan itu memilih pendekatan dan teknik yang sesuai bagi kumpulan sasaran yang bersangkutan adalah perlu untuk menyampaikan sesuatu arahan atau menentukan sesuatu kemahiran itu dapat diterima dan dihayati dengan sedalam mungkin. Pendekatan yang dikirakan dapat memenuhi ke semua keperluan sasaran seperti *instruktif*, *induktif*, *stimulatif* dan *persuasif*. *Instruktif* lazimnya digunakan bagi maksud pengarah atau *instruksional* sesuatu kumpulan sasaran atau anggota bawahannya itu untuk dapat melaksanakan tugas pokok bersesuaian dengan keperluan doktrin. Ia bertujuan untuk membina kemahiran, justeru pelaksanaan kaedah ini lebih cenderung kepada pengetahuan dan kemahiran individu. Induktif ini digunakan bagi menyampaikan sesuatu pengalaman dan pengetahuan untuk memperluaskan lingkaran cakerawalanya. Ia merupakan pengetahuan dan pengarah berbentuk ilmiah. *Stimulatif* dengan cara mempelbagaikan cara penyampaian arahan. Dengan ini secara tidak langsung ia dapat menarik perhatian serta mengekalkan minat anggota bawahannya. *Persuasif* ini perlu kepada anggota yang banyak menghadapi masalah. Di antaranya adalah dengan cara memberi dorongan semangat serta menimbulkan kesedaran serta rasa tanggungjawab di kalangan mereka.

KESIMPULAN

Kesimpulannya dapatlah dirumuskan disiplin PTT Kanan terhadap organisasi pasukan dan sumber peralatan bagi menjayakan sesuatu aktiviti sangatlah penting. Oleh itu pemimpin harus menunjukkan contoh pada anggota bawahan supaya perkhidmatan dan latihan yang dihasilkan berkualiti. Seterusnya melahirkan anggota yang mahir dalam mengendalikan persenjataan daripada kemudahan yang terdapat di pasukan tersebut. Ini selari dengan firman Allah SWT yang bermaksud "Sesungguhnya Allah tidak akan mengubah apa yang ada pada satu kaum, sehingga mereka ubah apa yang ada pada diri mereka (ar-Ra'd: 11). Dalam erti kata yang lain, kepimpinan ialah proses yang sangat berkaitan dengan pengaruh di mana seseorang itu berjaya mempengaruhi mereka yang dipimpin supaya mengubah sikap dan tingkah laku mereka dengan tegasnya sebagai seorang pemimpin terhadap anggota yang dipimpin. Kepimpinan ialah tenaga penting di sebalik kejayaan organisasi dan organisasi tidak boleh mencapai kejayaan tanpa kepimpinan yang berkesan dari PTT Kanan.

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IS THE LEARN, UNLEARN AND RELEARN APPROACH ABLE TO GENERATE MAXIMUM TRAINING ACHIEVEMENT AND OPTIMUM VALUE FOR MONEY

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INTRODUCTION

Training is a systematically a planned process to change knowledge, skill, attitude and behavior through learning experience to achieve effective performance in an activity or a range of activities. Military training focuses on developing and enhancing performance within its particular environment. The performance may be of an individual or a group. The effect of the training should be assessed against pre-determined standards, and the outcome of training can usually be measured in terms of competence. Training in the army is very important, as the army will fight the way it is trained. Training is also fundamental to the three inter-related components of Fighting Power; intellectual, moral and physical.

Individual training is the training of individual officer or soldier either in institutions or units that prepares the individual to perform specified duties and tasks related to his position. The purpose of individual training is to produce a self-confident and disciplined soldier who is physically fit, well motivated, and equipped with the basic skills and fighting qualities needed to survive on the battlefield and to operate as a member of a team or crew.

Objectives of training in the army are to apply military discipline, health, strength and endurance, technical proficiency and teamwork among officer and soldier. While individual training is focusing on Individual Competency Test (UKKI), Basic Fitness Test (UKA), Combat Skills Test (UKT), Road March Test (UJL), and Individual and Team Shooting Drills (LMIT). With the global challenges and threats in shortcoming, its fundamental to the army geared towards improvement of job performance and to ensure that each personnel required performing a job is equipped with the necessary knowledge, skill and attitude.

The Learn, Unlearn and Relearn

According to Muneera, E. and Zulkiflee, A. S. (2011), learning encompasses two meanings: first is the acquisition of skill or know-how which implies psychical ability to produce some action and, second is the acquisition of know-why which implies ability to articulate a conceptual understanding of an experience (Starkey, Tempest & McKinlay, 2007). Meanwhile, Kolb D., (1984) stated that, " Learning is the process whereby knowledge

is created through the transformation of experience.” Feza (2008) has critically emphasized that the learning is a vital weapon for competitive warfare. It can be a powerful strategic tool and the very basis for developing the core competence of an organization.

In addition, Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) emphasized that one of the key to long term survival of organizations is through building the organization’s knowledge and capability. Without having the right capabilities, the organization cannot deliver a successful project and therefore a series of projects. Three core capabilities of a project environment are the project management, the product (e.g., engineering, design or construction) and the learning process (Kotnour, Orr, Spaulding & Guidi, 1997). There is an increased awareness that learning can occur at three levels: (1) individual, (2) team and (3) organization levels (Carrol, 1998). For the purpose of this paper, the focus would be on the individual learning process because theoretically individuals are demonstrates what they learning in organizational. Thus, deep consent will be given into the area of individual learning as it has become an increasingly important concept because of its perceived relatedness to organizational performance. Understanding the individual learning process is a good starting point to understand organizational learning and it should be cleared that organizational learning occurs when individuals within an organization experience a problematic situation and inquire into it on the organizational behalf .Furthermore organizational learning has been clarified in a sense of collectively of individual learning within organization.

To be specific, unlearning is the process by which individuals and organizations acknowledge and release prior learning (including assumptions and mental frameworks) in order to accommodate new information and behaviors (Becker, 2007). Kantrow, (1986), has opined that though managers can learn from history to appreciate ambiguities and make relevant decisions, they must never rely on it for answers or formulas. Hence, unlearning is the only way to get free from the clutches of past. Becker (2007) has clearly defined the meaning of unlearning which brings the better understanding of unlearning approach which showed a precise clarification of the process of unlearning that may encountered by individuals and organization which sounds: “Unlearning is the process by which individuals and organizations acknowledge and release prior learning (including assumptions and mental frameworks) in order to accommodate new information and behaviors.”

It is apparent that in this range of definitions the understanding and application of unlearning approach could be a dynamic milestone for individual and organization who looking forward to make change and embrace a vision of the future. This supported by Windeknecht (2004) who clarified that the major reason for encouraging or engaging unlearning is to allow the inclusion of new information or behaviors and as a means to assisting learning, innovation and change. It should not be argued that the process of unlearning a challenging mental model because of the human tendency to preserve a particular view is very strong. This agreed by Senge (2005) who justified that: “Most changes initiatives that end up going nowhere don’t fail because they lack general vision and noble intentions. They fail because

people can't see the reality they face. Companies are unable to "see" the threats they face and the imperative change."

Relearning can be more accurately described as refocused learning. If the focus, assumptions, objectives, and methods remain the same, won't we learn the same lessons? How can we "relearn" something we believe we already know? When the challenges have changed, how useful is that? Sounds good - BUT - we resist "unlearning and relearning", just as we resist many kinds of change. The initial challenge is that our egos hate being torn down, even to be rebuilt. How do people go through this process? When and how often is this necessary?

If learning is seen as a process of "connecting the dots", understanding the relationships between data points (of reality), then unlearning must begin with asking about the data points themselves. *What data points are we observing and paying attention to? How important and relevant are those data points? What other data points should we consider? What data points are there that we might not be aware of?*

Next, we can examine the connections, each one, consciously and deliberately. The questions are the same. *What connections are we observing and paying attention to? How important and relevant are those connections? What other connections should we consider? What connections are there that we might not be aware of?* Then, what about our ability to interpret those connections? *What insights do we gain from the connections we believe to be true? How important and relevant are those insights? What other ways might we interpret those connections?*

Finally, we can "relearn" by observing data points and connections that might have been beyond the scope or even the imagination of our previous mindset. With new data points and new connections, can new interpretations and insights be far behind?

Assessing value for money

If people really are your greatest asset, isn't it time to look at your training programmed as investments in your organization's human capital and not just as an expense? Clive Shepherd argues the case for return on investment (ROI) as a primary tool for forecasting and evaluating the benefits of training and explains the steps involved in conducting an ROI analysis. The National Audit Office (NAO) uses three criterias to assess the value for money of government spending i.e. the optimal use of resources to achieve the intended outcomes:

- Economy: Minimizing the cost of resources used or required (inputs) – spending less;
- Efficiency: The relationship between the output from goods or services and the resources to produce them – spending well;
- Effectiveness: The relationship between the intended and actual results of public spending (outcomes) – spending wisely.

Equity

The extent to which services are available to and reach all people that they are intended to – spending fairly. Some people may receive differing levels of service for reasons other than differences in their levels of need. For example: The cost and level of provision of a service are more for one group of people than that for another group of people with similar needs; some people cannot reach, see, hear or use a service; the service may be unsuitable for some people’s specific needs; a service is provided in a language that some people do not speak or terms they do not understand; or some people are unaware that the service is available to them.

A practical example value for money; a local authority sets up a new programmed to reduce litter dropping. One of its early steps is to agree with stakeholders a set of outcomes for the programmed. The effectiveness of the programmed is to be judged on the extent to which it reaches its outcomes in a year. In this case, the programmed achieves 97% of its outcomes and councilors declare they have ‘come within a whisker of winning the battle against litter’. The programmed was effective. However, the programmed cost more than expected and overspent its budget by 25 per cent. This was because the programmed managers allowed costs to over-run in their drive to meet the outcome. The programmed was not economical. The cost over-run prompts a review of the service. This concludes that, outcome for outcome; it was more expensive than similar programmers in neighboring areas. The programmed was not efficient.

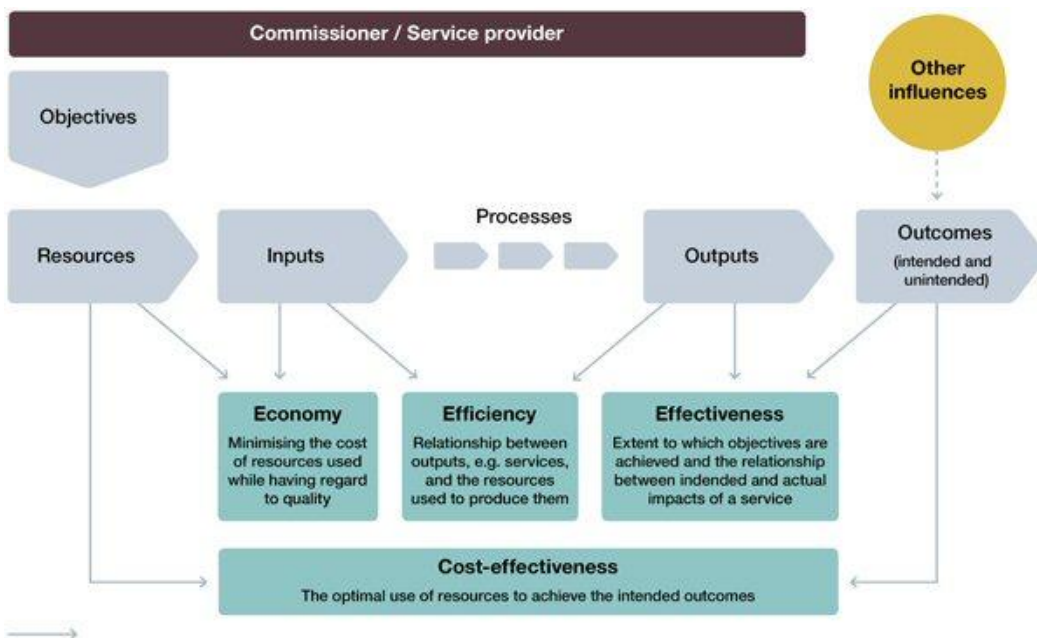


Figure 1: Assessing Value for Money

Diagram in figure 1, explained how to assess the value for money that we have spend. If programmed objectives had been exceeded sufficiently, the programmed may have been cost-effective despite overspend. However, programme managers could still be criticized for exceeding the budget. The most disadvantaged parts of the area were also those with the biggest litter problems and these neighbourhoods improved more, from a lower base, than wealthier places. The programme was equitable. The commissioning process also involves many external stakeholders and people. We consider how third sector organisations (TSOs) may help you involve these under assessing needs: Engaging with TSOs.

DISCUSSION

Monitoring and Evaluation

According to the Alvin Toffler (1993), the illiterate of the 21st Century are not those who cannot read and write but those who cannot learn unlearn and relearn. The evaluation of training, like motherhood and apple pie, is inherently a good thing. But, because short term priorities always crowd out their longer term competitors, it's typically something we plan to do better next year - after all, we've got away with it so far, so another year won't hurt! And even if training evaluation is undertaken, it is usually at the easiest and lowest level - the measurement of student reactions through happy sheets. Reactions are important and the happy sheets serve a purpose, but will they be enough to back up your arguments when there is a need for a greater investment in training, when major changes need to be made in direction, when there is stiffer competition for resources, when times get tough?

Intelligent Monitoring

This section summarizes the National Audit Office (NAO) guidance on 'intelligent monitoring', the practical implementation of the Office of the Third Sector's 'Principles of Proportionate Monitoring'. Find out more about monitoring and read the NAO's full practical guidance on Intelligent Monitoring. This section also outlines some issues you should think about when carrying out the evaluation of your programme or the outcomes of your commissioning. What is 'intelligent monitoring'? 'Intelligent monitoring' is the term used for putting into practice the principles of good monitoring and for avoiding the pitfalls of poor practice in monitoring. In carrying out intelligent monitoring, there is a series of practical considerations.

Firstly is rules of thumb. There are three rules of thumb to be applied to monitoring practice. First, start early: begin the discussion about monitoring early, that is, before implementation. You may need to consult potential providers at this stage. Be clear about your monitoring requirements when you invite applications or tenders and be prepared to discuss them at that stage. Too often, the discussion about monitoring starts during the tender or application process or even after the financial agreement is made. This does not allow time for proper planning. It makes it hard for the provider to cost the monitoring requirement and build that cost into its proposal for funding. All this tends to lead to disproportionate and badly-managed monitoring. Second, justify your need for information. It is not sufficient to

impose a requirement; public bodies and third sector organisation providers should agree the requirement. Public bodies should expect providers to ask them to justify requests for information. This contributes to good decision-making by funders. Third, give feedback: tell the provider what you will do with the information you ask for. Providers are more likely to engage with monitoring requirements if they can see how they contribute to higher goals. Sending information into a 'black hole' is demotivating. If a provider knows what information is needed for, it may be able to suggest a better piece of information or a better source.

All three rules of thumb depend on good dialogue between public body and provider. Monitoring that is based on open dialogue helps to build trust between the funder and provider, identify and overcome risk and helps improve how public services are delivered. This positive working relationship between public body and provider can be achieved by recognizing and implementing the compact commitments, which this guidance is consistent with.

Second is validating questions. You can use the eight questions below to test and validate your approach to monitoring. They should be asked at regular intervals throughout the course of a financial agreement to ensure that reporting remains proportionate. For each question, further explanation and an example are given in our guidance on Intelligent Monitoring. Can the information be provided less frequently?

- Can the information be provided in time with the provider's own reporting systems?
- Can the information be reported only by exception?
- Is there an alternative item of information, perhaps more cost-effective that could be used instead?
- Can information that the provider already collects for another funder is used instead?
- Can this information be collected on a sample basis?
- Can this information be collected other than from the provider such as a survey?
- How can you assure the reliability of this information?

Evaluation

The purpose of evaluation is to evaluate policies and programmers. It allows us to learn the lessons from one generation of public service and build them into improvements in the next. There is a range of approaches to evaluation. In general, a public body will commission an independent organisation – perhaps a higher education institution or independent research centre – to carry out major evaluations on its behalf. We will not seek to repeat that professional knowledge here. But we do make a few general points.

The two main approaches to evaluation are summative and formative evaluation. Summative evaluation, also known as impact evaluation, asks questions about the impact of a specified programme on a specific group of people. This is clearly more straight forward if you have been clear about the outcomes of the programme. Summative evaluation asks

how the impact compares to the original objectives, or to some other programme, or to doing nothing at all.

Formative evaluation, also known as process evaluation, asks how and why a programme has worked (or not). A formative evaluation typically studies the development of the policy and its implementation and delivery. Other questions in the design of an evaluation include: The balance in the use of quantitative and qualitative information; The extent of use of experimental techniques, such as randomised control.

Practical example of evaluation; A government department is setting up a programme to open up wider areas of the countryside for leisure use by people from disadvantaged groups. The department decides to carry out a summative_evaluation of this programme. Therefore a successful summative evaluation depends on clarity as to the outcomes of the programme. The outcomes of this programme are potentially difficult to discern. Is it about the number of people from disadvantaged groups using the countryside? Is it about their satisfaction with the experience? Is it about longer-term benefits, such as health? Is opening up certain areas 'worth more' than others? Is greater social cohesion between countryside residents and the visitors important?

Fortunately, the department was clear about desired outcomes when it was establishing the programme. It therefore can move quickly to set up the summative evaluation. It uses a procurement process for this. The winner is a consortium made up of a higher education institution, a third sector organisations (TSOs) that focuses on countryside issues and a third sector organisations (TSOs) that works on community cohesion.

Why evaluate training?

First is training as a business tool. Training is one of many actions that an organisation can take to improve its performance and profitability. Only if training is properly evaluated can it be compared against these other methods and expect, therefore, to be selected either in preference to or in combination with other methods.

Second is to justify the costs incurred in training. We all know that when money is tight, training budgets are amongst the first to be sacrificed. Only by thorough, quantitative analysis can training departments make the case necessary to resist these cuts.

Third is to help improve the design of training. Training programmes should be continuously improved to provide better value and increased benefits for an organisation. Without formal evaluation, the basis for changes can only be subjective.

Lastly is to help in selecting training methods. These days there are many alternative approaches available to training departments, including a variety of classroom, on-job and self-study methods. Using comparative evaluation techniques, organisations can make rational decisions about the methods to employ.

Criteria for measuring training success

The form of evaluation that we undertake is determined by the criteria that we choose, or are told to use, to measure success:

- **Numbers.** One way of measuring the success of training is the good old 'bums on seats'. Although by no means a true measure of the effectiveness of training, student numbers do reflect the fact that the training is addressing a need and that the design and methodology is meeting expectations.
- **Direct Cost.** Direct costs are those costs that are incurred directly as a result of a training programme – external design and development, consultancy fees, travel expenses and so on. If the programme did not take place, these costs would not be incurred. Many organisations only ever take direct costs into consideration when measuring training costs.
- **Indirect Cost.** Indirect costs are costs that may or may not be directly associated with a training event, but which would have been incurred anyway, whether or not the training took place. Examples are salaries of in house trainers and students and the costs of rooms and equipment. Any analysis of the true costs of training will include both direct and indirect costs.
- **Efficiency.** Efficiency is a measure of the amount of learning achieved relative to the amount of effort put in. In practical terms this means the amount of time it takes to complete a piece of training. Efficiency has a direct relation to cost – the more efficient a training method is, the less it will cost.
- **Performance to Schedule.** Sometimes with a training programme, 'time is of the essence' – the training needs to be completed by a given date if a particular business objective is to be achieved. In these situations, the extent to which a training programme performs to schedule is a critical measure of success.
- **Income Received.** If you are a training provider operating externally to a client organisation, then income received is a vital measure of your success. It's the financial equivalent of 'bums on seats' – the more courses you run or places you fill, the greater the benefit. Some internal training providers may also cross-charge their clients, although, because this correspondingly increases the cost to the organisation, this is not regarded as a benefit when assessing return on investment.
- **The Extent to Which Trainees Mix.** A justification often made for training, particularly group events, is that it provides an opportunity for students who work in different departments or regions to meet with each other, share experiences and make contacts. Because this is a valued outcome of training, it needs to be considered when comparing training methods. Similarly, some training may be

regarded as a perk, a benefit of some value, even if this is not directly related to learning.

- **Reactions.** Reactions are what you measure with the 'happy sheet'. Reactions are important because, if students react negatively to your courses, they are less likely to transfer what they learned to their work and more likely to give bad reports to their peers, leading in turn to lower student numbers.
- **Learning.** Learning, in terms of new or improved skills, knowledge and attitudes, is the primary aim of a training event. Learning can be measured objectively using a test or exam or some form of assessed exercise. If a student has to achieve a certain level of learning to obtain a 'pass mark', then the number of passes may be used as an evaluation measure. Another important aspect of learning is the degree of retention – how much of the learning has stuck after the course is over.
- **Behaviour Change.** If a student has learned something from a course, you hope that this will be reflected in their behaviour on the job. If a student employs what they have learned appropriately, then their work behaviour will meet desired criteria. Behaviour can be measured through observation or, in some cases, through some automated means. To assess behaviour change requires that the measurements are taken before and after the training.
- **Performance Change.** If, as a result of training, students are using appropriate behaviours on the job, then you would expect that to have a positive impact on performance. A wide variety of indicators can be employed to measure the impact of training on performance – numbers of complaints, sales made, output per hour and so on. It is hard to be sure that it is training that has made the difference without making comparisons to a control group – a group of employees who have not been through the training.

LESSON LEARNT

Managing the training either in the training centre or unit itself or at the headquarter formation level by adopted learn, unlearn and relearn approach is able to generate maximum training achievement. It's based on the discussion above depend on how we are monitoring and evaluate the training that we are conducted. Our Malaysian Army Training System (1991) or T3031 using the same approach. However for the purpose of this approach to achieve the optimum for money we can use a management tool as guidelines when we're conducting any training.

Author suggests that the six steps process of the strategic management tool that encompasses strategy planning, implementation and evaluation. This theory was introduced by S.P. Robbin (2016). The six step of the theory will explain below in conducting the training approach.

Step 1: Identifying the Organization Current Mission, Goals and Strategic. Every organization needs a mission statement for its purpose and same goes to the military unit or formation. The mission of the organization or unit is to portray their organization or unit with good image in public. In this cases, the mission and goal of the unit is to conducted the training by using learn, unlearn and relearn approaches.

Step 2: Doing an External Analysis. Commanders have to do it an external analysis when to conduct any training. External environment play an important constraint in planning decision by commander. Analyzing the environment is a critical step in the strategic management process. In this case, when the commanders do an external analysis, he will know what are the problems or challenges and the effect to their unit or formation in the future to comes. Commander should examine the opportunities and the threats. In conducting the training, the opportunities that unit commander have only financial be granted by their respective Headquarters. Meanwhile units are going to facing the threats such as policy and special cases. However the threats must be counteract by the commander to ensure value for the money to spend it out.

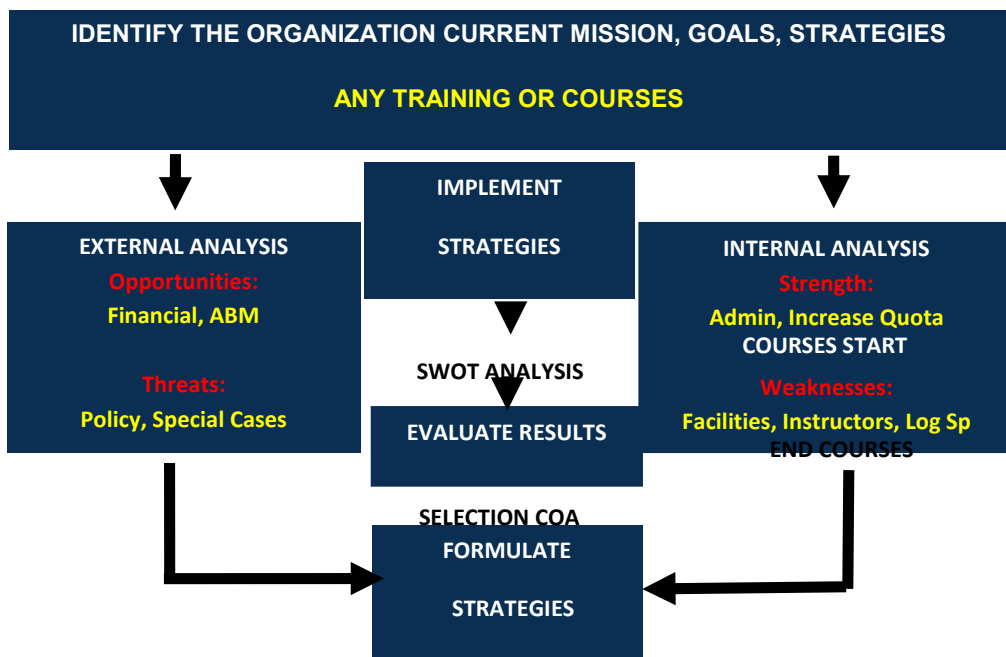


Figure 2: Strategic Management Process

Step 3: Doing an Internal Analysis. Internal analysis will provide important information about the readiness with specific resources and capabilities. Unit resources are its assets, financial, physical, human and intangible factors that it uses to develop or train the trainers. On the other hand, capabilities are its skill and abilities to run the courses. Therefore, commander should be able to identify unit strength and weaknesses.

Step 4: Formulating Strategies. Commander should consider the reality of the external environment and their available resources and capabilities in order to design strategies that will help the unit or formation to achieve its goal in conducting training. The commanders have to determine and select their best course of action.

Step 5: Implementing Strategies. Once strategies are formulated, commander must implement and no matter how effective or not their strategies has planned. Training must be start.

Step 6: Evaluate Results. The final step is evaluating the results how effective have the strategies been at helping the unit or formation reach its goals to achieve maximum output value for money. Adjustment can be made if necessary.

CONCLUSION

Training is a commander responsibility. Commanders at all levels must ensure that when their organizations are not operationally committed, they must devote most of their peace time soldiering conducting training in preparation for war or peacetime operations. Training requires substantial amount of support in terms of management, personnel, material and financial. Hence, proper planning and preparation must be conducted to attain the maximum result from a minimum effort regardless of the approaches. Thus the money that we're spent is worth it and achieve maximum output from the investment.

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THE INTEGRATION OF HEALTHY LIFESTYLE, PHYSICAL TRAINING AND SPORTS ARE ABLE TO SHAPE A POSITIVE MILITARY PROFILE AND IMAGE IN THE MALAYSIAN ARMY

By

← **Maj Md Khoiri bin Ahmad**
Royal Ranger Regiment →

INTRODUCTION

The combatant look and convincing appearance is a sign of uniqueness of personnel serving as an Army. Courageous image gives assurance to the nations who are hoping that Army personnel not only can conduct a military task effectively but also to defend the nation. Soldiers are use to the motto "Physical fitness is the cornerstone of combat readiness". Physical exercise maintains soldiers in top form and ever ready for any tasks being assigned to them. Soldiers who don't meet up military fitness standards run the threat of an early discharge or disciplinary action. On the other hand for such a respected organization, this will give a negative impact and possibly will direct to another issue whether the Army personnel are competent enough to accomplish their core task in defending the nation. This workforce in no time will lose their combatant look, be denied of attending advancement courses and also exposed to health danger. As a result, it is essential and a requirement for the entire workforce in the organization to be healthy, physically and mentally fit and well prepared.

The issue of bad image especially obesity is coming to a stage from bad to worst in the Malaysian Army. All these boils to the issue of having overweight or BMI problems which may hinder them to carry out in any tasking assigned to them. Personality qualities contribute to health outcomes, in part through their relationship with key risk issues, known as obesity. Body weight, in turn, is a mirror image or sign of our behaviors and lifestyle and to the end contributes to the way we see ourselves and others as well. A statement of BMI above 26.9 dated December 2016 under the Army Field Headquarters Command shows that 1437 or fourteen percent of the Army personnel suffer from obesity. As at present the Army might start worrying about it and a drastic action has to be taken, or else it will be later a major problem for the entire Army (Army BMI Report, December 2016). According to the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (1999), work stress is defined as the harmful physical and emotional responses that happen when job requirements mismatch the worker's capabilities, resources and needs. A sarcastic question that can be derived from this is; does overweight/obese Army personnel have the capability to fulfill his job requirements so that the incapability will not affect his career? Normally Army duties are associated with hard demanding work that requires a physically fit person to do it. Can overweight/obese Army personnel be called fit for duties?

Definition

In attempting to understand the topic that was given, the following key words need to be addressed:

a. **Definition of Overweight.** Fat or overweight is very subjective if it is only measured by naked eyes. An overweight person is defined according to the World Health Organisation as having a Body Mass Index (BMI) between 25.0 kg/m² and 29.9 kg/m² and while obesity is classified of having a BMI of 30.0 kg/m² or above this figure. A person normally becomes fat when they do not take proper meals or took it as and when they think of having it. More often than not this kind of people tends to eat more than what their body really needs to sustain daily activities.

b. **Obesity.** According to the Oxford Dictionary, obesity is the condition when a person is very fat in a way that is not healthy. This can be measured by a measurement using the Body Mass Index formula. In addition to that the failure to do regular physical exercises will then worsen this problem. In short and simple term, obesity occurs when a person takes more calories than he or she burns off. Therefore obesity not solely an issue of eating too much food but is also link with other factors too because some people maintain slim in the midst of plenty. Posner (1999) explained that weight is an outcome of personal choices in occupation, leisure time activity, activity in residence and food intake. Being either fat or thin may therefore desirable from the individual's standpoint as adhering to the weight norms set by doctors and the public health community. Brittney and Susan (2014) said that attitudes, beliefs and behavior among soldier are important factor in ensuring weight management program achieved its objective. They acknowledged that a soldier must be ever ready, willing, and able to make changes in lifestyles. Setting a physical activity goals also been suggested by some scholars where goals are set to increase daily activity and decrease inactivity.

The Effect Of Overweight/Obesity

It was reported that about four percent of the Army personnel are facing with the dilemma of obesity. Although the percentage looks just a very small portion, but it shows that the group of obese personnel does exist in an elite uniform organization such as the Army. There are no two ways about it that Army personnel are being exposed to high intensity physical activities in the long run, particularly those who go through training or engaged in the operation. In order to make sure that the Army personnel are at their peak of fitness condition, factors such as weight management, motivation, self-awareness, and management roles must be taken into account. On that score and for whatever reason given at the end of the day, it is the appearance and effectiveness of the soldiers that really matters. Having poor performance soldiers will not only give a bad image but it may also link to a question whether the Army personnel are able to achieve their best in performing their job.

Recently, the numbers of personnel in the Army suffering this overweight/obesity keep on increasing. This has now become a major concerned to the Army Human Resource Branch and various directorates to handle with these under utilise personnel. As a normal

procedure, they will be placed under the status of Base Employment (BE) and Light Employment (LE), categories where a soldier who cannot be positioned for any mission or operation which first and foremost needs them to be really fit for the job. From the previous data, it is noted that increase in number of BE and LE personnel mostly caused by injury in the road accidents, injuries while carrying out the operations, during training and some sport activities. Diseases such as high blood pressure, diabetes, gout, kidney and asthma also known as a root cause which contribute to this setback. However, diseases as such occur mostly due to Army personnel unhealthy lifestyle and lack of exercises, which this may be due to the increase of salary that made them having a better standard of living. As a result this may turn their behavior into a bad lifestyles such as a habits in smoking, taking alcohol and even consuming excessively amount of food that may resulting in overweight/obesity.

The Army culture requires the soldiers to possess Warrior Appearance. The concept which was mooted by the Chief of Army then in 2012 to make sure that every soldier is not only proud to look fit but also capable in conducting their duties. With this combatant kind of looks, it may boost up a fighting spirit in each every one of them in order to protect and defence the nation. In addition, it will also give some form of assurance to the civilian's population regarding the safety and security of the country. Unfortunately, with present's environment and lifestyles, a number of soldiers maybe affected with this situation where they increasing in their weight or become obese and resulting in bad image to the Army.

Significance Of Good Image

The integrity of the Army will be questioned by the public whether it is capable in doing military duties. Furthermore, an understanding of soldiers' attitude towards practicing healthy lifestyle will be essential, especially for the improvement of performance and implications to the military tasking. Hopefully, the points highlighted in this paper could be useful by the management in the organization in strategizing and developing action plans, policies, and procedures. This is to avoid overweight/obesity problem among personnel before it become a "pandemic" and create a bigger blunder to the entire organization.

Personnel Profile – Global Issue

Overweight/obesity is not only a domestic problem in any country or particular organization but it is a problem happening everywhere because of the wealth, ability to consume a nutritious food and the way they use up their time. "All ethnic groups in Malaysia seem to be involved in nutritional transition, with rapidly increasing rates not only of overweight but particularly of abdominal obesity with its recognized serious health outcomes" (M.N. Ismail,2001). Obesity is defined as a condition of which a person accumulates excessive fat in the adipose tissue, to the extent that health may be impaired (Garrow, 1988). However individuals differ not only according to the level of excess fat which they accumulate, but also in the regional allocation of fat in their body. Half of the European population is overweight or obese. Obesity has marked to a very serious level in Europe, mostly because of poor diets, physical inactivity and unhealthy lifestyles.

Reasons Behind The Bad Image Issue

Individual Behavior

Better understanding of individuals' behaviors and the differences in behaviors of those who are successful and unsuccessful at weight control will enable development of more targeted treatment options. The taking of food has implications beyond providing nutrients and energy needed to sustain life. Food and eating are so link with our social lives. Most eating takes places in the existence of other people and is often perceived as an enjoyable part of our cultural experience (Rozin, 2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that one's eating behavior is extremely affected by social factors. In addition to processes such as social facilitation and impression management, another social influence phenomenon is modeling of food intake, whereby people directly adapt their food intake to that of their eating companion. Early research stated that overweight people are more exposed to external food-related cues rather than internal cues.

Individual Awareness

Bad image people due to overweight/obese needs supervision to trim down the weight. They need to know the types of food they should eat and in what scale and frequency. They also must have confidence that the overweight/obesity programmed conducted by the unit is able to help them reduce their weight (Cora, 2010). It is the choice for overweight/obese soldier whether he or she knows about their weight and give some attempt to manage it properly or couldn't care about their health. In military, the BMI is normally used as a reference to assess the weight management among personnel. The BMI is calculated based on the weight (kg) and height (m²) of an individual. A person with a BMI of 29.9 is classified as overweight, while 30 - 40 categorized as obese, and above 40 is considered as morbidly obese (Gabriela 2010). There are many studies carried out on the obesity problems involving military personnel using BMI. Gantt in 2008 for instance have established that fifty-three per cent of the U.S Navy overweight. In the context of the Malaysian environment, Razalee in 2008 has highlighted that roughly forty per cent of personnel based at Lumut Camp are labeled as obese.

Attitude and Behaviors

Attitudes towards functional foods have been studied at length in recent years. One of the most comprehensive studies on the attitudes towards functional foods was namely by Urala and Lahteenmäki in 2004, identified seven dimensions that describe consumers' attitudes towards these foods. Their study revealed that perceived reward from using functional foods, confidence in functional foods, necessity of functional foods, functional foods as medicines, absence of nutritional risks in functional foods, functional foods as part of a healthy diet, and the health effects of functional foods versus their taste are the most important underlying beliefs describing consumers' attitudes towards functional foods. And associated to healthy lifestyle embrace behaviors such as "health responsibility, physical activity, nutrition, self-actualization, interpersonal relations, and stress management". Healthy lifestyle behaviors are behaviors that demonstrate responsibility for one's own health, taking part in physical activity, having adequate nutritional intake, realizing self-actualization, establishing interpersonal relations, and learning how to manage stress. Diet,

exercise, and stress management have been recognized as some of the major behaviors to target for analysis in the late adolescent and young adult age group. Prevention at an early stage in life is paramount to remaining healthy in later years when the risks for disease are so much higher (Harkreader, 2007).

Food Choices

In western developed economies, food choices satisfy increasingly diverse needs of buyers, from basic nutritional needs to higher order needs for exploration and inner peace of mind. These higher orders needs have been driven by personal health concerns, environmental concerns, social norms and personal norms (Dean, Raats, & Sheperd, 2008). However, there is extensive evidence of an intention-behavior gap where an intention to modify food choices is not matched by actual behavior adopted (Seyfang, 2008). Food consumption choices involve complex processes based on a variety of rational and emotional factors. Rational choice research normally focusing on matters of taste, price and ease of availability. It has been recommended that by adding emotional and social aspects significantly improve attitude-based models of food choices, and that food involvement and desire are key factors in enlightening food purchasing behavior.

Physical Activity

In order to encourage physical activity as a strategy for the prevention of weight gain and treatment of overweight, a better understanding of factors that influence involvement in physical activity in mainly for those overweight or obese is important. According to the Theory of Reasoned Action, attitude toward physical activity is an important analyst of involving in physical activity. But, when it caught up with a various human need and behavior, it seems that some of the personnel failed to control this activity as their lifestyle.

Exercise is merely the factor that without fail associated with reduced weight maintenance. Miller and Eggert found that fifty-eight percent of overweight individuals reported that the basis they failed at past weight control attempts was that they stop exercising. It seems clear, now, that one of the most clear-cut things that need to be done to get better health status of the overweight personnel is to get them to exercise. Earlier work, however, has acknowledged that common obstacles to regular exercise, some of which comprises fear of being injured, an inability to monitor progress, and a lack of motivation, encouragement, support, companionship, and a safe exercise surroundings. Even though, all the Army units have received instructions for all personnel to have regular exercise or Physical Training activities (about 5 times a week for Combat Unit and 3 times a week for Non-Combat Unit and headquarters), but it still depend on individual awareness towards controlling their own body weight.

Body Mass Index and Lifestyle Behaviors

In military, what they need to maintain is a good looking body shape or a Warrior Appearances which this image can give good impact for the two parties, the organization as well as the public. Body image has a profound impact on behaviors of individuals, and body dissatisfaction affects individuals of all ages. The lifestyle choices of individuals high in preciseness likely contribute to their healthy weight. These individuals, for example, are

physically active, restrain from binge eating and drinking, and are less likely to have disordered eating. A study in the United States found that the behaviors conducive to overweight/obesity, together with poor diet and physical inactivity, are the second leading controllable cause of death, following smoking. Further, as the number of smokers continues to turn down, obesity may overtake smoking as the leading preventable cause of disease. Societal shifts in food quality, quantity, and availability are certainly major contributors to this recent increase in obesity. In particular, personality traits are consistently associated with the controllable behaviors that lead to obesity and personality has an effect on adiposity even after controlling for known demographic and genetic influences (Terracciano, 2009).

Personality and Abnormal Weight

Overweight individuals are prone to depression, have poor body image are evaluated negatively by others, and are ascribed traits based on their body size. As such, body weight contributes to how we understand ourselves, how we see others, and how others see us. This is related among personnel perception in the organization which those with normal body weight was always being tasked or deployed for active duty such as operational, parade and others routine duty. Compared to those with overweight/obese problem, the organization incline to hide from view the jobs is high due to keep away them from physically seen by civilians which can give negative impact to the organization. In addition to these demographic and genetic influences, psychological processes contribute to an individual's waistline.

Recommendations

Some of the factors that contribute to the problem are the element of diet or food consumptions, the awareness or attitude and lack of physical activities of overweight/obese personnel. Nowadays unhealthy foods are also listed into menu to be served in the service. This indicates that the level of organisation management awareness on healthy diet is still low. Therefore it is suggested to set-up a committee to determine the daily menu. However, it is still depending to the management especially those in active units or battalion to determine a kind of training to balance with a food consumptions. Some other suggested action plan to be taken as listed below:

- a. The management of the unit need to ensure that the programme of weight management is running continuously. Meaning that, after obese personnel are able to reduce their weight, the management must ensure they are put under the observation to avoid them from sunk in the same problem in future. Buddy-buddy system or mentor-mentee programme should be applied in ensuring the problematic personnel took into their mind that they has been observed and monitored all time. This will give them a perspective that, they themselves who need to change an attitude and perception towards obesity.
- b. Active-duty units such as infantry battalion need to do a physical training like exercise or any sport activities on five consecutive times a week. This is important that the training programme and exercise activities conducted are appropriate and in line with the requirement of the Army. This is also to make sure that the physical activities

conducted are contributing towards the readiness of personnel. In addition to the usual exercise activities, the Basic Fitness Test is vital for every officers and soldiers. This test indirectly will improve personnel awareness in keeping their physical fitness and make it as part of daily routine.

c. To conduct seminar or study day and related subject must focus on knowledge in healthy nutrition, healthy life and motivation. With this activity it can provide education about the selection of proper nutrition, healthy lifestyle also develop sense of responsibility. The activity also indirectly will improve the attitude of personnel to be more positive on the policy matter and instruction from the superior which will make them able to produce better result in their job. The management should also improve or provide a proper gymnasium asset in order to develop the personnel interest in managing the body weight.

d. The Army Wives Club or BAKAT can also provide lectures to the wives. Some of the overweight/obese personnel are addicted to consume a lot at home. Therefore, the wives also play an important role in managing their husband especially with a healthy cooking or food they prepare at home. Should stress on information about what is healthy diet is all about and how to provide a good food with balance nutrition, protein or carbohydrate.

CONCLUSIONS

In Army perspectives, the attitude is the main role player in changing the behaviour or developing the personnel's Knowledge, Skill and Attitude. As an action in developing and ensuring that members of the Army personnel are at their optimal fitness status, they are exposed to high intensity physical activities in the long run. And as well to prevent those become overweight/obese in order to preserve the appearance and effectiveness of the soldiers that matters. But still it reflects on individual awareness and this called as an attitude and in this case, this paper explored what lifestyle through are they did some exercise as well as normal personnel did. This will reflect to a perception that they will only do the exercise if they are free and willing to do so without being force. Failure to do regular physical exercises will then contribute to the overweight problem. In short, obesity occurs when a person consumes more calories than he or she burns off (Elpidoforus et. al, 2005). In simple word, they should have own awareness in managing their weight by doing exercise consistently and at the same time, contain their appetites towards unhealthy food. Even though they do have the knowledge that regular exercise is important but attitude still plays a main role in controlling weight.

This write-up demonstrates that healthy diet or selection of foods consumption may come as one of the elements contributing to weight management among overweight/obese personnel. A proper and good dietary intake will enable the personnel to function well and carry out their duties at optimal level. Moreover, by controlling their food consumption, such as cholesterol intake, they can reduce the chances of getting heart disease, stroke and heart attack, which will impact their productivity level. This is in line with Brunner et al (2007), which found that unhealthy meals led to liver problems, diabetes, hypertension and heart attack among overweight/obese personnel, increasing their absenteeism in workplace.

Army personnel who are aware of their body image made an effort to manage it properly by taking proper food and exercise regularly. As an Army, they believe that body image is important towards their ability to perform their duties. Lazy in practicing physical activity also affects towards weight management or later become overweight/obese, again can be related to an attitude of the personnel towards awareness. There is a link between attitude or perspective of doing physical activity and obesity. The paper noted that individuals who do not do regular physical training and have a bad selection in foods consumption will easily increase in their body weight.

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KEMAHIRAN PENGURUSAN KETENTERAAN

Oleh

Kapt Ahmad Ezril bin Ibrahim
Rejimen Askar Jurutera DiRaja**PENDAHULUAN**

Pengurusan pertahanan negara sentiasa cemerlang dan utuh' adalah salah satu daripada Misi Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia (KEMENTAH) yang dinyatakan dalam Pelan Strategik Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia 2011-2015. Oleh hal yang demikian, adalah menjadi tanggungjawab kepada ATM amnya dan TD khususnya bagi melaksanakan langkah-langkah ke arah mencapai misi tersebut dan bergerak seiring dengan pelan strategik KEMENTAH. Perkara 'pengurusan' dalam TD bukanlah sesuatu yang baharu kerana TD telah sekian lama menekankan aspek pengurusan dalam semua urusan khususnya sumber manusia dan logistik. Manakala kemahiran pengurusan sangat diperlukan bagi seorang pegawai tentera TD untuk melaksanakan tanggungjawabnya terhadap tugas, bangsa dan negara. Kemahiran pengurusan yang ada dalam diri seorang pegawai tentera boleh membantu dan menyumbang kepada prestasi kerja yang baik. Perkhidmatan sangat memerlukan seorang pegawai tentera yang berdedikasi untuk membuat sesuatu keputusan, memberi arahan dan sebagainya. Oleh hal yang demikian, setiap pegawai tentera perlu mempunyai kemahiran untuk mengurus sesebuah organisasi.

Definisi Pengurusan

Nor (2010) mendefinisikan pengurusan sebagai satu proses bagi mencapai matlamat organisasi secara efektif dan efisien bersama-sama dengan para pekerja dengan penggunaan organisasi yang lain secara optimum. Manakala Shuib (2007) menyatakan bahawa kemahiran pengurusan adalah berhubung dengan proses pengarahan, penyelarasan atau pengawasan pekerjaan orang lain. Terdapat lima jenis kemahiran pengurusan yang perlu ada pada setiap pemimpin dan anggota iaitu kemahiran konseptual, kemahiran kemanusiaan, kemahiran teknikal, kemahiran pengurusan masa dan kemahiran membuat keputusan (Robbin dan Cenzo, 2008). Kelima-lima jenis kemahiran pengurusan ini adalah faktor penentu kejayaan pengurusan dalam sesebuah organisasi.

Kemahiran Pengurusan Konseptual

Azly (2013) menyatakan bahawa kemahiran konseptual ialah kebolehan mental atau minda untuk menganalisis dan mendiagnosis setiap situasi dan masalah, malah berupaya untuk menyelaraskan dan menyepadukan keseluruhan aktiviti organisasi agar ia lebih sistematik dan efektif. Setiap organisasi sentiasa berdepan dengan pelbagai cabaran dan saingan yang memerlukan kepada penentuan polisi dan strategi organisasi yang lebih

berdaya saing. Kemahiran konseptual yang tinggi sangat diperlukan untuk membolehkan anggota memahami dengan sempurna dan rasional setiap peluang dan tindakan-tindakan yang lebih strategik dari semasa ke semasa. Kebolehan memahami serta mentafsir konsep-konsep dan istilah-istilah dalam pengurusan organisasi, tugas utama perkhidmatan yang diberi, persekitaran serta perubahan yang sentiasa berlaku¹. Sebagai contoh, ketika seorang pegawai tentera diberikan tugas untuk merancang aktiviti bagi sesuatu kursus, maka kemahiran konseptual digunakan dalam merancang aktiviti tersebut. Kemahiran konseptual adalah berkaitan dengan kemampuan untuk menyelaras dan mengintegrasikan kesemua aktiviti organisasi. Dengan kata lain, ia melibatkan keupayaan untuk melihat organisasi sebagai satu set yang menyeluruh untuk memahami hubung kait antara bahagian-bahagian di dalam organisasi dan mematuhi sama ada organisasi dapat menyesuaikan diri dalam konteks yang lebih besar iaitu dalam konteks industri, masyarakat dan dunia keseluruhannya serta mempunyai keupayaan untuk menjangka bagaimanakah perubahan dalam mana-mana bahagian akan memberi kesan kepada keseluruhan organisasi.

Kemahiran Pengurusan Kemanusiaan

Kemahiran kemanusiaan adalah satu daripada kemahiran pengurusan dalam bidang ketenteraan. Kemahiran ini melibatkan kebolehan seseorang pegawai tentera dalam mengurus anggota-anggota di bawah jagaannya, memahami dan memotivasikan anggota-anggota secara individu atau kumpulan. Kemahiran kemanusiaan ini dilihat daripada segi penjagaan hubungan antara para pegawai tentera sesama mereka. Kemahiran kemanusiaan yang terlibat adalah komunikasi, motivasi dan kepimpinan. Sebagai contoh, salah seorang ahli keluarga anggota tentera telah meninggal dunia, maka seorang pegawai tentera perlulah memberi semangat dan motivasi kepada anggota tersebut untuk menerima dugaan tersebut serta terus tabah bagi meneruskan hidup dan menjalankan tugas yang dipertanggungjawabkan demi kedaulatan negara Malaysia. Kemahiran kemanusiaan merupakan salah satu kemahiran yang sangat kritikal terhadap seseorang pegawai tentera. Kemahiran ini juga membolehkan seseorang melihat keseluruhan gambaran organisasi dan bagaimana setiap bahagian diadun sebagai satu unik yang bersepadu dalam menyumbang ke arah pencapaian objektif sebagai menyumbang organisasi keseluruhannya. Sebagai contoh, sebagai seorang pegawai tentera, sekiranya terdapat masalah yang berlaku di dalam organisasi, pegawai tersebut mampu untuk memotivasikan seseorang individu atau berkumpulan untuk menyelesaikan masalah tersebut. Dengan adanya kemahiran kemanusiaan ini, ia mampu untuk mendorong prestasi dan kualiti yang ada dalam diri seorang pegawai tentera.

Kemahiran Pengurusan Teknikal

Rosa (2000) mendefinisikan kemahiran teknikal adalah sesuatu kaedah, prosedur atau sesuatu teknik. Salah (2001) pula menyatakan definisi kemahiran teknik adalah lebih

¹ Salah El-Sabaa (2001). *The Skill and Career Path of An Effective Project Manager*. International Journal of Project Management 19; 1-7.

menyeluruh dan luas iaitu merujuk kepada kefahaman dan kecekapan seseorang individu terhadap aktiviti atau sesuatu yang khusus, terutama apabila melibatkan kaedah, proses, prosedur atau teknik. Beliau juga menghuraikan bahawa kemahiran teknikal merupakan suatu pengetahuan yang khusus dan keupayaan analitis dalam penggunaan alat-alat dan teknik dalam disiplin tertentu misalnya dalam kejuruteraan awam ataupun sistem maklumat.

Di dalam bidang ketenteraan, kemahiran teknikal merangkumi sebagai mengetahui prosedur kerja, memahami keseluruhan kerja, memahami setiap aktiviti kerja, mahir melaksanakan tugas dan memanfaatkan perkembangan teknologi. Seorang pegawai tentera seharusnya mempunyai kemahiran teknikal yang merangkumi prosedur kerja sebagai contoh seorang pegawai jurulatih, beliau seharusnya mahir di dalam setiap latihan yang akan dijalankan seperti berenang, menembak dan sebagainya. Antara contoh lain adalah sekiranya pegawai tersebut ialah seorang pegawai tentera kor RAJD, beliau seharusnya memahami serta mahir setiap aktiviti kerja yang melibatkan pembangunan sesebuah jambatan ataupun sesebuah rumah yang ingin dibina. Kemahiran teknikal yang lain seperti memanfaatkan perkembangan teknologi sebagai contoh seorang jurulatih perlu mengajar pelatih-pelatih dalam kelas, maka teknologi digunakan seperti simulasi teknologi. Simulasi teknologi adalah bagaimana cara-cara untuk menyerang musuh atau persediaan untuk berperang dengan menggunakan bantuan teknologi komputer dan internet. Salah satu daripadanya ialah realiti maya (*virtual reality*). Melalui aplikasi ini, teknologi tersebut akan membuatkan seorang anggota tentera seolah-olah berada dalam persekitaran sebenar untuk berperang atau menghadapi musuh. Latihan seperti ini akan melatih kecekapan seseorang anggota tentera dalam teknik-teknik berperang dan cara menangani musuh.

Kemahiran Pengurusan ICT

Kemahiran dalam menggunakan ICT juga merupakan salah satu contoh kemahiran teknikal. Pada abad ke-21, penggunaan ICT dalam kehidupan amat penting. Kebanyakan kerja-kerja pengurusan pejabat melibatkan sepenuhnya penggunaan ICT. Tidak kurang juga kepada organisasi di dalam bidang ketenteraan. Di dalam bidang ketenteraan, ICT dipraktikkan untuk mendapatkan maklumat di hujung jari. Seorang pegawai tentera yang bijak mestilah mempunyai banyak pengetahuan dan informasi pada abad ke-21. Sebagai contoh ketika kursus atau kelas untuk penuntut di pusat latihan di laksanakan, ICT dipraktikkan di dalam kelas. Pengajaran dan pembelajaran secara tradisional pada masa kini adalah kurang relevan dan kurang berkesan. Pengajar mengajar dan bercakap manakala pelajar-pelajar pula hanya mendengar. Pembelajaran seperti ini adalah dikatakan pembelajaran satu hala. Ini membuatkan kelas dan pembelajaran tersebut adalah pasif dan kurang aktif. Ia juga akan mengurangkan minat para pelajar untuk mendengar. Sekiranya ICT dipraktikkan ketika dalam pembelajaran, sebagai contoh video-video daripada *youtube* dan sumber lain melalui internet akan memberikan gambaran dan fahaman yang lebih jelas kepada para pelajar apabila ditayangkan.

Nordin dan Hong (2009) menyatakan bahawa dengan menggunakan web sebagai salah satu daripada kaedah alternatif pengajaran dan pembelajaran ianya akan memberikan

kemudahan kepada para pengajar untuk menguruskan bahan pengajaran, memberikan persekitaran pembelajaran yang efektif, serta menjadikan penglibatan pelajar adalah sangat aktif dan pengajaran dan pembelajaran. Ia juga dapat menarik minat para pelajar selain daripada mesej yang ingin disampaikan adalah sangat berkesan. Oleh hal yang demikian, para pegawai tentera hendaklah kreatif dan inovatif dalam menjalankan sesi pengajaran dan pembelajaran dengan adanya kemahiran teknikal dalam penggunaan ICT dalam diri mereka.²

Kemahiran Pengurusan Masa

Kemahiran pengurusan masa merupakan elemen kemahiran pengurusan yang terpenting dalam bidang ketenteraan. Kopper (2006) menyatakan bahawa pengurusan masa ialah pengurusan ilmu yang berkaitan dengan teknik dan cara individual mengurus, membahagi dan mengatur masa sehariannya dengan sebaiknya serta dapat dimanfaatkan sepenuhnya. Kemahiran dalam pengurusan masa adalah satu kemahiran teras yang sentiasa digunakan dalam semua aspek kehidupan manusia, (Jansen, 2006). Oleh itu boleh dirumuskan bahawa pengurusan masa bermaksud seseorang itu mampu menguruskan masa secara berkesan bagi melakukan aktiviti harian dan merasa puas hati dengan apa yang telah lakukan oleh seseorang individu. Memang tidak dapat disangkal lagi bahawa, pengurusan masa adalah sangat berkait rapat dengan kualiti hidup seseorang. Pengurusan masa yang baik, boleh mendorong seseorang individu untuk mencapai cita-citanya dan pada masa yang sama tanggungjawab pada keluarga tidak diabaikan. Dalam jangka masa yang panjang, kemahiran menguruskan masa yang baik turut memberikan kepuasan dan kegembiraan yang mendalam dalam diri seseorang individu (Ali et al.,2008).

Pengurusan masa yang berkesan merupakan ciri penting dalam gaya hidup yang sihat. Oleh itu, seorang pegawai tentera perlu menyedari betapa pentingnya menguruskan masa dengan sebaik-baiknya. Seorang pegawai tentera yang bijak, sepatutnya mampu membezakan antara tugas segera dan tugas penting, maka sesuatu tugas yang perlu diutamakan hendaklah diberikan keutamaan sebelum tugas-tugas yang lain. Seharusnya setiap tugas yang diberikan perlu disusun mengikut keutamaan dan perancangan jadual kerja adalah merupakan salah satu alternatif terbaik dalam menyusun tugas yang diberikan.³ Apa yang paling penting, seseorang pegawai tentera tidak boleh melengahkan tugas-tugas yang diberikan kerana ini akan menambahkan lagi bebanan tugas-tugas yang akan datang. Tabiat seperti membazir masa haruslah dibuang dari dalam diri seorang pegawai tentera. Sebagai contoh aktiviti seperti berbual kosong, menonton televisyen secara keterlaluan, melayari internet tanpa tujuan, *chatting* dan sebagainya adalah merupakan tabiat membuang masa. Oleh itu, seorang pegawai tentera perlulah pandai menguruskan masa mereka dengan sebaik-baiknya dalam

² Vr Feature (2016). *How VR is Training The Perfect Soldier*. Dicapai pada 24 Mac 2016 daripada <http://www.wearable.com/vr/how-vr-is-training-the-perfect-soldier-1757>

³ Janssen, D. A. (2006). *The Ultimate Self Challenge: Time Management*. Diperolehi pada 24 Mac 2016 daripada <http://www.danieljanssen.com/ArchiveArticles/timemanagement.shtml>.

menjalankan tugas yang diamanahkan kepada mereka. Seorang pegawai tentera yang sangat menitik beratkan pengurusan masa adalah seorang yang mempunyai disiplin yang tinggi. Ini amat sesuai dengan jiwa seorang pegawai tentera yang sememangnya tersohor mempunyai sikap disiplin yang tinggi dalam kerjaya mereka mahupun kehidupan seharian.

Kemahiran Membuat Keputusan

Akhir sekali ialah kemahiran membuat keputusan di dalam bidang ketenteraan. Kemahiran membuat keputusan ialah satu proses mental di mana seseorang itu bertindak untuk memilih satu pilihan yang terbaik daripada beberapa pilihan yang ada berdasarkan tujuan dan kriteria tertentu. Menurut Mei (2015), dengan menguasai kemahiran membuat keputusan, seseorang individual itu tidak perlu menghafal maklumat, tetapi dapat mengenal pasti dan menyatakan sesuatu masalah, mengenal pasti pilihan yang boleh dibuat, membuat keputusan bersandarkan kaedah yang rasional, serta dapat memberikan keputusan secara rasional. Brezina (2008) menegaskan bahawa dengan mempunyai kemahiran membuat keputusan, ianya akan memberi kesan kepada seseorang untuk membuat keputusan yang tepat dan bijak serta mempunyai masa depan yang cemerlang. Manakala Baysal (2009) pula menyatakan bahawa kemahiran membuat keputusan ialah salah satu menyebabkan kebolehan yang sangat penting. Ini kerana ia akan mempengaruhi kehidupan peribadi seseorang antaranya kehidupan seharian dan perkara berkaitan komitmen kerja dalam organisasi.

Kemahiran membuat keputusan ini merupakan salah satu yang penting kerana keputusan yang dibuat akan melibatkan individu lain atau sesebuah organisasi. Kemahiran membuat keputusan ialah proses mentafsirkan masalah, mengumpul maklumat yang relevan, menjana alternatif penyelesaian, dan pemilihan alternatif terbaik untuk dilaksanakan. Sebagai contoh di dalam organisasi ketenteraan, seorang pegawai tentera menghadapi masalah di dalam bidang kerja dan berbincang untuk menyelesaikan masalah secara berkumpulan. Ini dengan mengadakan mesyuarat-mesyuarat untuk menyatakan isu-isu berbangkit dan menyelesaikan masalah. Terdapat beberapa kelebihan sekiranya keputusan yang dibuat adalah berdasarkan secara kumpulan. Antaranya membuat keputusan secara berkumpulan akan menawarkan pengalaman dan kepakaran daripada pelbagai kumpulan, lebih banyak maklumat, data dan fakta terkumpul, masalah dapat dilihat daripada pelbagai perspektif, meningkatkan kepuasan hati pegawai tentera yang lain, membentuk penerimaan serta komitmen pegawai tentera yang lain terhadap keputusan yang dibuat. Walau bagaimanapun, pendapat majoriti tidak boleh diterima pakai sekiranya bercanggah dengan dasar-dasar Al-Quran dan Sunnah dalam membuat keputusan. Ini telah pun dinyatakan dalam surah al-An'am ayat 116, Allah berfirman, "Jika kamu menurut kehendak kebanyakan manusia di atas muka bumi mereka akan menyesatkan kamu". Membuat keputusan merupakan salah satu kemahiran yang penting dalam kehidupan seseorang individu. Menurut Mohd (2003), akal adalah fitrah manusia untuk berfikir, tetapi dalam menggunakan akal biasa sesekali seseorang itu membuat keputusan yang salah kerana dia tidak menggunakan logik akalnya. Apa yang penting ialah keputusan mesti diambil untuk diri sendiri, keluarga, organisasi, masyarakat dan negara.

Cadangan Pengukuhan Kemahiran Pengurusan

Antara cadangan yang di usulkan ialah, pihak yang berwajib perlu menjalankan kursus tertentu bagi setiap kemahiran tersebut. Selain itu juga, beberapa bengkel atau seminar perlu diadakan sebagai contoh bengkel membuat keputusan dan menyelesaikan masalah di kalangan pegawai tentera. Melalui bengkel ini ianya dapat menanam kesedaran tentang kepentingan menguasai ilmu membuat keputusan dan menyelesaikan masalah dengan sistematik serta jitu serta memperkenalkan kaedah-kaedah baru dalam membuat keputusan dan menyelesaikan masalah.

Kerjasama antara ketenteraan Malaysia dengan ketenteraan negara maju yang lain seperti Rusia atau Amerika perlu di adakan. Sebagai contoh pakar dalam bidang realiti maya (*Virtual Reality*) bekerjasama dalam menjayakan teknologi ini di dalam bidang ketenteraan.⁴ Bagi membangunkan teknologi realiti maya (*Virtual Reality*) amat memerlukan kos yang tinggi, justeru kerjasama antara dengan negara-negara maju mampu mengurangkan kos pembangunan teknologi ini serta dapat membantu pegawai-pegawai tentera Malaysia untuk menggunakan teknologi tinggi seperti ini dalam latihan ketenteraan.⁵

Selain itu, pihak yang berwajib perlu mengenal pasti apakah kemahiran pengurusan yang mana pegawai tentera tidak mahir atau kurang dalam diri mereka. Hal ini boleh dilakukan dengan mengadakan kajian soal selidik ataupun kajian temu bual ke atas setiap pegawai tentera untuk memperoleh data dan maklumat yang tepat. Dengan adanya dapatan ke atas kekangan dan kelemahan dalam setiap kemahiran pengurusan ini, maka pihak yang berwajib boleh menangani masalah-masalah yang dihadapi dengan mudah seperti memilih kursus-kursus yang tertentu dan berkaitan sahaja untuk meningkatkan kualiti kemahiran pengurusan dalam diri setiap pegawai tentera.

KESIMPULAN

Kelima-lima kemahiran pengurusan yang telah dinyatakan dalam bidang ketenteraan sangat memainkan peranan yang penting terhadap individu, kumpulan dan organisasi ketenteraan. Oleh hal yang demikian, untuk mewujudkan organisasi ketenteraan yang utuh di Malaysia, pihak yang berwajib haruslah memainkan peranan dalam meningkatkan kesedaran dalam diri setiap pegawai tentera bagi menjadikan setiap pegawai tentera mahir dalam kelima-lima kemahiran pengurusan tersebut.

Kesimpulannya, Malaysia memerlukan pegawai tentera yang sangat berdedikasi, cemerlang, dedikasi, komited dan bijak dalam apa jua keadaan. Oleh itu, kelima-lima kemahiran pengurusan seperti kemahiran konseptual, kemahiran kemanusiaan, kemahiran

⁴ Jim Baumann (2005). *Military Applications of Virtual Reality*. Diperolehi pada 24 Mac 2016 daripada http://www.hitl.washington.edu/projects/knowledge_base/virtual-worlds/EVE/II.G.Military.html

⁵ Wan Zah et, al. (2008). *Kemahiran Pengurusan Masa Pelajar Tempatan : Status dan Hubungannya dengan Pencapaian*. *Jurnal Teknologi*, 49(E): 49–64.

teknikal, kemahiran pengurusan masa dan kemahiran membuat keputusan adalah sangat penting dalam memberikan impak yang besar terhadap diri seorang pegawai tentera, agama, bangsa dan negara Malaysia. Jesteru itu, pihak-pihak yang berwajib perlulah memainkan peranan dan mengambil tindakan perkara-perkara ini.

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**KONFLIK SELATAN THAILAND
MENGUGAT KEAMANAN SERANTAU**

Oleh

Mej Hafiza bin Ismail
Rejimen Askar Melayu DiRaja**PENDAHULUAN**

Wilayah Selatan Thai terutamanya Pattani, Yala dan Narathiwat yang rata-ratanya didiami oleh masyarakat Melayu beragama Islam dibunuh rentetan daripada pemberontakan yang dilaksanakan bagi mendapatkan kemerdekaan di Wilayah Selatan Thailand. Orang Melayu di Selatan Thailand sentiasa dilihat menjadi mangsa pemerintahan yang tidak adil sejak daripada Sistem Pemerintahan Beraja Melayu dihapuskan oleh Siam pada tahun 1902 dan Patani dipisahkan daripada Negeri-negeri Melayu yang lain. Sejak daripada peristiwa tersebut terdapat beberapa siri pemberontakan telah dilakukan oleh masyarakat wilayah berkenaan dalam mendapatkan kemerdekaan sepenuhnya daripada Kerajaan Thailand.

Kebangkitan telah bermula apabila berlakunya penentangan orang Melayu terhadap Kerajaan Siam pada tahun 1923 di Kampung Belukar Semak, Daerah Rangit, Narathiwat. Punca kejadian ini adalah disebabkan oleh tindakan kerajaan yang mahu mengintegrasikan masyarakat Melayu yang dianggap minoriti ke dalam masyarakat Siam. Proses integrasi ini dilakukan menerusi bidang pendidikan seperti menerusi Akta Pendidikan Rendah Paksaan yang diperkenalkan pada tahun 1921 telah menyebabkan orang Melayu Patani berasa tidak puas hati terhadap matlamat akta berkenaan. Akta yang diperkenalkan adalah lebih menjurus ke arah mengasimilasikan orang Melayu di mana mewajibkan kanak-kanak yang belajar di Sekolah Kebangsaan Siam menggunakan Bahasa Siam sebagai bahasa pengantar dan mengarahkan semua pusat pengajian agama seperti pondok dan masjid mengubah serta menyesuaikan sukatan pelajaran mengikut garis panduan yang telah ditetapkan oleh pihak kerajaan. Ini menyebabkan orang Melayu merasa bimbang terhadap anak-anak mereka yang akan “disiamkan” ataupun “dibuddhakan”.¹ Selain itu, mereka turut merasa tertekan apabila mereka terpaksa menanggung perbelanjaan sekolah yang dilihat mendatangkan bebanan kepada mereka pada ketika itu.

Penentangan pada peringkat awal ini telah dilakukan oleh raja-raja dan pembesar Melayu di negeri-negeri bekas Kerajaan Kesultanan Melayu Patani. Tengku Abdul Kadir yang merupakan raja Negeri Patani pada ketika itu telah menubuhkan Barisan Pembebasan

¹ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

yang dikenali sebagai Pakatan Mempertahan Agama Islam (PMAI) ekoran mendapat aduan daripada penduduk setempat. Pada tahun 1932, satu pertempuran telah tercetus di antara ahli PMAI dengan pihak polis di Belukar Semak, namun telah berjaya ditumpaskan oleh pihak polis. Penduduk yang didapati bersubahat dengan PMAI telah ditangkap dan dihukum penjara manakala Tengku Abdul Kadir serta keluarganya telah melarikan diri ke Kelantan.² Berikutan kejadian tersebut, Kerajaan Siam telah membuat penilaian semula terhadap polisi asimilasinya di Patani kerana bimbang dengan penentangan yang dilancarkan oleh orang Melayu yang akan membolehkan Thailand kehilangan wilayah berkenaan.

Satu arahan telah dikeluarkan oleh Raja Vajiravudh pada Julai 1923 kepada Kementerian Dalam Negeri agar memilih pegawai-pegawai yang jujur dan bertanggungjawab untuk dihantar berkhidmat di wilayah berkenaan. Selain itu, baginda juga tidak mahu mana-mana pihak berkuasa Siam mencampuri segala urusan yang berkaitan dengan agama Islam. Pendekatan yang dilakukan ini dilihat berjaya mengurangkan konflik kerana telah memberi sedikit kelonggaran kepada masyarakat Patani di dalam usaha menyerapkan wilayah-wilayah tersebut ke dalam sistem pentadbiran Siam namun keadaan ini tidak bertahan lama.

Penentangan Ke Atas Phibun Songgram

Penentangan terhadap Kerajaan Siam yang agak reda sejak 1923 kembali tegang pada tahun 1940 yang memperlihatkan perkembangan nasional bersifat kesiaman begitu kuat terutamanya semasa pemerintahan Phibun Songgram dari tahun 1939 sehingga 1944.³ Ini kerana kerajaan Phibun cuba mengasimilasikan kaum minoriti Melayu ke dalam masyarakat Siam dengan mengubal Dasar Rathaniyom yang lebih berunsurkan kepada sistem Barat dan menyentuh dalam segenap aspek bagi melemahkan lagi masyarakat Melayu Islam di negara berkenaan. Antara dasar yang mencetuskan kemarahan orang Melayu di Selatan Thailand adalah apabila mereka tidak dibenarkan untuk mengamalkan cara hidup orang Melayu serta mempelajari agama Islam. Hal ini adalah salah satu usaha kerajaan Phibun dalam cubaan memansuhkan agama Islam dan menjadikan agama Buddha sebagai agama rasmi negara berkenaan. Selain itu, pada tahun 1944 Phibun Songgram telah memansuhkan jawatan Qadi Islam di Wilayah Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat dan Setul serta membatalkan undang-undang Islam yang diguna pakai oleh kerajaan Thailand sebelum ini.⁴ Setiap urusan yang berkaitan dengan Islam akan diselesaikan mengikut undang-undang sivil dan diputuskan oleh mahkamah Siam. Dalam suasana tekanan ini, masyarakat Islam secara keseluruhannya mengambil sikap tidak menerima undang-undang negara yang dianggap bercanggah dengan ajaran Islam dan mereka berasa semakin terasing dengan sistem pemerintahan Kerajaan Thailand.

² Ibrahim Syukri (2002), *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

³ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

⁴ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Selain daripada, pelaksanaan dasar pembentukan negara menerusi Teori Nasionalisme yang melampau serta tindakan keras yang diambil terhadap golongan yang enggan bekerjasama dengan kerajaan telah menimbulkan tekanan dalam kalangan orang Melayu. Bagi kakitangan kerajaan yang berketurunan Melayu, mereka didesak supaya membuktikan taat setia mereka dengan mengamalkan budaya dan menukarkan nama mereka kepada nama Thai selain mewajibkan untuk mengaku diri mereka sebagai 'Thai Muslim'.⁵ Hal ini dilihat telah menambahkan lagi tekanan terhadap masyarakat Melayu Islam pada ketika itu. Penentangan-penentangan daripada masyarakat Melayu dilihat terus berlaku sehingga menyebabkan Kerajaan Phibun Songgram tidak dapat bertahan dengan lama. Kerajaan Phibun Songgram telah berjaya digulingkan oleh Pridi Phanomyong menerusi rampasan kuasa pada tahun 1944 dan beliau telah dilantik sebagai Perdana Menteri Thailand. Namun begitu, Pridi Phanomyong telah menyerahkan jawatan tersebut kepada sahabatnya, Thamrong Nawasawat selepas beliau dituduh bersubahat dalam pembunuhan Raja Ananda Mahidol pada 9 Jun 1946.⁶ Pada ketika ini, keganasan dan kekejaman pegawai-pegawai Thailand ke atas orang-orang Melayu masih lagi berlaku. Pada awal November 1946, satu keganasan telah berlaku di Kampung Belukar Semak dan telah mengorbankan beberapa orang penduduk kampung oleh pihak keselamatan Thailand atas alasan mereka dikecam sebagai pengganas.

Ekoran tercetusnya rusuhan tersebut serta rayuan daripada pemimpin-pemimpin Patani, Kerajaan Thamrong telah bersetuju untuk menghantar Suruhanjaya Penyiasat pada awal 1947 bagi mengkaji keadaan wilayah bergolak dan dalam masa yang sama mengadakan pertemuan dengan pemimpin-pemimpin Melayu bagi menyelesaikan masalah yang dihadapi di kawasan tersebut. Namun begitu, belum sempat masalah ini diselesaikan, Kerajaan Thamrong telah digulingkan oleh Junta Tentera pada 8 November 1947 dan Phibun Songgram telah dilantik semula sebagai Ketua Turus Angkatan Tentera oleh kerajaan pimpinan Khuang Aphaiwong.⁷

Rampasan kuasa ini dipandang serius oleh pihak British dan juga Amerika Syarikat yang enggan mengiktiraf kerajaan sementara pimpinan Khuang Aphaiwong sehinggalah pilihanraya umum diadakan pada akhir Januari 1948. Suasana politik di Thailand berubah secara mendadak berikutan perletakan jawatan Khuang Aphaiwong sebagai Perdana Menteri dan diambil alih semula oleh Phibun Songgram yang mengakibatkan kebimbangan pihak British. Sehubungan dengan itu, pihak British telah meminta Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen yang merupakan salah seorang pemimpin pejuang Melayu Patani untuk campur tangan serta menyelesaikan masalah berkenaan melalui rundingan damai selepas berlakunya peristiwa pertempuran di Kampung Dusun Nyiur.

⁵ Ibrahim Syukri (2002), *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Perjuangan Secara Terbuka Pada 1960⁸

Sejak awal 1960-an, masyarakat di Selatan Thailand dilihat telah membuat tuntutan secara terbuka bagi mendapatkan kemerdekaan daripada Kerajaan Thailand. Mereka telah menubuhkan Gerakan Pembebasan yang dipengaruhi oleh perkembangan perjuangan kemerdekaan di negara-negara Islam Asia Tenggara termasuklah Malaysia. Penubuhan gerakan ini telah memberi kesan yang mendalam terhadap hala tuju masyarakat Islam yang sedang menghadapi tekanan politik daripada Kerajaan Thailand. Dalam masa yang sama, para pemimpin masyarakat Islam dan para ulama telah bersepakat untuk membentuk sebuah organisasi perjuangan yang bertujuan menentang Kerajaan Thailand dalam menuntut kemerdekaan. Organisasi-organisasi yang dibentuk adalah menjurus kepada bentuk ketenteraan seperti Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Pattani (BRN), Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO), Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Pattani (BNPP), Parti Revolusi Nasional (PERNAS) dan beberapa organisasi lain. Di samping itu, perjuangan kemerdekaan melalui kekuatan bersenjata ini juga telah menjadi pilihan umum dan disokong oleh masyarakat Melayu secara menyeluruh di Selatan Thailand.⁹

Sebahagian besar sumber kewangan pertubuhan berkenaan adalah sumbangan daripada anggota mereka sendiri. Peningkatan pertempuran bersenjata telah berlaku sekitar tahun 1978 sehingga 1979 berbanding dari tahun sebelumnya di mana sebanyak 385 pertempuran telah berlaku yang mengakibatkan seramai 329 orang gerila terbunuh manakala 165 orang pejuang menyerah diri serta 1,208 orang yang lain telah ditangkap. Setiap anggota gerakan pembebasan ini mempunyai dua peranan utama, iaitu mendapatkan pembiayaan dan merancang aktiviti perjuangan dengan berkesan. Tugas berat ini bukan sahaja telah melemahkan perjuangan tetapi telah menyebabkan perpecahan di antara mereka bahkan telah mengurangkan tahap aktiviti perjuangan gerakan pemisah. Kelemahan ini dilihat sebagai satu peluang keemasan bagi Kerajaan Thailand untuk memulakan program pembangunan ekonomi dan sosial di empat wilayah berkenaan pada awal tahun 1980. Hal ini adalah bertujuan untuk melemahkan lagi perkembangan perjuangan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand. Namun, kebanyakan program yang dirancang tidak dapat berjalan lancar disebabkan masalah ekonomi di kawasan penduduk Melayu masih belum dapat diselesaikan.

Seiring dengan pembangunan ekonomi dan sosial, pihak Tentera Darat Bahagian Keempat atau *Fourth Army Region (FAR)* telah mengadakan beberapa program untuk menghapuskan konflik pemisahan dengan cara pujukan. Antara program yang dibentangkan ialah 'Kebahagiaan Selatan' (*Taiomyen*) dan 'Harapan Baru' (*Kuangwangmai*). Program tersebut tertumpu kepada peningkatan kefahaman dan kerjasama antara penduduk Melayu Islam dengan pegawai Kerajaan Thailand serta menekankan aspek pujukan ke atas golongan pejuang pembebasan supaya menyerah

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

diri.¹⁰ Selain daripada itu, sebuah agensi di Wilayah Yala yang dikenali sebagai Pusat Pentadbiran Wilayah Sempadan Selatan atau *Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centra* (SBPAC) telah ditubuhkan pada tahun 1981 oleh Jabatan Perdana Menteri Thailand sebagai pusat penyelarasan bagi menghapuskan Gerakan Pembebasan Patani. Penubuhan agensi ini dilihat telah berjaya mengurangkan aktiviti-aktiviti pergolakan di wilayah berkenaan.¹¹

Dalam masa yang sama, pihak berkuasa Thailand telah membuat andaian bahawa barisan-barisan pemisah di empat buah wilayah Melayu sudah berada dalam keadaan kehancuran. Walau bagaimanapun, bagi sesetengah masyarakat Melayu, mereka percaya bahawa kesepian aktiviti perjuangan ini adalah sementara dan akan memberi tentangan yang hebat kepada pihak kerajaan pada suatu hari nanti.

Politik Sebagai Landasan Baru

Masyarakat Melayu adalah golongan majoriti di Wilayah Selatan Thailand. Perkembangan politik demokrasi pada tahun 1980 telah membuatkan masyarakat Melayu lebih memberi perhatian kepada politik berparlimen. Pada akhir tahun 1980, ahli politik Melayu Selatan Thailand telah bersepakat untuk menubuhkan kesatuan politik yang dikenali sebagai Wahdah (Bersatu) yang bertujuan untuk membentuk perpaduan masyarakat Islam di Thailand serta menjaga hak dan kepentingan masyarakat tersebut dari sudut politik, ekonomi, pendidikan dan sosial.

Pada akhir tahun 1990, berlaku satu rombakan kabinet kerajaan dengan pembentukan kabinet baru di mana Chatichai Chunnhawan selaku Perdana Menteri pada ketika itu telah mengambil langkah berani dengan melantik Den Tukmina¹², wakil Kumpulan Wahdah yang duhulunya ahli kabinet kerajaan menjadi Timbalan Menteri Kesihatan. Rampasan kuasa oleh pihak tentera pada 23 Februari 1991 telah menyebabkan kabinet Kerajaan Chatichai Chunnhawan tidak dapat bertahan lama dan kerajaan sementara Thailand telah mengistiharkan pilihan raya akan dibuat pada tahun berikutnya. Kumpulan Wahdah telah mengambil langkah untuk menukar parti politik mereka kepada lebih berbentuk sistematik di bawah pimpinan Jeneral Chavalit Yongchaiyut yang dikenali sebagai *Kwam Wang Mai* (Harapan baru) atau *New Aspiration Party* (NAP) bagi menghadapi pilihan raya pada 22 Mac 1992.

Pada pertengahan bulan Mei 1992, satu demonstrasi besar telah berlaku di Bangkok yang menyebabkan jatuhnya Kerajaan Suchinda Kraprayun. Ekoran dari itu, satu pilihan raya telah diadakan pada 13 September 1992 di mana Wilayah Selatan Thailand dilihat menjadi persaingan hebat di antara dua parti iaitu *Prachatipati* (Demokrat) dan NAP. Menjelang pilihan raya tahun 1995 sehinggalah pada tahun 2000, calon-calon dari Kumpulan Wahdah

¹⁰ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

dan juga calon-calon Melayu yang lain telah menang bagi kawasan pilihan raya di Wilayah Selatan Thailand. Penglibatan calon-calon Melayu Islam dilihat memainkan peranan yang penting dalam menyelesaikan masalah masyarakat Melayu Islam di Thailand.¹³ Tambahan pula, melalui penglibatan masyarakat Melayu di dalam sistem politik Thailand dilihat telah berjaya mengurangkan kadar penindasan dan sekali gus mengurangkan aktiviti pemberontakan di wilayah berkenaan.

Kemuncak Konflik

Walaupun pergolakan yang berlaku di selatan Thailand dilihat semakin reda, namun pada awal tahun 2004 telah menyaksikan berlaku peristiwa berdarah di wilayah berkenaan terutamanya di Daerah Pattani, Yala dan Narathiwat. Pergolakan ini kembali berulang dan semakin memuncak sehinggalah masih berlarutan sehingga ke hari ini. Beberapa siri pergolakan adalah seperti berikut:

Serangan Kem Thai Cho Ai Rong

Pada 4 Januari 2004, sebuah Kem Tentera Thai Cho Ai Rong di Wilayah Narathiwat telah diserang dan sebanyak 400 pucuk senjata serta senapang telah dirampas oleh 100 orang penyerang. Sebelum serangan tersebut, sebanyak 18 buah sekolah dan pos polis di wilayah berkenaan turut diserang. Pada hari berikutnya, dua orang anggota polis telah terbunuh apabila mereka cuba memamatkan bom yang diletakkan di pusat membeli-belah dan mengakibatkan seorang lagi anggota polis tercedera apabila sebuah pos polis meletup di kawasan berkenaan.¹⁴ Ekoran daripada insiden tersebut, Perdana Menteri, iaitu Thaksin telah mengisytiharkan darurat seterusnya mengerahkan askarnya untuk mengawal di tiga Wilayah Selatan iaitu Pattani, Yala dan Narathiwat. Melalui perintah darurat tersebut, maka pihak keselamatan dapat menahan sesiapa sahaja yang disyaki terlibat tanpa mengeluarkan sebarang waran tangkap. Hasil daripada penguasaan tentera di wilayah berkenaan, Selatan Thailand dilihat menjadi semakin kucar-kacir dan meningkatkan lagi keganasan di wilayah berkenaan. Dalam masa yang sama, pihak tentera turut melakukan keganasan terhadap mereka yang disyaki terlibat termasuklah ahli kumpulan militan seperti Gerakan Mujahideen Islam Pattani (GMIP) dan Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN). Menurut Penasihat Keselamatan Thailand, besar kemungkinan serangan yang dilakukan oleh kumpulan gerakan tersebut mendapat bantuan daripada kumpulan pengganas Al-Qaeda.¹⁵ Tuduhan ini adalah berasaskan kepada kemarahan penduduk di kawasan berkenaan yang beragama Islam terhadap penindasan yang telah dialami sejak sekian lama dan lebih bermotifkan balas dendam. Walau bagaimanapun, masih tidak ada bukti kukuh yang menunjukkan bahawa serangan tersebut mempunyai rangkaian dengan kumpulan berkenaan.

¹³ Husin Ahmad (1971), *Sejarah Thailand Dari Prasejarah Sehingga Sekarang*, Penerbitan: PAP Kelantan.

¹⁴ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

¹⁵ Ibid

Pertempuran 28 April 2004

Pada 28 April 2004, sekumpulan lelaki telah menyerang tempat kawalan keselamatan. Hasil daripada serangan tersebut, pasukan tentera telah bertindak balas mengepung Masjid Krisek, Patani dan telah mengakibatkan 32 orang penyerang terbunuh. Rentetan daripada pertempuran di masjid tersebut, beberapa siri serangan lain telah berlaku di Yala dan mengorbankan hampir 70 orang penyerang antaranya ialah 10 orang telah dibunuh di kawasan kawalan keselamatan di Bang Niang, 2 orang di Daerah Muang, 16 orang pemuda dari Kampung Krong Pinang dan lapan orang di Daerah Bannang Sata manakala lima orang lagi dibunuh serta tiga orang tercedera di Kem Tentera Than To. Kebanyakan mereka yang terbunuh adalah terdiri daripada golongan remaja yang hanya bersenjatakan parang. Menurut Menteri Pertahanan Thailand, Cheetha Thanajaro serangan tersebut dilakukan oleh kumpulan pemisah yang mendapat bantuan daripada negara luar, iaitu Indonesia. Oleh demikian, beliau beranggapan bahawa serangan yang lebih buruk akan tercetus di masa akan datang sekiranya pihak kerajaan Thailand tidak menangani pemasalah tersebut dengan serius.¹⁶

Bantahan di Tak Bai

Peristiwa berdarah berulang kembali pada 25 Oktober 2004 di mana 6 orang sukarelawan telah ditahan kerana disyaki membekalkan senjata kepada kumpulan pemisah. Sehubungan dengan itu, orang ramai telah berkumpul di balai polis bagi membantah terhadap penahanan tersebut. Susulan daripada itu seramai 87 orang telah ditahan serta dihumban ke dalam sebuah trak secara beramai-ramai dan mengakibatkan 78 orang daripada tahanan tersebut mati disebabkan oleh kesesakan nafas serta enam orang lagi mati ditembak oleh pihak berkuasa Thailand. Berikutan tragedi di Tak Bai, sebanyak 22 bom jangka telah dipasang di Narathiwat. Satu letupan bom berlaku di kedai minuman keras di Sungai Golok, Narathiwat pada 28 Oktober 2004 mengakibatkan 2 orang termasuk seorang rakyat Malaysia terbunuh manakala 20 orang lagi cedera. Selain itu, dua butir bom telah diletupkan pada keesokannya berhampiran dengan kedai minum di Yala dan mengakibatkan 18 orang terbunuh serta 11 orang anggota keselamatan tercedera. Kejadian-kejadian ini dilihat sebagai tindakan membalas dendam terhadap keganasan pihak Tentera Thailand di Tak Bai.¹⁷

Serangan ke atas sami-sami Buddha dilihat semakin berleluasa. Sejak Januari sehingga Mac 2005, seramai 6 orang Sami Buddha telah dibunuh dan beberapa serangan lain telah berlaku di Yala. Pada 3 April 2005, berlaku satu letupan di Lapangan Terbang Hat Yai berdekatan dengan pusat membeli-belah di Songkla yang telah mengakibatkan 2 orang terbunuh serta 75 orang lagi tercedera termasuklah 4 orang warga asing. Pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand dilihat mampu mengancam kestabilan Negara Thailand. Perdana Menteri Thailand, Thaksin telah membuat tuduhan bahawa keganasan yang

¹⁶ Ahmad Omar Champakia (2000), *Politik Thai Dan Masyarakat Islam Di Selatan Thai*, Kedah: Pustaka Darussalam.

¹⁷ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

berlaku di Selatan Thailand berpunca daripada gerakan muslim yang menentang dasar politik dan pegawai keselamatan yang mengawal di wilayah berkenaan. Pihak Kerajaan Thailand juga percaya bahawa pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand mungkin dilakukan oleh kumpulan pengganas luar ataupun kumpulan-kumpulan yang mempunyai rangkaian dengan Kumpulan Jemaah Islamiyah (JI).¹⁸ Namun, masih tiada bukti kukuh yang menunjukkan kumpulan gerakan di Selatan Thailand mempunyai rangkaian dengan pengganas antarabangsa.

Faktor-Faktor Pergolakan

Pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand adalah disebabkan oleh beberapa faktor. Antara faktor-faktornya adalah seperti masalah sosio-ekonomi, kelemahan pentadbiran, agama, pengabaian hak asasi manusia, sistem pembelajaran dan nilai budaya yang berbeza. Sekiranya faktor-faktor ini tidak dipandang serius oleh pihak Kerajaan Thailand, maka pergolakan yang berlaku di wilayah berkenaan dilihat tidak dapat diselesaikan malahan akan memburukkan lagi keadaan yang sedia ada.

Faktor Sosio-ekonomi

Pembangunan sosio-ekonomi di Wilayah Selatan Thailand dilihat jauh ketinggalan. Hal ini dapat dilihat apabila 70 peratus syarikat-syarikat di Thailand adalah milik penduduk majoriti yang beragama Buddha manakala buruh-buruh pula adalah terdiri daripada kalangan penduduk Islam. Selain itu, kesukaran untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan telah memaksa mereka untuk berhijrah ke Malaysia bagi mendapatkan pekerjaan sementara. Dianggarkan sebanyak 60 peratus penduduk di ketiga-tiga Wilayah Selatan Thailand hidup miskin dan hal ini turut diakui sendiri oleh mantan Perdana Menteri, Thaksin Shinawatra.¹⁹ Diskriminasi identiti etnik dalam bidang ekonomi masih lagi ketara malahan satu pertiga daripada populasi penduduk Wilayah Narathiwat hidup di bawah garis kemiskinan. Hal ini turut disebabkan oleh polisi-polisi Kerajaan Thailand yang dilihat lebih menjurus kepada penindasan hak asasi manusia masyarakat berkenaan. Faktor ini dilihat telah menjadi penyumbang kepada berlakunya pergolakan di daerah berkenaan.

Faktor Kelemahan Pentadbiran

Dalam melaksanakan sesuatu pentadbiran dengan lancar bagi sesebuah negara yang mempunyai pelbagai etnik dan kaum, pemimpin dilihat memainkan peranan yang penting. Penyebab utama timbul-tenggelamnya penentangan di Selatan Thailand adalah disebabkan oleh pentadbiran negara itu sendiri. Kelemahan pentadbiran Kerajaan Thailand telah menyebabkan undang-undang tidak dapat dikuatkuasakan di wilayah berkenaan. Hal ini berpunca daripada salah faham pihak berkuasa dan kesilapan mereka dalam mengambil tindakan terhadap orang-orang tertentu yang telah membangkitkan

¹⁸ Ahmad Omar Champakia (2000), *Politik Thai Dan Masyarakat Islam Di Selatan Thai*, Kedah: Pustaka Darussalam.

¹⁹ Siti Alawiah Binti Mustapa (2008), *Pergolakan Politik Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Terhadap Keselamatan Malaysia*, Bangi, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

kemarahan masyarakat di Selatan Thailand. Lebih memburukkan lagi keadaan apabila pihak Kerajaan Thailand memandang remeh terhadap konflik yang berlaku selain tidak berusaha dalam menangani masalah ini daripada terus berleluasa. Pergolakan di Selatan Thailand juga boleh dikaitkan dengan kepimpinan Thailand yang sering berubah-ubah. Semasa zaman pemerintahan Thaksin, beliau telah menghapuskan SBPAC yang merupakan satu-satunya medium untuk masyarakat Selatan Thailand meluahkan masalah mereka selain menggunakan kekerasan dalam menangani konflik di wilayah berkenaan.²⁰ Hal ini dibuktikan apabila Thaksin telah mengarahkan anggota tentera untuk berkawal di Selatan Thailand serta menguatkuasakan undang-undang tentera di wilayah berkenaan sepanjang tempoh pemerintahannya.

Faktor Agama

Sikap para pegawai Thailand di pejabat-pejabat daerah yang mengamalkan diskriminasi terhadap penduduk yang beragama Islam serta tidak menghormati adat resam, perasaan dan kehendak mereka telah menjadi punca kepada tercetusnya pergolakan di Selatan Thailand. Selain itu, pihak polis turut menjalankan operasi serang hendap terhadap para imam dan guru-guru agama di wilayah berkenaan kerana disyaki menyebarkan sentimen-sentimen anti-kerajaan. Rentetan daripada itu, telah wujud Pertubuhan Pembebasan Bersatu Pattani (PULO) yang sinonim dengan gerakan pemisah di Selatan Thailand yang ingin menjadikan Wilayah Pattani sebagai satu wilayah Islam di samping menentang tindakan Thai-Buddha yang ingin menghapuskan penduduk Islam. Hal ini dilihat telah mengeruhkan lagi keadaan yang sedia ada.²¹

Sistem Pembelajaran

Faktor seterusnya ialah sistem pembelajaran di mana sekolah pondok merupakan salah satu simbol penting dalam budaya masyarakat Melayu-Islam di Selatan Thailand. Para cendekiawan turut menyatakan bahawa sistem pendidikan Islam di sekolah-sekolah pondok telah berjaya mendidik masyarakat Melayu Islam dengan baik. Kerajaan Thailand memahami dan sedar akan kepentingan sekolah pondok kepada masyarakat Selatan Thailand. Tindakan penghapusan sistem sekolah pondok ini dilihat sama dengan penghapusan budaya tradisional dalam kalangan masyarakat Melayu-Islam. Hal ini telah menjadi penyebab utama mengapa usaha Kerajaan Thailand, khususnya di bawah pentadbiran Phibun dan Sarit untuk menukar sistem sekolah pondok mendapat tentangan hebat daripada masyarakat Melayu-Islam. Memandangkan sistem sekolah pondok merupakan simbol penting kepada masyarakat Selatan Thailand. Hal ini cukup jelas untuk membuktikan bahawa masyarakat Melayu-Islam tidak mahukan pendidikan sekular mengetepikan pendidikan agama di dalam sistem pembelajaran di negara berkenaan.

²⁰ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

²¹ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Kumpulan Pemisah

Kumpulan pemisah di Selatan Thailand telah menyebabkan banyak berlaku kekecohan. Pegangan kumpulan ini yang lebih menjurus kepada kekerasan menyebabkan penduduk tempatan hidup dalam ketakutan dan tidak dapat menjalani aktiviti seharian dengan bebas. Sebenarnya, kumpulan ini tidak mempunyai objektif penubuhan yang spesifik. Sebaliknya, perjuangan mereka ini dilihat lebih menjurus kepada kepentingan peribadi semata-mata. Pengaruh kumpulan pemisah dalam kalangan penduduk di Wilayah Selatan Thailand dilihat mampu memporak-perandakan pentadbiran Kerajaan Thailand.²² Lebih teruk lagi apabila terdapat segelintir daripada pemimpin tertinggi kumpulan pemisah ini tidak mengenali ahli-ahli mereka malah mengawal pergerakan kumpulan mereka dari jauh tanpa mengetahui situasi sebenar yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand. Dalam masa yang sama, kewujudan kumpulan-kumpulan ini juga dilihat turut melemahkan segala usaha yang dibawa dalam mengembalikan keamanan di wilayah berkenaan.

Inisiatif Pemulihan Konflik

Kerajaan Thailand telah mengambil beberapa tindakan bagi menangani serta memulihkan keadaan di Selatan Thailand. Antaranya adalah dengan menghalang sebarang operasi yang boleh mencetuskan keganasan, menghapuskan diskriminasi serta perbezaan ras dan jurang dalam kalangan masyarakat, mempromosi penyertaan penduduk tempatan dalam kerja-kerja wilayah selain mewujudkan ketelusan. Di samping itu, kerajaan juga berjanji untuk menyuntik dana sebanyak USD 300 juta (RM 1.5 bilion) bagi membiayai projek pembangunan sosio-ekonomi di wilayah tersebut tetapi menemui kegagalan kerana pemimpin yang dilantik tidak menjalankan tugas mereka dengan baik. Antara langkah lain yang diambil oleh pihak Bangkok adalah dengan memperluaskan polisi perdamaian untuk mencari penyelesaian kepada masalah pergolakan. Polisi tersebut telah disokong oleh salah seorang pemimpin Pertubuhan Pemisah Melayu-Islam iaitu Wan Kadir Che Man.²³ Beliau mengalu-alukan pertukaran polisi kerajaan ke arah pendekatan yang lebih lembut dalam menangani masalah di wilayah berkenaan. Pembentukan Suruhanjaya Pembaikpulihan Kebangsaan (NRC) oleh Perdana Menteri Thailand dilihat sebagai langkah positif untuk mengembalikan keamanan di wilayah bergolak tersebut.

Disebabkan keadaan semakin teruk, Raja Bhumi Bol Adulyeday telah mengisytiharkan darurat ke atas Selatan Thailand. Pada ketika itu, Thaksin sebagai Perdana Menteri dilihat semakin bebas melakukan apa saja tindakan atas nama mencari keamanan dalam menyelesaikan kemelut di wilayah itu. Hal ini telah memberi peluang kepada Tentera Thailand untuk melakukan kekejaman serta bertindak di luar batas kemanusiaan dan mencabuli undang-undang negara itu sendiri dengan melakukan penangkapan terhadap

²² Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

²³ Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud (1999), *Sejarah Perjuangan Melayu Patani, 1785-1954*, Bangi : Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

masyarakat Islam tanpa sebarang pengadilan.²⁴ Selain itu juga, kebebasan masyarakat di wilayah berkenaan semakin terbatas dan telah meningkatkan lagi tahap kebencian mereka terhadap Kerajaan Thailand. Kerajaan Malaysia turut mengambil bahagian dalam membantu Kerajaan Thailand meredakan ketegangan di Selatan Thailand. Ini kerana, pergolakan yang berlaku di wilayah berkenaan turut dilihat memberi kesan yang mendalam kepada Malaysia sebagai salah sebuah negara jiran terdekat Thailand. Antara usaha yang dibuat adalah dengan menubuhkan Task Force 2010 (Malaysia), penubuhan Rejimen Sempadan (RS) dan menjadi pengantara kepada Kerajaan Thailand dengan masyarakat di Selatan Thailand dalam membincangkan isu yang berkaitan dengan pergolakan di wilayah berkenaan.²⁵

Kerajaan Malaysia dilihat bersungguh-sungguh dalam membantu Kerajaan Thailand untuk mengembalikan keamanan di Selatan Thailand agar konflik ini tidak membantutkan perancangan pembangunan Kerajaan Malaysia terutamanya terhadap negeri-negeri yang bersempadan dengan Thailand. Walaupun pelbagai langkah telah diambil oleh Kerajaan Thailand dan Malaysia dalam mengatasi permasalahan ini, namun pergolakan yang berlaku bukanlah satu perkara yang mudah untuk diselesaikan.

Kesan Kepada Thailand Dan Malaysia

Negara Malaysia yang bersempadan dengan Negara Thailand tidak dapat lari daripada turut sama menerima kesan berikutan berlakunya pergolakan di Selatan Thailand. Tambahan pula, masalah yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand adalah terdiri daripada masyarakat Melayu Islam yang kebanyakannya mempunyai pelbagai persamaan budaya, bahasa dan agama dengan masyarakat Melayu di Malaysia. Konflik yang berlaku di wilayah berkenaan dilihat mampu mengugat hubungan diplomatik yang merangkumi pelbagai aspek bagi kedua-dua negara berkenaan.

Kesan Darurat Ke Atas Selatan Thailand

Pendamaian yang diharapkan setelah perintah darurat diluluskan oleh Parlimen Bangkok pada awal 2004 terhadap Wilayah Selatan Thailand tidak mendatangkan sebarang hasil yang positif.²⁶ Sebaliknya, keadaan menjadi semakin parah dan menyebabkan masyarakat di wilayah berkenaan terpaksa berhijrah ke negara jiran yang terdekat untuk mencari perlindungan. Hal ini secara tidak langsung telah menyebabkan keamanan negara-negara jiran terdekat Thailand turut terjejas akibat daripada penghijrahan masyarakat berkenaan.

²⁴ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

²⁵ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

²⁶ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Hubungan Malaysia – Thailand

Pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand turut memberi kesan kepada negara jiran khususnya Malaysia. Perbuatan yang tidak berperikemanusiaan terhadap masyarakat Islam yang menjadi korban akibat kekejaman Tentera Thailand dalam kejadian yang berlaku di Tak Bai dan Masjid Krisek telah memburukkan lagi keadaan. Berikutan peristiwa tersebut, pergolakan terus tercetus bagi membalas dendam ke atas kematian masyarakat Islam di wilayah berkenaan. Dalam masa yang sama, Perdana Menteri Thailand, Thaksin Shinawatra telah membuat pelbagai tuduhan terhadap Malaysia yang dikatakan turut terlibat sama dalam kejadian yang berlaku di wilayah bergolak itu. Tuduhan-tuduhan yang dilakukan oleh Thailand telah menjejaskan hubungan baik antara kedua-dua negara.

Tuduhan-tuduhan ini dilakukan kerana pihak Thailand curiga terhadap penglibatan Malaysia di dalam konflik berkenaan dan beranggapan bahawa Malaysia hanya mahu mengukuhkan lagi pengaruh di Selatan Thailand. Pihak Thailand juga menyedari bahawa pengaruh Malaysia sebagai Pengerusi Persidangan Negara-negara Islam (OIC) dan *Non-Aligned Movement* (NAM) mampu mempengaruhi persepsi antarabangsa terhadap isu di Selatan Thailand. Ketika Mesyuarat Menteri OIC di Yemen pada bulan Mei 2005, delegasi Thailand tidak berpuas hati dengan tindakan Malaysia yang membelakangi mereka sebagai anggota ASEAN. Mereka mengharapkan agar pihak Malaysia menyokong Thailand mengenai tindakan mereka mengatasi konflik di Selatan Thailand, namun perkara sebaliknya telah berlaku. Hal ini dilihat mampu merenggangkan hubungan di antara kedua-dua negara berkenaan.²⁷

Kesan Terhadap Ekonomi

Kerjasama di dalam pembangunan ekonomi antara Malaysia-Thailand telah wujud sejak sekian lama. Hal ini dapat dibuktikan apabila Malaysia merupakan rakan dagangan Thailand kedua selepas Singapura bagi negara-negara di Asia Tenggara dan di tangga kelima bagi negara di seluruh dunia. Walau bagaimanapun, pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand dilihat turut memberi kesan yang mendalam kepada pertumbuhan ekonomi bagi kedua-dua negara berkenaan. Segala aktiviti perniagaan terutamanya perniagaan yang melibatkan urusan keluar masuk rakyat bagi tujuan perniagaan di negara berkenaan dilihat turut terjejas. Keadaan ini turut disokong oleh Menteri di Jabatan Perdana Menteri, Datuk Mustapha Mohamed yang berkata "...selagi wujudnya pergolakan di Selatan Thailand, pertumbuhan ekonomi di kawasan sempadan kedua-dua negara akan terbantut serta menyukarkan urusan keluar masuk bagi rakyat yang menjalankan aktiviti perniagaan di Sempadan Thailand."²⁸

Malaysia dan Thailand seharusnya berkongsi matlamat dalam memacu pertumbuhan ekonomi dan meningkatkan persaingan yang lebih hebat dengan menjana kerjasama

²⁷ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

²⁸ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

termasuklah dari segi perkongsian ekonomi dan teknologi yang mana menepati semangat gagasan memakmurkan jiran. Hal ini jelas membuktikan bahawa pergolakan yang berlaku di wilayah berkenaan turut memberi kesan yang mendalam terhadap pertumbuhan ekonomi di Malaysia. Kerjasama ekonomi yang terjalin ini dilihat mampu mengekangkan sebarang aktiviti tidak sihat di kawasan Sempadan Malaysia-Thailand termasuklah kegiatan penyeludupan beras yang boleh menjejaskan pendapatan pesawah di Malaysia.

Kesan Terhadap Penduduk Tempatan

Limpahan kedatangan rakyat Thailand yang ramai di Sempadan Malaysia-Thailand telah menjadi satu cabaran kepada penduduk Malaysia sendiri bagi mendapatkan pekerjaan.²⁹ Selain itu, desakan hidup rakyat Thailand di Malaysia telah menyebabkan berlakunya aktiviti jenayah seperti rompakan, kecurian malah ada yang sanggup membunuh demi mendapatkan nafkah. Keadaan ini telah meningkatkan lagi kadar jenayah di Malaysia terutamanya di kawasan sempadan.³⁰

Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan mendakwa bahawa peningkatan gejala sosial yang tinggi adalah disebabkan oleh kawasan yang berdekatan dengan Sempadan Thailand. Masalah yang paling serius dihadapi adalah gejala penyalahgunaan dadah yang terus meningkat dalam kalangan penduduk. Selain itu, faktor sosial ekonomi masyarakat Selatan Thailand yang berkait rapat dengan kegiatan penyeludupan sebagai sumber ekonomi mereka turut menyumbang kepada permasalahan ini. Hal ini secara tidak langsung telah menggugat kestabilan keselamatan di kedua-dua negara berkenaan.

KESIMPULAN

Pergolakan yang berlaku di Selatan Thailand telah tercetus sejak daripada penguasaan Kerajaan Siam ke atas Kerajaan Melayu Patani pada sekitar tahun 1786. Semenjak daripada itu, masyarakat di Selatan Thailand tidak henti-henti menunjukkan penentangan dan perjuangan untuk mendapatkan keadilan serta kebebasan bagi wilayah berkenaan. Terdapat beberapa faktor yang menjadi pendorong kepada pergolakan ini terus berlaku dan dilihat bertambah tegang pada awal tahun 2004.³¹

Walaupun pelbagai pendekatan telah dilaksanakan oleh pihak Kerajaan Thailand untuk menangani konflik tersebut, namun masalah yang berlaku dilihat masih lagi tidak dapat diselesaikan. Malahan, pendekatan yang dibuat itu dilihat lebih memburukkan lagi keadaan yang sedia ada. Ini kerana Kerajaan Thailand dan masyarakat Selatan Thailand itu sendiri tidak mempunyai kesefahaman dalam menyelesaikan konflik berkenaan. Permasalahan

²⁹ Siti Alawiah Binti Mustapa (2008), *Pergolakan Politik Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Terhadap Keselamatan Malaysia*, Bangi, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

³⁰ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

³¹ Santy Ramly (2006), *Kebangkitan Umat Islam Di Selatan Thailand Dan Kesannya Ke Atas Malaysia*, Bangi : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

yang berlaku ini bukan sahaja memberi kesan kepada Thailand malahan juga kepada negara-negara jirannya termasuklah Malaysia.

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Mej Hafiza bin Ismail telah menerima latihan Pegawai Kadet di Kolej Tentera Darat pada 23 Mac 2001 dan menerima Diploma Pengurusan daripada Universiti Terbuka Malaysia. Beliau telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Rejimen Askar Melayu DiRaja, pada 24 Ogos 2002 dengan pangkat Lt Muda di 10 RAMD, Kem Majidee, Johor Bahru. Di 10 RAMD beliau juga telah menjawat jawatan sebagai Ajutan Pasukan. Pada Feb 2007, beliau telah ditukarkan ke Markas 5 Briged sebagai PS 3 Gerak. Beliau juga pernah berkhidmat di bawah Misi Pengaman di Lebanon selama setahun. Mej Hafiza telah berumah tangga dengan Puan Norlida binti Mat Jali dan dikurniakan empat orang cahaya mata. Hobi beliau ialah bermain badminton, boling dan mendaki gunung.

**NATION'S EFFORT IN COUNTER TERRORISM: AN IMPACT
TO MALAYSIAN ARMED FORCES (MAF)**

BY

Capt Mohd Ashraf Bin Abd Kahar
Royal Malay Regiment

Terrorists are not people who advertise their intention to commit acts of terror. They are not usually soldiers in uniform, although some can be. Usually they are unrecognizable until they commit their terrible acts. Usually they would be like ordinary people. They need not stay in a particular country. They can be everywhere and anywhere. Indeed they can live as very ordinary people in the country they consider to be their enemy, against whom they intent to commit acts of terror.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad**INTRODUCTION**

Terrorism is not a new issue in human civilization. Violence has been made throughout human history. This sort of violence can be categorised from what terrorism is all about. Violence in opposition to a legal government is commonly targeted against soldiers and those who the leader group. However terrorism is characterized by the use of violence against civilians that would cause panic situation in the population.

According to Thackrah (2013), terrorism is spreading and become more crucial the 20th and 21st centuries. Based on history, terrorism existed since 18th century during France revolutionary, as well as among the Zealots of Palestine in opposition to Roman rule some 2000 years ago. Today, terrorist activity been spread to entire world, the most critical is at the Middle East such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and many more. The most remember one is terrorist activity on September 11, which is suicide attacks against the World Trade Centre, Pentagon and the attempted attack that resulted in the plane crash in Pennsylvania.

Other than that, terrorism has been referred as acts of violence with intention to target the civilians in way to spoil of political or ideological aims (Foot, 2007). In 1994, the General Assembly 's Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, stated that terrorism refer to criminal acts intended to provoke a state of terror in the public, a group of persons or particular persons provoke for political purposes. Other than that, the acts are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

At present, religion has a far-reaching definition and understanding in supplying justification and advocating principles for a nation. The religious waves have created the rise of several secular groups of reactions from zealous and excessive religious spirit. The 70's are the

beginning of a revival movement or revolution that takes place in Islamic countries. 1979 was a significant date in which the Iranian Revolution took place and the Soviet Union made provocative attacks on Afghanistan. Iranian street demonstrations have devastated Shah's secular government.

This incident was a clear proof to the Iranian Ulama that religion now has more political attraction than doing the prevailing ethos because Iran's Marxist can only get the least support for Shah. Ayatollah Khomeini at that time was rigid with the slogan "No boundary in Islam" successfully united the Iranian people and the revolution he had brought to reshape the relationship between Muslims and the Muslim network of the whole world. The revolution was also helped by the Shiite terrorist movement outside Iran, namely Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Lebanon. In Lebanon, Shiite tribes are more likely to have suicide tactics (medieval martyrs of Assassins) and have indirectly popularized the deadly bombing tactics practiced so far.

Based on Global Terrorism Database (GTD), terrorist attacks in Southeast Asia fluctuated to varying since 1970. Since 2004 there has been an increase in the frequency of attacks, particularly from 2011 until 2013 where there is a dramatic increase (Smith, 2014). By referring to the Institute Economics and Peace's (IEP), index of terrorism on Malaysia is increasing from 91st place in 2013 to 48th place in 2016 out of 163 countries in this year's Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2016.

Terrorism Polarisation In Malaysia

Southeast Asian government shall put efforts in countering violent of terrorism and preventing some region's terrorist groups from spreading their ideology. Most dangerous terrorist groups in ASEAN are Indonesian based, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in Philippines and Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or more known as Daulah al Islamiyah al Iraq al Sham (DAESH). The United States has offered assistance on counterterrorism to Southeast Asian governments. One of the assistance is to create a centralized anti-terrorism unit and providing U.S. troops on the Southern Philippine island of Basilan to assist the Philippines Armed Forces in countering the combat violent groups in their region.

Malaysia is not escaped from the terrorist threats posed by terrorists and the government could not neglect out the possibility of any person or group which could be a terrorist. Security measure on threats should be considered, implemented and taken accordingly. All security and local agencies such as MAF, Royal Malaysian Police (RMP), the Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA), the Malaysian Royal Customs Department should play their respective roles affectively.

Based on history, Malaysia has experienced terrorism activities since 1948 during the counter insurgency warfare against the communist. Several incidents of terrorism attacks have occurred including the faction called Al Maunah in 2000. During that time, military assets such as 111 military firearms and ammunitions were stolen from the Territorial Army

post in Kuala Rui Perak. In 2002, Malaysia has arrested six members of the JI group who were involved in the Bali bombing that killed 202 people.

Malaysia has also arrested six suspects terrorist of the Indonesian JI such as Zakaria bin Samad, Ahmad bin Zakaria, Terhamid bin Dahalan, Mahfudi bin Saifuddin, Mulyadi, Ariffin and the vital detention of Mas Selamat in Skudai, Johor in 2009. These shown how serious the RMP as well as the government in handling terrorist. On the other hand, Malaysia also experienced the first ISIS attack when a grenade blast hit a nightclub in Puchong back in June 16. RMP had arrested 15 suspects of the attack and confirmed there's a terrorist attack on that night (The Star, 2016).

Since 2013 to 2016, more than 150 Malaysian citizens have been arrested due to the involvement on terrorism-related activities. Most of them were joined the ISIS (DAESH), JI and ASG. RMP has its own special unit who responsible into terrorism issues. That unit is RMP Counter-Terrorism Task Force which had established on 2010. The Counter-Terrorism Task Force will focus and handle the issue that related to terrorism. They also have to establish counter-measures against the use of explosives devices and suicide bombers, political assassination, military involvement, hostage taking, the hijacking of airplanes or other vehicles, the destruction of infrastructure and communications as well as, the use of bio-chemical and nuclear weapons (Badrah, 2012).

Malaysian Efforts In Counter Terrorism

Malaysia has identified and declared that Islamic extremism and militancy as one of the threats to national security since 1970s. Some actions were taken against these radical elements under the Internal Security Act (ISA) 1960 (Act 82). The strength of the Internal Security Act 1960 was allowed for rehabilitation of detainees. Since late August 2001, the Government used the ISA to detain the suspect of terrorist. On August 2004, 75 detainees were from JI members and 12 detainees were from *Kumpulan Militan Malaysia* (KMM) members.

Internal Security Act 1960 (Act 82) was repealed on September 2011. Then Malaysian Government has enacted a law that relates to security offences which is the Security Offences Special Measures Act (SOSMA) 2012 (Act 747). SOSMA 2012 provides the procedures for arrest on serious offences under Chapter VI and VII of the Penal Code which include offences against the people who involve in terrorism activities. At international level, Malaysia is one of the serious nations in fighting international terrorism. Malaysia is currently State Party to 9 of the 13 international conventions and protocols on combating terrorism (Zahid Hamidi, 2016).

At the end of 2016, Malaysia launched a new integrated special operations unit to respond rapidly to terrorism threats and attacks called National Special Operations Force (NSOF). NSOF comprising officers from the MAF special force, RMP, and coast guard will be the first responder to local terror threats, (Najib Tun Razak, 2016). According to Malaysia's Prime Minister, Najib Tun Razak, Malaysia is the first country in the world to establish an integrated security force to respond *n* terror threats (Prashant, 2016).

The deployments of NSOF are as quick as reaction force, mobilizing land, air, and maritime units to confront a threat before handing over the reins to security forces. Until now, no thorough details were given on how NSOF would operate. NSOF act is almost fully operational, that comprises of 170 personnel, including 17 officers. Their base at the Sungai Besi military camp just outside the Malaysian capital city of Kuala Lumpur.

NSOF was being formed as part of the country's National Blue Ocean Strategy (NBOS). Malaysia is one of the countries that establish the "Blue Ocean Strategy" that integrates the government agencies to perform the task that related to safety and security of the country. Officially, Malaysia's NBOS involves more than 80 ministries and agencies, with areas including not only safety and security. The other areas are public service, women, youth and family, entrepreneurship, and education.

Implication of Terrorism Activities to Malaysia Tourism Industries

Some strategies have been taken by the government to ensure that tourism industry will strengthen Malaysia's position as most preferred destination for tourist. Strategies taken were based on Malaysia Ninth Plan (2006-2010). The strategies are to ensuring comfort, safety and welfare of the tourist who come to Malaysia. These strategies had shown how Malaysia really committed and gave the high priority on the safety issues.

However, Malaysia reputation as safe and secure destination has been tarnished by unfair ways and incident. There are several incidents that represent potential shock to international tourist to visit Malaysia. One of them is threat of terrorism. United States had listed Malaysia as one of the possible countries where terrorism may spread. Consequently, this statement may have frightened off some tourist from visiting Malaysia and make them away from visit Malaysia.

Kidnapping incident in Sipadan Island, Sabah on 2000 also brought new threat to Malaysia security. The ASG took 21 hostages including 10 tourists from Europe and Middle East, 11 workers and there were taken to ASG base in Jolo, Sulu. In February 2013, Malaysia faced another terrorist attack when more than 100 of armed intruders that suspected as the militants have landed in Lahad Datu. This group known as Royal Army of Sulu Sultanate. They claimed Sabah as their own country and this intrusion took hundred lives of militant, 10 Malaysia's officer which eight were policeman and two from the army. Based on report, several foreign countries have advised their citizens to avoid coming to Sabah. They were not taking into account that the intrusion occurred only in a remote area. This incident had a negative impact on tourism, with hotels and tour agencies receiving cancellations from holiday makers. The repeated kidnapping and shooting incidents in Sabah also cause negative impact on tourism industry in this nation especially in Sabah.

Besides that, Taiwan Foreign Affairs Ministry (MOFA) also had warned their citizens to avoid travelling to Sabah. Taiwan had declared 'Orange Warning' which is the second highest on Taiwan's four-color advisory system after the shooting incident that killed a Taiwanese tourist on Pom Pom Island, Semporna on November, 2013. Other countries such as US, China, Australia, Canada and others foreign government also warned their

citizen about the lack of safety at eastern Sabah due to the kidnapping and shooting incident on that areas.

Psychological Impact

One of the most crucial effects of terrorism are psychological effect on the citizens. Terrorist activities can cause psychologically affect to sizeable portion of the population of a targeted society, either directly or indirectly, by harming a person or their family, through the extensive media coverage of terrorist attacks. The greater the number of attacks will be psychologically affected to them. Terrorism also known as form of psychological warfare against a society. It was designed to spread fear into the heart of the targeted society.

Terrorism will cause citizen fear on both rational and irrational. Rational is referring to present threat of a terrorist attack that will be repeated after it happens. Irrational referred in the probability assigned to that potential event. Normally people tend to neglect their chances of being a victim to terrorism. The fear of terrorism will be widespread in a society. Research has been made and shown that there is a negative correlation between a person's education and their fear of being a victim of terrorism. This research found that educated person will be more fear evoked by terrorism (Waxman, 2011).

Society Impact

Terrorist attacks would affect people's beliefs and attitudes. Terrorist attacks can lead to changes in people's beliefs and attitudes. One such belief concerns how people view other societies, especially the society which the terrorists belong to. Terrorist attacks increase negative beliefs about the terrorist's society and hostile attitudes toward the opposing group the terrorists claim to represent.

Impact to MAF

The MAF is transforming into a balance and combine arm forces. Recently MAF implementing capability plan by commencing the Fourth Dimension Malaysian Armed Forces (4D MAF). The strategic 4D MAF plan has focus on three key focuses which are joint force, information superiority and multidimensionality in subsurface, surface, air and information realms. Malaysian defence revolves around three pillars of self-reliance, regional cooperation and external assistance. Malaysia has proved great emphasis on regional cooperation, and encourages bilateral defence cooperation within the ASEAN framework. Malaysia also get involves and get a fully cooperation on the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore.

MAF Needs New Wheels

Due to the terrorism threat, MAF needs to be fully equipped with appropriate assets. The Malaysian Army's transformation into a conventional-warfare force is almost complete in structural terms. The 3rd Division develops its capability continuously into a fully

combined- arms division, including the 11th Royal Armoured Regiment equipped with Main Battle Tanks (MBT), which is 48 PT-91M Pendekar. The army requires more than MBTs to equip two extend tank regiments in its armoured brigade. It remains to be seen whether the PT-91M or another MBT type will be selected, as even Poland has spurned further PT-91s for its own army.

For the field of artillery, there is a need for 155mm self-propelled howitzers. MAF has decided it will be mixed of wheeled and tracked vehicle because of Malaysia's geographic peculiarities, air transportable artillery systems are essential. Wheeled vehicles offer better mobility than tracked howitzers due to Malaysia terrain and ground. The Army was more impressed with the 155mm Caesar from France. Meanwhile, the tracked K9 from South Korea is better for the armoured brigade. Any procurement would likely include a regiment each of wheeled and tracked howitzers. Furthermore, approximately 40 additional ACV-300 ADNAN tracked vehicles were ordered to supplement 211 existing ADNAN. Malaysia had received an additional 18 Brazilian-made AVIBRAS ASTROS II Multiple Rocket Launchers (MRL) in September 2010 to equip the 52nd Royal Artillery Regiment. These will be operational in 2010 to augment 18 MRLs already in service.

Asymmetric warfare in Iraq and Afghanistan shown the need for armoured tactical vehicles, and Malaysia has opted for 85 Spanish-built URO VAMTAC vehicles to meet its requirement. The suitable vehicles look alike HUMVEE vehicle can mount 0.50 cal machine guns, 40mm automatic grenade launchers or Metis-M Anti-Tank Guided Missiles (ATGM).

In additional, the army has ordered 16 FN-6 Man Portable Air Defense Missile Systems (MANPADS) from China and for the next couple of years the army will focus its attention on getting its point defense and short range organisation set up properly. This issue was raised by the Chief of Army. He is also focusing on establishing appropriate command networks to manage the air defence assets.

The Army Air Corps already has 11 Agusta Westland A109 LOH helicopters. This formation will be enlarged once an air cavalry unit is formed with utility and attack helicopters. Six attack helicopters are required, and the Army seems inclined towards the Eurocopter Tiger platform. However, the Tiger faces competition from the AH-64 Apache, A129 Mangusta and AH-1Z Super Cobra. The capability of Malaysia's Armed in order to empower MAF in engaging terrorism, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia talk to establish a centre on countering terrorism narratives based on cooperation between Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, said Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein, Minister of Defense to The Star, November 2016.

The Defence Minister, who is on a working visit to Saudi Arabia, said he along with his Saudi counterpart Deputy Crown Prince Mohamad Salman Al Saud spoke on establishing such a centre. The centre will further foster cooperation between Malaysia and Saudi Arabia on countering the narratives and ideologies that preventing terrorism and radicalism in Islam. Both country also highlighted a few crucial matters such as the need to rectify the many misconceptions about Islam and its fundamentals, the need to promote Islam as a

religion of peace and moderation, the values in Malaysia's cooperation with the Armed Forces of Saudi Arabia and both parties agreed to enhance military-to-military relations between both armed forces (The Star, 2016).

Establishment Of Seabasing

One of the purpose of Sea-Basing establishment is to prevent any illegal immigrant as well as terrorist. This is one of the prevention measure taken by the Ministry of Defence on the terrorist issues. Sea Basing utilized existing Islands for effective surveillance and responses to security threats. Former Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, announced the government's decision to use Forward Operating Base (FOB) in securing the Eastern Sabah seaboard.(Datuk Seri Shahidan Kassim, 2014)

The FOB would utilise abandoned oil rigs owned by Petronas in strategic locations between the Malaysian and the Philippines' borders. According to the former Director General of ESSCOM, Datuk Mohammad Mentek, the FOB effort was designed to boost the capabilities of the ESSCOM and enhance security in the ESSZONE areas by having strong capacity to block foreign ships or boats illegally trespassing the Malaysian sea border. These FOB need adequate surveillance technologies such as radars and cameras, the placement of appropriate numbers of speedboats and weapons as well as the sufficient deployment of security officials to patrol the areas and to mind the surveillance equipment at all time.

Other than that, welfare of the security officers should be taken into consideration. The areas that need to look into are including the supply of clean water, food as well as sufficient time for resting to the officers deployed at these islands. These would increase their motivation and attentiveness to the duty. However, the deployment of security officers in the various islands could be a liability for the nation's enforcement agencies due to the limited resources. Hence, the cost that could be saved from maintaining oil rigs could be use to strengthening sea bases on islands.

Coordination Between Relevant Agencies

Due to terrorist threat, MAF needs to increase the coordination between relevant agencies. Enhance and strengthen coordination between relevant agencies in ensuring the security of the nation. Coordination between various agencies including the RMP, MAF, MMEA, Marine Operations Force, Malaysian Customs Department, Immigration Department of Malaysia and the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

The most successful coordination between relevant agencies can be shown on the establishment of ESSCOM that comprises of multi agencies including RMP, MAF, MMEA as well as civil authorities/department. This approach is important and in line with the National Blue Ocean Strategy (NBOS) which comprises the idea of cooperation and training between relevant agencies in the effort to address shortage of personnel as well as operating costs. Conflict of interests may arise due to overlapping jurisdictions, task and

roles. Therefore, a clear distinction of each agency's job scope must be ensured while avoiding any overlapping jurisdictions and areas of cooperation.

Building Trust With Local Communities

One of the impact of terrorist threat to MAF is the need of building trust between authorities and local communities. As an example in Sabah, another important factor in securing the Sabah's eastern seaboard is to build upon the element of trust between authorities and local communities. This can be done by conducting CIMIC program and make relationship with local leaders. MAF and any other government agencies could also participate in program or events organised by the locals communities.

MAF needs to develop strong and sustainable relations between authorities and local communities by making them feel secured with the presence of authorities. By doing this, it would increase their willingness to provide helpful information and intelligence on possible criminal or terrorist activities. In addition, continuous coordination between security officials and the local communities can also be one way of building patriotic sentiments, another crucial element in the effort to fight against the threats faced by Sabah, especially in the areas under ESSZONE.

Furthermore, the security forces will be able to expand their network of contacts within the local communities for communication and intelligence gathering purposes by build trust and creating friendships between authorities and local communities. In addition, the authorities must develop an extensive network of contacts within the local communities among those with significant numbers of undocumented migrants. This would enable the communities to provide valuable data on the human smuggling activities and undocumented travelling from neighbouring countries.

Recommendations

Based on discussion on this paper, there are suggestions and recommendations as follow:

- ❖ Minister of Defence should be more focus to strengthen the MAF in term of military technology's and equipments in order to counter any terrorism activities.
- ❖ Since the establishment, Malaysian government should strengthen the NSOF, give fully support in term of budgeting, resources and facilities needed so that they can perform their tasks and roles as the purposes of establishment.
- ❖ MAF should be ready at all time to face any terrorism threat and take over the task from local authorities once they can't sustain and handle the situation. Alertness and readiness should be at the highest level.

CONCLUSIONS

Unlike crime or poverty, terrorism is a regularist phenomenon that has been steadily growing for nearly 125 years. It directly states that the term terrorism has actually been rooted in the life of a community for a long time. This writing only states on the surface of the linking of the dissemination of democratic ideas that form extremist terrorist activities and extremism in different ways and the fact that the nationalism or division of a society is a catalyst rather than a religious factor as quoted by some. The spirit of the change of the present rule of the past clearly illustrates the anti-democratic nature of the idea of democracy imagined without the great measure of secularism as it did in the West Asian region. Religious and political issues are often a toy in pushing factors to place military elements in a turbulent territory despite the fact that the sovereignty of a country is easily violated by a large powerhouse within the organization.

To be honest, these radical beliefs can be contained if these two elements of politics and religions are not confused. These elements need to move around in interpreting the identity and morale value of a society. If traced through the Malaysian context, emphasis on personality and academic should be taken into account in curbing this radical ideology from developing. To address this concept of contagion and become more dominant, educational institutions at both the school and tertiary institutions in the country as well as those who study abroad need to be comprehensively monitored.

Monitoring and supervision are not only focused on the students but also the most important is teaching staff because of such individuals the ideology of terrorism is easily dispersed especially those who have had experience of studying or receiving training in turbulent countries involve with war. Mass media spaces, especially social media, need to be controlled by governments and family institutions as a first step in stamping out any radical ideological influences as lately most of those who was caught up in the ideology of terrorism and the activities of organized violence through social media. In such a situation, freedom of the media and the right of freedom of any organization and individual can not be relaxed arbitrarily.

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Kapt Mohd Ashraf bin Abd Kahar was commissioned as a Captain in 2005 into 4th Royal Malay Regiment and had undergone regimental duties and career courses while assuming variety of staff appointments. Kapt Mohd Ashraf's career has included several appointments. In 2008, he had served as Regiment Signal Officer. Then, in year 20011 he served as Staff Officer 3 Operation Support at Army Headquarters for four years. He is married to Mdm Rufaidah binti Idris. He loves fishing during his leisure time and play football and rugby.

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