

SOROTAN DARAT



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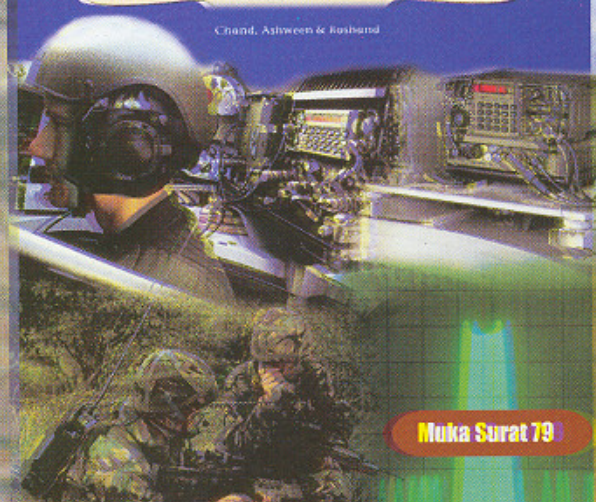
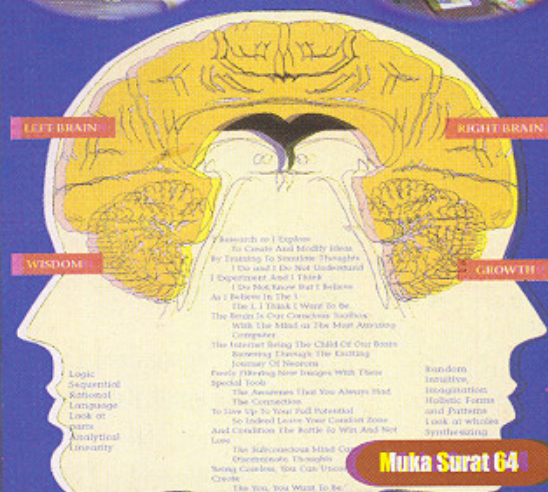
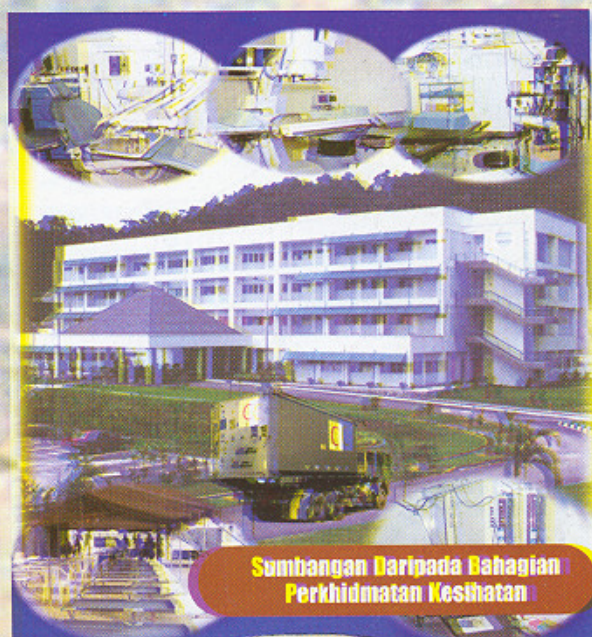
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JURNAL TENTERA DARAT MALAYSIA

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THE MEDICAL READINESS FOR PEACE

Kol (Rtd) Dato' Dr Abdul Hamid bin Abdul Kadir

HISTORICAL NOTE



The Malay Regiment Enactment of 1933 empowered the formation of infantry units with men drawn from the ethnic Malay population in Malaya, commanded by British officers under the King's Commission. It was a rule that Malay officers could only serve in the Malay Regiments under the High Commissioner's Commission, which was of a lower category than the King's Commission. This required that Malay officers would have to salute officers of British descent, to whom the King's Commission was restricted, even of equivalent rank; also British soldiers of a rank lower than a Malay officer, even if serving in the same unit, would not need to respect the superiority or seniority of rank by the customary salute, a point that is raised in a book entitled *"Have You Met Mariam"* by Jeneral Tan Sri Ibrahim bin Ismail, the Malaysian Chief of Armed Forces Staff (CAFS) from 1970 to 1976. After release from service in the Indian Imperial Army, and returning home in 1946 after the war, Lt Ibrahim bin Ismail was confronted with this problem, and it was to his credit and self-esteem that he flatly refused to be commissioned into the Malay Regiment under the High Commissioner's Commission.

It was not till the end of 1950 that this archaic rule was amended, and that was just seven years before Malaya achieved Independence from the British rule.

A similar situation also prevailed in the public medical services in the country, and up until a few years before Independence, Malayan doctor who had acquired fellowship of the Royal Colleges in UK, and who had returned to practice in our country were considered senior medical officers and not specialists.

After Independence, the medical services were under Lt Col Devlin, of the RAMC, till 1st June 1965, when Kol Dr Ralph S Corbitt, was appointed as the first Malaysian officer of the medical and dental elements of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF).

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 (1) of the Military Forces Ordinance, 1952, the Armed Forces Council, with the approval of the Yang DiPertuan Agong, on 11th day of May 1967, was allowed to raise and maintain in Malaysia, in so far as the money provided for the purpose by Parliament may permit, a military force to be known as *"Pasukan Ubatan dan Gigian"* or in English **"The Medical and Dental Corps"**. It is a matter of some interest that money was mentioned as the determining factor in the scope and strength of the medical and dental services from the very beginning.

On *"Boxing Day"* of the 10th anniversary of our Independence, on 1st September 1967, some three months after the formation of the Medical and Dental Corps, I reported for National Service. Our batch of 25 medical and dental officers, the second in the history of the

Corps, were, however, the first group of National Service doctors to have undergone the entire one month orientation programs totally in the Kinrara Camp. The reviewing officer on our passing out parade was Tun Abdul Razak, who was then the Minister of Defence, and later become the second Prime Minister of our country in 1969.

The Commanding Officer of Kinrara Camp when I started my National Service, was Lt Kol Dr Dennis Lopez, who later became the second Director of Medical Services (DMS), on 16 May 1969 upon the retirement of Kol Dr R S Corbitt, and was the first DMS to be elevated to the rank of Brigadier Jeneral. To continue on this note, he was succeeded by Brig Jen Dato' Dr Samsuddin bin Hussein on 1st June 1981, and then by Brig Jen Dr Hj Basir bin Rakim on 15th December 1991, followed by Brig Jen Dr Leong Weng Foon, and then Brig Jen Dr Salleh Mohd Sam, who, incidentally, is a dermatologist and the first from a non-Public Health background.

The Malaysian AF Medical and Dental Services, which has now matured and has been renamed for the third time, as the Armed Forces Health Corps, or "*Kor Kesihatan*", is only 34 years old, but it has during these years grown in the strength of its men and officers, its development of military hospitals, and its contribution to the health and care of the men in the Tri-services.

Our beginnings were humble and tentative. The medical complex in Kinrara, which during the British rule had seen much activity, had been left untended and vacant for some six years after the British pullout. The Malaysian take-over began with mowing the tall lallangs, clearing the drains, repairing the roofs, and catching the snakes in Kinrara in early 1966, and generally making it hospitable once more. Kinrara rose again, like the phoenix, perhaps not with such dramatic flourish, and began to gradually function as a gentle hub,

housing a military hospital, the AF Medical Company, which was the training wing, and the AF Medical and Dental Stores Depot.

With the withdrawal of the 28th Commonwealth Infantry Brigade from the Terendak Garrison in Melaka, we took over the AF Hospital in Terendak on 28 March 1970 and in the same year in July, we took over the AF Hospital in Kluang Garrison.

With the relocation of the naval base from Woodlands in Singapore, we then planned and built our own hospital in the Naval Base in Lumut in the state of Perak, and this modern 280-bed hospital, with MRI machine, decompression and hyperbaric oxygen facilities, was commissioned in 1995.

The AF Medical and Dental Corp personnel were exposed to overseas peace-keeping mission in Congo in the early sixties, and more recently under the United Nation banner in Namibia, Somalia, Cambodia and Bosnia.

In the meanwhile, the regimental medical and dental centres had been continually developed throughout the country and our commitment to provide health, hygiene and welfare for our soldiers and their families has also been concurrently enhanced.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

What were our problems in our formative years? Following the end of the Japanese occupation, the country went into the period referred to as the Communist Emergency, and this was primarily the guerrilla warfare waged by Communist insurgents, who, though existing from about 1928 in Malaya, had gained strength during the Japanese occupation and continued to subvert British rule; a major

event being the murder in 1952 of Sir Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner for Malaya.

After Independence in August 1957, pockets of Communists continued guerrilla-type activities against the Malaysian Forces, mainly in the Malaysia-Thai borders in Kedah, Perak and Kelantan, and in Sarawak, and the function of the medical services during this period was in the management of our casualties in ambushed and in booby trap injuries.

Curiously though, the main contribution to the first-line treatment of the service casualties was by civilian surgeons and orthopaedic surgeons in government general hospitals in the north of Malaysia (in Alor Star, Penang and Ipoh). After initial treatment, the casualties were later transferred to Kinrara or Terendak Hospital for recuperation and rehabilitation. During the period from 1966 to 1978, we had some 300 personnel who had been injured, requiring amputations of whole or part of lower limbs, as well as injuries to thorax, upper limbs and eye. Quite a few of these personnel were Army Engineers injured while defusing bobby traps. The problems appeared sufficiently major at one point that Kol Long Seh Chin and I made a trip to the Indian Army Artificial Limb Centre in Pune in 1980 to see if we could set up our own artificial limb centre in the Malaysia Armed Forces.

The other progress particularly at that time was in the setting up of Regimental Aid Posts (RAPs), Advanced Dressing Stations (ADSs) and Field Hospitals and I must admit that we made little progress particularly in mobile field hospital, though we had on-ground demonstrations at various times by the French, American and British suppliers. The country's terrain prevented the setting up of elaborate field hospital systems and their mobilisation to new locations at short notice.

It also did seem that given the country's compact geographical layout, and the already

existing network of public hospitals, both in major towns and at districts, the crucial factor in the management of war or insurgency casualties was in air evacuation to these definitive centres, or to AF hospitals, and the superiority and advantages of speedy, effective evacuation had been well demonstrated in the Vietnam war.

I have been a civilian for the past 12 years, and in these years my experiences as the head of a department in the faculty of medicine in a university in our country, and then as a specialist in private practice with more than a passing interest in healthcare development and medical politics in my country, have given me, I believe, fresh insights into some common and universal problems, and I seek your indulgence that I may address them on this august occasion.

THE TWIN PARADOX OF WAR AND PEACE

We are victims of a twin paradox: that during peace we prepare for war, and during war we seek peace. We are guided in preparing for war by that age-old military philosophy that the best form of defence is offence.

US Major General Curtis Le May, the man who took charge of the B-29 bombings of Japan once said, *"I'll tell you what war is about. You've got to kill people, and when you've killed enough, they stop fighting."*

The paradox continues. Sir Winston Churchill, in the History of World War II, expressing optimism to the atomic device successfully tested at Alamogordo in New Mexico and the subsequent performance of *"Little Boy in Hiroshima"* and *"Fat Man in Nagasaki"*, wrote, in justification of those tragic decisions:

"To avert a vast, indefinite butchery, to bring the war to an end, to give peace to

the world to lay healing hands upon its tortured people by a manifestation of overwhelming power at the cost of a few explosions, seemed, after all our toils and perils a miracle of deliverance".

A similar argument was probably advanced to justify the chemical defoliation employed by the US military, when, some 15 years later, between 1961 - 1971, 19 million gallons of a herbicide called "Agent Orange", containing the active ingredient 2, 4, 5-T, which had been shown to cause birth defects in laboratory animals, had been sprayed over five million acres of farmland and forest in south Vietnam, over one-third of the total land mass.

The philosophical and moralistic reverberations that followed in the wake of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions and which had stirred our thoughts and pummelled our conscience during the second half of this century, seem now to be becoming distant echoes in history, as the world seems poised to start all over again. The great powers seem bent on stockpiling arsenals of military hardware and testing nuclear devices, in a continual commitment to nuclear weapons, all in the name of deterrent, defensive strategies.

It is common knowledge that the five acknowledged nuclear weapon states - Russia, the US, France, China and Britain - together possess an arsenal of 20,836 warheads, both strategic and tactical. The arsenals of undeclared nuclear states like India, Pakistan, South Africa and Israel are unknown.

In his excellent analytical publication called "Great Battles of the Modern World", Brigadier Peter Young, a World War II veteran, makes reference to the "fog of war", and how 11 military leaders, from Napoleon at Austerlitz in 1805 through Lee at Chancellorsville in 1863, Petain at Verdun in 1916, Patton at the Bulge in 1944 to Mac Arthur at Inchon in 1950, saw

through the fog of war, led their men to victory and changed the course of world history.

Sadly though the battles continue to be fought, and the lessons of the two great wars, which appeared at one time capable of annihilating the universe, are getting forgotten. It is now not the fog of war that predominates, but the fog in the minds of men who are the architects, engineers and executors of war.

There really is precious little difference between the wars of the first half of this century, and those that are being waged in the second half. Wars are being conducted for ideology, for tribal and ethnic supremacy, for cultural superiority, for religious beliefs, for territorial expansion, for oil right, for revenge and for the right of existence and privileges, just like in those earlier days of our civilisation, and the fightings in the Balkans, in Rwanda and Burundi, in the Middle East, in Sri Lanka, in Northern Ireland and now the planned expansion of NATO, reflect the disturbing trends of the present era.

Even the lessons of the "greatest technological catastrophe in human history" - the Chernobyl nuclear blow-out on the borders of Ukraine and Belarus in April 1986 ... have not deterred the proliferation of nuclear reactors in Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan and India.

And there are wars being engineered and perpetuated simply because production of the instruments and armaments of war have become a means for economic survival of some countries. The export of guns, warheads and war planes would perhaps represent the meanest form of trade that a country can indulge in, and far worse it is supplies both the rival fighting factions in the same country.

"The world moves not like an arrow, but a boomerang", said Ralph Ellison, and nothing captures the cataclysmal trend that the world is spiralling in today more dramatically.

Many political leaders of the world today, in their behaviour and actions, bear uncanny resemblance to military leaders of the past, driven by similar ambitions and desires. It is our dream that leaders of the new world will seek their national goals through means which are intellectual, humane, and just, and through physical non-aggression and, above all, with concern for the welfare and mutual co-existence of the global community.

It is our silent prayer and fervent hope that leaders like Bismarck, who stated at the end of the last century, *"Better pointed bullets than pointed speeches"*, will remain dinosaurs of a bygone era.

But can this hope ever reach reality? Will man ever change from being the engineer of destruction to the preserver of life? New fears are looming. Gerd Behrens wrote (Times, Oct 25, 1993): *"Unfrozen after the end of the cold war, history is back with a vengeance ... full of menacing whiz, its trajectory unpredictable, always poised to return to a starting point some through it had left for good"*.

Indeed, the whiz is frightening. The cyber-strategists of war in the Pentagon have developed wide-ranging plans to revolutionise the battlefield with information technology much as tanks did in World War I and the atom bomb in World War II. What this means is that the countries with this information technology will be able to launch rapid, stealthy, widespread and devastating attacks on the military and civilian infrastructure of an enemy without stepping on his land. Stock markets may be crashed, an airport tower may be disrupted, entire communications network can be jammed, and an electronic Pearl Harbour devastation can be effected.

Many moral and ethical questions arise: who has the right to do this? Who has the right to destroy a country for whatever reason? And who has the right to inflict death and decay of

human beings at the push on a button, like they were gods? And how different is such a cyber strategist from the denizen leader of a holocaust of the past?

The words of Boris Vian, that the day when nobody comes back from a war, it will be because the war has at last been properly organised, does indeed strike a note of prophetic doom for the people in a war of the future.

Similarly too, in such a scenario, the words of Churchill: *"If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of material prosperity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful way towards one another, and science will do for them all they wish, and more than they can dream; send a chill down our spine"*.

This brings us to the concept of *"Medical Readiness"*. To our mind the concept conjures up the question of what we as physicians can do to achieve global peace through medical readiness. It would imply Medical Readiness not in war but for peace. In other words, how ready and prepared are we to avert a mammoth medical and health disasters in these days of seemingly perpetual paradoxes of war and peace?

While we seek to improve the means to treat the living casualties of war, let us also pause long enough to consider those who would never reach our operating suites and wards from the streets in our cities, from the highways, from the scourges of drug abuse, from AIDS, from famine, from mammoth disasters-natural and man-made, and so on.

Should we not channel our military resources to prevent these eventualities? In many ways, it may be our special background as military physicians that can help us to guide our civilian health policy makers in these areas. And it is our duty to impress our political masters not with our skill in handling weapons, but with our abilities as organisers and planners and strategists of social order.

This seems an opportune moment to acknowledge the work of our colleagues who have formed the association called International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear war. They have activated many worldwide campaigns against war and the instruments of war. Their prime theme is achieving Peace Through Health, and they seek to ban landmines: they are spearheading the Abolition 2000 Network towards refining strategies for the abolition of nuclear weapons; they are seeking to abolish research and development into chemical and biological warfare, amongst other worthy projects.

THE GLOBAL PHYSICIAN

The global physicians are citizens of the modern world, and have a moral responsibility to uphold the fundamental societal values of human rights and human dignity. The global physician has no conceptual frontiers or boundaries to limit his thoughts and beliefs. He does not operate within the confines of artificial barriers, and his mental and professional resources are boundless. His concept of medical practice is in the global preservation of life with quality, life with health and life with hope for the future.

We would like to think that of all categories and types of members of the medical profession, the military physician is best suited to be a global physician, for in his training and in his maturity, he has been developed as a preserver, a protector and a provider for his men and their family. And if many amongst us have not realised this, then time is ripe for a revolution in our attitude, and we would make this pointed appeal particularly to our colleagues in the Malaysian Military Services, and generally to all readers.

The military physician needs to open his heart and mind to national and global issues, not just in the practice of medicine, which by

any reckoning are also immense, but also additionally in the economics of healthcare, the technology of healthcare, the law of healthcare. He must understand the management of healthcare, the influence of environment, the preservation of peace, upholding of human right, eradication of poverty, and so on. The military physician needs to widen the level of his participation in national and global issues particularly those not linked directly to his profession as a soldier, so that the experience and knowledge so achieved will help him to become an accomplished global physician.

One of the traits that distinguishes the military physician from the others is his bearing, his confidence, his composure, his discipline, and his spirit of camaraderie, so that while he functions as a doctor, he takes pride in his training as a military as well.

THE PHYSICIAN SOLDIER

During the last twenty-five years or so, I have been in a position to observe doctors who have returned to civilian life after having served in our Armed Forces in short service commission, national service or compulsory service. I have compared them with those who have never served in the Armed Forces and had remained throughout in civilian medical practice. The doctor with a military exposures are different and most of them stand-out in some definable manner in their bearing, composure, self-confidence and respect for their peers. These are qualities which are not easily acquired without a stint in the uniformed services.

I am still continuing to teach undergraduates in our country in spite of my busy private practice, and I find lacking in many of these our future doctors qualities of self-confidence, discipline, respect for teacher and peers, and sadly too, a painfully apparent lackadaisical attitude towards those needing

their care and attention. While I firmly believe that it is important for our future doctors to develop their individuality, this should not be at the expense of their ultimate maturity as members of the caring and healing profession, for in dealing with the ill and the infirm, the aged and the disabled, their duties and responsibilities should not be compromised by individual personal inadequacies and shortcomings.

The government is now encouraging the formation of many medical schools in an attempt to increase the number of doctors in our country, for reasons, which are arguable. Be that as it may, the Armed Forces Health Services have an opportunity now to contribute towards the national objectives by starting a military medical school, perhaps with twinning arrangements with an established military medical colleges overseas, so that we can produce in this country an elite core of doctor with a strong military background, to serve and lead not only the uniformed services but also the rest of the country, and I would refer to a statement made by our Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, when delivering the Gordon Arthur Ransome oration at the Singapore-Malaysia Congress of Medicine last year, that more doctors should enter politics as their professional training equips them eminently for such a career.

Before I end, I would like to relate to you the closing paragraph by General Peter Young

in his book: *Great Battles of the Modern World*, and it goes like this:

"We live, we are often told, in an age when the young ... those of military age ... are devoted to drink, drugs, vandalism and violence. From their ranks may arise an alcoholic hooligan with just sufficient talent to steer one or other of the great powers to the conquest of the world; a world so ravaged as to be a prize that no sensible person would wish to win. World War II had its critics, but I am glad that if fell to my lot to go through that one, rather than the nuclear holocaust we are promised for next time. Who will be the victors then?"

And who can argue with General Omar Bradley's conviction that the way to win an atomic war is to make certain it never starts.

"I make no apologies for having indulged in the last half-hour or so on a number of issues, which are close to my heart. It is my humble belief that there is a lot of good in all of us, sometimes clouded by the flamboyance and eloquence of leaders with personal and political agendas outside the realms of common good. Our twin training as physicians and as soldiers equip us with qualities and attributes that allow us the ability to seek remedies and solutions to many problems facing us, some of which I have been able to address this morning. I leave you with just one plea: let us strive for a peaceful, healthy, harmonious world for our children, for what we do today is our legacy for the future".

Kol (B) Dato' Dr Abdul Hamid bin Abdul Kadir was commissioned into the Medical and Dental Corps on 1st September 1967. He has served various units and commanded units of the Medical and Dental Corps. His last appointment was as the Commanding Officer of 94 Armed Forces Hospital at Kem Terendak, Melaka. Since his retirement from military service, Kol (B) Dr Abdul Hamid had pursued a career as an academician with Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Medical Faculty. His success as an academician has earned him the title of an Associate Professor in the Department of Orthopaedics. Currently he has his own specialist practice at Pantai Hospital Kuala Lumpur and Assunta Hospital Petaling Jaya. He is very active in various medical associations including the Malaysian Medical Association and has contributed much to their fight against the development and use of weapon of mass destruction.

THE ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE: THE RESPONSE OF THREAT FROM A PERCEPTIVE MIND

Lt Kol Amiruddin bin Hj Ismail

This article is sequel of his previous article "The War for the Mind of Men" in which the writer try to explore the "protocol" focussing on the present day state of the Muslim. Most part of the article were based on the thoughts of Samuel Huntington's, The Clash of Civilisation.

*'The longer we dwell on our misfortunes, the greater is
their power to harm us'*

Francois Voltaire

INTRODUCTION

And so we move on to a new millennium. So strong is the hold of this thought on our hearts and mind that many have come to believe that the new millennium will bring with it positive changes of all kinds. Humanity will somehow be transformed, almost miraculously, into a higher, nobler entity that will transcend the limitation of the present. Racism, inequality, exploitation will all be things of the past. Such quaint fantasies would be wonderful if we believe in them, but unfortunately reality often intrudes upon our fragile moral universe to remind us of the fact that we are still in possession of our human failings. However, there is no stopping the flow of history and of life. This is, as the Quran puts it, God's system. Only the morally fit society will survive the 21st century and the next millennium. But the morally fit also means the intellectually fit. So Muslim leaders and

intellectuals must find ways to overcome Muslim society's stagnation and decadence.

IN THE BEGINNING

For several centuries, non-western peoples envied the economic prosperity, technological sophistication, military power and political cohesion of Western societies. They sought the secret of this success in Western values and when they identified what they thought might be the key, they attempted to apply it in their own societies. To become rich and powerful, they would have to become like the West. Now, these attitudes have disappeared. Now that they are no longer weak but increasingly powerful, they do not hesitate to attack the Western values of self-determination, liberalism, democracy and independence which they previously used to promote their interests.

As Western influence recedes, the aspiring leaders cannot look to the West to provide them with power and wealth. They have to find the means of success within their own society, and have to accommodate to the values and culture of that society. The resurgence of Islam and re-Islamization are the central themes in Muslim societies. We are witnessing the end of the progressive era dominated by Western ideologies and are moving into an era in which multiple and diverse civilisation will interact, compete and accommodate each other. This global process is manifest broadly in the revivals of religion occurring in so many parts of the world and most notably in the cultural resurgence in Asian and Islamic countries generated in large part by their economic dynamism.

REVIVAL OF RELIGIONS

In the second half of the 20th century, economic and social modernisation became global in scope and at the same time a global revival of religion occurred. In mid 1970s, the trend to secularisation and toward the accommodation of religion with secularism "went into reverse." A new religious approach took shape, aimed no longer at adapting to secular values but at recovering a sacred foundation for the organisation of society - by changing society if necessary. The aim was no longer to modernise Islam but to "Islamic modernity."

How can this global religious resurgence be explained? Particular

causes obviously operated in individual countries and civilisations. However much events in particular countries may have been influenced by unique factors, some general causes must have been at work. What were they?

...conflict between Islam and the West... first... population growth has generated large numbers of unemployed and disaffected young people who become recruits to Islamist causes, exert pressures on neighbouring societies and migrate to the West. Second... Islamic Resurgence has given Muslims renewed confidence in the distinctive character and worth of their civilisation and values. Third... West's simultaneous efforts to universalise its values, to maintain its military and economic superiority and to intervene in conflicts in Muslim world....

The most obvious cause of the global religious resurgence is what was supposed to cause the death of religion: the process of social, economic and cultural modernisation that swept across the world in the second half of the 20th century. People move from the countryside into the city; become separated from their roots, and take new jobs. They interact with large numbers of strangers and are exposed to new sets of relationships. They need new sources of identity, new form of stable community and new sets of moral precepts to provide them with a sense of meaning and purpose. Religion meets these needs. People do not live by reason alone. They cannot calculate and act rationally in pursuit of their self-interest until they define their self. In times of rapid social change established identities dissolve, the self must be defined, and new identities created. For people facing the need to determine who am I? Where do I belong?, religion provides compelling answer. Religions furnish people with a sense of identity and a direction in life. In this process, people rediscover or create new historical identities.

In the Muslim world, there has been a recurring tendency, in times of emergency for Muslims to find their

basic identity and loyalty in the religious community. Fundamentalist movements are a way of coping with the experience of chaos, the loss of identity, meaning and secure social structures created by the rapid introduction of modern social and political patterns, secularism, scientific culture and economic development. Most broadly, the religious resurgence throughout the world is a reaction against secularism, moral relativism, and self-indulgence, and a reaffirmation of the values of order, discipline, work, mutual help and human solidarity. In addition to the psychological, emotional and social traumas of modernisation, other stimulants to religious revival includes the retreat of the West and the end of the Cold War. Religion takes over from ideology, and religious nationalism replaces secular nationalism.

Religion provides meaning and direction for the rising elites in modernising societies. The attribution of value to a traditional religion is a claim to parity of respect asserted against dominant other nations and often against a local ruling class, which has embraced the values and life-styles of those nations. More than anything else, the reaffirmation of Islam means the repudiation of European and American influence upon local society, politics and moral. In this sense, the revival of non-western religions is the most powerful manifestation of anti-Westernise in non-western societies. That revival is not the rejection of modernity; it is the rejection of the West. It is the declaration of cultural independence from the West, a proud statement that: *"We will be modern but we won't be you."*

THE CHALLENGES

The revival of religions is a global phenomenon. The Islamic challenge is manifest in the pervasive cultural, social and political resurgence of Islam in the Muslim world. Related, but different causes lie behind these challenges. Muslim assertiveness stems in considerable measure from social mobilisation and population growth. Population growth in Muslim countries provides recruits for fundamentalism, terrorism insurgency and migration. Each of these challenges is having and will continue to have into the 21st century a highly destabilising impact on global politics.

THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

It has been observed that Muslim in massive numbers were simultaneously turning toward Islam as a source of identity, meaning, stability, development, power and hope epitomised in the slogan *Islam is the solution*. It embodies acceptance of modernity, rejection of Western culture and recommitment to Islam as the guide to life in the modern world. The Islamic resurgence is seen as involving efforts to re-institute Islamic law in place of Western law, the increased use of religious language and symbolism, expansion of Islamic education, increased adherence to Islamic codes of social behaviour and increased participation in religious observances and expanding efforts to develop international solidarity among Islamic states and societies.

The Islamic resurgence is both a product of and an effort to come to grips with

...conflict between Islam and the West... Fourth, the collapse of Communism removed a common enemy of the West and Islam and left each the perceived major threat to the other. Fifth, the increasing contact between Muslims and Westerners stimulates in each a new sense of their own identity and how it differs from that of the other.

modernisation. Its underlying causes are urbanisation, social mobilisation, higher levels of literacy and education, intensified media consumption and expanded interaction with Western cultures. These developments undermine traditional clan ties and create alienation and an identity crisis. Islamist symbols, commitments, and belief meet these psychological needs. Muslim feel the need to return to Islamic ideas and practices to provide the compass and the motor of modernisation.

The Islamic resurgence will leave important legacies. Muslims will have a much greater awareness of what they have in common and what distinguishes them from non-Muslims. **The new generation of leaders that take over will not necessarily be fundamentalists but will be much more committed to Islam than their predecessors.** The Resurgence will leave a network of Islamist social, cultural, economic and political organisation within the societies. The Resurgence will also have shown that Islam is the solution to the problems of morality, identity, meaning and faith, but not to the problems of social injustice, political repression, economic backwardness and military weaknesses. These failures could generate widespread disillusionment with political Islam. Conceivably, even more intensely anti-Western nationalism could emerge, blaming the West for the failures of Islam.

HYPOCRICY

In the emerging world, the relations between states and groups from different civilisations will not be close and will often be antagonistic. The dangerous clashes of the future are likely to arise from the interaction of Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance and Sinic assertiveness. The West, which has always been a missionary nation, believe that the non-western people should commit themselves to the Western values of democracy, free markets,

limited government, human rights and individualism should embody these values in their institutions. What is universalism to the West is imperialism to the rest. Hypocrisy and double standards are the price of universalist pretensions. Democracy is promoted but not if it brings Islamic fundamentalists to power; non-proliferation is preached for Iran and Iraq but not for Israel; free trade is the elixir of economic growth but not for agriculture; human rights are an issue with China but not with Saudi Arabia; aggression against oil-owning Kuwaitis is massively repulsed but not against non oil-owning Bosnian.

ISLAM AND THE WEST

Some argued that the West does not have problems with Islam but only with violent Islamist extremists. Conflict was a product of differences particularly the Muslim concept of Islam as a way of life transcending and uniting religion and politics versus the Western Christian concept of the separate realms of God and Caesar. The conflict also stemmed from their similarities. Both are monotheistic religions, which cannot easily assimilate additional deities, and which the world is dualistic. Both are universalistic, claiming to be one true faith to which all humans can adhere. Both are missionary religions believing that their adherents have an obligation to convert non-believers to that one true faith. From its origins Islam expanded by conquest and when the opportunity existed Christian did also. The parallel concepts of "Jihad" and "Crusade" not only resemble each other but also distinguish these two faiths from other major world religions.

The level of violent conflict between Islam and Christianity over time has been influenced by demographic growth and decline, economic developments, technological change and intensity of religious commitment. A comparable mix of factors has increased the

conflict between Islam and the West in the late 20th century. First, Muslim population growth has generated large numbers of unemployed and disaffected young people who become recruits to Islamist causes, exert pressure on neighbouring societies, and migrate to the West. Second, the Islamic Resurgence has given Muslims renewed confidence in the distinctive character and worth of their civilisation and values compared to those of the West. Third, the West's simultaneous efforts to universalise its values, to maintain its military and economic superiority and to intervene in conflicts in the Muslim world generate intense resentment among Muslims. Fourth, the collapse of Communism removed a common enemy of the West and Islam and left each the perceived major threat to the other. Fifth, the increasing contact between Muslims and Westerners stimulate in each a new sense of their own identity and how it differs from that of the other.

Muslims fear and resent Western power and the threat which this poses to their society and beliefs. They see Western culture as materialistic, corrupt, decadent and immoral. They also see it as seductive, and hence stress all the more the need to resist its impact on their way of life. These images of the West as arrogant, materialistic, repressive, brutal and decadent are held not only by fundamentalist imams but also by those whom many in the West would consider their natural allies and supporters.

The underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilisation whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power. The problem for Islam is the West, a different civilisation whose people are convinced of the universality of their culture and believe that they are superior, if declining power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture

throughout the world. These are the basic ingredients that fuel conflict between Islam and the West.

THE CLASH

The Gulf War and the Soviet-Afghan War began as straightforward invasions of one country by another but were transformed into a civilisation war. The Afghan War becomes a civilisation war because Muslims everywhere saw it as such and rallied against the Soviet Union. The Gulf war became a civilisation war because the West intervened militarily in the Muslim conflict; Westerners overwhelmingly supported that intervention as a war against them and rallied against what they saw as one more instances of Western imperialism. While Muslim governments were initially divided, Arab and Muslim opinion was from the first overwhelmingly anti-West. The Arab world, after Iraq invasion of Kuwait is seething with resentment against the US, barely able to contain its glee at the prospect of an Arab leader bold enough to defy the greatest power on earth. Arab intellectuals lined up and formulated intricate rationales for overlooking Saddam's brutality and denouncing Western intervention. In their view, the invasion was a family affair to be settled within the family and those who intervened in the name of some grand theory of international justice were doing so to protect their own selfish interests and to maintain Arab subordination to the West. Arguments that the war was a crusade produced by Western and Zionist conspiracy even demanded mobilisation of a "*Jihad*" in response.

Muslim definition of the war as the West vs. Islam facilitated reduction of antagonisms within the Muslim world. The Gulf War brought together Muslims who previously had often been at each other's throats. The war also started the process of reconciliation between Iran and Iraq. The Gulf War thus began as a

war between Iraq and Kuwait, then become a war between Iraq and the West, then one between Islam and the West and eventually came to be viewed by many non-Westerners as a war of East versus West.

THE PERCEPTION

It is becoming harder by the day to believe that the United States and its Western allies are serious about getting rid of President Saddam Hussein. They have been on a turkey shoot for the Iraqi President for more than 10 years. The latest was an air raid by US and British planes on 17 Feb 2001. Many civilians have died in the allied bombing and many more are dying as a result of the UN-sanctioned embargo. Every now and then the Western media would report that Saddam was on the verge of being overthrown. Every now and then the US would drop bombs or fire a few rockets into Iraq. Miraculously, Saddam escaped unscathed but many civilians were killed. There is however no sign to suggest that Saddam is about to give up or the Iraqis get up to overthrow him.

So what is really happening? Could this be the obvious answer? The US has no intention of getting rid of Saddam. In fact, the US wants Saddam to continue living and leading Iraq, for getting rid of him is as good as removing the *raison d'être* for the entire US strategy in the Middle East. Without Saddam, there is no enemy to contend with. The US military superiority will degenerate, its defence industry will stagnate and its allies in the Middle East will no longer need its protection. The US is a nation built on war and patriotism. Its security and defence strategy since the Cold War is based on external threat. When the Cold War ended,

the small enemies like Libya, Iran and Iraq were upgraded to major threats.

Iraq is tiny compared to the Soviet Union. But this does not stop the US from treating them as major threats not only to its safety but also purportedly to the safety of the whole world. The US is currently running short of enemies. For now nobody beats Saddam. For he must be kept alive for his belligerence keeps the US way of life going. For the newly inaugurated President George W. Bush, lobbing a few bombs into Iraq is to tell the American that he is tough and he is sending the right signal to the rest of the world not to mess with the US. Under this situation, could any reasonable thinking person not say that the plot as written in the protocol has matured exactly as planned? It is for you to answer!

CONCLUSION

To the Muslim reader of this article, think awhile and ask oneself, if the prophecies of the Holy Quran have been fulfilled or not in our day. And if one as a true-thinking Muslim agrees that they have been fulfilled, then let one settle one's differences and disagreements and let us become united. Even if, as our Holy Prophet warns us, we cannot fight the evil vices, let us be sure that we ourselves do not indulge in them; but if by chance we are inclined to weaken, let us pray for help and guidance to keep us on the straight path, which is to us long and tiring at times but well worth it. Let us not be diverted from this path by the pleasures and vices of earthly life.

All Muslim should bear in mind that the Holy Quran was sent for a definite purpose and we should not cast aside or disregard its

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metaphorical language without searching for its reason and meaning. If we disregard or take away all the metaphorical language in the Holy Quran, we become so much poorer; for each metaphorical verse contains a wealth of meaning and guidance. Naturally, its word of guidance as interpreted by a people of a thousand years ago will not help sufficiently and guide the people of today, for, as time goes by, more and more of its metaphorical meaning will come to light. As we can witness today, it is just a matter of time before we see the completion of these prophecies, for they must and will be fulfilled eventually.

I shall now close with the following caution:

"O followers of Islam, do not be heedless, wake up and see what happens around the world, and then bow down and prostrate to Allah, asking for his forgiveness and help. Otherwise you may have no time for repentance".

"Our lord! Punish us not if we forget or we make a mistake. Our lord, do not lay on us a burden as Thou didst lay on those before us. Our lord, impose not on us which we have not the strength to bear. And pardon us! And grant us protection! And have mercy on us! Thou art our patron, so grant us victory over the disbelieving people! Amen."

(The Quran, 2:286)

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Lt Kol Amiruddin bin Ismail MSpSc (UNSW), Dip Personnel Management, Dip Counselling Psychology, Dip Sports Psychology, Dip Child Psychology is currently the Commanding Officer of 4 Division Royal Signals Regiment. A regular contributor to the Journal Sorotan Darat, he also is a consultant to the National Sports Council on Psychological Training to the national athletes.

MANAGING CHANGE IN THE ARMY

Mej A Endry Nixon

"Let us position the Army in its rightful place by doing the right thing, for the right reasons, in the right way. That is the only way forward."

Jeneral Dato' Seri Md Hashim bin Hussein
Chief of Army

missiles and laser. The defence forces around the world are continually modernizing their forces to be more credible to deter any foreign hostility. Mankind basically brings these changes upon themselves through the invention of modern technology in the weapon system.

CHANGE IN WARFARE

The Malaysian Army has also evolved to meet the environmental changes in the "Warfare Industry". Since its establishment in 1933, the art of fighting has evolved from fighting the communist counter insurgency warfare to the contemporary setting of conventional warfare. In addition, the development in information technology and weapon systems has further contributed to the on-going changes. As Sun Tzu says; "Do not assume the enemy will not come, but instead we must be ready for his coming; not to assume he will not attack, but instead make our own position unassailable". (Sun Tzu 8:11). Bearing this in mind, it is not only the preparation for the enemy that matters but also what he has and being sensitive to the changes in the warfare technology. In the military context, changes must be viewed seriously and as necessary to keep abreast with the evolution of war.

INTRODUCTION

Since independence to the present, we have undergone a rapid period of technological, economic and social changes; heading towards Vision 2020 is expected to be even more rapid and stressful. The dawn of the information era and the transition of global economy have also hastened the speed of change around the world. Organisations that are able to visualise the future will be able to sustain through the rapid changes by gradually shifting their strategies to flow according to the environmental changes. By doing so, they would have a competitive advantage in the industry.

Likewise, warfare has too taken its cause of transformation; from combating by physical contact to the use of arms and now towards combating in an "invisible" manner through

Alvin and Heidi Toffler in their book "War and Anti-war" describes the use of air land

battles in the Gulf-war against Iraq. The days of using human force to capture an objective is now being done through the effective use of air power. Enemy positions are basically located through satellite technology and thrashed before the troops get onto the ground. They also describe deep battles, meaning the cutting-off of enemy communications line and "starve" them to their surrender. The techniques and tactics of warfare have developed through the means of modern-day technology. He who has access to these technologies and first-hand information will have the power to his advantage.

CHALLENGES WITH CHANGE

Managing change in the height of the change is the greatest challenge a leader faces, especially when the Army is moving into the new millennium. The millennium itself puts pressures to the world, as nations and organisations are racing to be a world class standard. In the era of communist insurgency, much emphasis was on training where soldiers were trained in jungle techniques and tactics to overcome the enemy. The jungle field was the area of excitement, challenge and courage. The amount of energy, time and planning spent to chase these enemies of the country finally come to its end in 1989, when the communist insurgents laid down their arms, marking the end of an almost 41 years of struggle.

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As we transcend into the conventional setting and the era of information technology, the working environment has become a knowledge-based organisation. Soldiers are expected to play multi-role functions, learn new weapon systems and concept of operations. Although these changes are extremely necessary, the ability to adopt swiftly is something the Army must plan for. Sixty-seven years of jungle fighting is in the blood of most of the soldiers. To remove the jungle fighting ideology cannot be done overnight as it requires time to change. Studies have indicated that continuous, overlapping changes often causes losses in morale, fighting spirit and dysfunctional behaviour. Therefore, commanders must learn, not only how to manage change but also to manage human transition that soldiers experience when faced with significant changes.

CHANGES IN THE ARMY

An organisation is continuously evolving by expanding, contracting, exploring or eliminating. Change being a constant factor, must be reviewed periodically to sustain the existence. Being sensitive to environmental changes, the Malaysian Army has taken various steps to change in its ability to defend the country. Figure 1 illustrates the change process, the Army is undergoing to be a credible force in the region.

STRUCTURE

To improve the combat force, the integration of fire powers through Combined Arms and Joint Operations are emphasised to meet future demands. The Army has reengineered to have a balanced force of major, minor and logistics units to face the future battlefields. The structure is further developed with new weapon systems and high technology to provide the required "armour" against any foreign hostility. Divisions are given "face-lifts" and reorganised into Mechanise, Support and Rapid Deployment Forces to meet the environmental needs. In this manner, the Army will be swift in response and well prepared for deployment internally, externally and as a peacekeeping force under the United Nations Flag. Measures are also taken to enhance its capability of being deployed with other services in an effective manner.

TECHNOLOGY

Modern technology includes the improvement of mobility through Armoured Fighting Vehicles (AFVs), Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs) and heavy-duty transports. Modern weapon systems such as field howitzer, anti-tank and air-defence missile are also being considered to upgrade the Army. The Command, Control, Communications, Computerisation and Intelligence (C⁴I) are being catered to enable the Malaysian Armed Forces to have a reliable, secure and comprehensive command. Information technology and system will gradually become a fundamental tool in the deployment of forces.

HUMAN RESOURCE

The most important aspect in any change is the people. Without the right people, no amount of structural and technological

development will move an organisation ahead. The changes in this aspect were firstly, the downsizing of force level. The main idea is not to save operational cost as the corporate world sees it but to contract and become a lethal force of many talents. Officers and men are continuously upgraded through comprehensive training and higher education. Plans like reviewing training syllabus, career-development chart and tertiary education scheme are implemented to possess a knowledge-based soldier; an ultimate futuristic tool for war.

However, the three major aspects of change should not be viewed in isolation but as an integrated process. Although the structural and technological changes are determined by the top hierarchy in the Army, managing change in Human Resource focuses at all levels of command. Hence, if a man behind the machine is not trained with appropriate knowledge and skill, no amount of changes in structure and technology will do the Army any good.

CHANGES IN UNIT

"Changes must be seen as an evolution rather than revolution"

Taking cognisance of this, it is imperative that the commanding officer of a unit recognises the fact that he is instrumental to the effective management of changes within his unit. He has to melt and mould his unit to meet the continuous changes in accordance to the changes in the Army. Change must be seen as an evolution or transformation for the betterment of an organisation rather than a revolution. Thus, a commanding officer shoulders a heavy responsibility to develop change within his unit by involving everyone, learning how to communicate and to work as a team.

Unit commanders are seen as bottom-line managers that execute changes. However, structural and technological changes are beyond their span of control as they are planned at top management level. Unit commanders are directly involved in managing change in people; meaning officers and men. What are the influences that affect people in the unit? Figure 3 illustrates some of these influences.

The commanders at various levels in the battalion have to learn and understand the optimum utilisation of these new assets. Platoon sergeants and corporals are expected to perform with higher initiatives and responsibilities. Additional knowledge and skills have to be learned through frequent training to adapt to this new structure.

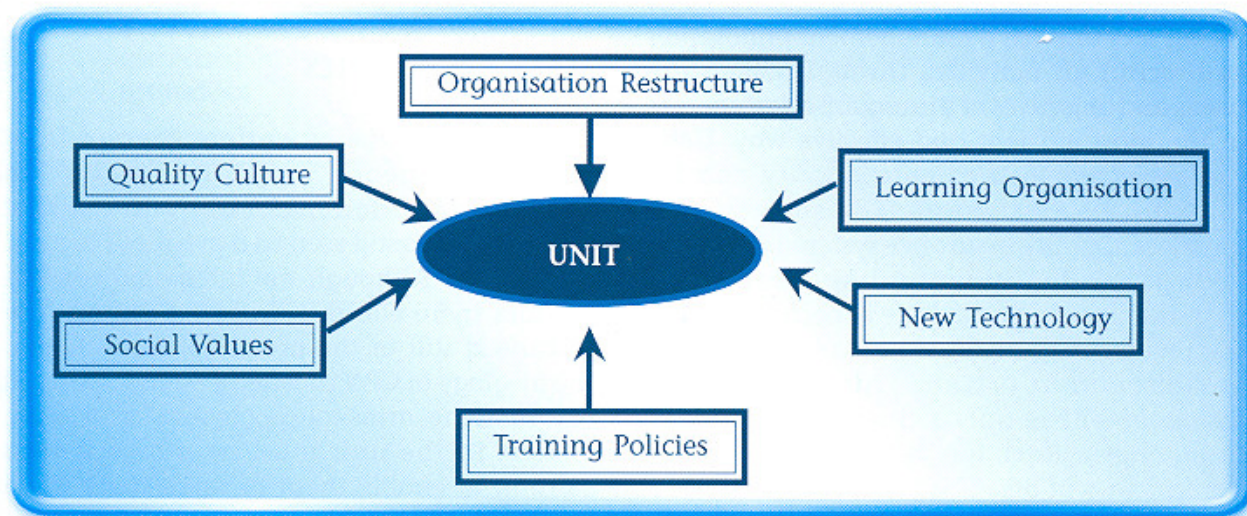


Figure 3. Influence of Change

ORGANISATION RESTRUCTURE

Taking for example, an infantry battalion; a reduction of 25% in force and increasing its firepower with additional support weapons could indicate a change in work routines. Upgrading of rank structure could also be seen as higher responsibilities and functions. Some of the changes that are observed in a Standard Infantry Battalion are as follows:

- Upgrading of rank structure in the organisation.
- A decrease in manpower and increase of firepower.
- Additional firepower assets to influence the battle.

LEARNING ORGANISATION

Learning organisation is organisation that emphasises the importance of getting all its members to continuously upgrade their skills, knowledge and experience. The members are provided with the necessary support to ensure learning takes place, thus increasing their competency and capability to deal with change. The Chief of Army in his maiden speech has stressed that the Army as a learning organisation must be sensitive to the environmental changes and its policies to ensure the future importance of its personnel. As such, the organisation is moving towards knowledge-based where individuals are expected to be professional in their task. Therefore, the change for the need to be knowledgeable puts in pressures to develop

them. In this context the Army provides avenues to develop themselves through tertiary education, seminars and workshops. The onus is on the individuals to take up the opportunity.

QUALITY CULTURE

The introduction of Quality Culture into the Ministry in 1992 has also imposed changes in the organisation. Total Quality Management (TQM) is defined as a management philosophy embracing all activities through which the needs and objectives of the organisation are met in the most efficient and effective way. Units are expected to inculcate quality culture through the conduct of TQM projects and practices. Quality assurance system i.e. MS ISO 9000 is gradually being implemented at formation levels. The culture expects continuous improvement by involving all members of the organisation as a team. Currently, quality management is only being emphasised at commanders' level. It is yet to subside into the soldier's way of life.

SOCIAL VALUES

The values of serving the country and nation are slowly giving way to monetary values. Soldiers are willing to work after duty hours to supplement income. The changes in the material world have effected the soldiers to view things from a different perspective. The changes in the environment have influenced the style of life a soldier leads. Organisation has to review their basic needs to be able to retain them in the organisation. A high attrition rate may not be a healthy sign to an organisation.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

Information technology that is becoming important has its effects, especially

on those who are computer illiterate. New weapon systems that are computerised have to be taught and learned by those concerned. In a borderless society where information flow is rapid, a commander must be able to filter tons of information to make accurate decisions. In this context, officers and men are expected to be knowledgeable in the use of computer and its technology in order to churn information to make accurate decisions.

TRAINING POLICIES

The change of warfare concept from counterinsurgency warfare (CIW) to conventional warfare, particularly the combine arms concept is still seen as a grey area to most of the units. Although the integrated concept provides more effective firepower impact, the doctrine is still in the process of formulation. The ideology of CIW must now be incorporated with combine-arms concept to face future wars. Soldiers in the unit must be provided with training to enable them to understand these concepts and put them into practice through training. Currently, these changes are implemented rapidly without due changes in the logistic aspects.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

Change has become complex and a challenging factor in today's environment, it provides opportunities to improve and expand an organisation. The change process is largely dependent in a commander's ability to use his resources and assets efficiently to make that change. Although, changes are made for the betterment of an organisation, it has its setbacks if it is not implemented wisely. To some, change could be seen as breaking the monotony of work, improving systems or self development and to some, it is a threat to their comfort-zone, fear of the unknown or becoming incapable.

Resistance to change is unavoidable in any organisation. It is a matter on how the approach to implement change. Let us ask ourselves, what could be the causes that could obstruct changes in a unit? Studies have shown that common areas to resistance to change are:

- **Logical Resistance.** This is based on disagreement with the facts, rational reasoning, logics, and sense.
- **Psychological Resistance.** These are based on emotions, sentiments and attitudes.

- **Sociological Resistance.** These are similar to logical resistance, when it is seen as a product of a challenge to group interest. It is also seen as coalitions, values, and work relationships.

The common elements that leads to the types of resistance mentioned above are tabulated in figure 4. These elements could differ from one organisation to another and according to its roles and functions:

Ser	Type of Resistance	Common Elements
(a)	(b)	(c)
1.	Logical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requires time to adopt • Needs to enhance knowledge and skill • Additional effort to be taken • Lack in environmental conditions
2.	Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear of the unknown • Loss of status in the organisation • Lack of support • Attitude • Lack of commitment
3.	Sociological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire to retain existing command • Narrow outlook • Change in status relationship • Maintenance of teamwork

Figure 4. Elements of Resistance

The restructuring of a regular infantry battalion to a standard infantry battalion has

imposed major changes as illustrated in figure 5.

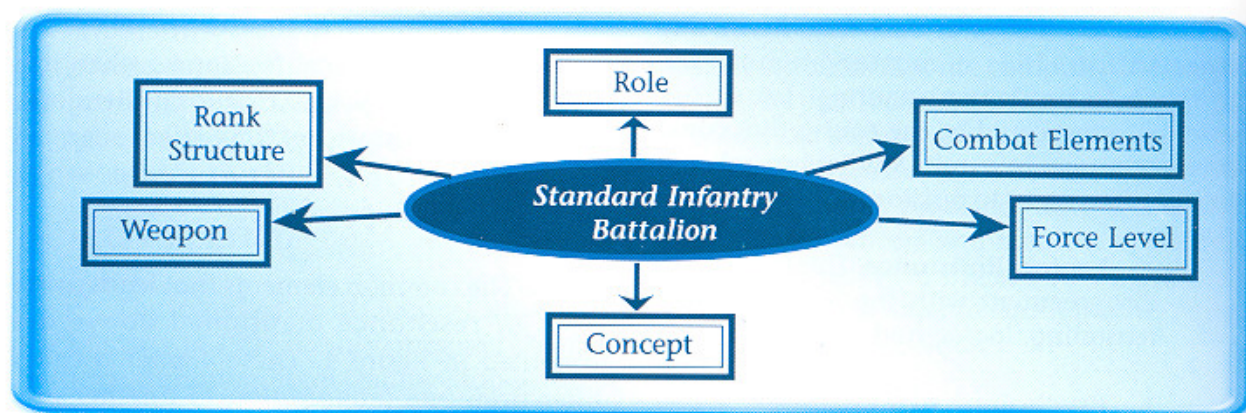


Figure 5. Major Changes

Based on the major changes as reflected in figure 5, some of the possible elements to the types of resistance could be seen as indicated in figure 6.

Serial	Type of Resistance	Common Elements
(a)	(b)	(c)
1.	Logical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to adapt to a new organisational structure. • To understand the new concept and role as Combined Arms. • The need to understand the deployment and the technicality of new combat elements and weapons. • Additional effort to function with limited environmental support.
2.	Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To function as a Section Commander with a SNCO capability. • Fear of not able to adapt to new knowledge/skill. • Remaining as "old school of thought". • Lack of logistics support in view of new organisational structure. • Refusal to learn new skills. • Acceptance of 2 x WO1 a unit. • "Want the rank but no additional responsibility" attitude. • An increase of SNCO by 89.3%.
3.	Sociological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanting a status quo position. • Viewing the changes as burden with additional responsibility. • A Sgt commanding a section as compared to a platoon previously.

Figure 6. Possible Elements of Resistance in a Standard Infantry Battalion

Bearing in mind that the internal changes in the unit involves organisational restructure, introduction of new weapon technology, new training policies and moving towards a quality culture, the soldiers may not be able to adapt to changes as rapidly as required. The three aspect of resistance to changes may set in and make implementation of change a difficult process. The crux of the resistance is in the minds of the soldiers, and commanders need to establish creative means of getting to them. The usual means by the book of "Do what I say or I am right and you're wrong" syndrome may not work; but only to increase the resistance power. Therefore, what measures can a commander take to implement changes? Well, there are no set procedures to implement them, only logics and common sense that seem fit.

MAKING CHANGE

"Don't wait for things to happen; make it happen!"

Zig Zagler

Understanding the need for change in the unit, a unit commander has to develop a strategic plan to achieve change. However, by defining goals and creating strategies may not be good enough if he does not plan the process of change. Most plans fade away due to lack of implementation. Therefore, using the fundamentals of management as indicated at figure 7, a unit commander could formulate a strategy to implement change.

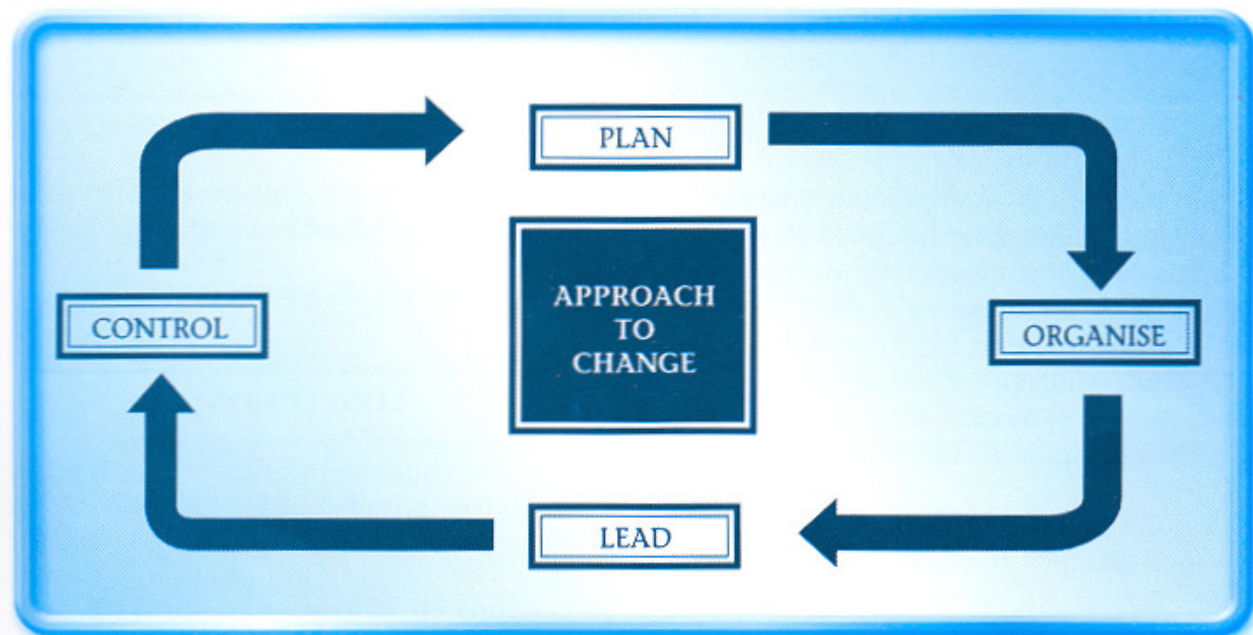


Figure 7. Approach to Change

An example of the approach to change could be further developed as indicated at figure 8.

It is of utmost importance to know that **CHANGE** does not only involve upgrading of

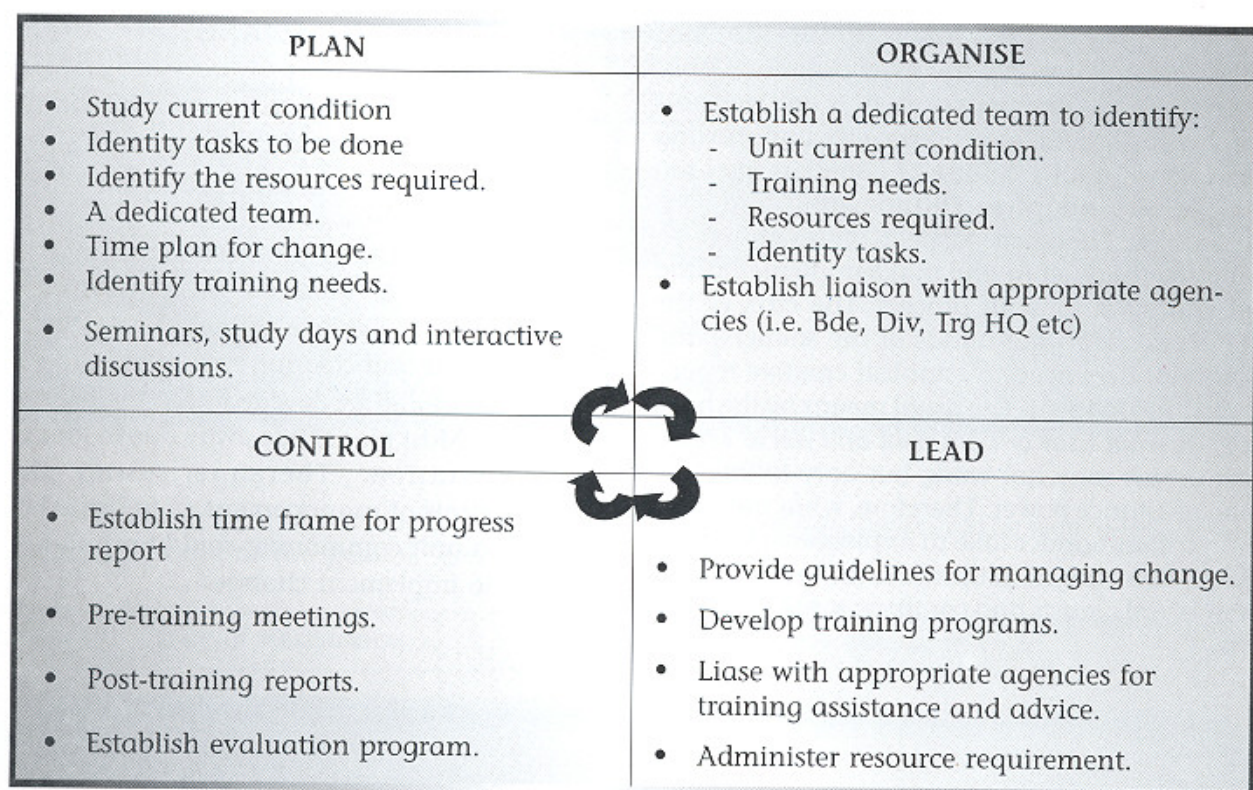


Figure 8. An Approach to Change

professionalism through training. The mindset of an individual must be tuned to the new organisation, function and the role he/she has to play. These are not only done through formal training at training institutes but also by providing facilities for continuous practice in the unit. Apart from meeting the competence level, change could also be implemented through:

- By obtaining commitment from an individual.
- Educating through interactive discussion among various command levels in the unit.
- By demonstrating/role modelling at own commitment to change.
- Accepting weakness and rectifying them to avoid fear.

- Allocating responsibilities and empowering subordinates to task.
- Establishing a feedback system.

CONCLUSION

The change process the army is going through is slow and difficult but it has to take place in order to meet the vision of the Chief of Army. The sovereignty of the nation is dependant on change; the ability to deter hostile aggressions by being a credible force. Therefore, commanders at every level must play an important role and take charge of change to lead their subordinates through the process.

In summary, change is not just planning, proposing or professing it but implementing the process of change. It will not be successful if leaders do not commit

themselves and ensure the supporting infrastructure for change to happen. In the unit, the commander must be able to visualise the end result of his change and plan the resources to achieve them. Officers and senior-ranks in the unit must be coached, supported, and monitored in their development. Hence, the

same development must be seen in their subordinates. Therefore, using the fundamentals of management i.e. Planning, Organising, Leading, and Controlling, the commander has to chart his unit's road to change.

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Mej A Endry Nixon, a keen writer and contributed few articles to Jurnal Sorotan Darat, was commissioned into the Royal Ranger Regiment in 1980. He has served in various important appointments within the regiment, as a staff officer at the Ministry of Defence and as an instructor in PULADA and IPDA. He holds a Masters Degree in Management from Asian Institute Management, Manila. Currently he is the staff officer at Army Inspection Division, Ministry of Defence.

MENANGANI CABARAN DALAM MENGURUSKAN PEMEROLEHAN PERALATAN KAPITAL UNTUK KEPERLUAN TENTERA DARAT

Mej Rusni bin Saad

PENDAHULUAN



Pemerolehan awam, kadangkala dikenali sebagai pemerolehan kerajaan, ialah pembelian barangan dan perkhidmatan termasuk pembinaan oleh pihak kerajaan. Pemerolehan ini dilakukan bagi membolehkan kerajaan menjalankan peranan sebagai pentadbir dan memberikan perkhidmatan kepada orang ramai. Pemerolehan merangkumi semua kontrak yang diikat oleh Kerajaan dengan pembekal bagi penghantaran barangan atau perkhidmatan.

Pemerolehan kerajaan memainkan beberapa peranan penting sejak kemerdekaan negara. Sebelum tahun 1966, pemerolehan kerajaan telah ditadbir dan dinasihati oleh "Crown Agents" yang mana masih kuat dipengaruhi oleh penjajah British. Ketika itu, pemerolehan hanyalah terhad kepada mendapatkan keperluan operasi kerajaan terutamanya kelengkapan pejabat. Kemudian, dengan wujudnya Arah Perbendaharaan, semua urusan kewangan dan aktiviti pemerolehan dilaksanakan di bawah kuasa Menteri Kewangan.

Pada masa ini, pemerolehan kerajaan diuruskan oleh Bahagian Pengurusan Pemerolehan Kerajaan, Kementerian Kewangan sebagai pihak berkuasa pusat pemerolehan kerajaan di negara ini. Objektif keseluruhan pemerolehan kerajaan telah berkembang secara beransur-ansur bagi menyokong Dasar Pembangunan Nasional (DPN) dan memastikan tujuan dan aspirasi Wawasan 2020 dapat dicapai.

Pada tahun 1998, Kementerian Kewangan telah menguruskan pemerolehan yang dianggarkan bernilai RM851.5 juta walaupun keadaan ekonomi negara merudum. Angka ini boleh dianggap yang terendah dibelanjakan oleh kerajaan bagi memenuhi keperluan kementerian dan agensi pengguna.

SUMBER PERUNTUKAN UNTUK PERTAHANAN

LATAR BELAKANG PERTAHANAN NEGARA

Tamatnya era perang dingin telah disambut dengan baik oleh hampir semua

negara di dunia. Ia juga secara langsung telah memperlahankan perlumbaan senjata di antara kuasa-kuasa besar. Dengan musnahnya perikatan Soviet, Amerika Syarikat telah mengambil peranan sebagai polis dunia manakala China pula dapat menumpukan sumber-sumbernya untuk pembangunan. Dasar luar Amerika Syarikat dan China yang radikal selepas era perang dingin telah menimbulkan keadaan strategik yang kompleks di kawasan Asia Pasifik. Masalah seperti perebutan wilayah, tuntutan bertindih, perkauman, semangat nasionalisme, pendirian politik dan agama yang ekstrim akan terus menjadi ancaman kepada keamanan.

Di Malaysia sendiri, Tentera Darat (TD) memainkan peranan yang penting dalam mencapai objektif pertahanan negara iaitu untuk mengatasi semua bentuk ancaman daripada luar dan dalam negara, untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan negara dan menjadi penggerak kepada keamanan dan kestabilan melalui "power projection" bagi menyokong dasar luar negara. Sebelum tahun 1990, tugas-tugas TD yang berkaitan dengan objektif tersebut ialah peperangan insurgensi melawan Parti Komunis Malaya (PKM) dan Parti Rakyat Kalimantan Utara. Sejak sepuluh tahun yang lepas, TD telah dipertanggungjawabkan dengan tugas-tugas pengawasan keamanan dan penguat kuasa keamanan di bawah panji-panji Pertubuhan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu (PBB).

Peranan aktif Malaysia di dalam Majlis Keselamatan PBB akan meningkatkan lagi keperluan untuk mewujudkan satu angkatan yang mudah diatur gerak, dilatih dan dilengkapi dengan senjata konvensional yang moden. Perubahan tumpuan TD daripada peperangan melawan insurgensi kepada corak peperangan konvensional juga mengubah cara pemikiran dan keperluan material bagi merealisasikan satu angkatan yang kecil tetapi

seimbang, cekap dan menggabungkan semua sumber-sumber ke dalam sistem pertahanan menyeluruh. Keupayaan ini hanya dapat dicapai melalui pemerolehan dan penggunaan peralatan moden yang canggih bagi memenuhi kriteria "maneuverability" dan "fire power". Peralatan di bawah kategori ini termasuklah kereta kebal, kereta perisai tempur infantri, kereta perisai pembawa anggota, meriam jarak dekat dan sederhana, peluru berpandu antikereta kebal, peluru berpandu dan meriam pertahanan udara (*Very Short Range Air Defence* dan *Short Range Air Defence Weapon*), alat komunikasi, radar pengesan dan senjata-senjata khas lain.

PERUNTUKAN PERTAHANAN

Perbelanjaan untuk sektor keselamatan terus diberikan keutamaan oleh kerajaan selain daripada sektor ekonomi dan sosial. Adalah menjadi matlamat kerajaan untuk mengukuhkan pertahanan dan keselamatan negara selaras dengan dasar "self-reliance". Perbelanjaan untuk pertahanan telah meningkat dalam tempoh sepuluh tahun yang lepas. Walaupun demikian, perkembangan ini selalunya dihadkan oleh pertumbuhan negara sendiri. Perkembangan peningkatan perbelanjaan untuk pertahanan juga akan terjejas apabila rakyat menikmati kemewahan hidup dan mengabaikan aspek pertahanan. Satu keseimbangan antara dasar kerajaan dan sumber-sumber yang nyata adalah penting bagi menghasilkan rancangan pertahanan yang berkesan.

Seperti yang ditunjukkan di Jadual I¹, perbelanjaan pembangunan pertahanan telah meningkat secara mendadak sebanyak 518% daripada RM1.4 bilion dalam Rancangan Malaysia Kelima (RM5) kepada RM9.2 bilion dalam Rancangan Malaysia Keenam (RM6).

¹ Laporan Rancangan Malaysia Ketujuh, 1996, hal 187.

Antara sebab peningkatan mendadak ini ialah bagi menampung pembiayaan di bawah "Memorandum Of Understanding (MoU)" dengan Kerajaan British bagi pemerolehan pesawat Hawk, kapal Frigate, "Very Short Range Air Defence" jenis Starburst dan pembangunan Sistem C³I.

penurunan kadar peruntukan pertahanan di bawah RM7 masih lagi dianggap positif berbanding dengan perbelanjaan pertahanan di bawah RM5. Di bawah RM5, peruntukan pertahanan hanyalah sebanyak RM1.4 bilion berbanding RM7.0 bilion di bawah RM7.

Bil	Sektor	RM5			RM6			RM7	
		Peruntukan Dipinda (RM)	Perbelanjaan (RM)	%	Peruntukan Dipinda (RM)	Perbelanjaan (RM)	%	Peruntukan (RM)	%
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(h)	(i)	(k)	(l)
1.	Ekonomi	24,048	22,886	64.8	29,875	27,712	50.6	33,706	51.0
2.	Sosial	9,046	8,764	24.8	14,780	13,555	24.8	19,803	29.3
3.	Keselamatan	2,955	2,527	7.2	11,139	10,987	20.1	9,188	13.6
	a. Pertahanan	1,858	1,497	4.3	9,258	9,258	16.9	7,000	10.4
	b. Keselamatan Dalam Negeri	1,097	1,030	2.9	1,881	1,729	3.2	2,188	3.2
4.	Pentadbiran	1,241	1,123	3.2	2,706	2,451	4.5	4,803	7.1
	Jumlah	37,290	35,300	100	58,500	54,705	100	67,500	100

Jadual I. Peruntukan dan Perbelanjaan Pembangunan Kerajaan Persekutuan
Mengikut Sektor, 1986-2000

Sumber: Laporan Rancangan Malaysia Ketujuh, 1996.

Peruntukan pertahanan di bawah Rancangan Malaysia Ketujuh (RM7) didapati menurun sebanyak 30% kepada RM7.0 bilion berbanding dengan perbelanjaan sebanyak RM9.2 bilion di bawah RM6. Dari sudut pengagihan sumber sektor awam, peratusan yang diperolehi oleh sektor pertahanan menurun daripada 16.9% dalam RM6 kepada 10.4% di bawah RM7. Walau bagaimanapun, setelah mengambil kira sebab-sebab lonjakan peningkatan perbelanjaan di bawah RM6,

Peruntukan bagi pertahanan lazimnya dipengaruhi oleh bentuk ancaman yang sedang atau dijangka akan dihadapi oleh negara. Peruntukan seperti di Jadual I di atas tidak memenuhi corak biasa yang boleh dijadikan sebagai panduan untuk peruntukan pertahanan pada masa hadapan. Ini disebabkan keputusan pengagihan peruntukan bergantung kepada permintaan sektoral dan keutamaan kerajaan pada satu-satu masa.

DASAR DAN TATACARA PEMEROLEHAN KERAJAAN

PRINSIP DAN OBJEKTIF PEMEROLEHAN KERAJAAN

Secara umumnya, pemerolehan kerajaan berteraskan kepada prinsip-prinsip berikut:

- **Akauntabiliti Awam.** Pemerolehan seharusnya menunjukkan akauntabiliti awam yang diamanahkan kepada agensi kerajaan.
- **Diuruskan Secara Telus.** Semua dasar, peraturan, tatacara dan proses pemerolehan itu sendiri hendaklah jelas, diketahui dan difahami umum.
- **Nilai Faedah Yang Terbaik (*Best Value for Money*).** Pengurusan pemerolehan hendaklah memberi peluang pulangan yang terbaik bagi setiap ringgit yang dibelanjakan.
- **Saingan Terbuka.** Proses pemerolehan hendaklah memberi peluang terbuka kepada semua yang layak untuk bersaing.
- **Adil dan Saksama.** Sesuatu pemerolehan itu dipelawa dan diproses dengan adil dan saksama berasaskan dasar dan peraturan yang berkaitan.

Pemerolehan kerajaan mempunyai objektif seperti berikut:

- Menguruskan pemerolehan secara cekap, berkesan dan paling menguntungkan bagi mencapai matlamat pemerolehan tersebut.

- Mendapatkan harga yang paling berpatutan dan menguntungkan dengan mengambil kira kualiti, kuantiti dan tempoh penyerahan/penyiapan yang ditetapkan.

- Menggalakkan pertumbuhan industri tempatan dan penggunaan sumber/bahan tempatan.

- Membangun, mengembang dan memindahkan teknologi yang bersesuaian dengan kehendak semasa sektor industri negara.

- Memastikan pengurusan barang dan aset yang berkesan.

- Menjadi wadah untuk mencapai dasar-dasar kerajaan.

DASAR PEMEROLEHAN KERAJAAN

Dasar Pemerolehan Kerajaan (DPK) adalah untuk mendukung Wawasan 2020 serta menentukan pencapaian hasrat dan cita-cita DPN. Dasar utama adalah seperti berikut:

- Untuk memupuk/menggalakkan pertumbuhan industri tempatan serta penggunaan secara optimum sumber/bahan tempatan.

- Untuk memupuk dan menggalakkan penglibatan usahawan/syarikat Bumiputera selaras dengan hasrat untuk melahirkan Masyarakat Perdagangan dan Perindustrian Bumiputera (MPPB).

- Untuk meningkatkan keupayaan institusi dan industri tempatan melalui pemindahan teknologi dan kemahiran.

- Untuk menggalakkan pertumbuhan, pembangunan, pengembangan dan penggunaan sektor perkhidmatan tempatan utama dalam perkhidmatan pengangkutan dan insurans.
- Untuk menjadi umpilan (*leverage*) bagi mendapatkan konsesi tertentu dalam mencapai matlamat dasar-dasar kerajaan.

STRATEGI PELAKSANAAN

Strategi dan program pelaksanaan yang sesuai untuk dibentuk supaya mencapai DPK adalah seperti berikut:

- **Keutamaan Kepada Barangan Buatan Tempatan serta Pembangunan Industri Tempatan.**

~ Semua agensi kerajaan dikehendaki memberi keutamaan kepada barangan/bahan buatan tempatan kecuali barangan/bahan tertentu yang tidak boleh diperolehi dari sumber tempatan.

~ Kualiti barangan hendaklah mengikut spesifikasi dan seboleh-bolehnya memenuhi piawaian Malaysia atau piawaian lain yang diiktiraf.

~ Bagi pemerolehan bekalan, keutamaan harga hendaklah diberikan kepada barangan buatan tempatan.

- **Pembelian Melalui Kontrak Pusat.** Kementerian Kewangan dari masa ke semasa akan menguruskan kontrak pusat bagi barangan guna sama. Arahan mengenainya dikeluarkan melalui Pekeliling Kontrak Perbendaharaan. Semua jabatan hendaklah menggunakan Kontrak Pusat apabila membeli barangan guna sama yang telah ditentukan daripada pembekal atau pembekal-pembekal kontrak pusat yang dilantik oleh Kementerian Kewangan, melainkan dengan pengecualian Kementerian Kewangan atau Pihak Berkuasa Kewangan Negeri.

- **Penggunaan Kontrak Jabatan Lain.** Jabatan boleh juga memperoleh bekalan barangan yang diperlukan daripada jabatan yang telah mempunyai kontrak sebagai pengguna utama sesuatu barangan atau daripada pembekalnya dengan syarat-syarat yang sama. Pemerolehan secara ini hendaklah mendapat kelulusan Kementerian Kewangan terlebih dahulu.

- **Pemindahan Teknologi Untuk Institusi dan Industri Tempatan.** Strategi ini bertujuan membantu industri tempatan dalam mempertingkatkan kepakaran dalam pelbagai bidang terutama yang berteknologi canggih dan terkini. Lazimnya strategi ini dilaksanakan melalui program timbal balas (*offset*) dan "*industrial cooperation*" terutama sekali bagi pemerolehan strategik dan "*hi-tech*".

PERANCANGAN PEMEROLEHAN

Perkara-perkara utama yang perlu diambil kira dalam perancangan pemerolehan adalah seperti berikut:

- **Peruntukan/Pembiayaan.**

~ Semua pemerolehan yang melibatkan wang kerajaan Persekutuan hendaklah mematuhi peraturan dan tatacara pemerolehan Kementerian Kewangan².

~ Sebelum membuat sebarang pemerolehan, agensi kerajaan hendaklah menentukan terlebih dahulu bahawa peruntukan belanja mengurus atau pembangunan bagi pemerolehan berkenaan telah diluluskan dan mencukupi³.

~ Bagi semua pemerolehan yang melibatkan pembiayaan dari Institusi Kewangan Antarabangsa seperti Bank Dunia, agensi kerajaan hendaklah mematuhi peraturan yang telah ditetapkan oleh Institusi Kewangan berkenaan.

- **Kajian Pasaran Dalam Pemerolehan.** Adalah menjadi kewajipan setiap pegawai yang menguruskan pemerolehan membuat kajian pasaran supaya barang yang akan dibeli itu adalah yang paling sesuai dan menguntungkan. Andaian ini dibuat setelah mengambil kira

kualiti, harga, kegunaan barang itu dan faktor-faktor lain yang berkaitan⁴.

- **Penyediaan Carta/Jadual Perancangan.** Dalam merancang sesuatu pemerolehan, satu carta/jadual hendaklah disediakan bagi menunjukkan anggaran masa untuk setiap peringkat pemerolehan sehingga keputusan dibuat. Jangka sama keseluruhan proses pemerolehan tersebut hendaklah digunakan sebagai tempoh sah laku di dalam dokumen tender.

- **Pendaftaran Pembekal.**

~ Semua pemerolehan kerajaan hendaklah dibuat dengan pembekal yang pendaftarannya masih berkuat kuasa. Pihak berkuasa bagi pendaftaran pembekal ialah Kementerian Kewangan bagi pemerolehan bekalan⁵.

~ Pengecualian keperluan pendaftaran hanya dibenarkan bagi pemerolehan bernilai kecil iaitu tidak melebihi RM10,000.00 setahun untuk bekalan dan perkhidmatan.

~ Agensi kerajaan hendaklah memastikan bahawa pembekal yang mengambil bahagian di dalam pemerolehan kerajaan adalah berdaftar di bawah kelas/kod bidang, kepala dan sub-kepala yang berkaitan.

² Akta Acara Kewangan, 1957, Sek 4.

³ Arahan Perbendaharaan, Dis 1997, No 168.

⁴ Ibid, No 169, hal 1.

⁵ Ibid, No 184, hal 2.

- **Samakan Dengan Item Kontrak Pusat.** Semua bekalan dan perkhidmatan guna sama yang terdapat dalam kontrak pusat yang dikendalikan oleh Kementerian Kewangan hendaklah diguna pakai oleh semua agensi kerajaan. Pembelian di luar Kontrak Pusat hanya boleh dilakukan setelah mendapat pengecualian terlebih dahulu daripada Kementerian Kewangan⁶.

- **Bidang Khas Untuk Bumiputera.** Agensi kerajaan perlu mengenal pasti dan memastikan pemerolehan yang dikhaskan kepada pembekal Bumiputera dilaksanakan sepenuhnya mengikut arahan dan peraturan berkaitan yang dikeluarkan oleh Kementerian Kewangan dari masa ke masa.

- **Penggunaan Borang Piawai.** Kementerian Kewangan akan menetapkan borang-borang piawai dari semasa ke semasa. Agensi kerajaan hendaklah memastikan borang piawai yang ditetapkan oleh Kementerian Kewangan digunakan sepenuhnya di dalam proses pemerolehan.

- **Penggunaan Mata Wang.** Semua tawaran hendaklah dalam mata wang Ringgit. Walau bagaimanapun, bagi tender antarabangsa tawaran harga mestilah dalam mata wang asing kecuali penender tempatan⁷.

- **Penyediaan Spesifikasi.** Setiap pemerolehan hendaklah dilaksanakan berpandukan penentuan tertentu.

~ Semasa menyediakan spesifikasi, perkara-perkara seperti warna, saiz, bentuk, kualiti, pembungkusan, nisbah kandungan, prestasi yang dijangkakan dan butir-butir lain yang berkaitan hendaklah dinyatakan dengan jelas supaya tidak menimbulkan keraguan kepada pembekal tentang apa yang dikehendaki oleh agensi kerajaan.

~ Spesifikasi pemerolehan tidak boleh dijuruskan kepada sesuatu jenama atau nama dagangan. Sekiranya ini tidak dapat dielakkan, ungkapan "atau persamaan" hendaklah digunakan⁸.

~ Agensi hendaklah memasukkan klausa bantahan di dalam dokumen tender bagi membolehkan penender membuat bantahan terhadap tender yang disyaki menjurus kepada sesuatu jenama.

~ Penentuan hendaklah dibuat berasaskan fungsi dan keupayaan sesuatu barang atau kelengkapan, dan sekurang-kurangnya memenuhi piawaian Malaysia atau setaraf dengannya. Sekiranya barangan tersebut tidak mempunyai sebarang piawaian, agensi kerajaan hendaklah memastikan bahawa barangan yang akan diperolehi itu adalah sesuai, selamat digunakan dan dijamin oleh pembuatnya.

⁶ Ibid, No 178, hal 1(a).

⁷ Surat Pekeliling Perbendaharaan, Bil 8 tahun 1998, 24 Dis 1998, para 3.1.1

⁸ Arahan Perbendaharaan, Dis 1997, No 174.1(c).

- **Pemindahan Teknologi.** Pemerolehan kerajaan bagi barang-barang import terutamanya yang bernilai tinggi boleh digunakan secara berkesan untuk memesatkan lagi program pemindahan teknologi di negara ini. Untuk menyokong program pemindahan teknologi ini, agensi kerajaan dikehendaki membuat perancangan dengan teliti dan mengenal pasti bidang-bidang teknologi utama yang boleh dipindahkan melalui sesuatu pemerolehan kerajaan.

KAEDAH PEMEROLEHAN

Kaedah pemerolehan antara lain adalah tertakluk kepada had-had kewangan yang telah ditetapkan. Dalam melaksanakan pemerolehan, agensi hendaklah memastikan bahawa kaedah pemerolehan yang ditetapkan seperti di bawah dipatuhi dan dilaksanakan:

- **Pembelian Terus.** Bagi bekalan dan perkhidmatan yang tidak melebihi RM10,000.00 setahun bagi satu item atau kelas jenis item, agensi kerajaan dibenarkan membuat pembelian terus dari mana-mana pembekal, sama ada yang berdaftar atau tidak, yang menawarkan harga yang berpatutan⁹. Untuk pembelian yang bernilai di antara RM10,000.00 dan RM50,000.00 setahun bagi satu item atau kelas jenis item, agensi kerajaan dibenarkan membuat pembelian terus daripada pembekal yang berdaftar dalam bidang yang berkenaan yang diketahui sentiasa menawarkan harga yang berpatutan¹⁰.

- **Sebut Harga.** Bagi pemerolehan bekalan dan perkhidmatan yang bernilai lebih daripada RM50,000.00 hingga RM100,000.00 setahun, agensi kerajaan dikehendaki mempelawa sebut harga di kalangan sekurang-kurangnya lima (5) pembekal Bumiputera yang berdaftar dengan Kementerian Kewangan dalam bidang yang berkaitan. Bagi pemerolehan bekalan dan perkhidmatan yang melebihi RM100,000.00 hingga RM200,000.00 hendaklah dipelawa di kalangan lima syarikat yang berdaftar dengan Kementerian Kewangan¹¹.

- **Tender.** Bagi pemerolehan melebihi RM100,000.00 setahun hendaklah dipelawa secara tender¹². Tender boleh dibahagikan kepada beberapa kategori iaitu:

~ **Tender Terbuka.** Tender ini terbuka untuk ditandingi oleh semua pembekal yang berdaftar dengan Kementerian Kewangan bagi pemerolehan bekalan. Terdapat juga tender terbuka yang dikhaskan kepada pembekal Bumiputera. Tender ini dilaksanakan dengan mempelawa hanya pembekal Bumiputera untuk mengambil bahagian.

~ **Tender Terhad.** Tender terhad hanya boleh dilaksanakan setelah agensi mendapat kelulusan khas Kementerian Kewangan sebelum ianya dilaksanakan.

- **Rundingan Terus.** Pemerolehan secara rundingan terus perlu mendapat

⁹ *Arahan Pekeliling Perbendaharaan*, Bil 2, tahun 1999, 15 Feb 1999, para 3.1.1.1.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, para 3.1.1.2.

¹¹ *Surat Pekeliling Perbendaharaan* Bil 2, Tahun 2001 para 4(a) 12 Mac 2001.

¹² *Ibid*, para 3.1.3.

kelulusan khas dari Kementerian Kewangan. Pemerolehan secara ini boleh dilaksanakan sekiranya didapati hanya satu pembekal sahaja yang boleh membekalkan barangan yang diperlukan.

PENGECUALIAN DARIPADA PERATURAN PEMEROLEHAN

Semua pemerolehan hendaklah mematuhi peraturan kewangan yang telah ditetapkan. Walau bagaimanapun, Kementerian Kewangan akan mempertimbangkan pengecualian dalam keadaan tertentu seperti berikut:

- Permohonan boleh dibuat dalam keadaan di mana sesuatu pemerolehan perlu dibuat dengan segera.
- Pemerolehan bagi maksud penyeragaman.
- Pemerolehan dari satu punca bekalan.

MASALAH DALAM MENGURUSKAN PEMEROLEHAN

SPESIFIKASI PERALATAN

Titik permulaan di dalam sesuatu pemerolehan ialah penyediaan senarai peralatan yang ingin diperolehi. Senarai ini biasanya dikemukakan oleh pengguna peralatan tersebut yang terdiri daripada pelbagai Kor di dalam TD. Tahap pertama dalam penyediaan senarai peralatan tersebut ialah mengenal pasti keperluan sebenar dalam memenuhi tugas dan tanggungjawab sesuatu Kor. Ia boleh berpunca daripada beberapa sumber seperti penilaian maklumat perisikan terhadap musuh, penemuan teknologi terkini

yang digunakan dalam peralatan pertahanan atau menggantikan peralatan yang usang.

Walaupun asas sesuatu keperluan peralatan pertahanan, pihak pengguna secara rasminya akan menyediakan dokumen spesifikasi atau Keperluan Staf Am (KESAM). Dokumen berkenaan menjelaskan secara teratur mengenai fungsi dan keupayaan yang dikehendaki bagi sesuatu peralatan atau sistem persenjataan. Dokumen spesifikasi atau KESAM biasanya dibincangkan dan diteliti di beberapa peringkat yang dipanggil sebagai Spesifikasi Teknikal.

Penyediaan spesifikasi yang teliti dan rapi seringkali tidak dapat menjamin spesifikasi tersebut tidak mempunyai unsur-unsur penjurusan kepada sesuatu jenama atau model peralatan. Unsur penjurusan tidak seharusnya timbul dalam penyediaan sesuatu spesifikasi kerana kemungkinan pengguna tidak akan mendapat peralatan yang terbaru dengan teknologi semasa. Unsur penjurusan juga akan menghapuskan tawaran yang kompetitif daripada pembekal dan kerajaan akan kerugian kerana tidak memperolehi sesuatu peralatan berasaskan kriteria "*best value for money*". Sekiranya tidak dapat dielakkan, sesuatu spesifikasi itu terpaksa menyatakan jenama atau model, ia boleh dibenarkan dengan syarat ia mesti disertakan dengan perkataan 'atau persamaan'.

Spesifikasi juga perlu ditulis dengan mengambil kira keseluruhan daya ketahanan sebagai peralatan tentera, prestasi tempur yang diinginkan oleh pengguna dan keupayaan teknikal yang boleh mencapai objektif taktikal. Dengan kata-kata lain, spesifikasi mestilah seboleh-bolehnya "*fool-proof*". Melalui pengalaman pemerolehan "*Armoured Personnel Carrier - Wheel (APC-W)*" yang diuruskan pada tahun 1995/1996, spesifikasi APC-W telah menerima banyak komen negatif dari pihak penender. Sebelum tender dibuka, spesifikasi APC-W telah ditapis

oleh berbagai pihak sehinggakan Kementerian Kewangan sendiri telah menubuhkan satu jawatankuasa bagi menapis spesifikasi berkenaan. Komen-komen yang diterima dari pihak penender merangkumi aspek aturgerak taktikal APC-W, kejuruteraan pembuatan dan aspek teknikal.

Antara komen-komen tersebut ialah mengapa APC-W perlu dilengkapi dengan kemudahan untuk "swimming", mengapa pintu keluar terup di belakang, mengapa diperlukan "single axle" berbanding "double axle", mengapa bukan "two men turret" dan ada penender yang menawarkan dua versi iaitu 6 - tayar dan 8 - tayar. Semua komen tersebut menunjukkan pihak penender mempunyai pengetahuan yang mendalam tentang keperluan taktikal dan kejuruteraan reka bentuk. Pihak penender memang mempunyai hak untuk mencabar sesuatu spesifikasi. Cabaran yang dibuat oleh pihak penender adalah merupakan salah satu faktor penyumbang kepada kegagalan pemerolehan APC-W tersebut.

PERMOHONAN PEMEROLEHAN TIDAK LENGKAP

Sebelum Mac 2001, semua pemerolehan peralatan kapital yang melebihi

Kewangan dan proses pemerolehan diuruskan oleh Kementerian Kewangan¹³. Bagi semua pemerolehan secara rundingan terus atau tender terhad yang bernilai di antara RM100,000.00 hingga RM4,999,999.99 mestilah mendapat kelulusan Kementerian Kewangan terlebih dahulu dan proses pemerolehan diuruskan oleh Kementerian Pertahanan. Pemerolehan selain daripada peralatan kapital, Kementerian Pertahanan boleh menyetujui terima tender bekalan sehingga RM15 juta¹⁴.

Dalam memproses permohonan-permohonan dari Kementerian Pertahanan, sering kali didapati maklumat-maklumat yang dikemukakan tidak mencukupi, tidak tepat dan justifikasi pemerolehan yang terlalu lemah (*unjustifiable*). Semua permohonan secara rundingan terus dan tender terhad dari Kementerian Pertahanan akan diuruskan untuk kelulusan Menteri Kewangan dan pegawai-pegawai seperti di Jadual II di bawah¹⁵.

Di samping itu, terdapat juga tiga Jawatankuasa yang dibentuk bagi menimbang dan meluluskan pemerolehan yang diuruskan

Bil	Pihak Berkuasa Kelulusan	Nilai Perolehan
1.	Menteri Kewangan I	Melebihi RM500 juta
2.	Menteri Kewangan II	RM5 juta ke RM500 juta
3.	Ketua Setiausaha Perbendaharaan	RM3.5 juta - RM5 juta
4.	Timbalan Ketua Setiausaha Perbendaharaan	RM2 juta - RM3.5 juta
5.	Setiausaha Bahagian	RM500,000.00 - RM2 juta
6.	Timbalan Setiausaha Bahagian	RM250,000.00 - RM500,000.00
7.	Ketua Penolong Setiausaha	Kurang dari RM250,00.00

Jadual II. Pihak Berkuasa Kelulusan

RM5 juta dari Kementerian Pertahanan mestilah mendapat kelulusan Kementerian

¹³ Surat Pekeliling Perbendaharaan, Bil 7 tahun 1979.

¹⁴ Surat Pekeliling Perbendaharaan, Bil 2 tahun 1999, 15 Feb 1999, para

¹⁵ Arahan Pejabat, Bil 1 tahun 1999, 2 Mac 1999.

secara tender ataupun rundingan terus.

Jawatankuasa tersebut ialah seperti berikut:

Bil	Jawatankuasa	Kuasa
1.	Jawatankuasa Tender Menteri	Menimbang dan meluluskan pemerolehan peralatan melebihi RM5 juta yang diuruskan secara tender sama ada oleh Kementerian Kewangan atau Kementerian Pertahanan.
2.	Lembaga Pemerolehan Pusat ¹⁶	Menimbang dan meluluskan pemerolehan peralatan kurang daripada RM5 juta yang diuruskan secara tender oleh Kementerian Kewangan dan pemerolehan untuk Kontrak Pusat.
3.	Jawatankuasa Khas Pemerolehan ¹⁷	Menimbang dan memaklumkan sokongan kepada Menteri Kewangan 1 dan II terhadap semua pemerolehan secara rundingan terus.

Jadual III. Jawatankuasa Pemerolehan Kementerian Kewangan

Kekurangan maklumat dalam sesuatu permohonan boleh menjejaskan kelancaran pemerolehan peralatan. Tanpa maklumat yang lengkap dan alasan pemerolehan yang tidak kukuh, pertimbangan terhadap sesuatu pemerolehan sukar dibuat atau mengambil masa yang panjang sebelum keputusan dicapai. Permohonan kemungkinan ditolak disebabkan timbul kekeliruan akibat salah lapor atau "misleading".

DOKUMEN TENDER

Cara pemerolehan yang biasa diamalkan ialah melalui proses tender terbuka. Elemen utama di dalam proses tender ialah dokumen tender yang mengandungi spesifikasi peralatan, syarat-syarat kontrak dan syarat-syarat tender serta kuantiti yang diperlukan.

Dokumen tender ini kemudian dijual kepada bakal penender oleh pengurus tender sama ada di Kementerian Kewangan atau Kementerian Pertahanan.

Penyediaan dokumen tender untuk pemerolehan peralatan memakan masa yang panjang. Antara sebab-sebabnya ialah kelewatan menerima Spesifikasi Teknikal daripada pengguna. Ini selalunya disebabkan tempoh masa untuk menyediakan spesifikasi bagi peralatan baru atau mengemaskinikan spesifikasi yang lama untuk pemerolehan semasa. Tidak dinafikan kelewatan ini juga boleh berpunca daripada perubahan dasar kerajaan yang secara langsung mengubah syarat-syarat tender. Sebagai contoh, apabila kerajaan mengenakan langkah-langkah kawalan modal pada 1 September 1998, semua urusan tender antarabangsa mensyaratkan supaya tawaran harga dan deposit tender mestilah dibuat dalam mata wang asing selain daripada Ringgit Malaysia.

¹⁶ Warta Kerajaan Persekutuan, No. 3204, 15 Apr 1999

¹⁷ Arahan Pejabat, Bil 1 tahun 1999, 2 Mac 1999

Perubahan kepada syarat-syarat kontrak di dalam dokumen tender adalah terlalu minimum kerana kerajaan masih berpegang kepada asas pemerolehan secara pembayaran 100% "Free On Board" (FOB) dan klausa-klausa tertentu di dalam kontrak adalah serupa.

Walaupun kebanyakan pembekal berminat menyertai tender terbuka tetapi dokumen tender yang tebal mendatangkan masalah kepada mereka. Dokumen tender bagi peralatan canggih seperti sistem persenjataan atau peralatan elektronik secara amnya mencapai lebih daripada 150 muka surat. Bakal penender terpaksa menyemak dengan teliti kandungan dokumen tender yang selalunya adalah perkara yang sama dan berulang. Ini merugikan kerajaan dari segi kos penyediaan dokumen tender serta mengalihkan tumpuan penender daripada memenuhi keperluan utama tender.

PROSES TENDER

Pemerolehan peralatan kapital khususnya sistem persenjataan TD yang melebihi nilai RM5 juta lazimnya diuruskan secara tender antarabangsa. Salah satu syarat tender ialah tempoh sahlaku harga yang ditawarkan oleh penender mestilah sehingga sembilan bulan dari tarikh tutup tender. Tempoh sedemikian kerap kali gagal dicapai dalam menguruskan pemerolehan dan penender selalunya diminta melanjutkan tempoh sahlaku tersebut. Adalah diperhatikan kegagalan menyelesaikan urusan tender dalam tempoh sembilan bulan adalah disebabkan oleh proses penilaian teknikal yang terlalu lama oleh pengguna. Penilaian teknikal memakan masa sehingga melebihi enam bulan sebelum laporan diterima oleh Kementerian Kewangan. Penyediaan kertas tender juga memerlukan masa kerana kedua-dua laporan penilaian teknikal dan penilaian harga akan digabungkan bagi mendapatkan

satu bentuk perakuan untuk dikemukakan kepada Jawatankuasa Pemerolehan berkaitan.

PERUNTUKAN KEWANGAN

Kitaran rancangan pembangunan yang diamalkan sekarang, iaitu lima tahun adalah berfaedah kepada pemodenan TD. Walau bagaimanapun, kitaran selama lima tahun ini menyukarkan rancangan jangka panjang pertahanan negara. Tumpuan hanya diberikan untuk tempoh lima tahun sahaja sedangkan terdapat pemerolehan yang memakan masa yang panjang untuk dibangunkan seperti pemerolehan kereta kebal dan helikopter tempur. Pemerolehan sedemikian selalunya akan melimpah ke dalam kitaran berikutnya dan diberikan had masa yang singkat untuk menyelesaikannya. Ini berlaku semasa RM6 yang tamat tempoh pada tahun 1995. Pemerolehan di bawah RM6 yang tidak dapat diselesaikan telah diberikan tempoh selama setahun untuk diselesaikan pada tahun 1996.

Proses tender yang lama dan melangkaui tahun kewangan keperluan peralatan tersebut menyebabkan peruntukan tidak dapat dibelanjakan dan merugikan TD. Lebih merugikan lagi apabila jumlah peruntukan yang sama perlu disediakan pada tahun kewangan berikutnya yang seharusnya boleh digunakan untuk memperolehi peralatan lain.

KETELUSAN

Kerajaan selalunya dikaitkan dengan proses perundangan, dasar ekonomi dan sosial, pertahanan dan diplomasi antarabangsa dan kerap dipandang positif dalam perkara-perkara tersebut. Tetapi, apabila kerajaan dikaitkan dengan

pemerolehan, pandangan negatif menjadi suatu kebiasaan dengan label tidak cekap, membazir dan mengamalkan "*favouritism*" politik dan birokrasi. Kerajaan juga seperti mana-mana unit perniagaan kadang kala melakukan kesilapan atau pengamatan yang lemah apabila melakukan urusannya. Salah satu sebab berlakunya perkara ketidaktelusan ialah kerajaan sendiri secara tradisional merahsiakan aktiviti pemerolehan mereka. Apa yang tidak dapat dilihat, tidak akan difahami dan apa yang tidak difahami tidak akan dipercayai.

Di peringkat TD, ketelusan haruslah dijadikan sebagai pendekatan dalam menguruskan pemerolehan peralatan. Ketelusan yang dimaksudkan dalam konteks TD ialah ia harus ditujukan kepada pengurus-pengurus pemerolehan di cawangan atau jabatan yang terlibat dalam pemerolehan tersebut di peringkat TD serta di Kementerian Pertahanan dan Kementerian Kewangan. Elemen kerahsiaan masih lagi boleh dicapai sekiranya maklumat disampaikan hanya kepada individu dalam "*procurement circle*" dan tidak kepada orang yang tidak berkenaan.

PEMERIKSAAN DAN PENILAIAN TEKNIKAL

Pada tahun 1995, Kementerian Kewangan telah mengeluarkan arahan untuk menghadkan lawatan ke luar negara bagi tujuan lawatan sebelum pemerolehan, pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran dan latihan. Arahan ini juga menjelaskan supaya semua pembiayaan lawatan ke luar negara ditanggung oleh kerajaan. Melalui arahan ini, kerajaan berhasrat mengawal lawatan yang dibuat ke luar negara dan mengelakkan rombongan yang mewakili kerajaan merasa "terhutang budi" kepada pembekal yang membiayai sesuatu lawatan.

Semasa kegawatan ekonomi melanda negara, lawatan ke luar negara tidak

dibenarkan sama sekali melainkan mendapat kebenaran khas Kementerian Kewangan. Peraturan ini juga melibatkan pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran bagi peralatan pertahanan seperti peluru dan sistem persenjataan. Ketiadaan pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran mengakibatkan timbulnya masalah teknikal terhadap peralatan tersebut semasa pemeriksaan penerimaan di dalam negara atau semasa digunakan.

PENGURUS PEMEROLEHAN TD

TD sebagai organisasi yang terbesar dalam ATM mempunyai banyak cawangan dan jabatan dengan fungsi dan peranan yang berbeza-beza. Dalam aspek pemerolehan peralatan kapital, cawangan yang terlibat bagi pihak TD ialah Cawangan Logistik termasuk Sel Alat, Cawangan Perancangan dan Pembangunan, Markas Logistik TD dan Jabatanarah Kor/Rejimen. Cawangan dan jabatan berkenaan ialah sebagai pengurus pemerolehan bagi TD. Setiap pengurus pemerolehan tersebut berurusan dengan Bahagian Perolehan di Kementerian Kewangan atau di Kementerian Pertahanan berasaskan sumber peruntukan pemerolehan atau mengikut fungsi dan peranan mereka.

Ini menimbulkan masalah komunikasi di peringkat kementerian kerana sentiasa berurusan dengan pihak yang berlainan walaupun keperluan adalah untuk TD. Kadangkala timbul kekeliruan apabila sesuatu maklumat tambahan diminta oleh Kementerian yang terpaksa diperoleh dari berbagai cawangan atau jabatan yang berlainan. Ini boleh menjejaskan kelancaran sesuatu pemerolehan. Contohnya, pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan melalui peruntukan pembangunan diuruskan oleh Cawangan Perancangan dan Pembangunan.

Sel Alat yang berada di bawah Cawangan Logistik pula menyelaraskan perkara-perkara teknikal bagi pemerolehan yang sama. Bagi pemerolehan yang menggunakan peruntukan Belanjawan Mengurus pula, Markas Pemerintahan Logistik TD adalah pihak yang menguruskan pemerolehan dan tidak melibatkan Cawangan Logistik dan Cawangan Perancangan dan Pembangunan. Kesan yang paling jelas dapat dilihat oleh Kementerian Kewangan ialah apabila diadakan mesyuarat rundingan pemerolehan, TD kerap diwakili oleh satu rombongan yang begitu besar berbanding dengan Tentera Laut Diraja Malaysia (TLDM) dan Tentera Udara Diraja Malaysia (TUDM).

Sebagai perbandingan, urusan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan dengan TLDM dan TUDM berjalan dengan lancar kerana kedua-dua perkhidmatan tersebut telah menubuhkan Cawangan Pemerolehan sebagai "*front-desk agency*" yang menguruskan semua bentuk pemerolehan dengan pihak Kementerian tanpa mengira sumber peruntukan.

PERBEZAAN ANTARA AHLI PENGGUNA DAN AHLI TEKNIKAL

Perkataan pengguna sebenarnya mempunyai beberapa dimensi bergantung kepada siapa penggunaannya dan ditujukan kepada siapa. Bagi pihak pengurus pemerolehan di Kementerian Kewangan, pengguna bermaksud TD, TLDM dan TUDM. Bagi pihak pengurus pemerolehan di peringkat Kementerian Pertahanan pula, pengguna bermaksud cawangan TD yang menguruskan pemerolehan sesuatu peralatan seperti Sel Alat atau Cawangan Perancangan dan Pembangunan. Tetapi bagi TD, pengguna bermaksud Kor/Rejimen yang menggunakan sesuatu peralatan pertahanan seperti meriam untuk Kor Artileri Diraja, kereta perisai untuk

Kor Armor Diraja, peluru berpandu antikereta kebal untuk Infantri dan lain-lain. Ahli teknikal pula ialah golongan yang dilatih khas, berkecualan dan mempunyai kuasa dari sudut kejuruteraan untuk mendarjah, memperbaiki atau melupuskan sesuatu peralatan pertahanan.

Masalah kerap kali timbul apabila hendak menentukan komposisi sesuatu pasukan ujinilai atau pemeriksaan sebelum penerimaan. Ini adalah salah satu sebab mengapa pihak Kementerian Kewangan memerlukan "*curriculum vitae*" bagi setiap calon ahli pasukan pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran atau penilaian teknikal dilakukan. Ahli teknikal harus diberikan keutamaan menganggotai pasukan pemeriksaan sebelum penerimaan atau penilaian teknikal sesuai dilakukan dengan tugas-tugas pemeriksaan yang melibatkan kepakaran kejuruteraan manakala pengguna pula berurusan dengan aspek operasi peralatan.

PROFESIONALISMA PEGAWAI AWAM

Sistem pemerolehan yang diamalkan oleh kerajaan ialah Menteri menurunkan kuasa pemerolehan kepada pegawai-pegawai awam. Bagi pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan, pegawai-pegawai awam di Kementerian Pertahanan dan Kementerian Kewangan telah diberikan kuasa untuk menguruskan pemerolehan bagi pihak Kementerian berkenaan.

Dengan kemajuan teknologi pertahanan, banyak peralatan pertahanan yang canggih seperti sistem persenjataan, peluru berpandu dan radar berada di pasaran untuk diperolehi oleh pihak yang berminat. Bagi pegawai-pegawai TD yang mempunyai latar belakang ketenteraan dan teknikal, adalah mudah untuk memahami evolusi

teknologi di dalam bidang pertahanan. Perkara ini tidak berlaku kepada pegawai-pegawai awam yang didatangkan dari latar belakang yang berbeza.

Berdasarkan kepada keadaan tersebut di atas, pegawai-pegawai awam yang menguruskan pemerolehan kerap kali gagal memahami secara lebih dekat peralatan yang diuruskan oleh mereka untuk diperolehi. Walaupun nasihat teknikal boleh diberikan oleh TD, namun ia tidak sama seperti memahami dan melihat sendiri sesuatu jenis peralatan pertahanan. Perkara ini lebih terserlah apabila pegawai-pegawai awam mempengerusikan sesuatu mesyuarat rundingan kontrak.

KESIMPULAN

Semua masalah yang diuraikan di atas perlu diberi perhatian sewajarnya oleh pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam proses pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan. Kerjasama antara pihak yang terlibat adalah kunci kepada kejayaan sesuatu pemerolehan yang bernilai tinggi. Di samping itu, sikap saling memahami kemampuan dan batasan sesuatu pihak akan memudahkan urusan pemerolehan.

Pada zaman teknologi maklumat ini, penyaluran maklumat pemerolehan ke setiap peringkat akan melincinkan lagi pengurusan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan. Selain daripada menjimatkan masa menguruskan sesuatu pemerolehan peralatan, teknologi maklumat juga dapat membantu memberikan maklumat mengenai sesuatu peralatan. Sekiranya diteliti dengan mendalam, hampir keseluruhan masalah yang timbul dalam menguruskan pemerolehan mempunyai hubungan kait dengan teknologi maklumat. Oleh itu, TD perlu menggandakan lagi usaha untuk menguasai dunia teknologi maklumat.

Dalam menangani permasalahan yang timbul semasa proses pemerolehan digariskan beberapa saranan dan pandangan:

- **Spesifikasi Peralatan.** Bagi menarik minat bakal-bakal penender menawarkan peralatan mereka dan kerajaan mendapat faedah daripada teknologi terkini menerusi peralatan yang ditawarkan serta mengurangkan komen ke atas spesifikasi, adalah dicadangkan supaya perkara berikut dilaksanakan:

~ Menggunakan piawaian antarabangsa dengan merujuk piawaian tertentu di dalam spesifikasi.

~ Tumpuan kepada ciri-ciri fungsi dan prestasi peralatan. Ciri-ciri reka bentuk dan proses pengeluaran hanya dinyatakan apabila perlu. Dalam erti kata lain, tumpuan diberikan kepada apa yang hendak dicapai berbanding bagaimana ia dibuat.

~ Bagi peralatan yang kompleks dan canggih, perlu diwujudkan perbezaan antara ciri-ciri mandatori dan "desirable".

- **Permohonan Pemerolehan Tidak Lengkap.** Perkara ini boleh diatasi dengan memaksimumkan penggunaan teknologi maklumat. TD boleh mengambil contoh bagaimana kerajaan membangunkan sistem "Electronic Procurement" yang akan digunakan secara meluas dalam menguruskan pemerolehan kerajaan dalam tempoh terdekat ini. Kebanyakan negara sudah

mempraktikkan pemerolehan untuk keperluan kerajaan secara elektronik sejak beberapa tahun lepas seperti Canada, Hong Kong, USA, Sweden dan Germany. Negara Finland pula mengambil langkah yang lebih drastik dengan menswastakan urusan pemerolehan untuk memenuhi keperluan kerajaan.

- **Dokumen Tender.** Dokumen tender perlu dibuat supaya menjadi lebih mudah difahami oleh bakal penender. Semua kenyataan yang berulang dan tidak memberi sebarang maksud perlu dikeluarkan dari dokumen tender. Satu set tetap syarat-syarat am tender disediakan untuk semua pembekal yang berdaftar dengan Kementerian Kewangan dan satu set tetap syarat-syarat khas tender pula diberikan kepada pembekal yang berdaftar dalam bidang peralatan berkaitan. Apabila tender bagi pemerolehan sesuatu peralatan dikeluarkan, syarat-syarat tersebut di atas hanya akan dirujuk sahaja tanpa mengedarkannya semula. Dokumen tender akan mengandungi spesifikasi dan syarat-syarat tambahan, jika ada. Bagi pembekal antarabangsa, perkara ini diuruskan melalui agen tempatan mereka.

- **Proses Tender.** Beberapa langkah yang wajar diambil bagi mengatasi masalah tersebut ialah seperti berikut:

- ~ Mengkaji semula asas pembuatan sesuatu spesifikasi peralatan.

- ~ Menentukan had masa yang praktikal dalam melaksanakan penilaian

teknikal ke atas sesuatu peralatan.

- ~ Memudahkan dan mengurangkan kandungan dokumen tender.

- **Peruntukan Kewangan.** Bagi memastikan peruntukan dapat dibelanjakan dalam tempoh tertentu, TD perlu memulakan urusan pemerolehan seawal yang mungkin. Urusan ini boleh dimulakan dengan memaklumkan kepada pengurus pemerolehan di peringkat Kementerian Pertahanan dan Kementerian Kewangan mengenai rancangan pemerolehan serta keutamaannya. Persiapan dari segi penyediaan spesifikasi, dokumen tender atau permohonan kelulusan khas boleh dilaksanakan lebih awal sementara menunggu pengesahan "cash-flow" atau waran peruntukan diterima.

- **Ketelusan.** Ketelusan juga boleh dicapai dengan mengkaji semula peraturan pemerolehan supaya ia menjadi lebih harmoni dan jelas. Dokumen tender yang standard dan digunakan di peringkat antarabangsa juga merupakan salah satu cara mencapai kriteria ketelusan. Selain daripada itu, penubuhan organisasi pengurusan pemerolehan dan audit yang diiktiraf antarabangsa serta agensi pusat bagi menerima dan menyiasat aduan oleh penender secara langsung menyumbang ke arah mencapai ketelusan dalam pemerolehan peralatan untuk keperluan kerajaan.

- **Pemeriksaan dan Penilaian Teknikal.** TD perlu mencadangkan kepada kerajaan supaya memberikan hak keistimewaan tetap dalam

mengadakan pemeriksaan sebelum penerimaan serta penilaian teknikal terhadap peralatan canggih seperti sistem persenjataan, peluru berpandu, kereta perisai dan peralatan elektronik. Ia perlu diadakan atas sebab-sebab berikut:

~ Peralatan pertahanan yang diperolehi selalunya merupakan peralatan yang canggih dan mempunyai teknologi yang maju. Nilai peralatan pertahanan juga biasanya tinggi dan pada asasnya 90% bayaran berasaskan FOB. Kerajaan perlu mengadakan pemeriksaan sebelum peralatan pertahanan dinaikkan ke atas kapal dan pembekal menuntut pembayaran secara FOB. Ini bagi memastikan peralatan pertahanan yang diperolehi memenuhi spesifikasi dan tidak mengalami sebarang kecacatan sebelum pembayaran dibuat kepada pembekal. Pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran dapat bertindak melindungi kerajaan daripada mengalami kerugian akibat terpaksa menerima peralatan yang bermasalah.

~ Pemeriksaan bukan sahaja terhad kepada pemeriksaan fizikal peralatan malah beberapa ujian seperti ujian tembakan dan "environmental test" akan dilakukan sendiri oleh wakil-wakil kerajaan bagi menentukan "performance standard" peralatan tersebut mencapai keperluan yang dikehendaki oleh kerajaan.

Keseluruhan ujian ini dilakukan mengikut piawaian antara-bangsa seperti "MIL-STD Series, BS Series" dan "TL series" yang diterima pakai oleh Negara-negara NATO. Piawaian ini yang mengandungi "sampling procedures, Acceptance Quality Level, defect classification, acceptance and rejection figures" dan cara melaksanakan ujian.

~ Pemeriksaan sesuai dilakukan di kilang pembuat kerana mempunyai peralatan ujian yang lengkap dan memudahkan kerja-kerja pembaikan/penggantian dilaksanakan dengan segera sekiranya konsainmen tersebut tidak memenuhi spesifikasi yang dikehendaki dan ditolak oleh wakil-wakil kerajaan. Sebagai perbandingan, pemeriksaan tidak dapat dilakukan dengan sepenuhnya di dalam negara kerana tiada peralatan ujian yang sesuai seperti "scaled firing range" dan "electronic test equipment". Sekiranya konsainmen ditolak setelah ia tiba di negara ini, pengguna terpaksa menghadapi "lead time" yang panjang untuk pembaikan/penggantian dan "lead time" ini akan merugikan kerajaan dari segi kos operasi tentera serta melemahkan tahap kesiagaan pertahanan negara.

~ Peralatan pertahanan memerlukan tahap berfungsi yang tinggi pada sepanjang masa supaya tidak

mendatangkan bahaya kepada pengguna. Sekiranya pemeriksaan sebelum penghantaran tidak dilaksanakan, kerajaan sebenarnya mengambil risiko yang tinggi kerana sebarang kemalangan berpunca daripada kecacatan peralatan ini akan melibatkan nyawa anggota-anggota tentera yang menggunakan peralatan tersebut.

- **Pengurus Pemerolehan TD.**

Adalah dicadangkan supaya TD mengenalpasti cawangan tertentu yang boleh dijadikan sebagai *"one-stop agency"* dengan menggunakan model Bahagian Pengurusan Perolehan Kerajaan, Kementerian Kewangan bagi menguruskan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan khusus untuk TD. Dengan cara ini, cawangan tersebut sahaja yang akan menjalankan urusan dengan pengurus pemerolehan sama ada di Bahagian Perolehan Kementerian Pertahanan atau Kementerian Kewangan.

- **Perbezaan Antara Ahli Pengguna dan Ahli Teknikal.**

Pembahagian peranan yang nyata perlu ada di antara pengguna dan ahli teknikal dalam melaksanakan tanggungjawab semasa pemeriksaan atau penilaian teknikal. Ahli teknikal yang berpengetahuan tinggi akan lebih dihormati oleh pegawai-pegawai awam yang terlibat melaksanakan pemeriksaan atau penilaian teknikal. Ini secara tidak langsung akan menaikkan imej profesionalisme TD.

- **Profesionalisme Pegawai Awam.** Kementerian Pertahanan disarankan supaya mengadakan program familiarisasi pegawai-pegawai

awam yang menguruskan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan supaya memahami dasar pertahanan negara, strategi pertahanan dan ideologi ketenteraan serta mengenali peralatan pertahanan yang khusus. Program demikian juga akan membuahkan kerjasama yang erat di antara pihak tentera dan pegawai awam di dalam kerajaan.

TD juga disarankan mengadakan lebih banyak kursus-kursus teknikal dalam berbagai bidang sehingga ke peringkat tertinggi yang boleh dicapai dan diiktiraf oleh kerajaan.

PENUTUP

Walaupun masih terdapat beberapa masalah yang perlu diatasi dalam menguruskan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan untuk TD, namun pendekatan positif yang diamalkan oleh semua pihak menyaksikan TD terus dilengkapi dengan peralatan moden yang serba canggih. Semangat kerjasama yang ditunjukkan oleh pihak berkuasa awam dalam menguruskan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan menjadi pendorong kepada TD mencurahkan khidmat bakti dalam mempertahankan negara. Di samping itu, tumpuan jitu yang diberikan oleh pengurusan peringkat atasan terhadap urusan pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan dijangka akan menjadi nadi penggerak utama dalam melicinkan dan mempercepatkan pemerolehan peralatan-peralatan moden.

Pemerolehan peralatan pertahanan mempunyai hubungkait yang rapat dengan proses permodenan TD. Sekiranya aspek penting ini diabaikan, proses permodenan TD berkemungkinan akan terbantut dan sukar digerakkan kembali. Tindakan yang wajar dan segera perlu diambil bagi menjamin objektif TD untuk menjadi angkatan yang disegani dan digeruni menjadi kenyataan.

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Mej Rusni bin Saad telah ditauliahkan pada 26 Jun 1984, merupakan seorang Pegawai Teknik Peluru dari "Army School of Ammunition", BAD Kineton, United Kingdom. Beliau berkelulusan MTAT dan pemegang "Advanced Diploma Business Management, Swansea". Pernah menjawat beberapa jawatan penting di pasukan dan formasi, dan jawatan PS 2 Darat Pembelian di Kementerian Kewangan. Mej Rusni sekarang bertugas di Jabatanarah Ordnans, Kementerian Pertahanan.

- * *Kekayaan yang sebenarnya ialah akal*
- * *Kepapaan yang sebenarnya ialah rosak akal*
- * *Sepi yang sebenarnya ialah kagum dengan diri sendiri*
- * *Kemuliaan yang sebenar ialah akhlak yang baik*

ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR: POWER AND POLITICS IN THE ORGANISATION

Lt Kol Tajul Ariffin Johari

'The expression organisational politics refers to the activities of individuals or groups within the organisations to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources to obtain their preferred outcomes in situations where uncertainty or disagreement about choices exists.'

(Reitz, 1995)

INTRODUCTION

In an ideal world, everybody would receive raises (pay), promotions, and a fair share of desirable and not-so-desirable assignments – based entirely on merits and seniority. But in real

life, many of these decisions are grounded in an organisational politics – the unwritten rules of work life and informal methods of gaining power and advantage. The politics of any organisation results from the interaction between those in positions to influence and those seeking influence. These interactions are evidenced by power acquired, transferred, and exercised on others.

The terms politics offends many people – organisational veterans and novices alike – because it connotes cronyism and deception. But it is simply a matter of seeking an advantage. As noted by management consultant and author Tom Peters, "If you want to escape organisational politics - forget it. Politics is life. Politics involves investing in a relationship – investing time, energy and emotions" (Peters, 1992).

POWER AND POLITICS RELATIONSHIP

Power and politics are very closely related concepts. A popular view of organisational politics is how one can pragmatically get ahead in an organisation. Alvin Toffler, the noted author of "Future Shock", "The Third Wave", and "Powershift", observed that "companies are always engaged in internal political struggles, power struggles, infighting, and so on. That's normal life." (Luthan, 1995). Another view,

however, deals with the acquisition of power. In this later view, power and politics become especially closely intertwined. A recognition of the political realities of power acquisition in today's organisations and an examination of some specific political strategies for acquiring power are of particular interest for understanding the dynamics of organisational behaviour.

BASES OF POWER

The sources of power in the organisations are most commonly discussed in terms of five power bases identified by French and Raven (Peters, 1992). The first three bases are most closely associated with a formal position in the organisation. The last two are associated with the persons occupying the position.

- **Reward Power** derives from the ability to reward others when they comply with requests, for example, with a pay raise, extra days off, or promotion.
- **Punishment Power** is based on the ability to punish those who fail to comply.
- **Legitimate Power** is closely associated with the concept of authority and reflects the organisationally sanctioned ability to control others, such as the legitimate power of military commander to request subordinates to perform different tasks.
- **Expert Power** reflects the power that derives from the possession of specialised skills and knowledge.
- **Referent Power** is the ability to influence others because they identify with you or want to be like you.

Although French and Raven's theory provides a useful way of thinking about the bases of power, it is necessary to take a somewhat broader perspective in understanding where power comes from in the organisations (Peters, 1992). We must examine more fundamental sources of power, particularly when we focus on the question of why some groups are more powerful than others in organisations. Knowing that an individual has the power to reward others, for example, does not completely explain how he or she came to powerful positions in the first place.

On a very general level, Pfeffer suggests that *"the power of organisational actors is fundamentally determined by two things: the importance of what they do in the organisation and their skills in doing it"* (Jensen, 1992). Organisations are characterised by specialisation and a division of labour. Because all tasks do not make equally important contributions to accomplishing organisational goals, a particular task may be an important source of power. The mere fact of performing a task, however, does not enable one to derive power from it; the task must also be performed effectively.

POWER STRUCTURE

Knowing that politics is a way of life, the first strategy is to identify the power structure in the organisation. This means examining both the formal organisational structure and workings of the informal organisation. In this process one determines the following:

- Who are the people upon whom the leaders of the organisation rely?
- What skills and knowledge do these people provide?

- Are you able to supply the same skills and knowledge?
- Could these people help you as sponsors or mentors?

Once the key people are identified, the next step is to acquire power. From a career management viewpoint, people obtain power and the ability to influence in four ways (Beardwell and Holden, 1997):

- **Developing Expertise in Areas Critical to the Organisation.** Knowledge and reputation in a specific area can provide the opportunity to participate in projects and lend advice. In today's environment, expertise is valued in quality and skills.
- **Developing a Network of Contacts.** By developing a network of personal acquaintances, information can be acquired, support for new ideas can be gathered, and expertise for solving problems can be made available. Being a lone wolf will not get anyone ahead in organisational politics.
- **Acquiring Line Responsibility.** The position a person holds in an organisation automatically carries certain power. But battalion commanders (line managers), for example, whose work is tied directly to the primary purpose to the organisation, have more power than staff groups.
- **Solving Others' Problems.** Career advancement is associated with positive support from as many areas as possible. A positive way to acquire power and support is to help someone

else solve his or her problems. Whether the person is a colleague, someone in another department, or a superior, the result is the same – positive reviews and endorsement.

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN ACQUIRING POLITICAL POWER

Organisational politics has a reciprocal nature. The "*if you help me, I'll help you*" concept can provide the foundation for an organisational power base, so long as the reciprocating parties do not compete with one another. According to Luthan (1995), for over two decades organisational behaviour experts have been suggesting various political strategies for gaining the power necessary to possess clout in the organisation.

- **Maintain Alliances with Powerful People.** Forming coalitions and networking is basic to gaining power in any organisation. Coalitions are important not only in making committee decisions but also in day-to-day encounters. Maintain close alliances with those on whom you depend to accomplish your tasks. In addition to your boss and peers, establish working relationships with staff people who have expert or information power and with people in other departments whose work affects your own.
- **Avoid Alienation.** In keeping with the tactics of maintaining alliances, do not injure someone who is or might soon be in position to take revenge. The same principle applies to burning bridges that may be needed to cross future raging currents.

- **Use Information as Currency.** Politically astute organisational members understand the power implications of obtaining and carefully disseminating information. Sharing information with someone who needs it and has no other means of acquiring it enhances your power base. That person now owes you a favour and may perceive you as someone on whom he or she is dependent for future information.

- **Withdrawing from Petty Disputes.** Some issues are so critical they are worth fighting for. But some conflicts are so petty that it makes more sense to concede and walk away. Be gracious in yielding on an issue that is important to another person but not to you. Doing so builds credibility and an indebtedness that might be reciprocated at a later date.

- **Avoid Decisive Engagement.** By advancing slowly toward a political end, it may be possible to progress undetected or at least remain sufficiently inconspicuous to avoid alarming and harming others. If an adversary's proposal appears to be gaining momentum and cannot be thwarted immediately, for example, it may be possible to refer it to a committee for further decision. This gains a delay and a wider bargaining arena.

- **Avoid Preliminary Disclosure of Preference.** Appearing overly eager for a certain outcome may leave you in a vulnerable position. If the outcome of a situation is uncertain, it may be advisable to support the aggressive efforts of someone else rather than take the lead yourself. This way you can get

off the ship if it begins to sink. And if an impasse does occur, your timely "fresh perspective" may be the approach that allows others to compromise.

- **Make a Quick but Successful Showing.** Make a big, successful splash early in the game to get the right people's attention, especially if you are a newly appointed manager. Being visible, available, and an apparent expert means you are likely to receive assignments and positions with more power and potential. Even once you are established in the organisation, sometimes it pays to "shoot for the moon" on a project, so that you can later settle for less but in the process move people and programs closer to your way of thinking.

- **Collect "IOUs".** The "Godfather" of book and film fame used "IOUs" to extend his realm of influence. He would do favours for "family" members, but he made it clear that they owed him something in return. When these IOUs were called in, the debtor was expected to pay up – usually with interest. Extending favours or support to another is like depositing in a savings account, as long as you trust the person to reciprocate later.

- **Exploit Possible Negative Outcomes.** Sometimes things must get worse before they get better. Bad news demands attention and may be the catalyst for desired change. For Example, a CEO could convince the board to fund the acquisition of a supplier until the firm's sole resource of supply was threatened by vendor's cash-flow problems. By focusing on likely negative outcomes, those who would otherwise resist may switch to your side.

- **Divide and Rule.** The assumption behind this principle is that those who are divided will not form coalitions themselves. One way to divide and rule is to approach individual members of your opponent's coalition and point out your common interests. Sociologists call this "*cooption*." Another tactic is to identify your adversaries' weaknesses and publicise them or reveal their behaviours that run contrary to organisational norms.

As these ten popular strategies illustrate, there are sound political reasons for acquiring, protecting, and utilising power. The specific consequences of a given strategy depend upon the situation itself, the magnitude of the outcome, the actors involved, and the appropriateness of the selected tactics. As a rule, political strategies are more successful if they are unobstructive and nonthreatening. Blatantly manipulative power plays often lead to resistance, defensive reactions, and retaliation. Unobstructive tactics, on the other hand, does not threaten other people's self-esteem and is less likely to cause these negative reactions.

ORGANISATIONAL POLITICS

What is Organisational Politics?

The expression organisational politics refers to the activities of individuals or groups within the organisations to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources to obtain their preferred outcomes in situations where uncertainty or disagreement about choices exists (Reitz, 1987). Organisational politics commonly involves intentional acts of influence to enhance or protect the self-interest of individuals or groups (Figure 1 illustrates this scenario). Political activities are undertaken to overcome some resistance or opposition in a choice situation where the standard procedures and decision rules in the organisation are not applicable.

In most organisations there are times when some individuals attempt to influence others in ways designed to protect their own self-interests and advance their own personal goals. When others perceive these motives in people, they tend to label the people corrupt and berate the behaviour as that of "*playing politics*." However, they usually regard their own

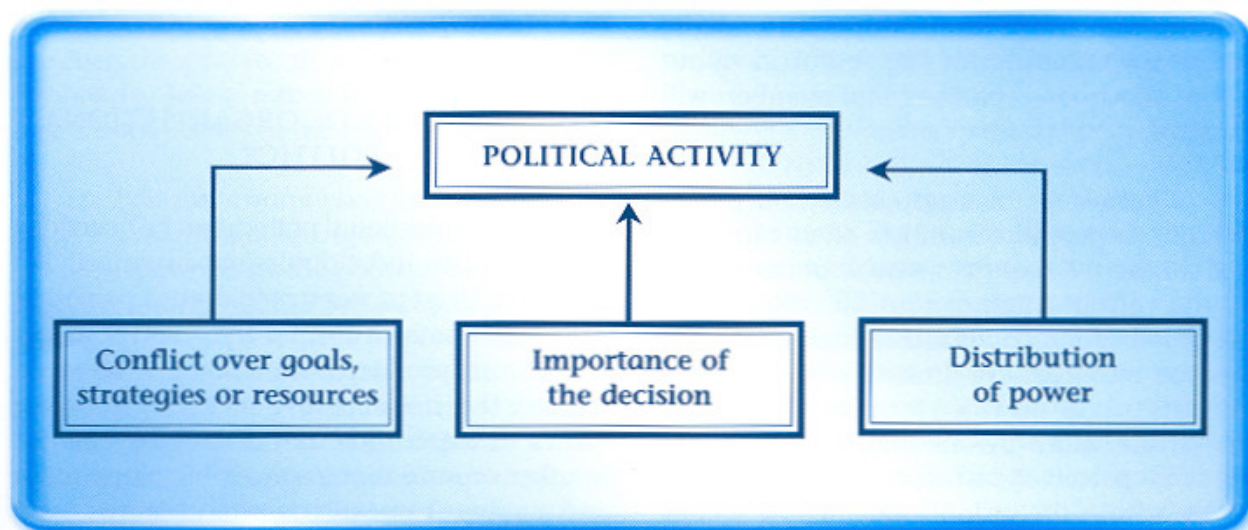


Figure 1. Conditions That Lead to Organisational Politics.

Source: Adapted from Peters, (1981).

similar political behaviour as simply "*defending legitimate rights*" or "*pursuing common interests*."

As a means of dealing with inconsistent and uncertain demands, organisational politics serve several positive functions. Politics can provide a mechanism for overcoming personnel inadequacies and getting the job done of spite of person-job mismatches. Organisational politics can also help members successfully cope with changes by moving qualified people and resources into place to deal expediently with problems that may prove resistant to formal procedures. Finally, a political network provides the necessary informal grapevine for communicating with – and thereby influencing – individuals throughout the organisation.

Why is There Politics in Organisations?

Can you conceive of an organisation that is politics-free? It is possible, but not likely. Organisations are made up of individuals and groups with different values, goals, and interests. Therefore, they have the potential for conflicts over resources. Department budgets, space allocations, project responsibilities, salary adjustments, and promotion opportunities are just a few examples of the resources about whose allocation organisational members will disagree.

Resources in organisations are also limited, so potential conflicts often turn into real conflicts. If resources were abundant, then all the various internal constituencies within the organisation could satisfy their goals. But because resources are limited, not everyone's interests can be provided for. Further, whether true or not, gains by one individual or group are often perceived as being at the expense of others within the organisation. These factors create a competition among members for the organisation's limited resources.

Maybe the most important factor leading to politics within organisations is the realisation that most of the '*facts*' that are used to allocate the limited resources are open to interpretations. What, for instance, is GOOD PERFORMANCE? What is a GOOD JOB? What is an ADEQUATE IMPROVEMENT? Just for example, you do not need to be genius to choose a good appraisal merits, that .400 is better than .125. But what if you have to choose between .280 and .290? Then other factors – less objectives ones – come into play: attitude, potential, ability to perform during crisis, and so on. Most leadership or managerial decisions in organisations more closely resemble choosing between a .280 and a .290 than deciding between a .125 and a .400 merits. It is in this large and ambiguous middle ground of organisational life – where the facts do not speak for themselves – that politics takes place.

Finally, because most decisions have to be made in a climate of ambiguity – where facts are rarely fully objective, and thus are open to interpretation – people within organisations will use whatever influence they can to taint the facts to support their goals and interests. That tendency, of course, creates the activities we call politicking.

CONSEQUENCES OF ORGANISATIONAL POLITICS

Organisational politics can be beneficial or harmful to individuals and organisations alike. The overt power struggles that prevail in some organisations divert a great deal of energy away from productive endeavours. Here we witness the frequent use of extreme power tactics to undermine and destroy opponents. In other organisations a spirit of co-operation and teamwork prevails. Norms of fairness and common purpose keep members pulling together.

Sometimes dominant coalitions are able to maintain policies and practices that institutionalise their power but impede the organisation's ability to adapt effectively to changing circumstances. Problems are covered up and influence is exerted to suppress criticism and dissent. In these situations resources are likely to be allocated to inadequate programs, causing a reduction in organisational effectiveness.

The perfect situation is one in which power is used to make appropriate revisions in organisational policies, and resources are channelled into the solution of critical problems. One way to endure this positive use of organisational politics is to create mechanisms that discourage extreme concentrations of power and facilitate peaceful transition power from one coalition or person to another. Instituting provisions that limit the terms of office of committee membership is a good example of positive methodology. Establishing mechanisms that guarantee adequate representation of organisational sub-units on decision-making committee is another. A third is devising a system for objectively reviewing and evaluating the decisions and policies made by persons in power. It is also beneficial to create an atmosphere where conflicts are resolved through open debate and problem solving, rather than through covert, behind-the-scenes activities.

Political awareness is an important tool for every member of an organisation. Only with a knowledge of how the political system works can we analyse our dependencies, assess our own degree and resources of power as well as those of others, and recognise political tactics when they are being used. The degree to which we will apply political skills depends on the nature of our situation, but an awareness of their deployment and consequences is vital for both individual and organisational effectiveness.

EFFECTIVE POLITICKING SKILLS

In the real world of organisation, the "good guys" do not always win. Demonstrating openness, trust, objectivity, support, and similar humane qualities in relationships with others does not always lead to improve leadership effectiveness. There will be times when, to get the resources you want or to have decisions go your way, you will need to engage in politics.

Politics is related to who gets what, when, and how. Politicking is the actions you can take to influence, or attempt to influence, the distribution of advantages and disadvantages within your organisation. Politics is closely intertwined with the concept of power. When managers or leaders (or any organisational members, for that matter) convert their power into action, they are engaging in politics. Those with good political skills have the ability to use their power bases effectively.

Forget, a moment, the ethics of politicking and any negative impressions you may have of people who engage in organisational politics. If you wanted to be more politically adept in your organisation, what could you do? The following suggestions are likely to improve your political effectiveness.

- **Frame Arguments in Terms of Organisational Goals.** Effective politicking requires covering up self-interest. No matter that your objective is self-serving; all the arguments you marshal in support of it must be framed in terms of the benefits that will accrue to the organisation. People whose actions appear to blatantly further their own interests at the expense of the organisations' are almost universally denounced, are likely to lose influence, and often suffer the ultimate penalty of being expelled from the organisation.

- **Develop the Right Image.** If you know your organisation's culture, you understand what the organisation wants and values from its leaders or managers, in terms of dress, associates to cultivate and those to avoid, whether to appear to be risk-taking or risk-averse, the preferred leadership style, the importance placed on getting along with others, and so forth. Then you are equipped to project appropriate image. Impression management – that is, attempting to shape the image you project during an interaction – is an important part of political success. People who are good at impression management tend to favourably shape how others see and evaluate them.

- **Gain Control of Organisational Resources.** The control of organisational resources that are scarce and important is a source of power. Knowledge and expertise are particularly effective resources to control. They make you more valuable to the organisation and therefore more likely to gain security, advancement, and a receptive audience for your ideas.

- **Make Yourself Appear Indispensable.** Since we are dealing with appearances rather than objective facts, you can enhance your power by appearing to be indispensable. That is, you do not have to really be indispensable as long as key people in the organisation believe that you are. If the upper management believes that there is no ready substitute for what you are giving the organisation, they are likely to go to great lengths to ensure that your desires are satisfied. How do you make yourself appear indispensable? The most effective means is to develop expertise through

experience, contacts, secret techniques, natural talents, and the like – that is, attributes that are perceived as critical to the organisation's operations and that upper management believes no one else possesses to the extent that you do. In today's competitive climate, where managers and leaders are increasingly overseeing teams, the ability to display team leadership and build strong team loyalty can be seen as indispensable qualities.

- **Be Visible.** Because the evaluation of leadership and managerial has a substantial subjective component, it is important that your boss and those in power in the organisation be made aware of your contribution. If you are fortunate enough to have a job that brings your accomplishments to the attention of others, it may be necessary to take direct measures to increase your visibility. But your job may require you handle activities that are low in visibility, or your specific contribution may be indistinguishable because you are part of a team. In such cases, without creating the image of a braggart, you will want to call attention to yourself by giving progress reports to your boss and others, being seen at social functions, being active in professional associations, developing powerful allies who speak positively about your accomplishments, and similar tactics. Lastly, of course, the skilled politician actively and successfully lobbies to get those projects that will increase his or her visibility.

- **Get a Mentor.** From the political perspective, mentoring offers two very positive benefits. First, they are a valuable communication source. A

mentor can relay inside information that you might otherwise not have access to. And second, they send a message to others in the organisation. Just the fact that you have a mentor provides a signal to others that you have the resources of a powerful higher-up behind you. Obviously, the more powerful your mentor, the stronger the signal being transmitted.

- **Develop Powerful Allies.** It helps to have a powerful people in your camp. In addition to a mentor, you can cultivate contacts with potentially influential people above you, at your level, and in the lower ranks. They can provide you with important 'grapevine' information not available through formal channels. In addition, there will be times when decisions will be made by those with the greatest support. Sometimes, though not always, there is strength in numbers. Having powerful allies can provide you with a coalition of support if and when you need it.

- **Avoid "Tainted" Members.** In almost every organisation, there are fringe members whose status is questionable. Their performance or loyalty is under close scrutiny. Such individuals, while they are under the microscope, are "tainted". Carefully keep your distance from them. We all tend to judge others by the company they keep. Given the reality that effectiveness has a large subjective component, your own effectiveness might be called into question if you are perceived as being too closely associated with tainted people.

- **Support Your Boss.** Your immediate future is in the hand of your

current boss. Since he or she evaluates your performance, you will typically want to do whatever is necessary to have your boss on your side. Hence, you should make every effort to help your boss succeed, make him look good, support him if he is under siege, and spend the time to find out what criteria he will be using to assess your effectiveness. However, do not undermine your boss. Do not speak negatively of others. If your boss is competent, visible, and in possession of a power base, he is likely to be on the way up in the organisation. By being perceived as supportive, you increase the likelihood of being pulled along too. At the worst, you will have established an ally higher up in the organisation. On the other hand, if your boss's performance is poor and her power low, it is difficult to distance yourself from him without him perceiving you as traitor. The most effective solution in such a situation is to quietly lobby for a transfer. It is better to switch than fight.

WORKING WITH THE BOSS

A major strategy in career management involves learning to work well with the boss. A career can be extinguished by not developing a positive alliance with a superior (Jensen, 1992). Some of the strategies are:

- **Understand the Boss.** In order to work well with the boss, time must be spent determining and understanding the boss's priorities, objectives, and negative 'hot button'. The valued subordinate is one who understands that part of his or her job is relieving the boss's pressure, not adding to it.

- **Make the Boss Successful.** The second element of working with the boss is to add to his or her success. After identifying the boss's goals and priorities, one should develop a set of sub-objectives that support the accomplishment of these major goals. This will keep objectives aligned, which is not only a good strategy for career advancement, but sound management.

- **Support Versus Back to Boss.** No boss/subordinate relationship ideal. An expectation in any working relationship is that there will not always be agreement, operations will not necessarily run smoothly, and problems will inevitably surface. In such situations, there are several approaches:

- ~ **Provide Solutions Rather than Register Complaints.** Identifying a problem is only the first step. The people who advance are those who develop an array of alternative solutions to problems.

- ~ **Practice Constructive Disagreement Rather than Rebellion.** This is disagreement focused problem – not on a person – with the aim of identifying weaknesses and solutions. Once the discussion is over, win or lose, the job gets done. On the other hand, rebellion says 'my way only'. It also means that disagreement does not end with the discussion, it will continue in other places with other people.

- ~ **Support the Decision.** Once the boss makes decision,

it is important for the subordinate to carry it out with the intention of making it work. Ignoring the decision or sabotaging it by not implementing it effectively will not endear the subordinate to the leader. In situations in which the decisions may counter the organisation's goals or be ethically questionable, it may be necessary to make the issue to someone other than the boss. In such situation, a mentor can be valuable.

IS IT UNETHICAL TO ACT POLITICALLY?

The use of power and politics within organisation innovates a test of moral judgement. A morally ethical leader and professional seeks to behave not just in compliance with the letter of the law of organisational policies, but within the spirit of it as well. Power and politically motivated behaviour need not be applied in an immoral or unethical fashion.

When it comes to using power, a person's actions can be classified as moral, amoral, or immoral. The 'moral leader' strives to develop and adhere to ethical goals, motives, standards, and general operating strategies. Power is exercised to pursue fair and just ends. The leader views laws as minimum standards of conduct. Further, moral leadership is essentially unselfish and not prone to self-serving politics. The "immoral leader" is not only devoid of ethical principles, but also actively opposed to what is ethical. Selfishness is paramount for immoral leader, whether focusing on using power for personal gain or maximising short-term gains for the organisation. Further, cutting corners and concealing facts are common tactics for immoral leaders obsessed with personal power.



Figure 2. Three Standards of Managerial Ethics
 Source: Adapted from Steer, Ungson and Mowday, (1993).

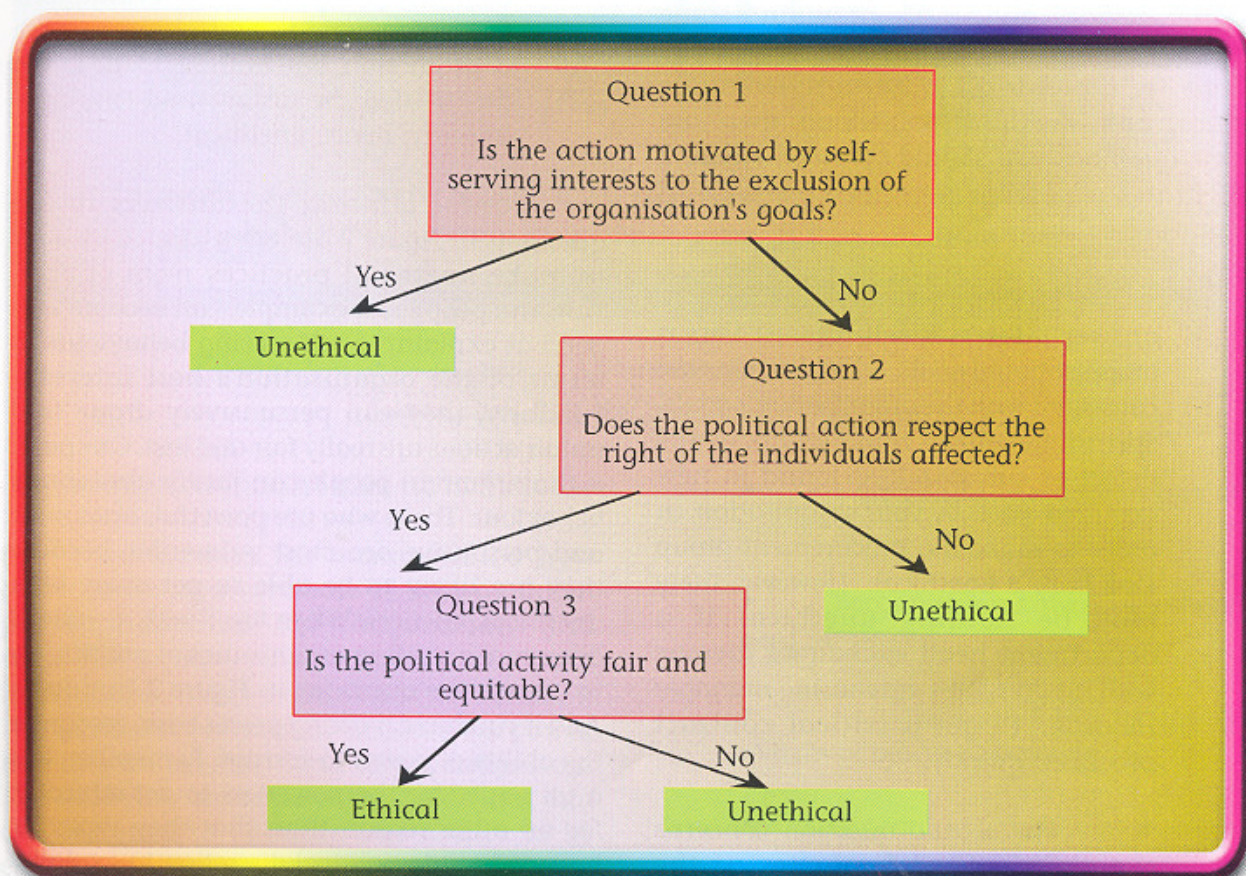


Figure 3. Is a Political Action Ethical?
 Source: Adapted from Cavanagh, Moberg, and Valasquez, (1981).

Perhaps even more troubling than outright immoral leadership is the "*amoral leader*" who lacks any moral sensibility whatsoever. Leaders who are amoral can be intentional or unintentional in approaching ethical issues. The intentionally amoral leader knowingly keeps ethics out of personal decisions within the organisation. The unintentionally amoral leader does not think about ethics at all. He or she may lack ethical principles and thus not reflect on the broader consequences of power is used. Finally, the amoral leader will operate within the letter of the law to the extent that it is known. However, one of the greatest dangers of amoral leadership is that decisions are made without anticipating negative consequences.

We conclude our discussion of organisational politics by providing some ethical guidelines for political behaviour. While there are no clear-cut ways to differentiate ethical from unethical politicking, there are some questions you should consider. Figure 3 illustrates a decision tree to guide ethical actions.

- First question you need to answer addresses self-interest versus organisational goals. Ethical actions are consistent with the organisation's goals. Spreading untrue rumours about the defect or sub-standard found in new acquired assets by your organisation, in order to make the procurement group look bad, is unethical. However, there may be nothing unethical if a department head exchanges favours with his division's purchasing manager in order to get a critical contract processed quickly.
- The second question concerns the rights of other parties. If the

department head described in the previous paragraph went down to the mailroom during his lunch hour and read through the mail directed to the purchasing manager, with the intent of "*getting something on him*" so he will expedite the contract, he would be acting unethically. He would have violated the purchasing manager's right of privacy.

- The final question that needs to be addressed is related to whether the political activity conforms to standards of equity and justice. The department head who inflates the performance evaluation of a favoured employee and deflates the evaluation of a disfavoured employee, then uses those evaluations to justify giving the former a big raise or promotion, and nothing to the latter, has treated the disfavoured employee unfairly, hence unethical.

Unfortunately, the answers to the questions in Figure 3 are often argued in ways to make unethical practices seem ethical. Powerful people, for example, can become very good at explaining self-serving behaviours in terms of the organisation's best interests. Similarly, they can persuasively argue that unfair actions are really fair and just. Our point is that immoral people can justify almost any behaviour. Those who are powerful, articulate, and persuasive are most vulnerable because they are likely to be able to get away with unethical practices. When faced with an ethical dilemma regarding organisational politics, try to answer the questions in Figure 3 truthfully. And if you have a strong power base, recognise the ability of power to corrupt. Remember, it is a lot easier for the powerless to act ethically, for no other reason than that they typically have very little political discretion to exploit.



She seizes an opportunity to snap a few pictures of the boss napping on the job which she'll file for future job protection use. Is it an ethical action?

Figure 4. An unethical act.

Source: Cook, Hunsaker and Coffey, (1997).

PERSONAL APPLICATION GUIDELINES

We have so far demonstrated how power and politics permeate all organisational process. Because the acquisition and application of power is so vital to both individual and organisational effectiveness, it is important to be aware of the sources of power, how they are exercised, and their consequences. The following are some of the guidelines that are designed to enhance our ability to be effective contributor in political organisational environments.

- Understand the dimensions of power.
- Recognise your own and others' need for power.
- Recognise and tap as many sources of power as possible.
- Determine your optimal power strategies by completing a power/dependence analysis.

- Use the appropriate power base for specific situation.
- Match the method of applying power to the individuals involved.
- Be sensitive to what others consider to be legitimate uses of power.
- Be aware of the conditions that encourage political action.
- Be aware of and know how to utilise strategies that enhance your political position.

CONCLUSION

Power is the basic force leaders use to change organisational realities by getting others to do what they want to be done. Anyone can have power, but leaders and managers have power advantages since their positions in social networks place them at the centre of information and decision exchanges; people thus expect them to act powerfully.

Power can arise from a person's position (as do formal authority or reward power) or personal behaviour (as do expert and referent power). But situational forces allow other power possibilities (such as coercion and access to information), which affect the degree to which

a person can alter the realities of others and thus exercise power. Some people's socialised power needs energise them to act in keeping with organisational purposes. Others with high personal power needs have more self-serving aims. Some seek to avoid power altogether, not wanting the responsibility and potential conflict often associated with it.

Organisational politics occur when people or groups seek to alter resources or outcomes in their favour. Political behaviours increase when conditions are uncertain, complex, and competitive. Political manipulation can take the form of inducement, persuasion, obligation, or coercion. Political tactics such as maintaining coalitions with powerful people, using information as currency, avoiding premature disclosure of preferences, and collecting "IOUs" are learned skills.

But the practice of being political or exercising power does not need to be immoral or even amoral. Moral leaders act fairly and legally for the interest of the organisation. One of the major strategies in career management involves learning to work well with the boss. To do that it is important for all of us to be aware of the source of power, how they are exercised, and their consequences. Finally, we must be able to differentiate ethical from unethical politicking, and whether the political activity conforms to standards of equity and justice.

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Lt Kol Tajul Ariffin Johari was commissioned into the Royal Signals Regiment in early 1973. He has served in various appointments within the Royal Signals Corps, and also as staff officer at MAF HQ and Army HQ in the Ministry of Defence. A graduate of Australian Command and Staff College (1989) and Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College (1997), he holds a Masters Degree in Business Administration (MBA) from Charles Stuart University, Australia. Currently he is serving as Staff Officer 1 (Signals Doctrine) at HQ Army Training Command.

"Prophetically appropriate to today's organisational politics is the advice of the 17th century Spanish philosopher Baltasar Gracian: **AVOID VICTORIES OVER YOUR SUPERIORS and WITHOUT LYING, DO NOT TELL THE TRUTH.**"

(Buchholz and Rosenthal, 1998).

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THE ARSENAL OF THOUGHT

Lt Kol Chandrabalan al Sinnadurai



Training is only effective within an appropriate mind setting. Creating that appropriate setting in search of success is dependent upon a degree of belief, commitment and virtual learning of how to interact with the future in specific ways. Understanding the psychology of the learning process is important when planning any training. This affects the management and training of the mind.

Drawing on the psychology of cyber thinking and with the available multimedia tools to create a virtual and positive mindset, it is intended here to enhance people development with some basic virtual thinking skills. Since no mental training and development can effectively take place in a brain vacuum, one has to harness the power of discovery, desire, expectation and belief to arouse one's vision by illusion, fantasy or even virtual reincarnation. Interacting and exploiting with the future is essential to keep in touch with life whether by conscious thoughts or by other instinctive means. Formulating our reasoning through mind power and unconsciously learning the state of the art of accelerating thoughts is vital in charting our personal vision formula. Since the Internet has created ample space as a "playground" for the mind and palms to sweat, this powerful weapon can simulate thinking and reshape destiny to achieve the following:

- Build Strategic Mindset Values
- Create a Self Learning Culture
- Nurture to Own the Power and Legacy of IT to Interact with the Future
- Transform and Develop the Needs of a Digital Network for New Learning Endeavours.

VIRTUAL BRAIN SIMULATION

Hence, merely by "Virtual Brain Simulation" (VBS), the synergism of the intellectual senses will rewire and network the inner wisdom for development as illustrated in the model below:

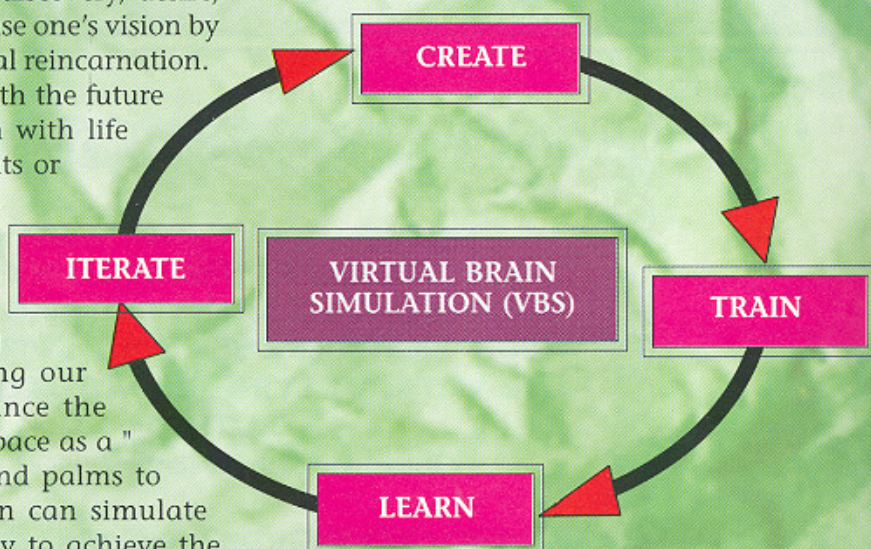


Figure 1. Virtual Brain Simulation (VBS)

Firstly, one has to exploit the mindset to interact with the future to achieve the changing roles of our lives. Forget about the skills to recall the past as Bill Gates and his Information Technology (IT) planning tools will take care of that. If you do not think of the future, you cannot have one. Hence, create the "dream" and the "picture" you want to put on your mental screen and recall this inner wisdom to visualise its shadows from your arsenal of thoughts. Learn to live and feel with your heart this energy with constant brain simulation and emotion.

One should visualise as if it is already happening to oneself and not something that will happen. Concentrate, focus and believe you have achieved self-actualization through these mental images. John Kehoe believes that the conscious mind must be trained to think thoughts of success. Hence, this enables the subconscious to create and manifest according to the images one habitually projects upon through daily thinking.

Jose Silvas methods of mental training teaches one to get to alpha level, that is, the most intelligent or spiritual brain level. By learning to direct and control your mental powers and operate at this alpha level, one will develop the skills eventually to unleash inner consciousness for a positive mindset and self-image. Meditation is the first step in the Silva Method¹. When you meditate, you go to alpha. At alpha you are stress free. The few moments you spend visualising each morning is actually activating idle brain neurons and putting them into harness to work for you. With the Silva Method, you no longer think in terms of problems but rather in terms of solutions.

Secondly, train your mind by regular brain simulation and exercise its full creative capacity by reminding and recalling the future,

making adjustments and reinforcing the "picture" you directed earlier. Reading with depth, regular writing, dreaming and meditation helps you to turn around negative thoughts and reinvent yourself somewhat, perhaps subconsciously.

This must be done regularly as the power of persistence pays. Affirmations and visualisations² are two useful techniques. Affirmations can be designed for you to repeat out loud to yourself every 30 seconds, every two minutes or so beliefs, desires or expectations. Repetitions, repeated affirmations and even having selected pictures and messages on the walls can help to enhance visualisations.

Thirdly, learning lifelong to seek "intellectual heritage" status must come naturally in your passion to love your mind. Treasure your mind and feed it with knowledge. Sowing the seeds to connect brainwaves will unconsciously condition the mind to create, train and learn. This will enhance the desire to discover and network for personal power and self control with a distinct preference for either left brain or right brain thinking as illustrated in the "The Arsenal of Thought" as at figure 2. below:

THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING OF THE VERSATILE MIND

The "winds of change" can develop mental trauma. For many, change robs them of all confidence and capability building measures. Survival of the fittest will only auger well with those who are vigilant in having command and control and those who are prepared to deal with the lifecycle of change.

Hence, it is essential to intervene to fill the gap between perceived change and real

¹ Jose Silva, *The Silva Mind Control Method For Business Methods*, New Jersey, 1983, pp 98.

² Ibid, pp 105

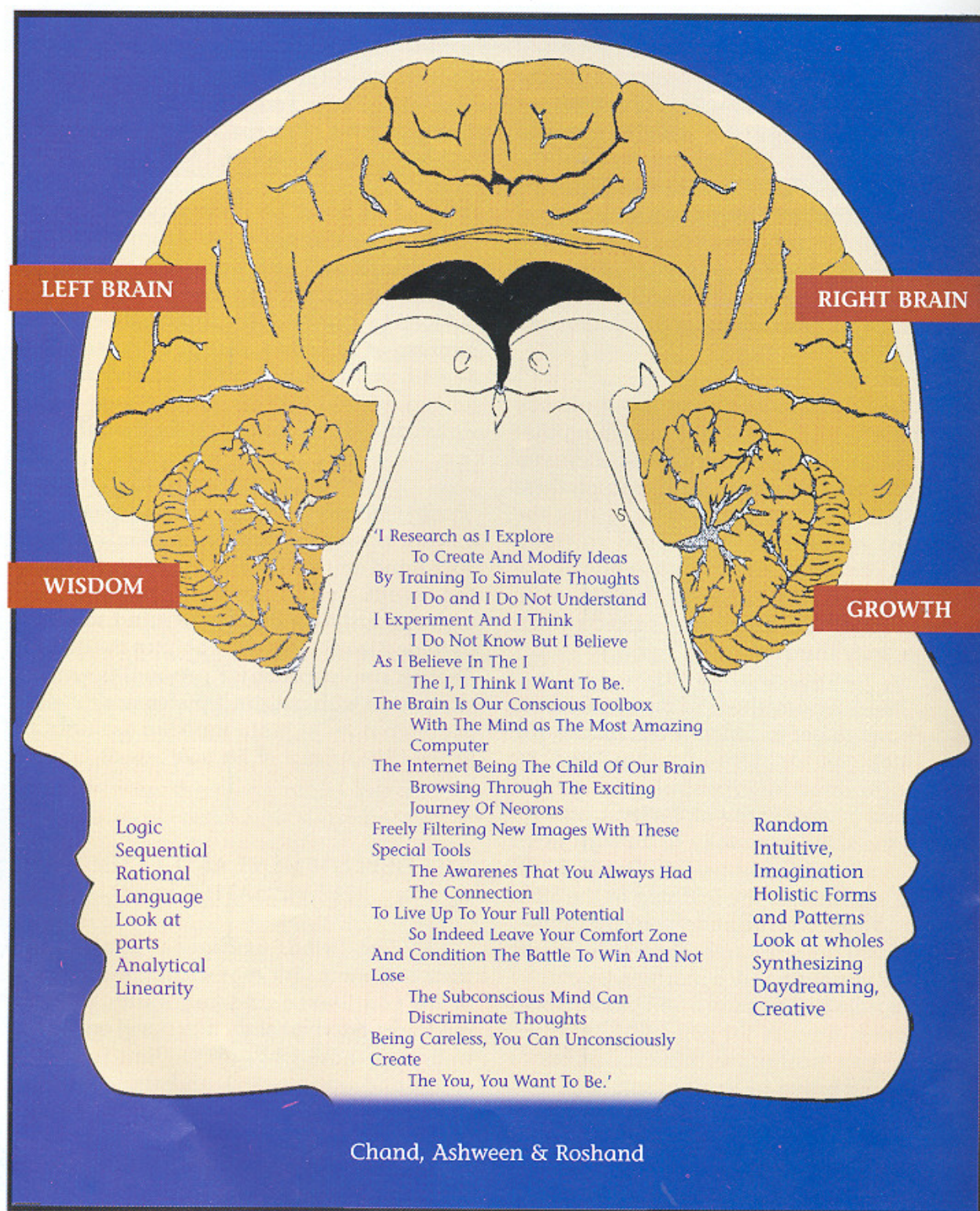


Figure 2. The Assenal of Thought

change by regular virtual brain simulation. The power of belief and the passion to learn to love change will nurture and cherish dreams to gain ownership and breakthrough with the inner thoughts. Therefore, one will learn to think strategically by new and fresh thinking. This new art of communication by virtual brain simulation is what I term the personal development plan for leadership psychology success. The need to own the power to manage the brain is the millennium skill to be what you want to be in a future, which no one can predict.

General Patton defined leadership "as the art of getting your subordinates to do the impossible". To Walt Disney it is always fun to do the impossible. Whatever it may be, our mindsets are dinosaurs waiting to die unless the legacy of the brain is nurtured to exploit the arsenal of thoughts through iteration training of mind power. Train to focus your mind on the future if you want to be part of the future. Formulate your reasoning with the mind and you will unconsciously create, train and learn the state of the art of accelerating your thoughts in order to network the power of thoughts as a winning psychology. Remember, the first thought may end up being the deepest!

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Lt Kol Chandrabalan Sinnadurai was commissioned from the Royal Military College in 1977 into the Royal Electrical & Mechanical Engineers (EME) Corps. He is a graduate of the University of Malaya, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, University of Leicester and Newport University. He holds a Masters of Business Administration, specializing in Training and Human Resources Development. Currently, he is the SO 1 EME and Head of TQM of 2 Div HQ.

KONSEP 'ASYMMETRIC': SATU ALTERNATIF UNTUK NEGARA LEMAH

Mej Anuar bin Mohd Noor

PENDAHULUAN



Sejak zaman feudal lagi, kekuatan tentera terletak pada senjata dan keupayaan untuk mengendalikannya agar memberi kelebihan kepada sipengendali terhadap musuhnya. Peningkatan keberkesanan senjata tersebut berkembang seiring dengan teknologi yang pada asalnya dicipta untuk tujuan dan kegunaan awam dalam memudahkan kerja-kerja seharian mereka. Teknologi tersebut kemudiannya diadaptasikan untuk kegunaan ketenteraan apabila dunia mula bergolak dan negara mula berperang antara satu sama lain. Seperti mana menurut R. Burt, "sempadan di antara teknologi ketenteraan dengan awam semakin tidak wujud".¹ Perubahan ke atas teknologi tersebut merupakan faktor utama yang telah dan akan mencorakkan peperangan masa kini dan akan datang dan sebagai contoh, tentera Mesir Purba yang menggunakan senjata yang diperbuat daripada tembaga yang pada masa tersebut merupakan senjata yang terkuat dan termoden, telah dengan mudah dikalahkan oleh musuh mereka yang berjaya mencipta senjata dan perisai yang diperbuat daripada besi yang lebih kuat dan keras. Begitu juga keadaannya dengan Angkatan Tentera Greek

Purba yang berupaya mengalahkan musuhnya yang berbangsa Parsi yang lebih ramai bilangannya kerana mereka telah berjaya mencipta baju perisai yang diperbuat daripada kepingan besi. Dengan memakai baju perisai tersebut mereka berupaya bertempur secara rapat dengan musuh-musuh mereka.

Inovasi teknologi persenjataan terus berkembang dari zaman ke zaman dan telah menjadikan negara yang berupaya memiliki teknologi moden tersebut menjadi lebih berkuasa sehingga mampu mengawal segala perkembangan di dunia termasuk dalam mencegah berlakunya peperangan dan penindasan antara negara-negara. Menurut Charles A. Kupchan, "sejak Amerika Syarikat muncul sebagai kuasa besar di dunia, penonjolannya merupakan faktor utama dalam mencegah berlakunya peperangan besar antara negara-negara di dunia terutamanya di rantau Amerika Utara yang satu ketika dahulu merupakan satu kawasan yang sering bergolak".² Keadaan yang sama turut dinikmati oleh negara maju yang berkemampuan membeli dan memiliki senjata moden yang bukan sahaja dapat melindungi dirinya daripada dicabar oleh negara-negara jirannya tetapi turut memainkan peranan dalam memberikan kelebihan kepada negara tersebut dalam menyelesaikan masalah yang

¹ R. Burt, "Implications for Arms Control", dalam C. Bertram, ed., "New Conventional Weapons and East-West Security", (London: Macmillan, 1979), hal 66.

² Charles A. Kupchan, "After Pax Americana", International Security, Vol 23, No. 2, Fall 1998, hal 43.

timbul. Walau bagaimanapun dalam dunia menuju ke era globalisasi dan teknologi pembuatan senjata moden semakin sukar untuk dirahsiakan, kuasa yang wujud ekoran daripada keupayaan memiliki senjata-senjata moden yang merupakan "state of the arts" telah semakin hilang penguasaannya dengan kemunculan konsep "Asymmetric" yang dilihat sebagai satu alternatif kepada negara-negara yang kurang berkemampuan untuk membina Angkatan Tentera yang moden setanding dengan jiran-jirannya.

KONSEP PEPERANGAN TRADISIONAL

Menurut Blainey, "peperangan berlaku apabila dua atau lebih negara mempunyai perkiraan yang berbeza ke atas keupayaan masing-masing. Sekurang-kurangnya salah satu daripada negara yang terlibat dalam konflik tersebut telah membuat perhitungan yang salah mengenai siapa yang mempunyai kelebihan untuk menang dalam pertempuran senjata."³ Menurut Robert Ginsberg, "peperangan merupakan penggunaan kekerasan yang pada kebiasaannya berhubung dengan konflik ke atas kepentingan negara antara dua atau lebih negara yang ditonjolkan melalui penggunaan senjata dan kekuatan ketenteraan yang bertindak mencederakan atau memusnahkan sebahagian atau keseluruhan tubuh manusia,

Adakah negara yang serba kekurangan dalam peralatan ketenteraan atau peralatan ketenteraan yang telah dimakan zaman, mampu bersaing dengan negara maju yang serba lengkap? ...konsep "Asymmetric" merupakan pendekatan alternatif yang terbaik bagi menghadapi musuh yang lebih besar dan moden.sebagai corak peperangan yang bakal dihadapi oleh negara kuasa besar akan datang.

masyarakat, institusi negara, sistem ekologi, bangunan dan berbagai-bagai kemusnahan lagi".⁴ Peperangan yang dimaksudkan oleh kedua-dua penulis tersebut merupakan peperangan tradisional iaitu peperangan konvensional yang berbentuk "Symmetry" di mana dua atau lebih negara yang terlibat dalam konflik, mempunyai sumber yang hampir sama (sistem persenjataan), kekuatan tentera yang tidak jauh berbeza dari segi saiz dan perhitungannya tertakluk kepada satu peraturan dan undang-undang yang telah lama dipersetujui bersama iaitu "Law of the Arms Conflicts". Konsep "Symmetry" boleh didefinisikan sebagai "satu perhitungan yang dikaitkan ke atas dua atau lebih pihak (negara) yang secara umumnya mempunyai peralatan yang seakan sama dan tertakluk kepada peraturan yang dipersetujui bersama".⁵ Lawrence Freedmen pula berpendapat pertempuran secara "Symmetrical" adalah di antara dua pihak yang mempunyai angkatan konvensional yang agak sama dan kelebihan kekuatan, latihan, kepimpinan dan teknologi yang diperolehi dan digunakan akan memberi kesan yang besar keatas keputusan pertempuran.⁶

⁴ Robert Ginsberg, "The Critique of War", Chicago: Henry Regney, 1969, hal 56.

⁵ Winn Schwartz, "Asymmetrical Adversaries", Orbis, Spring 2000, hal 198.

⁶ Lawrence Freedmen, "The Revolution in Strategic Affairs", Adelphi Paper No 318, Oxford, Oxford University Press, April 1998, hal 38.

³ Geoffrey Blainey, "The Causes of War", 3rd ed, New York: Free Press, 1988, hal 293.

Konsep tersebut merupakan satu corak tradisional yang telah mempengaruhi evolusi dalam sejarah peperangan moden. Walaupun sejarah ada mencatatkan beberapa usaha untuk memecahkan corak tradisional tersebut seperti dalam Peperangan Dunia Pertama, pihak Jerman telah menggunakan kaedah yang agak luar biasa dan terkeluar daripada peraturan peperangan apabila mereka menggunakan "*Mustard gas*" ke atas musuh mereka yang telah menyebabkan kehilangan jiwa yang ramai. Dalam Peperangan Dunia Kedua, Jerman sekali lagi telah bertindak secara peridosikal apabila mereka memperkenalkan satu strategi peperangan yang baru, "*blitzkrieg*" yang menggabungkan penggunaan kereta kebal, pesawat pengebom dan pejuang dengan memberikan tumpuan ke atas kepantasan pergerakan dan kemusnahan yang besar. Dalam masa yang singkat mereka telah berjaya menakluki Poland dan Austria. Walaupun tindakan-tindakan tersebut agak baru dan merupakan kali pertama digunakan dalam peperangan, konflik-konflik tersebut masih menggunakan corak peperangan "*Symmetry*" dengan melibatkan berjuta-juta anggota tentera, pertempuran kereta kebal menentang kereta kebal dan pesawat pejuang menentang pesawat pejuang.

Dengan bantuan sains dan teknologi, serta inovasi teknologi ketenteraan bertukar corak menjadi barang dagangan, hanya negara-negara yang maju dan berkemampuan sahaja yang dapat memiliki semua ciptaan terbaru tersebut. Negara-negara maju tersebut berlumba-lumba mencipta senjata moden. Bagi negara yang tidak mempunyai keupayaan membangunkan industri persenjataannya sendiri pula, hanya wang sahaja yang merupakan halangan bagi mereka untuk memiliki sistem persenjataan moden tersebut. Sebagai contoh Singapura baru-baru ini telah menandatangani perjanjian pembelian 100 peluru berpandu jarak sederhana berteknologi tinggi jenis AIM-

120C atau '*Amraams*' yang dilaporkan oleh Amerika Syarikat sebagai satu pembelian bertujuan untuk memastikan kestabilan ekonomi dan politik di rantau Asia Tenggara serta bagi memperbaiki sistem kawalan keselamatan negara Singapura.⁷ Pembelian tersebut telah menjadi tanda tanya kepada negara jirannya terutamanya Malaysia, kerana adalah agak luar biasa bagi Singapura membeli senjata tersebut dalam jumlah yang banyak.

Dari segi logiknya, jawapan di sebalik pembelian tersebut melambangkan kepada kekuatan ekonomi negara itu sendiri kerana bagi sebuah negara yang kecil dengan pendapatan yang tinggi dan ekonomi yang kukuh, ia berkemampuan untuk memperuntukkan belanjawan pertahanan yang tinggi, lebih kurang 6% daripada Keluaran Dalam Negara Kasar (KDNK) tahunannya bagi memodenkan Angkatan Tenteranya. Dari sudut strategik, ia boleh dilihat dalam dua aspek. Pertama sebagai satu usaha cegah rintang, bertujuan sebagai amaran kepada negara jirannya bahawa ia mempunyai kekuatan yang melebihi mereka. Kerelevanan pandangan ini boleh dilihat melalui kenyataan Menteri Kanan Singapura, Lee Kuan Yew yang dengan angkuhnya telah mengalu-alukan sesiapa sahaja yang berminat untuk menyerang Singapura dipersilakan berbuat demikian. Keduanya ialah bagi menanam rasa yakin dan percaya rakyat terhadap kerajaan yang memerintah bahawa keselamatan mereka sentiasa terjamin dan dilindungi. Selain daripada itu, dengan jumlah penduduk seramai tiga juta sahaja, Singapura menghadapi masalah yang besar dari aspek sumber tenaga manusia kerana ini merupakan faktor utama dalam menentukan kejayaan dalam sesuatu peperangan. Ini dapat dilihat melalui pengakuan Lee Kuan Yew apabila beliau memaklumkan bahawa pembelian

⁷ *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 September 2000.

tersebut adalah bagi mengimbangi kekurangan tenaga manusia.⁸

Persoalan yang timbul, apakah yang boleh dilakukan oleh negara miskin dan sedang membangun yang memberi keutamaan kepada pembangunan infrastruktur dan kesejahteraan rakyat daripada ketenteraan dan hanya mampu memperuntukkan sebahagian kecil sahaja belanjawan untuk pertahanan. Adakah negara yang serba kekurangan dalam peralatan ketenteraan atau peralatan ketenteraan yang telah dimakan zaman, mampu bersaing dengan negara maju yang serba lengkap? Maka jawapan kepada persoalan tersebut terletak kepada satu alternatif yang agak bertentangan dengan norma tradisi peperangan iaitu strategi "Asymmetry". Menurut Colonel Wang Xiangsui dalam bukunya bertajuk "Unrestricted War", "peperangan mempunyai peraturan dan undang-undangnya yang tersendiri tetapi undang-undang tersebut ditentukan oleh negara-negara Barat. Sekiranya kita menggunakan undang-undang tersebut, maka negara yang lemah tidak akan mempunyai peluang untuk menang". Menurutnyanya lagi, kita adalah di antara negara yang lemah, justeru itu adakah perlu kita bertempur berpandukan kepada undang-undang tersebut? Jawapannya, tidak.⁹ Justeru itu konsep "Asymmetric" merupakan pendekatan alternatif yang terbaik bagi menghadapi musuh yang lebih besar dan moden. Konsep ini juga dilihat sebagai corak peperangan yang bakal dihadapi oleh negara kuasa besar pada masa akan datang. Menurut UK Ministry of Defence (MoD), "sikap terlalu bergantung kepada teknologi tinggi untuk memastikan kejayaan dalam konflik dan jurang perbezaan yang semakin besar di

antara kekuatan kuasa tentera apabila dibandingkan dengan pihak musuh, akan mendorong mereka menggunakan senjata alternatif dan strategi bukan konvensional termasuk Peperangan "Asymmetric".¹⁰

STRATEGI "ASYMMETRY"

Strategi "Asymmetry" merupakan penggunaan teknik atau taktik yang terkeluar dari norma-norma yang telah dipersetujui oleh negara di dunia dalam peperangan dan ia juga adalah bercanggah dengan nilai dan corak yang dipraktikkan oleh negara-negara seperti Amerika Syarikat, Eropah dan juga Rusia.¹¹ Menurut Lawrence Freedman, pertempuran secara "Asymmetrical" ialah antara kumpulan yang tidak sama dari segala segi. Pencapaiannya merupakan keputusan yang diperolehi ekoran daripada ketidakupayaan untuk mempertahankan diri daripada kumpulan yang menyerang. Tumpuannya ialah terhadap "means" dan bukan ke atas "ends".¹² Menurut Colonel Wang Xiangsui lagi, Regim Beijing telah membuat pengakuan bahawa memandangkan ia tidak mungkin boleh menang dalam peperangan konvensional menentang Amerika Syarikat, maka sekiranya berlaku konflik dengan Amerika Syarikat, ia merancang untuk mengalihkan sasaran di Amerika Syarikat ke arah infrastruktur awam yang mengawal sistem kewangan dan pengangkutan yang kritikal, sistem perhubungan dan grid-grid kuasa. Tindakan sebeginilah yang dikatakan sebagai tindakan "Asymmetric" yang dapat memberikan tenaga dan kuasa melawan ke atas pihak musuh yang jauh lebih "superior". Sebagai contoh semasa Perang Vietnam, apabila pihak komunis didorong untuk terlibat

⁸ Utusan Malaysia, 7 Oktober 2000.

⁹ Colonel Wang Xiangsui dalam Winn Schwartz, "Asymmetrical Adversaries", Orbis, Spring 2000, hal 199.

¹⁰ Kevin A. O'Brien, "Intelligence Gathering on Asymmetric Threats - Part One", Jane's Intelligence Review, Spring 2000, hal 52.

¹¹ Op Cit, Winn Schwartz, hal 199.

¹² Op Cit, Lawrence Freedman, hal 39.

dalam peperangan konvensional dengan tentera Amerika Syarikat, mereka sering mengalami kekalahan dan mengalami kehilangan jiwa yang besar. Tetapi apabila mereka mengimplimentasikan taktik perang gerila dan mengheret Amerika Syarikat dalam konflik yang berlarutan telah menyebabkan tentera Amerika Syarikat hilang tumpuan, sakit hati dan kecewa sehingga mendorong mereka berundur dari konflik tersebut tanpa kemenangan.¹³

Menurut Kevin A O' Brien, peperangan "Asymmetric" merangkumi semua aspek – strategi, taktik, senjata dan sumber manusia – yang bertujuan mengubah corak medan peperangan bagi menyangkal kelebihan (*advantages*) yang dimiliki oleh pihak lawan. Beliau mendefinisikannya sebagai, "satu tindakan yang diambil untuk mengatasi atau melemahkan kekuatan pihak lawan dengan menggunakan kelemahannya dengan mengadaptasikan kaedah yang jauh berbeza daripada modus operandi yang biasa digunakan oleh pihak lawan".¹⁴ "United State Defence Advance Research Projects Agency (DARPA)" berpendapat bahawa peperangan "asymmetric" adalah "aktiviti peperangan yang mempunyai objektif yang sukar ditetapkan di mana pada kebiasaannya ia melibatkan bilangan aktor yang kecil jumlahnya, menggunakan taktik bukan

konvensional yang pada kebiasaannya memberikan kesan yang lebih berat berbanding dengan kekuatan yang terlibat".

... strategi "Asymmetric" terbukti dapat menundukkan negara yang lebih kuat daripada mereka... ini diperkuatkan lagi dengan gabungan teknologi moden dan lama seperti Mujahidin di Afghanistan ...dapat mengatur gerakan senjata "stinger" ke kedudukan yang begitu strategik sekali sehingga sukar dikesan oleh pihak Soviet Union dan pada masa yang sama mampu memusnahkan helikopter pengempur mereka.

Pendekatan "Asymmetrical" memberi tumpuan terhadap satu proses yang mudah. Ia tidak mementingkan persoalan mengenai mengapa sesuatu tindakan itu harus diambil tetapi terus kepada tindakan yang mesti diambil. Persoalan mengenai apa yang akan diperkatakan oleh masyarakat mengenai tindakan yang diambil serta sama ada tindakan tersebut menjadi sejarah tidak menjadi persoalan dan tidak diambil kisah oleh pengamal strategi "asymmetric". Menurut seorang penganalisa strategi, Ralph Peters, peperangan "asymmetric" bermaksud, satu bentuk strategi yang bukan tradisional yang merangkumi satu bentuk disiplin yang baru atau musuh yang berupaya menggabungkan teknologi baru dengan taktik lama seperti sebelah tangan memegang senjata Kalashnikov yang sudah usang dan sebelah tangan lagi memegang talipon bimbit untuk memberi arahan.¹⁵ Di antara tindakan "asymmetric" yang agak popular dan telah dilaksanakan beberapa abad yang lalu adalah seperti operasi psikologi, memanipulasi media, "atrocities", "genocide" dan serangan tanpa had ke atas kepentingan awam sehingga boleh melumpuhkan sistem pentadbiran negara yang menjadi sasaran.

¹³ Ibid, hal 39.

¹⁴ Op Cit, Kevin A O'Brien, hal 52.

¹⁵ Ralph Peters, "Killers and Constables: The Future of Conflict and the Continuity of the American Military Experience", Strategic Review, Spring 2000, hal 60.

CORAK PEPERANGAN "ASYMMETRIC"

Corak peperangan "*asymmetric*" bukanlah sesuatu yang baru. Terutamanya apabila ia melibatkan konflik di antara negara yang mempunyai perbezaan yang agak ketara dari segi kekuatan tentera dan pemilikan teknologi ketenteraan yang moden. Corak peperangan "*asymmetric*" ini sering menjadi pilihan kepada negara-negara yang agak lemah dalam menghadapi musuh yang lebih "*superior*"; tumpuannya ialah untuk menyebabkan kesakitan daripada memenangi peperangan secara pantas; sasaran utamanya terhadap struktur dalaman negara dan masyarakat selain daripada pasukan hadapan. Ia tidak terikat kepada mana-mana peraturan dan undang-undang antarabangsa. Serangan secara "*asymmetric*" mengambil peluang daripada kelemahan dalam sistem keselamatan dan pertahanan musuh. Penghasilan kerja yang optimum dengan penglibatan tenaga yang minimum merupakan objektif strategi ini. Dengan kelebihan yang dimilikinya, strategi ini akan menjadi pilihan utama dalam konflik-konflik akan datang dan akan merupakan igauan bagi negara-negara kuasa besar dalam meneruskan kekuasaan mereka.

Terdapat berbagai-bagai pendekatan yang boleh digunakan dalam strategi "*asymmetric*" ini dan antaranya adalah peperangan informasi (IW) yang merupakan strategi "*asymmetrical*" yang paling dominan dan dijangkakan akan memainkan peranan penting pada masa hadapan. Pendekatan peperangan informasi ini boleh dikategorikan dalam tiga tahap intensiti:

- **Kelas I.** Peperangan informasi yang ditujukan ke atas individu. Dalam dunia siber, semua dianggap bersalah sehingga dibuktikan tidak bersalah. Hak individu adalah tidak dilindungi di mana maklumat peribadi

serta tingkah laku pembelian seseorang merupakan barang dagangan yang menguntungkan dan sering dijual bagi tujuan komersial. Justeru itu dalam situasi konflik, adalah tidak mustahil sekiranya maklumat mengenai pembesar negara serta pemimpin tentera diperoleh oleh pihak musuh dan seterusnya menggunakan maklumat tersebut untuk mengancam dan menggugat keluarga pemimpin tersebut. Berita yang disebar dalam sistem komputer juga boleh menyemai kepercayaan yang mendalam terhadap sipenerima sehingga membolehkan pihak musuh mengambil kesempatan untuk menghampiri penentang mereka dan seterusnya menawan mereka.

- **Kelas II.** Peperangan informasi yang merangkumi "*espionage*" ke atas industri dan sistem ekonomi sesebuah negara terutamanya oleh sebuah negara yang lain atau organisasi bukan kerajaan. Teknik yang digunakan boleh merangkumi "*eavesdropping*" ke atas panggilan talipon dan selular, "*internet sniffing*", "*password cracking*" dan pemecahan dan pencerobohan sistem elektronik.

- **Kelas III.** Peperangan informasi yang dilaksanakan oleh sebuah negara ke atas negara yang lain dan ia meliputi terorisme siber oleh kumpulan terancang dan kumpulan-kumpulan dari organisasi berbentuk ala-ketenteraan.¹⁶

Walaupun hingga kini masalah mengenai pencerobohan ke atas sistem informasi dan komputer masih di tahap minimum dan masih boleh diatasi

¹⁶ Op Cit, Winn Schwartau, hal 200.

terutamanya oleh negara-negara yang mempunyai kemampuan dan peralatan, keadaan ini tidak akan kekal lama dan dijangkakan akan berbeza pada masa akan datang. Seperti yang pernah dihadapi oleh Amerika Syarikat, menurut bekas Pengarah 'National Security Agency' negara tersebut, Lt Jen Kenneth Minihan, "serangan yang tidak mengikut struktur biasa telah berlaku ke atas sistem pertahanan Amerika Syarikat setiap hari dan malang sekali kerana kebanyakannya tidak dapat dikesan dan jika ia dapat juga dikesani, jarang sekali dapat mengenali siapa yang melakukannya".¹⁷ Pendapat yang sama mengenai peperangan informasi sebagai strategi "asymmetric" yang paling berkesan tersebut turut disokong oleh Richard J Harknett di mana menurut beliau, "Panel Pertahanan Negara Amerika Syarikat merumuskan bahawa bakal musuh yang akan dihadapi oleh Amerika Syarikat pada masa akan datang, akan menggunakan strategi "asymmetric" dengan menumpukan sasaran ke atas kelemahan Amerika Syarikat untuk melumpuhkan secara perlahan dan menyakitkan".¹⁸

Satu lagi bentuk serangan "asymmetric" yang boleh dilakukan adalah serangan berbentuk bukan konvensional yang dilancarkan oleh pasukan khas yang dilengkapi dengan senjata kimia dan biologi yang berupaya memusnahkan operasi

ketenteraan negara barat. Sesebuah negara juga boleh menggunakan kumpulan teroris untuk melancarkan serangan ke atas sasaran awam dalam usaha melemahkan sokongan rakyat terhadap kepimpinan sesebuah negara dan menyekat campurtangan antarabangsa.

Serangan secara "Asymmetric" mengambil peluang daripada kelemahan dalam sistem keselamatan dan pertahanan musuh... penglibatan tenaga yang minimum... strategi ini akan menjadi pilihan utama dalam konflik-konflik akan datang dan merupakan igauan bagi negara-negara kuasa besar...

Pada masa akan datang berbagai pilihan tersedia untuk bakal-bakal penentang dalam usaha untuk menghalang, menghancurkan, melemahkan atau memusnahkan kuasa ketenteraan negara barat. Menurut Kevin A O'Brien, terdapat tiga pendekatan yang boleh diambil oleh pelaku "asymmetric":

- Pemilikan "Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD)" atau "long range ballistic or cruise missiles".
- Penggunaan peperangan siber dan pemilikan sensor berteknologi tinggi, sistem komunikasi yang canggih dan sistem persenjataan terkini dengan senjata-senjata siber tersebut boleh digunakan untuk mengganggu dan melumpuhkan sistem teknologi maklumat, keupayaan tentera dan sistem-sistem awam. Sebagai contoh; pada masa kini, pemilikan sistem satelit pengawasan yang dahulunya untuk tujuan perisikan ketenteraan, kini telah turut dimiliki oleh syarikat awam. Penjualan dua "High-resolution Satellite Imagery" oleh Russia pada tahun 1992 kepada dua buah syarikat awam Russia, Sovinformsputnik dan Priroda¹⁹,

¹⁷ Lt Gen Kenneth Minihan di dalam Anthony Kimery, *When the Night Comes Crashing*, Military International Technology, Vol. 3, Issue 1, 1999, hal 12.

¹⁸ Richard J Harknett, *The Risk of a Networked Military*, Orbis, Winter 2000, hal 133.

¹⁹ Vipin Gupta, *New Satellite Images for Sale*, International Security, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1995, hal 98.

jelas menunjukkan bagaimana teknologi moden ketenteraan boleh dimiliki oleh sesiapa sahaja di dunia ini pada masa hadapan. Pada penghujung tahun 1997, satelit perisikan awam pertama di dunia telah dilancarkan oleh sebuah syarikat di Colorado, Amerika Syarikat, "*Earth Watch Incorporated*". Satelit tersebut dipercayai berupaya menghasilkan kualiti resolusi yang setanding dengan satelit kegunaan ketenteraan pada masa kini.²⁰

- Memilih kawasan bandar yang besar atau hutan belantara sebagai medan pertempuran yang pada kebiasaannya tidak kondusif kepada pasukan konvensional. Pertempuran di bandar memerlukan penglibatan tenaga manusia yang intensif kerana keadaan struktur dan susun atur bangunan di bandar merumitkan pergerakan serta menyukarkan pengesanan sasaran. Keadaan tersebut juga turut menghadkan keberkesanan senjata-senjata canggih. Lawrence Freedman berpendapat, salah satu sebab utama mengapa operasi menyelamatkan Kuwait pada tahun 1991 tidak diikuti dengan penaklukan Iraq melalui kekuatan tentera darat adalah kerana dikhuatiri sekiranya pasukan Iraq menjadi semakin bersemangat dan mengambil kedudukan pertahanan yang lebih baik di tanah air mereka sendiri dimana pengetahuan mengenai bentuk muka bumi medan pertempuran merupakan aset yang paling berharga.²¹

Sejarah jelas membuktikan bahawa ketiga-tiga kaedah "*asymmetric*" ini telah lama

wujud dalam konflik yang lepas, cuma sejak akhir-akhir ini kemunculannya begitu ketara sekali dan dijangkakan ia akan terus meningkat pada masa-masa akan datang.

Sejarah juga jelas menunjukkan bagaimana sesebuah negara yang lebih "*superior*" dan lengkap dengan senjata moden serta kekuatan tentera yang besar dapat ditundukkan dan dikalahkan oleh musuh mereka yang hanya menggunakan senjata lama dari teknologi Perang Dunia II. Tetapi disebabkan mereka memberikan penekanan terhadap corak pertempuran yang berlandaskan strategi "*asymmetric*" jelas terbukti strategi tersebut dapat menundukkan negara yang lebih kuat daripada mereka seperti kekalahan Belanda di Indonesia, Perancis di Indo China dan Algeria, Amerika Syarikat di Vietnam, Soviet Union di Afghanistan dan yang terbaru, kekalahan Russia di Chechnya. Strategi "*Asymmetry*" ini diperkuatkan lagi dengan gabungan teknologi moden dan lama seperti Mujahidin di Afghanistan yang mengangkut misil "*Stinger*" dengan menggunakan keldai dapat mengatur gerakan senjata tersebut kekedudukan yang begitu strategik sekali sehingga sukar dikesan oleh pihak Soviet Union dan pada masa yang sama mampu memusnahkan helikopter penggempur mereka.

Sebagai amaran kepada pemikir-pemikir konvensional, Sun Tsu memperjelaskan bagaimana pendekatan "*asymmetric*" tersebut merupakan pendekatan yang terbaik dalam mengalahkan musuh yang lebih besar kekuatan mereka dan kenyataan beliau amat bernilai hingga kini dalam mengingatkan kita akan kerelevanan strategi "*asymmetric*" tersebut, "*If the enemy is superior in strength, evade him; if his forces are united, separate them. Attack him where he is unprepared; appear where you are not expected*".

²⁰ Op Cit, Lawrence Freedman, hal 51.

²¹ Ibid, hal 42.

PENUTUP

Strategi *Asymmetric* ini dilihat sebagai satu strategi alternatif kepada negara lemah bagi menentang musuhnya yang lebih besar kekuatannya dan menggunakan teknologi yang moden yang memberikan tumpuan terhadap aspek tekanan dan kesakitan secara perlahan daripada memenangi peperangan secara pantas dan total. Ia juga adalah satu cara untuk memperoleh masa bagi menyediakan diri agar dapat menandingi kekuatan musuh, menumpukan sasaran ke atas ketenteraman negara dan sistem politik domestik negara selain daripada pasukan tentera itu sendiri. Untuk melemahkan semangat juang musuh, sasaran ditumpukan bukan sahaja ke atas kepentingan-kepentingan awam bahkan ke atas orang

awam itu sendiri tanpa memikirkan belas kasihan. Secara umumnya boleh dikatakan bahawa sekiranya pasukan tentera yang kuat mempunyai matlamat yang biasa dalam peperangan iaitu untuk menang dengan pantas dan melalui pertempuran mutlak, pasukan yang lemah pula akan lebih tertumpu kepada usaha untuk melibatkan orang awam dalam konflik tersebut dan mengelakkan diri daripada pertempuran secara terbuka dan mengikut rentak musuh mereka.

Dalam dunia menuju ke arah globalisasi dan dunia tanpa sempadan, adalah dijangkakan strategi "*asymmetry*" ini akan menjadi pilihan utama kepada negara lemah, Badan Bukan Kerajaan dan teroris dalam menentang musuh mereka yang lebih kuat dan besar kekuatannya.

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Mej Anuar bin Mohd Noor telah ditauliahkan dalam Kor Armor Diraja pada 27 Jun 81, pernah menjawat beberapa jawatan penting di pasukan, markas formasi dan Kementerian Pertahanan. Beliau berkelulusan Maktab Turus dan pemegang Diploma Pentadbiran Awam dari UiTM, Diploma Pengajian Strategik dan Pertahanan dari UM dan Diploma Lanjutan Pengajian Strategik dan Keselamatan di UKM. Beliau kini bertugas sebagai Penolong Pegawai Memerintah 2 Armor Diraja.

*Dihiaskan kepada manusia nafsu yang
inginkan perempuan, anak pinak, harta benda
emas dan perak, kuda binatang ternakan serta
kebun tanaman, semuanya itu kesenangan
hidup di dunia. Dan (ingatlah) di sisi Allah
ada tempat kembali yang sebaik-baiknya (iaitu
syurga)*

(Surah Ali Imran ayat 14)

HOW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY CAN IMPROVE THE CAPABILITY OR PERFORMANCE OF THE INFANTRY CORPS

Mej Nazim bin Mohd Alim

'Computers may be winning the information war, but the soldiers may well be winning the territorial battle'


Professor Lawrence Freedmas
King College War Studies Department

SYNOPSIS

The Gulf War has opened-up the eyes of generals, war planners and strategists throughout the world as how the battle or war will be fought in the next millennium. It is the war of technology and science against human and mother-nature. It is the war where computers and scientist gadgets will dominate the inventory. It was said that those who did not possess the required technology or any high technology equipment would indeed suffer in war, it not losing it. Technology is the new principles of war for the armed forces of tomorrow.

Malaysian Armed Forces with its budget constraint are definitely behind time. Jeneral (Rtd) Tan Sri Ismail bin Omar, the former Chief of Defence Forces in his farewell speech stated "unequivocally that with the limited budget Malaysian Armed Forces will be 20 years behind other Armed Forces in the South East Asian Region". This has raised several questions pertaining to the commitment of the government towards equipping its armed forces sufficient for them to reach operational standard. Whatever the reason is, information technology and other means of technology is definitely a must for the armed forces of tomorrow, and Malaysian Armed Forces is certainly in need of one.

INTRODUCTION



Technology and warfare are inseparably linked. Superior technology will ensure an Armed Forces which possesses it win the war. Poland's Cavalry was no match for Hitler's tanks, Japan was not prepared for the United States' (USs) nuclear power and Iraq's Soviet made tanks were target practice for USs' weaponry. With the exception of Vietnam War and movies like *"Rambo"* or *"Braveheart"*, superior technology guarantees victory.

Thus, the establishment of modern methods of warfare relies on technology, particularly that of the information technology and computers. Though the role of the infantry is to seek out and close with the enemy, to kill or capture him, to seize and hold ground and repel attack, by day and night, regardless of season, weather or terrain may seems quite conventional,¹ but these role can be further enhanced and supplemented by the integration of information technology into the Infantry Corps.

DEFINITION

"Information" can be defined as a fact told or knowledge gained or given while "technology" is defined as the science applied to practical purposes.² Thus information technology can be defined as the science of fact or knowledge applied to practical purposes.

Another definition of information technology is the acquisition, processing, storage and dissemination of information in all its forms, either auditory, pictorial, textual and

numerical through a combination of computers, telecommunications, networks and electronic devices³. In summary, information technology is *"the collection, processing and distribution of facts or knowledge in any forms by using science"*.

SIMULATION FOR LAND WARFARE

There is no substitute for practical experience in imparting combat skills in virtually any fields. Marksmanship, field craft, map reading and other skills can only be positively imparted into would-be soldiers or present infantryman by means of practical experience. Armies around the world have long been aware of the difficulties involved in training their men in the skill of combat. Thus, simulations have been designed and used to play a primary role in military training.

Simulation has been used extensively throughout history. In medieval England, the sport of jousting had its origin in meeting military needs, when horse-mounted knights charged one another but with their lances blunted with wooden block. Today, simulations in various guises became an accepted means of training and was used, wherever possible, in circumstances where genuine techniques could not be applied. Under the current trend of minimising the military budget and particularly when the country is facing economic downturn, simulation can provide a cost effective approach to meet training needs of the Infantry Corps.

MARKSMANSHIP TRAINING

Marksmanship basics can be taught on multi-arms trainers by using modified versions of actual weapons to be used by individuals,

¹ Manual of Land Warfare Part II, *The Infantry Battalion*, 1987, Malaysian Army.

² Time-chambers Learner' Dictionary, Federal Publication.

³ Macmillan Dictionary of *Information Technology*, 1985.

fire teams or squad instruction. Marksmanship can be taught on several small arms weapon. Although infantrymen can still use their weapons for normal target practice, the cost of ammunition, the availability of ranges and the logistics support needed, has pushed price upwards. Among the marksmanship simulation system available are:⁴

- **Shorts S1 Multi-Arms Trainer (S1 MAT).** This system, used by the US Army is applicable to training in the use of arms ranging from 9 mm-pistol up to light antitank weapon.

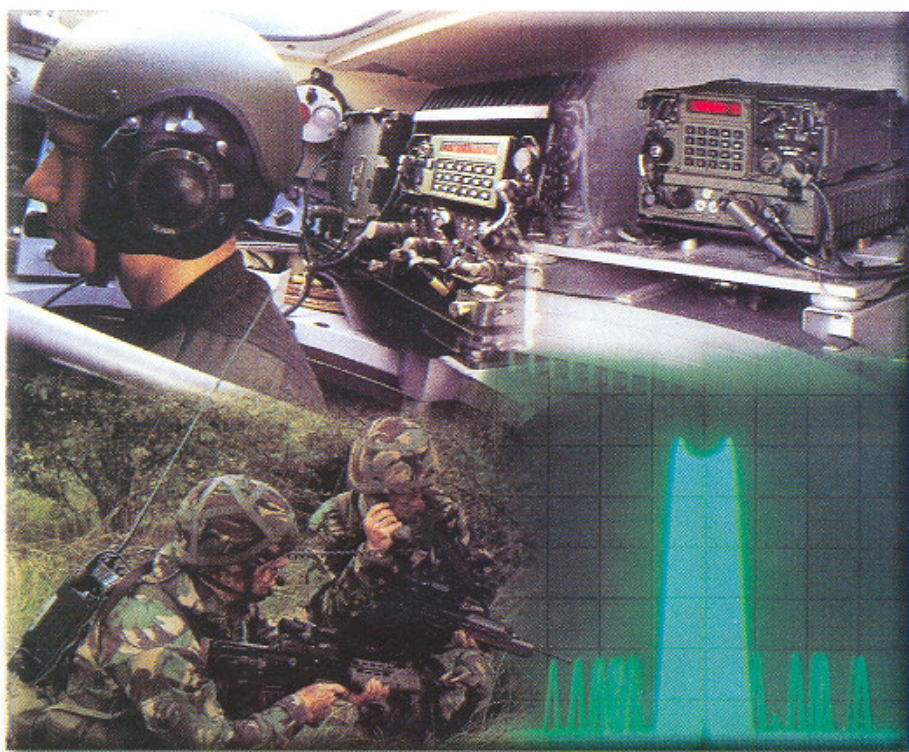
- **Infantry Weapon Training System (IWTS),** produced by Thompson Training and Simulation (TTS), currently used by the French Army. The Singapore Army also used it for instruction in the use of M16 rifles.

- **Lockheed Martin Electro-Optical System, Close Combat Tactical Trainer,** currently in used by the US Army.

Using simulation, an infantryman can improve his marksmanship and other basic skills without the need to go to the field. These systems employ user-selectable

projected variable combat scenarios in which a trainee fires at targets which may appear and disappear randomly, as in the real situation. Weapons can be made to recoil and give the appropriate aural report on simulated detonation of cartridge and scoring is assessed electronically.

A variation in this marksmanship simulation trainer is the use of actual, unmodified weapons that fire frangible ammunition, which is available in most popular calibres. The rounds' ballistic characteristics match those of the genuine ammunition types they are designed to replicate. These systems can be used with confidence on small, enclosed ranges using projected target imagery. Remotely controlled



Infantrymen need 99% connectivity in the battlefield, they cannot depend on post-war radio communications

pop-up targets can be used to heighten reactions and to instil firing disciplines through

⁴ *Electronic Warhorse*, Mike Witt, Asian Defence Journal, July 1999.

introduction of friendly images as hostile targets.

Using this marksmanship simulation trainer, small budget army with limited ranges and logistics support like the Malaysian Army can effectively trained its infantrymen with realism and proper guidance. Infantry battalions can plan their shooting training without the headache of availability of ranges or logistics problem in relatively short period of time. Limited number of instructors can monitor the progress of their soldiers with ease and accuracy. Weather will also not be a nuisance anymore and thus, more training can be conducted within one calendar year. With this system, infantrymen can improve and enhance their most basic skills needed to ensure the overall performance and combat power of their battalions, formations and corps.

BATTLEFIELD SIMULATION

The ability of computers to create to model the real world opens countless possibilities for military simulation. Such simulation saves time and money of actual experimentation, and allows further research into matters of war. The US Marine Corps technology and simulation development team at Quantico have modified a popular Personal Computer game, "Doom 2", to train marines on simulated battlefield complete with trenches, foxholes, barbed wire and camouflaged enemies in a true 3-dimensional environment.⁵

The principles of laser-based training techniques as in the US Army's "Multiple Integrated Laser Engagement System (MILES)" are simple enough. Laser projects that emit eye-safe pulsed-coded infra-red laser beams are attached to a series of battlefield weapon ranging from rifles, machine guns, anti-tank

missiles and other heavy direct fire ordnance. Targets, both vehicles and personnel, wear sensors that detect laser strikes and near misses. The weapons fire blank charges simultaneously with the pulsing of their lasers so that trainees can experience live fire effects.

This system which is in the Malaysian Army inventory although limited in numbers, possess an advantage in that they permit force-on-force training in addition to individual and squad instruction. This permit the infantrymen to practice mutual support activities and operation as teams to enhance their tactical skills in applying the use of camouflage and avoiding exposure to hostile fire. This system will also permit commanders to exercise their control expertise in multiple-personnel environments.

In an army where "notions" and improvisations are the key words to ensure success in any particular exercise, MILES system will definitely added realism into the vague world. Infantry commanders from the commanding officers right down to section commanders will have the actual idea of how a battle or war is being fought in this modern world of ours. Controversial decisions made by umpires will no more exist as tactics, skills and endurance will be put to test by means of information technology. "Realism" is the main thing that is lacking in a Malaysian infantryman and by using MILES, it can enhance the performance of an infantryman.

COMPUTERS FOR BATTLEFIELD

It is reasonable to say that almost every piece of advanced warfare equipment uses a computer functionally, from binoculars equipped with night vision to missile interception systems.

Battlefield digitisation is the "full-scale integration of information, using digital technology,

⁵ Internet at <http://jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu/~rolandc/p2/tech.html>.

to facilitate information handling". The aim of battlefield digitisation is to enhance operational effectiveness by improving the timeliness, efficiency and consistency of information acquisition, processing, distribution and presentation; tailored to the need of commanders, weapon systems operators and support organisations.

Digitisation will provide an enhance information transfer capability within formation headquarters and combat units. This means that the data will be received by and transmitted from sensors, weapon platform systems and dismounted infantry.

TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS

The command and control of the infantry troops should not be risked and gambled without proper communications. An infantryman needs 99% connectivity in the battlefield, particularly in instances where our potential enemy has wide capabilities of offensive electronic measure which can dominate the Electro Magnetic Spectrum at any given time. Furthermore, a Malaysian infantryman cannot depend on post-war radio communications as the terrain and weather conditions in our theatre of operation make it absolutely impossible to manoeuvre without any clear direction or communications available. Therefore, extremely reliable and digitised radio is essential to improve and enhance the performance and the capability of the infantryman.

*... marksmanship
simulation trainers...
can effectively
trained its
infantrymen with
realism and proper
guidance... without
headache of
availability of
ranges or logistics
problem.... can
improve and
enhance their most
basic skills needed to
ensure the overall
performance and
combat power of
their battalions,
formations and
corps.*

Frequency Hopping Radios push the frontiers forward with a new era of reliable and invulnerable communications with key features such as immunity against electronic countermeasure, state-of-the-art design, secure voice and data communications. These radios will adapt quickly no matter how quick are the mission and the tactics changes. It will certainly give an added advantage to the infantryman in the execution of his task. Aselsen 9600 Frequency Hopping Radio is an example of battlefield computerisation needed for extra punch for the infantry.

GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEM

A Malaysian infantryman is no doubt one of the best map-readers in the world as they are able to find (guess) any location equipped with only maps and compasses. However, we often take things for granted as we have forgotten that a one-degree error in weapon bearing will results in a 0.25-mile error at the typical artillery range of 15 miles. This can hardly be considered frightening to a trained infantryman, who may well have taken evasive or counter actions by the time the fire corrections have been called.

The ultimate pinpointing of a target or location can be obtained by using the global Positioning System (GPS). The GPS is a satellite-based radio navigation system based on 24 GPS satellite operating in their assigned orbit.⁶ In

⁶ Federal Radionavigation Plan (FRP), 1994, United State Department of Defense.

general, GPS provides two levels of services as follows:⁷

- **The Standard Positioning Service (SPS).** It is a positioning and timing service available to all GPS users on a continuous, world-wide basis with no direct charge. It provides a predictable positioning accuracy at 100 meters horizontally and 156 meters vertically and time transfer accuracy within 340 nanosecond.
- **The Precise Positioning Service (PPS).** A highly accurate military positioning, velocity and time service available on a continuous, predictable positioning accuracy of at least 22 meters horizontally and 27.7 meters vertically and time transfer accuracy to within 200 nanosecond.

In summary, GPS provides accurate positioning and timing all over the world. It is a vital component of the information technology that will certainly enhance the performance, capabilities, tactical considerations and planning of operation for the infantryman. An infantry commander will save time in ascertaining his actual position. Artillery fire can be directed accurately to support the infantry operations. The danger of firing on own troops or also known as "*blue to blue*" will be minimised. Just imagine an infantryman going to battle without his enormous bundles of maps.

NIGHT VISION DEVICES

There are several distinct equipment of night vision devices, namely night vision

goggles, night vision pocket scopes, night vision weapon sight and night vision binoculars.⁸ It is an instrument that gives an infantryman an added advantage and an extra eye while operating under total darkness. This device provides a substantial increase in light amplification and image brightness, which allows the user to use it in a night observation scenario. It also provides the user a high resolution, image intensified vision for effective sighting and aiming at both short and intermediate range at night-times. An infantryman can operate in night-times without sacrificing the established shooting and field craft techniques.

Like a bat or an owl that sees darkness as daytime, an infantryman can operate without any glitch of difficulties or restriction in a total darkness. Operations can be conducted as per planned and movement can be made in darkness so as to achieve the elements of surprise and secrecy. The infantryman will spend less time sleeping if he can operate at night.

TRAINING FOR COMMAND

The training of commanders and staffs has been traditionally undertaken through command-post exercises (CPXs) which endeavour to position command and control elements in combat-like environments in which they are placed under severe mental stress as they interact in decision making process in actual field command posts. CPX used maps boards and models representative of the actual strategic planning tools themselves.

It was universally acknowledged that CPX had shortcomings, since controllers could

⁷ United States Naval Observatory, NAVSTAR GPS, Internet at <http://tycho.usno.navy.mil/gpsinfo.html>.

⁸ Nightline Inc. Night Devices, Internet at <http://www.nightline-inc.com/nightline/nightvision>.

not always appreciate the complexities of the manoeuvres since they were not themselves involved in the planning philosophies and processes leading to their implementation. Because of these drawbacks and added with some violent irrelevant questions by the umpires, exercises lacked heightened realism. Furthermore, players are aware that they are not subjected to genuine wartime pressure.

This situation can be changed radically by the introduction of a computer based command and control system which is a higher formation trainer that provides an automated representation of operational scenario within a full integrated combat environment. One example of this command and control training system is the British Army Advanced Battlefield Computer Simulation System (ABACUS).⁹ The system accounts all combat constituents, including amphibious and air elements, affecting combat and support activities. It covers direct and indirect fire, communications, movement, intelligence acquisition and processing, reinforcements, casualties and replacements, reinforcement and resupply, engineering and maintenance. The system is as comprehensive as possible and can be updated to account for new equipment, concepts and initiatives and importantly, can incorporate lesson learned from actual combat environment experience.

It is acknowledged that while this may not be a truly hand-on experience, it must surely be the closest second-best available training system for infantry commanders. Previous generation of commanders had to learn the hard way, in war itself and commanders of today are indeed fortunate that they do not have to live with the consequences of their errors.

This is surely one information technology training system that will definitely enhance the performance and capabilities of infantry commanders. Rather than doing it the old way where argument of who win or lose can take hours to be solved, the modern way will give results immediately to enable commanders to realise their mistakes or achievements. Infantry commanders will even have the opportunity to train and plan their missions several times before embarking into the actual operations. Such raw knowledge will eventually give positive results on the actual battlefields.

POST MILLENNIUM WARRIORS

Technology, particularly that of information technology and computer has opened another dimension of how an infantryman will be equipped to fight the war of tomorrow. It may seem quite an illusion, but the fast and rapid development of the technology will inevitably lead to the creation of the "Post Millennium Warrior". Thompson-CSF has created his own idea of how an infantryman might look like beyond the year 2000¹⁰, as follows:

- Soldiers of the 21st Century will wear an all-enveloping one-piece helmet and suit that changes colour in chameleon-like manner to provide him with camouflage against his background.
- The suit would be fully air-conditioned at an appropriate temperature according to local climate.
- The suit will also protect him against nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

⁹ Electronics Warhorse, Mike Wit, *Asian Defence Journal*, July 1999.

¹⁰ New Technologies of the Battlefield, Mike Witt, *Asian Defence Journal*, August 1997.

- Inside the helmets visors would project maps and orders from commanders, reconnaissance imagery obtained or any other alphanumerics of graphic data relevant to his task.
- Small television or thermal imaging cameras attached to his helmet could also be used to obtain, display and transmit similar imagery from his own locality.
- Directional data could be given to him through a digital compass display.
- The infantryman's physical condition could also be continuously monitored and single computer will be able to monitor the physical condition of entire battalion simultaneously.

The range of possibilities seems boundless. If such invention were to materialise in the near future, no doubt that the burden of an infantryman will be lessened. Marksmanship will be made easier with thermal imager and night vision devices. Pinpointing navigation and ability to move by day and night will add extra advantage to tactical planners. All soldiers in the entire battalion are connected by individual digital radios. These are the types of technology that will surely enhance the performance and ability of infantrymen to work effectively at any theatre of operations around the world. It will definitely lessen the burden of the commanders.

DISADVANTAGES OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY TO THE INFANTRYMAN

To this point, considerations have been made largely on the positive effects information technology can bring to an infantryman. Professor Lawrence Freedman¹¹ has pointed out the negative effects of information technology towards a military organisation. Freedman has suggested that military organisations is now in danger of becoming "techno-junkies" which could become functionally impaired if their information technology support systems were removed. It means that any military organisation, formations or units could not function effectively without their scientific gadget, as they are over reliance to such equipment.

Freedman also found it difficult to accept that collection and manipulation of data would ever become a primary objective of war. He also noted that data loads are becoming bigger and thus increasingly impossible for human being to deal with. The professor's final contention is that the computer might make a better commander than a colonel, since it is the computer who do the thinking and not the colonel. That could be the reality if we ultimately rely totally on information technology. However, as long as there is a clear line separating the functions of the commanders and the computers, it is safe to point out that computers may be winning the

Training for Command... a computer based command and control system which is a higher formation trainer that provides an automated representation of operational scenario within a full integrated combat environment.

¹¹ Prof Lawrence Freedman, *International Center for Security Analysis*, War Studies Department, King College, London.

information war, but the infantrymen and their commanders may well be winning the territorial battle.

CONCLUSION

Information technology is undoubtedly the key elements in ensuring the success of any battle or war. It is indeed an additional weapon

readily available to an infantryman to enhance his performance and capabilities. The positive effect of information technology will definitely enhance the basic skills, navigation, command and control, communications, and the security of any infantry corps. As been pointed earlier, an infantryman must not to be over reliance to such technologies. Information technology must remain as our war-winning servant and not our potentially war-losing master.

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Mejj Nazim bin Mohd Alim was commissioned into 15 Royal Malay Regiment after graduated from the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, UK. He has served in various appointments within the regiment and formation including three years as Army Legal Officer. He holds a Degree in Law and currently he is a Company Commander in 24 RAMD.

TEN MINDSETS KEY TO SUCCESS

Mej Hassan bin Ali

INTRODUCTION



Everyone wants to be successful in life. Success is our birthright but unfortunately many people end up taking their potential greatness with them to their graves. Success is a subjective concept; it means different things to different people. To some, success is equated with wealth and material possessions. While for others, it is the attainment of good health, peace of mind or a happy family life.

The difference between success and failure is often a very small margin, a small margin usually separates leaders from the followers and it is you for not giving yourself a better margin of chance to achieve success (Lancaster, 1993). In general, success can be defined as the continuous process of attaining desired goals.

Everyone can be successful in their life in their own field, provided they must have a right mindset that leads them to be successful. The right mindset must be followed with the means and ways to achieve the set goals.

Mindset refers to the state of mind that affects the way people perceive, think and act towards a certain situation that requires change. The mindset reflects the psychological

and mental make-up of individuals in organisations. It constitutes the attitude the individuals hold towards work and its environment (Victor S L Tan, 1996).

Success can come with the right mindset. Success does not happen, it must be planned and managed - have clear goals and avoid from being drift aimlessly without knowing what you really want in life. Like any endeavour, success requires action that needed to be done. Clear goals must be transformed into action plan with a mission to achieve success. The mindset of a person is influenced by past experiences, assumptions and the way things used to be done.

There are many ways to be a successful person on earth. But the main key to success is from oneself; no one can change except you to make a move to achieve success. Many people resist changing due to many reasons. People are not willing to sacrifice to achieve success. They feel comfortable with the present situation and achievement that they had achieved. Success has no full stop; it is a continuous process by which it will give power to live and succeed. People resist to change for success because of not knowing what to achieve how to do it, why they should do it and furthermore without courage, support and motivation. All of us must learn to change and as long we are learning, we can expect to change (Nadler,

*...always manage
their emotions
productively and
always admit
mistakes....share
ideas, skills,
experiences and
pertinent
information....practice
the basic courtesies
such as saying
"sorry", "thank you"
and "please"*

1992). All the answers for these questions are from you. You need to change the way you think and behave yourself.

There are many reasons for changing mindset to achieve success. Change is needed in order to be efficient and effective person. Efficiency is getting things done right. It may call for increasing your competency to ensure the quality of your work will meet the success you desired.

TEN MINDSETS FOR SUCCESS

There are many principles laid by many authors on how to achieve success. It may be suitable and applicable to some but not to others. However they all have the same bearing and goal that is to be successful. There are 10 principles in changing mindsets for success. Basically these 10 principles are derived from these famous authors and can be as a guide for us to improve ourselves to achieve success.

- **Positive Personal Quality.** The basic principle of success is having a positive personal quality that is essentially high self-esteem. Self-esteem is directly related to expectations for success. People with high self-esteem believe that they possess more ability they need in order to succeed at work (Robbin Stephen, 1993). Successful people feel good about them and have a positive mental attitude. Self-image is determined primarily by our beliefs and our thoughts about ourselves. Positive self-image also refers to positive thinking. We must focus on the positive side of a particular situation and expect the best. Positive thinking works well on people with high self-esteem.

To succeed, one must consciously replace negative thoughts

with positive or self-empowering thoughts. View yourself as a valuable and worthwhile person. Accept yourself as what you are and what you cannot change. Try to take advantage of your strengths and capabilities to overcome your weaknesses. Exploit to the limit with what positive quality in oneself to overcome your negative personality quality. Do not forget to analyse negative personal quality. Do not hide it but take it as a starting point or turning point to improve your personal quality. Just like military leaders doing an appreciation in war, do make your own strength, weaknesses, opportunity and threat analysis from time to time in order to achieve success. Above all, believe in your self.

- **Self-discipline.** Self-discipline involves taking control of one's mind, emotions and habits. It cannot be judged from the uniform you wear. Successful people are willing to make sacrifices and postpone immediate gratification for seeing future dividends. They focus their attention on attaining their goals and are not side-tracked by distraction. In military environment, self-discipline is very important, as we are required to perform high-risk jobs with less supervision especially during war. Self-discipline involves integrity and as for leaders integrity is vital (Sallehuddin, 1996). It is essentially the feeling of self-competence and self-worth. It empowered individuals to attain desired goals and to optimise their potentials.

- **Set-direction and Goals.** One must have a set directions or goals to achieve. Always aim high and to achieve excellence in anything we do.

The direction must be clear and definite. Do not perform job or responsibility as what we are told as what usually happens in the military. We must have our own directions and goals to achieve. Do not let people plan for us, we plan for it. Successes are for people who are proactive and who assume full responsibility for their lives.

A clear sense of direction motivates us to do our best, helps us to channel our resources, energy, will; facilitates personal decision making and provides purpose for living. We must determine what is success to us and what do we really want out of life. One must develop a personal mission statement; one should then establish personal and career goals and action plan to attain them. Goals should be specific, measurable, attainable, and tolerant to one's mission statement and time - bounded.

- **Work to Schedule - Do not Delay.** One of the principles of success is being action - oriented and well - prepared. Successful people makes things happen by doing them, they do not procrastinate. This usually happens in the military; we like to do things at the very last minute. We cannot postpone war and the enemy will not wait for us to be ready for battle. We must do things on time, at a right time and for the first time. Manage your time and use it efficiently.

Works
performance....
producing error-free
works and meeting
work deadlines....
know the job
thoroughly,
anticipating
problems, and
preventing them
from occurring...
Success is a journey
and not a
destination, and for
successful
individual
improvement is a
continuous
journey.

Management expert Peter Drucker has said, *"Effective leaders, in my observation, do not start with their tasks. They start with their time. They start by finding out where their time goes. Then they attempt to manage their time and to cut back unproductive demands on their time."*

Do things what should be done and not what you like them to be done. Manage your time successfully. Prioritise your goals and do top priority work first. Identify your time wasters and get rid of them. Remember, minimise the non-productive hours. One good thing about the military is that we are particular about time. So stick to time and be on time.

- **Focusing on Your Strengths and Talents.** Each one of us is born with strengths and exploits them to our best advantage. Not everybody in the army can run the 10-mile run in time and not all will fight the war at the frontline. Someone must perform administrative jobs or be as cooks to feed the soldiers. You must know your self. To improve, you must have a base line against which to measure progress. Ignore weaknesses that hamper your pursuit of success. Capitalise on your strengths and overcome your major weaknesses that impede personal productivity. Identify and discard false beliefs about you. Learn to love yourself for performing particular tasks or for handling specific challenges in life. It takes hard work and determination, not just brain to succeed.

- **Flexibility.** Flexibility is one of the principles of war. This principle is

not only applicable during war but also as a guide for us to achieve success. People are not born with inflexible mindsets. Leaders can mould flexible mindset, the system and the environment they work in. Successful people adapt quickly to new realities. They are open to new ideas and willing to learn from others who know more and are able to correct courses in the pursuit of their goals.

Successful people always anticipate the problems and prevent them from occurring. They always take high initiative for work improvement. In order to be flexible, we must be creative, innovative and make sound and timely decision based on management by fact. Nature of being flexible is adaptable to change.

- **Human Relations.** Human life is unique and living in a military organisation is more unique. One cannot survive by living alone in this world. There is a chain of command for each individual to follow in military. Therefore human relations is very important in military organisations. We need tool and other people in order to be successful. Someone needs to perform certain jobs for us and on behalf of us. We cannot do everything by ourselves. We need to delegate power, distribute jobs and seek help from others. To be successful in both our personal and professional

life, we need the support and co-operation from other people.

Successful people seek mutual benefit for all human interactions. To establish good human relations, we must treat everyone with respect and dignity. One great thing to appreciate others is by looking for good things in people and show genuine interest in other people. Be a good listener and speak positively of others and do not forget to improve your communication skills. Being a good writer and speaking persuasively is not a gift which some people possess, it can be developed (Lancaster, 1993).

Remember people always react to our action. Know your audience and what they want from you. When we are offensive our subordinate automatically become defensive. We must be honest in giving specific appreciation and credit where it is due.

Successful people always manage their emotions productively and always admit mistakes. Always share ideas, skills, experiences and pertinent information. Being a human as well as a leader or a follower in our own field, please practice the basic courtesies such as saying "sorry", "thank you" and "please" when it is necessary. Smiling and acting cheerful and avoid needless arguments and sarcastic remarks, as this will show the true picture of yourself.

- **Self-renewal and Continuous Improvement.** Self-renewal is necessary to sustain your

... practice
rational
thinking, maintain
positive attitudes, be
receptive to new ideas
and constructive
criticism and become
lifelong learner... make
a positive first
impression and
appearance. Be
punctual ...maintain
integrity at all times.
Honour all your
promise and
commitments.

efforts towards continuous self-improvement that helps to maintain or strengthen your level of self-esteem. First thing is to know the real you. Identify your strengths and overcome your weaknesses, which impede your productivity. Self-renewal comprises mental, physical, social and spiritual well being. Successful people maintain physical fitness through exercises, rests and proper nutritions.

While on social aspects, successful people always link themselves with a circle of people who share common goals and values. Spiritually, successful people always maintain faith in you and in God. Faith will provide hope and confidence during challenging times. Mentally, successful people should practice rational thinking, maintain positive attitude, be receptive to new ideas and constructive criticism and become a lifelong learner.

Successful people always believe that they have ability to perform particular jobs, tasks or to handle specific challenges in life and practice positive self-talk. Visualise success in your career and other areas of your life. Make a positive first impression and appearance. Be punctual, make your first few words count; speak audibly, and use appropriate language and facial expressions. Practice what you preach and maintain integrity at all times. Honour all your promises and commitments.

- **Work Performance and Productivity Oriented.** Work performance refers to how the job is carried out by certain people or individuals. It has a strong relationship with the wages that they earn. With the New Remuneration System (SSB) as

practised by the government, performance and productivity determine our wages. Performance will determine the productivity and output. An individual is productive if he achieves his goal where productivity implies a concern for both effectiveness and efficiency (Robbin, 1993). We cannot expect good products to be produced when the work performance is low. Productivity can be increased when the performance is increased be it machinery or human.

The successes of any organisations are depending on the performance and productivity produced by their employees. However, military as a service organisation that is to defend the country cannot measure its quantitative output. Our perception must be right, the duty to defend the country is an honour. As soldiers', we must strive to improve our performance for excellence. Have a work performance and productivity oriented mindsets.

Work performance also meant that producing error-free works and meeting work deadlines. We must know the job thoroughly, anticipating problems and preventing them from occurring. Everyone must take initiative for work performance and continuous improvement. Success is a journey and not a destination, and for a successful individual improvement is a continuous journey.

- **Strong and Solid Character.** The main traits of a strong character are being honest, trustworthy and reliable. Understand and be faithful to your vision. Successful people are always visible, approachable and have a sense of humour in his life. Strong character

also means self-acceptance which is essentially respecting yourself whilst acknowledging your shortcomings or limitations. Feel good about yourself and that you are worthy of living. You must change certain aspects of yourself, which are within your power to do so. You must take charge of your life. It involves taking initiatives to make things happen by establishing goals and formulate an action plan to achieve your goals.

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time and for the
first time.... They
start by finding out
where their time
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attempt to manage
their time and to cut
back unproductive
demands on their
time.

succeed. It is a matter of paradigm shift and the setting of mindset. There has to be a paradigm shift in the way we think, talk or act in order to overcome the challenges ahead. To be successful now and into the future will require the whole new set of mindset. We must set our visions to look beyond traditional methods with the new way of thinking. We must shift our paradigms and change our mindset.

To be successful in life, we need to develop our capabilities and knowledge quickly if we want to stay ahead and advance into the next millennium. These ten mindsets can be as a guidance and guidelines for us to improve ourselves to become a better and successful people in the future.

CONCLUSION

Success is not that hard or difficult to achieve. Success alone does make people to

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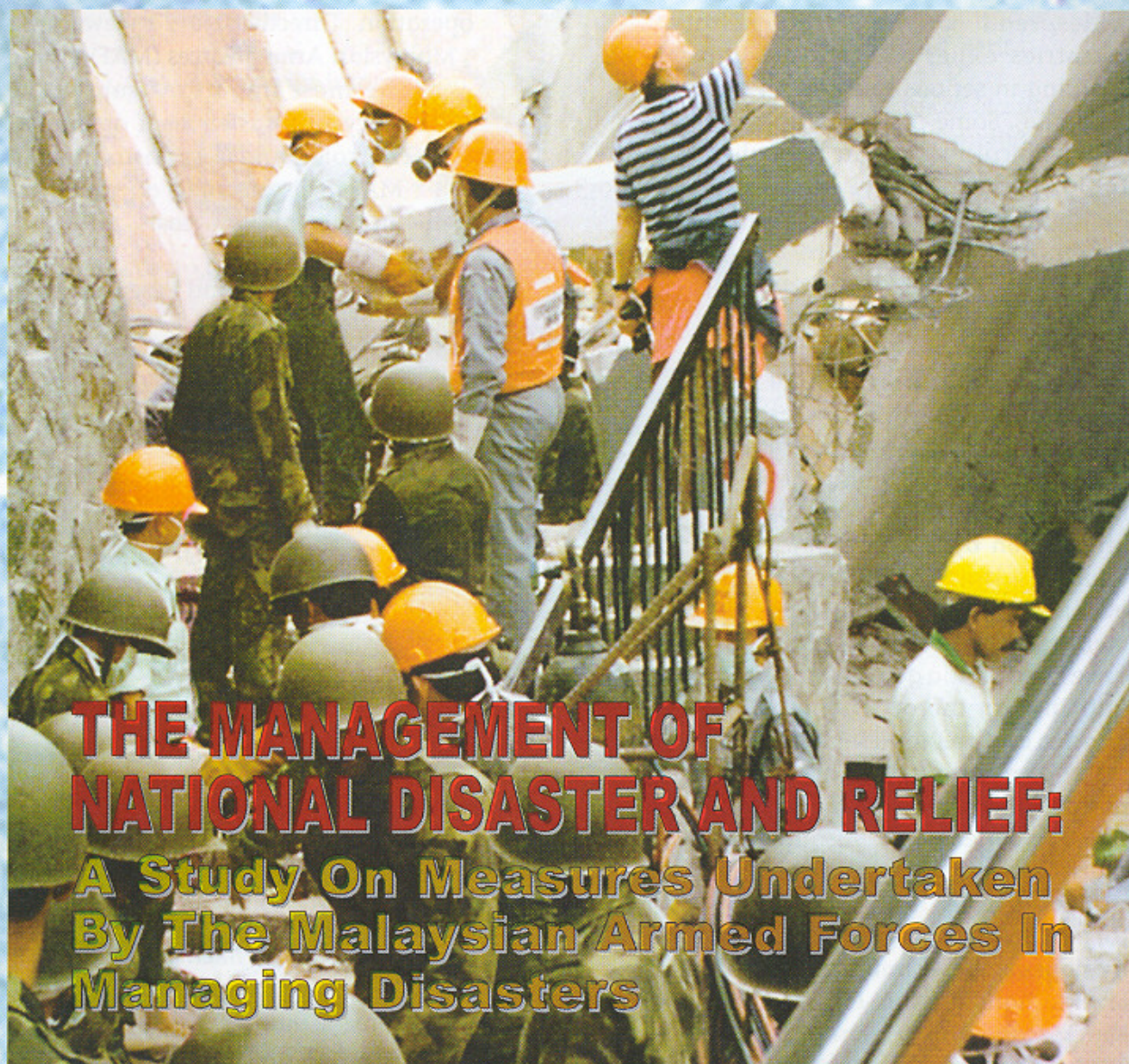


Mejj Hassan bin Ali is an Ex-Putera, commissioned into the Special Service Corps in 1982. He has held various appointments in the unit as well as an instructor in the Royal Military College. He holds a M Sc (HRD), BBA (Hons) (HRM) and Diploma in Public Admin. Currently he is a student of MAFSC, Haigate.

Jauhi Empat Perkara:

- * Jangan berkawan dengan orang yang tamak kerana pada zahirnya ia ingin membahagiakanmu tapi hakikatnya dia mencelakakan.
- * Jauhi berteman dengan pembohong kerana ia boleh menjadikan orang yang dekat lari daripadamu dan sebaliknya.
- * Jangan berkawan dengan orang yang bakhil kerana ia akan melupaimu di waktu kamu sangat-sangat memerlukannya.
- * Jauhilah bersahabat dengan orang yang suka berbuat jahat kerana ia tidak malu untuk menjualmu dengan harga yang murah.

- Wasiat Sayidina Ali bin Abu Talib



THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL DISASTER AND RELIEF: A Study On Measures Undertaken By The Malaysian Armed Forces In Managing Disasters

Mej Azmee bin Hj Ahmad

INTRODUCTION



Disasters are realities in life which are inevitable and when it strikes no one is spared. They have resulted in uncalled sufferings for the victims and more importantly, they put a heavy toll on property damage, loss of income and employment opportunities. On the economic point of

view, the deterrent effects on prospective investors and business community in general are eminent.

Malaysia has experienced several major disasters such as cyclones, floods, landslides, collapse of buildings and many more. The conduct of the disaster relief operations in the past has shown that there are crucial gaps in knowledge and understanding of this

widespread phenomenon. Many countries experienced these gaps resulting in serious loss of lives and properties. Some cases in point are the chemical incident in Bhopal, India, the Chernobyl nuclear incident in the former Soviet Union, and very recent earthquakes in Gujarat, India and Guatemala.

The management of disaster is a crisis within a crisis in many countries including Malaysia. This mismanagement is due to the lack of preparation by the emergency agencies to handle such occurrences. Crisis management refers to the ability of the emergency agencies in anticipating the occurrence of disaster, and preparation made to relief the calamities back to normal in a short period of time. These experiences of mismanagement by emergency agencies indicated that there is a need to formulate an integrated disaster management mechanism at the national level to handle future disaster. This prompted the Malaysian government to review the existing provisions for disaster relief operation. In May 1997, the National Security Council (NSC) of the Prime Minister's Department introduced a directive known as "Directive No 20, The Management of National Disaster and Relief". This directive is an outline policy on managing disaster and relief operation on land according to the level of a disaster. It is to establish a management of emergency mechanisms with the purpose of determining the roles and responsibilities of the various agencies involved in disaster relief

...the MAF is one of the key players in national disaster relief operation, however, not much preparation was done for such tasks. There is no proper and comprehensive plan formulated by the MAF for such operation except on flood relief. In the absence of the MAF's disaster policy, the assistance that would be required by the civilian authority in time of needs may not be professionally provided.

operation. Directive No 20 viewed the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) as one of the most important supportive agency in disaster relief operation. The roles and responsibilities of MAF in disaster relief operation are in three major areas:

- Search and Rescue.
- Health and Medical.
- Logistics and Communications Support.

DEFINITION OF DISASTER

The definition of disaster varies from countries to countries, depending on the standards of disaster management and other disaster-related activities, including study and research. The Malaysian NSC describes disaster as "an accidents that occur unexpectedly, complex in nature, resulting in the loss of lives and damage to properties and the environment as well as interfering in the daily activities of the local communities". These incidents require the management of resources, equipment, frequency and extensive manpower from various agencies as well as effective co-ordination and the possibility of complex actions over a long period of time.

For the purpose of managing disaster effectively, Directive No 20 has formed a committee from the lowest at district to the highest at national level known as Disaster Management Relief Committee (DMRC). The DMRC at national level consists of the following figures of various agencies as shown below:

- **Chairman**

- Minister of Information.

- **Members**

- Minister of Finance.
- Minister of National Unity and Community Development.
- Chief Secretary of the Government.
- Chief of the Armed Forces.
- Chief of Police.
- Chief Director of Health Department.
- Chief Director of National Security Division.
- Chief Director of Fire and Rescue Department.
- Chief Director of Atomic Energy Licensing Board.
- Chief Director of Broadcasting.
- Chief Director of Information.
- Chief Director of Road and Traffic Department.
- Chief Director of Civil Defence Department.
- Chief Director of Work Department.
- Chief Director of Environmental Department.

- Chief Director of Community Welfare Department.
- Chief Director of National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health.
- Chief Director of Weather Focus Services.
- Chief Director of Civil Avionics Department.
- Chief Director of Geological Research Department.
- Chief Director of Water and Drainage.
- Chief Director of Budget of Ministry of Finance.
- Chief Director of RELA.
- Attorney General's Representative.

- **Secretary**

- Chief Director of Disaster and Crises Management, National Security Council of Prime Minister's Department

The involvement of these agencies depends on the types and levels of the threat. The levels of disaster threat are defined as follow:

- **Level I.** The incident is not complex and casualties are low. The nature of the threat is under control and contained into specific area. It has zero potential to spread. The disaster does not disrupt the daily activities of the local community. The District Authority is efficient enough to overcome through it own agencies with or without any external assistant.

- **Level II.** The incident is more serious, and covers a bigger area. It has potential of spreading and possibilities of losing lives and properties are high. The disaster also damages the infrastructure and routines of the local society. The authority at the state level, however, is capable to overcome the situations with or without external assistant.

- **Level III.** This disaster is normally occurred after the relief operation at Level II failed. It is highly complex and the areas covered are bigger for instance, it occurs in two or more states. The federal authority, however, has the capacity to address the problem with or without external assistant.

The committee is responsible to identify and to recognise the hazards of the disaster when it occurs immediately. Thereafter, they will identify the agencies that are required to be involved in the relief operation and to co-ordinate it as quickly as possible. Directive No 20 has outlined the profiles of disaster as a guideline for the committee to identify the required actions to be taken. The disasters are as follow:

- **Natural disaster** such as floods, draughts, tornadoes or storms, landslides and others.
- **Industrial disaster** such as explosions, fires, oil spill, hazardous materials and others.

...the MAF has directly been effectively involved in disaster relief operations, since the use of the military in national disasters relief operations is within her scope. In many major disasters, the MAF are involved especially to provide support on manpower, equipment and logistics.

- Transportation accidents and transferring of hazardous materials.
- Collapse of high rise building.
- Air accident that occurs in populated areas.
- Trains collisions or derailments.
- Fires such as forest fires, urban fires, and other open burning.
- The burst of hydro dam or reservoir.
- Nuclear and radiological mishap.
- The emission of poisonous gas in public places.
- Haze which causes environmental disaster.

DISASTER MANAGEMENT IN MAF

The military has a large reserve of manpower and equipment and command system suitable for effective organisation in an emergency. In the USA, its involvement in disaster relief is only at the request of civilian authority and to work under them. If the existing civilian authority is inadequate to lead the operation, the military may take more authority though normally they are still working under the civilians. In Italy, the military has much greater authority in disaster

and may assume complete control. In Japan however, the military has only a supportive role in disaster relief.

In the Malaysian context, the MAF is a key supportive agency to assist the civilian authority in disaster relief operations. Over the years, the MAF has directly been effectively involved in disaster relief operations, since the use of the military in national disasters relief operations is within her scope. In many major disasters, the MAF are involved especially to provide support on manpower, equipment and logistics. To name a few on the involvement of the MAF in the past; the collapse of Highland Tower in Hulu Kelang, the outbreak of Japanese Encephalitis in various places in the country, bush fires in Sepang and many more. The MAF was also involved in preparation of the logistics support for the Malaysian Fire and Rescue Department operation in Indonesia a few years back.

Arguably, the roles and functions of MAF in disaster relief operation are envisaged to be greater in the future. This is in view that in most of the national relief operations, the MAF presence is strongly felt. Notwithstanding, the MAF is one of the key players in national disaster relief operation, however, not much preparation was done for such tasks. There is no proper and comprehensive plan formulated by the MAF for such operation except on flood relief. In the absence of the MAF's disaster policy, the assistance that would be required by the civilian authority in time of needs may not be professionally provided. The complexity of disasters in the future required MAF to be more proactive in their preparation of man and equipment.

The Directive No 20 has specified the MAF's responsibilities into three major areas i.e. search and rescue, health and medical, logistics and communication support. These responsibilities are broad in their terms and required further elaboration and translation into the suitability of all aids responses, so that

overlapping of jobs will not occur. There are still many areas that need to be tightened up such as the involvement of personnel of various agencies, the administration of manpower, maintenance of equipment and joint training among the agencies. Joint training is the most important task and must be given priority by the MAF. Lack of training among the personnel involved will result in chaos, confusion and will delay the whole relief process.

Since the directive was introduced six years ago no serious effort on the co-ordination or joint exercises among the emergency agencies have been conducted. The NSC in particular has neglected the responsibility to plan such joint exercises. Therefore, the reliability and effectiveness of the directive was not fully tested since it was introduced, and as a result no improvement was made to the national disaster plan. The failure of NSC should not be reason for the MAF for not doing any preparation. Despite these failures, MAF should take the initiative to examine their roles in disaster relief and at the same time enhance their capabilities for future challenges.

DISASTER CO-ORDINATING BODY

Without effective measures, the MAF may not be able to provide professional and effective assistance in time of needs. The establishment of a co-ordinating body which is responsible to identify national policies, formulating Armed Forces disaster policies and procedures, co-ordinating of resources, identifying the disaster-prone areas, training of personnel is so urgently required and should be considered seriously by MAF. A co-ordinating body that is trained in this field needs to be set up and it would require a good co-ordination and control of resources for relief works. The body is to facilitate all information and advice to the MAF on matters of disasters in decision making exclusively on a specific disaster. The body is recommended to be placed under MAF HQ consisting of the following mapping:

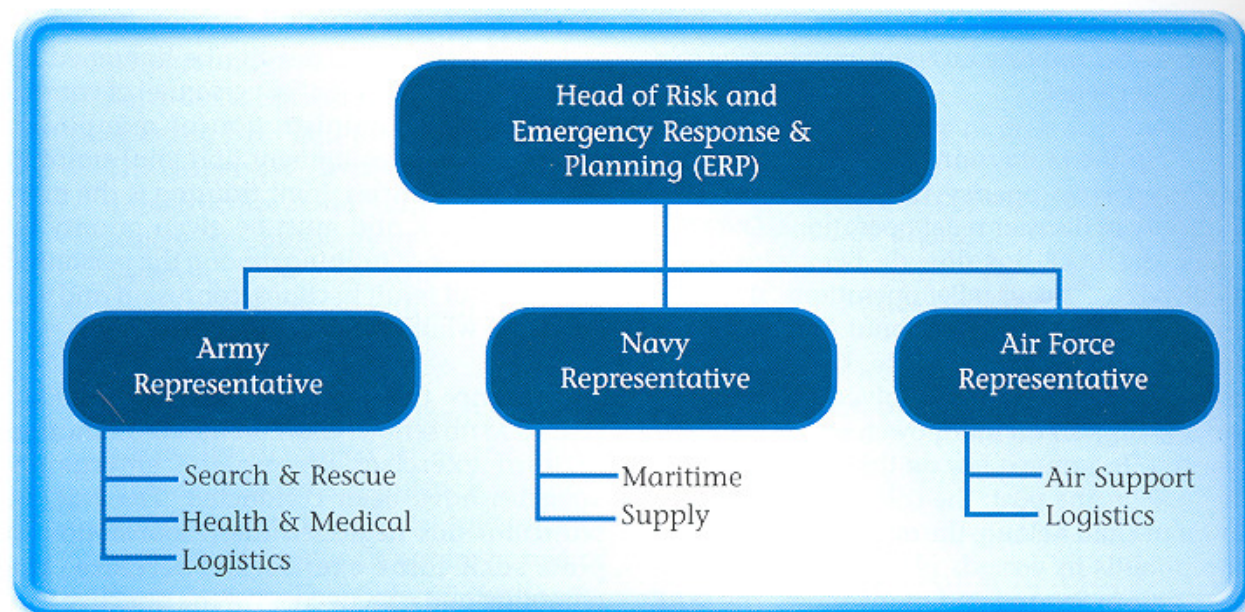


Figure 1. Proposed structure of Disaster Co-ordinary Body

CONCEPT OF EMERGENCY OPERATION

The development and implementation of policies and strategies for the prevention, preparation and response to any disasters occurred are an integral part of the NSC activities. It covers humanitarian aspects on the protection of the population against natural and man-made disaster, mutual assistance in the event of an emergency, including provision of facilities and shelters. The comprehensive national protection concept is also meant to cope with an influx of refugees in the event of disaster.

The MAF must adopt the conceptual operation of disaster relief by NSC into their policy of disaster operation plan or any other disaster relief operation. The disaster relief plan needs to be developed by the MAF to ensure prior mitigation and preparedness, appropriate response and timely recovery from natural and man-made disasters that can be provided in time when it is required. This plan should be organised based on the structure of the MAF and tasks given according to Directive No 20,

which must be performed during disaster relief operations.

Procedures for the accomplishment of the functional assignments are not outlined in detail; thus, each department involved should produce their own Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs) to accomplish its respective assignments. The plan should consist of two parts, i.e. a basic plan which outlines the legal basis, situation and assumptions, responsibility, concept of operations, and direction and control of emergency operations in Malaysia. Secondly, a group of annexes which outlines the prescribed emergency concept of operations, the responsibility for such operations, the required support and the direction and control necessary for the performance of each major function or protection option.

The policy formulated should be able to integrate disaster management system to deal with all kinds of disasters. It also should be a sound system of co-operation among agencies in conducting such operation of relief and rehabilitation. The mechanism of disaster management needs to be formulated in order

to avoid any confusion and chaos in handling the situation. In order a task to be done professionally, the specialists and higher skilled personnel need to be involved in such operations. When operating under emergency conditions, the emergency agency opts to utilise all available resources within the MAF services, before requesting outside support. Once the disaster exceeds the level of capacity to respond, further assistance will be requested from NSC.

TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITY

The co-ordinating body is responsible for the following tasks:

- **Formulate the Policies and Procedures.** The purpose of formulating Emergency Response and Planning (ERP) unit in the MAF is to establish policies and procedures necessary to provide emergency shelters in time of disaster or emergency. The policy must be comprehensive in nature and most important it must conform to the national disaster policy plan. The policy must be specific and clear. It should be simple, flexible yet comprehensive because the complexity of disasters varies and required highly trained personnel to handle it.

- **Co-ordination of Resources.** Co-ordination of resources is important when filling the bill in managing and tackling of a disaster. Therefore, co-ordination is important to ensure full utilisation of all resources and agencies. Co-ordination will make all decisions to run smoothly and calamities brought under control. The co-ordinating body that deals with the various department or services will implement inter-

departmental co-ordination of emergency operations capability. It is the task and responsibility of the co-ordinators to plan and to train the individuals of the responders, and to co-ordinate with the policies and procedures of this plan. In the event, it is necessary for one department to request emergency aid or support from another department, personnel rendering aid or support will be under the operational control of the department receiving the aid support.

- **Identification of Disaster-prone Areas.** The body is responsible in identifying all disaster-prone areas and have to look into all possibilities of potential hazards and their recommendations to overcome the problems, and the best time to response. Flood, landslides, drought, tornadoes and collapse of the buildings are examples to be studied before each disaster occurs. This is to make sure that the body will not overlook any possibilities in saving disaster victims and the employment of its work force.
- **Training.** The co-ordinating body needs to ensure the personnel involved in the disasters relief operation have to undergo basic but detailed training. The training will help them to foresee the MAF tasks and responsibilities and able to act professionally in conjunction to specific disaster. Since the body will work along with other agencies, joint exercises should be conducted from time to time. All emergency preparedness, planning, training, and co-ordination will be compatible with the policies and procedures of this plan.

RECOMMENDATION IN PREPARING PROCEDURES

The basic principles in the preparation of procedures for the MAF disaster management policy must be in accordance with the functions and tasks given. These factors have to be considered in formulating the policy as follows:

- **Situation.** A disaster condition may result from catastrophic earthquake, significant natural disaster or other incidents that produce extensive damage and results in large volumes of request from all levels of government authority for services required to save lives and alleviate human suffering. The planner have to identify several primary hazards which have the potentials to disrupt day-to-day activities, cause extensive property damage, and create casualties. These authorities require accurate and timely information on which to base their decisions and focus their response actions.

- **Mission.** The MAF is to provide emergency support to emergency agencies and will conduct relief operation within the guidelines identified in the operating directive.

- **Objectives.** The MAF is to provide support for emergency or

...no serious effort on the co-ordination or joint exercises among the emergency agencies have been conducted. The NSC neglected the responsibility to plan such joint exercises... the reliability and effectiveness of the directive was not fully tested ... not be reason for the MAF for not doing any preparation.... MAF should take the initiative to examine their roles in disaster relief and at the same time enhance their capabilities for future challenges.

disaster operations at national level as required by the situation and directed by DRMC. The MAF will also:

- ~ Provide auxiliary communications for military and civilian officials during emergencies.

- ~ Provide manpower, equipment and transportation throughout relief operation conducted as required by NSC.

- ~ Provide Essential Elements of Information (EEI) and reports to appropriate emergency management body.

- **Supported Organisation and Emergency Agencies.** The MAF will support the DRMC and other organisations and emergency agencies as may be directed during emergency/disaster support.

- **Command and Control.** Ultimate responsibility for emergency management in the country belongs to the DMRC. The following basic command and control of the national disaster committee are as follows:

- ~ The Crises and Disaster Management Unit (CDMU) of NSC is the primary resource advisor for disaster and emergency response within the country. It is also the primary resource advisor for disaster

and emergency response within each state.

~ DMRC typically provides primary Operation Control (OPCON) of whole operation of disaster relief.

~ The MAF may provide the support as needed based upon reliable knowledge that an emergency or disaster situation (or exercise) is imminent or has already occurred, and activation of operations to enhance emergency/disaster response and recovery actions is vital.

~ The MAF personnel involved in the operation will be under DMRC throughout the operation. The DMRC has overall responsibility for co-ordination of MAF support by affiliated members within its jurisdiction.

~ The DMRC may assign MAF or other agencies for purposes of providing guidance in the employment of resources in emergency/disaster communications operations and serving as the gateway for relaying information and

handling traffics between MAF and other agencies.

• **Tasked and Equipment Systems.** Equipment and systems employed are determined by the situation and mission requirements. Equipment may both be government owned and privately owned and maintained by individual MAF members except for military stations. Equipment and systems are made available at no charge, in support of the NSC, the public interest and safety.

CONCLUSION

Emergency preparedness and recovery is the best defence in avoiding both natural and man-made disasters and in minimising their costs in human life and loss of property. In parallel to NSC directive No 20, it is crucial for the MAF to set up a co-ordinating body of ERP. This is to improve the system of disaster management in MAF as well as to enhance the ability of the personnel to handle such disasters in future. Without effective measures, the MAF may not be able to provide professional and effective assistance in the time of needs. Few steps need to be taken urgently by MAF especially on training or exercises of personnel and preparing procedures. By doing so, the appropriate response and timely recovery is achieved during emergencies.

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Mejj Azmee bin Hj Ahmad was an ex-Putera Royal Military College, joined the service in 1981 and commissioned from Pakistan Military Academy into the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Corps. He was graduated in Bachelor of Social Science (PMA), holds the Diploma in Mechanical Engineering (UiTM) and MSc Degree in "Emergency Response and Planning" from UPM. Currently he is the SO 2 in HQ 4 Div.