Sorotan DARAT

Inventory Management - Issues and Challenges

JURNAL TENTERA DARAT MALAYSIA

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AN ANALYSIS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ISSUES: A CASE STUDY OF ISRAEL AND IRAQ

By: Mej Zainudin Bin Mustafa

'Mass destruction'

INTRODUCTION

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have been a headline story to many global media and common agendas in various forums lately. In the midst of searching for global peace and security, the proliferation and development of such weapons are taking place, in some parts of the world. Issues of WMD seems will remain to be the focus of global nations due to the absence of a comprehension and consensus of global mindset pertaining to the resolution in addressing the problems. Despite the efforts to gradually reduce and control global WMD build-up, nations were stunned with North Korea's test firing of a long-range ballistic missile in 1998 and recently, with her claim that they have re-activated their nuclear weapon programs and confessed their ability in nuclear warfare. Besides that, there were India and Pakistan nuclear propaganda and psychological warfare that caused diplomatic conflict between both nations is at a

stalemate. The United States and it's coalitions worked hard to eliminate Iraq's WMD capabilities through the usage of force due to Iraq's refusal to comply to UN Resolution 1441, that accused Iraq is threatening Middle East peace and security while on the other hand Israel was left unquestioned on it's WMD build-up. This paper is intended to disclose some related issues, such as the reasons why Iraq has been the focus of interest, whereby in the Middle East itself there are states that possess such weapons as well.

AIM

This essay is aimed to highlight some answers towards the uncertainties of the issues of WMD such as 'Why', 'What are the main problems', 'What will happen in the future', 'Whose fault actually?' 'The implications and effects' and 'Are there any hidden agendas?' which regard to the issues. At the end of the paper, to suggest some possibilities and recommendations pertaining to the issues as point to ponder on or perhaps offer some ideas in evaluating the issues.

ANALYSIS

The following analysis was made in March and April 2003 during preparation of this paper. After seven-months, most if not the entire analysis has been conformed its truth.

- Israel WMD Capability. It is clearly reflected and undeniable that after the fall of Iraq, which was once a leading nation among Arab states in term of NBC and WMD, the region is now lead

by Israel. The comparison of WMD possession by various Middle East Arab states as shown at Annex A, theoretically and directly reflecting that Israel is now the only NBC and WMD power nation that exists in the region. They are the one that might ignite NBC or WMD threats in the region and become the cause of unstable atmosphere as far as peace, stability and security is concerned.

• **Iraq WMD Capability.** Iraq is eventually do not have WMD capabilities at all, be it NBC or WMD capabilities or even Delivery System capabilities during the period of post Gulf War 1 (1990-1991). The statement made by the UN Weapons Inspection Team leader (UNMOVIC) Hans Blix after the outbreak of Gulf War 2 [1] may have it's validity whereby up till the day Iraq's last fortress (Tikrit) fell to the US led coalition, they still failed to discover any NBC or WMD plant or reactor. By not possessing any NBC/WMD capability, consequently Iraq at present is not a threat in the term of WMD towards any Middle East regions after the end of the 1991 Gulf War. As far as the possibility to be a potential NBC and WMD threat is also illogical, it is only a cheap provocative analysis by the US and its coalition members as well as the currently ineffective and questionable UN council. What Iraq still has after Gulf War 1 was only her expertise and scientist that could be considered hopeless due to the absence and incapability to access any material for NBC and WMD production. The accusation that Iraq might have withdrawn and placed their NBC and WMD weapons elsewhere probably in Syria or other neighbouring countries [2] are also pre-conceive prejudice statements towards Middle East states in particular the Islamic

nations. The question arises here, if so Iraq did possess such weapons and after realising from the indications that they cannot sustain the US coalition attack, why didn't Saddam use whatever he was believed to possess devastating damage towards them?

• **Other Arab states capability.** A comparative study has been made on other Middle East Arab nations in order to identify their capabilities of NBC weapons and WMD (see Annex A for reference). The outcome of the comparison made is as follows:

※ **Egypt.** Has only Chemical Warfare (CW) and ballistic missile capability but neither Nuclear Warfare (NW) nor Biological Warfare (BW). In addition, Egypt may not develop any NW and BW since she has signed the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) (1981), CTBT (1986) and BTWC (1972).

※ **Syria.** Owned the largest and most advance CW capability. However, there is no evidence of NW and BW program and production. In term of WMD program and production capability, Syria did have limited long-range ballistic missiles.

※ **Iran.** Has limited capability in CW and her Nuclear Reactor is solely for energy power generation but none BW weapon reported. Eventually recent information gathered based on latest statements made by Russian official [3] Alexander Rumyantsev (Minister of Atomic Energy) in ITAR-TASS official news stated that Iran lately expanding it's uranium capability in one of it's nuclear reactors. The latest development tickles the concern of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and of those superpower and even Israel.

1   Mingguan Malaysia dated 13 Apr 03, Blix accused Bush and Blair manipulating and creating evidence on Iraq WMD program in order to win UNSC approval to invade Iraq. He added that the plan to overthrown the present regime was a prepared pre-planned intention very much earlier. (the statement was published in Spain Daily News, *El Pais.*

2   Utusan Malaysia dated 15 Apr 2003, Israel terima padah jika AS serang Syria.

3   Utusan Malaysia dated 24 Apr 2003, berita luar negara, Rusia bimbng Iran tingkatkan keupayaan Uraniam.

- **Potential Middle East WMD power nation.** Based on the comparison and present development in Iraq, who was once considered a leading nation in terms of NBC warfare capability as well as possession of the most WMD assets, it seems that at present Israel is at the front. Thus in the Middle East presently, excluding Iran, Israel is the new nuclear power and threat to other Arabs nations. Furthermore, Israel is not confine to NPT since their refusal to sign any non-proliferation agreement and is always being protected by the super power. Second in the line up is probably Syria as lately, after the fall of Iraq has been propagated by the US of having and developing NBC and WMD[4]. In future due to the latest development that the US in now threatening other Arab nations i.e. Syria, perhaps Iran will be a potential NBC and WMD power nation as a deterrent measures to curb Israel dominance.

- **Who is Actually NBC and WMD Power State at Present.** It is clearly reflected that **Israel is the present NBC and WMD power** in the region and she is a **threat to the Middle East** nations. It will create the possibilities of other Middle East nations to develop their NBC and WMD programs. If that is the case, the global concern to curb and eliminate NBC and WMD campaign will not be feasible. In line with the current situation with Israel still possessing such weapon stockpile and capabilities, it's seemed that the region is **facing imbalance in politico-military situations.**

- **Political Interest.** The formation and the establishment of Israel state in 1948 is the result of high level political decision made by World War 2 main actors such as United States and Britain in accommodating the inspiration of the most influenced racist in world politics and economics that is the Jewish community. The Jewish community contributed in large amount of income to national GDP of the U.S. and Britain as well toward the economic activity of most European states. Thus even though they do not represent any state, but their power of influence is so great. During the 2nd World War, most of the war expenses were financed by the Jewish who intended to protect their interest by claiming to be the victims of the Nazis regime. Therefore after World War 2, Britain and the US were indebted and obliged towards the Jewish and as a payback, they masterminded the establishment of Israel[5]. The present conflict that is the outbreak of Gulf War 2 was again caused by the political influence by the Jewish in order to protect their interest and ensuring their security of their existence in the region.

- **Economic Interest.** With regards to economic interest, some reasons are:

  ※ **To Secure and Control Oil Sources.** Iraq has been a concern of interests to the US and British ever since the first Gulf War (1991). The invasion by US and its coalition (March 2003) was due to the strong insistence of the use of force by both the UK and the US on a simple reason, that is, **the importance** of oil. This statement was further supported by Prof Noam Chomsky in his article published in the British daily, The Guardian on 10 Jan 1991; *UK financial stability would be seriously threatened if the petroleum from Kuwait and the Persian Gulf area were not available to the UK on reasonable terms, if the UK were **deprived of the large investments made by that area** in the UK, and if sterling were deprived of the support provided by the Persian Gulf oil'. He added 'These British needs and the fact that **an assured source of oil is essential to the***

4   Massa. Edition 390, 19-25 Apr 2003, special report 'Syria sasaran seterusnya'.

5   Whose War? What Peace?, Reflection of the Gulf Conflict by ALIRAN, Chapter 2, The Gulf Conflict : A brief background' Aliran Kesedaran Malaysia Press, 1991,

continued economic viability of Western Europe provide some reason for the US to support or if necessary assist the British in using force to retain control of Kuwait and Persian Gulf'. The US and the British have long enjoyed the capital flow from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the other Gulf principalities to their economies, corporations and financial institutions. These are among the reasons why Britain and the US have often not been averse to increases in oil price [6].

※ **To Stabilise World Markets Uncertainty.** Apart from the important of Iraq's oil to the West, and the US, there was an argument that was published in the Newsweek, Feb 2003 topic 'The Waiting Game'[7]. It stated that the US and other world economic power nations or in other words, the **World Markets and Business intentionally want War.** It also stated that the present world economic situation is facing the cloud of uncertainty, where uncertainty has driven down stocks and put the brakes on the global economy. This economic case for war now assumes that most people are preparing 'mistakenly' for a long and ugly conflict which fearing the worst, traders are jacking up the price of oil, consumers are losing confidence, bankers are raising the cost of loans and investors are fleeing risky stock markets for safer havens. A business analyst stated that 'Markets Hate Uncertainty and with the global economy paralysed by the fear of the unknown, they argued that war now has more advantages economically rather than peace. This proposition was based on the past experienced during the outbreak of the first Gulf War where a quick allied advance sent global oil price down from $32 to $21 per barrel

helping to set the stage for the boom of the 1990s. Currently, the oil price is again hovering above $30 and it could happen again if victory comes quickly. London group of corporate managers called the Institute of Directors saying that a short war would push oil prices back to $20 and stock markets up 5 percent this year. To conclude, in economic terms, a short war is better than no war because of the removal of uncertainty.

※ **Other Economic Interest.** There is also a considerably important reason that is **Iraq's water resources.** After Israel withdrew from Lebanon, their water supply that previously came from Lebanon was terminated. Since then, Israel depended on water supply from other states that is not cost - effective and from re-process seawater or re-treated used water[8].

• **Defence and Security Interest.** The defence and security interests here is not actually for the Middle East nations but the main agenda **was for Israel's protection** from any external threats which the immediate was from the surrounding Arab states in the region. Since **Iraq's** invasion of Kuwait, she was seems to be **a threat or a troublemaker towards others Middle East states that endangered peace and security in** the regions. The superpower or Israel strong allies, worried that at that certain period, Iraq would have the capabilities in terms of armament.

• **Geo-Strategic and Tactical Important of Iraq.** The geographical location of Iraq offers strategic and tactical value in terms of military operations with regard of it's ground that is located at Israel Eastern Front (Refer to Annex B- Middle East map). Strategically, in order to ensure her survivability and security in the future, she has to secure or deny any possible approaches (in

6   Ibid, Chapter 4 : Behind the American Show of force, article by Prof Noam Chomsky, 'US and British Interest in the Gulf', p 34.
7   Newsweek dated 10 Feb 2003 by Karen Lowry Miller, page 12-16.
8   Statement and comment made by Chandra Muzzafar, in an interview with local TV discussion forum before the outbreak of Gulf War 2.

military terms meaning offensive route or direction of attack) by its opponents. By possessing control of Iraq, Israel is able to create a 'buffer zone' or 'safe area' at her corridor or out-skirts. However if there is no troop invasion war outbreak, the possibility of Iraq launching its NBC and WMD to the heart of Israel is feasible due to her geographical distance. Therefore by eliminating Iraq's NBC and WMD capabilities, Israel will be more secure from any such threats from Iraq. The first Gulf War (1991) had witnessed that Iraq 'means of what they says' with the storming of its Scud missiles on Israel's land and fortunately all rounds were conventional warheads and no NBC weapon was reported.

- **Why Iraq and Not Other Arab states.** Besides the reasons that Iraq seemed to be a threat to their (the US, West and Israel) political, economic, defence and security interest, there are some other reasons that interest the US and its coalition, can be explained as follows:

  ※ **Settlement of Unfinished Business.** Although Iraq was defeated in the first Gulf War, but the US Republican Party then led by G.W. Bush senior, was psychologically and morally lost, due to the fact that Saddam Hussein was still in power and Bush senior later lost his presidential sit to Clinton. In other words, the missions of the US and its coalition to eliminate and change Saddam's regime failed. This statement was based on the Asian Wall Street Journal, Aug 1990 spelt out 'the role of the US led military forces which was to ultimately overthrow the leadership of Iraq (Saddam) and on top of that to disarm and pacify one of the world's most troublesome region, and further establish Israel as the sole regional superpower[9]. Therefore, the Republican victory headed by George W.

Bush junior seems to be the right time to settle an unfinished business on behalf of his father[10]. This statement is supported by the article written by Howard Fineman title 'How Bush Did it' that was published in Newsweek,[11] just after a few days George W. Bush won the 2002 mid -term election, where he has made a warning statement toward Iraq to comply to UN Resolution to disarm it's WMD.

※ **Iraq's Refusal to Support Middle East Peace Process.** Iraq was among a few Middle East Arab states that was against any peace process negotiations and refused to abide to any related resolution and will only response if the peace process includes Palestinian issues as it's agendas. In this case, Iraq and four other Arabs states were marked and viewed as 'a major problem' as far as the West and the US are concerned. Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya and Iran were accused as a non-democracy states, the states that sponsored terrorism and possessed or developed WMD[12]. Iraq is always the 'pain in the ass' for Uncle Sam and it's allies. After numerous military conflicts between Arabs and Israel, Israel strategically gained some advantages when she was able to sign peace treaties with her strategic neighbouring states such as with Egypt (1976) and Jordan (1994) and the others like Turkey, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar have already been under the hand of the US with living only Syria and Lebanon that believed to be their next agenda[13].

- **What Next and the Future.** NBC and WMD issues in the Middle East will still be headline issues

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10　An interview with US 41st president by Newsweek writer, published in Newsweek 31 Mac edition.

11　Newsweek, 18 Nov 2003 edition

12　Article by Salleh Buang, published in Utusan Malaysia in 15 Apr 2003. He explained the statement was made by ex-CIA Director, James Woolsey during an address to UCLA students on 2nd Apr 03.

13　Utusan Malaysia dated 15 Apr 2003, article 'Syria jadi sasaran baru' by Zin Mahmud.

9　Ibid, Chapter 4: Behind the American Show of Force, article "Total *Capitulation is the appropriate goal"* page 32.

in the near future as long as a consensus D' Solution is in a stalemate. The curiosity and puzzle of the US and her coalition in launching the offensive operation of Iraq with the mission to eliminate its NBC and WMD, is still at the deadlock. After about 3 weeks (8th Apr 03 to 2nd May 03), US forces in Iraq are still in the dark in discovering Iraq WMD and NBC weapons **to justify their intervention.** While his troops are busy searching for evidence on Iraq WMD and NBC programs, Bush repeated his questionable allegations that was made earlier on,[14] first, Iraq has mobile biological-weapon labs, second, Iraq has not accounted for chemical warheads or materials to produce anthrax and third, Saddam is protecting terrorists. The argument here is, a so-called superpower that has in hand the most sophisticated intelligence instruments and the best intelligence agencies that claimed has the capabilities to monitor and espionage Iraq 's activities up to a reliable level, is still unable to discover any WMD. Consequently, it was confirmed that WMD agendas are not the paramount concerned but to overthrow Saddam's regime may probably be the priority[15]. Above that, the US ignored and stood up against the suggestion by the EU and others UN assembly members on their proposal to send back UN Weapons Inspection Team (WIT) to continue their work in discovering Iraq's WMD. What is worrying here is that, the US may again manipulate and falsify evidence to cover-up her agendas and to shut up global comments on her actions. This argument is further strengthened with the latest statement made by the US Veteran Intelligence Professional's (VIP) spokesmen, where they allege President Bush to conduct an investigation on the CIA and other intelligent agencies due to their failure to locate Iraq's WMD. They categorised the

failure as the most disgusting and the worst that ever happened in the US intelligence history. They added, Bush refusal to allow the UN Weapon Inspection Team to continue their work in Iraq is to plant false evidence in order to prove the US accusations[16]. Subsequently, they blamed the Bush for being influenced by unreliable intelligence information that painted Saddam is not co-operating with the UN WIT. Again, Bush's actions are confirmed by the theory introduced by University Malaya lecturer Phillip Davies in his article 'Perisikan dan Dasar Luar' (Intelligence and Foreign Policies) published in PEMIKIR journal edition 2003, as 'Deaf Captain Syndrome' (Sindrom Kapten Pekak).

• **Who Are The Next Victims?** Despite the issues of the US intervention and the search for Iraq's WMD are still unresolved, the US has already created another tension in the Middle East where they accused Syria of having protected Iraq's 55 high ranking officials after the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime[17]. On above that, a US official even accused that Syria is currently developing and possessing NBC and WMD, supplied military equipment to Iraq i.e Night Vision Goggles and compromising with Iraq to hide WMD.

• **Why Syria?** There are the **geo-political** and **geo-strategic** importances of Syria towards Israel's security. First, on the geo-strategic, Syria is located at Israel's Western Front as well Lebanon on the Southwest approach. With the intention to secure it's existence, requires her to create a buffer zone (safe zone) at the vicinity surrounding her, now Syria and Lebanon remain among Arab states that has not signed any form of peace treaty with Israel. Hence, Syria and Lebanon are Israel's immediate threats[18]. On the geo-political dimension, Syria and

14 Article 'No More Hide and Seek' by Michael Hirsh and Michael Isikoff, published in Newsweek,10 Feb 2003, page 22.

15 Massa, Edition 390, 19-25 Apr 2003, Special reports: Penjajahan di Iraq. Page 28.

16 Utusan Malaysia dated 2nd May 2003. The statement was made at Washington on 1st May 03.

17 Ibid, 'Syria sasaran seterusnya' page 30-31.

18 Utusan Malaysia dated 15 Apr 2003, 'Syria jangan bermain api. Israel top official warned Damsyik not to make anti-Israel statement.

Iraq have many common similarities. To list out, there are five common ones, first the ideology that is the Baath Party ideology although Damsyik was led by a coalition party, National Progressive Front (NPF). Secondly, Syria and Iraq practice a single party nation that does not allow any opposition party, a system that is similar with the Soviet Union communist party during Joseph Stalin. Thirdly, Syria and Iraq are both strongly anti-Israel. Fourthly, Syria has close ties with Teheran (categorised by the US as part of the axis of evil) and placed her troops in Lebanon as well supported Lebanon militant groups during conflicts with the French, Israel and the US. Lastly, the important of Syria in terms of it's geo-political and strategic values[19]. In conclusion, to ensure Israel's security, Syria seems to be more vital than Iraq and needs to be addressed in quick time because of its strategic importance[20]. Only that Syria is less important in term of economic value compared to Iraq.

RECOMMENDATION

In the midst of searching for a solution in addressing WMD issues in the Middle East, and even to create a balance of power among the states in the region, there appears not to be a workable solution in the long run. Some of the distinct options of recommendation that should be considered are as follows:

⁕ **Roles of UN Security Council.** In ensuring Middle East is free from WMD, UNSC should takes all efforts in setting up a comprehensive step to establish **a zone free from NBC and WMD.** Some confidence building measures need to be carried out in creating bilateral as well as multilateral co-operations within all Arab states including Israel. A fair and consistent peace process and

a win-win situation approaches that is of gain to every parties need to be formulated and subsequently there is a need to assign special monitoring teams to ensure its implementation is abided by those parties involved. A suggestion here is **employing a team** similar to UN Observation Team that should comprise of a Weapon Inspection Team (WIT) as well. This step could deter and prevent any further development and curb any new WMD program by those parties involved. Hence it might provide and enhance confidence among the conflicting parties and minimise prejudices and mistrust between them.

⁕ **Declaring WMD capability.** Each country should declare its abilities of WMD capability in terms of development and present possession of such weapons. All of the present capability and their future 'blueprint' of their NBC and WMD program should be recorded in IAEA supervision. This step could instil transparency and minimise any worries among the conflicting parties due to their ability to monitor each other's capability. Mutual co-operation and co-ordination between the Arab-Muslim states, and exploitation of their economic powers and their inter-socio-political effects shall be the most helping factor.

⁕ **Strict Enforcement of N.P.T.** All the states should join and sign the N.P.T and whatever disarmament program treaties of WMD and they should also accept to put all concerned installations under the international authorities inspection and the IAEA monitoring team. The IAEA Monitoring Team should provide a scheduled program in getting rid of the weapons and its destruction.

⁕ **Realisation of Palestinian Independence Declaration.** Palestinian independence has ever been the prime concern of most Arab and Islamic nations

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19 Utusan Malaysia dated 15 Apr 2003, 'Syria jadi sasaran baru'.
20 Utusan Malaysia dated 15 Apr 2003,'Israel terima padah jika US serang Syria', a statement made by Syria's Foreign Minister.

globally, therefore to ease the tense situation between the Arabs and Israel, the UN or the influential superpowers should take steps to realise the declaration of Palestinian independence. These steps could bring Arab states to the negotiation table and some positive outcome could possibly be derived from this.

* **Roles and Involvement of The Arab's Regional Forum.** In the case if Israel continues with her nuclear strategy program and WMD, then the regional Arabs and Muslim countries should respond by suspending the peace process on the socio-economic paths, and make Israel realise that, it will be impossible to co-operate with her in these fields. A suggestion that is possibly effective is by using oil as a weapon for negotiation, perhaps oil sanction towards the opposition group by OIC.

* **Unified Arabs Stance.** A strong Arab State consensus from the Arab League may post considerable effects and invite global attention or international intervention in addressing the issues as well to enhance the implementation of N.P.T program. A comprehensive Arab strategy with the co-operation with other Islamic world probably Pakistan will provide the forum with more effective and balance political and military influence and bargaining power.

CONCLUSION

Based on the issues and discussions in earlier stages of this paper, it seem that the issues of WMD is still and will be a prolonged agenda of interest as far as Middle East states are concerned. As long as the absence of a mutual consensus or understanding and the absence of a comprehensive outline plan with regards to the disarmament of NBC weapons and WMD is concerned, there will be 'no way out' on

the issues. In concurrence with the statement that Middle East is the most troublesome region, it is believed that despite of whatever peace process is taken in the region, the situations will remain status quo. The problems remain unresolved due to too many complicated resolutions, unfaithful plans and objectives, existence of hidden agendas, political and economic interest and intervention by interested bodies. So far, none of the international organisation and even the UN council managed to formulise a 'win-win resolution' in addressing the problems. The failure is always on its' implementation because of the exercising of 'double standard' or efforts to oblige one side or the other.

The outbreak of Gulf War 2 that recently ended may influence the security scenario in the Middle East region. Although some, if not most of Arab nations, that probably disagreed with the previous regime, they do not go against Iraq state in principle since they share common religious ties (Islam). The polemic that is haunting the other Arab states is the accusations made by the superpower that some of them are projecting or developing NBC weapons and WMD has caused considerable alarming situation on who will be the next victim state after Iraq. On the other hand, the fall of Iraq has caused a vacuum in terms of balance of power to deter Israel's NBC and WMD capability. Indirectly, since the other Arab nations nowadays have lost their trust to cling to any major power neither to the UN council in providing an undertaking guaranteed security protection from any unexpected circumstances perhaps threats from Israel. The sentiment of dissatisfaction and sensitiveness is further worsened with Israel constant refusal to sign the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and allow inspection of her nuclear installations program. This enabled her to gain control over the regional states, politically, and militarily with the support of their NBC weapons and WMD capabilities. Because of the uncertain situations, the possibility of other Arab states to proliferate and develop their NBC weapons and WMD is a likely phenomenon, which will then imperil the regional and global peace and security. The armament imbalance among the Arab states and

Israel is the core of political as well as strategic issues that will lead to the possibility of armed conflicts and thus it will be a 'never ending story'.

Finally, my own views and perceptions toward the problems after studying the issues of WMD of Iraq and Israel, it is believed that it is not so much on the problem of WMD and the issues are not only or actually the prime problems in Middle East. The paramount problems were actually the problems faced by the Middle East region states that were intentionally created by manipulation from some superpower and those who have their hidden agendas to gain and protect their national interest, which exist, in the region. Among the interests are political interests such as to accommodate Israel's intention to assign control of the region, economic interests such as to control the oil market and to ensure oil sources are secured and a guaranteed prolonged source.

The issues of NBC and WMD of Iraq was only a 'Black Propaganda' by a nation power (the US and Britain) in achieving its Foreign Policy objectives or the New World Order (NWO) that is to be a uni-lateral power and to design Middle East politically to their advantage[21]. The incident in Iraq was a classical example of what will happen if there are absence of 'balance of power' and allowing a nation to be a uni-lateral power. It is a hope in near or distance future, with the latest issues with regards Syria and US, that there will emerge a turning point, which will bring the unification or perhaps a common standing of Arab nations. We hope that the current global diverse opinions by some major power especially from European continent may able to balance the superpower -biased actions and performed a more aggressive role in addressing any future conflicts.

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ANNEX B

IRAQ AND SYRIA ATTACK APPROACHES (GEO-STRATEGIC)

Legend

→ Iraq possile attack approach

→ Syria possible attack approach
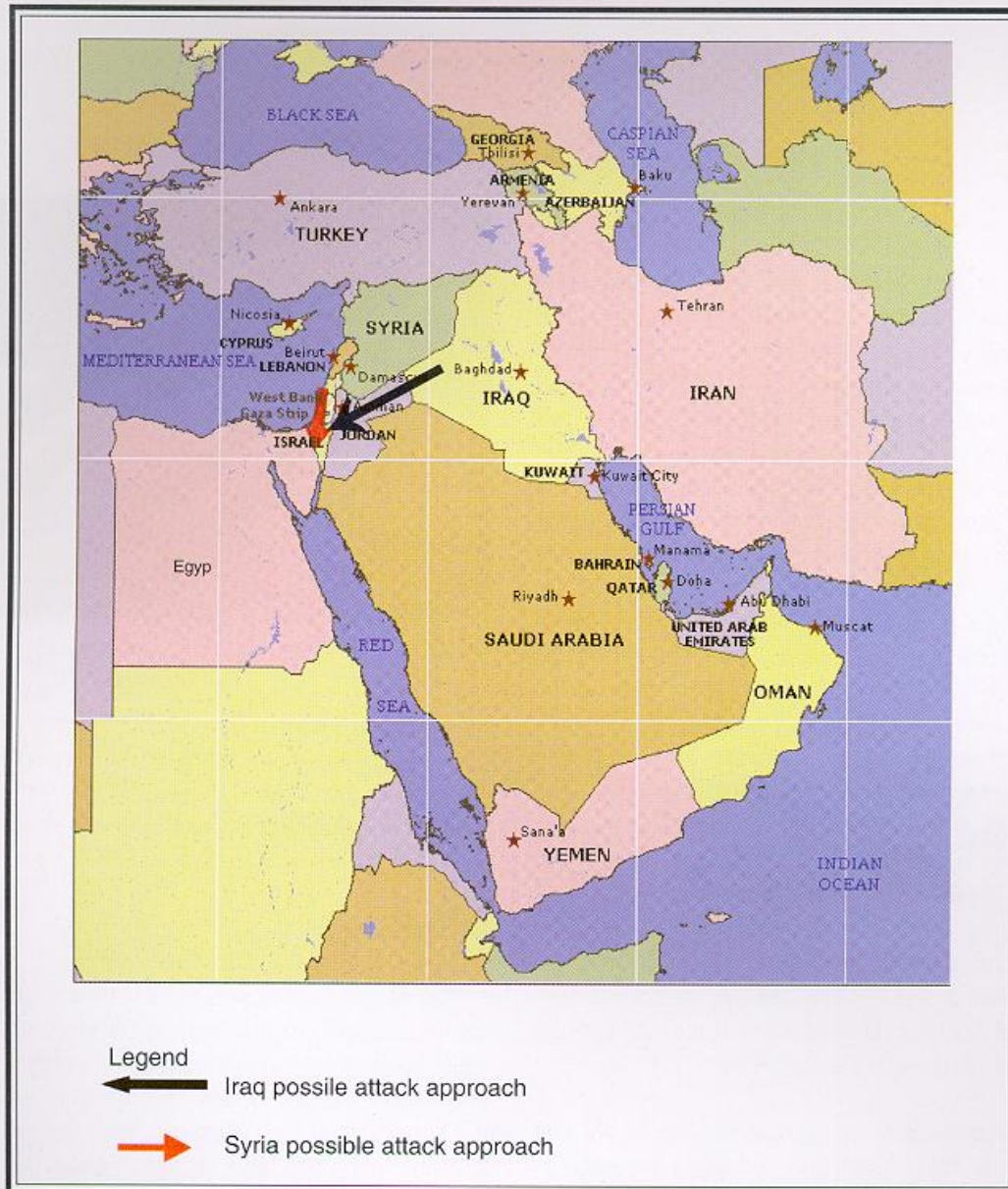
FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY OF JAPAN: GLEAMING SWORDS OR DELICIOUS SUSHI?

By: Saiful Anwar Bin Md Ali

INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War has seen dramatic changes throughout the world. Due to this, the changing of interest from nuclear to conventional warfare and the emergence of a New World Order has emerged. Some said that the Cold War is over, and Japan won. Questions had been raised whether Japan will return to a more muscular military policy? Will Japan deploy nuclear weapons? And will its economy, the world's largest, pull the country out to play her role more obtrusively? Will Japan fill the vacuum, which had been vacated by the Soviet Union? Although the United States (US) still has its influence in the region as a result of her status in the international system, Japan is creating its hegemony and influence in the security and strategic environment competing with China and India.

Japan seemed to be prepared to play a bigger role in international affairs especially in the Asia Pacific region due to its global economic superpower status and being the world's largest creditor. Japanese policy in future for this region basically depends on her relationship with the US and the development within the region.

The renewal of her mutual security treaty with the US in 1996 which also known as the Security Treaty of the 21st Century and defence guidelines in 1997 made her feel more comfortable with regards to her safety. Participation in regional security arrangements and political roles in a bigger manner has portrayed its influence as a regional power. The involvement in serious programs particularly in
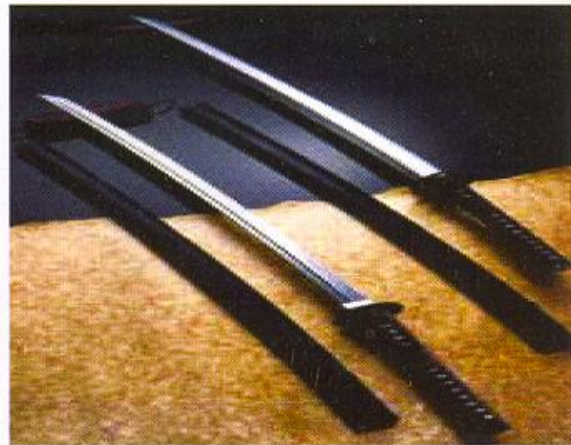
'Gleaming Swords'

regional cooperation with regard to the stability and prosperity of the region has been maintained so far. The aim of this paper is to examine whether the foreign and defence policy applied by Japan is being looked as gleaming swords or delicious sushi.

Background

Japan emerged as a member of the international community following the Meiji Restoration at a time when power politics was prevailing on a global scale in the latter half of the 19th century. In its struggle for survival, Japan strives to catch up with the Western countries and, at the start of the 20th century, emerged as one of the world's major powers in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War. Japan also expanded its diplomatic spheres, including to the League of Nations. The history proved, however, its subsequent policy mistakes, which prompted the country to pursue further development through rapid

expansion into neighbouring regions and to turn to armed force to resolve the problems it confronted.

Japan's reconstitution from the devastation following the Pacific War was based on the deep reflection upon its preceding policies. Japan abandoned the notion of resolving international conflicts by force and decided to pursue world peace and stability through diplomatic efforts with an emphasis on the United Nations (UN). Japan entered into security arrangements with the United States of America (US) as the main pillar of its defence policy, while building its own minimal necessary defence capability. While ensuring its own security and a stable international environment through these measures, Japan placed its first and foremost priority on the pursuit of economic development in the principle of market economy. In the political sphere, Japan has embraced democracy as its fundamental principle.

It goes without saying that Japan, as a result, has achieved remarkable economic development and become the world's second largest economy. Simultaneously, Japan, with its economic and technological strengths, has played an active role in various areas including development assistance, through which it attained high reputation and gained trust of the international community. Japan's influence at the political stage has been also recognized, for instance, at the UN and G8 summits.[1]

In this way, Japan's post-war foreign policy has provided the foundation for the secure and prosperous lives of the Japanese people. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War has dramatically reduced the risk of war on a global scale. Democracy, basic human rights and other values have been gaining universality and these are favourable developments as we enter into the 21st century. The core of Japan's foreign and defence policy, including the Japan-US security arrangements, has brought security and prosperity to the Japanese people. Hence, it should be maintained over the next century. Yet, in light of the new trends and emerging challenges, Japanese diplomacy must embody a new perspective in order to address them.

Japan's Interest in Asia Pacific Region

Asia Pacific region since the end of World War II had been aware and responds to the interest of the great powers. As it is now, the US being the only remaining superpower holds direct access to security matters in the region. Therefore whatever occurs in this region involving security issues becoming a prime concern to them. It is her role to maintain the prosperity and stability in the region with the support of Japan. Since the end of the Cold War, the possibility of global armed conflict has receded. The last few years have seen expanded political and security dialogues among countries of the region. Respect for the democratic principle is growing and prosperity is more widespread than at any other time in history.

The Asia Pacific region has become the most dynamic area of the globe as far as economy and security are concerned. Anyhow the Cold War structure still exists whereby instability and uncertainty still persists in the region. Tensions continue on the Korean Peninsula and there are still heavy concentrations of military forces including nuclear arsenals. Unresolved territorial disputes, potential regional conflicts and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery all constitute sources of instability.[2] Today, the Asia Pacific region not only embraces Japan and the Asian NIE's, but also the ASEAN nations and China, as well as the Pacific Coast of North America. This is the region that most observers agree will most

1   Challenge 2001-Japan's Foreign Policy toward the 21st Century, see http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/challenge21.html.

2   Text United States-Japan Joint Declarationon SEcurity dated 17 April 1996, Tokyo.

probably continue to surpass the other regions in economic growth. Asia Pacific's GDP will have risen to 15 percent of world GDP between 1980 and 2000.[3]

Japan's interest in the Asia Pacific region cannot be denied. They are linked to historical, economic, political, ideological, strategic and security considerations. It is more obvious that Japan has ambitions and objectives to play a major role in order to expand its influence in the region. The emergence of Japan as a mega-power in the 1980s and the 1990s was mainly through the Japan-US Treaty. Fundamentally, the changing scenario in the Asia Pacific region especially the rapid growth of their economies had made this region an area of opportunities and the centre of economic activities among the great powers. Presently, Japan is the world's second largest economic power and has acquired the potential acquire a highly potent military force.[4]

At the same time, however, Japan has important interests in Southeast Asia whereby she is the largest investor in this region. Much more significant from the perspective of security, however, is the fact that Japan depends heavily on the sea-lanes through Southeast Asia. Japan's dependence on products from abroad is nowhere so crucial as in energy supplies. Japan gets about 70 percent of its energy from oil and over 99 percent of that oil must be imported, most of it from the Middle East. Because of this vulnerability, the Japanese would be deeply affected by changes in international politics, such as a sharp rise in the price of primary products or a total cut-off of oil supplies. The shock to Japan's economy would bring the collapse of the Japanese social and political structure. In such a situation the Japanese might choose to use military force to ensure access to oil and other primary products.[5]

Therefore, Japan needs to control the sea-lanes concerned to reduce the vulnerability. At present, Japan still depends on US for the sea-lanes' security. Whatever threats prevail in these matters, it can jeopardize Japan's national interests, and Japan has two choices whether to rely on US or taking her own initiatives. It is in these approaches that Japan's role in the Asia Pacific region is viewed with great apprehension. It is inevitable that in future that Japan will play more roles in the development of economy, politics and military.

Japan's Foreign Policy

Japan's foreign policy allows taking a global view in all of the political, security, economic, and cultural areas.[6] Japan seeks to ensure a free world in which to trade. Japan's foreign policy states that she will endeavour, in the spirit of international cooperation, to lead efforts to preserve and strengthen the free trade system.[7] Japan's foreign policy views other nation states as trading partners with which to develop cooperation, and the Japan-US Treaty forms the cornerstone of Japan's foreign policy.[8] This is because the security relation between both countries provides the peace and stability not only to Japan, but also to the Asia Pacific region as well.

However, the Asian region remains a potentially volatile area. Strategically, as mentioned earlier, Japan's continued prosperity is dependent upon uninterrupted supply of oil from the Middle East, trade routes to North America and Europe and supplies of raw materials from developing countries. It is vital to Japan that these are not interfered. Japan also has made an improvement in her relations towards South Korea, China, Russia and ASEAN countries. A joint declaration was made in 1998 with South Korea suggesting that the two countries recognize the importance of forging a broader, new partnership

3   James C. Hsiung. Asia-Pacific in the New World Order, London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1993, p 215
4   Australian Journal of International Affair, Vo. 47, No. 2, October 1993
5   Ziegler, David W., War Peace, and International Politics, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1984, p 371.

6 Diplomatic Blue Book, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1983, p 13.
7 Ibid., p 6.
8 McIntosh, Malcolm., Japan Rearmed, New York: St Martin's Press, p 102.

encompassing political, security, economic and cultural cooperation.[9] During President Zemin's trip to Japan in November 1998, both countries agreed on building a 'partnership of friendship and cooperation for peace and development' by strengthening high-level dialogue between Japan and China through annual visits by leaders and the establishment of a Tokyo-Beijing government hotline. These also include youth exchanges, environmental cooperation, and security dialogue and exchanges.[10]

With the territorial issue still pending, Japan and Russia signed a Moscow Declaration, aimed to 'build a creative partnership, which is consistent with their strategic and geographical interests'. They reaffirmed their intention to conclude a peace treaty by the year 2000, and agreed to create two subcommittees within the existing Joint Japan-Russia Federation Committee on the Conclusion of the Peace Treaty.[11] While on the ASEAN countries, Japan has been actively forging new partnership by promoting dialogue and cooperation on politics and security, trade and investments and other economic matters, cultural exchanges, and global issues. In sum, Japan views Asia and especially Asia Pacific region is vital for her survival and in order to maintain its national interests, she has to be more liberal in engaging the countries in this region.

Japanese Defence Policy

The defence policy Japan has pursued under its Constitution is based on the 'Basic Policy for National Defence' adopted by the National Defence and approved by the Cabinet in May 1957. The 'Basic Policy for National Defence' first called for promotion of international cooperation and other efforts for peace and establishment of the basis for national security through such measures as the promotion of arrangements as the basis of Japan's defence

policy. The objective of national defence is to prevent direct and indirect aggression, but once invaded, to repel such aggression thereby preserving the independence and peace of Japan founded upon democratic principles. To achieve this objective, the government of Japan hereby establishes the following principles:[12]

• To support the activities of the UN and promote international cooperation, thereby contributing to the realization of world peace.

• To promote public welfare and enhance the people's love for the country, thereby establishing the sound basis essential to Japan's security.

• To develop incrementally the effective defence capabilities necessary for self-defence, with regard to the nation's resources and the prevailing domestic situation.

• To deal with external aggression on the basis of the Japan-US security arrangements, pending the effective functioning of the UN in the future in deterring and repelling such aggression.

The major characteristic of Japan's defence policy is the complementary effect of US-Japanese military power. Japan pursues a policy of strategic self-defence and reliance on the US offensive force. Being an archipelago state, Japan sees the possible threat to its national interests as being of internal, intra-regional and external. In future wars, specific objectives in the Pacific against Japan will include controlling the ocean contiguous to the Russian Federation including the Sea of Japan and Sea of Okhstok, controlling the Straits of Kurile, Kruzenshtern, Diany Urup, Tatar, La Perous, Kunashiri, Tsugaru and Tsushima, staging a limited invasion of Hokkaido for this purpose and attacking the US and Japanese sea-lanes of communication

9　Morrison, Charles E., Asia Pacific Outlook 1999, Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, p 94.

10　Ibid., p 95.

11　Ibid, pp 95-96.

12　Japan's Defense Policy, see http://www.jda.go.jp/e/policy/f-work.html.

(SLOC) throughout the region.[13] Japan's military development was based on National Defence Program Outline (NPDO)[14], which prepared a guideline on three main areas, that were defence build-up, comprehensive explanation on the requirement of Japan military capabilities and to fix the limit of Japanese defence development.

There are clear signs that Japan is moving towards a clearer definition of its role in the region. Impressive military build-up has been seen in Japan and one percent of GNP allocated for defence always crossed the barrier. In 1996, Japan's defence budget was US$ 53.8 billion compared to China's US$ 7.2 billion (the latter being 10 percent of its national budget).[15] In 1997, the US Arm Control and Disarmament Agency stated that whilst Japan ranks 138th of 166 nations in the proportions of GDP spent on the military, its massive US$ 4.6 trillion GDP gives Tokyo the world third largest defence budget.[16] There will be no doubt that Japan has all the capabilities to manufacture and develop its military technology. Japan already produced a better F-15 and could also produce a better next generation fighter jet than the US could. Japan also has had great progress in the area of military computer application and without Japan's technology, the US military's F-117 stealth fighter, which was tremendously intimidating in the Gulf War, essentially would not have been created.[17] Japan also designed and produced its own anti-ship missiles, tanks, warship and even weaponry for its ground forces.

As the region moves towards the 21st Century, Japan has become more prepared to take up the regional security role. The size, economy and military strength of Japan were already major factors in making it a regional power. The expansion and modernization of the military makes Japan able to flex her muscles as and when necessary. Most important of all, it was forced upon her by a growing lack of confidence in the US to protect Japanese interests worldwide.[18] Questions have been arose on how far Japan can rely on the US 'nuclear umbrella' for the purpose of deterrence. It is sceptical for the US to involve in a nuclear war against Russia, China or North Korea just for the purpose of protecting the security of Japan. If Japan has been forced to provide her own security, the possibilities of possessing nuclear weapons cannot be denied. In sum, the scenario will be different in the region if Japan is to possess nuclear weapons. Anyhow, Japan seems to abide with her three non-nuclear principles that are not to produce, possess or permit the entry of nuclear weapons into Japan.

Japan's Role in the International Arena

During the Cold War, Japan did not really play its role in international politics commensuration with its economic weight. Its clear role in economics was the defence burden sharing provided to the US tremendously in the Cold War era. After the Cold War, Japan came out with New Foreign Policy Guidelines for the international roles, which were:

One of the responsibilities of Japan, which has become capable of influencing the construction of an international order, is to articulate the philosophy of [its] foreign policy and to make clear constantly to the international community the ideals and objectives, which Japan pursues internationally.[19]

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13 Asian Defence Journal, January, 1993.
14 NPDO has fixed the objectives: i. The assorted functions required for national defense should be prepared and a balance posture in terms of organization and development, including the area of logistic support systems, should be retained; ii. A full warning posture should be maintained in peacetime; iii. A limited and small-scale invasion should be dealt with on its own as a basic matter of principle; iv. The defensive force level should be standardize so that its defense structure when a new defense posture is required by a serious change in military circumstances, can be smoothly adapted to cope with such situation.
15 World Defense Almanac, Military Technology, 1995-1996, Vol. XX Issue, pp 275-284.
16 New Zealand Defense Quarterly, No. 17, Winter, 1997, p 4.
17 See http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/pills2/part06.htm.

18 Australian Journal of International Affair, Vol. 47, No. 2, October 1993.
19 See http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/mori/speech0006.html.

Internationally, the turning point in Japan's role came when the country joined the West in imposing sanctions against the Soviet Union in response to its invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.[20] Japan was confronted by the demands for support of the coalition in the Gulf War, which broke out in 1991 subsequent to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Japan contributed US$ 13 billion to support the coalition and some critics derided them as 'chequebook diplomacy.'[21] Critics on chequebook diplomacy seem to be wrong when Japanese government under the Prime Minister Miyazawa decided to go beyond that.

In June 1992, the Japanese Diet authorized the dispatch of Self Defence Forces (SDF) to participate in UN-sponsored peacekeeping operations when in autumn of 1992, the Japanese government dispatched on SDF engineering battalion of about 600 troops to join a UN peacekeeping mission designed to end Cambodia's long civil war.[22] The mission ended successfully in 1993 after a democratically elected Cambodian government was formed. Japan followed this up by sending SDF personnel to Mozambique for Peacekeeping Operations (PKO). Despite the misgivings of some of its neighbours, Japanese participation in PKO marked the cautious start of an overseas Japanese military role in international peace and security activities. In 1998, the SDF continued to take part in the UN Disengagement Observer Force in the Golan Heights. In November 1998, Japan dispatched 80 Ground Self Defence Forces (GSDF) and 105 Air Self Defence Forces (ASDF) personnel to hurricane-stricken Honduras to provide medical and transport services. The Japanese government sent personnel to monitor elections, under UN co-ordination and support, in Cambodia in July 1998 and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in September.[23]

Even though sending troops outside of the country is considered against its constitution, the argument on its role and responsibilities towards the regional and international arena are more important. Basing on this scenario, Japan will not hesitate to engage her SDF if any crisis in this region in the near future whenever required by the UN or the US for that matter. There is also the prospect that Japan will use the UN to expand the role of SDF. By involving Japanese SDF in such activities, it has created doubt to certain countries. Lee Kuan Yew's warning in 1991 that allowing Japan to participate in minesweeping during the Gulf War was like giving liqueur chocolate to an alcoholic highlighted the concern about a possible revival of Japanese militarism.[24]

The other point of view, by participating the SDF in UN organization, portrayed that the contribution was not only done through economic but also in terms of security in the international arena. Through this contribution, Japan gained recognition and prestige from the world. Prestige means power for their national interest that is to gain a Security Council seat in the UN among the other veto powers. Hence, they can convey the views of Asia and the third world on global problems. To establish its credentials more towards the veto power seat, Japan points out that its financial contribution to the UN is roughly equivalent to that of four other non-US permanent members of the Security Council, that is, Russia, China, France and the UK combined.[25] In fact, the new Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi also stressed that his country deserves a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.[26]

On top of that, Japan's trade surpluses resulted in savings so great that could not absorbed at home and had to be exported to the world, making Japan

20 See http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/mori/speech0006.html
21 Ibid.
22 McGrew, Anthony and Christopher Brook., (eds), Asia-Pacific in the New World Order, London: Routledge, 1998, p 126.
23 Morrison, Charles E., Asia Pacific Outlook 1999, p 102.

24 East Asian Studies, Autumn/Winter 1998.
25 Takashi Inoguchi., Japan's Foreign Policy under US Unipolarity: Coping with Uncertainty and Swallowing Some Bitterness, see Asian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6, No. 2, December 1998, p 15.
26 Asiaweek, July 20, 2001.

the 'greatest creditor nation in the world'. They are also the largest donors of the Official Development Assistant (ODA). However, stringent financial conditions in Japan and the weaker yen in recent years forced the Japanese government to fundamentally review its ODA policy. In 1993, for example, Japan through the IMF and the World Bank provided a financial stabilization package amounting to US$ 28.4 billion and concluded its to settle the territorial dispute based on the principles of law and justice.[27] This clearly showed how the power of economy using financial assistance could reduce the tension of possible conflict.

Most of the countries in the region are intimately watching Japan's actions. With the withdrawal of the former Soviet and the US power from the Pacific, regional countries now pay attention to the possible resurgence of Japan. In many ways, Japan is currently in an enviable position for rethinking its long-term security posture.[28] It is viewed that Japan is shifting from behaving internally to a great power with regional and global responsibilities in maintaining security and prosperity.

In recent developments, the issue of Japan's 'return to Asia,' Japan's 'Asianism' and Japan's a leading role has surfaced. Japan is well aware that its increasing trade investments and economic linkages in Asia have become the most important factor in the transformation of the newly industrializing economies of Asia. Japan may reconsider its alliance with the west particularly the US.[29] However, in terms of security and stability for Japan in relation to this region, Japan still needs the US to play its role accordingly. This is because broader contributions to regional and global security that provides the foundation for Japan is through the Japan-US alliance. Hence, the foreign and defence policy of Japan takes this relation as the foundation of the matter.

CONCLUSION

The new Japan-US security guidelines play an important role in shaping the foreign and defence policy of Japan. These guidelines had been revised a couple of time to suit the requirement of the international environment. Some analysts such as Kurt Campbell, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence described that the new guidelines are comparable to those for NATO in Europe.[30] This shows that the role of the US as a balancer still persists and the constraint of its policy still remains. To conclude, the Japanese governing elite views the evolving world order with an approving nod and supportive actions as well as with some basic long-term apprehensions and many short-term worries, large and small. Although its policy action is less than impressive in any sense of the word, it entertains quite wide-ranging views of the possibilities for the evolving world order.

27   See http://www.fas.org/man/crs/93-460f.htm.
28   Australian Journal of International Affair, Vol. 47, No. 2, October 1993.
29   Chin Kin Wah., Japan As A Great Power in Asia; The New Asia Pacific Order, Singapore: ISEAS, 1997, p 120.

30   Takashi Inoguchi., Asian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6, No. 2, December 1998, p 15.

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<div align="right">**ANNEX A**</div>

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CAPABILITIES AND PROGRAMS

EGYPT:

Nuclear	No evidence of a weapons program, however. 22MW and 2MW research reactors at Inshas, both under IAEA safeguards. Has engaged only in basic scientific research since the 1960s. Acceded to the NPT on 2/26/81; signed the CTBT on 10/14/96.
Chemical	Used mustard gas in Yemeni civil war, 1963-1967. Supplied Syria with chemical weapons (CW) in early 1970s. Supplied Iraq with CW agents and technology during the 1980s. Unconfirmed reports of developing nerve agent feed stock plants. Stockpile of chemical agents (mustard and nerve agents). Not a signatory of the CWC.
Biological	May have a biological weapons program, though not large in scale. Signed the BTWC on 4/10/72, but has not ratified it.
Ballistic missiles	100+ SS-1 (Scud-B) with 300km range and 985kg payload. Approximately 90 Project T missiles with 450km range and 985kg payload. Developing Scud-C variant production capability with DPRK assistance, with 550km range and 500kg payload. Developing Vector missile with 800km to 1,200km range and 450-1,000kg payloads. U.S. and Israeli intelligence sources allege that Egyptian-government-owned companies are obtaining and exporting US and Western technology to Pyongyang, for modification, and returned to Egypt as advanced missile components. Arab British Dynamics, Helwan Machinery and Equipment Company, and Kader Factory Development Industries are companies sanctioned by the US government for exporting dual-use technology to DPRK, pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act of 1976. Egypt allegedly working covertly with DPRK and China to develop missiles and no conventional weapons.
Cruise missiles	AS-5 Kelt with 400km range and 1,000kg payload. Harpoon with 120km range and 220kg payload. AS-1 Kennel with 100km range and 1,000kg payload. HY-2 Silkworm with 95km range and 513kg payload. Otomat Mk1 with 80km range and 210kg payload. FL-1 with 50km range and 513kg payload. Exocet (AM-39) with 50km range and 165kg payload. SS-N-2a Styx with 43km range and 513kg payload.

Other delivery systems	Fighter and ground-attack aircraft include: 30 F-16A/B, approximately 130 F-16C/D, 32 F-4E Phantoms, 18 Mirage 2000, 59 Mirage 5 (includes 6 Mirage 5DR), 42 Alpha Jet and Alpha Jet MS-2, 150 F-7 Shenyang/MiG-21 MF (obsolete), 44 F-6 Shenyang/FT-6 (obsolete). 21 F-16C on order from United States surplus. Ground systems include artillery and rocket launchers, notably 72 FROG-7 artillery rockets with 12 launchers, which have a 70km range and carry a 450kg warhead, and 100 SAQR-80 rockets with 24 launchers, which have an 80km range and 200kg payload.
Unmanned Aerial Vehicles	Developing unmanned air vehicles (UAVs) and satellites based on western technology. 48 R4E-50 Skyeye mini-UAVs, 50 Teledyne Ryan model 324 Scarab. Aims to produce a UAV with a range of over 150km. Plans to complete production of a multipurpose satellite by 2004.

SYRIA:

Nuclear	No evidence of a nuclear weapons program. Nuclear technological development remains at the research stage. One research reactor in Damascus, under IAEA safeguards. Ratified the NPT on 9/24/69; has not signed the CTBT.
Chemical	Largest and most advanced CW capability in the Middle East. Reported to have chemical warheads for Scud ballistic missiles, and chemical gravity bombs for delivery by aircraft. Estimated CW stockpile in hundreds of tons. Agents believed to include Sarin, VX, and mustard gas. Major production facilities near Damascus and Homs, with hundreds of tons of agents produced annually. Program remains dependent on foreign chemicals and equipment. Not a signatory of the Chemical Weapons Convention.
Biological	Weapons research program, but no evidence of production capability. Signed the BTWC on 4/14/72, but has not ratified the convention.
Ballistic missiles	60-120 Scud-C with 500km range and 500kg payload. Up to 200 Scud-B missiles with 300km range and 985kg payload. 200 SS-21 Scarab with 70km range and 480kg payload. Developing indigenous production capability for accurate M-9 [CSS-6 or DF-15] missiles with 600km range and 500kg payload.
Cruise missiles	SS-N-3b Sepal with 450km range and 1,000kg payload. SS-N-2c Styx with 80km range and 513kg payload. Tupolev Tu-243 unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) with 360km range and unknown payload. Malachite UAV with 120km range and 130kg payload.

| Other delivery systems | Fighter and ground-attack aircraft include: 20 Su-24, 90 Su-22, 20 MiG-29, 30 MiG-25, 44 MiG-23BN, 90 MiG-23, and 160 MiG-21. |
| | Ground systems include field artillery and rocket launchers, notably 90+ FROG-7 artillery rockets with 18+ launchers, which have a 70km range and a 435kg payload. |

IRAQ:

Nuclear	With sufficient black-market uranium or plutonium, Iraq probably could fabricate a nuclear weapon.
	If undetected and unobstructed, could produce weapons-grade fissile material within several years.
	Engaged in clandestine procurement of special nuclear weapon-related equipment.
	Retains large and experienced pool of nuclear scientists and technicians.
	Retains nuclear weapons design, and may retain related components and software.
	Repeatedly violated its obligations under the NPT, which Iraq ratified on 10/29/69.
	Repeatedly violated its obligations under United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 687, which mandates destruction of Iraq's nuclear weapon capabilities.
	Until halted by Coalition air attacks and UNSCOM disarmament efforts, Iraq had an extensive nuclear weapon development program that began in 1972, involved 10,000 personnel, and had a multi-year budget totalling approximately $10 billion.
	In 1990, Iraq also launched a crash program to divert reactor fuel under IAEA safeguards to produce nuclear weapons.
	Considered two delivery options for nuclear weapons: either using unmodified al-Hussein ballistic missile with 300km range, or producing Al-Hussein derivative with 650km range.
	In 1987, Iraq reportedly field-tested a radiological bomb.
Biological	May retain stockpile of biological weapon (BW) munitions, including over 150 R-400 aerial bombs, and 25 or more special chemical/biological Al-Hussein ballistic missile warheads.
	ay retain biological weapon sprayers for Mirage F-1 aircraft.
	May retain mobile production facility with capacity to produce "dry" biological agents (i.e., with long shelf life and optimised for dissemination).
	Has not accounted for 17 metric tonnes of BW growth media.
	May possess smallpox virus; tested camel pox prior to Gulf War.
	Maintains technical expertise and equipment to resume production of Bacillus anthracis spores (anthrax), botulinum toxin, aflatoxin, and Clostridium perfringens (gas gangrene).
	Prepared BW munitions for amissile and aircraft delivery in 1990-1991 Gulf War; this included loading al-Hussein ballistic missile warheads and R-400 aerial bombs with Bacillis anthracis.
	Conducted research on BW dissemination using unmanned aerial vehicles.
	Repeatedly violated its obligations under UNSC Resolution 687, which mandates destruction of Iraq's biological weapon capabilities.
	Ratified the BTWC on 4/18/91, as required by the Gulf War cease-fire agreement.

Chemical	May retain stockpile of chemical weapon (CW) munitions, including 25 or more special chemical/biological al-Hussein ballistic missile warheads, 2,000 aerial bombs, 15,000-25,000 rockets, and 15,000 artillery shells.
	Believed to possess sufficient precursor chemicals to produce hundreds of tons of mustard gas, VX, and other nerve agents.
	Reconstructing former dual-use CW production facilities that were destroyed by U.S. bombing.
	Retains sufficient technical expertise to revive CW programs within months.
	Repeatedly used CW against Iraqi Kurds in 1988 and against Iran in 1983-1988 during the Iran-Iraq war.
	An extensive CW arsenal-including 38,537 munitions, 690 tons of CW agents, and over 3,000 tons of CW precursor chemicals-has been destroyed by UNSCOM.
	Repeatedly violated its obligations under UNSC Resolution 687, which mandates destruction of Iraq's chemical weapon capabilities.
	Not a signatory of the Chemical Weapons Convention.
Ballistic missiles	May retain several al-Hussein (modified Scud-B) missiles with 650km range and 500kg payload.
	May retain components for dozens of Scud-B and al-Hussein missiles, as well as indigenously produced Scud missile engines.
	Maintains clandestine procurement network to import missile components.
	Reconstructing missile production facilities destroyed in 1998 by U.S. bombing.
	May possess several hundred tons of propellant for Scud missiles.
	If undetected and unobstructed, could resume production of al-Hussein missiles; could develop 3,000km-range missiles within five years; could develop ICBM within 15 years.
	Launched 331 Scud-B missiles at Iran during the Iran-Iraq war, and 189 al-Hussein missiles at Iranian cities during the 1988 "War of the Cities."
	Developing Ababil-100 with 150km range and 300kg payload, flight-testing al-Samoud with 140km range and 300kg payload, and producing Ababil-50 with 50km range and 95kg payload.
Cruise missiles	C-601/Nisa 28 and HY-2 Silkworm with 95km range and 513kg payload.
	SS-N-2c Styx with 80km range and 513kg payload.
	Exocet AM-39 with 50km range and 165kg payload.
	YJ-1/C-801 with 40km range and 165kg payload.
Other Delivery system	Reportedly converting L-29 jet trainers to unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) for delivery of BW or CW.
	May possess spraying equipment for BW dissemination by helicopter.
	Experimented with MIG-21 as unmanned delivery vehicle for BW.
	Fighter and ground attack forces may total 300 fixed-wing aircraft, including Su-25, Su-24MK, Su-20, Su-7, MiG-29, MiG-25, MiG-23BN, MiG-21, Mirage F1EQ5, and F-7.
	Ground systems include artillery and rocket launchers, notably 500+ FROG-7 artillery rockets and 12-15 launchers, with 70km range and 450kg payload.

IRAN:

Nuclear	Large nuclear development program to construct power reactors for civilian energy generation, reliant on Russian assistance.
	5MW and 30KW research reactors and .01KW critical assembly at Esfahan and Tehran, which are under IAEA safeguards.
	US and Israeli officials believe Iran seeks to acquire the capability to build nuclear weapons.
	Ratified the NPT on 2/20/70; signed the CTBT on 9/24/96.
Chemical	Began CW production in mid-1980s, following CW attacks by Iraq.
	Limited use of chemical weapons in 1984-1988 during war with Iraq, initially using captured Iraqi CW munitions.
	Began stockpiling cyanogens chloride, phosgene, and mustard gas after 1985.
	Reportedly initiated nerve agent production in 1994.
	Ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention on 11/3/97, but has not submitted an initial declaration.
Biological	Research effort reportedly initiated in 1980s during war with Iraq.
	Suspected research laboratory at Damghan.
	May have produced small quantities of agents and begun weaponization.
	Ratified the BTWC on 8/22/73.
Ballistic missiles	Approximately 150 Scud-C with 500km range and 700kg payload.
	Up to 200 Scud-B with 300km range and 985kg payload.
	Approximately 25 CSS-8s with 150km range and 190kg payload.
	Unknown quantity of indigenous Mushak missiles with ranges from 120km to 200km, and payloads of 150kg to 500kg.
	Launched almost 100 Scud-B against Iraq during 1985-1988.
	Developing Shahab-3 with over 1,000km range and over 700kg payload, and Shahab-4 with 2,000km range and 1,000kg payload.
Cruise missiles	HY-4/C-201 with 150km range and 500kg payload.
	Harpoon with 120km range and 220kg payload.
	SS-N-22 Sunburn with 110km range and 500kg payload.
	HY-2 Silkworm with 95km range and 513kg payload.
	YJ-2/C-802 with 95km range and 165kg payload.
	AS-9 Kyle with 90km range and 200kg payload.
	AS-11 Kilter with 50km range and 130kg payload.
Other delivery systems	Ground attack and fighter aircraft include: 30 Su-24, 60 F-4D/E, 60 F-14A, 30 MiG-29, 60 F-5E/F, and 24 F-7. Most not operational due to lack of spare parts.
	Ground systems include artillery and rocket launchers, notably hundreds of Oghab artillery rockets with a 45km range and unknown payload, and hundreds of Nazeat (N5) artillery rockets with a 105-120km range and 150kg warhead.

IMPACT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ON THE MILITARY

By: Mej Christopher Ignetius Choong

INTRODUCTION

There has been increasing speculation over the years that rapid advances in information technologies will enable tremendous leaps in future combat systems performance. Perhaps the most significant development is the prospect that new high-data-rate communications satellites will soon offer worldwide wireless information transmission capacities that can fully exploit the tremendous speed of modern information processing.[1] If achieved, this "bandwidth on demand" will allow virtually unlimited amounts of information to be exchanged in real time between positions anywhere on the globe.

Two visionaries often cited in the discussion of Information Warfare are Alvin and Heidi Toffler, noted "futurists" and authors of "War and Anti-War". The Tofflers describe evolutionary changes in society's ability to wage war and have characterized these changes in "waves".[2]

First wave warfare was based upon an agrarian society where conflict was centred on agriculture, and where weaponry was primitive and powered by human muscle. Second wave warfare was introduced with the industrial age where weaponry was standardized and produced in mass quantities. Along with mass production came mass destruction. Third wave warfare is focused on knowledge and information as the foundation of the economy.[3] The destruction of the Iraqi command and control infrastructure and the use of precision weapons during OPERATION DESERT STORM are examples of third wave warfare. Much of the discussion on Information Warfare is representative of third wave warfare. There have been several factors attributed to the focus on Information Warfare. First, the recognition of information as a strategic asset has caused military planners to reassess the dynamics of the battlefield. A second factor is the lessons-learned from OPERATION DESERT STORM, which saw the success of technology-based weapons on the battlefield (e.g., precision-guided ammunitions). Another factor is the advances in information technology and their potential application on the battlefield.

EVOLUTION OF MODERN WARFARE

As social institutions evolved from first wave agrarian societies to second wave industrial states, information systems evolved and decision-making processes became more complex. Mercantile organizations arose within or alongside the dominant political structures, adding elements of greater complexity as the scope of their activities enlarged. Knowledge networks of knowledge workers, the newest form of institutional structure, emerged and their numbers increased in tandem with the availability of the tools of information technology. As information technology advanced, information systems allowed knowledge, or know how, to make all the other institutional forms more effective.[4]

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1. Owens, A. Williams (Admiral USN), "The Emerging Systems of Systems" US Naval Institute Proceedings, May 1995, pp. 28 - 35.

2. Toffler, Alvin and Heidi, War and Anti War, Warner Books, New York 1995.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

As societal institutions evolved, the ways in which societies fought evolved also. The terrorizing drums, banners, and gongs of Sun Tzu's warfare, aided by information technology, became the sophisticated psychological operations of modern warfare. The aim of warfare moved from, or could move from, exhaustion to annihilation to control, according to John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt.[5] Information technology may now have evolved to the point where "control" can be imposed with little physical violence or bloodshed. On the surface this appears to be a good thing. At its centre, it may be a dangerous thing. Closer scrutiny should reveal which of these is the case.

DEFINITION

Information as used in this article means the "content or meaning of a message."[6] And the aim of warfare has always been to affect the enemy's information systems. In the broadest sense, information systems encompass every means by which an adversary arrives at knowledge or beliefs. A narrower view maintains that information systems are the means by which an adversary exercises control over, and direction of, fielded forces. Taken together, information systems are a comprehensive set of the knowledge, beliefs, and the decision-making processes and systems of the adversary. The outcome sought by information attacks at every level is for the enemy to receive sufficient messages that convince him to stop fighting.

Why would an adversary stop fighting? There are a number of possibilities: an inability to control fielded forces, demoralization, the knowledge or belief that combat power has been annihilated, or an awareness that the prospects of not fighting are superior to the prospects of continuing the fight.

These "stop fighting" messages might be as varied in content or meaning as "Cannae has ruined you," or "Submit to the Tartar or die," or "Your counterattack has failed," or even "Your own people do not support you in warfare that kills babies." Although the methods of communicating the stop-fighting message have changed over the years, the meaning of the message itself remains fairly constant: stop fighting.

Warfare is the set of all lethal and non-lethal activities undertaken to subdue the hostile will of an adversary or enemy. In this sense, warfare is not synonymous with "war."[7] Warfare does not require a declaration of war, nor does it require existence of a condition widely recognized as "a state of war." Warfare can be undertaken by or against state controlled, state sponsored, or non-state groups. Warfare is hostile activity directed against an adversary or enemy. The aim of warfare is not necessarily to kill the enemy; it may have the aim of merely to subdue the enemy. In fact, the "acme of skill" is to subdue an adversary without killing him.[8] The adversary is subdued when he behaves in ways that are coincident with the ways in which we the aggressor or the defender intend for him to behave.[9] In aiming to subdue hostile will, we must have a clear understanding of the specific non-hostile behaviours we intend to compel, or the hostile ones we want to prevent.

THE EMERGENCE OF INFORMATION WARFARE

The 1991 Gulf war inspired widespread realization of the immense importance of information superiority in a modern conflict. In the United States, this realization had an almost euphoric quality. The notion that conflict reflects the nature of society is

5 . John Arquila and David Ronfeld, "Cyber war is Coming" Comparative Strategy 2, April - June 1993, pp 141 - 165.

6.   Mader, Chris, Information Systems: Technology, Economics, Applications, Chicago Science Research Associates, Inc., 1974, p 3.

7.   Van Creveld, Martin, The Transformation of War, New York - Free Press, 1991, p 196.

8.   Sun Tzu, The Art of War, translated by Samuel B. Griffith, New York, Oxford University Press, 1971, p 77.

9.   Szafranski, Richard, "Towards a Theory of Neocortical Warfare; Pursuing the Acme of Skill", Military Review, November 1994.

not new, of course, but this was the public breakthrough of the insight that Information Society warfare may be quite different from its Industrial Society counterpart.

It is not surprising, then, that the Gulf War also saw the emergence of an alternative image - that of information vulnerability, the flip side of the information dominance coin. The perhaps most often cited example of this vulnerability was the allegation that a group of hackers in the Netherlands approached the Iraqis, offering their services as cyber warriors against the United States and the UN coalition.[10]

In spite of the lack of publicly known consequences that are truly serious, just the number of successful hacker attacks tells us to take the threat seriously. In the US led Western security policy debate, Information Warfare is presented as an asymmetric strategy useful for the rogue state opponent typical in anticipated regional conflict scenarios, or for terrorist groups even more foreign to modern western values.[11]

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY INNOVATION

Since it was first introduced just over a century ago, wireless radio has been used by militaries to link together geographically scattered platforms for mutual co-ordination and support. Given the limitations on data-transmission capacity, range, and reliability, military operations have been characterized by largely autonomous multipurpose platforms or units operating in relative independence of one another. However, the prospect of unlimited bandwidth is now stimulating efforts aimed at creating a fully integrated operational network of widely dispersed sensors, weapons, and command entities that will effectively function as a single combat unit

the so-called "system of systems."[12] Some predict that creation of this system of systems will lead in the relatively near term to transition from military operations based on the coordinated actions of individual platforms to an approach centred on the network itself, what is being called "network-centric warfare."[13]

The full integration of battlefield systems within a common information network appears to hold out the prospect of three significant advances. First, networking of long-range sensors and weapons allows for the simultaneous massing of dispersed fires on common targets - thus achieving greater combat effectiveness per unit of force. Second, geographic dispersal enabled by the network improves own-force protection by denying lucrative targets to the enemy's long-range strike systems. Third and perhaps most importantly, full networking of information between units would appear to allow a tremendous increase in the tempo of operations, reducing the delay between observation and action on the battlefield. Some proponents foresee a transition to a wholly new measure of combat effectiveness whereby "speed of command" replaces attrition of enemy forces as the battlefield goal.[14] The idea is that a higher relative speed of operations should make possible pre-emptive actions that effectively forestall an enemy commander's options. Denied an ability to take the initiative without unacceptable risk of being destroyed, the enemy is theoretically paralysed.

The pace of information systems development suggests that the real challenge ahead, however, is not so much technological as organizational, that is, how best to organize people around these systems so as to exploit fully their capabilities. There has been considerable speculation about future military-technical possibilities, but there has been remarkably

10. Fialka, John J. "War by Other Means: Economic Espionage in America", New York, W. W. Norton, 1997, p 104.
11. Eriksson, E. Anders, "Viewpoint: Information Warfare: Hype or Reality?", The Nonproliferation Review Spring - Summer, 1999, p 57.

12. Ibid.
13. Cohen, William S., Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review, Washington, D.C., May 1997, pp 39 - 40 and 42 - 43.
14. Ibid.

little discussion about the prospect of future concomitant organizational change within the military services. Historians of military innovation would not be surprised. All military organizations are self-contained societies with distinct cultural characteristics, including unique customs, rituals, social hierarchies, and narrowly defined criteria for membership and promotion. In his now-classic study of innovation in the U.S. Navy, Elting Morison observed that the introduction of a new technology into the military places in jeopardy and indeed may even destroy—many long-standing "mores and structures" of the established military society.[15] He concluded that this cultural impact of organizational change has been the primary impediment to the exploitation of new technologies, often delaying by a generation or more even improvements commonly acknowledged to be in the best interest of the service. Potential cultural resistance to the exploitation of emerging information technologies is not yet clear, but the problems experienced by the U.S. Navy in its effort to incorporate wireless radio into fleet operations a century ago offers some insight into the types of challenges that lie ahead for all of the military services.[16]

IMPACT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

Information networks will potentially enable soldiers at the lowest levels to know as much as the most senior commanders about the combat situation throughout an entire theatre of operations. They will know about lucrative enemy targets, potential threats to their own survival, and the location and status of their own forces and strike assets. The result of this information networking will be a decentralization of command authority, with "individual war fighters, empowered as never before. Expanding information flows will enable command authority to migrate downward to the lowest echelons, offering unprecedented opportunities for initiative and independent operations by individuals and small units what has been termed "decentralized empowerment." Some envision the ultimate combat organization as a network of distributed systems with individual nodes exchanging information laterally and acting independently in pursuit of common system goal - an organization essentially freed from centralised authority altogether. This is undoubtedly (from a narrowly professional point of view) every warrior's ultimate desire unlimited authority to apply unlimited lethality.

Will emerging information technologies in fact reverse the trend toward centralization and relative reduction in command authority that has been proceeding since the introduction of wireless communications? Perhaps so, but several factors suggest that a more likely prospect is that of a very rapid movement toward even greater command centralization on the battlefield, accompanied by an unprecedented reduction in both individual and command authority.

Flattening the Command Hierarchy for Speed. The achievement of "bandwidth on demand" may represent final confirmation that the ability of machines to manipulate and move data has far outpaced individual human capacity to comprehend and act on that information. In the quest for increased speed of operations through system networking, the human decision maker is likely to become conspicuous as the primary impediment to further progress.[17] Better filtering and display of information, along with better training, can mitigate somewhat the limitations of the human brain, but there seems to be a growing consensus that truly significant increases in system speed will require the removal of as many humans as possible from the decision-making process.[18]

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15. Elting, E. Morrison, "Men, Machine and Modern Times", Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1966, pp 17 - 44.
16. Ibid.

17. Lardner, Richard, "Cebrowski Urges Shift to, New York Centric Warfare" Defence Information and Electronic Report, 20 June 1977.
18. Ibid.

Moving from Protracted Attrition Warfare to High-Speed Precision Warfare. Emerging information technologies are making possible increasingly "smart" weapons that can locate and strike specific targets over virtually unlimited ranges. The transition from a "dumb" to a "smart" arsenal has prompted efforts to shift in general from mass application of force against very large and indiscriminate target sets, to precise delivery against critical system nodes. The idea is to halt an invasion by destroying the critical bridge or fuel truck instead of trying to attack all of the enemy's armoured vehicles, or to take down an air defence grid by striking the critical power transformer rather than many individual missile sites. Some even postulate that strategic leverage might be achieved by destroying the critical points that sustain a nation's political, military, and economic systems.[19] The conceptual goal is "one target, one weapon," against the smallest possible number of critical targets, so as to achieve the objective with minimal cost, risk, death, destruction, collateral damage, and ordnance expenditure.[20]

Automating for Efficiency. With such rapid automated data, it will improve reliability through real-time operational-performance analysis, greatly reduce the time required for repair by automating the process of obtaining spare parts and technical assistance, and eventually reduce the number of uniformed personnel devoted to forward maintenance and repair. However, an automated reporting network would also tell remote authorities as much if not more about a unit's material status than the commanding officer knows him or herself. It would eventually allow the automated generation of unit equipment casualty reports, at which point distant commanders will have effectively assumed the authority of on-scene commanding officers for determining a unit's operational and material readiness.

Knowledge Enables Control. It was the inability of leaders at geographically distant command posts (to which they were obliged to withdraw when armies and fleets grew too large to lead personally in combat) that originally demanded delegation of both command authority and responsibility to junior subordinates. In the future, however, information technologies may allow senior commanders to know much more about distant situations perhaps even more than those on the scene, thanks to multisource information fusion. There is no reason to expect that they will be able or willing to avoid involving themselves in actions taken by their subordinates, of whose circumstances they will believe they have full knowledge of.

There may be still other cultural impacts of organizational changes to exploit information technologies. For example, as networks extend themselves over greater spatial expanses they will undoubtedly reach across the boundaries that have traditionally separated ground, sea, and air environments. System function will likely become more important than service affiliation, blurring the distinction between Army, Navy and Air Force authority on the battlefield. Also, the transition from platform-centric to network-centric warfare suggests to some the emergence of an entirely new warfare area and thus a need to create new network warfare management specialties on a par with those of armour, aviation, submarines, etc. If so, it will mean entirely new criteria for both promotion and command, affecting a large group of officers. Without an increase in the number of officers in the senior ranks, many of those in traditional warfare areas may find themselves increasingly uncompetitive for promotion and command opportunity as a result of then-promising career choices made years before.

CONCLUSION

Certainly, future technological realities may fall far short of current expectations. Despite today's apparent trends, transmission bandwidth and

19. Warden, John A., "The Enemy as a System", Concepts in Airpower for the Campaign Planner, 1993, pp 5 - 27.
20. Ibid.

automated data processing capacities may never catch up with network demand, and increasing dependence upon satellites especially commercial communications satellites may be seen as an unacceptable wartime vulnerability. Historically, organizational changes of the magnitude suggested by the now emerging information technologies have taken decades to implement time for a new generation of officers less wedded to existing cultural norms to rise to positions of leadership within the military services.

The most important institutional initiatives will probably be those that stimulate as many officers as possible to think about different operational and organizational concepts, and that accustom the broad society of officers in all services to the likelihood that their profession will undergo major changes during the courses of their own careers. The service and joint war colleges may be best positioned to take on this challenge, through their core curricula and directed research. These institutions have a unique opportunity to capture most of the best junior and senior officers and offer them both the intellectual stimulation and the time to think seriously and critically about different kinds of future military organizations and service cultures.

Perhaps the most important reason for stimulating serious thinking about the prospect of major change is that doing so will help determine whether current future warfare goals are in fact to the relative advantage of the military over the long run. There has been speculation, but little open debate, about possible risks associated with network warfare, and specifically whether an ever-increasing tempo of operations may perhaps be fraught with more operational peril than benefit for the military as a whole. An equally important question is whether the cultural changes that seem to be required to exploit future information technologies will actually prove to be so detrimental to the ethos necessary to a successful military organization as to offset any operational advantages.

Alfred Thayer Mahan originally opposed the construction of dreadnought-type battleships for the U.S. fleet because he feared that having only long-range guns would foster in the U.S. sailor an "indisposition to close" with the enemy, thus undermining the courage of the naval commander. As Elting Morison observed, the long-range battle did not cause sailors to lose their bravery but rather to "reveal their bravery in a different way."[21] However, Mahan's concern should not be too readily dismissed as we ponder our future technological options. It is possible that emerging information technology may indeed allow military leadership to become too remote, too automated, and too detached—and for military organizations to become too diffuse to maintain the unit cohesion necessary to stand in conditions of prolonged combat and severe hardship. These may be the issues most deserving of our careful consideration, before rapidly evolving technologies draw us too far down the path of organizational and cultural change.

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20. Ibid.

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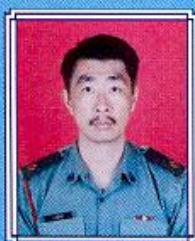
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IVENTORY MANAGEMENT- ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

By: Kol Mohamed Fadzil and Lt Kol Muhammad Ariff Soo

INTRODUCTION

The Royal Ordnance Corps (ROC) established on the 17th July 1946[1] has one overarching goal: to provide effective and efficient support to all Army units. In support of this effort, the ROC's main role is to equip all the Army units with the right quantity of stores, at the right time and place as well as in the most economical manner[2]. In addition, it has also capitalised on the advantages brought about by the Information Communication Technology (ICT) era we are living in today. The ROC has formulated a strategic plan and established a blueprint since the early 1980s to computerise its entire base and field depots in achieving efficient support to the Army. This will enhance the Malaysian Army's combat readiness and effectiveness.

As a result, two pilot projects were successfully implemented. The first pilot project code-named CODIMS I was implemented in 1983 to computerise the Provision, Control and Accounting (PC&A) cells of the 91 Central Ordnance Depot (91 COD). Subsequently, CODIMS I was upgraded under another project code-named CODIMS II in 1996. Under the CODIMS II project, the hardware, which was near obsolete, were upgraded and the CODIMS's application was enhanced to cover all the functionality of the 91 COD.

In the mean time, the ROC then embarked on the effort to computerise its field depots under another project code-named CODIMS III in 1989. The two depots involved in the computerisation were the 72 Batalion Ordnans DiRaja (72 BOD) and the 6 Kompeni Ordnans DiRaja (6 KOD). The determination of the ROC to computerise the depot management had allowed some Ordnance officers to have the initiative to develop the CODIMS application in-house. It is something to be proud of. Currently, both depots are still using the systems to support its day-to-day operations in meeting the demands of its dependencies a although the existing system is obsolete due to the rapid pace of technological change.

These innovative efforts in developing the inventory management systems have actually resulted in both savings and greater customer satisfaction. However, that success was as far as it went. The ROC was not able to progress any further in implementing the ICT blueprint it formulated a decade ago. What were the reasons that lead to the stunted growth? This paper hopes to shed some light on the issues in inventory management and challenges in computerising the inventory management faced by the ROC in its attempt to implement its ICT blueprint.

ISSUES IN INVENTORY MANAGEMENT

The core function of the Royal Ordnance Corps in managing the range of inventories used by our Army is of no easy task. It does not only include warehouse management but also other activities

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1   Major Hew Kiang Thiam. A Thesis On The History of The Malaysian Ordnance Corps 1946-1972, page 8. Higate Staff College Commandant Paper.

2   Arahan Teknikal Kor Ordnans Diraja Jilid 1, Chapter 1, Section 3, Second Edition, 1982.

such as planning and preparation of budget estimates and bidding for the budget, formulation of purchase plan, contract management, procurement, financial control and various other challenging inventory management activities. Based on the high demand of the job function coupled with the level of uncertainty, an inventory manager had to experience bundles of inventory management issues. Some of the issues are as follows:

- **Range and Depth of Inventories.** Currently the 91 Central Ordnance Depot is mothering all the Division and Brigade depots with a large range of Ordnance Stores in the region of 41,902 line items valued at approximately RM 3.62 billion[3]. The range and depth of the inventories will continue to grow as the Army continues to procure more sophisticated equipment and weapon systems to beef up its operational readiness. As a result, the volume of transactions of demands from Army units and orders made to suppliers will increase many folds as the days go by. Although the ROC was requested to review its stock holding in view of enhancing the efficiency of its inventory management, the existing manual system was unable to handle the situation. Therefore, it is time that the ROC should embark on its blueprint for computerisation. The existing system is no longer

3   Data obtained from the CODIMS computer system in 91 DPO as at 10th Feb 2004.

relevant to the technological advancement either in Malaysia or globally.

- **Manual Operating Systems.** As mentioned earlier, all the Ordnance depots are still operating manually except for three depots, namely, 91 COD, Batu Cantonment, 72 BOD in Taiping and 6 KOB in Sg. Petani. The existing systems used by these three depots are considered obsolete due to old (aging) hardware and software, which is no longer capable of assisting the unit to perform its functions effectively. In addition, the maintenance of these systems has become a burden due to the difficulties in getting spares. Furthermore, some of the hardware that is difficult to source locally had to be sent overseas for repair. At the same time, with the continually increasing range of inventories coupled with the shortage of experienced manpower due to the attrition rate, all the depots are facing an uphill task of meeting the Army units' demands and making them happy and satisfied customers.
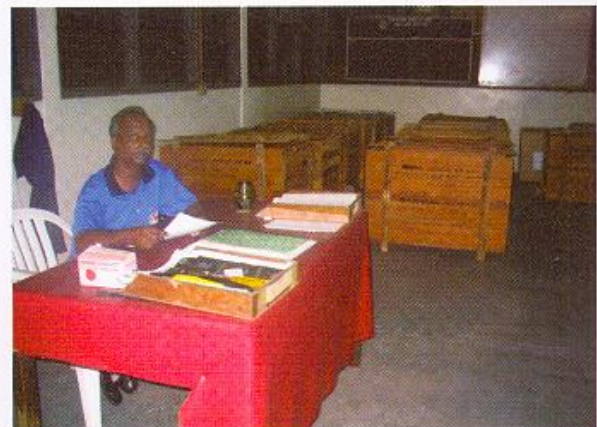
- **Lack of Global Visibility.** One of the other significant side effects of the manual operating systems currently used by the Ordnance Depots is the lack of global visibility in obtaining information on the volume of inventories held by all the depots. Individual depot management faced difficulties in providing immediate feedbacks on the latest stock status in real time to the top logistics management. The lack of this

capability has resulted in difficulties in making reliable, accurate and timely (RAT) assessments and decisions especially during a crisis. In addition, the RAT criteria could not be achieved in producing reports; summaries and statistical figures as the manual process was just too time consuming. As a result, by the time the information reached its recipient, more often than not, it was overtaken events or the data was not up to date due to the fluidity of the transactions in the depots.

Service Level Performance. Jan - Dec 2003
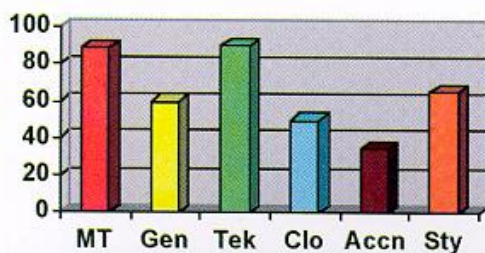
• **Stock Control.** To date, the Army's expansion project especially on the requisition of new technological capital equipment has resulted in the increase in the range and depth of the inventories. This increasing number of inventories remains to be managed manually. This leads to a lack of global visibility and has resulted in stock
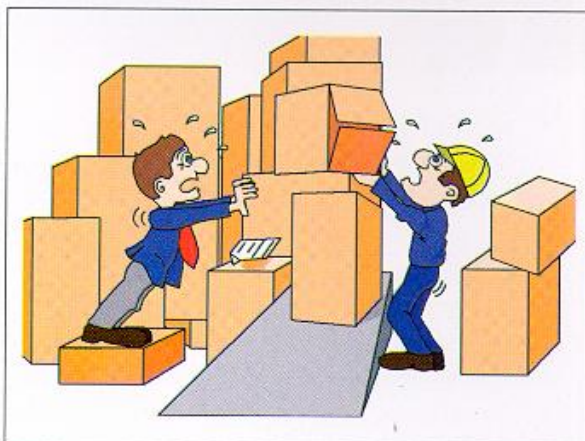
control not being carried out effectively and efficiently to the liking of the ROC. As a result, stock turnover, shelf-life item management, First In First Out (FIFO) stock rotation, lateral transfers between depots and many others could not be effectively implemented and monitored. Poor stock control could also lead to either carrying too much or too little inventory. Either outcome could result in increased overhead costs, increased financial holding costs, increased risk of dead stock and increased risk of not able to meet the units' demand on time, increased ordering costs, increased risk of supplier price increase and decreased bulk order discount respectively. The ROC considered these problems as the challenges, which need to be faced, and management accordingly.

• **Financial Management.** The manual process is also one of the major causes of ineffective financial management. Lack of immediate global visibility and ineffective stock control also contributing factors to poor financial management. As a result, occasionally, the ROC depots were unable to fulfil the demands of its customers, which in turn may jeopardise the Army's state of operational readiness. The impact was felt even more severely during the economic crisis in 1997 where financial allocation was rather acute. However, the inventory managers through their good management, close monitoring and effective supervision from top management were able to manage this situation very well.

• **Infrastructure and Mechanical Handling Equipment (MHE).** The warehouse infrastructure in all the Ordnance depots is too old and some of them are even inherited from the British. Most of their designs are of the conventional type. As a result,

the working conditions in the warehouses are not conducive due to poor lighting, ventilation, heat and dust. These conditions have not only affected the people working in the warehouses but also the conditions of the inventories kept in the warehouses. The MHE that is used to handle the storage, picking and moving of items within and between the warehouses is equally outdated and considered obsolete. Both these factors have indirectly affected the productivity level of the staff and the depots as a whole.

• **Piece-Meal Implementation.** Both CODIMS II and CODIMS III were implemented in a piece-meal fashion. This was mainly due to the insufficient allocation provided against the amount the ROC bided for under the respective Malaysian Plan. For each of the allocation given, a tender exercise has to be conducted to procure the hardware, software, database, operating systems and other related items. As a result, the ROC ended up with a heterogeneous environment where the hardware, operating systems and database for each project is of different make. This is partly due to the fact that in a tender specification, the ROC were not allowed to specify a particular brand name for any product required. The heterogeneous environment resulted in a few shortcomings such as training and postings.

• **Training and Postings.** As a result of the heterogeneous environment, it will incur more costs in ICT training for the ROC personnel. This is because the ROC personnel have to attend different ICT courses relevant to the respective CODIMS system. In addition to the extra training cost, it also affects the posting of manpower. For example, a personnel from say, CODIMS II is posted to CODIMS III, cannot be fully functional immediately. This is due to the fact that he needs some time to familiarise with the commands to operate the new system. Thus, he needs to unlearn and relearn some of the new commands used in the administering of the system such the operating systems and database. The long learning curve results from the lost of time taken up to relearn affects the productivity of the personnel and the unit concerned.
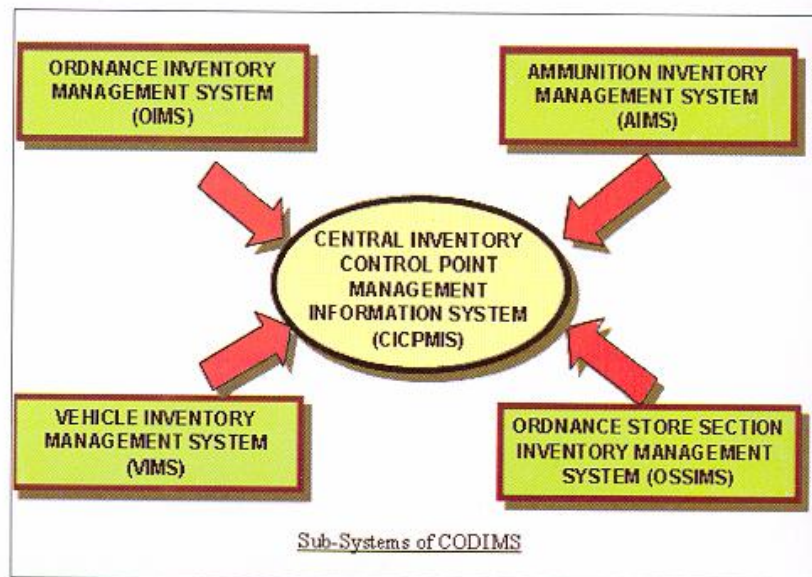

Heterogeneous Enviroment

THE CHALLENGES

In order to live up to the expectation of the Army in maintaining the highest level of operational readiness at all times, inventory managers in the Royal Ordnance Corps are facing a very challenging task. Strategically, they must be able to answer three important questions, namely, what to stock, how much to stock, and when to reorder stock?

The determination of what stock is based on a variety of considerations, such as past demand history and the importance of the items. How much to stock and when to reorder is based on an assessment of risk. In particular, what risk of running out of stock is the inventory manager willing to assume when it is time to submit a replenishment order? The higher the re-order point (ROP)[4] is set, the lower is the risk of running out of stock during the replenishment time, but the more capital is tied up in safety stock.

In assisting inventory managers perform their task effectively and efficiently, the ROC has lined-up a series of strategic plans via its computerisation effort. Some of the strategic actions taken are as follows:

- **The ROC Computerisation Committee.** The top management of ROC was able to forecast the anticipated increase in workload that its depots will be facing in line with the modernisation plan of the Army. Thus, the ROC has established

a computerisation committee (ROCCC)[5], which comprise senior officers to develop a strategic plan to computerise its inventory management functions. As a result, a computerisation blueprint was formulated and presented to MAMPU for approval. A blessing from the government's ICT authority was obtained way back in December 1996[6].

ORDNANCE INVENTORY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (OIMS)

AMMUNITION INVENTORY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (AIMS)

CENTRAL INVENTORY CONTROL POINT MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEM (CICPMIS)

VEHICLE INVENTORY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (VIMS)

ORDNANCE STORE SECTION INVENTORY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (OSSIMS)

Sub-Systems of CODIMS

- **CODIMS's Blueprint.** The ROC computerisation blueprint approved by MAMPU was called Computerisation of Ordnance Depots Inventory Management System or abbreviated as CODIMS. The blue-print was formulated based on the various types of inventories handled by the Corps, namely, Ordnance Stores, Vehicles, Ammunitions and Explosives. As a result, four sub-systems were identified, namely, the Ordnance Inventory Management Systems (OIMS), Vehicle Inventory Management System (VIMS), Ammunition Inventory Management System (AIMS) and the Ordnance Store Section Inventory Management System (OSSIMS). These four sub-systems converged into a

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4   ROP is the level of items on the shelf that triggers a replenishment order.

5   The Director of Ordnance Corps chairs the ROC Computerisation Committee (ROCCC). The Committee meets twice a year or as and when required to monitor and review the implementation progress of the CODIMS project.

6   UPTM BTM(S) 17/1 KH 21(36) dated 20th Dec 1996.

strategic module called the Central Inventory Control Point Management Information System (CICPMIS). The CICPMIS is the nucleus of the entire network whereby it will be able to provide on-line real time global visibility inventory management information for staff officers and top management of the Army Logistics Headquarters.

• **ICT Pioneer.** The ROC was the pioneer in the Army as far as computerisation is concerned whereby 91COD was computerised way back in 1983. Since then, the ROC has developed a pool of ICT experts holding diplomas, degrees and masters in IT. The ROC was also responsible in conducting the IT training for the Army at its training centre in Batu Cantonment until the responsibility was transferred to the Signals School in 1994. Among the IT courses conducted by the Ordnance School were Introduction to Computers, DBASE II, COBOL, Fortran, BASIC, Structured Analysis and Design Methodology (SSADM), Harvard Graphics and others. What was even more challenging to the IT instructors was the rather limited hardware facilities available then (5 micro computers-286).

• **Brain Drain.** The ROC was not able to hold on to its pool of IT qualified officers and senior ranks. The lure of better financial incentives from the commercial sector was just too tempting. In addition, there was no opportunity for upward mobility as there were no IT appointments in the organisation structure. As a result, those qualified IT personnel opted for early retirement to venture into a "greener pasture". Realising this situation, the ROC continued to improve its pool of experts by sending its personnel for formal training at both public and private tertiary institutions. Currently, there are 18 officers who are have formal IT qualifications, ranging from Master in Computer Science to Diploma in Systems Analysis and 4 officers with degrees in computer engineering[7].

Some of them are even serving outside the corps in IT related positions at organisations such as the Army Training Headquarters, Brigade Headquarters, and the War Game Centre.

• **Continuity.** As a result of the brain drain, the implementation of the CODIMS project was also affected. In addition, officers who are attached to the project team who have passed their promotion exam would like to move on to assume higher appointments. This phenomenon has caused disruptions to the continuity in the implementation of the project. It is due to the reason that replacement officers lack hands-on experience and will take some time to understand the processes that are being reengineered as well as the methodology adopted. Thus, in addressing this challenge, the ROC has taken steps to formalise the CODIMS project team.

• **ICT Organisation.** As the ROC continues to pursue the implementation of its ICT blueprint, the top management realised that a formal ICT organisation needs to be established to overcome the issue of brain drain and continuity. Thus, a paper to propose the establishment of the CODIMS project team was put forward to various agencies for screening and approval. Finally, the Public Services Department approved the establishment of the CODIMS organisation with 6 officers (1 Colonel, 5 Capt/Major), 4 other ranks (1 WO II/SSgt, 1 Cpl, 2 LCpl/Pvt) and 3 civilian system analysts on the 5th of August 2003[8]. It is hoped that this ICT organisation will give the ICT qualified personnel some room for upward mobility and they will remain until they have reached their compulsory retirement.

• **ICT Projects Financial Requirement.** No project can be implemented without financial allocation and the CODIMS's project is no

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7   Data obtained form the SO2 Personnel Ordnance Directorate dated 22nd March 2004.

8   KP/PERJ/155/3 Jil. 5(36) dated 5th August 2003.

Ordnance Network (OrdNet)

different. With limited financial allocation provided for the two pilot projects, namely, CODIMS II and CODIMS III, the ROC was able to handle the project using their own in-house expertise. This was possible then simply because both the projects were either single site or a pilot study. However, it is the corps's dream to computerise all it field depots via an intranet called OrdNet. Attempts to bid for allocations have made in the RMK-6, RMK-7, and RMK-8 have not been successful, partly because of the limited defence budget. However, the ROC will not give up and will continue to bid for the budget required in RMK-9 besides looking for other alternative financial sources.

• **Alternative Financial Sources.** In the year 2002, the ROC was able to launch a tender to implement the Ordnance Inventory Management System (OIMS) sub-systems. The OIMS application will be implemented in all Battalion Ordnance Diraja, Kompeni Ordnans Diraja, MK Log TD-Kumpulan Ordnans and the 91 COD. It will be able to provide on-line real time global

inventory information for the management of all formation headquarters, MK Log TD and MK TD-Caw Log. The budget was made available via the Ministry of Finance warehouse modernisation program as a result of a study made by the SRI Consultants[9]. The initial budget was supposed to be used to build an Automated Storage and Retrieval (ASRS) facility and a warehouse for 73 BOD in Terendak, Malacca. However, after a detailed study of the main inventory management shortcomings faced by all the Ordnance depots, the ROC decided that the CODIMS's ICT backbone linking all its depots should be in place first. Subsequently, the ASRS infrastructure and technology will later complement the CODIMS ICT backbone. The alternative financial resources was, however, could not be put to good use as the MOF has decided that OIMS tender should be re-tendered[10], a delay of almost one year after the MOD made a decision. The ROC accepts the

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9   SRI Consultant did a study on the logistics problems faced by the Army, Navy and Air Force.

10   KP/PERO 5/B/199/2002 Jil. 1(109) dated 03 December 2003.

decisions in good faith and viewed this process as a temporary setback in the implementation of the CODIMS project. The ROC management will continue to pursue and look for funds to implement the CODIMS projects in order to be able to serve all the Army units more effectively and efficiently.

- **ICT Sub-Committees.** Currently, the ROC is in the midst of computerising the 92 Central Vehicle Depot (92 CVD) under a project called Vehicle Inventory Management System (VIMS). It is anticipated that the VIMS will be ready by the first quarter of 2004. In closely monitoring the progress of the project, the ROC has established various sub-committees to ensure the success of the on-going project. Among the sub-committees established are as follows:

※ **VIMS Working Committee (VWC).** This committee is chaired by the SO1 CODIMS on a weekly basis to discuss the progress, issues faced, reengineering of business processes, identification of relevant reports and information management systems.

※ **VIMS Management Committee (VMC).** The VWC will report to this committee on a monthly basis, which is chaired by the Director of the Ordnance. The primary role of the VMC is to give directions to the WMC to overcome any issues or shortcomings faced by the working committee.

※ **CODIMS Steering Committee (CSC).** Over and above these various committees, the WMC will report the progress of the CODIMS implementation to the CODIMS steering committee, which is chaired by the Deputy Secretary General (Management) of MOD.

CONCLUSION

The ROC being the inventory master of the Army is faced with a very challenging task in equipping all Army units and ensuring that they are satisfied with the service provided. Realising this fact, the ROC analysed its core issues faced by its depots in managing the increasing range of inventories. The manual operating systems coupled with the old infrastructure and mechanical handling equipment, were contributing factors that affected the productivity, effectiveness and efficiency of the depots. In addition, a lack of global visibility has deprived the top management of reliable, accurate and timely information to assist them in making decisions especially during crisis management. These shortcomings have also lead to ineffective stock control.

In addressing these issues, the ROC has formulated a computerisation blueprint to link up all its depots via an intranet called OrdNet. However the success of implementing the blueprint is rather limited so far due to a number of reasons. Among them are issues such as "brain-drain", continuity due to lack of upward mobility and insufficient financial allocations. Some of these challenges have been successfully addressed. The ROC has managed to seek the approval of the PSD to establish a formal CODIMS project team. In addition, the top management of the Army is also sympathetic with the ROC's dire need of the computer systems and will provide some funds in the near future.

With the persistence and seriousness of the ROC management coupled with the support and commitment of the Army's top management, the ROC look forward to fully implement its computerisation blueprint in the near future. With that, the ROC will be able to support all Army units effectively and efficiently via its motto, "Berkhidmat dan Membantu".

"Customer Satisfaction Is Our Priority"

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MALAYSIAN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE: A CORRELATION WITH NATIONAL ECONOMY

By: Lt. Kol Jeyabalan.S

INTRODUCTION

Defence and economics constitutes the basic, two main pillars on which the national strategy of a nation stands. Both factors play a interweaving role in the national security of the state. Without a dynamic and prosperous economy sooner or later allocation of resources for the defence will be reduced, thereby reducing the defence capability to protect national interest and sovereign rights. This concept of interdependence is known as defence economics. In the post Cold War era, defence planners and analysts are finding it more and more difficult to justify for funds for military developments in the absence of the Cold War. Society generally is convinced that after the Cold War peace dividends would automatically bring everlasting peace and economic development. However in retrospect, immediately after the Cold War, Saddam invaded Kuwait, USSR and Yugoslavia disintegrated and civil wars erupted in parts of Africa, which were dormant during the Cold War. Of recent the ugly threat of terrorism has been setting off suicide bombs in Iraq, Bali and Turkey. Hence defence spending for national security is an issue to be examined and discussed seriously.

Statistics in most defence journals indicate the trends of defence spending of countries in our region to be increasing steadily as their economics prosper. In terms of gross national product, Singapore has consistently spent the highest, which is around 6%, while the Philippines defence expenditure was the least. In relation to public expenditure, Thailand's figures were the highest in 1985(30%). In real terms, Indonesia increased its expenditure by more than 25%, whereas Singapore's and Thailand's doubled in the same period. These developments in defence expenditure by ASEAN nations not only enhanced their military capabilities but also contributed to an arms race in the region. Generally these defence expenditures were increased based on the variables of threat perception and economic prosperity of nations.

On the other hand, analysis of the Malaysian defence expenditure suggests that the allocation of defence expenditure is influenced by a number of variables. In the past during the Cold War, threat perception was the underlying factor. In the post-Cold War era the strategic environment has changed and hence the debate of the Malaysian defence expenditure has been ongoing continuously and has been assumed to be a trade-off of guns for butter.

This aim of this article is to highlight that Malaysia should continue it's defence spending at a steady pace even in the post Cold War era to counter the new security challenges of the 21st century.

Defence Spending and the Economy

The economic factor determines the resources, which are available to pay for defence. Some critics argue that defence spending is a burden to the economy (Chalmers 1985). Not everyone admits this view. Emile Benoit (1973) published after evaluating 44 countries that defence has no adverse net effect on economic growth and that balanced defence programs stimulate economic growth. He also concluded that the three principal reasons why

defence stimulated economic growth were: 1) discipline training and job and job related skills, 2) dual use of infrastructure, 3) military provision of support facilities (housing and health) which substitutes civilian expenditure and attracts foreign investment.

In fact defence offers technological benefits as well through promoting cutting edge technology and spin-off benefits. Some of these benefits are:

- Technology developed for military use, made possible the development of the cellular telephone and the microwave oven.

- The wing design of the Airbus is based on a novel design from defence aerodynamics.

- Pool of trained men when they leave benefits the civil sectors especially those technically trained.

Furthermore it provides jobs and contributes to balance of payment through export of weapons and import saving. Defence spending promotes growth through the training of military manpower, provision of infrastructure and creation of a stable environment for investment.

Malaysian Defence Expenditure and Economy

The theory of economics of military expenditure that Malaysia adheres to, is ME = F (income, spills, threats, economic variables, political variables and dummies). The economic variable of affordability is perhaps the single most influencing factor. Malaysia realizes too that defence spending in Malaysia stimulated economic growth especially when payments for weapons imports are made in part through the export of palm oil. Recent studies by Dr Frederiksen and Dr Robert Mc Nab concluded this fact, that defence spending in Malaysia prompts economic growth; hence the defence budget was incrementally raised from 1999 onwards after the

recent economic crisis to stimulate the economy.

The Malaysian defence expenditure generally has been around three to four percent of the GDP except in the late 70's and 80's, and it exceeded that when the domino theory almost became a reality. The allocation of defence spending in Malaysia is a function of various variables. The defence budget is allocated based on the Defence Policy of Self Reliance, Regional Cooperation, External Assistance and Affordability. However, economic affordability is perhaps the single most important variable governing defence spending of Malaysia.

The choice has been between economic development or defence development. The Malaysian government has always chosen economic development over defence. The government has compensated for the insufficient defence spending through military alliance, defence diplomacy, regional cooperation and defence confidence building measures. It has always maintained that all national differences are to be settled by diplomacy and negotiation. However it must be noted that diplomacy has its limitations as all countries have their own national interests to protect. This fact was reinforced prior to the first and second Gulf War when diplomacy failed and the only remaining option was military action.

Strategic Overview of the Environment

As mentioned earlier, defence planners and analysts are finding it difficult to justify for more defence funds for defence development in terms of modernization of the Army to keep abreast with other potential adversaries in the post Cold War era. In everyday life too, sometimes one is encountered with questions like "what does the Army do in the absence of the Communist insurgency internal threat and a tangible external threat"? Questions of this nature arise simply because the layman is sometimes unaware that it takes about four years to fully train a professional soldier and one who assumes that an

army can be put together overnight when a conflict erupts is clearly mistaken. This is further compounded by the fact that one is uninformed of the strategic environment.

It is justifiable to assume that nation states spend on defence in order to be militarily prepared in the event its sovereignty and territorial integrity is threatened. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that an understanding of the strategic environment and the required military preparedness, is the main influencing factor which will enable us to assess and determine the budget allocation for the development of the Armed Forces. Hence the strategic environment can be analysed as follows, which could justify defence spending.

The Cold War came to an end in both name and reality leading to a great change in the global security environment. Though the Cold War has seen a recession of the potential for an outbreak of armed conflict on a global scale, a number of hostilities with ethnic and religious roots, which had been contained during the Cold War, have moved to the forefront or intensified, giving rise to complicated and diverse regional conflicts. The international community too has serious concerns about terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, which it fears, might further aggravate regional conflict. Thus, unpredictability and uncertainty still persist at the global level.

At the regional level, any security discussion on Southeast Asia must be discussed in a wider context of the Asia Pacific. The states in the Asia Pacific region, which has a rich geographical and historical diversity, have correspondingly varied outlooks on security. Issues that remain unresolved in the region include the continuing tension in the Korean Peninsular, the issue of Japan's northern territory and Takeshima Island, the China-Taiwan issue and the recent North Korean missile launch only proved that unpredictable and uncertain elements remain as present as ever.

At the sub regional level, closer to home, the situation has been characterized with destabilizing factors such as territorial disputes of the Spratly Islands and minority ethnic issues that persist in Acheh and the Philippines, whilst there has been incidents in which safe passage has been obstructed by pirates in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore as well as in the South China Sea.

ASEAN countries too have for sometime shown a high rate in increase in national defence spending due to their remarkable economic growth and a marked tendency toward achieving greater self-reliance towards their defence needs such as force modernization and expansion. Although all ASEAN member countries subscribe to the non-intervention policy and on regional cooperation, each country views security differently and pursues it in its separate and usually, secretive arms build up programme. As such they have pushed ahead with military modernization through greater defence spending. Evidence of this trend is to date offered by Vietnam's introduction of SU-27 fighter aircraft, Thailand's introduction of Chinese built frigates and Singapore's introduction of AWACS and additional submarines. The biggest concern of ASEAN countries is the emergence of China as a regional power whose Navy is set to become a blue water Navy by year 2010. In recent times her hostile character and intent was revealed during the take over of the Mischief Reef incident in 1995.

Again the ASEAN region is seen as uncertain and unstable especially with the withdrawal of the US who acted as a countervailing power during the Cold War. A study by Evan Luard revealed that only two of the one hundred and twenty seven significant wars during the Cold war occurred in Europe. Ninety eight percent of the wars occurred in developing countries with forty-four percent in Southeast Asia. The prediction is, it is unlikely to be different in the post-Cold War era and thus it is diagnosed that the security situation of the region is in a fragile state. It is further reiterated with the famous International

Relations studies quotation "there are no permanent friends or foes except national interest" and this always invariably starts a conflict.

All these uncertainties at the global, regional and sub regional level further reinforce the point to always maintain a credible and deterrent Armed Forces especially the Army which will be ultimately be responsible for the defence of the land mass of Malaysia in which the other two services will not be able to hold ground except to control the Air and Sea in a limited fashion.

CONCLUSION

Threat perception and the economic state of the nation seem to be the most prominent variables that provided the impetus for the Malaysian defence spending. The quantum of allocation is also influenced by several other factors such as foreign policy, which must be backed by a credible defence policy especially in disputes over national territory and resources. Availability of external assistance, policy of self-reliance, regional cooperation and interstate relationships are also some of the others strategic factor considered.

In summary defence and economics are controversial issues in the absence of a tangible threat. It's always a case of how much is enough and the priority. Decisions and choices on the size of the defence budget are difficult. However a strong economy can exist on a long-term basis only when it is based on a stable security environment. In essence it's been a choice of butter or guns in the Malaysian concept of distribution of the wealth. In the final analysis to assist the choice, one has to look at the strategic environment we live in the post Cold War era and be aware that a decaying and outdated Army cannot be reconstructed overnight when diplomatic options run out and when the only way is the use of military force to back our foreign policy decisions. This was the case in 1991, when Iraq could not be repelled from Kuwait diplomatically and the only remaining solution, was military action

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MANAGING SECURITY THE ASEAN WAY

By: Mej Salihudin Bin Daud

INTRODUCTION

Managing security indeed is a mammoth task; hence it cannot be done alone. Realizing this fact, many countries attempted to build up a strong organization for the purpose of addressing regional security issues. However, not all attempts were successful due to several factors constraining them, such as interest and attitude of leaders, perceived benefits, immediate rather than long-term gains, and tangible as opposed to intangible outcomes.[1] Auspiciously, in the case of the Southeast Asian region, the attempt to form up such organization was a success. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed as a sub regional organizational in 1967 to promote initially economic and a socio economic cooperation among its member states. However, ASEAN was swayed into tackling a security issue when Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978. From there on, ASEAN not only existed to overseer economic and socio economic interactions amongst its member states but also to pay particular attention to security issues that might spur conflicts in the region. The needs for ASEAN to play more important roles in maintaining security in the region was accelerated by the changes occurring in the region such as the overlapping claims by a few member states on a few strategic territories in the South China Sea.

The Southeast Asian region's security for the past decades proved to be stable due to the advocating concepts of "ASEAN ways" and "ASEAN spirits" by its member states. Though the "ways" and "spirits" were sometimes neglected and ignored, yet in general ASEAN as an economic based organization had in many ways succeeded in maintaining good relations among its member states till today.

This article will discuss how ASEAN manages its regional security as well as maintaining its solidarity. The discussion will revolve on implementation of the concept of interdependence focusing on the transnational production ideas in the process of enhancing cooperation between ASEAN member states. This article will briefly cover various aspects encompassing the definition of the interdependence concept and its relevancy to the security management.

THE CONCEPT OF INTERDEPENDENCE

The concept of interdependence along with transnational production is a concept that is getting more popular and being accepted by most nations as one of the methods to boost cooperation and integration amongst the states. This concept is widely practiced in the Southeast Asian region and thus far has proved to be effective in containing the conflicts or disputes in the past and at present. As far as security is concerned, the states in the region including Malaysia, do believe that the interdependence concept would produce a positive impact if properly utilized by exploitation of certain factors including economic complement, political commitment, infrastructure development, historical, ethnic and cultural relations and the role of the private sector.

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1   Pushpa Thambipillai, The ASEAN Growth Triangles, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Volume 13, No 3, December 1991, p. 299.

Historically, the concept of interdependence was given a particular attention in the United States of America in the 1970s. It encompasses all fields of study such as economy, social and international relations. Being the pioneers, both Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr qualified themselves in explaining the concept. According to them through their masterpiece, "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transitions" they stressed the needs to apply the concept of interdependence as far as managing security is concerned. The influence of 'low politics' together with the declining (relatively) of national security concern had become strong reason for states to embrace this concept.[2] ASEAN member states in particular their leaders believed that national security and domestic stability depended very much on the stability of the regional security. If the regional security is at stake, all the countries in the region will have to face the risk of the national security turmoil. Likewise, the domestic problem of a country will definitely affect the whole region because the probabilities of spill over.

Other scholars expounded that interdependence is an approach to the politics that focus on the development of influence in socio-economic transnational cooperation and non-states actors. The emergence of non-states actors has made the interdependence concept more vital. This is simply because the non-state actors such as international organizations, multinational corporations and religious movements had affected the power of state actors. In another word, the state will remain as an important actor but the state government has loss it power as the sole determinant in international relations.[3] This statement is very true as far as ASEAN is concerned. Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines are mostly dependent on the international and multinational corporation activities in terms of gross national product (GNP).

The interdependence concept in general does not recognize military force as the means to be used in enhancing influence amongst the international community and replaces it by other means such as cultural interaction, social relations and international economic cooperation. Explicitly, it means that a state government no longer requires military force to influence another state government. In this context, economic power has overtaken military might in the stage of world politics and international relations.[4] The ASEAN member states always try to avoid use of force in whatever circumstances they have to confront. Thus far, ASEAN does not involve in any arms race or seem to be building their arsenal. Defence has always become least priority in the national budget distribution for many ASEAN states for example Malaysia. Though, this statement might be true to some, and is arguable, yet in general ASEAN since its inception, the ASEAN member states were seem to put much interest in economic power in promoting cooperation and integration among them.

In many cases the concept of interdependence is very likely to be adopted by vulnerable states that are either economically weak or militarily pathetic. The Southeast Asian countries for example fall into this category. Further, the concept of interdependence amongst the ASEAN states prevents them from being sceptical towards each other and eventually avoids the use of force in resolving the forth-coming conflicts.

One of the popular process or means as far as the economic interdependence practice through out the world in the past millennium is concerned and still existing at present is the transnational production concept. Basically, the transnational activities is in

2   Robert O. Keohana and Joseph S. Nye Jr, "Power and Interdependence. World Politics in Transition" (Boston: Little Brown, 1997) p. 24-37.

3   Mark R. Amstuzy, "International Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to World Politics" (Wheaton College: Mc Graw-Hill College, 1999) p. 17.

4   Ibid, p. 19.

place when there is a movement of tangibles and intangibles across the state borders carried out between either non-state actors or state actors or vice versa. The non-state actors may include firms; social organizations, interest groups, political parties, elite structures or organizations officially founded far the purpose of private linkage. The state actors are self-explanatory.[5]

It is pertinent to note that transnational production becomes one of the means in the interdependence concept where factors such as land, capital, technology and labour are used for the production of state incomes. The hybrid concept of such that are being practiced thus far in the Southeast Asian region is the Growth Triangle that actually depends on the continued commitment of both state and non-state actors. It is aimed at achieving equal prosperity and shared profits. To further understand the concept, the Growth Triangle only functions once there is free movement of elements of labour, capital and technology in any production bloc. With the main idea to minimize costs and to maximize returns, the Growth Triangle was implemented not only to provide economic opportunities to the regional investors but also to attract investors at international level to productively compete in this sector.

SECURITY

According to Barry Buzan, the writer of 'People, Sates and Fear', one must analyse the security concept holistically. By doing that, only one would understand the contradiction of security at all level of individual, states and international anarchy. Because, security is very complex and complicated, one has to look on the common themes of security. He stressed that 'the concept of security binds together individuals, states and the international system so closely that it demands to be treated in a holistic perspective. Attempts to treat security on any single level invite serious distortions of perspective.[6]

With the clear understanding of this concept of security, states of this region feel that it is important not only to tackle its own national security but also the regional security. The security awareness that increased in the post Cold War period escalated the need for many countries to cooperate and maintain security as an entity without much depending on superpowers. The fact that regional security must be given great notice as much as the national security, had indirectly or directly brought changes in the diplomatic ties between many countries in a particular region.

With regard to the common understanding of the regional security as their main concern, countries in the Southeast Asian region agreed to use the ASEAN as a platform for them to stage their ideas pertaining to security matters though the institution is economic based. ASEAN as a regional regime defined security to be encompassed of politics, military, economy and social factors that will reintegrate at all levels of analyses. Members of ASEAN that bind by various proximity work together to establish as well as to enhance three security functions that shall contribute to the success in maintaining security. The three functions are; firstly, by establishing economic and political relations, ASEAN will slowly eradicate conflicts amongst them or at least to soften their stands towards any disagreement between them; secondly, the ASEAN forum will be used to find solutions towards economic development amongst the members. The cooperation of members of ASEAN, will contribute towards their political stability, assisting each country to reduce social problems and also to suppress any communist insurgency threat. Thirdly, by encouraging the internal security ASEAN is indirectly reducing its member's vulnerability of external threat that may be posed by others. Eventually, ASEAN would be used as a tool to

5   Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones, "The Logic of International Relations" (Cambridges Massachusets: Winthrop Publisher, 1980). p. 456.

6   Ibid p. 245.

manage the regional security without depending on any other major powers.

MANAGING SECURITY

ASEAN was founded for two purposes of cooperation. Although initially ASEAN was founded to be an economic organization where every member state will integrate in every economic exercise, yet the need to cooperate in terms of security aspects was undeniable. Second, ASEAN hoped to establish links with other countries outside the region in the economic cooperation as an entity or separately. The main aim is to ensure the common interest is being protected. Through the ASEAN declaration was made in Bangkok in 1967, the member states reached the consensus on the definition of security as mentioned above. Each ASEAN members agreed that they have to work together as an entity as to ensure the stability in economy, politics, social and regional security. The ASEAN members will work closely with each other to resolve any disputes, conflicts or disagreements with the ASEAN spirit and they totally disagree with the idea of any interference of any kind from outside. This include all forms of manifestation, and military activities from other non-member countries in particular the major powers. To ensure the aspiration is realized, the ASEAN countries would continue at all times to maintain their mutual respect and not for any reason at all that any country should interfere in another country's domestic problem.

For ages, most of the countries were depending on the great powers such as the United States of America (US) and the then United Socialist Soviet Russia (USSR) for either economic or military assistance. However, the changes in the international scenario, which developed in the years 1967 to 1971, had created a setback to most of the countries including ASEAN members. The announcement made by the US and USSR to withdraw their assistance and support to many countries, and the increasing threat in the region had indirectly affected countries in the Southeast Asian region. The emergence of China as a new power after the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Sino-Soviet conflicts, the rise of Japan, the spread of the Vietnam War to Laos and Cambodia, had became a few factors that drove the ASEAN leaders to rethink about the security problem of the region and find ways to solve it.[7] Indisputably, the ASEAN member states had to address and manage the regional security issues on their own.

Malaysia proposed the Southeast Asia region to be a region of neutralization. The neutralization concept will warrant the region free from any disputes of major powers. Unfortunately most members of ASEAN turned down the proposal.[8] It was only discussed again when China was accepted into the United Nations where ASEAN was given a choice whether to maintain diplomatic ties or not with the communist giant. A special meeting held by ASEAN members in 1971, reached a compromise on the proposal made by Malaysia. The declaration then for Southeast Asia to be the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) was made. Some of the outcomes of the declaration were as follows:

- Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippine and Thailand decided to work for the recognition and respect the Southeast Asia region as ZOPFAN, free from any interference of external powers.

- Countries of the Southeast Asian region would plan and execute their effort in the aspect of cooperation that may contribute towards the enhancement of integration and closer ties amongst members as to make ASEAN stronger.

The declaration of ZOPFAN marked the starting point for ASEAN members to develop the concept of interdependent and to strengthen their diplomatic ties.

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7   Shawn Narine, "ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security (Association of Southeast Asian Nation") Pacific Affairs V71, n2, Summer: 1998, p. 2.
8   Ibid p. 2.

The agreement to have a Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) amongst the members was made. The most important agreement in TAC is as follows:

- No ASEAN country will invade another country.

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- Principle guidelines of relations between countries in ASEAN will be established.[9]

As mentioned earlier, the founding of ASEAN had dramatically increased better relationships between countries in the region. With the mutual understanding and respect gained through the ASEAN spirit, members began to enjoy a more stable security environment. Thus, this situation gave more room for members to concentrate on economic development through the concept of interdependence with the focus in producing a big scale of economic output. The Growth Triangle then was carried out.

However, The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation was challenged when Vietnam invaded Kampuchea in the year 1978. The event had forced ASEAN to review its policy and subsequently to look for more affirmative measures in dealing the problem as such in the future. Indeed the Vietnam invasion was a real test to the ASEAN members in their effort to maintain security in the region. Nevertheless, the incident also had tightened the intra-ASEAN cooperation. In addition, this unique situation had couched ASEAN to develop and become more a effective regime. The experience in handling the Vietnam intrusion in Cambodia, had unequivocally given ASEAN a new perspective on the long-term security threat. In this regard, the ASEAN members agreed that it was China that they have to worry, not Vietnam. According to the ASEAN perspective then, China will pose a long-term security threat whilst Vietnam in the eyes of ASEAN should be used as buffer against the threat from China.[10]

Furthermore, when the Cold War ended, it did not only bring new hope for the world but also had created uncertainty in the aspect of regional and global security. Indirectly the event effected ASEAN members as to be more committed to their institution. Looking at the foreseeable problem of security they were going to face in the process of managing it, ASEAN members then established the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994. The founding of the ARF was aimed at calling twenty-one nations including the United States, Japan and Russia for annual meetings with ASEAN members on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region. The ARF meetings will allow ASEAN members to have dialogues with other countries in their quest to strengthen the regime to act accordingly and maturely in the security issues regionally and globally.

The ARF was important to ASEAN members basically for several reasons. Firstly, ASEAN was a new organization and it was weak. Therefore it must learn from others how to confront the outside threat and also it must grab the opportunity to befriend the major powers from the Asia-Pacific region if it wants to succeed in managing its regional security. Secondly, the ARF is very important in the effort to obtain agreement on security measures from other blocs. By doing this, the 'ASEAN way' would be maintained and conflicts could be avoided.

ASEAN members realized that in the era of interdependence it had no choice but to give way for others to carry out economic activities in the region. To ensure that managing the security effort is viable and continuously applied the way it was determined earlier by it members, the requirement to cooperate with other countries especially the major powers was imminent. Notwithstanding, its aim to maintain the 'ASEAN way', members of ASEAN believed that the regional security would be protected if they stick to the equilibrium policy. Ideally, a decision to change its stand from a narrow perspective of security to a wider one, would ensure a more balanced involvement between ASEAN and the major powers.

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9   Ibid p. 3.
10   Ibid p. 4.

Explicitly, ASEAN then was more respected in the international era.

During the formative years, ASEAN had gone through some difficulties in establishing the cooperation within and outside the region. However, as time went by, members of ASEAN slowly and firmly adopted the 'ASEAN way' and as far as possible apply the 'ASEAN spirit'. So far ASEAN members through their goodwill had succeeded in avoiding prolonged conflicts among them, and more importantly they were never involved in any use of force as a resort to any problem. Realizing that regional security was as important as national security, ASEAN had established some multilateral agreements among them as well as with other countries in the areas of economy, culture and social. In another words, ASEAN had moved into the new paradigm of managing security. In the aspect of regional defence as a whole, there was no such defence agreement or arrangement made by ASEAN. This is because; ASEAN was founded as an economic regime and not as a defence pact. Nevertheless, for the purpose of interaction and part of interdependence concept, a few military bilateral exercises were implemented amongst the members of ASEAN. Yet the concentration of ASEAN to ensure and maintain the regional security is still on economy and never in these years for once military was used to resolve conflicts. By practicing good diplomacy and by diplomatic engagement, ASEAN managed to sustain its stable and harmonious regional security status.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

For more than 36 years, after its foundation, ASEAN had succeeded in fostering peace and stability and accelerating cultural development and promoting better relations within its members. Consequently, these aspects directly and indirectly help the countries to develop their economic growth. In fact the ASEAN members had gone through two phases of economic cooperation before embarking

into the third phase of economic cooperation, which commenced in the year 1992.

The first phase of the economic cooperation was started in 1967 and ended in 1976. This phase was more towards knowing each other for ASEAN members and also the beginning period for them to develop cooperation. In 1971, the Philippines president, Ferdinand E. Marcos, proposed to form the ASEAN Free Trade Centre (AFTA) where all members will compete together in a healthy manner in the economic sector. However, this idea was never realized during this phase. The second phase was started in 1976. Through its fourth summit, which was held in the same year ASEAN members officially agreed to actively participate in economic cooperation. The focus would be to establish a mutual understanding amongst the members in dealing with economic cooperation and competition. During this period ASEAN managed to establish a Prioritised Trade Agreement (PTA) and a few other agreements on industrial cooperation. However, none of the agreement made had truly succeeded in encouraging intra-ASEAN trade. The third phase was launched in 1992 unofficially and is expected to end in 2007. This time around, the economic cooperation was intended to strengthen the idea of forming AFTA, as well as to develop another form of regional cooperation that was more active and productive.[11]

The members of ASEAN had determined the achievable objective through the execution of AFTA that is to incorporate the regional market by exploiting its 500 million population. ASEAN as the International Production Centre will encourage international investment through the concept of transnational production. The trade scope is widened to allow all countries of ASEAN to exercise the interdependence concept as planned. Meanwhile

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11 Seiji Naya and Pearl Imada, The Long and Winding Road Ahead for AFTA (AFTA The Ways Aheads, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore: 1992) p. 53.

the intra-ASEAN trade will be developed focusing on the industrial relations. By implementing this concept, the ASEAN intention to turn the region into the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) would be materialized. The AIA will be formed as to indirectly position ASEAN as the host to the foreign investment. To attract more foreigners outside ASEAN to get involved in AIA, ASEAN will expand its venture through new joint ness; reduce the transaction costs and provide more facilities to the investors.

The focus of economy in the concept of interdependence embraced by ASEAN members was evidently proved with the implementation of the Growth Triangles. The Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle (IMS-GT) involved specific areas in those three countries. Known as SIJORI, the areas covered Singapore, Johor (Malaysia) and Riau (Indonesia). Another growth triangle project included the cooperation between Indonesia (Medan) - Malaysia (Northern Part) - Thailand (Southern Region) and East Asian Growth Area (EAGA) that involved Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan (Malaysia), North Sulawesi, North and West Borneo (Indonesia) and some parts of the Philippine and Brunei. The latest growth triangle project being carried out is the cooperation of Thailand, Myanmar and Laos with China.

Besides, the success enjoyed through the combination of production factors such as land, capital, technology and labours in the region by both the government and private sectors, the Growth Triangles also had succeeded in producing a very competitive product at the international level. The affected areas attracted and wooed the investors to indirectly contribute to the development of socio-economy in the surrounding areas. Hence, the projects managed to create prosperity and harmony that greatly assisted the domestic stability. Furthermore, people or the population in the areas where projects were being implemented were able

to work together in harmony despite their differences in ideology and culture.[12]

THE SUCCESS

As discussed earlier, basically ASEAN managed to handle all the security issues quite effectively through the concept of interdependence by recognizing the economic cooperation amongst the members and outsiders. Hitherto, the ASEAN in the 90s managed to emerge as one of the most respectable economic blocs. Though it is still far from perfect and strong as compared to European Committee (EC), at least it managed to sustain for decades. Through the ASEAN ways and spirit, cooperation between members of ASEAN became stronger. Respecting each other's freedom and sovereignty, ASEAN developed to be more integrated particularly in the economic cooperation. The Growth Triangle concept implemented by most countries of ASEAN is becoming more popular in Asia in terms of producing capital output.

In general, economic cooperation ties between ASEAN members had in some way developed and encouraged their own economic growth. With this economic success, the ASEAN member states were not only managing their economy well but also managing and maintaining the region's security as well. The Growth Triangle concept had also successfully integrated people of different races and cultures to work together to achieve the desired output. The IMT-GT that encompasses an area of 230,042 squares km had given hope to its population to share some profit of the project. Though at the beginning, most countries were sceptical on the other's intention, yet it was dissolved when the project succeeded. In the beginning, only Malaysia put much interest in the IMT-GT project while its counterparts Indonesia and Thailand were a bit reluctant based on several factors. Indonesia feared

12 Amitar Acharya, "Transnational Production and Security: Southeast Asia's Growth Triangles" Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol 17, no. 2 (September 1995) p. 175.

that the IMT-GT project would increase the ethnic problem where Thailand was afraid that by carrying out the project, the relation between Malaysian Muslims and its Muslim separatists in Southern Thailand would become more intimate thus would make the separatist group stronger to oppose the government. However, in the end the potential security issues feared by both Thailand and Indonesia were found baseless. As a matter of fact, the IMT-GT had resulted well. Not only the economy of the areas were developed but the project also had successfully blended the diplomatic ties between the three countries. Though not many projects were carried out, yet a few areas had been upgraded and encouraged such as tourism, infrastructure, fisheries, liberation of tariffs, harmonizing the customs and immigration.

The most popular Growth Triangle project was SIJORI (Singapore-Johore-Riau). It is the most active amongst all and considered to be a successful model as far as sub-regional cooperation is concerned. Launched in 1990, SIJORI focused on trilateral cooperation covering 23,000 square km with a population of 5 million. The main aim of SIJORI is to ensure that Singapore's government and its non-government organizations invest in Johor and Riau where both will provide cheap labour and infrastructure. By doing this all the three economic actors will gain some profit from each other. Among the projects implemented through EGT are electronics, oil, fisheries, telecommunications, tourism, technologies in food processing and others. The most successful event of EGT was the involvement of multinational corporations to invest in the industrial areas. The principal aim of shared prosperity and shared economic income were materialized through this good cooperation.

The Eastern Growth Triangle (EGT) comprises Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines were carried without much problem. Covering an area of 692,156 square km and with a population of 27.6 million people, the EGT area is basically is rich in natural resources thus providing economic potential to all the parties involved. Besides that, EGT also had opened up rooms for integration of the locals through cultural and ethnic relations. In this regard, all parties involved not only managed to meet the objectives of shared profits and prosperities but also succeeded in strengthening the diplomatic ties among them. Plans to foster better relations through the use of air space, sea transport, fisheries and tourism were implemented. EGT also succeeded in attracting private sectors from each country to join in developing electric power stations, telecommunications, waterways, and ports.

Putting aside the problems and constraints such as inconsistencies in policies and procedures relating to trade, immigration, customs, export promotion, et cetera, between the participating actors, both states and non-states, it unambiguously managed to carry out economic interdependence and succeeded in fulfilling the ASEAN objectives.

CONCLUSION

In sum, the success of security management in Southeast Asian region in the past was merely due to the wisdom of ASEAN leaders. Although they in many ways were sceptical to each other, yet they managed to work together as a team when dealing with security issues. Through frequent meetings and dialogues, ASEAN leaders were exposed to the linkage between domestic problems and regional security issues. Domestic economic problems in each ASEAN countries will expand to be regional problems if not properly addressed and likewise the regional security issues will lead to political chaos and a lot more domestic problems. Therefore, with a great understanding of those matters, ASEAN leaders reached consensus of having strong and good diplomatic ties among them. Despite a lot of differences in their ideologies and beliefs, ASEAN leaders agreed to work together for the benefit of all.

Taking economies as the base for cooperation, the ASEAN leaders shaped their own regional security outlook. Though there were some flaws and disagreements in the process of carrying out the economic agenda, yet in the end the action taken to implement the concept of interdependence had resulted with everybody enjoying and sharing the profit and prosperity on an equal basis. The transnational production ideas implemented through the Growth Triangle projects thus far were considered a success. Because of this achievement the ties binding them became stronger. Hence, it helped the ASEAN leaders to address and rectify the arising security problem and issues in a more harmonious and open manner.

ASEAN had so far justified its existence as an economic cooperation organization as well as the regime that was ever ready to tackle the regional security issues despite in reality, there were conflicting ideas with regards to solving security disputes. Nonetheless, such differences were resolved through a friendly spirit embedded in their manifestation of ASEAN. The success of managing the Southeast Asian security also was realized with the support from state and non-state actors hence enabling ASEAN leaders in general to cooperate at both macro and micro levels. Through the concept of 'ASEAN ways and spirits', the institution thus far stands strong. Looking at the way it develops and expands in terms of sharing ideas and making decisions for the region's betterment, ASEAN shall be there for many years to come. It would not be a surprise if other countries from other regions imitate and copy this concept of how ASEAN manages its security centrally. Mutual understanding amongst the ASEAN leaders proved to be the essential key in turning the region to be more compatible, stable and harmonious. The concept of interdependence hence was the secret recipe for managing security. By adhering to the 'ASEAN ways and spirits', managing security of this region would and should last for a long time.

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PERHUBUNGAN ANTARABANGSA: DASAR LUAR NEGARA DAN EKONOMI DALAM PERHUBUNGAN ANTARABANGSA (MALAYSIA - JEPUN - ASEAN)

Oleh: Kapt Zuraida bte Ahmad Zuhdi

PENDAHULUAN

Dalam sebuah perhubungan antarabangsa, Dasar Luar Negara merupakan perkara yang penting dalam sesebuah negara untuk pembangunan dan perhubungan dengan negara yang lain. Negara Malaysia dan Jepun merupakan di antara negara yang menjalankan Dasar Luar Negara yang memfokuskan ekonomi sebagai salah satu akar umbi bagi keutuhan pembangunan dan perhubungan dengan negara yang lain.

Ini jelas dilihat kedua-dua negara ini menjalankan Dasar Luar Negara bagi satu perhubungan antarabangsa yang menjurus kepada skop ekonomi, struktur ekonomi, pencapaian ekonomi, sumbangan ekonomi serta kerjasama ekonomi di antara kedua-dua buah negara.

Seperti yang telah diketahui, negara Jepun merupakan sebuah negara yang maju, manakala Malaysia merupakan negara yang sedang membangun. Jepun telah menjadi sebuah negara yang membangun selepas berakhirnya peperangan pada dasawarsa 50-an. Seterusnya, pada dasawarsa 60-an, Jepun bekerja kuat dan sanggup bekerja lebih masa menjadikan angka Keluaran Negara Kasar atau (KNK) telah naik berlipat ganda. Jepun lebih senang mendampingi Barat yang pada masa itu bangkit sebagai kuasa ekonomi.

Menjelang tahun 1970-an, Ekonomi Jepun semakin meningkat dan terus kukuh. Pada masa itu, Jepun asyik memikirkan keuntungan tanpa memikirkan langsung hubungan dengan jiran-jiran Asia yang lain. Ketakjuban Jepun terhadap teknologi Barat telah menyemarakkan lagi semangat Jepun untuk terus maju. Jepun ingin duduk sama rendah dan berdiri sama tinggi dengan Barat dan ini menyebabkan mereka mengalami pengaruh Barat. Malaysia mula membangun selepas era pemerintahan Dr. Mahathir Mohamad iaitu Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang keempat. Ini dapat dilihat melalui perbezaan dasar luar negara bagi Malaysia dan Jepun dalam pencapaian ekonomi, struktur ekonomi serta kerjasama yang telah dibuat.

PENGENALAN

Negara Malaysia dan Jepun merupakan di antara negara yang maju yang menjalankan Dasar Luar Negara bagi pembangunan dan perhubungan antarabangsa di antara negara. Kedua-dua negara ini mempunyai keunikan dan perbandingan tersendiri dalam menjalankan Dasar Luar Negara maju terhadap negara membangun. Negara Malaysia dan Jepun menjalankan Dasar Luar Negara yang memfokuskan kepada struktur ekonomi, pencapaian ekonomi, sumbangan ekonomi serta kerjasama ekonomi di antara kedua-dua buah negara.

SEJARAH HUBUNGAN MALAYSIA - JEPUN

Penjajahan Jepun

Satu daripada peristiwa yang paling penting dalam sejarah kemajuan politik Tanah Melayu adalah kedatangan Jepun dalam tahun 1941. Tidak habis dibelenggu serta ditindas oleh British, Jepun pula mengambil alih atau lebih tepat lagi merampas tampuk pemerintahan dan seterusnya menjadi satu lagi kuasa jajahan di Tanah Melayu.

Pendudukan Jepun telah menjadi satu galakan bagi kemunculan dan kemajuan semangat kebangsaan di negeri ini. Ia juga merupakan satu paradoks, di mana di satu pihak yang disebabkan peristiwa itu telah membangkitkan semangat kebangsaan di Tanah Melayu, dan sebaliknya bagi pihak lain, bagi Jepun juga menjadi penyebab kepada bertambah buruknya perasaan atau sentimen perkauman antara rakyat yang menghalang pembentukan satu bangsa Malaysia yang benar-benar bersatu-padu.[1]

Angkatan Jepun telah menyerang Tanah Melayu pada 8 Disember 1941 dan menjelang 15 Februari 1942, iaitu 70 hari kemudiannya, pentadbiran kerajaan British di Tanah Melayu dan Singapura telah menyerah diri. Serangan terhadap Tanah Melayu adalah sebahagian daripada rancangan besar Jepun yang bercita-cita untuk menubuhkan *'Pemerintahan Baharu Asia Timur Raya'*. Jepun kemudiannya telah berusaha untuk menimbulkan rasa benci terhadap kebudayaan barat di jiwa orang-orang Asia. Serangan pertama ke atas Tanah Melayu bermula di pantai timur pada tengah malam 7 Disember 1941.

Tempat pertama yang dibedil oleh kapal tentera laut Jepun ialah Dogra di Pantai Badang yang terletak 10 batu dari Kota Bharu. Pada hakikatnya, kerajaan Jepun itu sendiri telah memberi kesan yang penting

dengan mengubahkan sikap penduduk Tanah Melayu terhadap pihak British. Dalam tempoh yang singkat, beberapa kemenangan telah dicapai oleh Jepun, walaupun tidak kekal tetapi setidak-tidaknya telah menjatuhkan nama baik British serta anggapan kononnya 'orang putih' merupakan satu bangsa yang tinggi. Bagi merealisasikan lagi matlamat Jepun itu, mereka juga giat melancarkan propaganda. Kapal terbang digunakan untuk menggugurkan risalah-risalah di seluruh Tanah Melayu dan Singapura yang ditulis dalam Bahasa Melayu, Inggeris, Cina, Hindustan, Urdu dan beberapa bahasa lagi. Risalah tersebut menyeru semua bangsa Asia bersatu menentang British. Pihak British dicap sebagai 'Iblis Putih' dan lukisan menggambarkan pengusaha ladang Eropah yang gemuk menindas buruh India dan ada juga lukisan menggambarkan pengusaha Eropah sedang minum arak sambil kakinya diletakkan di bahu orang Melayu.[2]

Sejak berjaya menakluki Tanah Melayu, bermulalah episod kejam siri penjajahan Jepun. Rakyat dikerah bagi menghasilkan sumber bahan mentah yang kemudiannya dibekalkan balik kepada Jepun. Jepun walau pada mulanya seolah-olah ingin membantu Tanah Melayu dari belenggu British tetapi pada hakikatnya ialah untuk menjaga kepentingannya sendiri. Ternyata kepentingan kapitalisme dan imperialisme Jepun lebih penting daripada cita-cita ideal kemakmuran bersama Asia. Pemerintahan Jepun di Tanah Melayu telah memberi kesan yang mendalam terhadap pentadbiran, ekonomi dan sosial.

Hubungan Perdagangan

Hubungan Malaysia-Jepun bukanlah suatu perkara yang baru dalam sejarah. Boleh dikatakan hubungan antara kedua-dua buah negara ini telah mula terjalin walau tidak secara rasminya, sejak hari pertama Jepun menjadi kuasa penjajah di Tanah

1 Prof. Dato' Zainal Abidin b. Abd. Wahid, *Sejarah Malaysia Sepintas Lalu*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1983, hlm.117.

2 Mohd Isa Othman, *Pendudukan Jepun di Tanah Melayu 1942-1945 (Tumpuan di Negeri Kedah)*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1980, hlm. 20.

Melayu lagi. Namun begitu, ia dapat dilihat lebih dominan dalam bentuk hubungan perdagangan dan ekonomi tanpa mengabaikan hubungan politik dan sosial. Hubungan perdagangan antara kedua buah negara ini telah bermula sejak pemerintahan *Shogun Ashigaka* (1339-1573). Pedagang-pedagang dari Kepulauan Okinawa telah singgah di pelabuhan Melaka yang ketika itu berperanan sebagai pelabuhan antarabangsa. Pada awal abad ke-17, kegiatan orang Jepun di seberang laut terus berkembang dengan pesatnya termasuklah mengadakan hubungan langsung dengan Tanah Melayu.[3]

Pada zaman Tokugawa(1637-1868), kerajaan Jepun mengamalkan dasar tutup pintu, ini menyebabkan masyarakat Jepun yang tinggal di Asia Tenggara terpisah daripada negara leluhur dan sebahagian besar daripadanya telah diasimilasikan dengan kebudayaan tempatan. Setelah pemulihan Meiji(1868-1912) barulah hubungan Jepun dengan rantau ini dipulihkan semula. Perdagangan di Asia Tenggara tidak begitu penting bagi Jepun sehinggalah akhir kurun ke-19, disebabkan oleh sektor perindustrian masih belum berkembang maju. Oleh itu, bahan mentah kurang diperlukan. Hanya pada tahun 1920-an, orang Jepun telah melibatkan diri secara aktif dalam perlombongan bijih besi seperti di Johor, Terengganu dan Kelantan bagi keperluan membuat senjata. Selepas perang dunia kedua, hubungan perdagangan Malaysia-Jepun terus berjalan. Corak hubungan Malaysia-Jepun selepas perang ini lebih banyak dipengaruhi oleh perkembangan perindustrian di Jepun[4].

Pada tahun 1965, Jepun menjadi rakan eksport Malaysia yang terpenting. Dengan berlangsungnya Perjanjian Perdagangan Malaysia-Jepun pada 10 Mei 1960, Jepun telah mendapat peluang

perdagangan yang lebih baik di Malaysia. Pada 16 Mac 1961, Jepun telah mewujudkan Dana Kerjasama Ekonomi Luar Negara (OECF) iaitu satu institusi kerajaan yang menyediakan bantuan pinjaman kewangan pembangunan rasmi Jepun (ODA) untuk membantu negara-negara membangun menerusi OECF ini, Jepun mula menyumbang bantuan kewangan kepada Malaysia iaitu sejak tahun 1969.[5] Dalam tempoh 1965-1970, hubungan perdagangan antara Malaysia-Jepun tidak banyak berbeza jika dibandingkan dengan tempoh sebelum perang.

Jepun mengeksport barang industri ke Malaysia manakala Malaysia pula mengeksport bahan mentah ke Jepun. Namun begitu, tindakan Jepun mengadakan Bantuan Pembangunan Rasmi (ODA) serta menjalankan pelaburan langsung di Malaysia adalah merupakan satu bentuk hubungan ekonomi dalam aspek yang baru. Dari tahun 1976, Jepun telah menjadi rakan perdagangan yang terbesar. Pelaburan langsung Jepun di Malaysia telah meningkat pada tahun 1970-an dan awal 80-an. Antara faktor peningkatan ini adalah dikatakan kerana krisis minyak yang berlaku pada 1973-1974.

Krisis ini telah menyedarkan Jepun akan pergantungan kepada negara bagi mendapatkan bekalan input industri dan pertanian. Satu langkah untuk melindungi ekonomi industrinya daripada kekurangan sumber, Jepun menggunakan strategi 'maju dan import' (*develop and import*@D&I)[6]. Tindakan Jepun mempergiatkan aktiviti pelaburan ke Malaysia adalah di dorong oleh kepentingan ekonominya. Dasar Malaysia menarik pelaburan dari Jepun itu menjadi pemangkin untuk menjayakan rancangan mereka. Pada awal tahun 1980-an, kerajaan sedar bahawa pemindahan etika kerja dan

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3   Ahmad Ali Seman, 'Hubungan Ekonomi Malaysia-Jepun' dalam, Badriah Hj. Salleh dan Tan Liok Ee, Alam Persejarahan: Dari Pelbagai Perspektif, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1996, hlm. 333.
4   Mohd Isa Othman, Pendudukan Jepun di *Tanah Melayu 1942-1945(Tumpuan di Negeri Kedah)*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1980, hlm. 77.

5   Ahmad Ali Seman, hlm. 337.
6   *Develop and Import* D&I merupakan strategi jangka panjang untuk melindungi ekonomi industri Jepun dari kekurangan sumber. Ia memerlukan penyertaan langsung Jepun daripada segi pelaburan dan pengurusan untuk mengeksploitasi sumber asli sesebuah negara dan sumber berkenaan dibawa ke Jepun dengan kapal Jepun juga.

teknologi dari negara maju seperti Jepun penting kepada bumiputera, maka tercetuslah *'Dasar Pandang ke Timur'* yang diperkenalkan kemudiannya.[7]

Dapat dilihat penglibatan Jepun dalam bidang ekonomi, sudah bermula dengan penglibatan imigran Jepun sejak sebelum peperangan lagi. Mereka disokong kuat oleh kerajaan Jepun dari segi politik dan ekonomi. Penaklukan tentera telah membolehkan Jepun menguasai pentadbiran dalam usaha menguatkan cengkaman ekonomi. Selepas tamat zaman pendudukan, Jepun telah berusaha untuk mengeratkan semula hubungan diplomasi dan sosial antara Jepun dan Tanah Melayu. Bagi menggalakkan dan mengeratkan hubungan antara rakyat Jepun yang menetap di Malaysia dengan penduduk tempatan, Pusat Aktiviti Jepun-Malaysia di Kuala Lumpur telah didirikan pada tahun 1965.

Selain itu, pertubuhan sosial juga di tubuh bagi integrasi orang Jepun dan penduduk tempatan dibentuk. Ini bagi mengatasi masalah komunikasi dan mengikis tanggapan negatif terhadap orang-orang Jepun yang masih bertapak di hati rakyat tempatan. Contoh hubungan kerjasama ialah pada tahun 1980-an misalnya, Malaysia telah mula mengadakan program penghantaran pelatih dan pelajar ke Jepun untuk mempelajari ilmu pengurusan dan teknologi dengan lebih mendalam.

Dalam pada itu, pada 1977, terbentuk Doktrin Fukuda yang antara lain memperlihatkan kecenderungan Jepun untuk mencari pengaruh politik di rantau ASEAN. Melalui doktrin ini, hubungan Malaysia-Jepun akan lebih dipererat bersama-sama dengan negara anggota ASEAN yang lain berdasarkan polisi dari hati ke hati dalam menangani masalah ekonomi dan politik serantau.

Kerjasama Sosial Dan Politik

Kerjasama Malaysia Jepun dapat dilihat dengan jelas lagi dari aspek sosial di mana setelah kerajaan mula menyarankan rakyat terhadap 'Dasar Pandang ke Timur', Jepun mula mendapat perhatian. Ia kemudiannya menjadi tumpuan rakyat Malaysia untuk melanjutkan pelajaran serta menimba teknologi terkini di Jepun. Secara tidak langsung Jepun telah memainkan peranan penting dalam pembangunan sumber manusia di negara ini[8].

Oleh kerana terdapat banyaknya pelaburan industri di negara ini oleh para pelabur Jepun, maka secara umumnya dapat dikatakan ia membuka banyak peluang kepada rakyat di negara ini. Misalannya dari segi peluang pekerjaan. Sehingga hari ini, Jepun memainkan peranan penting bagi negara utama dalam menyumbang bantuan teknikal kepada Malaysia. Kerjasama program teknikal Jepun, melibatkan pemindahan teknologi dan pembangunan sumber manusia. Ini secara jelas membawa manfaat kepada negara kita.

Di bawah program 'Dasar Pandang ke Timur' juga, tumpuan pelajar-pelajar Malaysia juga telah beralih dari negara-negara barat kepada Jepun. Lebih ramai melanjutkan pelajaran ke Jepun dengan tajaan kedua-dua buah kerajaan. Kos membiayai pelajaran juga jauh lebih murah berbanding dari negara-negara barat. Di bawah program Pandang ke Timur juga, pelbagai kemudahan-kemudahan serta peluang-peluang disediakan oleh kerajaan bagi pelajar-pelajar menyambung pelajaran di Jepun[9]. Kemahiran teknikal lebih diutamakan dan ini diharap agar dapat Malaysia mengeluarkan pakar-pakar teknologi yang dapat kemudiannya membangun sektor industri serta teknologi di Malaysia dan mungkin satu hari nanti setanding dengan negara Jepun.

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7   Mohd b. Samsudin, Dasar-dasar Dr. Mahathir Mohd, dalam Kertas Kerja Seminar Fakulti Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, 1998, hlm. 74-77.

8   Chew C.(1993) Human Resource Development In Malaysia. Centre for Japan Studies. ISIS Malaysia. m/s 25
9   Ibid . m/s 59

DASAR LUAR NEGARA MALAYSIA

Dasar luar negara Malaysia telah melalui empat era yang berbeza di mana keempat-empat Perdana Menteri masing-masing telah merealisasikan matlamat dasar luar mereka. Secara umumnya, objektif dasar luar Malaysia juga tidak jauh bezanya seperti mana dasar luar Britain, tetapi apa yang membezakannya ialah bentuk perlaksanaan dasar luar itu. Secara amnya, tidak dapat disangkal lagi bahawa Malaysia sekarang ini memainkan peranan aktif di arena antarabangsa.

Dasar luar sesebuah negara itu penting bagi setiap negara di dunia. Melalui dasar luarlah, negara-negara memperjuangkan kepentingan nasional masing-masing daripada ancaman-ancaman. Penekanan pada diplomasi ekonomi ini dalam dasar luar Malaysia adalah amat jelas sekali.

Kewajipan duta berperanan untuk memperkenalkan Malaysia sebagai destinasi pelaburan yang menguntungkan. Semua ini dibuat sebagai sebahagian daripada strategi untuk menjadikan kita sebuah negara maju dalam masa 20 tahun dari sekarang sejajar dengan wawasan 2020 yang sudah pun diumumkan oleh Perdana Menteri. Wawasan itu bertujuan untuk menjadikan Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara industri. Untuk mencapai matlamat ini, kita memerlukan pelaburan, teknologi yang semuanya berada di luar Penubuhan Kementerian

Perdagangan Antarabangsa dan Industri ini juga mencerminkan penekanan pada diplomasi ekonomi. Untuk memenuhi kepentingan nasional kita ini, Malaysia telah mengamalkan strategi serampang 2 mata iaitu mengekalkan pasaran tradisional yang sedia ada dan pada waktu yang sama kita mencari pasaran-pasaran baru. Tiga matlamat penting dasar luar Malaysia ialah untuk mempertahankan keluhuran dan kedaulatan wilayah Malaysia sebagai satu unit politik dengan sempadan-sempadan yang khusus dalam politik antarabangsa[10]. Seterusnya, untuk mempertahankan kebebasan politik yang kita miliki sejak mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Di sini maksudnya, kita tidak mahu lagi dijajah atau hidup di bawah naungan sebuah kuasa lain yang membuat keputusan bagi pihak kita seperti yang terjadi apabila negara ini berada di bawah penjajahan Inggeris dahulu. Matlamat lain ialah untuk menjamin kualiti hidup rakyat.

Faktor luaran juga memainkan peranan dalam dasar luar negara, ia mempengaruhi dari segi senario politik antarabangsa, persaingan kuasa besar, bentuk jaringan ekonomi dan perdagangan antarabangsa, bentuk hubungan antara negara, dan hubungan ideologi atau kebudayaan antara negara. Faktor lain yang mempengaruhi penggubalan dan pelaksanaan dasar luar sesebuah negara ialah kesan peribadi kepimpinan negara berkenaan. Penggubalan dan pelaksanaan Dasar Luar Malaysia sejak 1957 amat dipengaruhi oleh angkubah idiosinkratik. Dasar Luar Malaysia kini adalah aktif dan dinamik di bawah pimpinan Perdana Menteri kita iaitu Dr. Mahathir Mohammad yang telah mengetepikan pendekatan yang pasif dalam menyuarakan kepentingan-kepentingan Malaysia dalam forum-forum antarabangsa[11].

Sesuai dengan hasrat untuk menjadikan Malaysia sebuah negara yang bermaruah dan dihormati, kita telah mengambil sikap yang agresif dalam menghadapi negara-negara maju. Penekanan terhadap dasar luar dari aspek ekonomi lebih meluas. Di bawah pegangan ini, asas hubungan Malaysia dengan negara asing tidak hanya pada ideologi atau politik semata-mata tetapi juga ekonomi.

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10 Ahmad Faiz Hamid, Malaysia dan Pergolakan Antarabangsa, Kertas Kerja, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 1991, hlm. 19-21.
11 Chamil Wariya, Dasar Luar Malaysia Kini-Satu Gambaran Umum, Kertas Kerja, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 1991, hlm. 8-12.

❏ **Dasar Luar Negara Era Tunku Abdul Rahman**

• Beliau mula memegang tampuk pemerintahan bermula dari tahun 1957 sehingga tahun 1970. Dasar luar negara yang dijalankan lebih kepada pro-Barat dan anti komunis. Perkara ini dapat dilihat kepada faktor-faktor pembentukan keputusan dasar luar yang dijalankan.

• Dasar luar negara yang dilaksanakan dipengaruhi oleh faktor idiosinkratik (individu) Tuanku sendiri. Faktor masyarakat domestik di mana struktur ekonomi yang lembap serta struktur politik yang banyak bergantung kepada British. Selain dari itu, faktor pengaruh antarabangsa (sistem bipolar) juga merupakan salah satu dari aspeknya. Tunku Abdul Rahman sebagai Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang pertama telah banyak merintis jalan bagi pengasasan dasar luar negara yang bebas serta berani berhadapan dengan kuasa besar dunia. Walaupun menyedari negara masih memerlukan sokongan kuat Britain dan negara-negara demokrasi Barat, namun Tunku berani menyuarakan pandangan Malaysia terhadap perkara yang berkaitan dengan keamanan sejagat serta hak asasi manusia. Tunku misalnya, telah terlibat secara aktif di dalam usaha menubuhkan kerjasama di peringkat rantau dengan gagasan SEAFET pada tahun 1959, ASA 1961, MAPHILINDO 1963 dan Asean 1967.[12] Tunku juga terlibat dalam menubuhkan OIC di awal 70-an. Perwatakan Tunku yang lembut juga adalah aset terbaik dalam membina persahabatan di kalangan para pemimpin Komanwel pada waktu itu. Keistimewaan dasar luar Tunku ialah ia dipupuk agar menjadi bentuk demokrasi tanpa di dominasi oleh sesebuah kuasa besar serta tidak terikat dengan kehendak dan kemahuan negara-negara Barat.

❏ **Dasar Luar Negara Era Tun Abdul Razak**

• Tun Abdul Razak menjadi Perdana Menteri pada tahun 1970 sehingga 1976. Beliau mengamalkan dasar luar negara berkecuali (dalam bidang tentera sahaja). Beliau turut dipengaruhi oleh faktor idiosinkratik (peribadi), masyarakat domestik dan faktor pengaruh antarabangsa. Tun Abdul Razak di samping berusaha membangunkan kawasan-kawasan pedalaman negara, beliau juga menjelajah banyak negara di Afrika sewaktu berusaha membaiki persepsi negara-negara berkenaan sewaktu Malaysia menghadapi konfrontasi Indonesia. Beliau telah mempelbagaikan bentuk hubungan dan tidak hanya semata-mata berkiblat ke Barat. Beliau juga adalah Perdana Menteri Malaysia pertama membuat lawatan ke negara-negara blok timur. Pada tahun 1974, Tunku telah membuat lawatan bersejarah ke negeri China.

❏ **Dasar Luar Negara Era Tun Hussien Onn.**

• Beliau memerintah pada tahun 1976 sehingga tahun 1981. Dasar yang diamalkan adalah berkecuali dan EQui-Distance (jarak yang sama rata). Beliau mengamalkan corak pemerintahan yang sama. Beliau turut memainkan peranan penting dalam menjalin dan membina hubungan rapat dengan negara-negara Islam. Pada waktu tersebut, persekitaran antarabangsa didominasi oleh fenomena kebangkitan Islam. Tun telah membuat lawatan ke negara-negara Timur Tengah. Kepimpinan Tun Hussein Onn memberi kesan ke atas organisasi ASEAN terutama dalam usaha menangani konflik Kampuchea dan masalah pelarian Vietnam.[13]

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12 Chamil Wariya, Dasar luar Malaysia Kini -Satu Gambaran Umum, Kertas kerja, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 1991, hlm. 12.

13 Ahmad Faiz Hamid, Malaysia dan Pergolakan Antarabangsa, Kertas kerja, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 1991, hlm. 25.

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❏ **Dasar Luar Negara Era Dr. Mahathir Mohammad**

• Beliau mula mentadbir sejak dari 1981 hingga kini. Dasar luar negara beliau terbahagi kepada tiga tahap utama, contoh Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia yang dapat dilihat adalah pada tahun 1981-1985 iaitu Buy British Last, No to CHOGM, Isu Antartika, Promosi Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan, Model "Top Down @ Decending".

• Pada tahun 1986-1990, Dr. Mahathir berkongsi proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia dengan kementerian serta jabatan-jabatan kerajaan (seperti EPU, KLN dan MITI) dan ISIS (Institute of Strategic and International Studies) atau badan pemikir yang merupakan sebuah pertubuhan bebas yang dibiayai oleh kerajaan.

• Pada tahun 1991 sehingga kini, Dr. Mahathir berkongsi proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia dengan pelbagai pihak kementerian serta jabatan kerajaan, ISIS, MIMA (Malaysia International Maritime's Agency), Elit Perniagaan Malaysia, Kumpulan Berkepentingan dan NGO's.

❏ **Proses Pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia.**

• Proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia di bawah era Mahathir boleh dibahagikan kepada 3 tahap utama. Tahap utama iaitu bermula 1981-1985, tahap kedua iaitu 1986-1990, dan tahap ketiga iaitu tahun 1991 sehingga kini.

• Proses pembentukan pada masa kini adalah merupakan sambungan kepada model yang digunakan semasa Tahap II pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara Malaysia. Berbanding dengan model yang terdahulu iaitu Tahap pertama iaitu yang menggunakan model Top down yang mana

Perdana Menteri membuat keputusan di mana Perdana Menteri telah mengeluarkan output dasar secara sendiri dan hanya berkongsi proses dengan Kementerian Luar Negara.

• Berbanding dengan kini yang memperlihatkan perubahan proses pembentukan di mana model yang digunakan kini ialah berbentuk 'bottom up'. Di dalam proses model ini, Perdana Menteri berkongsi proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Negara dengan kementerian serta jabatan-jabatan kerajaan seperti Kementerian Luar Negeri, Institute of Strategy and International Studies (ISIS), dan lain-lain yang merupakan antara pertubuhan bebas yang dibiayai oleh kerajaan. Seterusnya, Perdana Menteri berkongsi proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Malaysia ini dengan MIMA (Malaysia International Maritime Agency), Elit Perniagaan Malaysia, kumpulan berkepentingan serta Badan Bukan Kerajaan (NGO).

• Berikut adalah penjelasan bagi proses pembentukan Dasar Luar Malaysia melalui Input Dasar yang merupakan maklumat mentah yang di kumpul dari pelbagai sumber dalaman dan luaran. Contoh dalaman ialah faktor Idiosinkratik, Luaran seperti struktur ekonomi dan politik. Input akan diserahkan kepada Wisma Putra untuk ditapis dan dianalisis.

• Wisma Putra seterusnya akan menyediakan laporan untuk diserahkan kepada kabinet untuk diperbincangkan

• Seterusnya dasar tadi akan dibentangkan pula di peringkat menteri dan dibawa ke parlimen untuk melihat perlunya pindaan atau tidak. Kemudian setelah dasar tadi dipersetujui akan dihantar kembali kepada kabinet. Kabinet akan hantar semula ke Wisma Putra. Selain itu, kabinet akan mengeluarkannya sebagai output dasar untuk mendapatkan maklum balas daripada rakyat. Maklum balas akan melalui faktor luaran

sebelum ia kembali menjadi input dasar yang perlu dikaji atau dianalisis semula. Setelah semuanya bersetuju dengan dasar yang dikeluarkan ia akan dikuatkuasakan. Sekiranya tidak, proses ini akan berulang sehinggalah satu kata sepakat dicapai bagi sesuatu dasar yang diwujudkan.

DASAR LUAR NEGARA JEPUN

Negara Jepun mengamalkan dasar terbuka dan berhubung dengan semua negara tanpa mengambil kira aspek perbezaan fahaman mahupun kemajuan sesebuah negara itu. Hubungan yang dijalankan adalah secara bilateral atau secara dua hala dan juga meliputi multilateral atau hubungan yang menggabungkan lebih daripada dua buah negara.

Setiap hubungan yang dilakukan adalah demi kepentingan nasional Jepun sendiri. Perkara ini terbukti apabila Jepun mengadakan sidang kemuncak *Group of Seven Industrilized Nations plus Russia* yang berlangsung di Okinawa, Jepun[14]. Ianya dihadiri oleh menteri-menteri negara dan wakil-wakil negara-negara yang terlibat termasuklah matan Perdana Menteri Jepun sendiri iaitu Keizo Obuchi sebelum digantikan oleh Yoshiro Mori.

Persidangan ini membincangkan mengenai hubungan Amerika Syarikat dan Jepun dari segi keselamatan berhubung dengan penempatan pangkalan angkatan tentera di Okinawa, Jepun. Pada akhir persidangan tersebut, Jepun dan Washington berkompromi untuk menunda pembinaan sebuah lagi Pangkalan Angkatan Tentera Amerika di Nago, Jepun. Selain itu, kunjungan Presiden Republik China turut memaparkan bahawa Jepun mengamalkan Dasar Luar Terbuka. Hubungan secara bilateral ini berlangsung pada tahun 1998 oleh Presiden China iaitu Jiang Zemin. Dalam pada itu, dalam kunjungan China lainnya yang

berlangsung pada bulan Oktober oleh Perdana Menteri China iaitu Zhu Rongji yang memfokuskan kepada hubungan ekonomi kedua-dua negara yang akhirnya menjadikan Republik China sebagai rakan ekonomi kedua Jepun manakala Jepun pula adalah sebagai rakan ekonomi nombor satu China[15].

Perdana Menteri China turut mengumumkan bahawa akan meneruskan hubungan ekonomi ini apabila pada tahun 2003 sebuah landasan kereta api ekspres yang menghubungkan Beijing di China dan Shanghai di Jepun dibina menerusi khidmat European Consortium yang bernilai hampir $15 bilion[16]. Demikian juga hubungan bilateral Jepun dengan negara Korea Utara pada bulan Ogos berkenaan isu bekalan makanan seperti beras di kedua-dua buah negara. Jepun turut mengadakan hubungan bukan sahaja di kalangan negara maju seperti Amerika malah negara-negara membangun khususnya negara ASEAN seperti Malaysia.

Menerusi konsep *"prosper thy neighbour"* atau mengayakan jiran, Jepun telah membuat pelaburan dan membuka pasaran di Malaysia. Sebagai contoh, kilang-kilang industri seperti SONY, Matsushita, Pensonic dan sebagainya secara tidak langsung membantu Malaysia untuk terus maju.

Sistem pengurusan tradisinya lebih berkesan dan lebih sesuai untuk negara-negara Asia. Tumpuan Jepun seharusnya di Asia Timur dan pasaran di rantau ini sudah cukup luas untuk diterokai. Jepun sepatutnya menjadi peneraju di Asia khususnya dalam menginstitusikan Kumpulan Asia Timur (EAG) dan menubuhkan Dana Kewangan Asia[17].

Jepun mengamalkan dasar luar yang terbuka dengan menjalin hubungan kerjasama terutamanya dalam bidang ekonomi terhadap semua negara tanpa mengambil kira sama ada negara tersebut

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14 *Far Eastern Economic Review : A Review Of The Events Of 2000.* Hong Kong : Review Dub Com Ltd , 2000.

15 *ibid.,* hlm . 136 .

16 *ibid.,* hlm 137 .

17 Badrul Azhar Rahman . (2001 , 29 Januari) . Jepun Perlu Balik Ke Pangkal Jalan . Berita Harian , hlm .5.

maju atau membangun. Ini adalah untuk kepentingan nasional Jepun itu sendiri. Walau bagaimanapun, Jepun boleh dikatakan sebagai nadi ekonomi negara-negara di Asia Tenggara termasuklah Malaysia dan memainkan peranan yang besar dalam pembangunan ekonomi di Asia.

❑ **Dasar Luar Negara Ekonomi Jepun Di Bawah Perdana Menteri Koizumi Obuchi.**

Pasaran kewangan Jepun semakin kukuh di bawah pentadbiran Perdana Menteri Jepun iaitu Koizumi Obuchi yang juga merupakan Presiden Parti Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) semasa dalam pemerintahannya sebagai Perdana Menteri Jepun. Beliau memulakan perkhidmatannya sebagai Perdana Menteri dengan cadangan untuk mengurangkan cukai hampir tiga trilion yen (RM 78.6 bilion) dan meningkatkan perbelanjaan hampir 10 trilion yen (RM 266 bilion). Pakej belanjawan merangsang perbelanjaan tidak terhenti setakat itu sahaja. Pada Disember tahun 2000 lalu, kerajaan telah meluluskan belanjawan 18 trilion yen (RM 686.1 bilion) untuk terus merangsang perbelanjaan di kalangan rakyat negara itu[18]. Langkah ini membawa kesan positif kepada ekonomi Jepun dan secara tidak langsung membangunkan ekonomi negara dan taraf hidup rakyatnya. Beliau telah mewujudkan beberapa polisi atau dasar ekonomi seperti berikut :

• Pengubahan perbelanjaan tambahan tahun 1998 dan 1999 yang bernilai 10 trilion yen sebagai pendorong ekonomi yang dilaksanakan pada bulan April.

• Pelaksanaan segera polisi sektor kewangan LDP.

Penyusunan semula pinjaman yang teruk dengan kadar segera dan memastikan pertumbuhan ekonomi.

• Menguatkuasakan pendedahan pinjaman yang teruk dan bank-bank yang terlibat hendaklah bertanggungjawab di atas tindakan mereka.

• Potongan cukai dari enam trilion yen. Cukai korporat hendaklah rendah kepada 40% dari 46%. Kadar marginal tertinggi dan gabungan cukai kemasukan tempatan hendaklah dipotong kepada 50% dari 65%.

• Kemudahan kadar cukai pada upahan-upahan kemasukan pertengahan mendapat tujuh milion kepada 10 milon setahun.

• Memperlengkap potongan cukai untuk pinjaman bayaran perumahan. Mempromosikan *Economic Reform Consisting Of Deregulation* dan mewujudkan industri-industri baru.

• Mencipta Badan Strategi Ekonomi yang beroperasi seperti Badan Penasihat Ekonomi di Amerika Syarikat. Menangguhkan undang-undang pemulihan fiskal, yang mengalami pemotongan bon defisit tahunan sehinggalah mereka telah menghapuskan dalam fiskal tahun 2005 dan 2006 serta mengurangkan perbelanjaan defisit kepada 3% dalam jumlah kasar produk domestik dalam masa yang sama. Memastikan pemulihan fiskal melalui penyusunan semula kementerian kerajaan dan agensi-agensi terbabit serta meningkatkan lagi pemulihan pentadbiran[19].

❑ **Dasar Luar Negara Ekonomi Jepun Di Bawah Perdana Menteri Yoshiro Mori.**

Dasar luar negara ekonomi yang dijalankan oleh Mori adalah sama dengan dasar yang dijalankan oleh Obuchi semasa menjawat jawatan ini. Mori bolehlah dianggap sebagai penyambung legasi Obuchi. Walaupun Mori dianggap mentah dalam arena politik antarabangsa, dasar-dasar yang dijalankan oleh kerajaan Jepun semasa

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18 Nordin Ahmad, *Mori Penyambung Legasi Obuchi*, Berita Harian, 9 April 2000, hlm . 5-6 .

19 *Japan Markets Yawn At Obuchi Win*, NSTP, Oktober 2000, hlm. 12.

pemerintahan Obuchi bukanlah sesuatu yang asing bagi beliau. Portfolio Kewangan dan Kementerian Luar sememangnya penting kerana ianya banyak memberi kesan kepada hubungan Jepun dengan negara-negara luar, terutamanya negara-negara di Asia, boleh menganggap Jepun sebagai 'sebuah negara yang boleh dipercayai'.

❑ **Proses Pembuatan Dasar Luar Negara Jepun**

• Proses pembuatan dasar luar negara Jepun yang ingin dibincangkan adalah merujuk kepada Struktur Organisasi serta Pembuat Keputusan Putaran Ringisho *(Ringisho Cycle of Decision-Making)*. Dalam pembuatan keputusan, Jepun menggunakan sistem *ringi* atau *ringisei*. Menurut Zandt, lebih 90 peratus organisasi besar dan kecil di Jepun menggunakan sistem ringi terutamanya dalam konteks pentadbiran perniagaan. *Ringi* terbahagi kepada dua iaitu *rin* atau orang bawahan, dan *gi* bererti perbincangan. Justeru itu, dalam sesuatu perbincangan ianya bukan sahaja memerlukan keputusan orang atasan malah juga orang bawahan. Dalam kata lain *ringi* juga boleh ditafsirkan sebagai penggunaan masa kerana penglibatan pelbagai pihak yang menyeluruh dalam sesebuah perbincangan akan dapat dilaksanakan dalam satu masa sahaja termasuklah mendengar pelbagai pendapat mahupun membuat keputusan.

• 'Ringisho' yang meliputi perakuan, ketepatan fakta dan pengesahan penambahan (han) terhadap pengurus di bahagian pertengahan. Pusingan ringisho berakhir di tangan pengurus korporat (presiden dan pihak pengarah). Setelah mendapat tandatangan presiden, ringisho akan menjadi keputusan rasmi dalam organisasi. Ringisho adalah sangat penting untuk mencapai kata putus dalam pengurusan pertengahan yang terdiri daripada Ka-cho (bahagian ketua) dan Ba-cho (pengurus). Sekiranya ringisho tidak berjaya, ianya akan dibawa kepada pihak pertengahan sehinggalah segala masalah diselesaikan.

• Dalam pada itu, pembuat keputusan ringi selalunya akan menyelesaikan sebarang perbezaan sebelum dokumen sementara ringisho dihantar untuk perasmian. Dalam analisis akhir, seperti juga ringisei dalam, pentadbiran perniagaan menggambarkan operasi dalam keikut-sertaan pengurusan terutamanya di kalangan pengurus eksekutif pertengahan dalam membuat keputusan. Keikut-sertaan dalam operasi membuat keputusan di kalangan kertas kerja organisasi serta konvensional, struktur hierarki yang rigid, walau keputusan boleh dilaksanakan. Justeru, dalam kertas kerja yang rigid, struktur organisasi yang tradisional, terdapat kestabilan yang fleksibel terhadap hal semasa, kebaratan, bukan birokratik muncul dalam penciptaan organisasi yang muncul[20].

SUMBANGAN EKONOMI

World Trade Organization (WTO). WTO atau Organisasi Perdagangan Dunia telah ditubuhkan pada 1994 ekoran daripada Rundingan Pusingan Uruguay. Beberapa dimensi baru telah diwujudkan. Pertamanya, organisasi ini berbeza dari organisasi sebelumnya iaitu ITO iaitu Organisasi Perdagangan Antarabangsa disebabkan WTO mempunyai satu mekanisme untuk menyelesaikan pertikaian perdagangan. Kedua, WTO juga mempunyai mandat yang lebih luas dan bilangan keahlian yang lebih ramai. Kebanyakan ahli tersebut ialah terdiri daripada negara ekonomi membangun dan ekonomi peralihan. Ketiga, kebanyakan persetujuan WTO mengandungi syarat untuk mempertimbangkan semula pengendaliannya. Oleh yang demikian, WTO mempunyai satu unsur dinamik terhadap pembentukan dan perlaksanaan peraturan untuk pentadbiran perdagangan berbilang hala. Sektor berorientasikan eksport telah berupaya memenuhi komitmen Malaysia terhadap WTO. Namun, sektor gantian import masih belum lagi berbuat demikian,

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20 Oo Yu Hock. (1980). The Japanese Decision-Making Process: An Insight (hlm. 37-40). Kuala Lumpur: MBC Publications.

oleh sebab itu pematuhan Malaysia dalam komitmennya terhadap WTO masih tidak lengkap dan sektor penggantian import akan menghadapi pelbagai cabaran dan seiring dengan pembangunannya pada masa hadapan. Kerajaan perlu mempercepatkan pelaksanaan dasar pada masa bersesuaian dengan WTO supaya pembangunan perindustrian dapat beralih pada satu tahap yang lebih tinggi.

Sektor kecil penggantian import seperti sektor automobil juga telah berkembang. Tetapi ia masih merupakan satu sektor yang sangat dilindungi dan menghadapi peningkatan cabaran oleh komitmen Malaysia kepada WTO. Oleh sebab WTO lebih bersifat dinamik dan bahagian negara-negara membangun dalam perdagangan global semakin meningkat maka negara-negara maju pasti berhasrat untuk membawa lebih banyak isu-isu baru ke dalam kawalan WTO. Oleh yang demikian Malaysia perlu meningkatkan keupayaannya untuk mengambil bahagian dalam proses pembentukan dan peraturan WTO dengan lebih berkesan.

Malaysia selaku negara perdagangan ke-17 dunia, telah menandatangani dan menjadi sebahagian dalam WTO. Perlaksanaan perdagangan tanpa sekatan ala globalisasi di rantau ini akan berlaku lebih awal pada tahun 2004 di mana AFTA akan dilaksanakan. Semua peraturan di WTO akan dilaksanakan di dalam AKTA. Malaysia menyuarakan pandangannya dalam isu WTO dalam soal masalah perdagangan mata wang dan perlukan mekanisme diwujudkan bagi mengawal cadangan Malaysia termasuklah mewujudkan mekanisme di dalam peraturan bagi mengawasi kegiatan perdagangan mata wang dan lindung nilai. Pertubuhan perdagangan sedunia hari ini berusaha memajukan proses libelisasi meskipun ia mengalami krisis mata wang dan saham.

Malaysia juga sedang bergerak ke arah piawaian antarabangsa secara progresif. Oleh yang demikian, di antara tahun 1996, peratusan piawaian yang selaras dengan piawaian antarabangsa telah meningakat dari 20 peratus kepada 70 peratus. Kini terdapat dua organisasi yang diiktiraf sebagai badan ISO 2000 iaitu SIRIM, QAS Sdn. Bhd dan AOQC Moody (Malaysia Sdn. Bhd). bagi kes hak harta intelektual, Malaysia adalah dalam proses menggubal undang-undang baru atau mengubahsuai undang-undang sedia ada supaya mematuhi tanggungjawabnya terhadap WTO.

Malaysia turut memainkan peranan yang penting dan aktif dalam memastikan keselamatan serantau, Ia memandangkan penubuhan kawasan Aman-Bebas dan Berkecuali (ZOPFAN) pada tahun 1971. Untuk mengukuhkan kedudukan Malaysia, Malaysia telah mengutarakan ASEAN dalam menjamin keselamatan negara, malahan ianya juga merupakan matlamat utama dalam pertubuhan ASEAN. Selain daripada itu tertubuhnya ASEAN ini membawa kepada wujudnya dasar di Malaysia iaitu Dasar Nasional.

Di dalam usaha untuk membangunkan negara, Malaysia amat memerlukan suasana yang aman dan stabil. Oleh demikian, hubungan yang baik dengan negara-negara jiran amat penting. Hubungan ini merangkumi daripada pelbagai sudut seperti hubungan dari segi ekonomi, sosial, pendidikan dan lain-lain lagi. Malahan jiran-jiran Malaysia turut mempunyai hubungan dari segi kekeluargaan dan keagamaan seperti negara, Singapura, Indonesia, Filipina, Thailand dan sekitar dengannya.

"Keamanan" sejagat antara hubungan Malaysia dengan negara-negara seanggota di luar rantau telah membawa kepada Kongres Ekonomi Eropah. Ini membawa kepada pelbagai faedah pada setiap negara yang menganggotainya. Selain daripada itu, ianya dapat mengeratkan hubungan di kalangan anggota demi kepentingan negara masing-masing.

Negara telah mengalami pertumbuhan ekonomi yang pesat terutama pada akhir 1980-an dan awal 1990-an. Ini kerana mereka mendapat sokongan dari

negara-negara yang terlibat untuk meningkatkan hasil pemulihan ekonomi dunia terutama Asia Timur serta kemasukan China dan Rusia dalam Pertubuhan Perdagangan Dunia (WTO). Dengan itu, Malaysia perlu meningkatkan daya saing keluarannya melalui peningkatan produktiviti dan kualiti. Kadang-kadang Malaysia menghadapi masalah sebab untuk mendapatkan input, berlaku kesukaran dalam mendapatkan kredit. Ekoran daripada itu, berlakulah kekurangan pengeluaran tahunan. Sebenarnya usahawan bumiputera kurang didedahkan atau kurang mendapat pendedahan terhadap pembelajaran secara informal yang berkaitan dengan perindustrian dan perdagangan berbanding dengan kaum cina yang menceburi alam perniagaan dari usia yang masih muda. Ini juga di pengaruhi oleh sikap bumiputera yang terlalu bergantung kepada bantuan kerajaan seperti terlalu mengejar tender dan menyebabkan mereka gagal membina kepercayaan kepada diri sendiri serta mudah diancam oleh kestabilan ekonomi.

Jepun. Jepun telah memuji Malaysia kerana Malaysia berani mengambil langkah untuk memperkenalkan kawalan modal yang kini telah mula menunjukkan tanda pemulihan ekonomi. Negara Jepun bangga kerana langkah yang telah diambil oleh Malaysia adalah langkah yang tepat dan bagus untuk ekonomi negara. Pada awalnya, polisi Malaysia khususnya kawalan modal mendapat kritikan hebat daripada masyarakat antarabangsa. Tetapi polisi itu mula menunjukkan kejayaan. Sebelum itu, ketika kerajaan hendak mengambil langkah tersebut, kerajaan Jepun telah mempertahankan tindakan negara itu walaupun mendapat cemuhan daripada masyarakat antarabangsa. Ia sememangnya patut dijalankan semasa negara mengalami darurat.[21]

Jepun memang berminat untuk membantu negara membangun terutamanya Malaysia kerana masalah kewangan yang dihadapi oleh negara

membangun sebab berhutang dengan sektor awam negara itu terlalu tinggi. Kira-kira 70% hutang sektor awam adalah daripada sumber dalam negara manakala bakinya adalah daripada sumber seberang laut. Hasil sektor awam semakin mengecil berbanding dengan sektor swasta yang mewah ketika ini. Dan sebahagian besarnya adalah daripada peruntukan belanjawan disediakan untuk membayar kadar faedah. Bagi Jepun, mereka lebih suka mengurangkan peruntukan perbelanjaan sektor awam dan meningkatkan bantuan asing sekalipun keadaan kewangan negara adalah kritikal berikutan pinjaman sektor awam yang besar. Tabung Ekonomi Seberang Laut (OECF) telah ditubuhkan dan diperbadankan bagi menggalakkan kerjasama ekonomi di antara Jepun dengan Asia Tenggara dan sehingga kini ia telah menyumbangkan pinjaman sebanyak 415790 juta Yen berdasarkan 51 komitmen kepada Malaysia. Sejumlah 44% daripada pinjaman yang diberikan kepada kerajaan asing oleh OECF adalah dibiayai oleh Bantuan Pembangunan Resmi Jepun (ODA).[22]

Berikutan penyataan dasar Jepun tentang pelaburan dan perdagangan di rantau ASEAN, menteri Miti Tamura di Bangkok pada tahun 1987, Perdana Menteri Takashita pada masa itu mengemukakan US$ 2 bilion, Tabung ASEAN untuk pembangunan di dalam mesyuarat dengan ketua-ketua Kerajaan Negara ASEAN di Manila. Rakyat tidak menyedari pada masa itu bahawa peristiwa telah mengumumkan perkembangan dan pertumbuhan kegiatan ekonomi dan pelaburan Jepun di rantau ASEAN.

Peringkat atau tahap yang ketiga pembangunan ASEAN ini boleh dianggap sebagai pertumbuhan ekonomi ASEAN yang dipimpin oleh Jepun sejak akhir tahun 1980-an. Pertumbuhan ekonomi negara Thai dan Malaysia terutamanya telah berkembang di sebabkan oleh pelaburan Jepun dan perdagangan

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21 Utusan Melayu.(3 Jun 1999).Jepun Puji Langkah Berani Malaysia.

22 Berita Harian (22 Februari 1992). Jepun Bantu Negara Membangun/ s5.

merupakan suatu fenomena sejak tahun 1987 yang kemudiannya diikuti oleh Indonesia. Ekonomi Filipina juga berkembang dengan kadar yang maju walaupun sering berlaku gejala politik yang tidak stabil.

Kestabilan politik dan ekonomi yang hampir mantap serta ekonomi cekal boleh dilihat pada tahun 1970-an dan pada permulaan tahun 1980-an, walaupun kemelesetan yang sering berlaku disebabkan oleh komoditi yang lemah, harga telah memberi asas yang teguh bagi orang Jepun memimpin pembangunan industri untuk memberi kesan yang perubahan struktur signifikan dalam ekonomi mereka mentransformasikannya daripada negara membangun berdasarkan komoditi NIE baru.

Pertumbuhan ekonomi tentang ekonomi ASEAN yang dipimpin oleh Jepun ini dijangka akan dilanjutkan untuk beberapa waktu yang akan datang walaupun pertumbuhannya telah merosot di negara Thailand dan Malaysia. Pembangunan dalam ekonomi negara-negara ASEAN, terutamanya sejak tahun 1987 telah melebihi jangkaan dan matlamat yang telah ditetapkan pada masa kemuncak Manila pada tahun 1987.

Asean + 3 (Jepun, China Dan Korea Selatan). Jepun, China dan Korea Selatan sedang merangka strategi dan projek usaha sama dengan ASEAN dalam usaha menangani kesan kelembapan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat yang melanda rantau ini. Beberapa projek yang telah dirangka termasuklah mengadakan latihan teknikal kepada para pekerja yang diberhentikan akibat daripada kelembapan ekonomi itu. Dalam usaha ini, Jepun memainkan peranan penting untuk mengadakan latihan teknikal kepada negara anggota ASEAN yang menghadapi masalah pemberhentian pekerja.

Kerjasama antara Jepun, China dan Korea Selatan perlu dalam menangani kelembapan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat kerana kedua-dua pihak saling memerlukan dalam bidang ekonomi. Mesyuarat ASEAN + 3 ini, diwakili oleh Naib Menteri

Kanan Kesihatan, Buruh dan Kebajikan, Chieko Nohno (Jepun), manakala Cina oleh Naib Menteri Buruh dan Keselamatan sosial, Wang Dangjin dan Korea Selatan pula diwakili oleh Menteri dan Timbalan Ketua Misi Kedutaan Korea doi Malaysia Chun He Jing. Kesediaan Jepun untuk membantu menangani masalah kesan kelembapan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat di rantau Asia Tenggara merupakan satu tindakan yang amat dinantikan oleh negara rantau ini.

Jepun yang mempunyai kepakaran, tidak ada masalah untuk menanganinya dengan lebih berkesan, sekali gus merangsang semula ekonomi negara-negara anggota. Begitu juga dengan China yang bersedia membuka lebih banyak peluang pasaran kepada barangan negara-negara anggota ASEAN untuk dipasarkan di negara tersebut. Begitu juga sebagai sebuah negara yang besar dari segi saiz dan penduduknya, China dilihat sebagai pasaran utama kepada barangan negara ASEAN. Seterusnya langkah yang di ambil oleh China itu, tambahnya akan memberi peluang kepada syarikat-syarikat tempatan memasarkan barangan mereka yang terjejas akibat kelembapan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat. Selain daripada merangka usaha menangani isu kesan kelembapan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat. Kerjasama ASEAN + 3 ini, akan dapat meningkatkan pembangunan sumber manusia.

KERJASAMA MALAYSIA - ASEAN

Malaysia telah menjalankan kerjasama dengan anggota-anggota negara ASEAN kerana ia adalah untuk kepentingan bersama. Oleh kerana itu, Malaysia mengamalkan prinsip *'Prosper Thy Neighbour'* atau memakmurkan jiran tetangga. Prinsip ini adalah amat penting untuk menikmati kemakmuran dan mendapat banyak manfaat bersama.

Rantau Asia Tenggara telah melalui beberapa tahap kemajuan. Perisytiharan yang dibuat di

Bangkok oleh lima negara anggota asal yang menubuhkan ASEAN pada tahun 1967 menjadi suatu detik perubahan penting dalam sejarah Asia Tenggara dengan melalui perubahan yang hebat. Sejak tertubuhnya ASEAN pada tahun 1967, ia boleh dibahagikan secara kasar sehingga 1977. Ia merupakan peringkat pembinaan rasa percaya mempercayai kerjasama antara bekas protagonis dalam konflik wilayah kecil ASEAN dan perletakkan asas bagi kerjasama pada masa depan. Perisytiharan Bangkok pada 1967 merupakan dokumen politik yang terpenting. Ia menyatakan secara ringkas tetapi pada hasrat dan inspirasi-inspirasi yang diumumkan yang menjadi hasrat lima buah negara Asia Tenggara, iaitu memupuk keamanan dan kestabilan rantau dan berjuang untuk perkembangan ekonomi, kemajuan sosial dan perkembangan kebudayaan kaum-kaum rantau ini.

Perisytiharan Bangkok telah dan masih merupakan dokumen yang penting oleh sebab ia menandai permulaan era kerjasama baru bagi negara-negara Asia Tenggara yang mana Malaysia memainkan peranan penting dalam kerjasama ASEAN. Ia telah menamatkan konfrontasi oleh Indonesia dengan jiran-jiran terdekat. Pada tahun 1971, ketua-ketua negara ASEAN mengeluarkan perisytiharan Kuala Lumpur tentang ZOPFAN. Ini adalah penting bagi mengelakkan penglibatan dalam persaingan, permusuhan dan konflik antara kuasa-kuasa luar. Perisytiharan persefahaman ASEAN adalah penting oleh sebab ia bukan sahaja mengesahkan semula prinsip dan aspirasi yang dilahirkan dalam perisytiharan Bangkok dan Perisytiharan ZOPFAN, tetapi meliputi juga program tindakan yang meluahkan dengan terperinci langkah-langkah yang konkrit yang akan di ambil tindakan dalam bidang politik, ekonomi, industri, perdagangan dan sosial dan bidang-bidang lain. Selain itu, ia juga diterima pakai dalam bentuk konkrit rangka kerja kerjasama ASEAN mengandungi juga garis panduan tentang kejenteraan untuk kerjasama ekonomi dan pendekatan bersama terhadap masalah ekonomi.

Peringkat kedua perkembangan ASEAN bermula pada akhir tahun 1978. Pada asasnya Malaysia dan anggota-anggota ASEAN bersama-sama berkongsi kepercayaan tentang ekonomi pasaran bebas dan kepercayaan bersama ini tentang pasaran bebas dan pengalaman berkongsi untuk menentang masalah Kampuchea telah memperkuatkan ASEAN selama beberapa tahun. Mesyuarat Kemuncak ASEAN di Manila pada tahun 1987 boleh dianggap sebagai penutup peringkat kedua perkembangan kerjasama Malaysia dan ASEAN. Dari segi pandangan ekonomi, keputusan kemuncak Manila adalah agak sederhana. Selain itu, senarai butiran yang terkandung dalam Preferential Trade Aggreement (PTAP telah diperluaskan untuk mencukupi 15,000 butiran setelah didapati bahawa butiran yang penting untuk perdagangan infra-ASEAN telah tertinggal. Yang lebih penting bagi masa depan ASEAN ialah aktiviti orang Jepun.

Situasi yang dihadapi oleh negara-negara anggota ASEAN ekonomi sekarang adalah sangat berbeza. Ekonomi orientasi eksport bagi ASEAN memberi manfaat daripada perdagangan dan hubungan ekonomi dengan negara di luar ASEAN membuktikan pandangan dan pendapat mereka yang tidak berapa percaya tentang perdagangan intra-ASEAN. Bagi kebanyakan negara anggota ASEAN, sesungguhnya Jepun merupakan rakan perdagangan dan pelaburan yang terpenting, dan ini merupakan sebab yang terpenting dalam pertumbuhan ekonomi dan persepaduan mereka diikuti Korea, Taiwan dan Hong Kong. Oleh sebab itu, penting bagi ASEAN merumus suatu dasar untuk mengatasi pembangunan dan cabaran yang baru ini dalam ekonomi global.

Mesyuarat Menteri Luar Negeri ASEAN di Jakarta pada tahun 1984, satu persetujuan telah dicapai antara jawatankuasa anggota ASEAN untuk mengadakan dialog dengan rakan dialog Pasifik dan Eropah. Untuk menunjukkan komitmen ASEAN tentang pendapat Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan, di

samping perundingan perdagangan dan ekonomi dengan negara-negara yang maju dan Pasifik, Menteri luar Negeri juga bersetuju dengan Projek Pembangunan sumber manusia.

Perdana Menteri Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad telah mula menggalakkan Perkumpulan Ekonomi Asia Timur (EAEG) yang dibayangkan sebagai jentera kerjasama ekonomi di antara negara-negara Asia dengan Malaysia (ASEAN) dan Jepun sebagai terasnya. Sumbangan terbesar yang telah disediakan oleh ASEAN ialah kestabilan politik, yang membolehkan negara-negara anggota memberi tumpuan tentang pertumbuhan dan pembangunan ekonomi. Jepun telah berperanan sebagai enjin untuk pertumbuhan ekonomi ini, diikuti oleh Taiwan dan Hong Kong dan kenderaan untuk pertumbuhan telah dimainkan oleh sektor awam, domestik dan juga luar negeri.

Peranan Malaysia yang telah memberi bantuan dengan sepenuhnya apabila ia telah mengawal serta mengatur semula ekonomi seperti yang telah ditunjukkan dengan tegas di Indonesia sejak tahun 1984, atau apabila ia membantu ekonomi nasional terselamat dari kemerosotan sebagaimana yang berlaku di Malaysia dalam tahun 1983. ASEAN berperanan memupuk pertumbuhan ekonomi walaupun kerjasama ekonomi intra-ASEAN dahulu adalah sederhana secara perbandingan.

Kerjasama Malaysia dengan Indonesia dan Singapura antaranya ialah peluang pelaburan kepada syarikat swasta di Pulau Bertam dan rancangan kerjasama yang sama antara Singapura dan negeri Johor di Malaysia. Walaupun ini berlaku di antara negara-negara anggota ASEAN, peraturan ini pada asasnya merupakan dua peranggu rancangan dwisisi di antara negara-negara jiran. Peraturan ini berpotensi hebat dan menjadi sebagai model terhadap pertumbuhan ekonomi dan pembangunan ekonomi serta pembangunan rantau yang berdekatan di sempadan kebangsaan sub wilayah yang melampaui ASEAN sekiranya

pencapaian tercapai membangun Batam dan Bintan diperluas keseluruhan kepulauan Riau dan selanjutnya.

Sejak awal tahun ini, kemungkinan pertumbuhan ekonomi, tiga segi di antara Medan di Sumatera Utara, Pulau Pinang dan tiga buah negeri di Utara Semenanjung Malaysia (Perak, Kedah, dan Perlis dan Selatan Negeri Thailand) telah diterokai. Sama ada potensi ini untuk pertumbuhan dan pembangunan melampaui sempadan nasional di tempat-tempat tersebut sangat bergantung kepada sokongan yang diperoleh daripada kerajaan pusat. Walau bagaimanapun Kerajaan Pusat Malaysia nampaknya mempersetujui usaha untuk mencapai matlamat ini. Pertumbuhan ekonomi yang cemerlang dicapai oleh negara-negara anggota ASEAN ialah dengan tiadanya polisi ekonomi bersama ASEAN.

ASEAN atau *Association Of South East Asian* telah ditubuhkan melalui persetujuan di dalam Deklarasi Bangkok pada 8 Ogos1967 di Bangkok. Malaysia mula menyertai ASEAN pada 8 Ogos 1967 begitu juga dengan Indonesia, Filipina, Singapura dan Thailand. Malaysia telah mencadangkan agar negara Asia Tenggara diumumkan sebagai zon bebas dan kebebasannya dijamin oleh tiga kuasa besar iaitu Amerika Syarikat, Russia dan China pada tahun 1970. Pada tahun 1971 ZOPFAN (Zon Keamanan, Bebas dan Berkecuali) telah dipersetujui secara formal oleh negara-negara anggota. ASEAN lebih tertumpu kepada masalah perlaksanaan kerjasama Bali terutamanya dalam aspek kerjasama ekonomi. Selain itu, Kemuncak Bali adalah lanjutan daripada Persidangan Ketua-Ketua Kerajaan ASEAN di Kuala Lumpur pada Ogos 1977.

Seterusnya ASEAN terus berkembang dengan kemasukan lima buah negara baru iaitu Brunei (8 Januari 1984), Vietnam (20 Julai 1995), (Laos 23 Julai 1997), Myanmar (23 Julai 1997), dan Cambodia (30 April 1999). Matlamat penubuhan ASEAN ialah untuk melindungi kepentingan bersama dan

mewujudkan solidarity serantau. Terdapat 7 objektif utama ASEAN iaitu:

- Mempercepatkan pertumbuhan ekonomi, kemajuan sosial dan pembangunan kebudayaan serantau menerusi usaha sama berasaskan semangat ekualiti, persahabatan dan keamanan komuniti serantau.

- Mewujudkan keamanan dan kestabilan serantau dengan mematuhi undang-undang mengenai perhubungan antara negara serantau berprinsipkan carta PBB.

- Mewujudkan kerjasama aktif dan saling membantu dalam bidang ekonomi, sosial, kebudayaan, teknikal, saintifik dan pentadbiran.

- Saling bantu-membantu antara satu sama lain dalam memberi kemudahan latihan dan penyelidikan dalam bidang pendidikan, profesional, teknikal dan pentadbiran.

- Bekerjasama dengan berkesan dalam mempertingkatkan lagi aktiviti pertanian dan industri, memperluaskan perdagangan termasuk kajian mengenai masalah perdagangan, komoditi antarabangsa dan dalam mempertingkatkan kemudahan pengangkutan dan komunikasi serta taraf hidup rakyat.

- Menggalakkan kajian mengenai kajian Asia Tenggara.

- Mengekalkan kerjasama erat dan berfaedah dengan organisasi antarabangsa dan serantau yang sedia ada, yang mempunyai matlamat dan tujuan sama dan seterusnya mencari jalan merapatkan lagi kerjasama dengan mereka.

Di antara kerjasama ASEAN dalam aspek ekonomi merangkumi bidang pertanian, perindustrian, tenaga dan mineral, kewangan dan kastam. Dalam persidangan ketua-ketua negara ASEAN tahun 1976 lima projek perindustrian secara usaha sama telah pun dipersetujui untuk dilaksanakan oleh negara-negara anggota. Projek tersebut merangkumi:

- Projek Baja Urea ASEAN di Malaysia.

- Projek Baja Urea ASEAN di Indonesia.

- Projek Fabrikasi Tembaga ASEAN di Filipina.

- Projek Vaksin Hepatitis B ASEAN di Singapura.

- Projek Perlombongan Garam batu Abu Soda di Thailand.

Tujuan utama diadakan Projek Perindustrian ASEAN adalah bagi menggalakkan pengkhususan dalam pengeluaran dan penggunaan sumber-sumber ekonomi tempatan dengan lebih meluas dan menguntungkan. Projek ini juga bertujuan untuk mengatasi masalah kekurangan modal dalam negara, teknologi dan tenaga kepakaran yang timbul apabila negara-negara anggota menjalankan projek tersebut secara persendirian dengan skala pengeluaran yang kecil.

Malaysia menekankan betapa pentingnya negara-negara ASEAN dan Asia Timur mengadakan kerjasama secara lebih rapat dengan mengadakan sebuah sekretariat bagi ASEAN + 3. ASEAN + 3 ialah ASEAN serta rakan-rakannya dari China, Korea Selatan dan Jepun. Penubuhan ASEAN + 3, untuk mengelakkan pergantungan kepada pertumbuhan kuasa ekonomi tradisional seperti Amerika Syarikat. Ini kerana Amerika Syarikat telah dirundung kelembapan ekonomi sejak sebelum serangan pengganas pada 11 September lalu, dan serangan ini menambahkan lagi kesuraman ekonominya. Atas sebab itulah, Malaysia telah menekan betapa pentingnya kerjasama ASEAN dipertingkatkan antara negara-negara anggota ASEAN kerana pada masa

SENARAI INDUSTRI MENGIKUT NEGARA

INDUSTRI	NEGARA LUAR YANG TERLIBAT	BILANGAN PROJEK DILULUSKAN	NEGARA ASEAN YANG TERLIBAT
Automobil	Jepun	40	Indonesia, Thailand, Filipina, Malaysia
	Sweden	4	Thailand, Malaysia
	USA	1	Thailand, Filipina
Bahagian Auto	Jepun	14	Indonesia, Filipina, Thailand, Malaysia
Elektronik	USA Australia	1 1	Thailand, Filipina Indonesia, Thailand
Jentera Pertanian	Jepun	1	Indonesia, Thailand
Pemprosesan makanan	Jepun	5	Indonesia, Thailand Filipina, Malaysia

Sumber : ASEAN Sekretariat.

sekarang, ASEAN tidak boleh bergantung kepada pelaburan asing secara langsung (FDI).

Malaysia telah mencadangkan penubuhan sekretariat ASEAN + 3 sebagai mekanisme untuk memperkukuhkan kerjasama ekonomi antara ASEAN dengan China, Jepun dan Korea Selatan. Kerjasama ekonomi antara ASEAN dan China menjadi lebih bermakna kerana kemasukan China ke dalam WTO (World Trade Organization). Dalam usaha untuk menangani masalah kemelesetan Perdana Menteri telah menggariskan pelbagai strategi yang mana antara lain ia adalah juga bagi manfaat negara-negara anggota selain dari kepentingan Malaysia sendiri.

KERJASAMA JEPUN - AMERIKA SYARIKAT

Sejarah Hubungan.

Hubungan antara kedua-dua buah negara ini jika dilihat dari aspek sejarah, boleh dikatakan telah lama terjalin iaitu sebelum perang dunia kedua lagi bila mana kapal-kapal Commodoro Perry milik Amerika Syarikat mula memasuki pelabuhan di Teluk Tokyo. Namun pada ketika itu, masih tiada lagi sebarang hubungan rapat dari segi ekonomi mahupun sebarang perkataan politik diadakan. Hubungan kedua-dua buah negara ini dianggap istimewa kerana mengalami 'turun dan naik' dari segi hubungan persahabatan mahupun permusuhan.

"Racist assumptions brought worries over the intermingling of superior and inferior peoples and focused attention on the need to maintain the strength of the West 13". Doktrin Monroe yang menyarankan tradisi pengecualian dan Amerika sebagai simbol demokrasi dan kebebasan terus menjadi pegangan pemimpin Amerika Syarikat pada tahun 1890-an. Jepun pula, pada masa ini cuba mencontohi Barat dan menjalankan dasar perluasan kuasa. Kemenangan Jepun dalam perang China-Jepun membawa kepada penjajahan Taiwan dan pengaruh yang lebih besar di Korea. Kerajaan Jepun juga menggalakkan penghijrahan rakyatnya ke California, Kepulauan Pasifik dan Amerika Latin.

Setelah kejatuhan Jepun di perang dunia kedua pada tahun 1945, Amerika Syarikat pada masa itu yang berada pada zaman kegemilangannya telah kononnya ingin menghulurkan bantuan kepada Jepun yang mana niat sebenarnya adalah untuk menjaga beberapa kepentingannya. Amerika Syarikat pada masa itu telah cuba ingin membuat pakatan bersama dengan Jepun yang mana antaranya bertujuan untuk menghalang dari kuasa Jepun bangkit semula menjadi sebagai satu kuasa hegemoni[23].

Selain dari itu, pakatan ini juga bagi bersama-sama dengan Amerika Syarikat untuk menentang kuasa komunis yang berleluasa pada ketika itu. Seterusnya bagi mengukuhkan lagi hubungan antara Jepun dan Amerika Syarikat, satu Perjanjian Damai telah termeterai antara mereka pada September 1951 di San Francisco sebagai tanda tamatnya perang serta penjajahan[24]. Sejak itu, Amerika syarikat telah bersama-sama memainkan peranan dalam mencorakkan dasar serta corak pentadbiran Jepun. Usaha pertama Amerika Syarikat dalam membangunkan semula Jepun ialah dengan menjadikan negaranya sebagai penyerap eksport yang mana telah membuatkan Jepun mengalami lebihan perdagangan[25]. Amerika Syarikat juga menampakkan negaranya cuba menekankan konsep 'demilitarization' dan 'demokratization' di dalam Jepun serta sedikit demi sedikit cuba mengubah perspektif dasar-dasar negara Jepun yang terdahulu bagi menjaga kepentingannya. Amerika Syarikat juga seperti yang telah disebutkan telah sama-sama menerbitkan dasar-dasar negara Jepun baik dari segi politik, sosial dan ekonomi.

Kepentingan Hubungan.

Perjanjian keselamatan yang dimeterai antara Amerika syarikat dan Jepun pada tahun 1951, dilihat sebagai satu perjanjian yang tidak adil dan tidak seimbang baik dari segi ketenteraan, ekonomi dan psikologi[26]. Namun begitu, perspektif tersebut berbeza di masa Jepun yang pada masa itu berada dalam kekecewaan dan berusaha ingin bangun kembali. Justeru itu, bantuan yang dihulurkan oleh Amerika Syarikat di pandang dan disambut baik oleh Jepun memandangkan Amerika Syarikat juga di masa itu merupakan antara kuasa terbesar dunia. Bagi Jepun, hubungan Amerika Syarikat adalah bagi kebaikan negaranya yang mana antara lain, dari aspek keselamatan, dengan kekuatan tentera yang dimiliki oleh Amerika Syarikat perlindungan kepada Jepun adalah terjamin. Selain itu, Amerika Syarikat juga dirasakan dapat memberikan bantuan serta galakan dalam menyusun semula struktur ekonomi Jepun dan sebagainya. Jepun sedar akan kepentingan keselamatan dan juga Jepun sedar bahawa bagi menjaga kepentingan mereka di Asia Tenggara kestabilan keselamatan serantau mahupun keselamatan dalaman Jepun semuanya bergantung kepada sejauh mana hubungan baik antaranya dengan Amerika Syarikat. Dari perspektif Amerika Syarikat pula, kepentingan dasar Amerika Syarikat yang dibuat terhadap Jepun ialah antara lain bagi meluaskan dasar Amerika Syarikat terhadap Jepun untuk mempengaruhi Asia yang mana kawasan Asia lebih didominasi oleh Jepun dari aspek politik dan ekonomi khususnya[27].

Selain itu, hubungan Amerika Syarikat-Jepun ini membawa kepentingan utama kepada Amerika Syarikat memandangkan Jepun adalah sebuah negara yang mempunyai kedudukan yang strategik, penduduk yang ramai serta berpotensi tinggi dari aspek ekonomi. Ini ditambah pula dengan penglibatan Amerika Syarikat dalam perang Korea,

23 Hook D.G. et. al. (2001), Japan's Internasional Relations, Routledge. London. m/s 82.

24 Barnds.W.J 1979) Japan and United States, Challenges and opportunities. The Mc Millan Press Ltd. London. m/s 5.

25 Hook G.D.Et.Al. (2001). Japan's International Relations. Routledge. London. M/s 84.

26 Barnds.W.J (1979) Japan and United States, Challenges and opportunities. The Mc Millan Press Ltd. London. m/s 6.

27 Curtis, G.L (19940 The United States, Japan and Asia. Challenges for U.S policy. W.W. Norton and Company. London. m/s 16.

Jepun secara tidak langsung dapat dijadikan pangkalan tentera Amerika Syarikat[28]. Hubungan ekonomi di antara Amerika Syarikat-Jepun penting bukan sahaja bagi tujuan hubungan bilateral tetapi juga bagi pertumbuhan serta hubungan ekonomi di kawasan Asia Pasifik secara keseluruhannya. Hubungan bilateral di antara kedua-dua buah negara ini masih lagi dominan hingga ke hari ini. Namun begitu, persoalan kebergantungan Jepun kepada Amerika Syarikat atau sebaliknya sering menjadi persoalan. Jepun misalnya dilihat mengambil kira pendapat Amerika Syarikat dalam pembuatan keputusannya. Ini dapat dilihat bila mana Jepun tidak mahu memberi bantuan kewangannya kepada Vietnam kerana dikhuatiri sekiranya dasar atau polisi yang bakal dibuat bersama Vietnam akan di bantah oleh Amerika Syarikat[29].

Hubungan Perdagangan.

Corak hubungan perdagangan Jepun dengan dunia global boleh dikatakan lebih banyak bergantung kepada pasaran Amerika Syarikat sebagai penyerap eksportnya. Amerika Syarikat telah terlebih dahulu memainkan peranan dalam memberi tekanan kepada Jepun supaya membuka pasarannya serta lebih liberal dalam aspek ekonominya. Pelbagai konflik perdagangan dihadapi oleh kedua-dua buah negara ini yang mana lebih banyak membawa kepada simbol kejayaan ekonomi Jepun serta kejatuhan ekonomi bagi Amerika Syarikat. Namun begitu, faktor kejayaan kepada Jepun sering kali dianggap sebagai kegagalan kepada Amerika Syarikat, ini kerana persaingan eksport pasaran mereka yang sama. Sungguhpun dianggap sebagai 'gergasi ekonomi', namun Jepun masih lemah dalam pembuatan serta pengurusan diplomatiknya.[30] Justeru itu, Amerika Syarikat tanpa

berlengah telah mengambil peluang yang ada dengan membentuk agenda bagi perundingan bilateral ekonomi bagi kepentingan dirinya. Ini sekali lagi menunjukkan bagaimana Amerika Syarikat ingin mendominasi pasaran dalam bidang tersebut di Jepun. Selain itu, antara konflik lain dalam hubungan bilateral ini ialah berkaitan dengan isu automobil. Ini tercetus apabila Amerika Syarikat mengenakan tarif yang tinggi terhadap kereta buatan Jepun.[31] Seperti juga yang disarankan oleh bekas pengerusi komisen perdagangan antarabangsa Amerika Syarikat iaitu Paula Stern yang dipetik berkata;

"The United States and Japan should work toward creation of an international code of investment time limit government interference in companies international operations and a code on competition to harmonize anti trust policy"

Dalam perdagangan dengan Jepun, Amerika Syarikat membenarkan perdagangan defisit serta menggugat Jepun dengan tarif yang dikenakan supaya lebih membuka pasaran Jepun. Namun begitu, defisit Amerika Syarikat yang tinggi menunjukkan kebergantungan dari aspek ekonomi terhadap Jepun. Hanya kuasa serta pengaruh politik serta kekuatan tenteranya membuatkan Amerika Syarikat masih mampu berdiri teguh. Walau bagaimanapun, dengan kejatuhan Yen yang dihadapi Jepun mungkin situasi yang sedia ada berlaku sebaliknya. Dari sudut pelaburan asing (FDI) Jepun, Amerika Syarikat merupakan syarikat pelaburan yang utama pelaburan Jepun. Jumlah pelaburan oleh pelaburan Jepun di Amerika Syarikat adalah paling tinggi pada tahun 1989, apabila ia merangkumi 48 peratus daripada jumlah pelaburan dunia.[32] Namun begitu, selepasnya ia semakin jatuh memandangkan pelabur lebih banyak melabur di kawasan-kawasan Asia Tenggara yang semakin membangun. Jika di lihat, Jepun merupakan pelabur

28   Barnds.W.J (1979) Japan and United States, Challenges and opportunities. The Mc Millan Press Ltd. London. m/s 7.

29   Curtis, G.L (19940 The United States, Japan and Asia. Challenges for U.S policy. W.W. Norton and Company. London. m/s 18.

30   Hook G.D.(2001) Japan's International Relations. Routtedge. London. m/s 110.

31   Ibid. m/s 112.

32   Hook G.D.(2001)Japan's International Relation. Routtedge. London. m/s 118.

utama di dalam ekonomi Amerika Syarikat selaras dengan peristiwa 'Nixon Shocks' pada 1971.[33] Nilai yen sering naik semenjak dari itu sehinggalah pada tahun 1998.

Konflik perdagangan menunjukkan dominasi Amerika Syarikat dalam rundingan bilateral kedua-dua buah negara ini.[34] Namun begitu, dalam politik ekonomi Jepun telah menuju ke arah liberalisasi, sektor pertanian khususnya terusan menolak penerimaan norma ekonomi liberal. Apa yang lebih penting ialah Jepun tidak dilihat kini sebagai bergantung kepada Amerika Syarikat dalam faktor eksport pasarannya juga 'bileteralisme' dalam hubungan politiknya. Tapi nampaknya Jepun masih lagi terikat dengan perjanjian Amerika Syarikat-Jepun bangun menjadi status 'economic superpower' membolehkan ia mencabar Amerika Syarikat khususnya dalam bidang automobil serta pelbagai lagi sektor ekonomi yang lain. Namun begitu, perubahan politik dan keselamatan dengan Amerika Syarikat tetap masih kompleks.[35]

Sejak tamat Perang Dunia Kedua, Jepun berusaha dengan gigih membangunkan negaranya daripada masalah persekitaran. Hasilnya Jepun muncul sebagai sebuah ekonomi dunia yang terbesar yang bukan sahaja pesaing kepada Amerika Syarikat tetapi telah pun berjaya mengatasi negara kuasa besar itu. Jepun bukan sahaja membangunkan negaranya secara bersendirian, mereka turut membantu negara- negara sedang membangun di Asia Timur dengan melabur di negara-negara berkenaan. Ekoran daripada itu, muncullah negara-negara seperti Singapura, Hong Kong, Taiwan, dan Korea Selatan dan diikuti oleh Malaysia, Thailand, dan Indonesia dan ia juga telah disusuli dengan China dan Vietnam. Kejayaan Jepun begitu jelas sekali dan ia dapat dilihat dalam imbangan perdagangan Jepun-Amerika Syarikat.

Amerika Syarikat merupakan sebuah kuasa ekonomi yang terbesar di dunia. Maka, tidak hairanlah jika banyak negara-negara maju yang ingin mengadakan hubungan kerjasama ekonomi dengan Amerika Syarikat. Begitulah juga dengan Jepun. Mereka kini lebih mudah mendampingi Barat iaitu Amerika Syarikat. Ketakjuban Jepun terhadap teknologi Barat dan impian mereka untuk duduk sama rendah dan berdiri sama tinggi dengan barat menyebabkan mereka mengalami pengaruh pembaratan. Pengaruh pembaratan ke atas rakyat Jepun kekal hingga ke hari ini. (Dr. Wan Fuad Hassan,1995: Jepun Kembali Kepada Asia)

Hubungan antara Jepun dan Amerika Syarikat adalah antara hubungan bilateral yang sering menjadi persoalan serta diperbincangkan di arena antarabangsa, sehinggakan kedua-dua buah negara ini dianggap sinonim di antara satu sama lain. Seperti Malaysia yang lebih tertumpu kepada ASEAN, Jepun menampakkan hubungan dengan Amerika Syarikat sebagai keutamaannya.

PENUTUP

Sebagai kesimpulannya, kajian ini menyentuh tentang hubungan kerjasama ekonomi antara Malaysia dan Jepun di mana terdapatnya perbezaan dari segi ideologi serta pengaruh dan kepentingan ekonomi kedua-dua buah negara itu.

Dari sudut Malaysia, ekonominya lebih menjurus kepada kerjasama dengan negara-negara ASEAN di mana ia lebih berpegang kepada konsep 'properthy neighbour' yakni mengayakannya serta memakmurkan negara jiran. Kerjasama ini juga disokong dengan semangat permuafakatan ASEAN melalui beberapa perjanjian yang telah termeterai terdahulu. Namun begitu, Malaysia juga giat menjalankan kerjasama dengan pertubuhan-pertubuhan antarabangsa seperti WTO, PBB, dan sebagainya. Ini semua dilakukan bagi meningkatkan serta memajukan lagi ekonomi negara di peringkat serantau.

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33 Ibid. m/s 119.
34 Hook G.D.(2001) Japan' s International Relation Routledge. London m/s 122.
35 Ibid. m/s148.

Bagi perspektif Jepun pula, dasar dan struktur ekonominya banyak dicorakkan sedikit sebanyak oleh pengaruh Amerika Syarikat. Hubungan Amerika Syarikat - Jepun ini yang berkaitan rapat dengan faktor sejarah membuatkan hubungan bilateral antara Jepun lebih dominan kepada Amerika Syarikat. Hubungan yang dilihat seperti terikat ini melihat juga faktor kebergantungan Jepun kepada Amerika Syarikat dari segi keselamatan manakala Amerika Syarikat kepada Jepun pula dari segi ekonomi. Sungguhpun Jepun merupakan kuasa kedua terbesar ekonomi dunia selepas Amerika Syarikat, namun Jepun masih dilihat mengambil kira pendapat Amerika Syarikat dalam setiap proses pembuatan dasarnya di mana dilihat umpama Jepun berada di bawah telunjuk Amerika Syarikat. Hanya baru-baru ini yang dilihat Jepun telah mula mengembangkan kerjasama ekonominya dengan negara-negara di rantau Asia. Ini terbukti dengan penglibatannya dalam kerjasama ASEAN+3 yang diwakili juga Korea Selatan dan China. Jepun sedikit demi sedikit dilihat cuba untuk mengurangkan kebergantungan kepada Amerika Syarikat, namun tiada sebarang ramalan yang boleh dibuat sama ada ianya akan berjaya atau tidak.

Dapat dilihat ekonomi kedua-dua buah negara ini yang ternyata berbeza dari segi nama, hubungan bilateral ekonomi bagi Malaysia yang lebih tertumpu dengan ASEAN, manakala Jepun dengan Amerika Syarikat. Jepun seharusnya patut mempunyai 'self-reliance' serta tidak terlalu mementingkan hubungan dengan Amerika Syarikat dari aspek ekonomi seperti yang dapat dilihat oleh negara-negara ASEAN seterusnya mula membuat keputusan sendiri tanpa mengambil kira pandangan sesiapa. Sebaliknya,

Jepun harus lebih memajukan peranan dalam membantu serta bekerjasama dengan negara-negara di Asia Tenggara selaras dengan norma 'Asia untuk Asia' yang sering dilaungkan kini. Ini dapat mengurangkan campur tangan Amerika Syarikat dalam ekonomi negara-negara serantau, bagi Malaysia pula dapat dilihat dari segi dasar luar serta kerja sama ekonomi yang dimainkan di arena antarabangsa adalah berperanan aktif.

Ini sejajar dengan matlamat negara untuk membangun negara seterusnya menjadi negara maju dirantau ini. Namun begitu, dalam mencapai matlamat tersebut, Malaysia perlu mengambil langkah bijak dalam menangani isu kemelesetan ekonomi dan tidak mudah melatah seperti yang dilakukan sebelum ini agar tidak menjadi seperti negara-negara jiran yang secara tidak langsung menjadi umpama negara jajahan dari segi ekonomi. Semangat kerja yang positif juga perlu dikekalkan bagi meneguhkan serta mengekalkan kestabilan ekonomi yang sedia ada. Justeru itu, dari aspek hubungan Malaysia-Jepun, kerjasama ASEAN+3 yang sering diperbincangkan kini adalah relevan dalam menuju ke arah fasa ekonomi yang seterusnya.

Kerjasama ekonomi ini juga secara langsung dapat mengeratkan lagi hubungan antara negara serta memuhibahkan lagi semangat Asia di antara negara-negara dirantau ini, dan yang paling utama dapat mengurangkan kebergantungan ekonomi terhadap Amerika Syarikat. Seterusnya dapat membina satu empayar ekonomi Asia yang lebih kukuh serta dapat menyaingi 'gergasi ekonomi' dunia iaitu Amerika Syarikat.

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PERKONGSIAN NILAI: ELEMEN PENTING DALAM PENGURUSAN AM TENTERA DARAT

Oleh: LKpl Mohd Ali bin Dzaaba

> *"………the organisation that we are serving is one organisation that is unique from any other organisation in terms of closeness of relationship. An organisation will not have the ultimate strength without the spirit of comradeship or espirit de corps. Comradeship is one of the main characteristics in command and control. "*
>
> ***Jen Tan Sri Md Hashim bin Hussein***

SINOPSIS

Perubahan persekitaran yang dinamik dan pantas dalam aspek keselamatan serta teknologi persenjataan telah mendorong Tentera Darat (TD) merancang dalam pembangunan sumber manusia. Sumber manusia merupakan aset yang paling penting, pembangunan sumber manusia hendaklah dirancang dengan sistematik meliputi kepakaran individu, model-model mental, pembelajaran berpasukan, perkongsian nilai dan pemikiran bersistem.

Perkongsian nilai merupakan salah satu elemen penting dalam pengurusan TD. Ianya lebih menjurus kepada perkongsian misi dan identiti yang sama di kalangan ahli pasukan ke arah memantapkan lagi komitmen terhadap organisasi. Justeru itu, setiap organisasi perlu mengekalkan sumber tenaga manusia yang berkualiti, berpengetahuan dan berkemahiran melalui perkongsian nilai ke arah merealisasikan visi, misi dan objektif organisasi. Penyebaran misi dan matlamat organisasi di kalangan anggota tentera mestilah jelas dan difahami melalui perkongsian nilai.

PENDAHULUAN

Sesebuah organisasi yang ingin terus mencapai kejayaan dalam alaf baru perlu sentiasa berusaha ke arah kecemerlangan, meneroka pengetahuan baru, membina kapasiti untuk pembelajaran dan mendahului sebarang perubahan. Bagi mencapai matlamat tersebut, gaya pengurusan organisasi yang sedia ada perlu berubah kepada konsep organisasi pembelajaran yang menekan penambahbaikan secara berterusan. Selaras dengan ini, pihak pengurusan bertanggungjawab menyatupadukan semangat dan daya usaha individu dalam tentera bagi mencapai sesuatu objektif. Mengikut teori perlakuan dalam organisasi, budaya dan nilai-nilai murni sesebuah organisasi lahir melalui perkongsian nilai teras yang diwujudkan berdasarkan kepada kepercayaan yang jitu bagaimana sesuatu tugas perlu dilaksanakan. Telah terbukti, budaya organisasi yang utuh dapat membantu meningkatkan prestasi mutu kerja.

Pembentukan dan penyuburan perkongsian nilai-nilai ketenteraan dalam pengurusan am yang melibatkan pembangunan kemanusiaan memainkan

peranan penting dalam sistem ketenteraan. Oleh itu, pengurusan tingkah laku organisasi dalam perkongsian nilai merupakan satu fungsi yang penting di antara tugas-tugas pengurusan iaitu satu tugas yang melibatkan keupayaan untuk memahami ciri-ciri personaliti individu, kumpulan dan organisasi supaya dapat diramalkan tingkah laku yang akan diperoleh hasil dari beberapa tindakan pengurusan dan akhirnya untuk menggunakan kefahaman dan ramalan ini untuk memperoleh kuasa dalam menguruskan sesuatu organisasi.

Perkongsian Nilai: Elemen Penting Dalam Pengurusan Am Tentera Darat

PERKONGSIAN NILAI

Perkongsian nilai merupakan perkongsian misi dan identiti yang sama di kalangan ahli pasukan ke arah memantapkan lagi komitmen terhadap organisasi. Perkongsian nilai ini juga merupakan satu unsur yang dimiliki dan dikongsi bersama-sama dengan meraih kejayaan atau kegagalan. Organisasi ketenteraan sentiasa menegaskan betapa pentingnya sifat perkongsian dalam menghadapi dan melaksanakan sesuatu tanggungjawab atau penugasan. Nilai perkongsian sebegini yang diamalkan oleh pasukan dapat dilihat khususnya melalui komitmen anggota secara menyeluruh yang merangkumi perkongsian semasa peningkatan perancangan, perkongsian semasa melaksanakan penugasan, perkongsian hasil kerja, sama ada kejayaan atau kegagalan.

Penerapan sifat-sifat perkongsian telah menghasilkan kesan kerjasama yang erat di antara individu berasaskan kepada sikap saling percaya mempercayai, bantu membantu dan ajar mengajar antara yang berpengalaman dan anggota yang baru menceburi bidang melalui perkongsian tanggungjawab. Terbentuknya kerja berkumpulan yang mantap dengan setiap individu memainkan peranan masing-masing dengan pengawasan yang minimum oleh pihak atasan. Terwujudnya budaya kerja sebagai sebuah keluarga dengan mempraktikkan nilai saling mengingati, berbincang sesama sendiri, mengemukakan pendapat, saling tegur menegur dengan hasrat untuk menghasilkan produk kumpulan yang berkualiti. Terbentuknya hubungan yang erat bukan sahaja perhubungan rasmi malahan perhubungan peribadi melalui perkongsian masalah kerja mahupun masalah peribadi dapat menghakis elemen-elemen negatif yang menghambat kerjasama kumpulan seperti sifat cemburu, dengki, memfitnah dan sebagainya.

Bagi menyuburkan perkongsian yang mantap dalam pasukan, nilai-nilai murni perlu diterapkan di kalangan warga tentera. Komitmen serta dedikasi terhadap sesuatu kerja dapat dilaksanakan melalui penyemaian sikap saling percaya mempercayai serta memperbanyakkan aktiviti untuk mempererat hubungan kekeluargaan antara warga tentera di samping memupuk semangat jujur, setia kawan, bersifat amanah, jujur dan taat setia terhadap perkhidmatan. Usaha berterusan menerapkan nilai perkongsian telah menghasilkan kesan positif di kalangan warga tentera. Di samping itu, ia juga telah meningkatkan tahap komitmen anggota-anggota yang tinggi dan usaha yang gigih dalam menjayakan sesuatu tugas yang diamanahkan.

Perkongsian Nilai

PENERAPAN NILAI MURNI

Setiap pemimpin perlu memiliki kefahaman asas tabiat manusia atau lebih dikenali dalam arena dunia pengurusan iaitu pengurusan tingkah laku organisasi supaya dapat mengenal pasti sistem nilai/tingkah laku anggota-anggota di bawah naungan. Dalam pada itu, seseorang pemimpin juga perlu mengenal pasti kategori nilai yang sesuai diterap. Antara kategori nilai ialah nilai keperibadian, nilai sosial, nilai ekonomi, nilai Political dan nilai keagamaan. Selaras dengan Sistem Pemerintahan Rejimental (SPR), dengan sentiasa mengamalkan nilai-nilai murni dan amalan etika kerja yang positif dan cemerlang agar keberkesanan sesuatu tugas berjaya menepati matlamat yang telah ditetapkan. Sikap dan budaya yang negatif perlu dikikis kerana ianya menjadi penghalang kepada usaha untuk mempertingkatkan mutu kerja yang berkualiti serta menangani kelemahan yang telah dikenal pasti di dalam organisasi ketenteraan. Nilai murni dan etika kerja yang perlu dimiliki oleh setiap pegawai dan anggota antaranya ialah kewujudan organisasi yang berpengetahuan di mana setiap anggota perlu mempunyai pengetahuan dalam perlaksanaan tugas-tugas teras dan sekunder.

Kesempurnaan dalam menghayati dan mengimplementasikan konsep k-Army dan pengenalan tema "Teras Utama Kedaulatan Negara" pasti akan menjurus setiap anggota di dalam organisasi ketenteraan untuk memiliki kecekapan dan kemahiran dalam pengurusan yang berkualiti. Komitmen terhadap fungsi teras dan sekunder iaitu setiap anggota perlu mempunyai semangat dan kemahuan dengan keutamaannya tertumpu kepada tugas teras. Justeru itu, ianya dapat mewujudkan suasana yang mempunyai staf yang komited dan taat setia agar segala aktiviti yang dilaksanakan dapat dihasilkan dengan cemerlang. Kerjasama sebagai satu tim iaitu sentiasa memberi penekanan terhadap sesuatu tugas berbentuk berpasukan terutama dalam mengendali tugas teras. Budaya ini juga akan dapat memupuk semangat setia kawan dalam aktiviti sukan yang melibatkan semua lapisan anggota. Memupuk nilai-nilai murni memerlukan setiap anggota mempunyai integriti menyeluruh. Apabila nilai-nilai seperti jujur, ikhlas, telus dan terbuka dimiliki oleh setiap anggota, maka perlaksanaan tugas-tugas yang diberikan akan menjadi lebih berkesan dan berjaya.

Pemimpin di setiap peringkat mestilah berkebolehan, berdedikasi, dihormati dan mempunyai komitmen sepenuhnya terhadap pengurusan, latihan, semangat dan kebajikan semasa mentadbir anggota dan pelatihnya. Nilai keagamaan merupakan asas penting kepercayaan insan dan ianya mendidik manusia akan kepentingan nilai "brotherhood of mankind". Nilai murni yang diterapkan perlu disemai serta dipupuk oleh setiap anggota agar ianya dapat menepati matlamat organisasi.

Sentiasa menekankan kepada pencambahan fikiran, inisiatif sendiri, kursus kerjaya dan fungsional, bengkel, pendedahan kepada 'Information, Communication and Technology' (ICT) melalui pengetahuan komputer dan menerapkan budaya membaca. Setiap peringkat pemimpin digalakkan menunjuk dan mempamerkan kebolehan yang terbaik dan sanggup memperbaiki diri sendiri dengan penonjolan serta penerapan nilai-nilai murni dalam seminar atau mesyuarat oleh pemerintah atasan. Setiap lapisan anggota perlu peka dan serius dalam menghayati budaya penerapan nilai- nilai murni.

SEMANGAT "ESPIRIT DE CORPS"

Organisasi ketenteraan merupakan satu organisasi yang unik di mana ia menuntut keakraban *(comradeship)* untuk mencapai objektif yang cemerlang ke atas apa jua tugas yang dilaksanakan. Justeru dengan memupuk semangat setia kawan dan kerjasama atau lebih dikenali sebagai **"espirit de corps"** di kalangan pegawai dan anggota, ianya akan dapat mewujudkan semangat cintakan pasukan dan organisasi serta penerapan nilai-nilai Sistem Pemerintahan Rejimental *(SPR)* di aplikasikan di kalangan warga organisasi tentera. Nilai setia kawan atau **"espirit de corps"** merupakan salah satu ciri utama dalam aspek Pemerintahan dan Kawalan organisasi ketenteraan. Hasil daripada penerapan unsur-unsur **"espirit de corps"** ini, organisasi ketenteraan telah berjaya memperagakan suatu mutu semangat kerjasama yang cukup erat dan tinggi nilainya di kalangan pegawai dan anggota bawahannya.

Penerapan Nilai Murni

Semangat "Espirit De Corps"

Bagi sesebuah pasukan atau organisasi ketenteraan yang mempunyai anggota dari pelbagai jenis kor, kepentingan mewujudkan "espirit de corps" sentiasa ditekankan oleh mana- mana pasukan. Bak kata pepatah Melayu, "**bersatu kita teguh, bercerai kita roboh**" memang tepat dan baik untuk diaplikasikan di dalam organisasi ketenteraan. Semangat **"espirit de corps"** di kalangan warga tentera jelas diperagakan melalui kebolehan berfungsi sebagai satu kumpulan kerja, sungguhpun mempunyai pelbagai jenis kor yang berlainan budaya dan tradisi kerja masing- masing.

Sikap toleransi dan saling bantu membantu tanpa mengira pangkat dan kedudukan merupakan satu faktor penting untuk mencapai objektif umum pasukan. Semangat kesukanan yang tinggi dalam aktiviti- aktiviti sukan dan rekreasi keluarga telah berjaya memupuk integrasi pasukan dan organisasi ketenteraan. Kesediaan dan kesanggupan yang tinggi telah diperagakan oleh warga tentera melalui "pengorbanan" seperti program derma darah,

penglibatan dalam acara Ujian Kemahiran Merempuh Halangan dan Kawad (UKMHK) dan pertandingan sukan berpasukan serta derma kilat bagi membantu anggota Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) yang menghadapi masalah kebajikan dengan memupuk nilai- nilai kekitaan. Kepentingan semangat setia kawan amat dirasai dalam suasana kombat, sungguhpun kepentingan dalam operasi rutin tidak boleh diketepikan. Di dalam pasukan semangat setia kawan wujud dalam bentuk kebanggaan, kesetiaan dan keyakinan terhadap organisasi ketenteraan.
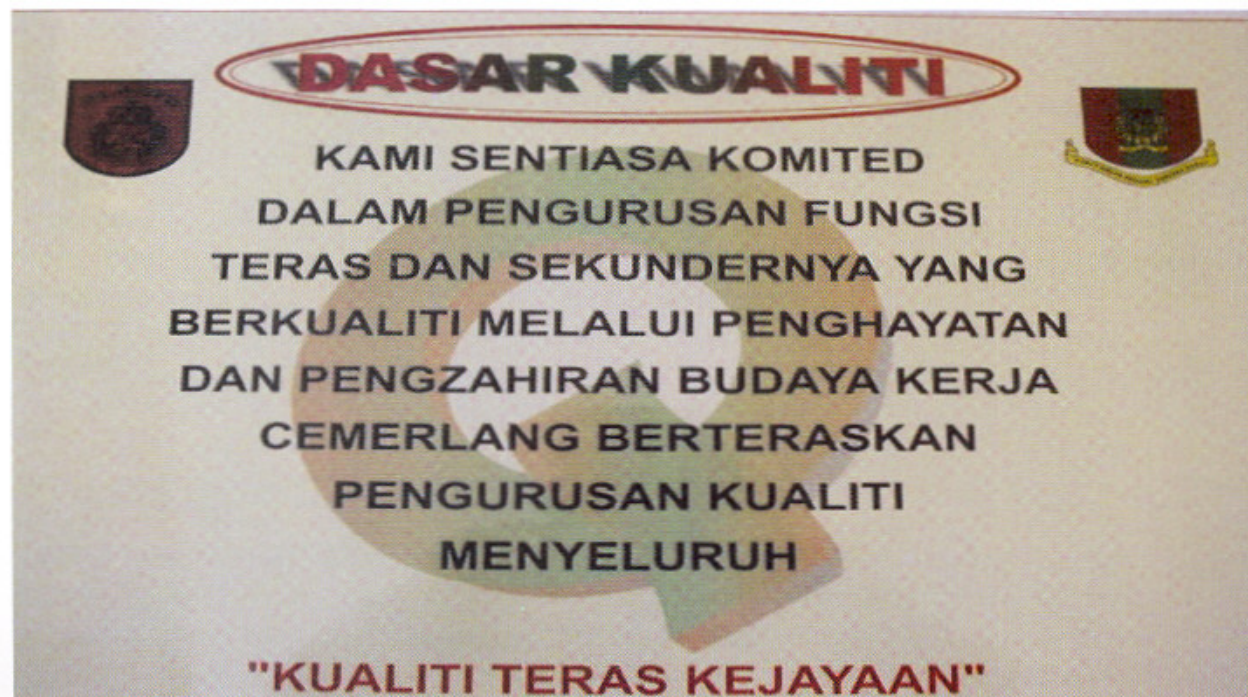
BUDAYA KERJA

Ke arah usaha untuk menerapkan budaya kerja yang berkualiti dengan berlandaskan kepada garis panduan 'Total Quality Management' (TQM), organisasi ketenteraan sentiasa menyuburkan penghayatan falsafah tersebut secara berterusan kepada semua lapisan warga tentera. Sebagai contoh, falsafah yang digariskan oleh pasukan Pusat

Olah Perang Tentera Darat (POPTD), penghayatan ini berdasarkan kepada kitaran *"Plan, Do, Check and Act (PDCA)"* bertujuan menghasilkan mutu kerja yang berkualiti dan cemerlang. Objektif TQM ialah untuk memberi kepuasan pelanggan selaras dengan pepatah kata **"Kepuasan Pelanggan Di Utamakan"** Langkah-langkah yang diambil oleh pasukan mestilah menyuburkan budaya kerja berkualiti dengan menghasilkan dasar kualiti iaitu **'kami sentiasa komited dalam pengurusan fungsi teras dan sekundernya yang berkualiti melalui penghayatan dan penzahiran budaya kerja cemerlang berteraskan pengurusan kualiti menyeluruh'**. Pasukan juga perlu mewujudkan sudut TQM yang mempamerkan pernyataan wawasan, misi, matlamat dan objektif TQM serta kejayaan yang diperoleh serta menyuburkan penghayatan falsafah tema TD **"Teras Utama Kedaulatan Negara"** melalui Hari Pengajian, pameran papan-papan tanda serta poster yang mempamerkan nilai-nilai tema TD.

Keseragaman dan ketelitian dalam semua aspek kerja harus diamalkan untuk menerapkan budaya pengurusan kualiti menyeluruh dalam pengurusan pekerjaan pada sebilang masa. Penghayatan budaya kerja berkualiti tinggi yang diterapkan telah membuahkan kesan positif yang menyeluruh sama ada secara individu atau kelompok. Usaha untuk meningkatkan penerapan budaya TQM seperti yang dinyatakan sekali gus dapat meningkatkan tahap pemahaman anggota terhadap budaya kerja. Pengukuran terhadap penerimaan dan kesan penerapan budaya kerja berkualiti adalah berdasarkan kepada peningkatan prestasi bahagian dan penghasilan mutu kerja yang lebih baik. Justeru itu, kesan penerapan budaya TQM adalah tertanamnya secara progresif budaya proses kerja yang berkualiti secara menyeluruh dan terancang lagi teratur. Dengan ini, terhasil keeratan kerjasama antara anggota dan cawangan yang membuahkan tindakan bersepadu di samping budaya bantu membantu di kalangan warga tentera seperti pepatah Melayu "berat sama dipikul, ringan sama dijinjing" untuk membolehkan anggota-anggota yang berupaya melaksanakan peranan masing-masing yang melibatkan berbagai aspek kerja ketenteraan.

Budaya Kerja

PENINGKATAN IMEJ

Program peningkatan imej TD dilaksanakan melalui dua pendekatan iaitu secara khusus dan secara umum. Peningkatan imej secara khusus lebih menjurus kepada peningkatan imej secara langsung kepada TD, manakala secara umum pula akan memberi impak secara tidak langsung kepada imej TD. Program-program peningkatan imej yang dilaksanakan secara khusus seperti peningkatan prasarana kompleks termasuk kerja-kerja mencantikkan bangunan, menonjolkan penampilan papan-papan tanda dan menceriakan persekitaran kem bagi menentukan penampilan fizikal anggota yang positif merangkumi disiplin, pakaian dan tingkah laku anggota serta penampilan peralatan dan kenderaan yang disenggarakan dengan baik.

Satu lagi langkah ialah dengan melaksanakan program **"tentera bersama rakyat"** iaitu mengadakan gotong royong dan sebagainya. Impak secara umum menukarkan gelaran perjawatan, mempamerkan tahap profesionalisme yang tinggi di kalangan pegawai dan anggota semasa melaksanakan tugas dan menjalinkan perhubungan serta interaksi dengan agensi-agensi awam dan swasta. Keberkesanan program peningkatan imej diukur berdasarkan kepada respons yang positif daripada pihak-pihak yang terbabit. Antara maklum balas positif yang diterima ialah persetujuan program latihan bersama Tentera Indonesia, semasa eksesais Malindo dan juga program latihan bersama tentera dari negara-negara lain.

PROGRAM KAUNSELING

Kejadian kes-kes disiplin yang diakibatkan oleh tekanan mental di kalangan anggota TD perlu ditangani secara serius oleh semua lapisan pemerintahan. Terdapat anggota yang cenderung

Peningkatan Imej

untuk melepaskan emosi mereka dengan melakukan jenayah berat seperti rompakan bersenjata, memeras ugut, membunuh diri atau cuba membunuh diri. Bagi menangani kejadian-kejadian sebegini dari terus berleluasa, tindakan-tindakan tertentu perlu diambil.

Program kaunseling dilaksanakan dalam bentuk psikologikal, bukan mekanikal. Resolusi atau jawapan tidak ada di depan mata seseorang, kaunselor perlu menerima, memahami, meneroka serta menghayati permasalahan pelanggan (client) supaya pelanggan yang tidak memahami, akan lebih sedar serta jelas dengan permasalahan yang dihadapi olehnya. Lantas, dapat menyelesaikan masalah serta mempertingkatkan potensi diri mengikut matlamat yang ditetapkan.

Pada lazimnya, seseorang anggota menghadapi masalah apabila keperluan asasnya tidak dapat dipenuhi. Masalah yang dikategorikan terbahagi kepada dua iaitu gangguan jiwa **"neurosis"** dan sakit mental **"psikosis"**. Kaunseling merupakan salah satu pendekatan untuk menangani masalah tersebut dari terus merebak. Program kaunseling dikategorikan kepada kaunseling formal dan kaunseling tidak formal harus dilaksanakan seperti penubuhan tim kaunseling, pengisytiharan hari kaunseling, peranan Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (KAGAT), peranan Badan Amal Kebajikan Isteri Anggota Tentera (BAKAT) dan peranan pemerintah. Keberkesanan program kaunseling yang dilaksanakan dapat memberi impak yang positif kepada setiap anggota tentera dan perlu diberi dari masa ke semasa walaupun permasalahan individu tersebut dapat diselesaikan oleh individu itu sendiri. Segala program yang dirancang perlu dilaksanakan secara terus menerus bagi membanteras tekanan permasalahan anggota.

PENUTUP

Salah satu faktor yang sangat penting bagi mewujudkan sesebuah organisasi yang produktif, berkesan dan cemerlang ialah memperoleh dan mengekalkan sumber tenaga manusia yang berkualiti, berpengetahuan dan berkemahiran. Sumber tenaga manusia sedemikian adalah perlu dan relevan untuk keberkesanan tugas ke arah merealisasikan visi, misi dan objektif organisasi. Menyedari hakikat ini, perkongsian nilai dalam Pengurusan Am TD merupakan elemen penting pengurusan sumber manusia. Kunci kejayaan kepada sesebuah organisasi ialah misi dan matlamatnya perlu difahami dan disokong oleh semua peringkat dalam struktur pemerintahannya. Justeru itu, misi dan matlamat organisasi harus disebar dan difahami supaya setiap anggota dapat memberikan komitmen yang tidak berbelah bahagi di mana perkongsian nilai yang sama diutamakan.

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THE NEW KNOWLEDGE WEAPONS : MAKING ARTISTIC ILLUSIONS WORK FOR YOU

By: Lt Kol Chandrabalan Sinnadurai

If you are successful, you will win some false friends and some true enemies; succeed anyway.

Mother Theresa

SYNOPSIS

Everyday learning and thinking should not be contaminated by rigidly following the textbooks and their ideas. In these challenging times, the positioning for a learning organization framework in favour of new knowledge skills is crucial if we visualize getting the best results to create *'the greater you'*.

A trained mindset will respond with more confidence in the workplace. To stimulate your destiny and potential, this essay highlights some artistic illusions that can work for you.

THE HUMAN RESOURCE RENAISSANCE

Some of our friends did not return from work after 11 Sept 01. The collateral damage of that 'Fog of War' was a day of visible change. Many mindsets were terrorized with an arsenal of thoughts as uncertainty ruled the day. We were trapped in our own world of competent choice while the management trenches remained silent. The power vacuum of the world order divided the borderless world and threatened the productivity waves into further troubled waters.

The historical value of this significant date, 11 Sept 2001 will position it alongside the dates of World War I and World War II. In comparison, the difference Sept 11 had to out think the enemy was the mathematical strategic bits and bytes to win and achieve 'Mission Impossible'. The feat was accomplished with world-class standards and fascinating offensive manoeuvres.

The psychological element was such a powerful impact of the planner's mindset to solve a specific problem - the thoughts to do it because it was unthinkable and impossible to beat an enemy of superior dominance. This now slides General Mac Arthur's success of the classic manoeuvre in the Inchon Landing on 15 Sept 1950 on to a lower platform. Sept 11 was an invaluable 'lesson' on how

conflicts are really won and lost. Difficult to understand but this spontaneous symbolic warfare is an odd perception of 'Defeat into Limited Victory'.

THE CRUSADE WE FEAR

The New Millennium separated the knowledge warriors from the dead. The world order was served a notice in its test of glory and supremacy. A shot in the dark harboured some mindsets cautiously towards the drawing boards to recover from 'loss' time. Optimism, which had been living on borrowed time in our hearts, was an obvious human quality that was missing suddenly in our tandem thinking. Instead, it played the tunes that derailed our confident strides to be terribly paranoid.

A sublime sense of permanent vulnerability exploded into our consciousness. It created shadows of the new enemy and it's vicious, new knowledge weapons. Cataloguing of thoughts of the post Y2K New World collapsed spontaneously in just seconds without any decibel of resistance pounding the ignorance of 'careless mindset divide' between eastern and western thoughts. Tricks overpowered the grand strategy to gain attention.

New battlefields were simulated and extended in depth into even the most remote and strategic caves resulting in security to be sunk by hidden costs. It is interesting to know that, when asked how World War III would be fought, Albert Einstein replied that he did not know. But he knew how World War IV would be fought: With sticks and stones!

The forging of the global mindsets raised mountains of questions, which left many of us to reset deeply held beliefs and some with a silent illusion of hope to rearrange values. The quest for lifelong security and safety powered like the sixth sense with our intuitive minds in search of inner peace and fundamental freedom. For obvious reasons, the mind's imaginative leap fuelled people to be more sensitive to readiness and personal safety. The focus

is to make every thing else less painful. On the broader front, international relations exercised its safety net with new seeds of major thoughts.

CREATING SUBSTANCE FROM SYMBOLS

Our first thoughts now are that we are driven by other people's needs, which reflect our very first thoughts. The capacity to think in images rather than in words is slowly diminishing. Hence, not even meditation, aromatherapy, cappuccino or even 'teh tarik' seems to strengthen the hunch to fight back for some of us. The only enemy is the level of fear itself. A switch in affirmations to learn to face trauma sparked our new vision further.

Sometimes you just need a daily challenge to rebound. Be an independent thinker to reorganize intervention measures for you. You are your best consultant so ex-ray your thoughts. This little gesture will certainly nurture readiness. Visibility and clarity of the foundation of the Maslow Theory now needs to be revisited. The demolition of confidence probably will diminish self-esteem and drown our artistic destiny for new self-actualisation.

This new shake up certainly demands reassurance and enlightment for our working life. Work routine has to be redefined both for managers and workers with the new flow of thoughts. You have to juggle deadlines and to switch between tasks with precision timings. Comfort with new knowledge to manufacture new confidence in the workplace in order to work effectively and balance harmoniously.

How do you jump start your work daily? This is a hard question. Only you know this. Design this creative niche without discriminating the knowledge generated from your right brain and left-brain in order to stay on the 'right side'. Learn to make it work for you with your artistic sense. The working environment has to be pampered by your inner imagination constantly to capture your instincts. Von Clausewitz, the great military strategist, cautioned

that it is the mark of inadequate commanders to fail to seize the initiative because they overestimate the strength of their rivals. Hence, we also cannot afford to misread the motivations and willpower of our adversaries. Microsoft is a classic example that it dominates boldly despite critical deficiencies.

Actually, the opposition can be within oneself so train to analyse opponent's flight of power to disengage your shining thoughts from within. To be certain, like the sun... rising everyday in the east, put aside every morning some precious time (5 to 10 minutes) to warm up the day's schedule to rebuild your defence system. To chase your rainbows and to clarify your dreams, mark your calendar or diary two years ahead. Lock your thoughts at the same time to be prepared spontaneously to deliver within the next one hour. This way, like many others, an organized and trained mind probably can help prioritise the things that have to be done without failure. Instinctually focus on what is possible with 'I CAN' and make a 'substitution list' for the 'CAN I'?

Hence, having committed in writing this action plan, one simply can dismiss this matter from the mind and set oneself to start work if self-regimentation is in your library of values. Occasional peeks at your scribbled Post-in notes at your desktop will help balance your acts. Quote. Imagination is more important than knowledge (Albert Einstein). Unquote. Use your intuitive skills to develop a new belief and value system which will help simplify your decision making process. Having established this in place with positive instincts will further cherish confidence. The taste of success will always make you aim high.

GROWING PAINS: TRADITIONAL VERSUS CONTEMPORARY THOUGHTS

This reminds me of my school days when I was the pioneer batch of students in Form 1 (Year 7) to be switched to learn Modern Mathematics in contrast to the traditional mathematics. After 7 years (including kindergarten) of simple arithmetic's (scoring 100% was occasionally thrilling), it was difficult for some of my peers including me to understand why 11 + 1 is no longer equal to 12 but 11 + 1 = 100 (base 2) and why 1 + 1 is no longer equal to 2 but 1 + 1=10 (base 2).

Miss Anna, our teacher (competent, strict but charming) had a tough time to convince the 13 (11 01 = 13) years old juveniles but managed to overcome this mathematical combat as she dwelled and parted this new concept via 'Learning by Understanding the Fundamentals'. Mapping the binary digits '1' and '0' artistically in the young minds through perseverance and compassion helps to awaken the psychological forces to spring the learning desires from the learning fears.

You cannot understand the answer until you have studied with your heart and mind. It is important to communicate clearly with the teacher, as this is the crucial foundation or test for an inquisitive response. If you really understand the concept not only do you remember it easily but you can also apply your knowledge in new developments. The essence here is not what you know but what you can do in later life with what you know. What we were really learning about here was also human relationships...I think!

But many of us also blindly 'Learn without Understanding the Fundamentals'. This danger creates spontaneously the instincts of hatred and dislike to study sometimes. In order not to be left behind, some 'whiz kids' gateway on to the fast lane by memorizing. This formula seldom wins. They 'play' with half-done homework, having half-understood minds that do not want to know too much 'problems'.

The contemporary experiential learning concept of 'Learning by Doing' sometimes fails as the knowledge of 'how to do' is not facilitated or transferred correctly. Especially when you are young, when you hate/dislike something, neither do you want to get close to it or even disclose it! Infect, you

sink further when role models or mentors are hardly around to craft the fundamentals for self-confidence. Critically reflecting and redesigning 'Learning by Doing the Right Way' could probably jive to be the solution.

TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT (TQM)

Naturally, it is important to 'choose' to be parents, teachers, role models and best friends. Knowledge parents play crucial and passionate roles in the 'training and development' of the young ones especially during the preparations of the tender beginnings. Hence, in teaching, addressing the fundamentals is crucial to generate the love for learning. Quote. Understanding requires theory; theory requires abstraction; and abstraction requires the simplification and ordering of reality (Samuel Huntington). Unquote. I realized this further when eventually I had the brief opportunity to teach Form 1 students Modern Mathematics before departing to the safe havens of lifelong soldiering.

Hence, in 'problem solving', you have no choice but to dwell clinically with the legitimate and fundamental 'causes' to eventually graduate with the positive 'effects'. Many I realize like to talk through a problem without an agenda, which subsequently leads into long sessions with little respect for time management. Instead print your focus to walk through the brick problems in order to recapture the glaring, real flaws.

It took 'the doctor', Dr Mahathir to artistically diagnose the sick Malaysian Economy in 1997. His careful examinations of the 'iceberg' inspired a remarkable 'life' solution that many now shy away their thoughts for clarity. The results have outclassed and discharged universal thoughts; and created lessons the world can learn. In a nutshell, this 'living' example acknowledged clearly the visible economic fundamentals to heal the future of the nation. Conceptualise this to WIN or at least experiment in search of continuous recovery. This is TQM.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE ENEMIES

The new knowledge worker has to identify when finally he/she achieves productivity in his/her daily work and equally important to stay ahead is being 'seen' to be classified as competent or being termed as a productive icon by management. This voyage is crucial if you visualize being the captains of industry. Work units, in my own interpretation of the definition, are how much time, effort and knowledge adventure one needs to complete or master a particular skill independently in a standard work process.

Hence, the simple important analogy that arises here is how long before you can contribute to the organization. This is significant in today's work warfare. When competition under enormous pressure becomes vulnerable, industries that create the preconceived niche for lower operational costs early in their backyard will be the ones to dominate earnings and growth alongside peak performance.

All organizations have to practice a kind of symbiotic existence to be safe and be readily armed to exploit one's niche in the market. Quote. Whoever is first to occupy the battlefield to await the enemy will be fresh and at ease; he who comes second or rush into the fight will be exhausted (Sun Tzu). Unquote. Hence, your rate of advance is crucial. A classic example here is China. The Chinese advance guard with leading edge quality products is already making waves on the shores of many nations including East Timor. On 27 February 2003, I was notified by the Peoples Republic of China Embassy in East Timor to coordinate and take delivery of 3 containers of donated products on 06 March 2003 to further meet the needs of the FALINTIL-FDTL.

This is the true expectations of the knowledge economy otherwise we are seen to be negligent and the 'worst case' branded as dinosaurs. Only then can we reduce timings for management to harmonize decision cycles. Knowledge as a transforming agent

has dominantly positioned the awareness created of the value of specialized knowledge and the dangers of knowledge obsolescence. A research and development baggage of aggressive productivity tools supplemented by incubator programmes requires new 'shelters' and conditions within the learning and working loop to manage privilege trust and bury mismanagement.

Developing process speed in the existing work cultures and refining security of database is crucial. Certainly it helps to redefine slacking cost savings, facilitate the demands of rising wages or perhaps even withhold the winding up of the legendary business. The sensational Enron 'business free fall' departure with high leverage 'knowledge weapons', dismisses outright the supply chain best practices, business culture and management fundamentals since the times of Frederick Taylor.

BORDERLESS TRAINING PROVIDER FOR EAST TIMOR

In the spirit of reforming and matching the newly independent mindsets of the East Timor workforce, reconditioning and coordination of the thinking power within the management needs to be strengthened. New, inspiring knowledge reconstructed through training need analysis and gap analysis is vital to spearhead the end state. Consciously, integrated feedback will be rewired into the new knowledge work profiles.

Interaction of the minds of the different levels of the line positions through a creative work based illusion can work wonders. Stimulating a 'buddy buddy system' as a 'bondage' mechanism between levels in each department helps to integrate the bricks behind the traditional mindsets. Subconsciously, the communication lines are opened between the international advisors and their Timorese counterparts manning the front lines. Skill transfer is the core competency for the work profile of all internationals within United Nations Mission of

Support in East Timor (UNMISET). It is a responsibility that cannot just look good on paper. Certainly, the choice of language is crucial to meet at least 'half-way' in this driveway of information.

This supportive relationship of professional interaction and job shadowing with lateral thinking creates the potential learning platform as the daily training provider for upward mobility within the borderless training system. It eases the career transition to see and build the connections in the work world. Hence, the 360 degrees performance appraisal system could cast precision results eventually to management and provide impetus to change the organization from the middle up.

Homer, one of the ancient Greek storytellers in the epic 'The Odyssey', originates this rejuvenated chapter of the mentoring concept. Odysseus asked his friend, Mentor, to look after his son, Telemachus, while he fought to win the Trojan War. Most organizations, including UNMISET, pilot the mentoring programme to compliment knowledge management, develop professional networks for staff and nurture career path which actually enhances the buddy-buddy relationships.

Daily online interactions with e-mail, web sites, real time messaging etc (at the mercy of power failures) are amongst options secured to unveil the wireless workplace settings. People are most interested in the work when they are consulted about their work and actively participate in it, then when they are merely ordered to do things by others. This complimentary training certainly develops confidence in the new knowledge worker to better understand the 'unwritten rules' and to be consciously equipped for the mobility and multi skilling that is increasingly required for carving success in East Timor.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE E-SOLDIER

Meeting of the minds along fractured different systems of disjointed islands of information certainly

contributes to the collapse of any structures in its way. To secure the end state of readiness and response times within the defence community, the creation of E-Procurement Models is reinventing the fundamental way of working or soldiering.

Instant analysing with immediate visibility of stock levels, supply services reporting systems and repairs state schedules achieve limited savings on output with shorter delivery times. This can assist large procuring organizations like the East Timor Public Administration (ETPA) that is systematically structured. With so many ministries in search of a big volume of common user items it indeed has the merit to enforce a centralized procurement. As E-Procurement facilitates greater transparency, lowers administrative and inventory costs and even better contract compliance, eventually it channels information through a web-based solution to achieve greater efficiency, effectiveness and consistency.

It creates value for the new knowledge soldiers, particularly for the logisticians, as information manoeuvres intelligently within the outsourcing inventory loop. This new value added initiative rolls out the procurement 'miscarriage' within the defence supply chain with some clicking drills. But, it's possible threat to systems security and the extent of integration with the unique defence inventory process requires periodic lapses of rethink.

LOGISTICS WAR: CONNECTING 'CAUSES' AND 'CONSEQUENCES'

In my 20 months in the real logistics environment of East Timor, I tracked deep enough in dealing with the unintegrated unknown. I discovered for the first time that logistics scale of problems here is a case of connecting the 'causes' and 'consequences'. Through Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threats (SWOT) desktop analysis, I realized in reality the benchmark to reach out in procurement duty is actually 'the power to cross-pollinate' the institutional linkages within the procurement trail.

My two little words of wisdom for procurement best practices or logistics tactics is 'Develop Linkages' within the procurement loop and 'Be Responsive' to any potential changes within the procurement chain. Hence, it is vital to keep tracking and making follow up on the key linking documents (Purchase Requisitions (PRs)) and the Commitment Payment Vouchers (CPVs)) and not the standard ploy of 'wait and see' with the relevant institutions and suppliers.

Implement and maintain an integrated inventory accounting system that will monitor and capture the data and its movement within the system. The procurement accounting system must be capable of capturing individual transactions and report correctly this information format on a timely required basis. Actually, this can be achieved if data is accurately entered on the same day as the transaction. You have to set this as your minimum performance standard to maximize procurement effectiveness and value. This coordination function to 'capture data' by checking document path is vital in procurement psychology.

Hence, timely intervention on those who 'take charge' of these documents accelerates the sluggish lead-time. The lapse of knowledge, skills and attitude can create grave consequences for the delivery system. You may have the budget to outsource but the big challenge is you cannot have the goods and services in short notice. On the other hand, we are at the mercy of donor nations; some of them seem to struggle to meet deadlines. One has to remain objective, innovative and extremely resourceful rather than being Machiavellian and firmly deleting common sense from your mindset toolkit.

The principle of objective in mind, expressed as a 'mission' in military language required cautious chessboard philosophy to win and recoup inventory. Eventually, the East Timor Defence Force (ETDF) procurement objective was essentially a matter of limited aim. Prior basic training in knowledge-based army 'logistics mental appreciations' became the best

weapons for me to try and defeat and outthink the fear of failure in the mind.

Artistic self regimented Virtual Brain Simulations (VBS), affirmations and visualizations helped fire my beliefs to answer the prayers that everything is possible. When my boss, Brig Gen (rtd) Robert Glacel, said 'The results are striking', I realized the VBS, affirmations and visualizations are finally working! In reality, actually management objectives are VBS, affirmations and visualizations graced artistically with some magical touch. Fundamentally understanding this integration and mindset reinforcement certainly helps in the battle to win with confidence otherwise you will just land on 'bunkers'.

As always, one of the most fundamental attributes of procurement critical path is lead-time pressure to respond with the expected speed of delivery for goods and services. With the compression of this decision time, the decision making process becomes less effective. Beyond a permitted 'safe' level, I realize lead time pressure has adverse effects not only on productivity but also on working power, spontaneous creativity, adaptability and accuracy especially under conditions of logistics uncertainty. Hence, it convinces oneself, the relevance of knowledge adventure, time and stress in our artistic decision making world.

While outsourcing a suitable Timorese procurement model for the readiness and conditions of the ETDF, amongst the lessons I learned was that it is often the small artistic things that help spontaneously manufacture instant results. The single quality to be strong that worked the very best initially for me was 'infinite resourcefulness' as nothing comes easy. Actually, I had no options as having a 'new boss' who never admired 'logistics bits' of paperwork.

But this was important to me, as it was impossible to define in advance in the theatre of national transition, a single holistic logistics mindset for logistics operations to match the various international players who carried a baggage of values. TQM planned activities neither can take place or work because of 'blind spots' in the bureaucratic procurement process within the limited digital nervous system of the then East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA). There was an absence of the minimum advance planning and integration for a 'united response' initially between the administrative departments to give credibility and harmonize the work process within this logistics footprint.

The links with websites complimented by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) Intranet were the best track to focus browsers in order to seize quotations, products and services from suppliers. It certainly is a testimony to Information Technology skills to prove that value networks can decrease cycle time with suppliers though not to the true customer's expectations. As we were outsourcing from many countries, most of the lead times failed their tests though we were on limited E-drive. But, it added value to marshal data, as this value chain initiative helps you partially not to lose your way around the East Timor Treasury, Procurement, Supply and Customs loop.

It all begins with me at the Office of Defence Force Development (ODFD) to open the doors and fix the procurement sorrows in order to achieve the short-term procurement goals. Hence, the answers were all up to me to juggle the ways to get the buying channel with reasons to believe you can touch the stars. Quote. It is not in the stars to hold our destiny but in ourselves (William Shakespeare). Unquote. There is danger in knowing too little, but if the system has trained you with artistic knowledge skills it becomes less painful to deliver. My simple logistics philosophy was 'achieve one thing a day' and 'take one week at a time.' Hence, with snipers' eyes for details, you realize it is not the end of the world and life goes on in Tim Tim!

ORGANIZATION AND INDIVIDUAL ARTISTIC ILLUSIONS

Setting matching creative mantra or trademarks like 'FALINTIL-FDTL - You Light Up the Nation' or 'Don't Leave Home Without It' (American Express) can help to strategize the organization vision and bond the potential instincts for esprit de corps. Sometimes organization vision, mission, strategy, goals and objectives are only fragile corporate set pieces in today's volatile playing fields if not communicated and internalised. Exercise new rules of engagement within Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) to rearrange obsolete manoeuvres, 'stone age' methods and approaches to win even with professional oversight.

This is not easy to design or rewrite if you do not understand the fundamental principles to orchestrate the 'characteristics and the characters' in the chemistry of work at your workplace. Organizations cannot camouflage and hide behind the eye catching 'TQM window dressings' with the fancy rhymes at the workplace. You cannot just work dangerously with words only. Crusade to assemble new illusions to improve work conditions. This actually engages the unexpected daily pressures and unprecedented symptoms of risks that we nag habitually. Remember that you also have to tame your stress hormones regularly. Moreover, to battle stress amongst workers can be another long and costly campaign.

Accelerate the mandatory instinct that 'Learning is part of the working curve.' Do not spend all your time working like a slave. Remember, learning and working can also occur in parallel, though with different styles and pace to achieve the cognitive skills. Do not worry when you forget the knowledge that you have captured. Your subconscious will release it when your imagination and your crafty mind activate your downloading function. Take your mind to the 'class' occasionally to develop this. As for me, I 'drilled' my local Timorese counterpart, Lt Col Meno Paixao, on Saturdays in the office with minimum distractions. One must accept that the learning process initially is slower and understand that the people here just 'graduated' from a long, noble struggle.

Germinate positive impacts such as an inspiration to learn a new language; mastering your computer knowledge skills; pacing your stress level more consciously or for some sharpening your intuitive skills to manage your 'new boss' better! Management must not display a casual response towards these workers' learning desires. Training and Human Resource Development (THRD) is crucial for the psychology of learning and motivation.

Scholarships, secondment, research and development and on the job training (OJT) costs are 'peanuts' if we endeavour seriously to understand the generosity of the bottom line. Commit resources to blossom this instinct. Knowledge can dominate instincts and spontaneity with a sense of confidence and variances to stimulate the agenda in the work profile. Workers will become much more effective, spontaneous and will respond psychologically with a new stigma of work ownership.

FALINTIL-FDTL: THE RECYCLED SOLDIERS

Currently, I am working in an environment of disbanded guerrillas. The transitional training cycle goal is to transform the guerrilla mindset into a reincarnated conventional mindset. This has triggered the 'international thoughts' within our department to seize some of the open secrets to discover and learn the positive values. It is important how fast the ODFD team members can learn something new in our daily research. A guerrilla mindset has natural and powerful instincts for danger. Their poise with aggressive intuitive skills has channelled their 'mountain mindset' with the will, belief and subconscious doctrinated therapy of accepting 'no failure' in their risk taking culture.

In creating a new learning model for the soldiers to recondition the mindsets, the growing pain is
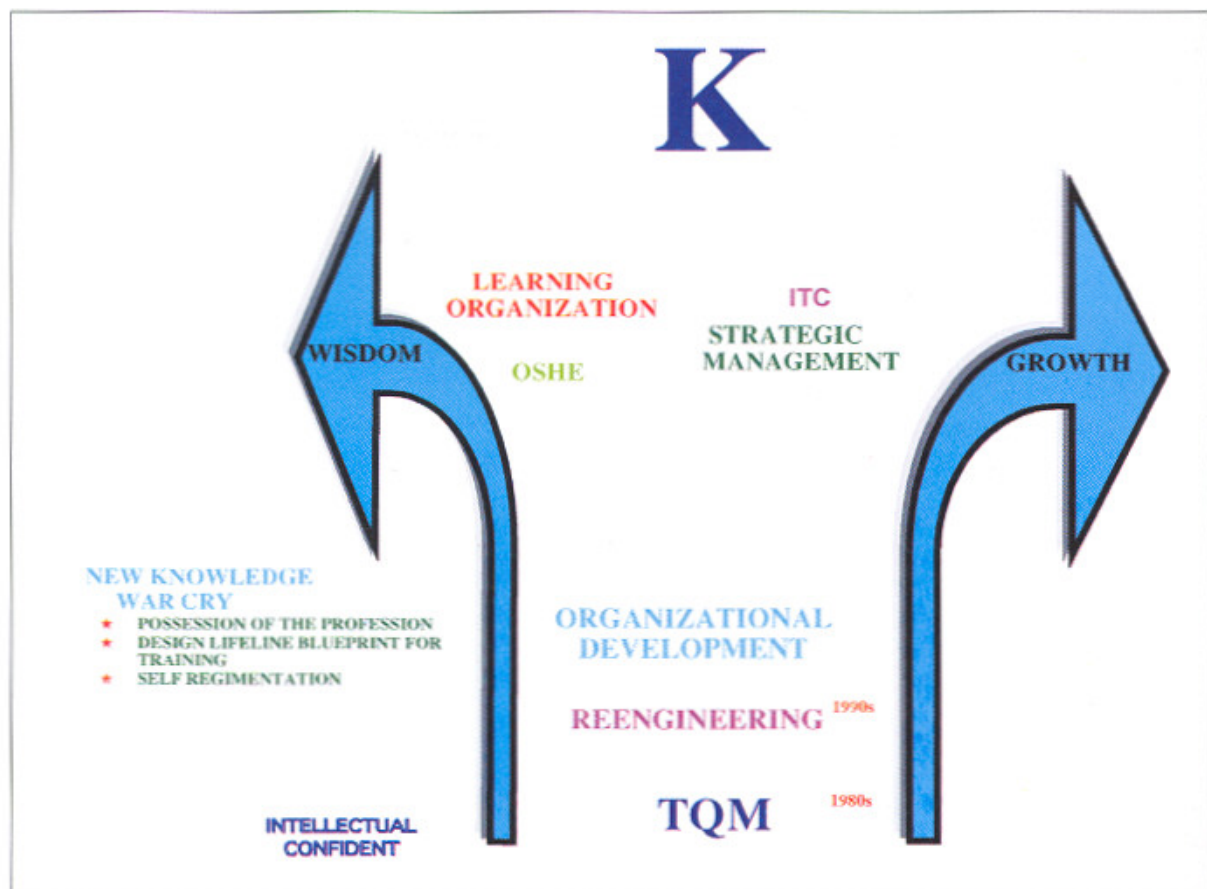
exploring an armoury of techniques that will compliment their education, training and development. To me, this is like cloning the mind and spirit to converge, as in a mix marriage. My experience in imparting logistics and management knowledge in the classroom at the Metinaro Training Centre and in the study of their work culture here revealed that within the chain of reasoning, it seems there is the tendency for popular beliefs to interfere with logic.

Some conflicting thoughts draw the phenomenon that new knowledge eventually may have the edge over beliefs. Hence, new scientific knowledge, new skills and virtues have been assembled at the start lines for a different cultural heritage clash. For all we know, artistic intuition may just bridge the mindset gap before 30 June 2004.

A NEW SPIRIT FOR WORKERS - THE WORKERS' PRAYER

With a new intervention to resurrect or compliment the concept of the Maslow Theory, in the future we cannot afford to have 'many failures' or 'shattered dreams'. To secure the corporate image price tag, organizations have to topple the organized system of inefficiency. The heart for Human Resource Renaissance will disengage the 'Dragons of the Mind', that is, complacency, negligence, and recklessness. This must be nurtured to transform uncertainty into self-confidence and rewire self-esteemed organizations. Innovation, intellectual ingenuity and resourcefulness are hallmarks for the new work place within the ETPA. Formatting the mindsets to eventually act on the premise of 'to think global but act local' requires special stimulus. Hence,

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LEARNING ORGANIZATION

ITC
STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT

WISDOM

OSHE

GROWTH

NEW KNOWLEDGE WAR CRY
* POSSESSION OF THE PROFESSION
* DESIGN LIFELINE BLUEPRINT FOR TRAINING
* SELF REGIMENTATION

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

REENGINEERING 1990s

INTELLECTUAL CONFIDENT

TQM 1980s

THE ARTISTIC ILLUSIONS OF WORK

experiential learning must be continually renewed along these lines of perception and in accordance with the objectives of the self-sufficiency plan.

Create and shift FALINTIL-FDTL into the Learning Organization lane. Build the foundation for new knowledge and skills for the gallant warriors through Total Quality Management. The Chief of Defence Force (CDF) of FALINTIL-FDTL, Brig Gen Taur Matan Ruak has the strength of the 'mountain mindset' to deliver this monumental and artistic vision. The ODFD will have to further research and develop this masterpiece for new knowledge and training.

ETPA has to further cultivate self-regimentation as 'the art of work' and help endorse an honourable 'workers' prayer' with the intent to create a common network protocol that fires the spirit of workers to subconsciously excel. New knowledge workers are specialists who possess a substantial cache of specialized knowledge. Hence, I visualize the new knowledge worker is developed on the premise to take intellectual control of the path of change in search of perfection.

To stimulate your destiny and potential power to create the 'the greater you', here are seven artistic illusions that can work for you.

The New Knowledge War Cry:

- Possession of the profession with a sense of mission. Your professional profile should correspond to the generic job profile. Use your artistry and knowledge to master 'the art of work' with continuous learning on the job. In simple terms, the pinnacle of your career development should match with the competence level to perform and deliver. Better qualifications should not be compromised and confused in our endeavour to waiver 'concessions' for work experience. Just like in school, aim to be the number one in your chosen 'class'.

- Design your own lifeline blueprint for training. You are your ultimate trainer. The winners are those who will find a way to change.

- Change things by yourself. Chase the rainbows and clarify your dreams for yourself. Mark your calendar or diary two years ahead. Self-regimentation wins, then you win.

The Art of Work:

- Possession of an instinct and a sense of ownership for Occupational Safety, Health and Environment (OSHE) and security. You have to tame your stress and fear hormones.

- Harbour the strength of esprit de corps as a harmonious caring legacy within the workplace. Germinate the attitude of thoughtfulness.

- Build networks for interconnectivity and to share anxieties. Learn to listen more to create response times that cope with Internet time. You will rationalize your positive life affirming optimism and be even more open.

- Renew the mind subconsciously by rewinding the belief system and cherished values of the organization. When done artfully, this can restore confidence in you as the decision making process has been simplified.

COMING HOME

Visible change is a subconscious 'change strategy' spontaneously recycled for the new knowledge world. We cannot and should not look back pessimistically as the dust settles... only face the frontlines with a creative arsenal of optimism. We have to be careful in order to be less anxious and to feel less vulnerable. We have to discover and understand our envisioned strength and in about the way we interact with the world to make things work.

The new knowledge worker who has trained his mindset to respond confidently with his skills will feel far less vulnerable then a person with an untrained mindset.

Certainly, many, many of us, now treasure 'coming home'...more than 'going to work!'. Some of us still browse persistently our thinking power with images from a beautiful mind while the rest take the chance to wither with words and artistically unsure whether 'A New Day Has Come'. Learn to trust the thoughts you do not believe! You have to believe in the powers of your internalised holy spirit. This way, you can unconsciously create, 'The I, I Think I Want To Be.'

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WAR STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF NAPOLEON

By: Mej Santhanathasan al R. Ponusamy

"An army of lions led by a stag will never be an army of lions"

- Napoleon Bonaparte

INTRODUCTION

Napoleon is one of the most illuminating figures in modern history. He was a man of extraordinary qualities and at the same time suffered from extraordinary failings. His ambition was power, his dream was a vast empire and his passion was wars and victories. People loved him and presented with power, gave him their sons to satisfy his passion for continues warfare. Great Kingdoms collapsed before him and all Europe trembled at his name. He terrorized many Kings into subjugation till he was subjugated himself in a fateful battle and met his end in a tragic manner as the 'Prisoner of Europe'.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Ajaccio, Corsia on 15 August 1769. He was the son of Charles Bonaparte. Napoleon spent his boyhood from nine to sixteen in the military School of Brienne La Chateau, France. He graduated at the age of sixteen in November 1785 and reported as a Second Lieutenant to the artillery regiment of La Free at Valence. Napoleon's first opportunity to distinguish himself appeared in 1793, at the siege of Toulon, where he was than in charge of the artillery. In conjunction with the success at Toulon he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in 1796, from where he rose to become the emperor of France in 1804.

Napoleon was a supreme egoist and architect, an entirely isolated and a self-centred man who relied on himself alone and centralized everything. He attended personally to the detail of every piece of business. He was a genius, a superhuman in its activity. Into everything he put passion. This was his secret both as a statesman and a general. He believed that one should never try guessing what the enemy can do. His plan was invariably offensive and that his initiative was to be given free play. As a strategist Napoleon has never been excelled but he always had a plan strategically, but not necessarily a tactical one, which bore little or no reference to the enemy's probable intention.

Napoleon was greatly influence by two main streams of military doctrine that is of Bouquet and Guibert, which he combined and evolved his own doctrine and methods to be used extensively in his future campaigns. The reforms of French Army and the Revolution were also the main contributors of the Napoleon's success. The success and failure of such a great military revolutionist are worthy of scrutiny.

NAPOLEON'S GRAND ARMY
(FRENCH ARMY)

Napoleon's Grand Army was formidably firm in spirit and morale. His army was inherited - active,

mobile, intelligent and fanatical. It was an army inspired rather than trained. It also trained to mount on attack on short notice or less warning and with very high 'espirit de corps'. Napoleon's vital component in his strategic was in effective and entirely self-contained miniature army, complete with cavalry, divisional and reserve artillery, engineers and commissariat generally commanded by a Marshal. To command and co-ordinate such a big force, Napoleon probably maintains the most comprehensive headquarters of an army at the period of time. Their tactics were individual and elastic, although the training of the French conscripts was negligible. His skirmishes were as sharp sighted as ferrets and as active as squirrels.

Other than possessing the best ordnance in Europe, the deployment of Napoleon army as follows:

- Skirmishers. Remained a feature of French tactics, served to conceal their activities from enemy during manoeuvre invulnerable to all but other skirmishers.

- Cuirassier Arm. Body armoured-cavalry as massed striking on battlefield.

- Dragoons. Heavy cavalry formation but retained the original aptitude for reconnaissance of flank guard, also as mounted infantry.

- Artillery. Used as a primary offensive element.

- Cavalry. Heavy regiment deployed as 'cavalry reserve' and light regiment to screen the army during advance and withdrawal.

NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGNS

A series of Napoleon led wars were fought between France, with the aid of varies allies and client states with several European nations from 1799 to 1815. The Napoleonic wars were a continuation of the wars of the French revolution (1789-1799and among the Napoleon's campaigns are as follows:

- 1800: Second Italian Campaign.

  - 1805-1807: Third Coalition:
  - Campaign of ULM.
  - Campaign of Austerity.
  - Campaign of Trafalgar.
  - Campaign of Jena.

- Third Peninsular Campaign:

  - 1801-1807:   Peninsular War I.
  - 1809-1814:   Peninsular War II.
  - 1809:   War against Austria.
  - 1812:   War against Rumania.
  - Jun 1812: Campaign of Russia.
  - 1813:   Campaign of Lutzen.

- April 1814: Napoleon was abdicated from being emperor and was sent into exile on the island of Elba in Mediterranean.

- January 1815: Campaign of Waterloo.

NAPOLEON'S ELEMENTS OF WAR

There were three vital elements of Napoleon's war, firstly, unity of command secondly generalship and soldiership and thirdly the planning system.

Unity of Command

Napoleon was convinced on the onset that "a house divided against itself cannot stand". A split in command was an anathema to him from as early as 1796. When the directory wished to divide his Italian command and make him share it with General Keller Mann, Napoleon threatened to resign and "better one bad general than two good ones" was his theme of reply to Paris. He believed the unity of command could only exist in absolute power, where political

and military instructions and directions come from only one man. To attain this Napoleon introduced (adopted) the concept of "The singleness of command" which only referred to him. In the perception and view of J.F.C Fuller, "Unity of Command" is the fundamental for Napoleon's victories in his campaigns.

Generalship and Soldiership

Generalship. The generalship and personal qualities contributed significantly to his victories. Napoleon suggested that generalship should be as follows:

- The essential quality of a general is resolution.

- A general should never paint a picture of a solution (he must know exactly), his intelligence should as clear as telescope.

- A general who has to see things through the eyes of others will never be able to command an army as should be commanded.

- The success in war depends on the ability on sensing the psychological moment in the battle.

Soldiership. Napoleon believed another vital element of the victory is the soldiership, the qualities to be officers and soldiers and the spirit in them. Napoleon said the secret to victory of a leader is the personnel touch between the leader and his troops and also the concern about subordinates' credibility and health.

Planning System

As Napoleon owned absolute power (political and military) as an emperor and supreme commander of the military, his planning was conducted in perfect. He also argued that battle planning is an art, the capability of planning and have foresight and also to see the situation as "the worse case of scenario"

NAPOLEON'S PRINCIPLES OF WAR

Napoleon implemented principles as a guide in his wars. Among the principles he used are as follows:

Objective. This Napoleon always refers to the main body of the enemy, which he could create an unfavourable situation for them if disrupted before launching an attack on them. To him the terrain, communication centre and enemy supply is not a main target but most important is to destroy their fighting credibility.

Offensive Action. Napoleon attitude was very offensive and believed that a soldier who stays in his position and waits for his enemy to attack is considered more than half beaten before the first shots are exchanged. But he was very cautious, observed and confirmed situation, weather it was an advantage to him or an attack could be conducted. He is also believed that once decided it must be carried on with full commitment.

Speed. To Napoleon, speed was the element that could transform danger into opportunity and defeat into victory. In 1805, Napoleon moved 210,000 men from the Rhine to the Donube, with part of them to the outskirts of Ulm in 17 days for a total of 275 miles. He believed an action should be conducted quickly and rapidly as well as allowing the replenishment or reinforcement of weaponry and personnel.

Concentration of Force (Mass). Napoleon gathered the whole troops, which he had, before commencing or launching a war, which basically he had done in most of the campaigns and wars. Napoleon stated, "The army must be kept assembled and the greatest possible force concentrated on the field of battle as part of the strategy". Napoleon often achieved his final concentration by employing a last minute 'pounce' on his adversary.

Economy of Effort. Napoleon did not usually demand an unreasonable degree of effort from his marching column, except at moment of crisis, or else under the conditions he expected them to cover average of 10 to 12 miles a day. This to reduce the wastage caused by sickness and desertion and ideally left a margin of time each day for dealing with unforeseen incidents or implementing any change of plan.

Time. Another Napoleons master concept was time and his accurate calculation in relation to space. He always says " The lose of time irreparable in war. I may loose a battle, but I shall never loose a minute. Time is great element between weight and force. Strategy is the art of making of time and space. I am less chary of the latter than of the former, space we can recover, time never". This is to best describe how important is time to Napoleon.

Surprise. Napoleon always conducted 'feint' attacks or deceptions to confuse enemy and he will attack from totally different direction to put them off balance to achieve element of surprise.

Flexibility. Napoleon believed the simplicity of strategic movement allows the flexibility of action. For example, in October 1806 the Grand Army proved the capable of changing its line of operations from north-south to east-west on receiving of single order from headquarters.

Simple Planning. The purpose is not to confuse the force for them to execute a mission and also to avoid 'friction of war'. Simple planning produces simple orders and better understanding to the soldiers.

Security. Napoleon placed a high concern on security even in the offensive. This involves the concealment of one's own strength and intention from the enemy. Ahead of the column the cavalry would be sent to form of mobile screen. He also realized the importance of rear area security in defence or advance and catered for it.

Foresight. In every plan, weather for a daily marches or an entire campaign Napoleon allowed a period of spare time to remedy or to exploit the unpredictable. Even though Napoleon believed in rapid and incomplete preparation for campaigns, he stated "I am accustomed to thinking out what I shall do three or four month in advance and I base my calculations on the worst conceivable situations". He planned things for ahead prior to any action or battle. He design his battle plans prior to any offensive action. In war at Trafalgar which was a mere footnote in the history of Napoleon, where he had a already called off his invasion plans two months before the battle. He was also well versed in the French political arena, which enabled him to plan his campaigns accordingly.

Morale. Napoleons attention on the morale of his troops was also immense. In the Battle of Jena & Auerstadt, he rode from unit to unit talking to his officers and men telling that the Prussians were in a difficult position. It was to boost his soldier's morale.

NAPOLEON'S STRATEGICAL MANOEUVRE

Napoleon applied three different types of strategically manoeuvre to achieve his military aim. First was the advance of envelopment or indirect approach, which he used more than 30 times between 1796 and 1815. Second was the system of manoeuvre called the strategy of central position. Third is the strategically penetration.

The Advance of Envelopment (Indirect Approach). It was designed to crush independent enemy formations isolated from supporting allies or forces. Whenever possible, after pinning the enemy frontally by a feint attack, the main army marched by the quickest possible route, hidden by the cavalry screen and natural obstacles, to place himself on the rear of on the flank of his opponent. This method was evident in the Battle of Borodino in 1812.

Strategy of Central Position. This was used against the combined strength of enemy. First is to isolate one part of the enemy armament and concentrating a stronger force to ensure its defeat and destruction, and then turning with full strength to attack the second enemy army. Instead of a single decisive blow, Napoleon planned a series of smaller blows against scattered adversaries and set out to destroy them. Prior to that, as much information as possible must be attained about his enemy by sending probing cavalry patrols. For the easy manoeuvre, the French army was divided into three parts, a left wing, a right wing and central reserve; each consist two or three corps under a designated Army Commander. Usually, Napoleon will be with the reserve, which included the Imperial Guard, the bulk of reserve cavalry and artillery, possibly with one or two additional corps. As the central point was occupied, Napoleon then will begin the second part of the strategy.

Strategically Penetration. This strategy was used when Napoleon encountered enemy holding and extended "cordon line" type of defence. To smash through it, some convenient place was to be followed with a rapid march into the enemy's territory by using speed to offset the danger of being surrounded by the enemy. The objective was to seize some city or town for the next phase of the campaign. An example of this method of operation was in 1812, where a strategic penetration through the prepared Russian Line of defence base on the Divana and Dnieper River system was executed.

DIPLOMACY STRATEGY

Napoleon also used the diplomacy strategy before his offensive on the enemy. If this strategy did not succeed, next course of action was to subjugate and terrorize them with his offensive ways.

NAPOLEON'S WAR TACTICS

Napoleon influence on the tactics on the larger scale was profound, though even here he was less of an innovator than a manipulator and perfecter of earlier theories. Some of the tactics used by Napoleon are explained below.

Use of Cavalry to Conduct Reconnaissance. Napoleon used the cavalry to conduct reconnaissance on the enemy. He will send out the probing cavalry patrols prior to the offensive action to accumulate information about the forces facing him on their disposition and strength.

Use of Deception to Confuse the Enemy. Napoleon was a master of deception. He always implemented his deception plan by conducting feint attack and followed by secondary offensive to confuse the opponent and place him off balance.

Maximum Use of Artillery Fire. His tactic was dependent on the mass concentration of guns to fire a single point to get greater effect on enemy. He used his reserves and combat support well to weaken enemy line presiding with a massive artillery bombardment.

Use of Cavalry and Infantry for Attack. Napoleon used his cavalry on the flank as shock action force to support the infantry attack from the front. However, Napoleon employed this method when he faced a stronger enemy to upset their moral and to put them off balance.

Destruction of Enemy Line of Communication. To Napoleon, isolating the enemy from their allies or supporting troops is one of the important factors to destruct the enemy. In January 1807, when the Russians moved westwards on their own violation toward the remnant of their Prussian allies at Danzig, Napoleon quickly seized the opportunity to cut their communications with Prussians and isolated them. The campaign was either be launched from, or occupy, a central force, or it took the form of manoeuvre against the rear that enveloped the enemy's positioned and threatened his line of communication.

Practice on Effective Logistics System. Napoleon paid great attention on the logistics aspects of his army. He always maintained that his soldiers must be equipped well and there should be supplies readily available. Soldiers also should maximize fully the supplies from the captured territories. He always insisted that the artillery guns should be replenished after each task so they continually support his plan and actions.

CONCLUSSION

Napoleon's basic strategic idea was a fast moving army. To achieve this, he divided his army into corps and divisions with supporting arms and administrative services. He gave freedom in the execution of orders, but at the same time, being controlled through an effective staff system. This gave Napoleon's army dispersal to enhance mobility that enabled him to control an extensive area where are often decisive factor in his campaigns. Such a concept and strategy employed by Napoleon, gave an opportunity for military thinkers to evaluate its capability which hence the beginning of mechanization. Unknowingly Napoleon conceived the art of blitzkrieg, which was later, hatched military thinkers such as Fuller and Liddell Hart and perfected by Guderian.

Napoleon personally determined strategy and commanded the French army and developed its tactics, organization, equipment and morale. Napoleon geniuse as a commander was evident in his ability to move rapidly, thus gaining the important element of surprise over his opponents. His major defeats were matters of attitude rather than technique. In general he underestimated his enemies, perhaps because of his early one-sided victories. Even though with 74,000 troops and 256 guns Napoleon was defeated on 18 June in 1815 at Waterloo but the tribute to Napoleon's status as one of the foremost military leaders of any period is unquestioned and undoubted. As quoted by Duke of Wellington, "That his presence on the field made a difference of 40,000 men" best describes Napoleon's greatness.

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