# PREVENTING TERRORISM : A CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA

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# PREVENTING TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF

# MALAYSIA

by

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Many thanks to younger fellow students and to En. Abdul Aziz for his administrative guidance.

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| | |
|---|---|
| 9/11 | SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 BOMBING OF TWIN TOWERS |
| ASEAN | ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN   NATIONS |
| CPM | COMMUNIST PARTY OF MALAYA |
| DAESH | al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham |
| EU | EUROPEAN UNION |
| GAM | GERAKAN ACHEH MERDEKA |
| IS | ISLAMIC STATE |
| ISA | INTERNAL SECURITY ACT |
| ISIL | ISLAMIC STATE IN IRAQ AND LEVANT |
| ISIS | ISLAMIC STATE IN IRAQ AND SYRIA |
| JI | JEMAAH ISLAMIAH |
| JIHAD | HOLY WAR |
| KMM | KUMPULAN MUJAHIDIN MALAYSIA |
| LTTE | LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL ELAM |
| MILF | MORO ISLAMIC LIBERATION FRONT |
| MNLF | MORO NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT |
| PULO | PATANI UNITED LIBERATION ORGANIZATION |
| POTA | PREVENTION OF TERRORIM ACT |
| UNDP REPORT 1994 | THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT REPORT OF 1994 |
| UN | UNITED NATIONS |
| USA | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA |

**MENANGANI KEGANASAN: KAJIAN PESPEKTIF MALAYSIA**

**ABSTRAK**

Kajian ini dijalankan untuk mengkaji kaedah pencegahan yang dilakukan oleh Malaysia dalam menangani keganasan. Ia telah menjadi ancaman keselamatan nombor satu kepada negara. Oleh itu, ia akan disiasat dari perspektif sejarahnya, tepat kepada pendekatan pencegahan terkini. Malaysia mempunyai pengalaman menangani keganasan dari zaman Kecemasan Komunis 1948 hingga 1960. Seterusnya, kaedah dan pendekatan telah diperbaiki dan diubahsuai untuk memenuhi masa-masa perubahan tersebut. Persoalan penyelidikan adalah, apakah kaedah yang dilakukan oleh Malaysia untuk mencegah keganasan. Objektifnya ialah untuk mengetahui keberkesanannya dan cabaran yang dihadapi dalam melaksanakan dasar, Ini adalah kajian kualitatif dan metodologi yang digunakan menganalisis, data utama yang dikumpulkan oleh wawancara secara langsung, dari pihak berkepentingan terpilih, dan juga data sekunder. Skop kajian ini adalah Dasar-Dasar Keras dan Lembut, Keselamatan Manusia, Undang-Undang, khususnya yang digubal untuk menangani keganasan dan juga konvensyen antarabangsa yang mana Malaysia adalah penandatangan. Malaysia telah mengambil dua pendekatan untuk menangani keganasan iaitu pendekatan Dasar Tegas dan Dasar Lembut. Dasar Tegas adalah penggunaan Tentera atau Polis, dalam mengesan, mengawasi dan menahan simpatisan pengganas yang disyaki. Manakala Dasar Lembut, ia bergantung kepada pelaksanaan prinsip Keselamatan Manusia. Di samping dua pendekatan ini, Malaysia telah mewujudkan beberapa undang-undang pencegahan seperti POTA dan Akta Pencegahan Pengubahan Wang Haram dan Pembiayaan Keganasan. Dalam melaksanakan dasar ini, Malaysia menghadapi cabaran baru, kerana keganasan

bersikap global, mencetuskan kematian dan pencetusan isu agama. Oleh itu kajian ini akan mengkaji pendekatan pencegahan Malaysia dan cabaran baru dalam menangani keganasan. Analisis data primer dan sekunder menunjukkan bahawa pendekatan komprehensif yang diambil oleh Malaysia telah menghasilkan keputusan yang baik kerana tidak ada serangan pengganas utama yang berlaku di negara ini, berbeza dengan negara jiran. Sumbangan kajian ini adalah untuk menangani atau mencegah keganasan, kedua-dua dasar tegas dan lembut diperlukan, bersama dengan undang-undang khas untuk menangani ancaman keganasan global. Keganasan dinamik kerana terdapat cabaran baru untuk ditangani. Ini juga perlu ditangani, untuk menuntut kejayaan dalam menangani keganasan.

# PREVENTING TERRORISM : A CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA

## ABSTRACT

This study is undertaken to examine the preventive methods undertaken by Malaysia in dealing with terrorism. It has become the number one security threat to the nation. As such, it will be probed from its historical perspective, right to the latest preventive approach. Malaysia has the experience of dealing with terrorism from the Communist Emergency period of 1948 to 1960. Subsequently, the methods and approaches were improved and modified to suit the changing times. The research question is, what are the methods undertaken by Malaysia to prevent terrorism. The objective is to find out its effectiveness and the challenges faced in implementing the policies, It is a qualitative study and the methodology used is analyzing, primary data collected by indepth interview, from selected stakeholders, and also secondary data. The scope of the study is the Hard and Soft policies, Human Security, laws, particularly enacted to deal with terrorism and also the international conventions of which Malaysia is a signatory. Malaysia has adopted a two pronged approach in dealing with terrorism. Its preventive policies are based on the Hard Power and Soft Power approach. Of Hard Power it is the use of the Military or the Police, in detection, surveillance and detaining of suspected terrorist sympathizers. On Soft Power, it relies on the implementation of the principle of Human Security. In addition to the two pronged approach, Malaysia has also enacted several preventive laws such as POTA and the Anti-Money Laundering and Financing of terrorism Acts. It was discovered that the preventive laws have helped the Police to avert major disasters by detaining would be terrorists. In implementing these policies, Malaysia faces new challenges, as terrorism has become global, lethal and religious based. As such this study will

examine Malaysia's preventive approaches and the new challenges, in dealing with terrorism. Analysis of primary and secondary data shows that Malaysia's comprehensive approach has produced good results in that no major terrorist attacks have taken place in this country, in contrast to neighbouring countries. The contribution of this study is that in order to deal with or prevent terrorism, both hard as well as soft policies are needed, together with special laws to deal with the global threat of terrorism. Terrorism is dynamic as there are new challenges to deal with. These too need to be dealt with, in order to claim success in dealing with terrorism

**PREVENTING TERRORISM:  A CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA**

**CHAPTER 1**

**1.1     Introduction**

This case study is undertaken to examine what Malaysia has done to prevent terrorism. The study will probe actions undertaken thus far and also the challenges posed in dealing with terrorism. Malaysia is surrounded by nations, greatly affected by terrorism, such as Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. As such, it will greatly benefit to find out the various measures formulated and implemented to deal with the threat of terrorism, which has become a threat to national security. The severity and graveness of the issue of terrorism can be seen from the powerful statements made by top leaders of the country.

In fact on the 7th of April 2017, the Inspector General of Police, Tan Sri Khalid Abu Bakar had stated that the safety and security of Malaysian citizens is a top priority of the security forces. As such the police will maintain its fullest alert nationwide against any possible terrorist threat. In stressing that it is their commitment to uphold the law and prevent any terrorist attack in Malaysia, he noted that to date, 204 militants have been arrested since February 2013. He also added that fifty seven Malaysians remained in Syria in the ranks of the Islamic State, known as ISIS or Daesh,[1] while 30 others have been killed in battle and suicide attacks. ( The Star, Saturday 8 April, 2017)

As such, the above press statement of the Inspector General of Police indicates the graveness and the importance of dealing with the threat of terrorism in Malaysia.

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[1] A terrorist organization, with the aim of establishing an Islamic Caliphate, under Abu Bakar Al'Baghdadi, with its capital in Raqaa, Syria. A violent and extreme organization, following a radical form of Islam. (Warrick,J.2015)

In addition, on the first of May 2015 The Malaysian English daily, The Star splashed on its front page the charging in court of several Malaysians for involvement in international terrorism. They were alleged to have links to the Islamic State (ISIS/Daesh) and were planning to bomb several high profile targets in Malaysia to cause mayhem and instill fear in order to achieve their aim of creating an Islamic state as part of the Islamic Nusantara[2]. Malaysian security personnel were able to detain them before they could carry out their bombing spree.

Furthermore, the Minister of Home Affairs, Datuk Seri Dr. Ahmad Zahid Hamidi, who had unveiled the proposed Prevention of Terrorism Act (2015)[3] reiterated that there will be no compromise on terrorism as it has become the nation's number one enemy (Sunday Star, 29 March, 2015). The Prime Minister in advocating the Global Movement of Moderates emphasized the need to check all forms of extremism, including terrorism. According to the Federal Police Special Branch Counter Terrorism Unit Principle Assistant Director, Datuk Ayub Khan Mydin Pitchay, more than two hundred Malaysians have been detained for links with the Islamic State or planning to travel to Syria (New Straits Times, Friday April, 3,2015).

In addition, on Thursday 20th August 2015, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, stated that " Malaysia must have a coherent and comprehensive national security strategy in tandem with the present situation. At this time of heightened risk, Malaysia must never be complacent about national security. There is no greater priority than to secure our national security." (The Star, 20 September, 2015).

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[2] Principally refererred to the Indonesian Archipelago, but used by IS to refer to the intention of extending the Islamic Caliphate to South East Asia. ( loveard,K.2016)

[3] This Act was passed by Parliament on the 6th of April 2015, pursuant to Article 149 of the Federal Constitution. It is an Act to provide for the prevention of the commission or support of terrorist acts involving listed terrorist organizations in a foreign country or any part of a foreign country and for the control of persons engaged in such acts. (Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2015)

**Plate 1.1 :** Kelantan Raid; Counter Terrorism Division Officers arresting a 46 year old security guard in Kota Baru. Source : (The Star, Saturday 25 Mach 2017 )

Any political failure in this region could trigger a less than optimistic scenario, with political consequences for national and regional stability; power struggle, economic decline, the exit of foreign investments, inter-ethnic strife, centrifugalism and religious militancy (Ramakrishna & Tan, 2003). As such, this study intends to probe and examine Malaysia's preventive measures against terrorism. According to Malaysia's Defense Policy, [4] Maritime Piracy, Arms Smuggling, and Human Trafficking are the other security issues. However terrorism has become the number one security issue for Malaysia, as stated by the above leaders. It became the number one security issue, the moment, IS (ISIS/Daesh), issued a warning to Malaysia on its website,[5] that its top leaders are on its hit list. Terrorist attacks in Jakarta, Indonesia and Bangkok, Thailand, which ISIS claimed

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[4] A 31 page document prepared by the Malaysian Armed Forces, outlining in detail Malaysia's Defense policy, including the policy towards terrorism.( www.mod.gov.my>ndp)
[5] (http://dailymail.co.uk/article,( 09-02-2016)

responsibility, have put Malaysia on high alert, witnessed by the increase in the presence of security personnel in important public places in Kuala Lumpur.

To highlight the importance of Malaysia's security threat, Malaysia's Defense Minister, Datuk Hishammuddin binTun Hussein Onn, stated that sufficient measures have been taken to beef up  security in Sabah to face IS threat. Measures include refurbishing two offshore oil platforms as offshore bases, upgrading the Hawk aircraft stationed in Sabah and equipping Blackhawk and Nuri helicopters with weapons. He also added that' Lahad Datu will be turned into a helicopter base and Labuan airport will be upgraded." I believe what we have done is sufficient to face security threats."

This, the Defense Minister had stated when commenting on reports that Philippine militant groups like Abu Sayaf and the Moro Islamic liberation Front had pledged allegience to IS(The Star,Friday February 2016).



**Plate 1.2 :**  A woman police corporal was among 15 people held for Islamic State links in a seven state swoop. Source: ( The Star, Friday 25 March 2016)

Apart from the various statements from the countries top leaders, pertaining to the threat of terrorism, the leading English national dailies, in particular, The New Straits Times, The Star and The Sun, regularly published news on the danger of the threat of terrorism, with photographs of terror activities. The papers even published photos of suspects being detained, as part of the preventive approach by the police. Readers also regularly wrote to support the initiatives of the authorities in ensuring peace in Malaysia (Appendix 1). This goes on to show the danger, severity and importance of Malaysia's security threat, especially that of the threat of terrorism. As such the above examples of statements by national leaders and authors lends weight to the fact that terrorism poses a grave threat to national security, warranting studies on this phenomenon.



**Plate 1.3 :** Counter Terrorism Division officers detaining two foreigners in Sandakan, Sabah. The suspects were among seven including an immigration officer who were picked for aiding terrorists. Source: (The StarTuesday 14 March 2017)

This chapter will introduce the background to the study, its importance, its objective and research questions that need to be answered. It will also explain the importance of the study as the phenomenon of terrorism, looks as a frightening episode to all Malaysians. The background of the emergence of the threat of terrorism will be mentioned briefly, followed by the examination oh Malaysia's historical background in dealing with the threat of terrorism ever since the Communist terror period of 1948 to 1960.[6] This will be followed by probing the main aspects of Soft Power, Hard Power and the role of human security as part of the preventive approach in dealing with terrorism. Since this study employs the qualitative approach, the methodology to be used will also be discussed in this chapter.

## 1.2 Background

According to Hoffman (2007), terrorism has become global, lethal and religious based, which he terms as New Terrorism. The United States of America had declared a global war on terror after the bombing of the World Trade Centre. Al Qaeda and its affiliate Jemaah Islamiah became active in South East Asia (Abdullah,2009). Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia [7] planned to carry out terror activities in Malaysia, but quick action by the authorities saw its members detained. .

The study on counterterrorism and preventive approaches gained prominence, after the spectacular terrorist attacks of September 11, in 2001 in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania in the United States of America. The fight against

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[6] This period was also known as the period of the Malayan Emergency, where from 1948 to 1960, Malaya had to deal with the Communist insurgency, which used terror as a weapon in its fight against the British Colonial rulers. It is during this period that many rules, regulations and policies were initiated to deal with the threat of terrorism. (Jessy, J.S. 1961)

[7] KMM appeared in 1995 with the aim of overthrowing the Malaysian government and replacing it with an Islamic State.( Gale, T. 2006)

global terrorism and extremism will be the most defining challenge of the early twenty-first century (Chandler & Gunaratna, 2007). This prompted the United States to declare a global war on terrorism (Cronin, 2003).. The United States also claimed that South East Asia to be the second front in the fight against international terrorism (Gunaratna, 2002). Terrorism has also left behind a trail of failed states, such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, to name a few (Wilkinson, 20011).

Incidentally, terrorist attacks increased in Southern Thailand, Southern Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (Tan, 2011). The nations concerned scrambled to implement different approaches in preventing or eliminating this phenomenon. Most nations have opted for the use of Hard Power, that is, the use of Military tactics in dealing with terrorist threats (Crelinsten, 2009)..

Malaysia, on the other hand, employed a comprehensive approach in preventing terrorism (Tan, 2007), basically due to its experience in dealing with the Communist terrorist attacks of the Emergency Period of 1948 to 1960. In his book, Counter Terrorism (2007), Ronald Crelinsten explains in detail the different approaches undertaken by different actors in dealing with terrorism. He says that the methods depend upon the status of the nation, such as whether it is militarily powerful, a developing nation or one of the failed states. Countries such as the United States of America, Great Britain and India, which are militarily powerful, opt for the use of Hard Power, which is the reliance on military might to defeat the terrorists. The emphasis here is the use of force to flush out or to crush the so called perpetrators of terror (Geltzer, 2010). The so called sponsors of terrorists in state sponsored terrorism as well as those who harbor such groups also face the wrath of the military strength of powerful nations. Crenshaw (2007), states that nations that

are not militarily powerful go for the softer approach. Here the emphasis is on the use of Soft Power to counter or prevent terrorism.

Soft Power (Crelinsten 2007), refers to the importance given to implementing the principles of Human Security. A softer approach is used to gain the confidence and also to win the hearts and minds of the population.Human Security refers to its immportant pillars such as political security, economic security and social security. The emphasis here is that individual or human security is more important than state security (Tadjbabhsh &Chenoy, 2007). Canada, Switzerland, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands and several other countries have adopted human security as the cornerstone of their national policies. Human Security focuses primarily on protecting people while promoting peace and assuring sustainable development (Williams, 2008).

According to Andrew Tan (2002), a combination of Hard as well as Soft policies is primarily referred to as comprehensive policies. Rohan Gunaratna ( 2001), equates this to  Smart Policy, that is policies formulated and implemented based on the circumstances, political environment and the status of the nation.

In other words, comprehensive policy refers to the combined use and implementation of both Hard Policy as well as Soft Policy, depending on the situation on the ground (Boucek, 2008). In fact on the 4th of July 2012, the Malaysian Representative to the United Nations, told the 66thPlenary session of the UN, that Malaysia would continue to advocate a comprehensive approach to threats such as international terrorism.

Therefore, the above narration gives a picture of how, many advanced countries have attempted to deal with terrorism. It is therefore imperative to examine Malaysia's approach.

### 1.3    Malaysia's approach

In the article ' Perceptions of Transnational Security in Malaysia and Singapore,' Yoichuro Sato (2012), states that Malaysia's security issues can be either internal or external. Some of the pressing security issues are mainly, drugs, illegal migrant workers, human trafficking, terrorism and maritime piracy. Another notable article written by Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah of the School History, Politics and Strategic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, entitled Emerging Threats to Malaysian National Security (2010), stresses that non traditional security threats such as illegal economic immigrants, environmental degradation and transnational organized crime are slowly beginning to dominate the security debate in Malaysia.

In accordance with the Malaysia's National Defense Policy, the primary objective of the National Defense Policy is to protect and defend national interests which form the foundations of Malaysia's sovereignty, territorial integrity and economic prosperity. Traditional security issues will continue, but threats such as terrorism and trans-boundary  crimes has also attracted attention and is given the focus as part of the national strategic perspective.

The National Defense Policy goes on to state that ' suicide bombing is not a new phenomenon and the possibility of it being used in Malaysia should not be discounted. Malaysia adopts a proactive stance in the fight against regional terrorism.'

Malaysia faces the arduous task of selecting the ideal method or approach in dealing with terrorism as terrorism is dynamic, its modus operandi constantly changing, as well as the problem of predicting when and where terrorist will strike next. The source  could be internal or external. Malaysia has been employing

different approaches based on its experiences in dealing with communist terrorists during the Emergency period. This is where its success lies.

In fact on February 4th, 2002,[8] at a function organized by the Asia Society in New York, the then Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir Mohamad had stated that in Malaysia, for 42 years we fought Communist guerillas which employed terror tactics in Malaysia to force the acceptance of their ideology. According to him, we defeated it. Malaysia defeated it not just through military action but more by winning the hearts and minds of the people. However, times have changed rapidly. Terrorism is no longer an internal problem. It has become global and very sophisticated based on the incidences of terrorism in the last ten years (Robertson, 2007). International networking, the role of fast and effective communication systems using information and Cyber technology, poses great challenges to the authorities who deal with terrorism. According to the South East Asia Regional Centre for Counterterrorism (SEARCCT), based in Kuala Lumpur, surveillance and information gathering has become so challenging that a lot of time and expertise are needed to decode, analyze, evaluate and prepare countermeasures in dealing with terrorism. According to White (2002), the need for adequate intelligence is of vital importance. Intelligent information is the first line of defense against terrorism.

Principally, Malaysia's security issues are internal as well as external. The internal security issues are mainly the responsibility of the Police who come under the Ministry of Home Affairs. Being a multi- cultural, multi ethnic, multiracial nation, ethnic friction and conflict are the prime concern of the those responsible for internal security. Avoidance of conflict is of primary importance as this could be a breeding ground for terrorism, which thrives on discontent in many societies.

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[8] Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the then prime Minister delivered a speech entitled, Islam, Terrorism and Malaysia's response at the Asian Society Dinner. (Mohamad, M.2002)

However, safeguarding the national security and integrity from external as well as foreign threats poses great challenges, including terrorism. Globalization has resulted in the world becoming borderless, making travel easier and faster. . With people moving from one place to another with ease, security concerns took center stage. In addition, the porous borders also contributed to the influx of legal as well as illegal immigrants into the country.

Malaysia's rapid progress and development resulted in the demand for skilled as well as unskilled labor from countries in Asia. Almost 4 million workers in this country are foreigners. This influx of foreign workers poses a great challenge in observing, surveillance and detection of those who are a security risk to this country (Kamarulnizam,2010). Coupled with this is the role played by many who had fought along with Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kashmir and also in Indonesia and the Philippines. This, so called freedom fighters posed a grave danger to national security.

As such Malaysia needed a comprehensive preventive policy not only to safeguard its citizens, but also ensure terrorist sympathizers as well as terrorists do not carry out their activities in this country

## 1.4 Historical Background: The Terror of the Emergency period of 1948 to 1960

Interestingly, Malaysia was the subject of terrorist attacks during the Communist Emergency period of 1948 to 1960 (Jessy, 1961). The struggle against colonialism and the quest for independence saw disgruntled groups using terror against authority (Azam, 2006). Large numbers of civilians became victims of terrorist attacks, whose aim was to instill fear among the masses (Chapman, 1977).

Their aim was also to make the authorities appear weak and incapable of ensuring and safeguarding the security of the masses. Indiscriminate bombings and killings were undertaken to frighten the populace to support their struggle (Ramakrishna, 2002). Counter terrorism actions of this period employed both hard power as well as soft power (Azam, 2006). The soft power approach was similar to the principles of human security, where the individual security was given prominence.

The former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, who in his forward remark of the launching of the book, The Malayan Emergency, stated that the communists in Malaya used terror as a weapon to achieve their goals. This episode still has relevance to us today, as we see terror being waged in many parts of the globe. While we must do all we can to battle these evil forces, we must also continue to win the hearts and minds of our people; we must assure our people that violence can never be justified and that terror has no place in this world (Azam, 2006).

In fact Malaysia overcame the vicious terrorist attacks when it put in place multiple measures that ensured that terror will never breed again (Tan, 2007). During the early period, the Communists resorted to terror to implement their agenda (Hasmy, 2004). Some nationalist forces also joined their fight against the British colonialists. (Ramakrishna, 2002). The terror tactics found a breeding ground amongst the Chinese living in the fringes of society, where the communists instilled fear amongst the Chinese of an uncertain future, after a Malay led independence. The poor economic conditions of the Chinese and the exploited workers, particularly the Indians became good breeding grounds for Communist ideology (Ramakrishna, 2002). According to Mohd Azzam (2006), the communist terror movement was

political, but capitalized on economic deprivation and unhappiness amongst the Chinese and non -Malay populace.

The Briggs Plan[9] and the Gerald Templar initiatives [10] were the beginning of the employment of what is today termed as soft and hard power approach in counter terrorism approach in Malaysia (Jessy 1961). The Briggs plan is similar to the soft power approach, where human, economic and social necessity is addressed and given priority. In fact the idea of New Villages was to separate the local Chinese peasants and resettle them in new villages far from the fringes of the jungles, where communist terrorists had their bases and influence (Azzam, 2006). Once resettled, their social and economic needs were addressed, thus enabling a bright and secure livelihood.

The Templer initiatives emphasized on the hard power approach such as the establishment of the Special Constabulary to deal specifically with the Communist terrorists, the issuance of Identification Cards (Kad Pengenalan) to every citizen and punishment of anyone who collaborated with the terrorists (Tan & Ramakrishna 2000). Templar requested and obtained additional security forces to combat the terrorist movement of the Emergency period. So it can be seen clearly that what is termed as soft power and hard power in dealing with terrorism as explained by Crelinsten (2009), was already being practiced during the Emergency period, even though it was not termed as such. Subsequently, these initiatives were worked upon, modified, improved, legislated and implemented to what it is today in Malaysia. Many of the political, economic and social policies that were introduced during the

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[9]The Briggs Plan was initiated to isolate the populace, including Chinese farmers into new locations called New Villages. Special Identity Cards were issued . The aim was to isolate the Communists terrorists.(Jessy,1961)

[10]The Templer Plan was to act complimentary to the Briggs Plan, where the emphasis was on the role of the Security forces. All New Villages were to be fenced and guarded by security forces twenty four hours. The establishment of the Special Constabulary to help boost the role of the Military and the deployment of Gurkha soldiers to safeguard Planters and their families.(Jessy,1961)

five year plans are similar to the advocates of the principles of human security. To date, Malaysia continues to combine the use of coercion and a hearts and minds ideology as part of its security ideology (Humphreys, 2010).



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL                                                    HOB/56/0787/MC

**Plate 1.4 :** A Lance Cporporal of 2nd Batalion (2RAR), checking identity papers of villagers in Kuala Kangsar, Perak 1956. Source: ( Australian War Memorial).[11]

In other words, a background survey of this study has indicated that terrorism has become global, lethal and religious based and causing havoc on the political, economic and social fabric of the countries that have become victims of terrorism. Malaysia is surrounded by countries waging constant war against terrorists. Most of them have opted for the use of the military to find a solution. Malaysia on the other hand has employed the comprehensive preventive policy, based on its past experience with communist terrorist of the Emergency period.

As such, it is necessary and vital to examine Malaysia's preventive policies in dealing with terrorism. Having stated the background of terrorism affecting other nations and having examined the background of Malaysia's approach in dealing with

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[11] https://www.awm.gov.au

terrorism, it is vital to examine closer the main approach of Malaysia in preventing terrorism.

In actual sense, the approach appears two fold. One is the use of Soft Power, and the other being the minimal use of Hard Power. Subsequent chapters will examine this approach in detail to understand Malaysia's preventive approach. Asvsuch the focus will be on the various steps undertaken, their implementation and the outcome of actions taken thus far.

## 1.5 Problem Statement

Of late, Malaysia's preventive policies in dealing with terrorism have seen challenges as witnessed by the arrest of more than 200 citizens who have either been to Syria and Iraq or returned from there or are planning to carry out terrorist attacks in the country. The myth of invincibility was shattered, leading to review and to examine thoroughly, Malaysia's preventive policies. If this issue is not attended to promptly and effectively, Malaysia faces the risk of going the same way of many of its neighbours. An ineffective comprehensive policy in dealing with terrorism, could lead to more lethal terrorist attacks as seen in Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Terrorism has evolved from a regional issue to a global menace (Lutz, 2008). Wherever terrorists strike, they leave behind a trail of destruction, loss of innocent lives, the economy is adversely affected, the social fabric is torn apart, leading some to becoming failed or failing states such as Somalia, Yemen, Iraq and Pakistan (Lutz, 2008). Individual liberty is lost and the citizens are no more safe. The basic fundamental freedoms are lost, phone tappings, and eavesdropping even take place as is the case even in the greatest democratic champion of freedom and liberty such as

the United States of America (Roach, 2011).   Counter terrorism methods using the hard power approach have not provided the desired effects and results. This problem needs to be attended to so as to avert more destruction to humanity. The  militarily powerful nations have resorted to and have employed the Hard Power approach. However, there has been no decrease in the incidences of terrorist attacks in those countries, or against the country's interests. Some, such as Malaysia, have all along employed a comprehensive approach when dealing with terrorism, due to their experiences and also this approach has shown better results than the single approach.

However, in spite of the historical experience and a stable track record, Malaysia is still vulnerable to terrorist attacks as it is surrounded by nations battling terrorism ( Tan & Ramakrishna,2000). Minor incidents such as the Al' Mauna Heist,[12] the Incident in Lahad Datu in March 2013, the discovery and detention of several Malaysian citizens aligning themselves with the Islamic State, warrant an investigation into  Malaysia's preventive approach.The problem is confounded by the fact that there is an abundance of literature on  different aspects of terrorism(Gupta, 2008), especially on the role of hard power in winning the war on terrorism. Most of the literature is on the different types of terrorist organizations, such as Al Qaeda (Gunaratna, 2002), causes of terrorism and different types of terrorism (Crenshaw, 2007), Hard Power (Crelinsten 2009) and the global war on terrorism (Wilkinson, 2011)

However, there is a need to study  Malaysia's approach in preventing terrorism.. As such this study intends to investigete approaches in dealing with terrorism, especially taking the Malaysian context as a basis of the study.

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[12] On July 2nd 2000, fifteen men disguised as army officers stole an arsenal of military weapons, threatening to overthrow the elected government to replace it with an Islamic state. However, coordinated action by the security forces enabled all perpetrators to be captured.( International Herald tribune,July 7,2000)

**1.6     Research Objectives**

The general objective of this research is to probe the preventive approaches of Malaysia in dealing with the phenomenon of terrorism. It shall attempt to identify the various preventive approaches that could reduce the threat of terrorism in Malaysia.

There are four specific objectives that this study hopes to achieve. These are;

1)    To identify the preventive approaches, such as the enactment of preventive laws as well as the soft and hard approach undertaken by Malaysia

2)    To assess and evaluate Malaysia's preventive mechanisms and new challenges

3)    To examine the various policies undertaken thus far, such as the hard policy, like the use of the military and the soft policy, that is, giving importance to the principles of human security, in dealing with terrorism

**1.7     Research Questions**

In the conduct of this study, the following research questions are proposed;

1).   What are the governance and framework of Malaysia's preventive policies?

2).   How has the implementation of the principles of human security helped in  preventing terrorist attacks?

3)    What are the challenges?

## 1.8    Scope of study

The scope of this study will principally be the various preventive methods and approaches undertaken by Malaysia in preventing terrorism. Here the emphasis will be on the different policies that were formulated and implemented ever since Malaysia defeated the Communist uprising which used terror tactics, to frighten the population. Hard and soft policies play a vital role here. In other words, what are the military tactics used and the different soft approaches? Soft approaches mainly refer to the principles of human security (UNDP Report 1994). However, only the Political, Economic and Social Security principles will be investigated. The other principles of human security will not be included as they have no reference or significance to terrorism. In addition including all seven principles of human security will be too wide a scope of this study.

## 1.9    Significance of Study

The findings of this study intend to fill the gap in the literature concerning efforts to prevent terrorism. Most of the literature available, pertaining to terrorism, is about how hard power is used to deal with terrorism (Lutz, 2008). Very little is written about the role of human security or how soft power can be utilized to tackle this global issue. There is also not much literature, particularly on how Malaysia has prevented terrorism by employing its comprehensive policies. Many academicians, in particular those interviewed as respondents, are of the opinion that Malaysia is one of the few countries to have defeated terrorism, due to its experience of the Emergency period, but little is written on how it combined experience and application of the principles of human security to achieve this. This whole scenario is compounded with  the rise of IS and the involvement of Malaysians with this terrorist movement.

In fact, referring to the manner in which Malaysia overcame the terror period of the Emergency, Andrew Tan (2007), states that in the case of Malaysia, it was not the purely kinetic military orientated counterterrorism approach that resulted in the victory over the communist insurgency, but a comprehensive political, economic and social strategy designed to win the hearts and minds of those who might have otherwise supported the communist insurgency. Daljit Singh (2009), is also of the opinion that Malaysia based its counter terrorism tactics on the professional and efficiency of its security services and its actions were based on sound collection, collation and effective use of intelligence. In addition the emphasis was also on giving importance to human security, rehabilitation and de-radicalization. Kumar Ramakrishna (2007), is also of the opinion that Malaysia's success story in dealing with terrorism has never been given importance, even though much benefit can be obtained by studying how Malaysia overcame this challenge.

Most of the studies pertaining to terrorism and Malaysia have only focused on the Emergency period, but not the subsequent efforts and undertakings, which have been the hallmark of its success story. Very little effort has been put to examine and study Malaysia contemporary efforts to prevent terrorism.

In fact, a study of Malaysia's comprehensive preventive policies can bring forth valuable information for other nations to either follow and implement the many efforts that are found in the comprehensive policies or modify them to suit their individual scenarios.

On the other hand, this study can also open up new possibilities for further research. Others can investigate from different angles and come with new answers to the challenges of terrorism, based on this initial study. For instance further studies on the effectiveness can also throw some light on what went wrong in Lahad Datu in

March 2013. According to the Minister of Defense, the whole Lahad Datu episode cost the government a whopping eighty over million Ringgit, money which could otherwise be used for the economic betterment of the citizens. More studies can thus strengthen the effectiveness to prevent such incidences in the future.

There is also an urgent need to conduct further research and study on Malaysia's comprehensive preventive policies as terrorism is not a static phenomenon (Vertigans, 2008). From an obscure occurrence, decades ago, it has become a dynamic international phenomenon. If and when it strikes, terrorism leaves behind a trail of destruction, carnage and death (Vertigans, 2008). Many have struggled to find ways and means to counter this menace, but only to realize it's becoming more powerful, deadly and lethal.

Incidentally, it needs to be mentioned here, that several cardinal pillars of importance to the study will be probed, analysed and explained in the subsequent chapters, which play an important role in this study. These important pilars of this study are namely Hard Power, Soft Power andthe important pillars of Human Security, to be explained henceforth.

## 1.10    Important Pillars of the study; Hard Power, Soft Power and Human Security

After the end of the Communist Emergency period in 1960, the independent government of Malaya under the first Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, began the arduous task of improving, modifying, replacing and introducing new laws and procedures, to prevent terrorism (Ramakrishna, 2000). Andrew Tan (2007), states that in the case of Malaysia for instance, it was not the purely kinetic military orientated counter terrorism approach that resulted in the victory over the Communist insurgency, but a *comprehensive political, economic and social* strategy designed to

win the hearts and minds of those who might have otherwise supported the Communist insurgents. Malaysia's better record is in that it has a an efficient and professional security services and the political will to deal firmly with the terrorist threat ( Sebastian, 2003).

In fact Malaysia's Permanent Representative to the United Nations speaking at the 16th Session of the AD Hoc Committee to elaborate on a draft comprehensive convention in New York stated that Malaysia so far has ratified nine of the thirteen conventions and protocols, and has taken various measures in fulfilling its obligations and conducting a *comprehensive policy in dealing with terrorism* (New Straits Times, September 29, 2013).

Incidentally, The Emergency Ordinance Act of 1948, The Official Secret Act and the Internal Security Act of 1962 were together initiated during this period and played a significant role in Malaysia's efforts in preventing terrorism.

As a matter of fact the preventive policies presently undertaken to prevent terrorism can be divided into Hard Power and Soft Power (Crelesten, 2009). Hard Power refers to the use of the Military, in countering terrorism. A very good example is the use of military might by the United States of America in its Global War on Terror. It has constantly employed its military arsenal against Al Qaeda and its affiliates.

Soft Power (Crenshaw, 2007) on the other hand, refers to the use of non-military means to counter or prevent terrorism. Basically, it refers to a softer approach in dealing with human beings, rather than might or force as advocated in Hard Power. Particularly, the emphasis here is on the respect of Human Rights, and the principles of Human Security (Alkire, 2003). Kamarulzaman Askandar (2005), states that a softer approach is needed to win over human beings during any conflict.

A peace culture, as opposed to a war culture or conflict culture needs to be developed and socialized, common values which are shared by the different groups, religion, and traditional cultures need to be highlighted. In fact, he goes on to say that this peace culture needs to incorporate universal human rights principles.

Coincidentally, Malaysia has emphasized, employed and implemented the basic principles of Human Security as noted in the United Nations Development Report of 1994. A point to note here is the address of his Excellency the Regent of Perak, who noted in his keynote address at the official opening ceremony at the Peace and Security Forum 2013 held at the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kuala Lumpur that human security or insecurity knows no nationality. It knows no religion. And it knows no race or ethnicity (New Sunday Times, May 18, 2013).

Giving further credence to Malaysia's' emphasis on human security, is the remark by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, who in his foreword remark of the launching of the book, The Malayan Emergency Revisited 1948-1960, stated that the Communists in Malaya used terror as a weapon to achieve their goals. This episode still has relevance to us today, as we see terror being waged in many parts of the globe. While we must do all to battle these evil forces, we must also continue to win the hearts and minds of our people: we must assure our people that violence can never be justified and that terror has no place in this world ( Azzam, 2006).

In implementing the Hard Power as well as the Soft Power mechanisms, the important variables need to be considered and examined. In Hard Power the variables are the role of the Military and Police. The unit of analysis will be intelligence gathering, surveillance and cross border pursuit. The role of Hard Power will be

thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three, where qualified security personnel interviewed will provide information on such a role.

### 1.10.1  Human Security

The principles of Human Security play a central role here. Here political, economic and social securities are the main variables. In political, security, the unit of analysis will be human rights, democracy, liberty and  participatory politics. The role of laws such as the ISA, OSA, Emergency Ordinance, SOSMO and extradition rights will also be discussed. On Economic Security, the New Economic Policy and Developmentalism (Wah, 2003), will be the key issues to be probed. In Social Security,  rehabilitation and de-radicalization will be the key units of analysis.

### 1.10.2  Variables of Human Security

The basic principles of Human Security are proposed to act as important pillars to explain the workings of the Soft Policy. According to the UNDP Report of 1994, there are seven principles involved in measuring human security. However, for the benefit of this study, only three important pillars are considered. This is basically due to the fact only political, economic and social aspects are relevant to this study. Even though the other four play a definitive role in human security, they are not relevant to this study. Inclusion of other principles would make this study unmanageable.

### 1.10.3  Political Security

Political Security is one of the important pillars of Human Security. It defines the importance of political institutions, political developments, participatory politics,

human rights, democracy, freedom, liberty and a host of political necessities for a just and free society (Kassim, 2011). Its value added in the security field is that it focuses attention on human beings and integrates non-military mechanisms as means for security (Sakiko Fukuda-Par, Messineo C, 2012). These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2 that explains the literature review vital for this study.

Another important aspect of the variables used in this study will be that of the laws, rules and regulations used in the country to strengthen and enforce the important principles that ensure human security. Laws such as the Role of the Internal Security Act (1962), Official Secrets Act, Emergency Act (1948) and the Security Measures Act (2013) will also be discussed.

### 1.10.4 Economic Security

Dr. Maghbul Haq, in his report to the United Nations in 1994, which subsequently came to be referred as the UNDP Report of 1994, had stressed that political security alone cannot guarantee the safety of an individual in a society. For an individual to feel safe and secure, the economic aspect also plays a vital role. The daily necessities of survival, ability to earn a reasonable income to feed, shelter and clothe his family are also important necessities of life. Developmentalism, an important component of a country's economy, also has an influence on the human security of an individual (Wah, 2003). Accordingly, he argues that if a country emphasizes on developmentalism and is able to deliver, than the citizens are assured of the economic safety that is essential for a peaceful and harmonious society. He reiterates that although there have been criticisms by the opposition of government policies, it cannot be denied that the government, since independence has been able to deliver. Accordingly, the objective of development must be viewed as a selective