

# Civil Preparedness in Malaysia's Total Defence (HANRUH) Policy: A Critical Evaluation

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**Abstract:** Total Defence or known as Pertahanan Menyeluruh (HANRUH) is one of the core principles of Malaysia's National Defence White Paper (DWP) in pursuit of acquiring national resilience and comprehensive defence capacity. However, due to lack of awareness and promotion, has garnered less attention among Malaysian citizen as the fundamental basis outline in the principle that includes the civil preparedness approach is vital to deter unexpected war threats as well as to maintain sustainable peace and security in every aspect of national concern. This study employs a qualitative method through interview subject-matter expert on the field and analyses on sources such as books, journals, theses and websites. The study found effort and cooperation are very important in empowering everyone to involve in HANRUH implementation. All parties, including the public, among the civil preparedness in the HANRUH policy for the sake of country peace and prosperity. People could also comprehend the concept of HANRUH by using approaches and action plans that have been done and will be implemented soon.

**Keywords:** *Civil Preparedness, Total Defence, Pertahanan Menyeluruh (HANRUH), Defence White Paper, Peace and Security.*

## 1. Introduction

National Defence Policy (NDP) and Defence White Paper (DWP) are essential policies established by the Malaysian government to improve national defence and sovereignty [1]. There is a comprehensive defence concept known as Total Defence (HANRUH) that incorporates comprehensive and integrated defence through the defence concepts in NDP and DWP. It was authorised by the National Security Council (MKN) as a continuation of MAGERAN's (Majlis Gerakan Negara) execution of KESBAN (Keselamatan dan Pembangunan) since 1970 [2]. The notion of HANRUH, or "Total Defence," is not an alien to countries with strong defence systems and assets, such as

Sweden, Norway, Denmark, South Korea, Singapore, and Indonesia.

The development of the HANRUH has demonstrated the positive link established between the civil-military relations in policy formulation based on the spirit of 'shared responsibility of national defence' for the benefit of the country and society [3]. There are five fundamental components of HANRUH which are Security awareness, civil preparedness, economic integrity, psychological integrity, and community cohesion and unity. The aspects of 'civil preparedness' and 'community cohesion and unity' emphasise the importance of all Malaysians, regardless of security personnel, uniformed units, non-governmental organisations, public and private servants, and people

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(citizens) of multiple races, working together to defend national sovereignty from outside elements that can threaten the country. Considering what has occurred to Muslims in countries that have suffered war and enemy invasion, such as Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Burma, and Bosnia, have indicated that country like Malaysia also vulnerable to any threat from the enemy in modern times. Thus, there are necessity to remain vigilant at all times and in all circumstances [4].

In reality, safeguarding the country is not just the duty of security personnel, particularly the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF), but of all segments of Malaysian society. Theoretically, 'total defence' refers to the full element of using everything that exists in the country for one major objective, which is to defend the country's sovereignty. However, the public is not very fascinated with this concept, due to the absence of proper information channels concerning it. This demonstrates that HANRUH is exclusively understood by the military and a few security services. The problem is further exacerbated by closely related issues such as the level of engagement of the people in the national security system, the question of the people's identity, the challenge of unity among the people, and others. As a result, the problem lies in the fact that the idea of HANRUH is ambiguous and ineffective in terms of defending the country's sovereignty.

## 2. A Brief Historical on Total Defence (HANRUH)

Total Defence refers to the principle of comprehensive defence in confiscating all of the country's assets and strength from a political, economic, psychological, and social standpoint, with the same goal as HANRUH, but the difference between the two is the method and approach used [5]. The concept of HANRUH, as stated earlier in the NDP, is a manifestation towards the 'principle of self-reliance' (Self-Reliance). The notion of autonomous defence refers to Malaysia's ability to solve challenges concerning conventional and non-traditional threats on its own without relying on outside assistance [6].

According to history, this idea was created in 1970, when the country faced a communist threat both before and after independence. Even though the British rulings in Malaya had ended at that time, they still provide assistance to Malaysia under the Anglo Malayan Defense Arrangement (AMDA), which was signed on October 12, 1957. According to N.J. White [7], the British prioritised security cooperation over economic interests, which remained the basis of their involvement following Malaya's independence. Malaya was being squeezed at the time by the emergency and changes in trade patterns, which led the British economic dominance to decline. The British, on the other hand, proclaimed their willingness to protect Malaya because they wished to retain their place as a major power at that time. Yet, after the British withdrew and stopped providing funding in 1967, Malaysia was forced to adopt a

military policy development method that fit its own model [8].

Towards understanding NDP *self-reliance* defence formation timeline can be see through the figure below:

**Figure 2.1:** NDP *Self-Reliance* Formation Timeline



Source: Researcher's illustration.

The notion of collective responsibility was crucial in the establishment of the HANRUH concept in the NDP in May 1986. If the history of the establishment of HANRUH is highlighted, there are countless of challenges and conjectures that Malaya has gone through since independence, including communist threats and brutal racist incidents. on May 13, 1969. The late Tun Abdul Razak Hussein, Malaysia's 2nd Prime Minister at the time, believed it was crucial to create and implement a defence strategy for the sake of Malaysia's sovereignty and national defence system. This resulted in the establishment of a defence policy known as KESBAN after 1970 [9]. It intends to improve the national security system by expanding the role of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF), acquiring military equipment, constructing military camps and others. Moreover, KESBAN aspires to improve the community's social quality of life by improving the economy and increasing security issues that demand the participation of many government agencies and the community together [10].

The implementation of KESBAN is seen as effective in accordance with the idea of *self-reliance*, demonstrating that the Malaysian government is capable of standing on its own without the support from outside nations. This is due to the ATM's achievements in combating communist terrorists from 1970 to 1986, which ended with an official ceasefire by the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) in 1989, effectively ending a series of despair and bloody episodes that are engraved in history and the minds of Malaysians who lived through that era [11].

As a consequence of the bloody incident, the KESBAN concept was converted to a new comprehensive total defence (HANRUH) strategy, which remains in practice nowadays. Notwithstanding changes in policy, KESBAN and HANRUH continue to be employed as a mechanism for national defence growth involving diverse parties, whether from the military forces or ordinary citizens. According to Mohd Zackry [12], the execution of HANRUH emphasises quality human capital, economic integrity, and unity in the

acts of government agencies in developing regional and international relations for the sake of guaranteeing national sovereignty is maintained at all times. In fact, the Malaysian government made multiple attempts between 1981 and 1993 to establish a comprehensive DWP blueprint to lead the direction of the country's defence.

According to Abdul Rahman Adam [13], the proposal for the DWP's formation began in 1981 and submitted in 1986 but was rejected by the government. The endeavour likewise failed when it was presented in 1993, after being tasked with conducting a study and evaluation of the DWP. As a result, the NDP continues to serve as a government policy framework and is monitored by the National Security Council (NCS), which requires the DWP's proposal paper to be used as a reference for the NDP. It is through the process of improving and revising government policies pertaining to national defence that eventually resulted the emergence of an 'open NDP' document released in 2010 [14].

### 3. Manifestation of Civil Preparedness in Defence White Paper (DWP)

Apart from that, the Malaysian government carried out reforms in revising the DWP proposal paper in 2018 and 2019 humbly inviting public, academics, government and corporate agencies, the defence sector, non-governmental groups, and others to give some insightful ideas on the improvement of DWP's contents [15]. Hence, by the end of 2019 and for the first time, the Malaysian government has constructed the DWP inclusively, and can be accessible by the public at any time without holding any hidden information. The DWP's transparency also intends to make people aware that national security is a serious matter that should not be treated lightly under any circumstances [16]. DWP not at all different from the NDP's previous strategy and maintains the current policy with certain adjustments to boost national defence assets.

The DWP is a strategic policy for Malaysia's national defence that has its own goal and vision in dealing with the complex challenges of globalisation. The DWP's motto is "*Malaysia yang selamat, berdaulat dan makmur*" demonstrating the government's sincerity and dedication via the Ministry of Defense to ensuring the country's sovereignty and people always safeguarded. The creation of the DWP and its necessity for national defence serve three key purposes:

1. Engage citizens and interested parties;
2. Assess the country's ever-changing strategic viewpoint; and
3. Investigate methods to improve national defence capabilities and preparedness.

The DWP is divided into three sections with a total of eight chapters. Its executive summary is in the table below:

**Table 3.1:** Executive Summary of Sections and Chapters in DWP

| Section 1<br>(Vision)        | Section 2<br>(Strategy)                     | Section 3<br>(Implementation)                       |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| Chapter 1: Introduction      | Chapter 3: Defence Strategy                 | Chapter 7: Defence Science, Technology and Industry |
| Chapter 2: Strategic Outlook | Chapter 4: The Future Force                 | Chapter 8: Reforms, Governance and Funding          |
|                              | Chapter 5: People in Defence                |   |
|                              | Chapter 6: International Defence Engagement |   |

Source: Defence White Paper, Ministry of Defence Malaysia.

The fifth chapter of the DWP, titled 'People in Defence,' emphasises the engagement of the whole society to protect the sovereignty and security of the nation [17]. This demonstrates that the government upholds democratic values by including the participation and voice of the people for the benefit of national defence integrity through the policies established. History has highlighted the role of the people in dealing with the threat of the enemy and assisting the ATM to preserve national sovereignty throughout the first and second emergencies (1948-1960) and the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation (1963-1966) [18].

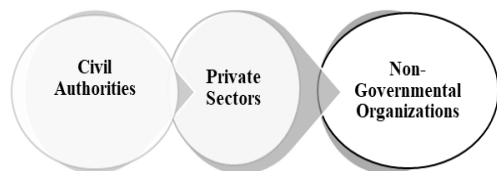
Furthermore, the DWP asserts that people's participation in HANRUH is a new expression, more modern and forward-thinking when compared to the NDP's HANRUH approach [19]. As previously stated, the uncertainty of HANRUH's approach in the NDP has spurred the government's efforts to establish DWP as a mechanism for organised community engagement and understanding of their obligations and tasks as 'people in defence'.

People in Defence are classified as civil society, which includes individuals from various religious, racial, and ethnic origins, as well as public servants, private servants, non-governmental organisations, and others. While civil servants in defence are those who are actively involved in the national defence system, such as the permanent troops in the Malaysian Armed forces (MAF) consist of three services which are the Malaysian Army, the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) and the Royal Malaysian Air Force (RMAF). Others involvement like Territorial Army or Askar Wataniah (AW), MAF Veteran dan also civil servants in the Ministry of Defence [20].

The discussion about the citizens as the second pillar of national defence is complementary towards strengthening comprehensive defence principles in which the citizens and civil servants in defence work together to safeguard the nation. It also demonstrates that the notion of comprehensive defence promotes the implementation of HANRUH's strategy, which encompasses all areas of statehood, spiritual, physical, and material. DWP also has

created three ideas to enhance people's efforts and participation in HANRUH's strategy, as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 3.1: A Plan to Enhance Public Participation in HANRUH



The three organisations listed above each play a unique role in bolstering HANRUH implementation. Initially, they are responsible for supplying different services such as transportation, logistics, communication, emergency supplies, and others for the people's survival through public authorities. Second, the private sector contributes to government support by offering knowledge and services in certain sectors. They should also promote and urge their workers to join the volunteer forces (AW) in response to the government's demand for HANRUH implementation. Finally, non-governmental groups may help the country by conducting an awareness campaign regarding national defence and security, as well as being actively involved in preparing for any future disaster and emergency [21]. The government hopes that the HANRUH procedure will assist MAF over time and in ensuring that there is no severe threat to national security [22]. The government has also adopted a collaborative and integrated effort to guarantee that the HANRUH implementation process is robust and intact, as evidenced by the following examples:

- a) Introducing the National Service Training Program (PLKN) for Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) graduates.
- b) Encouraging students from various Public Institutions of Higher Education (IPTA) that interested to join the Reserve Officer Training Unit (ROTU) or known as PALAPES [23].
- c) Instilling patriotism and love for the nation to the citizens by encouraging them to join the Territorial Army (TA) as volunteers.
- d) Create the Malaysian Volunteer Department (RELA) as an organisation in charge of local security.

#### 4. Civil Preparedness in HANRUH: A Contribution

The roles and responsibilities of the three organisations described correspond with Janowitz [24] argument which emphasises that the army and the people cannot be separated since the army provides good hope to

the people as guardians and saviours. While the people will be able to better grasp all that happens in the military sector, they will be able to accept the matter with an open heart in the end. Schiff [25] concurred on the same idea, claiming that citizen participation in the national defence system is a critical necessity for balancing civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) inside a country while offering to protect the nation when their services are required. Finally, Micewski [26] argues that involvement of people in the national defence system is critical and not an isolated issue that is regarded minor and ineffective. This is because people and the army are both part of the same social structure and should rely on one another.

Parsons [27] like Janowitz [28], asserts that the relationship between the people and the military is a social phenomenon that cannot be isolated in a state system due to the interdependence between the two - both with other sub-socials such as families, associations, political parties, non-governmental organisations, and so on. He argued that the armed forces are a subsystem in the "social system" that adds to the value of the fundamental structure of security, and that as a result, the people have the right to attain the most essential aim, which is the system's guarantee of security. People enjoy a sense of self-sufficiency as a result of the assurance of safety since they are constantly safe, secure, and shielded from any external threats.

Yet, it should be noted that the 'sufficient feeling' would have a detrimental influence on the country, particularly in terms of security and defence. If the people believe that they are always satisfied with what the armed forces contribute to preserving the country's sovereignty and fully release the responsibility to them (the military) without doing anything, they are mistaken. It is the duty and responsibility of the people to also stand up together to preserve security and defend the country's sovereignty. It is a reasonable thing to do because, according to Parsons' sociological theory, the country is categorised as a 'system,' and the people are categorised as a 'function,' that performs the duties of a citizen in the process of socialisation (voting, paying taxes, etc.), which aims to guarantee stability and security against other categories known as 'structure,' ie government, police, judiciary, military, and so on [29]. As a result, there is a clear interdependence between function (people) and structure (government) in strengthening a nation system of stability and security.

As a result, when looking at the situation in Malaysia, there is no conflict between the 'functional and structural' relationship, i.e. the people and the army, because the slogan '*tentera dan rakyat berpisah tiada*' is frequently chanted to give all Malaysians the basic impression that Malaysia is still in a state of peace and prosperity, free of threats and unrest. It is more than just a rhetorical term; it is demonstrated by MAFs' involvement and service in assisting Malaysians in 'peaceful times,' such as assisting victims of natural catastrophes [30], and developing infrastructure of facilities, such as building bridges in remote regions [31], perform the 'jiwa murni' programme,

which involves getting closer to the people by cleaning village areas, welfare homes, the elderly, orphans, and so on [32].

All of these contributions are in reality outside of MAF basic tasks and obligations, which are to serve as a shield for the country's defence and security. So, what is Malaysians' contribution to MAF and national defence? If MAF can do activities outside of their normal duties, are Malaysians capable of defending the country's sovereignty ie to battle the country's enemies in a 'war scenario'? Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad [33] has asserted in his speech:

*Oleh itu adalah wajar kita memiliki semangat cintakan negara sendiri. Semangat inilah yang dahulu menghancurkan Malayan Union dan membawa kepada kemerdekaan. Oleh itu semangat kebangsaan, patriotisme mestilah disanjung tinggi oleh rakyat, supaya kita terus sanggup mempertahankan negara kita ini dari semua jenis serangan, yang bersenjata atau yang tidak, dan kita sentiasa bersyukur dengan perlindungan yang didapati dariNya.*

The speech above clearly implies that maintaining national sovereignty is a 'collective responsibility' for all Malaysian citizens, regardless of religion, colour, political philosophy, or other distinctions. It is similar to a spicy food that is simple to chew and swallow but is extremely uncomfortable once it has passed through the throat and into the stomach. The parable illustrates how simple it is to say that all Malaysians must work together to protect the country's sovereignty, but in fact, there are several challenges, limits, and hurdles that must be overcome in order to encourage citizen involvement in the national defence system. Yet, every problem requires a solution.

Although the concept of HANRUH is included in the broad scope of 'total defence,' which encompasses all aspects of national defence and security, the technical aspects, procedures, and strengthening of the defence system are the duties and responsibilities of the Malaysian government, who are aided in this by MAF. Meanwhile, the people play a part in supporting the desire by raising national security awareness to the maximum degree and enhancing the value of patriotism and togetherness among diverse nations. This is due to the fact that a country's successes and failures are determined by its people's unity, perseverance, and strength in confronting all difficulties and dangers to the country [34].

Yet, historical facts are never inaccurate in documenting numerous examples of Malaysians' efforts and contributions to the national defence system. History has passed and will not return, but how current generation recognises the value of previous generations' struggles is considered very important to be emphasised and paid attention to, so that they will emulate every contribution of previous generations in serving the country. According to Malaysian history, the role of the citizens as "voluntary forces" in protecting the country has existed since before Malaya's

independence. In 1921, the British colonialists established three volunteer forces: *the Federated Malay States Volunteer Force (FMSVF)* for the Federated Malay States, *the Unfederated Malay States Volunteer Force (UMSVF)* for the Unfederated Malay States, and *the Straits Settlement Volunteer Force (SSVF)* for the Straits Settlements [35]. According to Yang Soo Siang [36], from a technical point of view, the manifestation of HANRUH through reserve or voluntary forces has existed for a long time since the British colonial era, where most of the individuals involved are not regular soldiers, but are recruited and trained like regular soldiers and are always ready to be mobilised when needed to help the British control the country's security and peace.

As an evidence, during the Japanese invasion of Malaya in 1941, the volunteer army was dispatched to serve and battle alongside the regular soldiers. As a result of the invasion, several officers from the volunteer forces were sentenced to death by the Japanese army on February 28, 1942, including Captain Raja Aman Shah bin Raja Harun (FMSVF), Lieutenant Abbas bin Said (SSVF), Lieutenant Abu Bakar bin Umar (SSVF), and Lieutenant Usman bin Kering (SSVF) [37]. Some historical records show that there were roughly 39 volunteer members who died during the battle against the Japanese invasion [38]. Their 'national hero' services and sacrifices are still acknowledged and respected despite their status as voluntary army.

Following the events of the Japanese invasion and withdraw in Malaya, as well as the end of the World War II in 1945, the situation in Malaya remained unchanged, with a continuous state of emergency coupled with the latest threat from the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), resulting in chaos. As a result, during the first phase of Malaya's state of emergency, up to a thousand volunteer members formed a squad known as the '*Home Guard*,' which is a local control unit that strives to resist communist terrorists [39]. The force was dissolved in 1958, a year after Malaya's independence, when there were fewer threats and the security situation began to improve. It is apparent that the 'Home Guard' force was the second trigger in attracting people's interest in joining the volunteer forces, following the foundation of the first voluntary forces. This is because, on June 1, 1958, the Malayan government decided to reform the structure of the volunteer army by forming an organisation known as Askar Wataniah (AW) in line with the legislation and the national constitution. The foundation of the AW permitted the writing of various associated legislation, including the 'Territorial Army (TA) Ordinance' 1958, the 'Terms of Service Regulations' 1959, and the 'Pay and Allowances Rules' 1959 [40]. The statute is still in effect today, notwithstanding the adoption of a new act, the Military Forces Act 1972.

## **5. A Critical Evaluation On Civil Preparedness in HANRUH**

The fundamental issue with HANRUH is that its implementation procedure is not well understood among Malaysians, and others are utterly unaware of the idea. This

is due to the fact that its execution is still ambiguous and has no place in the public awareness. According to Faisol Keling et. al [41], this HANRUH approach is only known to the military and is confined to a few government entities in terms of applicability. In fact, citizens and commercial groups are unaware of their actual involvement in national defence through HANRUH’s manifestation.

The similar thing happened in Malaysia in 2004, when the Program Latihan Khidmat Negara (PLKN) was established for Malaysian nationals, particularly 18-year-old youths who had passed the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM). The PLKN programme is essentially the same as national service in Singapore. Very minor distinctions exist in terms of time period, gender credentials, military training, and future training efficacy [42]. Both projects adhere to the government’s recommendations in order to realise the desire to adopt the entire defence concept for Singapore and the HANRUH concept for Malaysia. Unfortunately, the PLKN initiative did not persist long due to a variety of impediments that were eventually removed in 2008. Based on the current scenario, there is a recent suggestion to re-establish the national service programme, or PLKN, which is considered as having the ability to boost HANRUH implementation. Nevertheless, the restoration of PLKN must be fine-tuned as much as possible by the government by strengthening specific standards and circumstances to avoid adverse views that believe the programme to be mere rhetoric and a weapon for political survival by certain parties.

As a consequence of these issues, the PLKN Program, which was presented in 2004, was not well accepted by the public, as well as the demand of a few parents who asked to postpone their children’s participation in PLKN. Even more tragically, the Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM) investigated 3,892 participants who declined to join the PLKN in 2010, demonstrating the people’s lack of dedication and sincerity towards national defence concerns [43]. The following statistical facts demonstrate the validity of the fact:

**Table 5.1:** Overall Numbers of PLKN Trainees by Gender from 2015 to 2018

| Num. | Series         | Men        |             | Women      |             |
|------|----------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
|      |                | Invitation | Report Duty | Invitation | Report Duty |
| 1.   | Series 12/2015 | 24,518     | 17,720      | 20,082     | 15,023      |
| 2.   | Series 13/2016 | 14,046     | 10,231      | 13,972     | 10,436      |
| 3.   | Series 14/2017 | 15,662     | 10,387      | 14,338     | 9,615       |
| 4.   | Series 15/2018 | 16,766     | 10,155      | 18,890     | 10,720      |

The statistical data shown above demonstrates a reduction in the number of male and female trainees reporting themselves in each series by year in the structured

PLKN programme. This has an effect on the voluntary participation of a few persons in the national defence system. There is a statistic shows a decline in the recruitment and admission of voluntary soldiers in the Territorial Army (AW) for men and women in 2017 and 2018, as seen in the table below:

**Table 5.2:** Statistical Data on Volunteer Army Recruitment by Gender and Teams in 2017-2018

| Num.         | Teams               | 2017         |              | 2018         |              |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|              |                     | Men          | Women        | Men          | Women        |
| 1            | Rejimen Siri 500 AW | 4,188        | 2,100        | 2,638        | 2,047        |
| 2            | Unit-unit Kor AW    | 239          | 148          | 225          | 393          |
| 3            | Rejimen Pakar AW    | 283          | 32           | 138          | 9            |
| <b>Total</b> |                     | <b>4,710</b> | <b>2,280</b> | <b>3,001</b> | <b>2,449</b> |

Sumber: Tentera Darat Malaysia, Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia.

The table above shows that there is a reduction in overall Malaysian participation in the Territorial Army in 2018 compared to 2017. According to Ahmad Nadzri [44], this is one of the weakness in the area of advertising and marketing that government agencies should address seriously, given that the HANRUH’s concept demands the participation among all Malaysian citizens. Logically, if an individual conducts charity work to help people in need and requires assistance from other parties, he should improve his strategy by publicizing his charity work so that others are convinced and will finally do charitable welfare together.

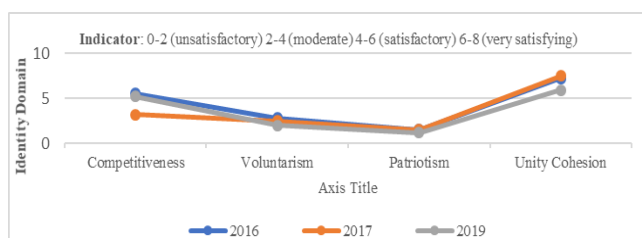
Therefore, civil preparedness via HANRUH can only be realised with the active participation of the Territorial Army (TA), PALAPES, who undergo proper military training from MAF. With the exception of security personnel or other uniformed bodies, this matter is evaluated in the context of ‘civilians’ who are referred to as ‘semi-civilian’ and ‘semi-military’. Their involvement can be classified as collective participation since they share the same objectives, motivations, and displays of identity that are always ready to be mobilised when the country’s sovereignty is threatened. Despite they are not being among the ‘best’ for defending the country, it can be considered as one of the proper mechanism in implementing HANRUH’s principle as argued by Yang Soo Siang [45]:

*The Malaysian Reserve Forces epitomize HANRUH’s relevance in supporting the needs of national defence. Volunteers are willing participants, enlisting without coercion or legal compulsion. They are recruited with little fanfare and most of the time, ending their service with little fanfare too; not accorded the full privileges of the regulars, but are expected to be at par with the regulars in matters pertaining to military competency. They are often unappreciated or misunderstood, most fade away*

with not even a simple service medal to show for, after many years of loyal service. Most are relentlessly driven by duty and selfless dedication to the King and country.

Nonetheless, volunteer army continue to do their utmost to accomplish HANRUH's principle. Efforts and contributions from earlier generations have occurred and will continue, despite the hurdles that may prohibit individuals from participating in HANRUH. At the very least, the country does not lack of individuals and groups that value peace and willing to sacrifice to protect their cherished nation. The government will keep on advocating for improvements in the national defence policy. Yet, there's also a part in which people's participation is relatively weak as a result of social changes that lead the concept of HANRUH to be less absorbed and understood appropriately. A research undertaken by the Malaysian Youth Development Research Institute (IYRES) backs up the claim, as indicated in the graph below:

Table 5.3: Achievements in the Youth Identity Domain and Four Key Indicators in 2015-2019



Source: Modified by Researcher Based on Malaysian Youth Index Study (IBM).

From the graph above it reveals that the 'youth' who are the assets of the next generation of the country are suffering the problem of identity degradation in terms of domain of 'patriotism' and 'voluntarism'. This is a cause for concern, and it must be taken seriously, because the youth are the nation's future hope generation. The results of a three-year study indicate the fluctuations of Malaysian youth's 'identity' in the two domains listed. The major focus is on patriotism and voluntarism, which are at a moderate and unsatisfactory level, because these domains are critical in terms of involvement in the national defence system. The index also defines the 'patriotism' indicator, which refers to a 'strong feeling of affection for the country'. While the 'voluntarism' domain refers to a person's desire and readiness to perform a task without expecting anything in return [46].

## 6. Conclusion

The implementation of the civil preparedness in HANRUH demands multiple decisive measures in the form of sacrifice, national unity, ongoing efforts, and support from diverse parties, all of whom should have a very high

spirit of patriotism. Without the stated initiative, and without any development and change in its execution, Malaysia would crumble and be vulnerable to numerous threats from the adversary, who constantly exploit these weaknesses. The efforts to strengthen public preparedness in the national defence system through HANRUH should be reinforced through numerous reforms, given that some Malaysians have a strong feeling of nationhood and a patriotic spirit, and willing to make sacrifices to protect the country's sovereignty. It is believed that the initiative would motivate some others who are less enthusiastic yet do not reach significant patriotism ideals to also collaborate to preserve the sovereignty of their beloved country.

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