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The influence of Islam in the military: comparative study of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan

Khairan, Ab Razak bin Mohd

Monterey California. Naval Postgraduate School

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THESIS

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM IN THE MILITARY; COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MALAYSIA, INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN

by

Ab Razak bin Mohd Khairan

March 2004

Thesis Advisor: Gaye Christoffersen
Thesis Co-Advisor: Seyyed Vali R. Nasr

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THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM IN THE MILITARY; COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MALAYSIA, INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN

Ab Razak bin Mohd Khairan
Lieutenant Colonel, Royal Malaysian Air Force
Advance Diploma, Malaysian Defense College, 2001

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March 2004**

Author: Ab Razak bin Mohd Khairan

Approved by: Gaye Christoffersen
Thesis Advisor

Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr
Thesis Co-Advisor

James J. Wirtz
Chairman, Department of National Security Affairs

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ABSTRACT

Islam permeated throughout the military institutions of Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia and replaced the Western and foreign military cultures the military had inherited due to society becoming Islamized following the revival of Islam.

The implementation of true Islamic model practices and values differ slightly from country to country depending first on the level of piousness of its existing military personnel, new personnel input and the military leadership. The second factor is the degree of motivational drive of the head of state in encouraging Islam. Islamized military institutions are also faced with the challenges created as a result of sects and schools that emerge in the form of Islamic parties and extremist groups.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Malaysian, Indonesian and Pakistani military had inherited foreign military culture since its inception but some of those cultures have been replaced by Islamic values when Islam influences the military institution.

Western scholars presume that Islamization of a military institution can endanger political stability in those countries On the other hand; Islamic scholars argue that adopting Islamic culture in the military is part of the individual's right.

This thesis will argue that true Islamic teachings and practices in military affairs can bring about peace, solidarity and solve current Civil-Military Relations (CMR) problems. It is noted that the influence of Islam in the three countries has changed only the undesirable aspects of the inherited foreign culture while the good aspect of the foreign culture are still maintained.

The Islamic influence and Islamic practices in the military institution of the three countries differ slightly from the true Islamic model due to various reasons. The changes that had occurred in the military differ from country to country depending on two main factors. The first is the level of piousness of its existing military personnel, military leadership and new recruitment input. The second factor is the degree of motivational drive of the head of state in encouraging Islam. This thesis will examine the level of piousness of the military personnel before attempting to measure the level of Islamization of the institution. It is interesting to note that different type of Islamized military institution leads to different Civil-Military relationships.

This thesis will provide empirical evidence that 'guided Islamic influence' results in harmony in CMR in Malaysia, while uncoordinated Islamic influence in the Indonesian military has caused CMR to be rather more problematic. It is different in Pakistan because the excessive influence of Islam in the military has encouraged the generals to seize political power from civilians who disregard Islamic practices and become corrupt.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

A.   BACKGROUND

The influence of Islam has been spreading in the military of Islamic countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia in South East Asia and also in Pakistan in South Asia. Malaysia and Pakistan inherited the British military culture but some of those cultures have disappeared, and instead, Islamic values are being practiced. Similarly, Indonesia, an ex-Dutch colony before gaining independence, practices Islamic culture in the military.

This phenomenon is of concern to many westerners who perceive that such institutions can become aggressive[1] or sympathizers to Islamic extremist groups. The Islamization of a military institution is presumed to endanger political stability in those countries and indirectly affects world peace in general. They argue that these countries copied the prophet Muhammad's military model, which they assume is no longer applicable as well as outdated.

On the other hand, Islamic scholars argue that adopting Islamic culture in the military is part of the individual's right. This thesis will argue that true Islamic teachings and practices in military affairs can bring about peace, solidarity and solve current Civil-Military Relations (CMR) problems. Islamic teachings and ideology were the main focus when the first Islamic military was formed. The deviationists also have extremist ideology claims to be Islamic.[2] However, they see non-Muslims as rivals and it is these groups that ruin the good name of Islam. True Islam does not separate religion from politics nor does it isolate the military from religion.

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[1] Afif A Tabbarah, "The War System in Islam." *Sword of Allah*. [http://www.swordofallah.com/html/bookchapter18page1.htm], Accessed 20 June 2003. Afif A. Tabbarah said that some scholars claim that Islam is a 'military religion' and that it spreads only with the might of the sword. For example, McDonald who wrote the "Encyclopedia of Islam," says that, "Spreading the teachings of Islam with the might of the sword, is the religious duty of every Moslem." According to Afif this is not true.

[2] Bukhari and Muslim, "*Kumpulan Hasis Nabi Muhammad* (Title translation; Collection of Prophet Muhammad's Al-Hadith) KL Pustaka Press, 1996. Among the Prophet Muhammad 's saying regarding this matter are, "The Jews are divided into 71 sects and the Christians divided into 72 sects. My ummah (Islam) will be divided into 73 different sects, all of which will be in the fire (hell) except those who follow what I and my companions do." Basically what the prophet meant is those who follow the Qur'an and his exact teachings. Anything outside his teachings are called 'bidaah' (not prophet's practices) and treated as false. The deviationist is actually practicing the wrong Islam.

The influence of Islam in the three countries to be studied has changed only in the undesirable aspects of the inherited foreign culture while the good aspects of western culture have been maintained. How Islam is actually practiced in the military of the three countries under study differs slightly from the true Islamic model due to various reasons. Islamic influence also varies between countries. The changes that had occurred in the military differ from country to country depending on two main factors. The first is the level of piousness of its existing military personnel, military leadership and new recruitment input. The second factor is the degree of motivational drive of the head of state in encouraging Islam.

This thesis will provide empirical evidence that 'guided Islamic influence' results in harmony in CMR in Malaysia, while uncoordinated Islamic influence in the Indonesian military has caused CMR to be rather more problematic. It is different in Pakistan because the excessive influence of Islam in the military has encouraged the generals to seize political power from civilians who disregard Islamic practices and become corrupt.

B. OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The thesis will reveal areas of similarities and areas of difference between Islamic cultures and existing western military cultures. How Islam permeates and replaces some of the inherited western military traditions in Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan will be examined. Changes resulting from Islam to the military of the three countries to be studied will be highlighted and compared with the early Islamic model taught by the Prophet Muhammad.

The resurgence of Islamic awareness in military institution leads to the question 'Is this phenomena dangerous and does it threaten CMR that the West promotes in these three countries?' This thesis will show that a true Islamized military does not cause conflict in CMR if the civil institution shares the same values.

Finally, this thesis will recommend ways the military and government may use Islam to manage its CMR. Government leadership must not allow the influence of Islam

to be too extreme or allow itself to deviate from Islamic teachings because military generals may use Islam as an excuse to topple the civilian government as has been seen in the case of Pakistan.

C.   IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

Many western scholars think that Islam is related to extremist and terrorist groups. All its followers are aggressive in nature and militant. Modern scholars argue that religion must be separated from the military institution. Islam is only allowed to remain as an individual belief. Religion is regarded as causing an institution to move backwards. There are some Islamic leaders who share this opinion. Hence, they prefer to ignore or discourage the practice of Islam in the military because they do not understand true Islam. Some leaders perceive that the Islamization of the military will do more harm than good. This thesis will counter this argument and clarify the misconception as well as correct the misconception.

This thesis will explain true Islamic teachings and practices relating to the military. The experiences of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan may promote better understanding of the culture of a newly Islamized military. The correct understanding of Islam by non-Muslims can lead to better interaction and relationships for international missions in present post-modern military commitments such as in peacekeeping operations.

The resurgence of Islam in society inevitably will permeate into the military. This thesis will try to put forward a hypothesis that a "true Islamized military institution may lead to better Civil Military Relations." This thesis can be useful to the military leaders of other countries who are facing similar challenges due to the influence of Islam in their military. They may use the lessons learnt from this thesis as an alternative to solving their military problems.

D.   METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study employs the comparative method[3] using the three countries of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan to examine the influence of Islam in the military. Aspects of the modern military from secondary sources such as literature, books, and articles will be referred to and compared with that of Islamic teachings. Political and social scientist works such as that of Michael Desch, Huntington, Moskos, Williams, and Segal relating to the topic, will also be quoted and examined. Discussions and views of military personnel, experts in religious matters and experts in CMR studies are also quoted. This thesis will initially trace the theory of ideology, and in particular Islam religion, in military affairs and then ascertain what the western social and political scientists have said.

This thesis is limited to only three countries because of length and time constraints. Pakistan is selected because it is a non-Arabic Islamic country closer to South East Asia. Its military inherited the British colonial tradition and practiced Islam earlier than did Malaysia. The country's CMR seem to be in conflict because it is basically under military rule.[4] On the other hand, Malaysia is an ex-British colony. The influence of Islam permeates its military but its CMR looks harmonious and differs from Pakistan. Interestingly, the military in Indonesia, Malaysia's neighbor possessing the largest Muslim population, is only mildly influenced by Islam in its military although Islam first started in Indonesia before spreading to Malaysia.

E.   SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II-IV

1.   Chapter II

This thesis starts by first explaining ideology, religion and beliefs in the military. Ideology, such as communism and nationalism, had been used to influence the military to be obedient to the political master throughout history. The western views regarding the

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[3] Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and Comparative Method," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXV, No. 3, pp. 682-683, September 1977. Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Method for Student of Political Science,* pp. 50-77, Cornell University Press, London, 1997. Wayne C. Both, Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams, *The Craft of Research,* pp. 29-144, 1995,University of Chicago Press; London,.

[4] Discussion between Professor Thomas Bruneau, National Security Affairs Department, Naval Postgraduate School and the author, 26 September 2003. In his opinion, Pakistan is a military rule under Zulfikar, Zia and Musharraf and the military is not subordinate to civilian control. Similarly, Indonesia under Suharto's rule is technically a military rule.

military and some theories relating to CMR have some similarities and differences with Islamic military characteristics and culture. Past and present western military culture is explained highlighting some good and bad aspects. Today, western countries encounter problems in their CMR. As the military developed into a modern professional army, civilian leaders worry about military coups and friction, hence, political scientists try to discover how the military can be obedient to civil control.

The source of Islamic teachings comes from the Qur'an and examples shown by the prophet Muhammad are called the 'sunnah.' Islamic teachings were widely applied when the first Islamic military was formed. Islam has its own perspective concerning war and the military. True Islam does not separate religion from politics nor does it isolate the military from religion. The Islamic military has two roles. The first is to defend society and the second is to act as a deterrent to potential aggressors. The military is not meant for territorial conquests or to force others to change their religion. Islam respects others whatever their religion may be if they possess good morals and believe in peace and justice.

Islam as an ideology, beliefs and also as a religion that originated from the creator of mankind is able to solve the CMR problem. Islam is a way of life and the teachings also cover the military affairs of which most people are ignorant.

The Islamic military model emphasizes that its military must be subordinate to and under the control of the civilian head of state. This is similar to the modern concept preached by democratic countries that the 'military has to be subordinate to civilian control.' According to the Islamic military model, the 'Islamic head of state' must have military skills and can actively participate in the battle. A modern democratic civilian politician who is the military supreme commander is a true civilian possessing little knowledge and experience as a combatant military, yet they want absolute control of the military.

The early Islamic military was mostly a 'citizen army' rather than a regular army. They had strict war etiquette similar to today's war conventions. Their culture, morals and traits were those of Islamic teachings. They were brave fighters and their families did

not regret it if they died while in battle. They looked forward to being a martyr but did not use 'suicide bomber tactics.' Muslim women have also played a supporting role in the battlefield.

However, Islam as a religion is not free from issues such as sects and different schools of thought. These problems lead to the various categories of Muslim followers existing in the militaries of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan. After 1,400 years had past since Islam was founded, the issue of Islamic sects and schools has caused differences in ideology. There are many deviationist groups which adopt extremist ideology but claim to be Islamic.[5] The latter sees non-Muslims as rivals. Deviationists are the group that ruins the good name of Islam. A writer by the name of Mai Yamani[6] has categorized Muslims into four groups in term of their acceptance of politics and modernity. Her work is quoted in this chapter and later compared with other views in order to obtain a common understanding of the level of piousness of military personnel.

2.   **Chapter III**

This chapter exposes the readers to the modern militaries of Indonesia, Pakistan and Malaysia and how they were influenced by the colonial powers in the early 20th century. It inherited the good and bad of western and foreign military cultures. Today, the modern militaries in the West had rid themselves of all the undesirable cultural influences when their military institutions become professional. On the other hand, undesirable western culture in the three countries under study was replaced by Islamic values when their militaries came under the influence of Islam.

Islam came to Indonesia, Pakistan and Malaysia to convert the civil society. The level of piousness in society was not that strong until lately. With the revival of Islam in the Middle East, the local preachers became motivated to revitalize their society to become true Muslims. Each country follows a slightly difference path in adapting Islam

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[5] Dr Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meaning of Shahih Al-Bukhari, Arabic-English,* Vol 1 Dar AHYA Us-Sunnah, Al Nabawiya, 1998. The book reveals that deviationist groups do exist in every generation and time.

[6] Mai Yamani, *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia,* p. 118, London, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000. She describes the various categories of Muslims found in Saudi Arabia. The categories can also be applied to other Islamic countries.

in society. In Indonesia, President Suharto first supported 'abangan'[7] Muslims and toward the end supported the 'Santri.'[8] It was slightly different for Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad of Malaysia. He consistently emphasized moderate Islam and blocked Islamic extremist ideology. Pakistani leadership during the administrations of

Presidents Zulfikar and Zia was strongly influence by orthodox Islam teachings because of their background and education. Both civilian and military leaderships played a role in encouraging Islam to spread throughout the military.

Other actors, such as top military leaders and the religious department within the military, also played their role in making the men in the military and the institutions accept the true Islamic teachings. The changes made by Islamic influence can be seen first in the military personnel. Then, personal religious practices became the institutional norms when the majority of the personnel as a group accepted the Islamic cultures. All the 'haram'[9] activities, such as gambling, consuming liquor and womanizing, were prohibited in the military. Religious practices, such as readings of 'doa'[10] during official functions, allowing time for Friday prayers, encouraging the attendance of religious lectures are examples of Islamic cultural practices in some of the militaries. Special religious corps similar to the Chaplain in the United States (U.S.) military was established to take care of religious matters in the militaries of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan.

3. Chapter IV

Chapter IV proceeds to categorize the Muslim personnel in the militaries of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Pakistan. The level to which the institution has been Islamized is studied and compared. The terms mild, moderate, strong and full Islamization is used to differentiate the levels of Islamization.

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[7] 'Abangan' is an Indonesian term for nominal Muslim, which comprises the Javanese who are Islam but still practice Hindu traditions.

[8] 'Santri' is an Indonesian term referring to a Muslim who practices orthodox or fundamental Islamic teachings.

[9] 'Haram' is an Arabic term for activity that is sinful. Those who commit it is punishable under the 'Shariah' law.

[10] 'Doa' is an Arabic word. It means reciting verses from Qur'an to obtain God's blessing or it can be a request for help from Allah in any language.

In the Malaysian case, moderate Islamic ideology embedded in military institutions has contributed to the prolonged civil control over the military. Most military personnel in Malaysia fall into the category of moderate Muslims. The role of Prime Minister Mahathir to promote Islam in the military as well as in his government institutions is prominent.

Indonesia has a mild Islamic influence in their military institutions. Islam functions as a personal belief system only. Politicians were not actively involved in encouraging Islam in the military institution when compared to Malaysia and Pakistan. Some resistance exists within the military faction 'red and white army' that is anti-Islam. The military institution remains secular although at one time Abdurrahman Wahid, a devoted Islam, became the President. The majority within the society was seen as secular Islamist. A small group within the society became Islamic extremists and has been responsible for the terrorism acts in the country. The military 'green army faction' is accused of supporting the leftist Muslims. The Indonesian CMR faces some problems as a result of its military being stripped of its long-time political involvement.

In the case of Pakistan, widespread influence of Islam in society and the military has brought about a growing popularity of the military. Devoted Muslim military generals easily took over the government and forced Islamic values into military institutions. The strong Islamized military rule has resisted civil control when the civilians did not practice true Islam teachings. During the Zulfikar and Zia era, Islam in the military reached its peak but declined when President Musharraf showed interest in making Islam an individual religion and not Islamizing the institution.

Islamized military institutions in the three countries respond to civil control differently. Malaysia never had an ex-general as its Prime Minister. Indonesia had a long regime of ex-general Suharto on the throne as the President. Similarly the 'ex-general turned president' with a short civilian rule occurred in Pakistan. The military has some rights to vote in politics in moderate and strong Islamized military institutions such as Malaysia and Pakistan. However, Indonesia does not allow the military to vote in political general elections.

Military interaction with society is good when the military is Islamized. A few cases were seen when Islamized military institutions became involved with Islamic groups. Thus, normally when the military is supportive of the legitimate government, it disassociates itself from the extremist Islamic groups. However, a few military members decide to support these groups because of personal gains and interests.

There are many challenges faced by Islamized militaries today. The Government and military face difficulties in monitoring the few individuals who commit prohibited activities that may disgrace the reputation and integrity of the institution. Sometimes, top military leaders cannot get along with the political master due to differences in opinions. The extremist ideology such as from Osama's Al-Qaeda group and the Jama'at Islamiyah (JI) can also make its way to individual soldiers or retired military personnel. Controlling mechanisms such as the religious corps play an important role in stopping such influences. Western negative attitudes and international pressures may discourage individuals in the military from striving to become good Muslims and make their military institutions adopt the full Islamic military model.

4. **Chapter V**

Finally, Chapter V will present the hypothesis and link the Islamized military institutions to CMR. The argument will be that if both military and political institutions are Islamized or equally Islamic then, the chances of good CMR are even greater. This can be seen in the case of Malaysia. If the military is more Islamic than the civilian political master then, the CMR will be in conflict as in the case of Pakistan. It is observed that if both institutions have weak or mild Islamic ideologies as in the case of Indonesia, the CMR is inconsistence and relies on the influence on other independent variable factors. Some lessons learnt and recommendations will be highlighted. Control of the correct version of Islamic ideology is essential to avoid extremist infiltration into the true Islamized military culture.

Islam has spread into the military as a result of the resurgence of Islam occurring in society. It is observed that the government also plays some role in promoting and encouraging Islam as their own strategy to win over the military. Islam as an external force wanted to abolish the inherited undesirable western military culture with its own Islamic military culture.

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Some political scientists proposed that a 'principal-agent' relationship fosters good CMR. A better recommendation is a 'husband-wife' relationship where the civilian leader acts as the husband, the military as the wife and the society they protect as children. The happy family model taught by Islam can be applied to CMR. Some of the Islamic military culture can be adopted and practiced by other militaries without having to embrace Islam. On the other hand, an Islamized military should consider adapting to the other military cultures, structures and technology that do not contradict Islamic teachings.

II. PERSPECTIVE OF THE WEST AND ISLAM

A. INTRODUCTION

The military institution has been the focal point of social scientific study because this institution had been involved in coups or had triggered the breakdown of democracy. There are many theories that explain CMR but the theory that ideology can be used to keep the military subordinate to civilian control has not been widely studied by scholars. Interested parties such as politicians, religious clergy, military generals, and society can use ideology to influence the military institution and manipulate it to achieve their desired goal.

This chapter first discusses the theory of relating ideology, religion and the military. The beliefs of an individual are part and parcel of the individual. Understanding ideology helps in analyzing the behavior of the individual, and subsequently, the institution in which these people work. Earlier western militaries had used Christian religion to motivate their armies on a conquest and colonial expedition.

As the military developed into a modern force, western civilian politicians are worried about coups and question whether the military is obedient to civilians. Today, western countries encounter problems with their CMR. The frequent coups or friction with the military encourage political scientists to try to find answers to the pressing question on ways of establishing good relationships with the military.

This chapter will try to highlight how early Islam used Islam to control its military. Islamic ideology and beliefs influence not only the individual Muslim way of life but it transcends into the military institution. The Prophet Muhammad's Islamic Military system encompasses the military role, ways of command, cultures and values. However, today, some variations in Islamic practices occur due to misunderstanding Islam, and the non-standard teachings of the many sects and schools. The type of the Islamic generals and followers in the military determine how the military institution will be Islamized.

B.   THE WESTERN VIEWS CONCERNING THE MILITARY

1.   Ideology and Military

Ideology can be defined as

Any comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which social group make sense of the world. Catholicism, Islam, Liberalism and Marxism are examples.[11]

Ideology was extensively used in the military. Mao Zhe Dong instilled the communist ideology in its military. Officers learnt and had to adhere to communist ideology and practices. While the military maintained a strong communist ideology, it would not suffer a coup. Another example is the use of the ideology of nationalism to control the military. In 1952, Colonel Abdel Nasser of Egypt conducted a military coup to overthrow the corrupt monarchy. He was one of the most outstanding examples of a military member turned politician in a Muslim country.[12] He chose to nurture Arab Nationalistic ideology instead of Islamic religion in the military to keep the military under his control and was successful in keeping the military faithful to him. Prior to WWII, Hitler made the military pledge their loyalty to him[13] and systematically introduced his socialist ideology into the military. His charismatic speeches drove society and the military to support him. He put the ideology he wanted the Germans to have into their minds.

2.   Religion and the Military

The Oxford Dictionary of Politics says belief is also religion. Religion had been used to influence the behavior of the military personnel. Muthiah supported the notion that CMR are the outcome of the interaction of the interests, power and beliefs of civilian and military institutions.[14] When the majority of military personnel and the top leadership have similar religious beliefs, then the military institution will adopt the religious culture

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[11] Iain McLean, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics,* p. 233, Oxford University Press, 1996.

[12] Egypt History, *African net*, [http://www.africanet.com/africanet/country/egypt/history.htm], Accessed 31 July 2003.

[13] Joachim Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, The Story of the German Resistance, p. 225, NY Metropolitan Books, 1996.

[14] Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Coercion and Governance, The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia,* p. 5, Stanford University Press, California, 2001.

and traditions. The rights and wrongs will be decided based on the religious beliefs. Most people in the military have a religion, and therefore, the institution then adapts to the religion of the majority.

In the 18th century, the Spanish Army landed in Mexico and marched into California bringing their Christian priests. The military interacted closely with this clergy. The priest handled religious ceremonies such as funerals and also helped motivate and instill bravery in the soldiers. At that time, religion played an important role in the military.

Similarly, the British Army had recognized that religion could be used to control the way the military thinks. The origin of the Chaplain in the military is clear evidence that religion is important in the military and should not be separated. In today's situation, most military personnel in the West do not care about religion nor have such beliefs. Therefore, religion could not be effectively used to motivate these types of people. The government will have to call good religious ideology by other names, such as democracy, human rights, and universal worldviews in order to influence the military mindset to obey civil control.

3.   Western Theories on the Military

The reasons for forming the military are many. Today, every state has its own army because the state adopts the realist point of view. According to Morganthau, the human nature of the state distrusts other state forces as potential hegemony. Therefore, the state is inspired to seek its own power by building a military force to safeguard its national interests.[15]

Waltz had said, "Force is a mean of achieving the external ends of state because there exists no consistent, reliable process of reconciling the conflicts of interest that inevitably arise among similar units in a condition of anarchy."[16]

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[15] Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Strength for Power and Peace,* pp. 3-6, McGraw Hill, Inc., 1993.

[16] Robert O. Keohane ed., "Theory of World Politics, Structural Realism and Beyond," in Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics*, p. 165, Columbia University Press, New York, 1986.

Conventional scholars, such as Huntington, said that the modern military started in the early 19th century.[17] The modern military concept emerged in the West. Many social scientists present various theories on CMR after observing military institutional behavior that wants to take over leadership from civilians when the opportunity exists. Military as the state's leadership ideally must control a security apparatus of a state because problems will arise if the military runs on its own.

Muthiah said "CMR covers relationship of military with state, politics and civil societies."[18] The civil component of the term "civil" usually refers to the government, its political institution, bureaucratic, judicial and administrative institution, NGO, business community and society. Whereas the 'military' term is associated with the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Others would consider other uniformed security agencies such as the police, and paramilitary and intelligence sections as the military. However, in this thesis, they are excluded. The military organizations follow a certain set of western military traditions and culture in its everyday life. The term institution basically refers to "formal and informal … procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in an organization structure."[19]

4.   Past and Present Culture

I had the experience of being in a military institution that practiced the western military culture in the 1970s and 1980s. This military school then had a tradition in which the senior officer would bully and ragged the junior officers. Senior officers could ask the junior officers to shine their shoes, iron their uniforms, and massage their bodies. They would give corporal and group punishment if any one junior officer made a mistake. They liked to ridicule the junior officers as well as bully the junior officers. The uniform of military personnel did not comply with the Islamic dress regulation, which prohibits men from wearing shorts. Students at the military academy and training schools wore shorts.[20] The military must always say yes and obey orders blindly when given by their

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[17] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State,* p. 20, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1985.

[18] Ibid Alagappa, p. 5.

[19] Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and The Three New Institutionalism," *Political Studies 44*, pp. 936-937, 1996. in Seyyed Vali Nasr, *Islamic Leviathan, Islam and the Making of State Power,* p. 5, Oxford University Press, 2001.

[20] According to Islamic dress code, men are prohibited from wearing shorts that do not cover from the navel to below the knee.

senior officers and superiors. They never asked why, did everything first and then they could complain later. Although there is strict discipline, the senior officers started to smoke and consumed beer secretly copying their military officers and instructors at the academy. In the officer cadet school, the instructors were treated like kings and the cadets like slaves. It was never like the military environment in the United States of today where officers are gentlemen and the junior officers are treated respectably.

Some of the social life of the western military taught to the military of ex-colonial countries was the very opposite of Islamic culture. The ragging, harsh training and sometimes inhumane treatment were the norm then. For example, in the Malaysian flying school in the 1970s, flying students, although they had been commissioned, were treated as students and not officers. Senior flying students were allowed to rag the junior officers. For example, the culture of that time was that every Friday evening, students had to go to the bar and buy liquor for the instructors. Instructors forced students to consume liquor and beer until they were drunk. Although all the students are Muslim and knew that Islam prohibits the drinking of alcohol, they had to comply because the instructor threatened to 'chop'[21] the student for refusing to drink in front of them. Officers, especially junior officers, were forced to bring girlfriends, forced to sing and dance with the instructors or the senior officers' wives. The junior officers were forced to buy drinks for the senior officers. There were regular parties at which officers drank until drunk. When they were drunk, the senior officers would ask them to drive out of the camp and steal public items and bring them to the mess hall. Fights with civilians in the bars and nightclubs were routine affairs. Officers liked to womanize and gamble in the mess hall and it became a military culture. Most officers went broke; their checks bounced and racked up large debts because of this bad culture. Even the mess hall legalized gambling and called it 'tam bola'[22] in the 1970's and 1980's in the Malaysian military. This was some of the western culture or traditions copied from the colonial era based on my experience in the 1970's until the mid-1980

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[21] 'Chop' means that the instructor could fail the students and prevent him from becoming a pilot.

[22] To play the 'tam bola' game, it is necessary to buy a slip of paper that contained random numbers. The organizer rotates and draw numbers from the machine. He will announce the numbers one at a time and whoever has all the numbers appeared in his paper will called 'bingo' and win a sum of money.

The situation today has become better. Chapter III describes how the Malaysian military changed that culture. The younger generation joining the military in the 1990's and onward will not encounter such experiences. The top military leadership of the 1970's might smile when recalling these true episodes. A question to ponder, 'Are such cultures acceptable in the western military system today? My guess is a definite 'no'. These activities are no longer acceptable.

Discussions with other senior military personnel of Indonesia and Pakistan revealed that the aforementioned culture incidents in the Malaysian military also occurred in their countries during those periods. However, the situation has now changed. Exposure to the U.S. military establishment has provided a different perspective of today's western military culture. Those cultures mentioned above no longer are practiced in the West, and especially the United States. Although drinking and socializing are still present, they now occur only on a voluntary basis. It is good to know that the military also acknowledges that Drinking Under the Influence (DUI) is an offense, meaning that it is not encouraging officers to be drunk. Examples of good values and cultures are found in the U.S. military codes, such as the emphasis on integrity, service before self, sustained passion for excellence, honor, courage, commitment, loyalty, duty, and selfless service.[23] The same ethnics are also mentioned in the Qur'an and ''hadith'' showing that there are similarities in Islamic culture with modern western ethics. Most of the western military culture can easily be adapted by the military of the Islamic countries.

5.   Military Evolution and Changes

The military's prime role is to protect the country, to defend it from external attack or act as a deterrent. It normally has weapons and sophisticated aircraft, tanks and ships even if they will never be used. It should not destroy or prey on the society whose money constitutes its paycheck. Similarly, the government and its leaders are representatives of society, legitimately chosen to act in the interests of the society and earn a living from the society. Both have roles and responsibilities to be fulfilled.

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[23] Gerald Faber, Captain USN and other, *A Joint Ethical Code for Members of the United States Armed Forces,* Student's Project, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University, April 1997.

When discussing the military, it is necessary to know who controls and directs this military institution. The phrase 'military is subordinate to civilian control' refers to the military following the order of the highest civilian authority in the nation state. However, at times, the military is not always obedient to the political masters, and are waiting to become the leader of a state when the opportunity and circumstances present themselves.

If the politician minimizes the strength of the military to prevent the seizure of political power, then the country is vulnerable to external enemies. However, if society maximizes military strength, it can deter external threats, but risks a possible coup. This dilemma calls for a strategy of good civil-military relations so that the military can do what they are expected to do. The knowledge of the causes of a coup can provide a way to prevent it.

There are multiplicities of variables that may explain what causes military coups. Linz says the politicians.[24] Huntington relates that society is the cause;[25] while Stepan blames the social dynamic as the main cause.[26] Linz put forward a set of key concepts as a framework to explain the breakdown of democratic regimes. Linz argues that it is possible to observe that a coup may happen when legitimacy, efficacy and effectiveness cease to exist in the ruling regime. The concepts of opposition and who is somewhat loyal and disloyal also play a contributing factor to completing the process of the transfer of power to the military.

Huntington refers to "praetorian" or certain societies that do not agree with the rule of the game and each social sector desires to optimize its leverage. The military wants a coup, students participate in public demonstrations, unions go on strike and religious clergy become confrontational. Praetorian societies are in a state of instability due to the lack of institutions that can organize them politically. When the ruling

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[24] Juan J. Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Re-equilibrium,* pp. 20-58, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

[25] Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies,* pp. 40-62, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

[26] Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil,* pp. 57-66, Columbia University Press, 1991.

government cannot control the high degree of political involvement of these groups that have different political agendas, then the military is the institution that will enforce martial laws and become the mediating power because they have weapons.

Stepan describes the social dynamic or the moderating pattern of CMR, which can prevent a coup. When military officers are from the aristocracy, little tension will exist in terms of social values and material interest between politicians and the military. In the liberal model, a strong political elite keeps the military out of the politic sphere using strongly developed civilian institutions. In the communist model, the integration of the military and society is made possible by ensuring that the majority of the military officers are party members.[27] Control is achieved using indoctrination, surveillance and punishment to prevent a coup.

The model that Stepan claims to be the best is the professional model, where civil authorities acknowledge the advantage of a strong, professional and expert military force, but recognize that the military must be subordinate to civilians. The military is given autonomy within the military sphere and respect from civilians is demanded in return.

Desh developed the theory that civilians find it easier to control the military when a country faces predominantly external threats. On the other hand, civilian control weakens when a country faces a high internal threat. He argues that strong civilian control of the military and good civil-military relations are synonymous. He defined good relations as "civilian and military elites will always have diverging preferences, and good civil-military relations exist when civilian preferences prevail over the military ones". Desh argues that the main determinant of good civil-military relations is the nature and level of external and internal threats.[28]

Moskos and his associates adapt the idea of a modern military from Huntington. He elaborated that the modern military era ended in 1945, followed by the late modern military era until the end of the Cold War, and thereafter, the postmodern military begins. They feel that the modern military consists of conscript's armies defending the country against the invasion of other hegemony states. The modern armies are viewed as

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27 Ibid., p. 59.

28 Michael Desh, "Civilian Control of the Military," p. 20, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

professional officer's corps and are concerned with weapons of mass destruction. Finally, the postmodern armies are no longer concerned with aggression by others but also with more indeterminate threats.[29]

Postmodern militaries are characterized by major organizational changes in terms of the increasing permeability of civilian and military spheres. The differences in the armed services based on service branch in terms of combat and noncombatant roles, rank and branch have been reduced. Similarly, the military purpose for fighting wars has changed to non-traditional military missions. The military becomes internationalized with more extensive involvement as multinational military forces under supranational institution directions.

The model of a postmodern military involves eleven variables evolving from one stage to the other. The forces variables include Perceived Threat, Force Structure, Dominant Military Professional, Public Attitude towards the Military, Media Relations, Civilian Employees, the Role of Women, Spouses and the Military, Homosexuals in the Military and Conscientious Objection.[30]

6.   Military Reality

There are obviously tremendous changes in the structure and roles of the military and society in several different countries, which impact civil-military relations. The theoretical ideas of these social scientists become the basis of military philosophy today. Similarly, political masters of most countries take their cue from the western model of civilian control to safeguard their political survival.

Before proceeding further, it will be useful to outline the military structure of a modern western military. In terms of manpower that constitutes the military, the recruitment of the officer corps in a modern military is based on qualifications and physical criteria. There is no longer discrimination based on family background, ethnics, race, religion, and gender.

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[29] Moskos, "Postmodern Military," pp. 15-30, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

[30] Ibid., p. 15.

Most countries have conscript military organizations. Others engage volunteer regular armies. Military training has evolved into a professional system in which military indoctrination is given and the core business taught. Tactics, strategy, safety, operational risks, and the use of the state-of the-art weapons and arsenals are emphasized. Aspects such as bravery, espirit de corp. and discipline are emphasized as good moral values, but are not associated with the teaching of any particular religion. Emphasis on human rights and freedom is practiced widely. They are indoctrinated with nationalistic aspirations to defend democracy.

Modern military leaderships are not focused on and do not emphasize religion and spiritual matters. They leave the freedom of religion to the individual soldier as a private matter. However, the chaplain in the military is available to handle religious matters for the soldier.

Professional Military Education and Training creates the desired military leadership that is intelligent and possesses the 'officer and gentlemen' attribute. The military as an elite institution has its culture and traditions. This culture is synonymous with the military but sometimes it is undesirable. The issues of gays, women in a combatant role, gambling, prostitution, getting drunk, take drugs, fighting in a nightclub and pubs paint a bad image of the military institution. The rights of individuals prevail, but what is morally right and wrong has lost its value in the new generation of military.

In terms of political involvement, the right to vote is given to the military. The military professional's core business is assessing the security risk while the political masters judge it. Society depends very much on the military but they are not willing to die and defend national sovereignty themselves. The loss of a soldier's life is regretted by society and the blame always goes to the political leader, hence, sending the military into war is always a dilemma.

Western political and social scientists seem to place less emphasis on religion when discussing CMR. From the point of view of the Islamic scholar, religion is an important aspect of an individual who is Muslim and the institution to which they belong. Therefore, Islam and the military are related, which explains why Islam influences the military institutions in Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia.

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C.   ISLAM AND MILITARY

1.   Islam as a Religion

Islam as a religion and ideology tries to instill its teaching in its followers'. Islam's ideology says that man is created for a purpose, which is to live a life in accordance with Allah's way.[31] In Islam, the purpose of life is to worship Allah and follow His orders. Man is the highest creation of God because of his potential. He has relatively free will, action and choice. However, God determines and controls the outcome, failure or success according to his divine plan and wishes.

According to Islam's belief, man's thought and knowledge are limited, and can only predict the future with uncertainty based on past experiences and assumptions. He will not understand the invisible and intangibles issues such as the soul, the mind and what happens after death unless God teaches him. Without religion, a man's thoughts will be corrupted by his own animalistic desires and the evil of Satan.

> New-Islam[32] emerged in the 610 AD and it brings the last and final basic truth that God revealed through all his prophets; Abraham, Ishmael, Moses, Jesus to every people. A way of life symbolized by peace – peace with God, peace with oneself, and peace with the creation of God through submission to God and commitment to His guidance.[33]

God has shown mankind the right path in the form of his revealed religion and the life of the Prophet Muhammad provides the perfect example.[34] Muslims also refer to the life of the prophet Muhammad as a secondary source of guidance. Belief in the 'Sunnah'[35] is part of the Islamic faith.

The Qur'an prescribes freedom of conscience. The Qur'an is a complete record of the exact words revealed by God through the Angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad. It is the principle source of every Muslim's faith and practice. It deals with all subjects that

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[31] Dr. Saleh As-Saleh, *Whom Must We Worship,* Islamic Education Foundation, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 2003. (Brochure).

[32] 'New-Islam' is just a term coined by the author of a brochure titled "Discover Islam." He wants to indicate that the prophets before Muhammad also preach Islam but the name of those religions may differ due to language differences although the basic concept is the same.

[33] "Discover Islam," *The Reader No. E01*, Transcom International, Virginia, 1997. [http://www.discoverislam.com] Accessed 30 March 2003.

[34] "Islam at a Glance," World Assembly of Muslim Youth, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1984. (Brochure)

[35] 'Sunnah' is an Arabic word that mean - the practice and example of the Prophet Muhammad.

concern us as human beings, such as wisdom, doctrine, worship and law, but its basic theme is the relationship between God and His creatures. It provides guidelines for a just 1society, proper human conduct and equitable economic principles. The 'ulamas'[36] play a role in order to apply and interpret the law.

According to Islam, life on earth is like a farm, the harvest of which will be reaped in the next world.[37] The first life before death is as an examination a man undergoes. The death stage is similar to a rest period after the test. The Day of Judgment is the day the result is announced. The second life is the time when the examinee enjoys or suffers from the outcome of his behavior during the examination.[38]

Syura: 20 from the Qur'an encourage Muslims to do good deeds in this world as a savings for rewards in the hereafter.[39] Every Muslim is required to do as many good deeds as possible for life after death. He is not to neglect his responsibility in this world while working for the religion. There are only two rewards awaiting: Heaven and Hell.

Muslims believe in the One, Unique, Incomparable, Merciful God, the sole creator and sustainer of the universe, in the angels created by him, in the prophets through whom His revelations were brought to humankind, the day of judgment and in individual accountability for actions, in God's complete authority over destiny, be it good or bad; and in life after death. Muslims believe that God sent his messengers and prophets to all people and God's final message to humanity, a reconfirmation of the eternal message and a summing up of all that had gone before, was revealed to the last Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) through the Archangel Gabriel.

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[36] 'Ulama' is an Arabic word. It means the Muslim scholar who is well verse with content of Qur'an, Hadith and Islamic teachings.

[37] Fauzi M. Najjar, "Islam and Modern Democracy," *Review of Politics Volume.* 20, pp. 170-171. April 1958.

[38] Dr. Muhammad Ali Alkhuli, *The Need for Islam,* Islamic Education Foundation, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 2002. (Brochure)

[39] "Bicara Agama, Keseimbangan Dunia dan Akhirat (Translation: Islamic Column: This World and the Hereafter)," *Utusan Online,* 21 May 2003, [http://www.utusan.com/content.asp] Accessed 22 May 2003.

2.   The Military's Role – An Islamic Perspective

There are verses (v) in the Qur'an that tell the story of Solomon (Prophet Sulaiman) leading the first Islamized army.[40] He had a large army and had used it to spread the teachings of Allah. He had organized his army according to Allah's guidance and teachings. A second story quoted in the Qur'an is about Zulkarnain, a righteous Muslim king leading a large army bringing justice from East to West.[41] History has shown that the military in Islam is an important tool to bring justice to and control over certain types of man to be righteous. The head of an Islamic nation leads and controls the military. He acts as a military commander and is skillful in the art of war in addition to the politics of ruling the people.

The prophet Muhammad was the leader in prayers, a judge under the divine law, commander of the army and supreme leader of the community. In early Islam, religion, political and security was thoroughly integrated. Islamic law developed to encompass the complete life of an individual and a community.[42]

In 624 AD, the Prophet Muhammad was directed by Allah to defend the Muslims.[43] He acted as a commander and led 313 ill-equipped men, against the 1000 strong Mecca army. The first battle of Badr occurred in Ramadan during the 2nd Hijr, (624 AD) about 150 km southwest of Medina. The Arab death toll was 70 and 70 captive with only 14 Muslim martyrs. Against all odds, the Muslims won a victory.[44]

Islam permits fighting in self-defense, in defense of religion, or on the part of those who have been expelled forcibly from their homes. War is allowed to drive away aggression and in the cause of Allah it is the last resort for establishing peace. Islamic teaching prohibits expansionism, colonization, and dominance over other nations and other worldly intentions.

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[40] The Holy Qur'an, *English Translation of the Meaning and Commentary,* verse (27:18-19), Madinah: King Fahd Holy Qur'an Printing, 1411H.

[41] Ibid., Holy Qur'an, v. (18:83-98).

[42] Donald Eugene Smith, "Religion and Political Development" *The Little Brown Series in Comparative Politics*, Little Brown & Co., p. 266, 1970.

[43] Ibid., Afif A Tabbrah, p. 3.

[44] Lt Gen A.I. Akram, *The Sword of Allah -Khalid bin Al-Waleed*, Rwalpindi: Army Education Press, October 1969. Available on-line [http://www.swordofallah.com/front.htm], Accessed 15 May 2003. Ibid., Holy Qur'an, v. (3:13).

As Muslims see it, there will be much injustice in the world if good people were not prepared to risk their lives for the righteous cause. The responsibility of all-able bodied citizens to fight for the cause of God (Jihad) is clearly stated in the Qur'an. It is more as defense rather than conquest.[45]

> God says: Permission is granted to those who are being prosecuted since injustice has befallen them, and God is certainly able to support them. v.(22.39). You may fight in the cause of God against those who attack you, but do not aggress. God does not love the aggressors. v. (2:190)[46]

The misunderstood and overused term jihad literally means struggle and not necessarily a holy war. It is an Islamic concept that can be on a personal level, or an inner struggle against evil with oneself; struggle for decency and goodness on social level; struggle on the battlefield, if and when necessary.[47]

The accusation that Islam is spread by the sword is not true. Similarly, Islam encourages its followers to be friendly with others. The Qur'an verses that support this are as follows:

> There is no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clearly from falsehood; whoever rejects evil and believes in God has grasped the strongest rope that never breaks. And God is All-Hearing and All Knowing. v. (2:256)[48]

> God says: God does not enjoin you from befriending those who do not fight you because of religion, and do not force you from your homes. You may befriend them and be equitable towards them. God loves the equitable. v. (60.8)[49]

Military quo de tat never existed in the early Islamized military institutions because they had no reason to do so since the leaders were just and respected. However, if the ruler was unjust, it was the responsibility of Muslims to do whatever possible to change it.

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45 "The War System in Islam," *Submission Website,* [http://www.submission.org/war.html], Accessed 15 May 2003. Ibid., Holy Qur'an, v. (9:20).

46 Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, v.(22:39, 2:190).

47 "Discover Islam," *The Reader No. E01*, Transcom International, Virginia, 1997. [http://www.discoverislam.com] Accessed 30 March 2003.

48 Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, v. (2:256).

49 Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, v. (60:8).

The Prophet Muhammad said,

If you see a forbidden, reprehensible action, correct it with your hand. If you cannot, correct it with your tongue. If you cannot even do this, abhor it in your heart and this is the weakest degree of faith.[50]

3.   Military Control

The military in early Islam took commands from the prophet who was the head of state. The concept of "military is subordinate to civilian control" promoted by the West is also practiced in Islam. The military leaders were nominated by the prophets based on professionalism in warfare and the level of 'takwa.'[51] It is never based on favoritism, racial prejudice and family background. Saidina Ali, although very young, was nominated as a 'general' to lead a battle. On other occasions, Saidina Hamzah was asked to lead the war. The appointment of a battle commander or general was never permanent and the previous ex-General did not mind becoming normal warriors in another battle.[52] When wars ended, the military appointment was dissolved and all the ex-soldiers went back to do their normal routine jobs. The selection of military commanders is the prerogative of the prophet but on one occasion, when the military was given leeway to determine their battle commander, the Prophet said:

Zaid bin Harith is the Force commander, if he is killed then Jaafar bin Abi Thalib, then Abdullah bin Rawahan. If all three are killed, let the men select a commander from amongst themselves.[53]

Muslim military leaders do not receive special treatment in that they eat the same food, pray at the same place and sit among commoners. The welfare of the men is the utmost priority. The general practice of 'Mushawarah' is listening and considering the opinions and ideas of subordinates. Men are treated equally and justly.

Islam did cooperate with Non-Muslim forces. For example, in subsequent battles, the Prophet Mohammad had allowed non-Muslim tribes living in Medina to join and form an alliance to fight the enemy in order to protect the Medina government.

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[50] Ibid., Bukhari and Muslim.

[51] 'Takwa' is an Arabic word. It means the person is pious and practice Orthodox Islam.

[52] As an example, Khalid ibni Walid while fighting a battle as a General, was suddenly replaced by another person preferred by Caliph Omar. But Khalid continued to fight as a normal soldier and did not leave the battle-field.

[53] Ibid., Bukhari and Muslim.

4. Military Profession

The emergence of the regular army in Islam occurred only after The Prophet Muhammad died. During the Khalifah regime, many battles were fought, and as such, the soldiers could not continue their normal lives of working and feeding their families. The army was then paid from the 'Baitulmal'[54] fund. The Khalifah formed the full time army based on his understanding[55] of a verse in the Qur'an that states:"

> You shall prepare them (military) all the power you can muster, and all the equipment you can mobilize, that you may frighten the enemies of God, your enemies, as well as others who are not known to you; God knows them. Whatever you spent in the cause of God will be repaid to you generously, without the least injustice. v. (8:60) [56]

There is no verse in the Qur'an that specifically objects to the formation of a regular army. A country cannot produce a professional soldier overnight because a long period of training is required to operate sophisticated, high technology war hardware. Thus, the professional military is required. The mobilization of a citizen army can provide a supporting role when necessary.

5. Islamic War Etiquette

Islamic teachings imposed strict rules during battle. An Islamic soldier cannot kill people merely because they do not want to embrace Islam. Islam prohibits fighting those who do not fight them, their enemies' children, wives, women, the sick, old and the clergy. The Muslim army cannot kill wounded enemies or torture them before killing their opponents. They must not destroy their enemy by treachery or deceptive tactics. It is prohibited to poison rivers, the water supply and food, or destroy civilian houses, trees, livestock, or crops. It other words, this is the protection of the environment and nature.

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54 'Baitulmal' is an Arabic word. It means the Central bank of an Islamic state. The source of income comes from 'zakat' (A form of Islamic tax collected from Muslim).

55 Ibid., Holy Quran, v. (8:60). Caliph Omar was the first to create a full time army to protect and spread Islam. His idea is not wrong although it seems to differ from the Prophet Muhammad's practice. The Prophet called civilian under the pretext of Jihad to become Islamic army when war was eminent and disband it after the war was over.

56 Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, v. (8:60).

Those Killed in Action (KIA) must be respected regardless of nationality, religion or ethnicity. Similarly, Prisoners of War (POW) will not be killed, ill treated or humiliated. Strict war rules prohibit soldiers from destroying houses and vegetation. Soldiers cannot kill an enemy who surrenders or acknowledges embracing Islam or takes refuge in any place of worship.

The concept of suicide bombers had not been practiced or encouraged in the Prophet Muhammad's time. The soldiers still wore shields and carried weapons, and took cover behind rocks from shots by enemy's arrows. They were asked to fight bravely and could purposely seek death without trying to defense oneself. The argument is that if all want to die, who will continue to fight and ensure victory? Menashri claims that the suicide-type operations were introduced into the Arab-Israeli arena mainly after the Islamic revolution. In fact, these methods were first adopted immediately after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.[57] This ideology is believed to have originated from Islamic deviationist groups.

6.   **Military Culture/Morality/Traits**

   a.   *Islamic Social Interactions Are Different from the West*

A Muslim military commander enjoys the same status and has to follow the same regulations as the soldiers. There is no segregation by class. Everyone follows 'Shariah', and does what Allah asks and refrains from those rules prohibited by Allah. The concept of brotherhood in Islam brings about an 'espirit de corp.' among the army in battle. Islam prohibits individualism and selfishness. Cooperation among men is encouraged. The prophet said, "every favor is charity and no one of you are believer until he loves for his brother like he loves himself." Allah orders the Muslim to suppress his anger as a rule of social interaction with others in order to minimize clashes among individuals. Islam also urges the Muslim to forgive others and control himself against anger. Islam prohibits stabbing someone in the back in order to avoid a great deal of suspicion. The teachings of Islamic values had strengthened the social aspects of the Islamic military during peacetime or war. Allah also tells the Muslim how to greet and return greetings within the military. This practice brings rapport and friendship. Muslims

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[57] David Menashri, Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran*: Religion, Society and Power*, p. 286, Frank Cass, 2001.

are prohibited from womanizing, gambling and believing in fortunetellers. Islam disapproves of gay and lesbian practices but encourages marriage. The Western military is faced with the dilemma of allowing gay, lesbian and same sex marriages in the military. Islamic teachings specifically state that this is not allowed.

b.   Islamic Teachings Emphasize Good Personal Traits

The promise that a KIA will go to heaven has motivated the soldier to be brave who will not be deterred by a large number of well-equipped enemies. However, not all KIA qualify as martyrs,[58] and a few will be thrown into the fires of hell because of wrongdoing.[59] A Muslim's personal traits must follow Islamic cultures and values regardless if he is a civilian or in the military. According to Islam, a believer must control his tongue and avoid useless and harmful chattering. One should say something good or else keep silent. The army became well disciplined, courageous, tenacious, respectable, dedicated and obedient to the leader. Truthfulness, honesty, being well disciplined and the keeping of promises have become some of the characteristics of Muslim military life. According to the prophet,

> The hypocrite's signs are three; if he talks, he lies. If he promises, he breaks it, if he is given a trust, he betrays his trust.[60]

Today's Western military also encourages these good traits in the military demonstrating the similarity of Islamic teachings with those of the West.

c.   Mental Orientation

In terms of mental orientation, a majority of earlier believers fully trusted in Allah and surrendered their lives and wealth to Allah's way. The soldier did not ask for a salary or reward and instead they gave whatever they had to support the war. Their main objective was to drive away aggression and ensure the freedom to practice their

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58 'Martyrs' refer to those KIA. According to Islam, martyrs shall enter paradise if he had no great sin.

59 Abu Nur Ibnu Rahman, "Bicara Agama," *Syurga- Mengapa Ramai Yang Enggan ke Sana,* Utusan Online –[http://www.utusan.com/content.asp], Accessed 19 May 2003. He quoted a 'hadith' narrated by Bukhari and Muslim from Abdullah Amr al-Ash that heard Prophet Muhammad told his companion that a soldier by the name of Kirkirah who died in the battle will go to hell instead of the promised paradise. When the close follower of the Prophet went to his house to investigate, they found that this guy failed to return a piece of cloth he had confiscated in the battle. Muslims are asked to returned all spoils to the authorities for fair distribution after the battle.

60 Ibid., Bukhari and Muslim.

own choice of religion, as well as the safety of their families and property.[61] During battle, soldiers take time to pray and ask God for victory and assistance. The practice of fasting has trained Muslims for survival and, as a result, is able to withstand food shortages in times of war.

d. *Islamic Military Personnel*

Islamic military personnel, as with any Muslim, follow a strict diet. Muslim soldiers are prohibited from consuming alcoholic drinks regardless of the quantity. Muslims must only eat 'halal'[62] food and are prohibited from eating pork. The restriction keeps Muslim healthy and is a test of obedience. The more a person adheres to the orders of Allah and His prophet, the healthier his life will be. He becomes psychologically and physically secure.[63]

7. Woman's Involvement

According to the Qur'an, men and women are equal before God. Islam sees a woman as an individual in her own right; with the right to own and dispose of her property and earnings. The roles of men and women are complementary and collaborative. The rights and responsibilities of both sexes are equitable and balanced in their totality. The accusation by the West that Islam mistreated a woman's equality is not true. The mistreatment of women in some Islamic countries is more the result of cultural practices of the ethnic group and is not in accordance with authentic Islamic teachings.[64]

In battles fought by Islam during the times of the Prophet and the caliphates, the involvement of women was seen in the rear echelons to help with the medical treatment of casualties and to prepare food for the soldiers. However, no reports of women involved in the frontline battle zone as combatant fighters have surfaced.

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[61] Islamic view in this aspect is similar to Western international Law. Both respect and protect human rights, property and the rights of religion.

[62] 'Halal' is an Arabic word. It means the food that Muslim can eat. In the case of meat, the animal should be slaughter by Muslims. However some Muslim scholar Muslim can also eat animals slaughtered by Christian and Jews basing on their interpretation of a verse from Qur'an.

[63] Dr. Muhammad Ali Alkhuli, *Islam as A Comprehensive Code*, Islamic Education Foundation Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 2002. (Brochure)

[64] "Discover Islam," *The Reader No. E01*, Transcom International, Virginia, 1997. [http://www.discoverislam.com] Accessed 30 March 2003. (Brochure)

Women are expected to dress in a way that is simple, modest and dignified. Islam requires the women to dress decently by covering her hair, and all her body except her face, hands and feet. Proper dress is imposed for the reason that a woman's main role is that of a wife and mother, and hence must maintain her dignity.[65]

There are contrasts and differences in the treatment of women in Islamic countries today. For example, the Taliban refused to allow women to leave their homes unaccompanied, and therefore, women in the military are taboo. However, in Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia, women can work in the military and have even held top positions such as in the cases of Presidents Benazir and Megawati.[66]

D.   ISSUES OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

1.   Islamic Sects and Schools

Over time, the Islamic Military Model was forgotten due to the emergence of various sects and schools of thought in Islamic society. The two major groups in Islam are the Sunni and the Syiah. The Sunni believe that leadership after the prophet is open to anyone through consensus whereas the Syiah insist that Ali and the descendents of the prophet should always be the leader. The latter believe in the twelve imams who are entrusted to lead the Islamic country. On the other hand, the Sunni have four major schools of thought or Mazhab, lead by Hanafi, Hambali, Maliki and Syafiee. Each varies slightly in their ritual practices.

In addition, there are groups called Salafi and Sufi teachings have emerged. The works and teachings of Imam Ibn-I-Taimiya and Ibn Al-Qayyim are reflective of Salafi scholars. These two Imams promoted the revolutionary aspect of the Prophet's life and try to establish modern Islamic states. They refused to follow blindly earlier scholars' opinions if they are not based on the Qur'an, Sunnah or conflict with the interpretation of the first generation Salafi.

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65 Dr. Muhammad Ali Alkhuli, *Islam and Family Protection*. Islamic Education Foundation Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 2002. (Brochure)

66 Vartan Gregorian, *Islam; A Mosaic, Not a Monolith,* pp. 93-94, Booking Institution Press, Washington, 2003.

During the Ottoman Empire, Sufism was widespread throughout the Islamic world. After its fall, the newly established Abbasid Empire moved the Islamic capital to Baghdad. As a result, Non-Arabic scholars who received prominent positions in education and status popularized their own interpretations of Islam. They placed more emphasis on rituals and prayers. They did not emphasize the aspects of the Prophet's life related to politics, economics and military matters.

Modern Islamic movements and militants have emerged in present times. Other Islamic groups in various countries followed the ideology and organizational examples provided by the 'Muslim Brotherhood' founded by Hassan al-Banna, 'Jamaat-I-Islami' founded by Sayyid Qutb and the Islamic society group lead by Mawlana Abu Ala Mawdudi.[67] These groups then triggered the contemporary Islamic revivalism first in Pakistan, then in Indonesia and finally in Malaysia.

Not all examples of such Islamist groups follow true Islamic teachings. The many sects and schools brought misleading ideology that contributes to the weakening of true Islamic knowledge. As such, when Muslims form their own military, they tend to copy and adapt Western or foreign undesirable culture instead of following the Islamic Model. When western culture reverts to good practices, the Muslim countries lag behind. Only lately in the mid-1980's were Muslim countries seen to appreciate and allow Islamic influences in their military when society revives the true teachings of Islam.

2.   Category of Muslim

The issues of sects and schools in Islam had contributed to dividing Muslim followers into various categories. Esposito observed that Islam reemerged as a potent global force during the 1970's and 1980's in Southeast Asia when the issues of sects and schools have not been totally eliminated.[68] The categorization of Muslims by Yamani[69] best describes the focus of this research on Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia. She divides Muslims into four groups: liberal modernists, traditionalists, 'conservative salafis' and 'radical salafis'.

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[67] John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat, Myth or Reality?* p. 120, Oxford University Press, 1995.

[68] Ibid., p. 11.

[69] Ibid Mai Yamani, p. 118.

Liberal modernists are actively engaged with the West. This category of Muslim supports western influence. Outward expression of piety is kept to a minimum but instead emphasizes the rationality of the individual. The government is fully supported if it adopts globalization and a rational economy. Liberal-modernists believe that a Muslim can decide how to be a good Muslim and the clergy should not obstruct modernization.

Traditionalists compose the second group. Their main concern is coherent Islamic identity and protection of Islamic values. They always feel that these values are threatened by the West through commercial means such as satellite television, the Internet, movies and the advertisement of consumer products. They are devoted to the official religious establishment of the government and the 'ulial-amr' (those in authority). "Their view of Islam is fused with the vision of the state nation that is united behind the governing elite."[70]

Conservative salafis differ in that they think they are 'uli al-amr.' (Legitimate leader). They feel that they have a right to advise the government and society on what is proper and Islamic. They are very important to Islamic moral, political and social behavior. They are not interested in political change but they want modernity if it does not contradict the religion.

The radical salafis is the last category whose views are extremist. They are outside the religious establishment system and always challenge the legitimacy of the government. They see the government as inherently corrupt and incapable of handling economic problems such as unemployment. They feel that the economic and social problems are the result of the regime's refusal to live up to the shari'ah.

The radicals are pessimistic and support opposition political groups. Some are active in outlawed organizations. They are of the opinion that the cultural political and social impact of the West is bad. They believe that a good Muslim society can only exist if the state is purged of Western culture, ideology and malpractices such as corruption and cronyism. This group is normally a small minority against corruption and hates the

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[70] Ibid., p. 118.

West. The younger generation is very much influenced to join this group.[71] "Radical belief that religion should be decentralized; they resent the government's monopoly on Islam."[72]

Today, over a billion people from all races; nationalities and cultures across the globe are Muslim. Only 18% of Muslims live in the Arab world while a fifth are found in Sub-Saharan Africa, and the world's largest Muslim community is in Indonesia. Substantial parts of Asia are Muslim, for example, Pakistan. A significant minority of Muslims lives in India, China, Russia, North and South America, Eastern and Western Europe.[73] Malaysia is an Islamic country and the majority of its population is Muslim. The Muslims in these countries many fall into any one of the categories created by Yamani. Western scholars used to label Muslims as fundamentalist, orthodox and extremist with differing definitions. Chapter IV will discuss this subject in detail when analyzing the type of Muslims in the militaries of Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia. The differences in opinion and ideology within Islam often exist, such as the understanding of Islamic religion by the people in society and institutions vary according to time and different locations.

There is a relationship between the categories of the individual Muslim and Muslim society. An individual supporting Islam will form his own society because of similar goals. The Islamic religion will then dictate the way of life of that society. When people from this society join the military or become politicians, they will bring the religion to the institution either secretly or openly. If they are in the majority and have the power to make changes, then the influence of Islam will disperse much more quickly. It can be seen that in early Islam, religion permeated into society then into politics and finally into the military. Islam uses religion to control the mood of CMR.

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[71] Ibid., p. 119.

[72] Joshua Teitelbaum, *Holier than Thou: Saudi Arabia's Islamic Opposition*, pp. 10-12, Washington DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000.

[73] Ibid., Discover Islam.

Abdullah Badawi, the Prime Minister of Malaysia after Dr. Mahathir, suggested that "Muslim nations and communities seriously think and act toward an inter-religious dialogue within Islam itself, involving the different Muslims groups, ideologies and sects."74

E.   CONCLUSION

A relationship between ideologies and the military, and similarly between religion and the military cannot be inseparable in an Islamic state. The Western theories presented in this chapter will be used to evaluate the CMR of Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan in the subsequent chapter. This chapter revealed that the Islamic beliefs of the Muslims in the military tend to Islamize the military institution if the political leadership motivates it. Obvious similarities between today's Western military model and the early Islamic military model exist. There are also differences as evident from the author's experiences in the military in the 1970's until the mid-1980. For example, the Islamic version stresses the spiritual, moral and legal importance of Islam within the military institution. The Western theories are more concerned with the problems of CMR in their military and forget that the beliefs of an individual and institution can produce the desired CMR outcome such as those achieved in the early Islamic model.

The contents of this chapter will be used to compare the degree to which the Malaysian, Indonesian and Pakistani militaries have adopted Islamic values and practices. The true Islamic military model is difficult to practice in totality today because of related problems and challenges. The various sects in Islam understand the issues differently, which has created factions amongst the Islamic followers in the military. The different categories of Muslims mentioned in this chapter will be used in the subsequent chapter to identify the type of military personality in the militaries of Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia.

Chapter III will focus more on how Islam permeates the militaries of Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia, and will show which aspects of Western culture Islam has replaced. The next chapter will identify the players and also the factors responsible for the spread of Islam in the military of these countries.

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74 "Abdullah Tells Muslims to Wake Up," *Utusan Online,* 12 October 2003, [http://www.utusan.com.my], Accessed 14 October 2003.

III. ISLAM IN THE MALAYSIAN, INDONESIAN AND PAKISTAN MILITARIES

A. INTRODUCTION

The Malaysian, Indonesian and Pakistani Militaries inherited western military traditions and cultures when they were first formed. Malaysia and Pakistan were British colonies while Indonesia was under Dutch rule before gaining independence. Western culture in these countries, especially in the government, remained for some time but recently the influence of Islam has replaced much of the Western traditions in the Military institutions. Some of the inherited Western cultures in the military seem to contradict Islamic teachings, which are the cultures that Islam is trying to replace.

This chapter will trace how Islam permeated the Malaysian, Indonesian and Pakistani militaries. Historically, Islam came to these countries very early. For example, Pakistan was exposed to Islam as early as the 6th century, Indonesia in the 13th century and Malaysia later in the 15th century. However, the influence of Islam in society was not that strong nor was the intervention of the many sects and schools of thought mentioned in Chapter II, so much so that when these countries formed their own military forces, they had to copy the colonial military culture. Only later, after the second wave of Islamic revivals in the mid-1980, do religious clergies in these countries motivate the true Islam back into society. Islam then, spread to the individual and then to society. According to Vali Nasr, "Malaysia and Pakistan is unique because when other states used Nationalism, these states invest in a state ideology of Islam whose foundation lay in attitudes, arguments and beliefs that emerged from society's belief and practices."[75] He added that "State led Islamization ease the two states to organize, maintain power and control the institution and social organization.[76] Islamization is further reinforced when 'new blood' of Muslim followers brought true Islam into the government and military organizations where they were employed.

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[75] Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *Islamic Leviathan, Islam and the Making of State Power,* p. 11, Oxford University Press, 2001.

[76] Ibid., p. 15.

The new generation of military personnel came from a changing society where there was a resurgence of Islam. Although technically they had no power to change the undesirable Western and foreign cultures inherited by the military, their interest in practicing Islam caught the attention of government leaders. Since the government required the votes of these people, political leaders took the opportunity to promote Islam in the government and military institutions. The heads of state in Pakistan and Malaysia played a major role in spreading the influence of Islam to the military. The role of civilian political leaders, and the supporting role of military top generals in allowing the influence of Islam into the organizations they controlled, accelerated the transformation of the organizations into an Islamized institution. Inherited undesirable cultures were replaced by Islamic military culture.

This chapter will highlight indicators demonstrating that Islamic culture has permeated into the military institutions of the three countries. Some of the indicators, as pointed out by Esposito, are an increased attention to religious observances such as mosque attendance, prayers, fasting, Islamic dress codes, food restrictions and adherence to Islamic values.[77] Islamic influence in the states can be seen when the latter practice 'Shariah' law, Islamic economy and banking without interest, Islamic education, social and welfare services and an increase in the number of mosques everywhere.

How much Islamic values had spread into the military institution depends on the degree of government intervention in the process of Islamization. The government approved the formation of a religious department within the military such as Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (KAGAT)[78] in the Malaysian Armed Forces in the mid-1980's, Mullahs in the Pakistani Military in the 1970's and the Department Agama in Indonesia in the 1980's. These departments continued to play a role in the Islamization process of the military with the government's and the top general's blessing as in the case of Malaysia and Pakistan.

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[77] Ibid., Esposito, p. 12.

[78] 'KAGAT' is an abbreviated name for the 'Religious Corp of the Malaysian Armed Forces.' This corp. deals with Islamic affairs such as funeral ceremonies, marriages and divorce counseling, lead the prayers in the military mosques, giving religious lectures and reading 'doa' (asking God's blessing) at formal and informal functions.

The influence of Islam in an organization focuses on two aspects. It first ensures that the men become good Muslims and performs the Islamic practices and rituals, and secondly, makes the organization adhere to Islamic culture, laws and practices when conducting its official function. A military institution cannot be called an Islamized military institution unless it fulfills two main criteria, the first is that the majority of its personnel must be Muslim and second, the institution conducts some form of Islamic culture in its activity. A true Muslim military person can be determined by observing how much he complies with the Islamic teachings such praying, fasting, giving zakat, performing hajj and not committing any sinful act. An Islamized organization can be identified when the organization allows mosques and prayer space on the premises, performs the reading of the 'doa' before any official ceremony, bans the sale of alcohol to Muslims, prohibits gambling, adultery and allows Islamic teachings in the institution.

Interestingly, the level of Islamization in the military institutions of the three countries varies. Pakistan had reached the advanced stage of Islamization of its institutions but it is currently in decline. The Malaysian military maintains its Islamic posture by promoting Islamic teachings but has not yet reached full Islamization. On the other hand, the Indonesian military is somewhat influenced by Islam but it does not openly declare its support of Islam in the military.

B.   ARRIVAL OF ISLAM

Islam did not reach Malaya, the name of Malaysia before independence, Indonesia and Pakistan at the same time during the Prophet Mohammad's era due to the geographic distance and limited number of traveling Muslim preachers. India, being in closer proximity to Persia, learnt about Islam from the Umayyad Empire (661-750), which continued into the Abbasid period (750-1258). Clergy Muslim preachers and Muslim traders were responsible for spreading Islam to the people of India who were mostly Hindus. With British intervention, Muslims and the Hindus in India demanded that the country be split along religious differences. Hence Pakistan was created as an independent state where the majority of Muslims live. Today about 97% of the 148,012,000 total population in Pakistan is Muslim, while less than 3% is Hindu.[79]

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[79] The World Fact book - *Online CIA Book.* [http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/]
Accessed 20 July 2003. Statistics based on survey made in 2000-2001.

Official statistics show that Sunni Muslims[80] constitute 77% of total Muslims in Pakistan while the rest adhere to Shia.[81] The Hanafi School is predominant in Pakistan, while in Malaysia and Indonesia, most people follow the Shafie School of jurisprudence. The popularity of the difference schools was not the result of any one school being better than the other, but that many preachers of the same school concentrated in that particular area when preaching Islam.

Islam first spread to Acheh in Sumatra in the year 1282. Muslim traders from Arabia and a small number from India (Pakistan was not yet formed at this time) were responsible for converting the native Sumatran to Islam. Preachers from the Arab world who popularized the Syafie mazhab stayed in the country after marrying the locals while Pakistani Muslim traders from the Hanafi mazhab came and went. Subsequently, Islam spread to Java and the rest of Indonesia of over one thousand inhabited islands. This explains why the Syafie mazhab is popular as compared to Hanafi mazhab in both Indonesia and Malaysia. Indonesia has the largest population of 206,213,000 people making it the world's fourth most populated country. It is estimated that Indonesia has 179.2 million Muslims (87% of the total population), the highest concentration of Muslims in the world. The Muslim population multiplied tremendously in Indonesia and Pakistan mostly through births when compared to other people from different religions converting to Islam in latter years.

Islam was spread to Malacca (a trade port in Malaya) by Muslim traders from Arabian, Indian and also Indonesian preachers from Acheh as early as 1414[82]. Malay historians believe that Prameswara, royalty from Java who ruled the Malay states, had converted to Islam earlier. He started the Malay Sultanate in Malacca during this period

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[80] There are two major sects in Islam, the Sunnis and the Shia. The Sunni accepted the authority of the Rashudin Caliphate (Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman, and Ali) after the death of the Prophet. On the contrary, the Shia solely accepted Ali, (the Prophet's cousin and husband of his daughter, Fatima) and his descendants as the lawful successor of Islamic politics. Over time, the Sunni sect became divided into four major schools of jurisprudence: Hanafi, Hambali, Maliki, and Syafie.

[81] The Shia sect split over the matter of succession, resulting in two major groups: the majority Twelve Imam Shia believe that there are twelve rightful imams, Ali and his eleven direct descendants. A second Shia group, the numerically smaller Ismaili community, known also as Seveners, follow a line of imams that originally challenged the Seventh Imam and supported a younger brother, Ismail. The Ismaili line of leaders has been continuous down to present day. The current leader, Sadr ad Din Agha Khan, active in international humanitarian efforts, is a direct descendant of Ali.

[82] Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies,* pp. 382 – 449, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

and all sultans were Muslim at that time. The sultanate encouraged its subjects to be Muslim. The Malay Sultanate rule did not last long when the Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511. They tried to convert the Muslim Malays to Christianity but were unsuccessful. In 1629, the Dutch controlled Acheh in Indonesia and also defeated the Portuguese in Malacca. They controlled the economy and politics but failed to convert the Muslim Malays and Indonesians to Christianity. Later, the British controlled Penang (in Malaya) in 1786 and maintained political power over the Malayan states and Singapore.[83] In late 1885 to early 1905, Indonesian pilgrimages became exposed to anti-colonial movements from Mecca, and hence, when they returned, they began to preach this ideology.[84] Their efforts were complimented by the Sayyids immigrants living in Indonesia who also became promoters of true Islam. During this colonial regime, a Muslim rarely converted to Christianity publicly because society would object to any attempt to convert Muslims to Christianity or any other religion. Muslim Indonesian immigrated to Malaya for economic reasons and some for inter-marriage with the Malays. Their offspring were Muslim from the day they were born. Today, Malaysia has a population of 21,868,000 people of which 54% is Muslim and 46% composed of other religions. In terms of ethnicity, 64% is Malay and indigenous peoples, 27% Chinese and 9% Indian.

Prior to being colonized, the three countries were ruled by the monarchy. Malaya, Indonesia and Pakistan had traditional warriors serving the kings and headmen. If these warriors were Islam, they would have abided by some of the Islamic military traditions but with varying differences due to the issues of sect and understandings of true Islam. As an example, during the Malacca sultanate in the 15th century, the legendary warrior Hang Tuah was very loyal because of his religious background. He was willing to accept punishment for the offences he did not commit. Later, he followed the king's order to kill his best friend who revolted because the king was unjust. In Indonesia, the story circulated that the famous Wali Songo (Nine Islamic Warriors) of the Sri Vijaya period preached Islam to the villagers and also defeated the cruel warlords without accepting

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[83] Ibid., p. 397.

[84] Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, Issue 2, p. 269, February, 1967, [http://www.jstor.org], Accessed 04 August 2003.

any materialistic rewards. The long gap in time before these countries could form their own militaries explained why Islamic military traditions were forgotten. Furthermore, the British and the Dutch forced their military culture to be adopted when they helped create the military and trained the local soldiers and officers with modern weapons.

C.   ISLAM IN THE MALAYSIAN MILITARY– A CASE STUDY

1.   Colonial Military Culture

Malaysia, as an ex-British colony, has inherited Western culture from the British since becoming independent. After granting Malaysia independence on August 31, 1957, the British helped the Malaysians form their own military. The British had inculcated Western culture into the military and later, when Malaysians had full control, they maintained the culture although society practiced Islam. Most Muslims, both in the military and society, were not very religious before the 1980's. Muslim women did not wear the 'hijab' and men wore short pants.[85]. The Malaysian military inherited British military culture since the formation of the Army in 1932, the Navy in 1952 and the Air Force in June 2, 1958.[86] The first Malaysian appointed as the Chief of the Army to replace the seconded British officer occurred in 1961 while the first Chief of the Armed Forces was given to Malaysia in 1964.[87] The creation of the Malay Regiment (Askar Melayu), an all-Muslim battalion in 1938 and another in 1941, demonstrated for the first time that Malay traditions and customs, synonymous with Islam, were adopted by the Army. However, Islamic influence kept a low profile concerning individual practices until the 1980's because the regiment was subservient to the British colonial master.[88]

Many aspects of British culture were undesirable and against the moral values of Malaysian society. Military personnel, from the generals to the lower ranking soldiers, were secular in religion although they were Muslim by birth. Their colonial culture was a result of the training process and passed down traditions. Their behavior and social lives were no different from the colonial masters. For example, in the 1970's and 1980's, the

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[85] Ibid., Lapidus, pp. 382 – 449.

[86] Edward A. Olsen and Stephen Jurika, Jr., Eds. "The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies," *Westview Special Studies in Military Affairs*, p. 155, 1986.

[87] Harold Crouch, *Government and Society in Malaysia*, p. 134, Cornell University Press, 1996.

[88] KS Nathan and Geetha Govindasamy, "Malaysia: A Congruence of Interest," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Coercion and Governance, The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia,* p. 261, Stanford University Press, California, 2001.

mess halls had bars where beer and liquor were sold. Many cases of reckless driving, fighting in bars and damaging public property occurred during these years as a result of the drinking habits of Western cultures. The ragging tradition, where senior officer bullied new junior officers into doing all sorts of bad practices was an example of Western culture that had a negative effect. Senior officers forced their junior officers to drink liquor and to forget about Islamic teachings in order to be accepted into the military.[89] Other bad cultural influences encouraged by the British were gambling, going to nightclubs and womanizing. Social parties in the officers' messes were organized regularly and they danced and exchanged partners freely. Most practices that contradicted Islamic teachings were mostly social practices but other aspects of the military, such as professionalism, discipline, tactics and strategy can be used.

2. The Start of Islamic Influence

The process of Islam permeating into the military did not happen overnight. Many assume that the Middle Eastern countries externally drove the spread of Islam into the military in the 1990's because Muslim society did not seem to play a role in the Islamization of the military for nearly 30 years after the country gained independence. Islam was declared as the 'official religion' of the federation under Article 3(1) of the Federal constitution since independence.[90] However, it never practiced 'shariah' law because the first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, had determined that the country was not an 'Islamic state'.[91] The resurgence of Islam started in Malaysian society in the mid 1980's. During this time, in other parts of the world, the Iranian revolution had started, later Iraq had conflicts with Iran, and the military in Pakistan toppled the civilian government. Some western researchers suggested that these countries tried to influence Muslim society to revive Islam in Malaysia.

Actually the 'dakwah' (Islamic teaching effort) in Malaysia was spearheaded by local religious clergies. There was no evidence of any Iranian, Iraqi or Pakistani clergies involved in the 'dakwah' of the Muslim community in Malaysia. According to Fred R.

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[89] The author has been in the military since 1972, and has had the opportunity to observe the actual influence of Islam in the Malaysian Air Force and Army.

[90] Dr. Lukman Thaib, *The Practices and Governments of Southeast Asian,* p. 72, Golden Book Center, 2000.

[91] Ibid., Crouch, p. 168.

von der Mehden, financial assistance from Middle Eastern Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, poured into Malaysia to build mosques. In terms of Islamic higher education, scholarships and places in universities in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq and Iran were offered to Malaysians. These graduates filled the top posts in religious institutions in Malaysia.[92] Very few were willing to be regular officers in the military because military officers then were branded as not religious.

When Dr. Mahathir Mohammad (1980-2003) took over as Prime Minister (PM), the attitude of the government toward Islam changed. The previous PM was not very concerned with Islam. Dr. Mahathir was different because his tolerance of Islam was noticeable when he encouraged educated preachers who worked for his government to educate society in moderate Islamic religion. Freelance preachers became active in creating 'madrasah' or 'sekolah pondok'[93] teaching schools of the orthodox Islamic religion in the states of Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah. After obtaining the 'senawi'[94] some of them joined the military as civilian staff in charge of Islamic affairs in the military.

Religious education in the various Malay states was also active and popular. In Johor, most Muslim school children attended English or Malay schools in the morning and later attended religious schools sponsored by the state government in the afternoon. Society became more religious due to the increased numbers of religious lectures in mosques and public places organized by local scholars who were trained in the Middle East.

The most important 'dakwah' movements in the 1970's were the Islamic Youth Movement Organization (ABIM) rooted in student activists and the Darul Arqam, popular among students and middle aged people.[95] The youths became more Islamic after following an Islamic Youth Movement Organization (ABIM) led by Anwar Ibrahim. A

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[92] Fred R. von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam; Interaction between Southeast Asia and Middle East,* pp. 35-72,University Press of Florida, 1993.

[93] 'Sekolah Pondok' is a Malay word. It is a private religious school where student s lived on their own in small huts built closed to the school.

[94] 'Senawi' is a Malay world. It stands for the certificate obtained after successfully completing the religious school curricula.

[95] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 84.

few ABIM supporters joined the KAGAT branch and tried to exert Islamic influence on the rest of the military. An increasing number of military personnel joined the religious movements such as Darul Arqam and the International Islamic organization called Tablighi-Jama'at or more popularly known in Malay as 'Tabligh' that had emerged during this period. The religious scholars in these organizations insisted that all their followers adopt their version of Islamic values. At the same time, the followers of these groups were aware of the undesirable moral values practiced by military personnel. Some of them persuaded their relatives in the military to abandon the bad Western cultural influences and follow the Islamic way of life.

When the government, which is dominated by the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), realized the increasing interest in Islam by society and many Islamic organizations, the UMNO began to promote and spread Islam so that it could maintain the people's support. The PM, Dr. Mahathir, began to encourage the permeation of Islam in the military after seeing the younger generation that joined the military practicing and showing interest in Islamic teachings. In Malaysia, the existence of soldiers who were 100% Malay and also Muslim in the Royal Malay Regiment in the Army, further justifies the promotion of Islam in the military. The spread of Islam in the military was the result of indirect and unintentional acts by British rule in early 1932, which formally approved the concept of creating an all Malay Defense corps.[96]

To be relevant and seen to be keeping pace with the wave of Islamic revival, in the mid-1980's, the government under Mahathir, launched a campaign that had Islamic values embedded in it. Slogans called for all government servants, including the military, to be 'Bersih, Cekap dan Amanah' (honest, efficient and sincere) in their work. As PM and in charge of the Military, Mahathir encouraged the military to adopt Islamic values and end bad western cultural influences. Many senior military officers were sent to attend short courses called 'Kursus Kefahaman Islam'[97] taught by government religious

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[96] Robert Lau, "The Role of the Armed Forces and Police in Malaysia," in Edward A. Olsen and Stephen Jurika, Jr., Eds., "The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies," *Westview Special Studies in Military Affairs*, p. 155, 1986.

[97] 'Kursus Kefahamam Islam' is a Malay phrase that stands for 'A Course in Islamic Understanding.'

lecturers and speakers. As an indication of Mahathir's support of Islam in the military, whenever the military invited the PM to any Islamic religious functions such as special prayers or breakfasts in Ramadan, he never turned down the invitations.

Efforts to spread Islam in the military were reinforced by a special department called, 'Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera' (KAGAT) following the Prime Minister's vision to instill Islamic values. The KAGAT formerly consisted of civilian Islamic religious staffs but some became officers and other ranks wearing army ranks and uniforms. Today, they work in the Army, Navy and Air Force as religious advisors to the military commanders. The existence of the KAGAT, similar to the Chaplain in the U.S. military, has boosted Islamic influence and prevented any Islamic extremist and leftist ideology among military personnel. Currently, the highest appointment in the KAGAT is a Brigadier General. The KAGAT continues to play a major role in abolishing any traditions and norms that contradict Islamic values, while ensuring only moderate Islamic teachings are taught to the military. In 2001, the first ex-KAGAT General was elected by Dr. Mahathir to become a minister in his cabinet, implying that Islamic leaders have high status in society.

The top generals in the military had no choice but to support Islam in the military when the politicians showed interest in religion. When the older generation of generals retired, pious officers filled the vacancies and promoted Islam to Muslim military personnel. Today, about 70% of the 96,000 active military personnel are Muslim. In the past, the military was always the second choice for intelligent Malays. The military was not highly regarded because it was monopolized by the less educated Malays. Today, the situation has changed. Military officers and officers of other ranks are as well qualified as civilians and have a good understanding of Islam.

3. Changes in the Military

Today, the Malaysian military institution has adopted Islamic culture and rituals at official functions and also encourages individual Muslims to practice Islamic rituals. KS Nathan confirmed that there is growing evidence of Islamization in the military such

as the banning of alcohol on military installations.[98] Muslim personnel are given 40 days leave to perform the Hajj.[99] Many officers, including Generals, took this leave and upon completion, they used the word 'Haji' in front of their name as a traditional norm.[100] About 20% of military personnel perform daily 'jamaah'[101] prayers in the military mosques while wearing their uniforms. Today, gambling in the mess halls, consuming liquor by Muslims and ragging are banned in the military. During official ceremonies and dinners, wine is not served. Water is substituted instead when toasting to the Agong.[102] Dancing is no longer popular during parties. At all official functions, such as military parades, before official speeches by generals and before eating food during ceremonies, the KAGAT officer will read a 'doa' (Qur'an verses and translation in Malay praising God and asking for his blessings). The audience will listen tentatively and say 'amien.' During meetings or other activities, time is allocated for those who want to conduct their prayers. Muslim soldiers eating in the mess halls are given 'halal' food (meat slaughtered by Muslims). Pork is not allowed to be served in the military dining hall even to non-Muslims. Military personnel are taught proper religious rituals. For example, in the Air Force Training Center at Ipoh, the trainees are taught how to pray during wars. During the '2003 Navy anniversary day,' the Chief of the Navy read the 'khutbah' (sermon) during the Friday mass prayer in the camp demonstrating that he was well versed in Islam. In terms of social relationships, most military men will avoid close relationships and intimacy with 'non-muhrim'[103] women. Single men and women soldiers live in

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[98] KS Nathan and Geetha Govindasamy, "Malaysia: A Congruence of Interest," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., "Coercion and Governance, The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia," p. 274, Stanford University Press, California, 2001.

[99] 'Hajj' is the Arabic term for the pilgrimage to Mecca performed by Muslim. This is the fifth pillar of Islam.

[100] 'Haji' is the title placed in front of the names of Muslim who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. This is actually a custom practiced in Malaysia to give respect for the person.

[101] 'Jamaah' is an Arabic term used to describe Muslims praying together in rows of straight lines following an imam as the leader.

[102] 'Agong' is the King of Malaysia. One of the Sultans from the nine states will take turns to be the King. The term of office is five years.

[103] 'Non-Muhrim' means other single or married women who have no family ties where marriage is allowed.

separate accommodations. Pious military personnel can be recognized because they are generally soft spoken, friendly, and helpful to others and have good attributes. They practice good work habits, and are very responsibility in their duties.

Although some Islamists felt that women should not be employed in the military, the Islamized Malaysian Military has not restricted women in the military. Women are allowed to serve in the military. The female dress code is in accordance with Islamic rule. They have to wear slacks, long sleeved shirts and may wear scarves instead of the 'hijab'[104]. Before Islamization, military men wore short pants as their uniform but today only long pants are worn. They can wear short pants that comply with the 'aurat'[105] or pants that cover the knee.

Before the 1980's, Islam was just a religious practiced by individuals because the military was secular. Today, the military has become Islamized and Islamic values have become the culture in the military. The majority of Muslim officers and soldiers in the military are moderate Islamic followers of the Syafie Mazhab. The KAGAT corps plays a major role in keeping the military on the moderate track and loyal to the government. It must be remembered that the Malay elite are in power both in the civil and military arenas. Hence, Islam can easily permeate into their institutions when Malays associate themselves with Islam.[106]

D. THE INDONESIAN MILITARY AND ITS ISLAMIC ISSUES

1. The Leadership's Belief

Indonesia is a nation formed from the armed struggle against the Dutch following World War II. Sukarno was the first president since gaining independence in 1945. Suharto, then a General, assumed power and became president in 1968.[107] He ruled for 32 years as compared to the subsequent presidents, such as Habibie and Abdurrahman

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[104] 'Hijab' refers to the transparent cloth (normally black) that covers the face of a woman. A scarf normally just covers the hairs leaving the face visible.

[105] 'Aurat' is an Arabic word. It means the part of the body that must be covered when in public. The Muslim has a dress code. For women, they have to cover all their body except their face, hands and feet. The men have to cover the part from the navel to the knee.

[106] Dr. Lukman Thaib, *The Practices and Governments of Southeast Asian,* p. 125, Golden Book Center, 2000.

[107] Zakaria Haji Ahmad, Harold Crouch*, Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*, p. 60, Oxford University Press, 1985.

Wahid, who only served short presidential terms. Suharto, a Javanist by origin, was raised with Hindu influence. Thus, many people classified him as a nominal Muslim – 'Abangan.' Suharto in his early years in power, had a personal aide, Sujono Humardani, who was a patron of a Javanist organization and a master of the mystical art or 'dukun.'[108] Suharto's downfall was attributed to Islamic students, NGOs, people in the street of Jakarta and other major cities demonstrating against his corrupt rule. The demonstrations led to the May 13-14, 1998 riots.[109] Habibie is known to be western trained and resided overseas for quite a long time. His practice of Islam is questionable when he was abroad. On the other hand, Abdurrahman Wahid is seen as a true Muslim because he is the leader of the Nahdatul Ulama Islamic party (NU). However, some Indonesians claimed that he is a modernized Islamist because in his private life he does not observe true Islamic teachings.[110] The current president, Megawati Sukarno, is seen as inheriting her father's throne and is also liberal towards Islam. She is not seen wearing the 'hijab' or a scarf to cover her hair.

The president's religious status plays a role in deciding whether or not the military will be influenced by Islam. All the presidents have Muslim names but their beliefs in true Islam are very difficult to determine because it is hidden in one's heart and some can pretend to be Muslim, as in the case of 'Munafiq.'[111] The lesser the involvement and interest of the president as the supreme military commander in Islam, the more uncoordinated Islamic influence in the military will be. This was clearly shown

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[108] Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam, Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, p. 83, Princeton University Press, 2000.

[109] Thang D. Nguyen and Frank-Jurgen Ritcher, *Indonesian Matters: Diversity, Unity, and Stability in Fragile Times,* p. 4, Times Editions, 2003.

[110] As an example, the pictures of Wahid were distributed in Malaysia. He was wearing shorts and seated on a chair while a lady (not his wife) was sitting on his lap. Orthodox Muslims will not tolerate such a scene; hence they branded him a modernist "ulama."

[111] 'Munafiq' is an Arabic term that means one pretends in front of Muslims and claims to be Muslim, but in actuality, is still Non-Muslim and did so to fight the Muslim from within.

in the case of Indonesia. The influence of Islam was left to take its own course, and as a result, Islamic issues emerged in the military and society as can be seen from the rise of Al-Qaeda and the green faction[112] in the military.

Some scholars said that Indonesian presidents, such as Suharto and Habibie, belong to the Secular Modernizer group because they have secular and modernist understandings of religion and politics. The Secular Modernizer group claimed they are better because they adhere to modernize Islam ideology and are not associated with Hindu influences. They believe that making Indonesia progress requires that religious ideology be removed from politics and can only exist as personal piety. Other writers categorized the presidents to be either from the 'santri' (Muslims who practice orthodox Islam, for example, Wahid) and the 'abangan' group (Nominal Muslims) comprised of Javanists and are still influenced by Hindu, for example, Sukarno and Suharto.[113]

2.   **Indonesian Military Pre-80s**

The Indonesian Military, or the Angkatan Bersenjata Republic Indonesia (ABRI), was formed during the 1945-1949 struggles for independence from Holland. According to Oslen, the ABRI was not created by civilian politicians, or by the Dutch, but sprang from the masses.[114] Civilian revolutionaries from towns and villages united to fight the colonial power. However, it was also reported that before 1942, about 30 Indonesian officers were trained in Koninklijke Netherlandsche Indische Leger (KNIL), the name for the Dutch colonial army. Dutch officers claimed that they had organized and trained nearly 3,000 police comprised of Indonesians before independence. Perhaps these people joined the masses that asked for independence. Dutch-trained Indonesians from the disbanded police and the army could be responsible to help train civilians about military tactics and how to handle weapons since they had the military knowledge and skills. This may explain why some semblance of Dutch training and culture were present in the ABRI.

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112 The "Green faction" is a group of military personnel who supports the orthodox Islamic movement and struggle. According to an interview between an Indonesian military officer at NPS and the author on 20 September 2003, he is not aware of such faction within his circle. There is no formal grouping in the military where he works that claims to be a green or red faction.

113 Ibid., Robert W. Hefner, pp. 74-75. He classifies Indonesian Muslims as 'santri' and 'abangan.'

114 Ibid., Olsen and Jurika, p. 6.

There was another view that said the Japanese military had sponsored Indonesian armed groupings that later formed the Indonesian army.[115] This resulted because, during the Japanese occupation, the Japanese allowed many Indonesians to participate in politics, the administration and the military. Indonesians were given the opportunity to fill the lower ranks in the Japanese military in Indonesia.[116] The Japanese began organizing Indonesians into military and para-military units, heiho (auxiliaries) and Defenders of the Fatherland (PETA) in mid-1943.[117] According to the report, there were 37,000 such men in Java and 20,000 in Sumatra (known as Giyugun). In December 1944, a Muslim Armed Forces, the Army of God or Barisan Hizbullah, was attached to the Masyumi (A Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims which was actually organized by the Japanese). The Japanese adopted a strategy of being friendly to the Muslims. Hence, it was no surprise that the Japanese might have helped train the Muslim militants at that time. Bilveer claimed that "The Japanese-trained military leaders and armed groups to became the Indonesian Revolution fighters."[118] Under the Japanese occupation, Suharto joined these self-defense forces as an officer. He later became commander of the Jogjakarta military region in 1947.[119] An Ex-Japanese trained Indonesian later joined the masses and helped train the Indonesian military. Actually, the Japanese Military had some influences from Western military culture because most of their generals were Western trained. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Indonesian military had both Eastern and Western military cultures in their military when it was first created.

From discussions with Indonesian military personnel and observing the Indonesian military when they came to Malaysia for bilateral military exercises, their military culture prior to the 1980's was very similar to that practiced in Malaysia. There were many undesirable cultures that contradict Islamic teachings. They did not observe the Islamic dress code because the men wore shorts and the women wore skirts as their

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[115] Bilveer Singh, *Civil-Military Relations in Democratizing Indonesia: The Potentials and Limits to Change,* p. 46, Strategic and Defense Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2001.

[116] "Indonesia – The Japanese Occupation, 1942-45," *Country Study*, p. 2 of 3 [http://countrystudies.us/indonesia/15.htm]. Accessed 30 October 2003.

[117] Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*, p. 41, University of Hawaii Press, 1991.

[118] Ibid., Bilveer Singh, p. 59.

[119] Ibid., Thang and Ritcher, p. 18.

uniforms. They did not observe the Islamic diet in that they liked to drink liquor and eat non-'halal' food. Their social life was the same as before. They liked parties, dancing, womanizing, gambling and fighting with civilians. The officers bullied and treated their junior officers and low ranking personnel harshly.

Many westerners feel that the involvement of the military in politics was due to Suharto, who was a military man. Clearly, since independence, the military has been an integral element in the political and economic development of the nation. From the War of Independence through the parliamentary government of the 1950's, to the current New Order government, the military claims to be the link between the people and the government.

The majority of the military are Muslims and they strongly support the Indonesian 'Pancasila Democracy', which comprises the national philosophy derived from Hindu-Buddhist traditions and codified in the Constitution of 1945. The Islamic religion is not at all mentioned in the constitution. When asked why? Some quoted that the Non-Muslims that control other territories in Indonesia had threatened to split if the government insisted on including Islam in the 'Pancasila' when it was first introduced. The other reason is that from independence to the 1980's, the Indonesian government elite were seen as secular rather that truely Islamic. Similarly, the military heads were selected from the same genre. Hence, Islamic influence never progressed and developed as in the Pakistani military. The role of religion is more a personal belief that did not interfere with military matters, politics and state policy.[120] It was clear that in the 1980's, the Suharto government and its military did not reflect proper Islamic values but were more biased towards western influences due to modern reasons.

Military personnel came from society. From independence to the 1980's, officers came from elite groups of the Javanese Island. Therefore, they had more 'abangan' than 'santri' in the officer corps. Some claimed that the selection team had to be bribed in order to become an officer. Thus, a poor person's son was not able to become an officer. On the other hand, the recruits came from villages stronger in Islamic religion. According to Robert Lowry, before the 1980's, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (ABRI-

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[120] Ibid., Fred Mehden, p. 39.

Republic of Indonesian Armed Forces) was not involved with any Islamic parties.[121] Most of the "Santri' were screened out during recruitment throughout that period.[122] It was noted that the Sumatran were more pious than the Javanese who were still influenced by Hinduism. The lower ranking personnel practiced Islam without the encouragement of their officers. Before the 1980's, Suharto preferred nominating his generals from among the 'abangan'. For example, in the 1970's and early 1980's, Suharto entrusted the senior military leadership to Catholics, such as General Benny Moerdani, and also nominal Muslims such as General Ali Murtopo and General Sujono Humardhani.[123] He even selected secular modernist officers from the Siliwangi Division in West Java such as General Dharsono and General Sudhandi.[124] He had selected Catholics, nominal Muslims and secular modernist generals because he wanted to prevent the military from being influenced by orthodox Islam or Santri when the lower ranking military was seen as being interested in Islam.[125] During the early New Order, Suharto wanted to keep Islam as a matter of private practice within the military. He depended on the generals to control the ABRI firmly to keep it from being influenced by orthodox Islamic ideology.

Indonesia has a total of 297,000 active military. The breakdown is 230,000 in the Army, 40,000 in the Navy, and 27,000 in the Air Force. The reserves are comprised of 400,000 people. It is estimated that 90% of them are Muslim. Anther security group is the Paramilitary consisting of 195,000 police.[126] In the pre-1980's, the government made efforts to fashion a structured professional military based on western models since much of its Army weaponry and Air Force aircraft were from the United States. The Indonesian

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[121] Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia,* p. 199, Allen and Unwin, Australia, 1996.

[122] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[123] Ibid., Zakaria and Crouch, p. 72.

[124] Ibid., Hefner, p. 75.

[125] Marcus Mietzner, "Politics of Engagement, The Indonesian Armed Forces, Islamic Extremism, and the War on Terror," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs,* Vol. IX, Issue 1, p. 78, Spring 2002.

[126] Ibid., CIA book.

Navy was influenced to a lesser extent by Russian military culture because the Navy fleet was dominated by Russian-made ships. Therefore, those cultures could permeate throughout the Navy through the training that was conducted.[127]

3.   The Military Amidst Islamic Influence

Marcus observed that the Islamization of Indonesian society has become more prominent since the mid-1980's.[128] During this time, Indonesian Islamic scholars returning from studies in the Middle East became motivated to spread true Islam throughout Indonesian society that had forgotten the correct teachings. There were public lectures on Islam and these gatherings attracted thousands of people. This was the start of the Islamic revival in Indonesia. The 'pesantren' and 'madrasah' (private religious schools) also emerged at this time. This development forced Suhartoto change his strategy. He took an interest in becoming 'santri' because Indonesia was in the midst of an Islamic resurgence. During the mid-1980's, Suharto started to learn about true Islam from a Muslim preacher previously active in the military so that he would be well versed to quote passages from the Qur'an and hadith in public. During the mid to late 1980's, Suharto introduced religious programs to abangan villages to bring them to true Islam. His efforts succeeded in suppressing the communal rituals of the Javanese in public through local authorities that no longer sanctioned that celebration in public.[129]

Islamic culture slowly permeated throughout the military as the result of society's Islamic revival. This new cadre that joined the military had contributed to making the military institution respect Islam as a religion. During this period, the '1945 Generation' generals[130] had retired and a new generation of officers biased towards Islam started to be promoted to higher ranks.[131] The Islamic culture in the military also followed the demographic trend. If the villages surrounding the military camp were strong in Islamic practices then the military camp also tried to show that they were supportive of Islam because the lower ranking personnel lived in the nearby villages and mixed with society.

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[127] Interview between Professor Michael G. Vann (expert on Southeast Asian history), Naval Postgraduate School and the author, 30 October 2003.

[128] Ibid., Mietzner, p. 78.

[129] Ibid., Hefner, pp. 84-85.

[130] '1945 Generation' is a term used for officers who were involved in the 1945 revolution.

[131] Ibid., Mietzner, p. 73.

By the early 1990s, Suharto, noticing that the trend towards Islamic revival had grown stronger, accommodated it by adding Muslim generals into his regime.[132] General Feisal Tanjung, ABRI Commander in Chief and Army Chief of Staff General Hartono showed significant interest in Islam. They visited pesantren (rural Islamic Schools) and began making contributions to mosques in 1995. ABRI-Islamic relations advocated that the military higher command tolerate and allow more Islamic culture to permeate throughout the institution. More of the lower military ranks and officers openly showed an interest in Islam during the mid-1990.

The higher command encouraged the Territorial commanders to develop a military network within the Muslim community. Meetings with leaders of political parties, other organizations, and influential Islamic religious teachers (kyai and ulama) were regularly arranged. Some commanders invited these people to the headquarters or their homes for "morning coffee" as a way to entertain them. This opened the channels of communication and fostered acceptance of the Army role in civilian affairs.[133] The ABRI tried hard to change its anti-Islamic image of the 1980's through highly publicized meetings with Islamic leaders.[134]

Marcus Mietzner argues that the military leadership supports Muslim groups as a political strategy. They wanted to secure the support of major constituencies so that they could continue to be dominant in politics. The Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI – Indonesian National Forces)[135] as an institution, did not want to move against radical Muslim groups because they could have been criticized by influential Muslim-dominated newspapers and magazines, and hence, they may have lost the political support of radical Muslims.

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[132] Ibid., p.78.

[133] Douglas Kammen and Siddharth Chandra, *A Tour of Duty; Changing Patterns of Military Politics in Indonesia in the 1990s,* p. 65, Cornell University, 1999.

[134] Ibid., Lowry, p. 199.

[135] The military adopted the name TNI when the police force was separated under the new reorganization.

The army's basic military strategy, Sishankamrata, or Universal People's Defense, resemble the Jihad concept in Islam.[136] According to this doctrine, the people of Indonesia and its military will spontaneously rise against any threat to the independence and sovereignty of Indonesia. "The army and the people are partners for the defense of the nation, the army is the armed core and the people are the foundation."[137]

The Indonesian military's attitude about Islam has changed for the better. In the 1980's, the Commanding Officers and troops involved in the use of force and outright repression were praised and frequently honored with medals, promotions and appointments to prestigious positions. However, in the 1990's, Army officers were punished for excessive use of violence that violated legal and human rights, which was also, in-line with Islamic teachings.[138] The Massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor on November 12, 1991, committed by the military on civilians, was tried and those responsible were punished accordingly. Similarly, non-commission officers who violated Islamic law as well as regulations such as gambling, selling drugs, extortion, beating and torturing received disciplinary actions.[139]

Some of the TNI generals wanted to instill Islamic values in the military but this was not an easy task because of resistance to change among its personnel and a new phenomena within the TNI that surfaced: fractionalization.[140]. Researchers observe two factions in the military. The first is called the 'green' and the second the 'red and white' group. The 'Green group' supports the orthodox Islamic movement and struggle and is also pro-Suharto. On the other hand, the 'red and white' group is the secular group (abangan) that does not support Islamic religion and is anti-Suharto.[141] General Murdani

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136 Michael R. J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics Under Suharto,* p. 20, Routledge Press, London, 1994.

137 "Pengantar Sishankamrata," (Introduction to Universal People's Defense Manual), Markas Besar, ABRI, 1993.

138 Ibid., Kammen and Chandra, p. 10.

139 Ibid., p 20.

140 Major Thomas E. Sidwell (U.S. Army), *The Indonesian Military: Dwi Fungsi And Territorial Operations,* Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1995, [http://www.Fas.Org/Irp/World/Indonesia/12#12], Accessed 21 September 2003.

141 Discussion between Professor Gaye Christoffersen, Naval Postgraduate School and the author, 20 June 2003. She said that there are factions in the TNI: one is pro-Islam and the other is anti-Islam.

was identified as its leader.[142] Some analysts observe that there are serious divisions within the Army elite. Factions within the military elite want to remove the associates of Benny Moerdani and those promoted through personal connections with the palace.[143] Mbak Tutut, Suharto's daughter, joined the 'green' generals composed of General Hartono, General Feisal Tanjung, General Syarwan Hamid and General Prabowo Subianto to establish the Center for Policy and Development Studies (CPDS) as a think tank. Tutut and Hartono, civilian and military respectively, were two strong supporters of Islam.[144]

Hefner wrote that the 'green' eneral, Major General Prabowo Subianto, Suharto's son-in-law, had directed his military advisers from the Special Forces to train supporters of Soeryadi to capture the Indonesian Democratic Party–Struggle (PDI) headquarters in July 27, 1996. The 'green' army Special Forces, while not in military uniform, also took part in causing havoc and attacked Megawati's headquarters for the second time. Prabowo Subianto had forged connections with Islamic groups, despite being largely disinterested in Soeryadi political goals because such Islamic groups were the most efficient at organizing demonstrations, public relations campaigns, and intimidating opponents.

Military support of Islamist groups was evident when former Commander-in-Chief, General Wiranto, had approved the mobilization of thousands of Islamic demonstrators at the Special Session of the Assembly in November 1998. Armed with bamboo spears, they were sent to block off students demonstrating against TNI's presence in the Parliament.

When Wahid became president, he selected Lieutenant General Agus Wirahadikusumah as Kostrad because he was considered to be religious. This general exposed many military activities that were against Islamic teachings. Some examples were the misappropriation of $20 million from the Kostrad 'Yayasan' (Fund), military racketeering in discotheques, brothels, gambling dens, and narcotics. His actions caused

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[142] Damien Kingsbury, *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military*, p. 155, Routledge Curzon, 2003.

[143] Ibid., Kammen and Chandra, p. 78.

[144] Ibid., Hefner, p. 172.

the army from the red faction to hate him.[145] He was later dismissed after serving only four months because he was not able to obtain the support of the many 'abangan' generals and some green generals.

The Former Minister of Defense, Juwono Sudarsono, observed that some soldiers might be irresponsible, quasi-anarchist and anti-Christian.[146] These soldiers, backed by their superiors, were suspected of being behind the killing of Willem Onde, a Papuan separatist. The military was also accused of secretly supporting Laskar Jihad (LJ). LJ was an Islamist paramilitary with a nationalist agenda. There was some speculation that LJ, founded in 2000 and which advocated anti-Christian violence, was an associate of Al-Qaeda.[147] In early October 2002, following the Bali Bombing, LJ voluntarily disbanded itself.[148] Djadja Suparman, an Islamist general while heading Kostrad, was accused of diverting $20 million to support LJ. He had allowed the military to pass arms to LJ in Muluku. Zen Maulani, when he took over the BAKIN, was known to select green officers (Islamists) for his staff in the intelligence agency. "Green clique connivance was involved in Maluku."[149] It was rumored that other senior officers funded the LJ.[150]

During the nationwide student riot of May 13-15, 1998, a non-university crowd and the urban poor began marching starting at the Tomang district westward to the Tangerang district, and then eastward toward Chinatown of the Glodok district hitting, looting, and torching automobile showrooms, shops and hotels, churches and hospitals. There were 52 cases of rapes and assaults on Chinese women. Prabowo and his radical

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[145] Ibid., p. 213.

[146] Juwono Sudarsono, "Improving the US-Indonesia Military Relationship," VZR, 4, No. 11, 02 June, pp. 9-13 in Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies,* p. 521, The Belknap Press Harvard University, 2003.

[147] Bonner Raymond and Jane Perlez, "Al Qaeda Seeks Niche in Indonesia Official Fear," New York Times, January 23, 2002 in Edward V. Linden, *World Terrorism*, p. 76, Nova Science Publishers New York, 2002.

[148] Zachary Abuza, *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia, Crucible of Terror,* p. 196, Lynne Rienner Publishers, USA, 2003.

[149] Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies,* p. 483, The Belknap Press Harvard University, 2003.

[150] "Islamic Extremism, and the War on Terror," *Tentera National Indonesia (TNI),* Volume IX, Issue 1, p. 79, Spring 2002.

Muslim supporters in the military tried to discredit Wiranto by stating that he allegedly initiated this incident.[151] Some Indonesian observers considered this incident to be ethnic cleansing of Chinese Indonesians by 'green' soldiers.[152]

There is no concrete evidence that the military supported Jemaah Islamiah (JI), another international jihad terrorist group operating in Indonesia accused of the Bali Bombing.[153] JI is accused of being linked to the Al-Qaeda's network of Osama Bin Laden.[154] This extremist group's ultimate goal is to remove non-Muslim control and influence from Indonesia and replace it with Islam.

To summarize, Islamic practices and rituals in the TNI are still carried out individually. Similar to Malaysia, the TNI also has Islamic religious personnel at all military headquarters to advise on religious matters. Islamic rituals such as the 'doa' precede any official ceremony like those practiced in the Malaysian Armed Forces.[155] The sale of liquor in mess halls and the serving of beer at official functions have also stopped. Mosques are found in large military camps for military and civilian use.

Until 1990, the Army was respected by society. Society lost respect when they learnt that Suharto had corrupted them and made them protect his personal interest instead. An old general in the MPR said "all the three-star generals, two-star generals, one-star general and even a few colonels must resign because of corruption."[156] The soldiers and lower ranking officers, due to their training, code of conduct pledge, a soldier's oath and adherence to principles of leadership, made them blindly obey the orders of their generals who could be from the 'green' or 'red and white' groups. The culture of discipline and obedience instilled in them made them pawns of these generals.[157]

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[151] Ibid., Friend, p. 324.

[152] Ibid., Hefner, pp. 328-338.

[153] Ibid., Friend, p. 522.

[154] Ibid., Linden, pp. 75-76.

[155] Interview between Indonesian military officer, at NPS and the author, 6 November 2003. He confirmed that such Islamic activities were carried out in the TNI.

[156] Ibid., Friend, p. 452.

[157] Bilveer Singh, *Civil-Military Relations in Democratizing Indonesia: The Potentials and Limits to Change*, pp. 73-75, Strategic and Defense Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2001.

E. CASE STUDY OF THE PAKISTANI MILITARY

1. Pakistani Military Affairs

Pakistan experienced more than 100 years of British colonial rule that radically reshaped the structure of the country, society and military. On the other hand, it inherited the Muslim conquest and dominance from the 13th century to the 19th century. The latter had provided the Islamic factor that led to the partition of India and shaped modern-day Pakistan. Since its independence in 1947, Pakistani society is ethnically diverse yet overwhelmingly Muslim.

The Pakistani military was formed in 1947. According to Cohen, "Upon achieving independence the Pakistan army moved immediately to emphasize Islam as a unifying force."[158] He noted that professional journals of the military mostly discussed military affairs related to Islam and suggested that Islamic principles and culture replace the traditional Indian Army and British military cultures.[159] Today, Pakistan has 612,000 active military personnel composed of 550,000 Army, 22,000 Navy, and 40,000 Air Force.[160] The Reserve Force has 513,000 personnel made up of 500,000 Army, 5,000 Navy, and 8,000 Air Force.[161] The military remains one of the country's most cohesive national institutions. Since independence, it has been involved in direct and indirect political control as evident in the many coups that have occurred. The military has a strong sense of defending and preserving the Islamic state of Pakistan.

British heritage has played the greatest role in shaping military tradition before Islam permeated throughout the military institution. The Pakistani Army structures up to early 1990's still resembled the British Indian Army structure of the 19th century. Homogeneous regiments depended on class and caste, rather than on territory. Service in a specific regiment passed from father to son. During British rule, the structure remain unchanged when Pakistani rule began except for the change in nationality of the senior officer corps.

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[158] Stephan P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army*, p. 37, University of California Press, 1984.

[159] Ibid., Cohen, pp. 37-38.

[160] "Pakistan Military," Library of Congress *Country Study*. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+pk0168)], Accessed 22 July 2003.

[161] "Pakistan Military, A Country Study," *Library of Congress Country Study*. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/pktoc.html], Accessed 28 July 2003.

After British influence, a second western culture took place in the Pakistani military. The officers who received western military education exposure tended to adopt U.S. military culture.[162] Hundreds of Pakistani trainees and officers were sent abroad during the 1950's and 1960's to attend training in Britain and the United States, in armored and infantry schools as well as higher staff and command institutions. After 1961, this training was coordinated under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, but the numbers varied depending on United States-Pakistan military relationship. In the 1980's, the PME training in the form of academic training, achieving Master's degrees and even Doctorate degrees at universities abroad served many purposes, for example, to expose officers to western military culture, upgrade the intellectual standards of the officer corps and increase awareness of the greater world. Of approximately 200 officers being sent abroad annually in the 1980's, about two-thirds went to the United States, but due to political conflicts, the IMET program was suspended. In 1994, virtually all training abroad was in Commonwealth countries. Most of the generation of officers trained in the British and U. S. traditions consider religion a purely personal matter. M. Attiqur Rahman observed that in some single mess halls during that period, women and female singers were brought to the single's rooms to imitate an American officer's club culture although Army orders prohibit such activities.[163]

In contrast, the culture of the recruits and the lower ranks were different because they were less exposed to western culture. In the Regimental Training centers and in units an "Islamic" presence existed considered to be moderate Islam.[164] Some of the examples of Islamic influence were Islamic battle cries used by trainees "Nadar Hazar Ali!" (I am present before Ali), sign boards reminding them of holy verses to encourage them to fight in the name of Allah.

2. Adoption of Islamic Values

The generation of officers and lower ranks not exposed to foreign influences because of local training demonstrated an interest in Islam. Since they grew up in a

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[162] Ibid., Cohen, p. 63.

[163] M. Attiqur Rahman, *Our Defense Cause,* p. 44, White Lion London, 1976.

[164] Ibid., Cohen, p. 37.

society that had been influenced by "orthodox" Islam, they are perceived as emphasizing and accepting Islamic practices for personal use. Although recruitment is nationwide and the Army attempts to maintain an ethnic balance, most recruits, as in British times, come from a few districts in the northern Punjab Province and the adjacent North-West Frontier Province. In these areas, society is considered religious. Furthermore, most enlisted personnel come from rural families that are orthodox Muslim and thus, they bring their Islamic practices with them.

Islam remains a motivating force and enhances the fighting spirit of the Pakistani military.[165] Relatively few Pakistani officers and soldiers have turned to Islamic extremists due to the demands on and emphasis of professionalism in the military. Some of the military personnel as well as civilians took the example from the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 and Afghanistan's experience to reinforce Islamic zeal and strengthen their conservative Islamic faith.[166] Senior generals are reportedly concerned about the extremist ideas of religion becoming more influential in military affairs. The Armed Forces instill the importance of a moderate Islam as well as nationalism amongst its personnel following the demands of society and political leaders.

The leader that changed the perception of the military toward Islam was a military general, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He was sworn in as President and chief martial law administrator. On December 20, 1971, Zulfiqar made an address to the people:

> I have been summoned by the nation as the authentic voice of the people of Pakistan…I would not like to see Martial Law remain one day longer than necessary… We have to rebuild the democratic institutions….We have to rebuild a situation in which the common man, the poor man in the street, can tell me to go to hell.[167]

Some writers doubted his pious status. He was viewed differently by rabid secularists.[168] Zulfikar said he supports the Islamic teachings that another person can advise a leader but, in reality, those who did so were being punished. He also lied about

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[165] Ibid., p. 86, p. 96.

[166] Hasan –Askari Rizvi, *Military State and Society in Pakistan,* p. 247, St Martin Press, Inc., NY, 2000.

[167] Brain Cloughley, *A History of Pakistan Army, Wars and Insurrections,* p. 239, Oxford University Press, 2000. Zulfikar made the announcement address on Radio and TV.

[168] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 98.

holding elections as soon as possible. Instead, he ruled for six years until he lost.[169] However, one of his good characteristics was his concern for Islam. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto played the key role in the permeation of Islam throughout the military, the government and society. He is a man of contradictions, a product of a privileged feudal background, Western-educated but who promoted popular themes of shared wealth, national unity, and the need to restore political democracy under the slogan "Islam our Faith, Democracy our Polity, Socialism our Economy." Bhutto contributed to the Pakistan atomic program, starting with the separation of plutonium and then the uranium enrichment program.[170] He wanted Pakistan to be the leader among the Islamic countries, and at the same time, solved Pakistan's problem with neighboring countries. "He openly championed Islamization so that he could co-opt part of the opposition party."[171] Perhaps another reason he initiated and emphasized that Pakistanis should be good Muslims was the pressure from orthodox elements in society.[172]

Bhutto purged his party of real or imagined opponents and created a praetorian security force answerable only to him. He brought the civil service under his personal control, and sacked military officers who possessed what he described as "Bonapartist tendencies." General Hamid, who was the Chief of Staff, was quickly dismissed and Bhutto selected General Gul Hassan, whom he considered loyal, pliable and quiescent to maintain the military according to his desires.[173] Surprisingly, on March 3, 1972, he sacked Gul Hassan and Air Chief Rahim Khan because both could not get along with him. Bhutto changed the colonial structure of the military. The Commander in Chief was renamed to Chief of Staff. He named General Tikka Khan as COS who remained his yes man for four years.[174] He became popular amongst many military personnel because he supported orthodox Islam.

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[169] Ibid., Cloughley, p. 271.

[170] Maj Gen D. K. Palit, PKS Namboodiri, *Pakistan's Islamic Bomb*, pp. 9-22, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1979.

[171] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 99.

[172] Ibid., Cohen, p. 91.

[173] Ibid., Cloughley, pp. 241-244.

[174] Ibid., p. 247.

The military took a slightly new outlook from just looking at Islam as a purely personal matter but instead transformed the institution, which became Islamized. New regulations for the military allow the officers to keep their beards according to the Prophet Muhammad 'sunnah.' Shorts pants are no longer part of the military uniform. The official functions start with a 'doa' (ritual) to obtain Allah's blessing. In 1977, the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto outlawed alcohol and changed the "day off" from Sunday to Friday. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced certain Islamic practices, notably the prohibition of alcoholic beverages, in the army. In the public domain, he closed casinos, nightclubs, bars, gambling houses and prostitution dens.

3.   A Continued Islamized Military

Bhutto then named General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, a relatively junior and obscure Muslim general, to hold the top army post. Bhutto's PPP could not control the National Assembly in the elections of March 1977 because the margin of the PPP's victory was so overwhelming. The party was charged with fraud, and immediately riots erupted throughout the country. "There was also a full-pledged power struggle between Islamism and state which Bhutto could not handle."[175]

Zia abruptly took over as the chief martial law administrator. Zia argued that Pakistan under Zulfikar is only "an ideological state" and Islamic laws are not operationalized. The previous regime was immoral, corrupted the society with social permissiveness that resemble 'Islamic Socialism' instead of the sacred Islam teachings.[176] He assured the people that the military desired to supervise fair elections, which he said would be held in 90 days. As election time approached, Zia announced that criminal charges were being brought against Bhutto and postponed the elections until after Bhutto had been tried in court. Bhutto was found guilty of complicity in the murder of a political opponent, and later hanged. Zia was accused of being a hypocrite because his regime was seen as harsh and many Bhutto loyalists were jailed. On the other hand, Zia is genuinely a religious man who tried to encourage the people to observe Islam.[177]

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[175] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 100.

[176] Saeed Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan, From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto,* pp. 198-200, West view Press, Pakistan, 1997.

[177] Ibid., Cloughley, p. 277.

In terms of Islamizing the military, Zia was more encouraging than Bhutto. He and his advisors systematically started to convert the Pakistani military into good Muslims.[178] In the military, Zia was called 'maulvis' (religious scholar) and he was very interested in Mawdudi's Jama'at-i-Islami ideology of an Islamic state.[179] As a result, Shafqat branded him a sympathizer of the Jama'at-i-Islami party and responsible for advancing the popularity of the Islamic party.[180] He introduced the assignment of 'mullah' (religious personnel).[181] who act as a bridge for the officers linking profession and faith.[182] Some of the mullahs reportedly go into combat with the troops. Zia also integrated the 'maulvis' in each army unit to participate in battle and everyday military life. Their status was upgraded.[183] Many new senior officers during Zia's time were inclined to religion because of their upbringing and educational background. When they attended the staff college, Islamic writings were taught, and research was based on the Qur'an, Hadith and focused on Islamic military practices, doctrine and strategy.[184] When Zia was the Chief of Staff before he became President, he had already encouraged the military to pray, fast and distributed Islamic literature to his men.[185]

Modest mosques have been built in military training areas, Islamic texts are being introduced into training courses, mid-grade officers must take courses and examinations on Islam, and serious attempts are under way to define an Islamic military doctrine, as distinct from the "Western" doctrines that the Pakistanis have been following. He blocked the Muslim's Ahmadiyyas sect from society and the military, and prohibited the group from asserting any claim to being Muslim.

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[178] Ibid., Cohen, pp. 89-90.

[179] Ibid., Nasr, p. 136.

[180] Ibid., Shafqat, p. 199.

[181] 'Mullah' is equivalent to the chaplain in US Military. Mullah only deals with Islamic matter whereas chaplain can advise on any other religion.

[182] Ibid., Cohen, p. 91.

[183] Ibid., Cloughley, p. 278.

[184] Ibid., Cohen, p. 95.

[185] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 136.

In February 1979, new penal measures based on Islamic principles of justice went into effect. The military is also subjected to Islamic Provisions. Sharia law was not intended to replace the criminal code but to bring specific parts of it in accordance with the Qur'an and sharia. The 'hudood' ordinance was promulgated in 1979. The first ordinance deals with offenses against property, the second with 'zina' (adultery) and 'zina-bil-jabr' (rape), the third with 'qazf' (false accusation of 'zina'), and the fourth with the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Two levels of cases exist under the ordinances. For 'hudood' cases, strict Islamic evidence requirements are required for specific Islamic punishments. For 'tazir' (lighter offences and when the evidence is not strong) only minor punishments are awarded.

A major component in the Islamization program, the Sharia Bill, was passed in May 1991. This bill required that all laws in the country conform to Islam. A welfare and taxation system based on 'zakat' (Islamic taxation) and a profit-and-loss banking system were also established. The military is also subjected to the Sharia Bill and taxation system in addition to the military law they follow.

Zia's Islamization program was pursued although the popular culture of the society resembled the modern Western culture invasion of the 1990's. His stance was to make people 'personally very religious but not publicly religious.'[186] An unexpected outcome was that by relying on an Islamic policy, the state created factionalism. His efforts at legislating what is Islamic and what is not, could no longer provide unity because it tends to exclude previously included groups of non-Muslims. Zia's military regime had no party, and as a result, he was not successful in co-opting the political parties to unit behind him.[187]

Muslim soldiers in the Islamized Military could claim that they were protecting the faith and the Islamic Pakistani state. The military sees itself as the provider of an alternative political leadership in times of crisis. Military regimes in Pakistan have legitimatized their involvement in political actions with the doctrine of needing to act

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[186] This phrase means that Muslim practices Islam at home or in mosques but in public places bar, night clubs and gambling center were still allowed to operate.

[187] Ibid., p. 27.

according to Islamic teachings. The military will step in temporarily when political crises have reached a deadlock and threaten the state. In 1988, Zia died before the Islamization initiative in the military and the country was completed.[188]

4. Reverting to Liberal Islam

Military rule was disrupted when Bhutto's daughter Benazir came into power. She embraced the politics of revenge as she began her political ascent in steadfast opposition to Zia and martial law. The Islamized military institution encouraged by Bhutto and Zia started to revert back to personal practices under Benazir and Nawas Sharif.

On October 14, 1999, the military under the leadership of General Musharraf took over the post of Prime Minister. He is seen as a modernist and did not emphasize Islam in the military. He prefers the military to be professional and modern. Musharraf also brought in his men to head the military with Lt Gen Muhammad Aziz Khan and Lt Gen Muhammad Akram.[189]

He declared a state of emergency and issued the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), which suspended the federal and provincial parliaments and held the constitution in abeyance. Musharraf appointed a National Security Council, with mixed military/civilian appointees, a civilian Cabinet, and a National Reconstruction Bureau (think tank) to formulate structural reforms. [190]

The saying of Samina Ahmad is true. The Pakistani military is the only organized and disciplined institution, thus seen by the public as the sole guarantor of the country's survival. Its Islamic posture further justifies its political role when threatened by an instable and corrupt civilian government. Following every coup d'état, military leaders claim that the military was the guardian of the people.[191]

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[188] Ibid., p. 150.

[189] Ibid., Cloughley, p. 371.

[190] John Pike, "Pakistan Politics," *Global Security.* Last Modified: 15 July 2002, [http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/intro.htm], Accessed 6 November 2003.

[191] Samina Ahmed, "Pakistan: Professionalism of an Interventionist Military." in Muthiah Alagappa, *Military Professionalism in Asia; Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives*, pp. 151-161, East West Center, 2001.

F.   CONCLUSION

Pakistan started the Islamization of its military institution earlier than Malaysia during the era when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became Prime Minister in 1971. During that period, Islam was integral to Pakistani military ideology.[192] Zia continued the military Islamization further by promoting Islamic values and principles, teaching Islamic history, Muslim war heroes, and Islamic battles as part of military education, training and ideology.[193] This had encouraged the military to become orthodox or conservative Muslims. Zia himself was inclined toward Tableghi Jama'at (non-political organization). The Jama'at-i-Islami party managed to infiltrate the Army although military personnel linked to Islamist parties was discouraged in the military. However, Musharraf leadership's does not currently emphasize Islam as much.

In the case of Malaysian, the resurgence of Islam in society was spearheaded by a group of educated clergy. Its Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir, saw the need to integrate Islam into the government and military to gain support and legitimacy for his regime.

On the other hand, although Indonesia has the largest Islamic population, the influence of Islam in the military has not become prominent because of the lack of political drive. The large 'abangan' group blocks the 'green army' from transforming the military into an Islamized institution. Suharto's attempt to use Islam to sustain its power failed. His successor, Abdurrahman Wahid, did not emphasize Islam in the military during his short rule. Today, President Megawati, being secular, is unlikely to make the Indonesian military a real Islamized military institution.

Islam has spread into the Malaysian military from society as a result of the resurgence of Islam brought about by religious local clergies. The present government's role is to promote and encourage Islam as a strategy to win over the military vote. In Malaysia and Pakistan, the state leaders selected Islam as a reactive strategy.[194] The military leadership followed suit to accommodate the trend of religion becoming part of the military institution. The systematic and coordinated approach by the government and the military resulted in moderate Islamic teachings spreading into the military. Therefore,

[192] Ibid., Rizvi, p. 245.

[193] Ibid., p 247.

[194] Ibid., Vali Nasr, p. 24.

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the Malaysian Military became Islamized due to internal forces from within the country contrary to the view that external influences from another country had any direct impact. The encouragement by the political master as well as control of the approved teachings of Islam results in the Malaysian military being Islamized in a systematic manner. Today, society no longer possesses any negative attitude towards the military culture. Overall, the Muslim military personnel in Malaysia belong to the Liberal modernist's category of Muslim, following the Yamani category mentioned in Chapter II of this thesis. So far, the Islamized Malaysian military has not turned aggressive or caused a military coup as in Iran or Pakistan. Although the Malaysian military has become Islamized, civilian control of the military is still maintained. The political master, the society and the military leadership are the major players that encourage Islam to get a foothold in the military institute. The military symbolized the physical power of the Malay and Islam to stand up to any radical movement's threat.[195]

Islam slowly exerted its influence in Indonesia when General Suharto, a Muslim, assumed the role of President. The Indonesian military has been all the while involved in politics under the concept of 'dwi-fungsi'. The majority of the military are Muslim but a factional group such as the 'green and red army' has conflicting interests that prevented Islam from becoming dominant as in the case of Malaysia. The 'green army' has been accused of associating with Islamist extremist groups. Within the military, Islam remains a personal matter. However, liquor is not sold in military camps, and official military ceremonies are preceded with a 'doa' such as is practiced in Malaysia and Pakistan. The military also emphasizes other minority religion rituals. The 'Department Agama Islam' has not been actively promoting Islamic teachings in other areas outside its traditional role of death affairs and personnel consultation of religious matters.

In Pakistan, a different process of how Islam permeates the military occurs. The military general who became the Prime Minister forced the Islamization of the military institution. The younger generation of military personnel who replaced the western trained and secular leadership in the military supported his effort. These groups initially adopted Islam as a personal practice but when political support was evident, they

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[195] Ibid., Thaib, p. 133.

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reformed and openly practiced Islamic values in the institution. The political support and tendency of the military to be seen as Islamic further accelerated and encouraged the Islamization of the Pakistani military institution. The existence of Mullah promotes the Islamic policies and regulations and helps to check the undesired religious extremist from influencing the military.

The military of all three countries has a religious corps element to administer all Islamic affairs in the military. What differentiates each country is the degree of respect and the freedom to actively promote and sustain Islam in the organization. When the religious departments are weak, the military institution cannot become fully Islamized. The attitude of the top military leadership to support Islam also determines Islamic influences in the military organization. The government strategy of selecting the generals of their choice who can mirror their own desire to either block or encourage Islamization in the military has been used by the three countries.

The changes that Islam made in the military through its Islamic teachings actually improve individual moral values, create responsibility, determine 'right and wrong' and discipline in the military. Islam's influence does not interfere with the inherited Western concept such as tactical and operational strategies and the art of war or any matters relating to military science and technology.

IV. ISLAMIZED MILITARY AND CMR ISSUES

A. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter attempts to categorize the group of Muslim individuals in the military. Many types of Muslims and the terminology are often used to describe Muslims. Four main categories of Muslims found in the Malaysian, Indonesian and Pakistani military are secular, moderates, orthodox, and extremist. Indonesia has a majority secular military, Malaysia is more moderate while Pakistan has both moderate and orthodox Muslims in the military. Muslim personnel in the military may influence the military institution. The level of piousness of the top leadership may drive the institution to be either Islamic or secular. Government leadership can also influence the institution's outlook towards Islam.

It is noted that various types of the Islamized military affect the CMR differently. In each country, the relationship of the Islamized military institution with civil control, politics, society and Islamic groups varies. This chapter will examine the military institution and attempt to sub-categorize it into various types. For the purpose of this thesis, the Islamized Military Institution is differentiated into four types: 1) Mild, 2) Moderate, 3) Strong and 4) Full.

Pakistan's military during Zia's era resembles the **s**trong Islamized military but did not reach the full Islamized military practiced by the prophet Muhammad. Coups and military rule occur a few times throughout history when the military, which look more Islamic, saw the opportunity to take charge. The breakdown of civil control occurred because of the failure of the Pakistani civil government to observe the Islamic moral values themselves.

The Malaysian military takes a moderate approach towards adopting Islamic ideology into its institution. The majority of personnel are guided by the Religious Corp (KAGAT) to become moderate Muslims. Malaysia enjoys good CMR relations since its independence to today. There were no reported coups attempts or military friction. In the case of Malaysia, civil control has gained legitimacy and is protected from using Islam as a tool to keep the military focused on its main business and out of politics.

On the other hand, the Indonesian military remained a mild Islamized institution with a large proportion of 'abangan' (secular) Muslims. The influence of Islam slightly permeates the institution with its teachings diluted with other religious beliefs. From Suharto's regime, the mild Islamized military has not launched any major attempt to stage a coup. Instead, factions occur in the military. An accusation exists that a general belonging to the 'green' faction planned Suharto's downfall, causing the security disorder to discredit Habibie and the Wahid government. The present government under Megawati is trying hard to maintain civilian control over the military.

There is a misconception by Western scholars that all types of an Islamized military can pose a danger to security. The Islamized military does not necessarily lead to a breakdown of democracy if it is managed properly. Everyone can adopt the similarities of the Islamized values and ethics with modern military cultures so that an Islamic military and all other militaries can work together.

An Islamized military is never without challenges and constantly faces difficulties in maintaining its reputation. In a large organization such as the military, there are bound to be individuals who deviate. The military leadership obedient to civilians is difficult to select because of other influences. The constant threat by deviationist ideology to infiltrate the military never ceases. All these challenges in addition to the negative attitude of the West which tries to discourage Islam, prevent the military institution from becoming a full Islamized institution.

B.   ANALYSIS OF ISLAMIZED MILITARY

1.   Category of Military Personnel

Two approach levels are used to demonstrate the success of the influence of Islam in the military. The first is on a personal level, and second, at the organizational or institutional level. According to Yamani's categorization of Muslim in Chapter II, a Muslim individual basically can be divided into four groups: 1) liberal modernists, 2) traditionalists, 3) 'conservative salafis' and 4) 'radical salafis.' Other authors who wrote about Indonesia have provided terms such as 1) Abangan, 2) Santri, and 3) Secular Modernizer group to differentiate Muslim individuals. On the other hand, the Qur'an has categorized the Islamic followers into two main categories:[196] 1) Believers-One who

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[196] Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, v. (35:32).

believes in God and supports Islam and 2) 'Munafiq'–one who pretends to be Islamic. When they are with Islamic people, they are Muslim but when they are with non-believers they say they are not actually Islamic and plan to destroy Islam from within.

The Believers group[197] is again subdivided into three groups; 1) Wrongdoers– Ones who are careless about doing some obligatory actions (wajib) and who commit some forbidden actions (haram). 2) 'Muktasid or 'follower of middle course,' sometimes called 'Muslimin'–One who fulfills his obligations and avoids forbidden activities but may neglect some good deeds and do something which is disliked (makruh). 3) 'Mukminin' or 'foremost in good deeds individual'–One who does obligatory actions (wajib) which are encouraged (sunat), avoids committing unlawful (haram) and disliked actions (makruh) and avoids some acts which are permissible (harus). Table I attempts to compare the different terminologies of different types of Muslims and provides a common term for easier understanding.

Table 1.   Category of Followers of Islam from Different Perspectives.

GROUP	Common Term	Yamani's Classification[198]	Indonesian Term	Qur'anic Version	Devoutness Level
1	Secular	Liberal modernist	'Abangan'	Wrongdoers –still believe in peace	Low
2	Moderate	Traditionalist	Secular Modernizer/ 'green army'	Muslimin	Medium
3	Orthodox/ Fundamentalist	Conservative Salafis	'Santri'/ Ulama	Mukminin	Pious
4	Extremist/ Fanatic	Radical Salafis	'Ajaran Songsang'	Wrongdoers- believer in violence	Deviationist

The exact level of devoutness of the military officers and lower ranking personnel are difficult to measure quantitatively and qualitatively because belief lies in one's heart. Extensive interviews which are then confirmed by observations could reveal a person's

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[197] Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an (Translation of Qur'an) Surah 35:32*, Abridge, Volume 8, p. 148, Daruls Salam Press, September 2000.

[198] Ibid., Yamani, p. 119.

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level of devoutness. For most people, their acts and practices can represent the level of devoutness. It is preferable to use three levels of devoutness, starting with Low, Medium and Pious while the Deviationist is not technically in the devout category of True Islam. A Deviationist carries out 'bidaah' (action not done by the prophet) and takes an extreme approach to violence not in accordance with True Islamic teachings. In the case of the terrorist, he can originate from Group 1 (Secular) and Group 2 (Moderate) but can suddenly or over time change to become Group 4 (Extremist) depending on the degree of ideological indoctrination.

Employing random observations of military personnel and supported by the opinions of interviewers from the countries, the following generalization is postulated. Approximately half of the military personnel in Pakistan are in Group 3 (Orthodox) due to their upbringing and strong societal influence. Another half falls in Group 2 (Moderate). In the case of the Malaysian military, among Muslim personnel, three quarters fall in category of Group 2 (Moderate) because of the religious education they received in school and in the military. The remaining quarter is Group 3 (Orthodox). In Indonesia, three quarters of the military force dominates Group 1 (Secular). The remaining half is Group 2 (Moderate) and the other half is Group 3 (Orthodox). The comparison findings appear in Table 2.

Table 2.   The Estimated Strength and Type of Muslims in the Military.

GROUP	Pakistan (%)	Malaysia (%)	Indonesia (%)
1. Secular	-	-	¾ (75%)
2. Moderate	½ (50%)	¾ (75%)	1/8 (14.5%)
3. Orthodox	½ (50%)	¼ (25%)	1/8 (14.5%)
4. Extremist	-	-	-

The Malaysia and Pakistan military consist of a mixture of a 'Medium' and 'Pious' level of devoutness in the younger generation of officers because they are knowledgeable in Islam. On the other hand, in the Indonesian military, most younger generation officers from the 'abangan' do not practice the religion seriously and their

knowledge of religion is lacking, and hence, their level of devoutness remains at 'Low.' Some authors consider the top-ranking officers from the 'green army' not to be pious although they support Islamic groups.

2. Category of Military Institutions

A method of categorizing the institutions using the 'compare and contrast approach' is selected. In this case, the Prophet Muhammad's Islamic Military Model discussed in Chapter II is used as a benchmark and treated as a full Islamized institution standard. A combination of criteria and weighted points system is applied in order to categorize the military institution as Mild, Moderate, Strong and Full Islamization.

Eight criteria are used to evaluate each country. The Full Islamization model carries a different maximum number of points depending on the importance of the criteria:

- The Fully Islamized military role is to defend the Islamic religion first and the Islamic state second.

- The institution will defend and protect other Muslim states, aggressed by other Non-Muslim states when called upon.

- All the soldiers in that military should be Pious.

- All the officers must be Orthodox Muslim because they are required to lead.

- The military institution exactly follows what Islam teaches in all aspects of military culture.

- There are groups of preachers within the military responsible to teach, guide and spread Islamic ideology not only to the military but civilians that they meet.

- The leadership constantly encourages and ensures the military follows Islamic moral values and true teachings in the execution of the military operation during peacetime and war.

- All the military generals must be pious and show examples to their men.

a. Analysis Approach

The qualitatively and quantitatively assessment method was tried to determine the level of Islam in the military institution. It adopts the point system where the maximum point is assigned to the standard criteria according to its importance and weight. The answers are described qualitatively using 'Full, Many, Average, and Few' and some responses in the form of 'Yes, No' answers which have been given a scalar

point accordingly. The countries under study may fall into any four types of Islamized military institutions if their total points fall within the ranges specified. Points vary according to the answers and importance of each criterion. The findings can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3.   Measurement of Responses to the Criteria and the Points Awarded

Criteria	Malaysia	Pakistan	Indonesia	Islamic State
1) Is the sole role of military to defend own Islamic state?	No (0)	No (0)	No (0)	Yes (5)
2) Will it defend other Muslim state?	No (0)	No (0)	No (0)	Yes (5)
3) Number of pious Soldiers	Average (3)	Many (4)	Few (1)	All (5)
4) Number of pious Middle officers	Average (6)	Many (8)	Few (2)	All (10)
5) How much Islamic teaching the Institution has complied?	Average (20)	Many (35)	Few (10)	All (40)
6) Attempt & Effort by Internal religious department	Many (8)	Many (8)	Few (2)	All (10)
7) Encouragement by present Government	Many (20)	Average (15)	No (0)	All (25)
8) Number of pious military generals	Few (2)	Many (8)	Few (2)	All (10)
Total points	(59)	(78)	(17)	(110)
Category of Institution	Moderate	Strong	Mild	Full

Table 4.   Point Range For Each Type of Islamization

TYPE OF ISLAMIZATION	POINT RANGE
Mild	(1-39)
Moderate	(40-60)
Strong	(61-80)
Full	(81-110)

b. *Comment on Findings*

For criteria 1, all three countries never state officially in their constitution that the military exists solely to defend the Islamic religion. On the contrary, the three military institutions are only concerned with saving, guarding and defending their country based on national interests. The main role of the military in the constitution is to defend the country. One can argue that the involvement of the Pakistani military in Kashmir's conflict is seen as defending and saving the Muslims from Hindu rule but the real underlying agenda is political goals and not Islam per se. The Indonesian military is seen as protecting their Muslim brothers in the recent Islam-Christian conflicts in Timor-Timor, Maluku, Irian Jaya and East Timor. The military allows the Laskar Jihad to kill Christians. Both the Indonesian and Pakistan Islamized military institutions only seem to have an informal role in defending the Islamic struggle of the people but they actually act according to what their 'political master' asked. No points are awarded to the three countries.

No country meets the requirement of Criteria 2 where the military must help another Islamic country to fight a war against non-Muslim aggressors. In Pakistan, some authors made the claim that the secret intelligence agency gave full support to the neighboring Islamic groups such as the Taliban to fight the Russians. They also channeled aid from the Americans to Afghanistan during the Cold War. However, the Pakistani military has not shown any commitment to support Palestine to wage war with Israel.

Regarding criteria 3, the number and level of the Muslim soldiers varies in different countries under study. For example, in the Pakistani military, there are 'many' from Group 3 while in Malaysia it is 50-50 or average. In the case of the Indonesian military, a large portion of the military is dominated by the 'abangan,' and therefore, there are only a few pious personnel. Similarly, the number of Middle officers resembles that of the soldiers in Criteria 4.

Criteria 5 is the most important criterion and the maximum points are 40 as compared to the other criteria that range between 5 and 10 points. Each country adopts only a certain number of Islamic practices and moral values with varying commitment.

The reading of a 'doa' before commencing any formal task is seen in the Malaysian and Indonesian military but with a slightly different approach. In Indonesia, before the 'doa' is recited, the master of ceremony seeks permission from the audience as a matter of courtesy to respect other faiths. In the Malaysian military, the 'doa' is just read assuming all other religions will tolerate it. During military parades, it is obligatory for non-Muslims in the Malaysian military to raise their hands during the 'doa' ceremony. In all formal activities, the Pakistani will only begin their agenda after reciting verses from the holy Qur'an related to the event.[199] This is more than that practiced in the Malaysian or Indonesian militaries. Military establishments in Pakistan and Malaysia provide official spaces or rooms for personnel to pray. Most military camps in Malaysia and Pakistan have mosques, and big camps in Indonesia as wells have mosques.

All military institution has eliminated all the 'haram' (forbidden) activities such as gambling, consuming liquor, and womanizing. In the Pakistani military, enforcement of ''Shariah'' law is extended to the military and this is in line with the Islamic Military Model. However, there is a difference in implementation, Islam prefers harsh and cruel punishment in public for deterrence to leave a long lasting effect on the public but modern laws execute punishment behind closed doors and the public quickly forgets.

In terms of compliance with the 'sunnah' in daily life, the Pakistani military is adopting what Islam professes. The men are allowed to keep their beards.[200] The Malaysian Army and Air Force do not allow beards, however, the Malaysian Navy encourages the growth of beards. Malaysian military personnel studying in the Pakistan Military Institution observed that their religious background determines the piousness of Pakistani military officers before they join the military. The more religious personnel normally come from the Northern province states bordering Afghanistan and Iran. During events at the highest level of the Pakistani Armed Forces hierarchy, Islamic values are

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[199] Information provided via email by a Malaysian Military Officer studying in Karachi to the author, 23 May 2003. He had observed Islamic activities and practices in the military institution.

[200] Discussion between Dr. Rifaat Hussain, from Stanford University and Center for international Security and Cooperation, at NPS and the author, 8 May 2003. He presented a talk on "Civil Military Relation in Pakistan: Recent Developments" before the discussion. He mentioned some of the example of the Islamic influences that has been institutionalized is allowing officers to have beards and they are free to do their prayers. Many pious officers are seen with beards.

exceedingly observed. However, according to him, there are some who are not bothered about religion. In the Malaysian military example, only very few top generals fall into the category of very pious Muslims. However, military leaders do participate in many Islamic activities organized by the military in the camps and mosques. This is enough to promote Islam and make known that the military institutions support the religion.

In terms of compliance with Islamic practices, the accomplishments of the Malaysian Military Institution are better than in the case of Indonesia and can be rated as a moderate Islamized institution. Pakistan is the pioneer in complying with Islamic values and reached the strong Islamized institution status during Bhutto's and Zia's regime. However, during the Musharraf regime, some observers notice that the encouragement had declined and the military institution is reverting back to being a religion of personnel practices and falls into a moderate institution category.[201] On the contrary, Pakistani military personnel argued that the institution is still a strong Islamized institution as before because nothing has changed. Indonesia political and military leaderships are not keen to make Islam prominent in the military because they do not want to irritate the followers of other minority religions. The presence of few 'santri' and few 'green army' can only make the military a mild Islamized institution.

It can still be argued that the three modern military institutions do not fully comply with the core Islamic management style and administration system. The institution prefers the Western ways due to the personnel gain of the generals. For example, the rank structure and protocol in the three militaries maintain the Western model because the officers fear loosing control and command since most of them are not up to the orthodox Islam standard in Islamic knowledge and personal compliance in Islamic practices. In the Islamic Model, there is no barrier between soldiers and officers. The Islamic way encourages each soldier and officer to respect, be loyal and obedient to their superiors not because of rank alone, but due to professionalism, knowledge of Islam and personal religious practices. Lower rank personnel can reveal the mistake of his leader without the fear of punishment. Officers and soldiers follow a single rule from the mighty God in accordance with the Qur'an and 'hadith'. Status and special perks

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[201] Discussion between Professor Vali Nasr, at NPS and the author, 20 June 2003. He observed these phenomena when he did his research on the Pakistani Military.

according to rank is alien in the Islamic model. The current three military institutions are not ready to adopt full Islamic practices for the institution. The beliefs exist that Pakistan will implement many of the Islamic teachings and Malaysia marginally complies with Islamic teachings. Indonesia only follows a few of the Islamic teachings in its military institution.

How each country responds to the other criteria also varies. The Maulvis and Mullah in Pakistan and KAGAT in Malay greatly encourages the promotion of Islam within the military, and hence, obtain a high point of 8 out of 10. On the other hand, the Indonesian religious department executes only a few efforts in promoting true Islam and deserve 2 points for Criteria 6. Mahathir provided a lot of encouragement to the military to follow moderate Islamic teachings. However, Musharraf's encouragement toward Islam, are considered 'Average.' His predecessors, Zia and Zulfikar provides a lot of encouragement but only the latest government response is used for the Criteria. Megawati today is very silent on promoting Islam, and therefore, for Indonesia the answer is 'No' for Criteria 7. The last Criteria, 8, asks for the number of pious generals in the military. The assessment is that there are 'Many' in Pakistan, and 'Few' in both Malaysia and Indonesia.

C.   CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS

1.   Islamized Military and Civil Control

In this case study, each category of Islamized military responds to civil control differently. Islamic religion basically called for obedience to the civilian leader of the state under certain conditions as explained in Chapter II.

The CMR in Pakistan is pictured as a Military Institution subordinate to a 'military general turned politician control' rather than pure civil control. In the Pakistani case study, the head of state changes hands from civilian to military and vice versa but the military reign seems longer as compared to civilian rule. The constant threat of a coup is evident by the fact that civilian control of the military by a civilian figurehead was not strong and effective. On the other hand, when the military general ruled the country, both the military and politics became his focus. The general turned civilian leader imposes strict control over the military to ensure his survival at the top. The military is forced to like him because he is their superior commander and they felt obligated to be loyal. Most

military personnel seem to agree with any control as long as the government remains untainted, transparent and uncorrupted. The issue of control had become either a direct or indirect reason for the change of presidents in Pakistan.

In the case of Indonesia, during Suharto's era, the military is kept under a strong 'ex-general turned politician control' similar to that of Pakistani experience. As an ex-general, he knew what the military wanted. In return for being loyal and not overthrowing him, the military was given a lot of political power. Military control over civilian society in this area was placed under 'dwi-fungsi.' The military was also directly involved in business activities. Just after Suharto was forced out of office by a large national demonstration, civil control of the military was eased and the military had been accused of intensifying the disorder. During the civilian rule of Wahid, many generals objected to the move by the civilian government to withdraw the power and privileges of the military. Although Wahid is a religious head in Indonesian, he failed to win the support of the mild Islamized military institution. Civil control weakens and the CMR developed into factions. This could be seen when he had to sack the military general and replace him with a general from the Navy, the first time this had occurred in Indonesian military history.

Civil control of the military in Indonesia under Megawati today is stable. Megawati attempts to regain civil control over the military by leaving the military to carry out their reorganization at their own pace. Islam is not seen to play a direct role in strengthening civilian control when the military is mildly Islamized. According to Supardjo Rustam (a retired general) who was the Home Minister during Suharto's regime, argued that in Indonesia, civil control and the military is on the same par. No one has been dominant since Suharto stepped down.[202]

According to KS Nathan, the Malaysian CMR has a mutual and interdependent relationship between political elites and the citizens. He added that the three players have agreed on the composition of the officer's corps, political decision-making process, recruitment methods and military style. As a result of this military intervention, this has

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[202] Ibid., Crouch, p. 93.

not occurred.[203] The Malaysian Military maintains the record of always having been subordinate to civil control since its formation. Other possible reasons are political stability in addition to the presence of very loyal, correctly selected, hand picked top military generals that lead the military. During Mahathir's era, the moderate Islamized military stressed loyalty and obedience to the government. The government also promotes moderate Islam in the country.

KS Nathan also pointed out that the Malaysian military has continued the British legacy and tradition of subordination to civil authority.[204] The argument is that the British trained generals had retired and the British legacy had been eroded by the Islamic cultures after 47 years had passed since independence. Islam also taught the military to be obedient to the 'ulil-am ri' (the King). In this case, a similarity exists between Islam and Western culture in the aspect of loyalty to civilian control. Military obedience to the government is also dictated by law in line with Article 132 of the constitution that specifies the military as the public or government servant under civil power.[205] To prove the point, there were few opportunities where the military could carry out a coup but they chose not to be involved in political struggle. One such incident was the May 13, 1969 racial riot[206] where the government was weak. The other opportunity was the 'Reformasi 98' mass demonstration organized by the ex-Deputy PM Anwar Ibrahim to pressure Mahathir to step down. During the 'reformasi' 98, (demonstration calling for the government to reform), an Islamic issue was used to legalize the demonstration to topple the Mahathir regime. Claims were made by military officers and their men that they had been approached to give support to Anwar but they remained obedient to the legitimate civil control of Mahathir. Islamic issues used to gain support for Anwar failed because the moderate Islamized military institution is rationale and non-intervening.

Civil control of the military in Malaysia differs from Indonesia and Pakistan. The Malaysian approach is very similar to the Huntington 'subjective' control approach. The military is under constant civilian supremacy both by politicians and also bureaucratic

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203 Ibid,. Nathan and Geetha, p. 260.

204 Ibid., p. 264.

205 Ibid., p. 265.

206 Ibid., Olsen and Jurika, p. 161.

civil servants since the formation of the Armed Forces.[207]   The Islamization of the military has not jeopardized the CMR because it adopts the moderate outlook of Islam. Civil control is actually strengthened in the Moderate Islamized Military in the Malaysian experience. Mahathir has successfully used Islam to Islamized the military institution, and in return, received loyalty from the military. In the Malaysian scenario, the military and government use Islamic ideology as a tool to manage the CMR.

Professor Bruneau argued that if the head of state is military such as in Pakistan and Indonesia during the Suharto and Sukarno administrations, then technically the government regime is not considered civilian controlling the military,[208] since he would be surrounded by the influence of military generals. The counterargument is that the general that became president will wear only one hat technically at any time. Political leadership can come from any profession and at times military. In the case of Malaysia, Mahathir is a doctor. In the case of Muhammad (pbuh) the prophet, he was also a battle commander and leader at the same time. However, when he was the head of state he controlled the military as well. Therefore, the background of a head of state is not important. What is important is whether he and his circle of ministers can control the military, and then clear control exists outside the framework of the military they decided themselves. Professor Bruneau says that relationships are dynamic, and hence civil control is either strengthened or weakened.

2.   Political Issues of an Islamized Military

In Indonesia, the majority of the military personnel support the Golka, while in Malaysia, the UMNO/Barisan Nasional is the choice of most military personnel. Although Malaysia claimed itself to be democratic, Harold, as an outsider, claimed that the government practiced authoritarian controls[209]. The military does not feel so. There are many political parties in Pakistan but many military personnel prefer the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI) from amongst the many parties due to traditional ties and their Islamic bias.

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[207] J. Soedjati Djiwandono, Young Mun Cheong, ed., "Soldiers and Stability in Southeast Asia," *ISEAS*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988, p. 29.

[208] Discussion between Professor Bruneau, during NS4225 class session at NPS and the author, 28 September 2003. He considered a state ruled by a military as 'civilian control.'

[209] Ibid., Crouch, p. 5.

For Indonesia, the military and politics have existed together since Suharto's era. In the Indonesian case, President Suharto himself was an ex-general. There were many ministers who were ex-military, and hence the military and politics is synonymous. Meitzner postulates his view that "The domestic power of the Indonesian Armed Forces is based on a politically negotiated and supported network of territorial units that secures the financial independence of TNI from civilian control mechanisms."[210] His claim was true before, but now Indonesian military political involvement has been minimized. The recent rule in Indonesia requires military generals to resign before becoming actively involved in politics. Progress is slow in the Indonesian government and some resistance is faced when it attempts to separate the military from politics.

When politics change hands to civilians, the military exerts pressure on politics. This can be seen in the case of Probowo who was accused of starting the riots in Jakarta to cause political instability to fulfill his political agenda and perhaps bring his father-in-law, Suharto back to power. In another instance, the army refused to back Wahid's imposition of a state of emergency because Wahid proposed to reduce military privileges. Military action had indirectly helped to end his career. On the other hand, with considerable assistance from the military, Megawati Sukarnoputri, a secular Islamist, became Indonesia's new president. It appears that Washington is keen to accelerate efforts to restore military ties with Jakarta, in an effort to establish stability in Indonesia[211] after being satisfied that the military is not involved in human right issues and in politics. The recent incident in Acheh has made the military gain importance and once again be involved in politics. Could it be a ploy by the military to regain their political involvement as before?

Malaysia since independence has long observed the rule that the military cannot be active in politics and must resign if desiring to be elected to office.. The military remains apolitical but with the right to vote through postal ballots. Opposition parties such as The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PAS), which promotes and aired the Islamic issues in politics, never received the support of the majority of the military in Malaysia.

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[210] Ibid., Mietzner, p. 78.

[211] Athar Jamil, "The Relationship Between the Indonesian Military and America," *KComp Journal*, 18 August 2001. [http://www.khilafah.com/home/], Accessed 20 July 2003.

PAS has controlled two states, Kelantan and Trengganu, but the military camps in both states had not publicly supported the party but still give due respect to the local government officials. The military chose to remain obedient to the federal government because the military is under the federal administration. However, there are a few military personnel, especially the lower ranking officers, who support this party openly because it is very Islamic according to them. On the other hand, many military personnel tend to be loyal to the ruling party of United Malay National Organization (UMNO), although the opposition accused it of being a secular party comprised of Malays emphasizing nationalism. The other reason why most Muslim military support the UMNO party is because it is the ruling majority Malay party. Malay is associated with Islam, and therefore, this party is also Islamic but moderate.

The Pakistani military has always wanted to be involved in politics if history is reviewed. It considers itself the 'savior' of the state from the wrongdoer, corrupted and misled civilian politician that stray from Islamic teachings. Pakistani civilian leaders verbally said that they want to implement Islam because it is the way of life that God has taught. Military leaders had used Islam to legitimate themselves to grab power from civilian political leaders who deviate from true Islamic practices. However, most military leaders later deviate from the true teachings and engage in corruption, unfair decisions, struggles for power, positions and wealth once they are in the top political position! They breached their own promise to be democratic instead cling to power using dirty tricks. Islam is only used as a tool to gain support from the people and ensure their legitimacy to continue ruling.

The present regulation requires the military in Pakistan to be apolitical and not active in politics. Previously, the military was a strong supporter of the Pakistani largest political party, Jama'at-i-Islami. They have voting rights similar to the military in Malaysia but differ from Indonesia in that the military is not required to vote. Malaysia has a civilian Prime Minister whereas Indonesia has a civilian President but the President of Pakistan is a general. Military leaders such as Musharraf still prefer politics rather than remain as a professional military. Perhaps, the Islamic background and the military

politics that developed has encouraged and motivated the military elite, such as Musharraf, to intervene in politics when the civilian leader or 'ex-general turned leader' fail to do what they are supposed to do.

3. Relationship with Society

In the case of Malaysia, since Islamic influence began with society and thus permeated throughout the military as a result, the Islamized military institution felt indebted. Thus, some ties to that society exist. Before, the Malaysian military was not accepted by society when it inherited and adopted the undesirable western cultures but today society respects the military for being Islamized. For example, the KAGAT officers receive many invitations to deliver religious speeches in public and on television. Recently, an ex-general heading the KAGAT was nominated a Minister responsible for Islamic religious affairs. In the 1990's, the Malaysian military launched campaign called 'Tentera Masuk Desa' (Military goes Rural) and also or 'Jiwa Murni' (Heart and Mind)) where the military goes to villages to do volunteer work such as clean, repair or build the village community hall, roads, mosques and even Muslim cemeteries together with the civilian society in that area.[212] Today, this practice was publicized and has been reduced because of a lack of funds or perhaps the top military leadership lost interest because their relationship is good.

A mild military institution such as that of Indonesia also has a good relationship with society since they are already involved in local politics in their 'dwi-fungsi' role. Muslim military leaders and soldiers interact with the locals. They are respected, given special treatment and many perks by society in view of the power and influence they have in determining local administration and the economy. The Indonesian military likes to wear uniforms in public because they will be recognized and given due respect. The author, when accompanying an Indonesian military officer, received free food in a restaurant dined at because the local business owner respected him.

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[212] Ibid, Nathan and Geetha, p. 271.

Similarly, the Pakistani military receives high regard from society because of their strong Islamic military institution and prominence in influencing national politics. On the contrary, society in Malaysia does not treat the Malaysian military in a similar manner. The Malaysian military tends to shy away in public and is reluctant to walk around in military uniforms among society because they are not treated differently.

Many Islamized military personnel in Pakistan and Malaysia do not live in military camps because of a shortage of quarters. They have to live and mingle with the civilian society outside of duty hours. This avails them of the opportunity for society to get to know them better and consider the Muslim military to be one of them. Various efforts by the military leaders exist to encourage their personnel to integrate themselves with civilians and establish closer rapport. The Medical corps provides free medical services to local people and some military personnel also donate food, clothing, and money to the society when there is a disaster. All military help the society close to their camps. When they became an Islamized military, they feel a stronger obligation to help others because Islam encourages helping the needy. Islam teaches the military to be diplomatic with society in peacetime and to protect society's honor during war. The military is seen as a helper of society, the guardian of society's security when in the military and then returns to society when they retire.

4. Involvement with Other Islamic Groups

The involvement of the Indonesian Islamized Military institution with Islamic groups is mixed. As an example, in July 2001, members of a notorious Islamic group called up radio stations about a Muslim military candidate for the vice-presidency and voted for him in public opinion polls. On the other hand, this Islamized military has no feelings toward Acheh and Muslim Revolutionists. They are willing to follow orders of the government and kill the Acheh rebellion. The military was led to believe that the Achenese separatists were being controlled by outside forces trying to divide Indonesia, probably by an international terrorist organization or a covert plan of another nation that wanted to see Indonesia divided. The Indonesian military is led to believe that all those civilians they butchered and all those villages that they burnt down were justifiable crimes because they are against the Gerakan Acheh (GAM), whom a 'fatwa' declared to be a troublemaker. On the contrary, there are personalities that try to counter the

statement and publicly wrote that the government is misleading the military, and actually encouraging the military to kill their innocent Muslim brothers.[213] This is a pro-GAM view. One such view came from Azizuddin El-Kaissouni, an Acheh liberalist. He accused their government and Muslim scholars of misleading many decent, God-fearing Indonesians.[214] The war in Acheh also prompts a crisis in Islamic jurisprudence, or *fiqh*. The Muslim military sent to stop the rebels did not know if killing their Muslim brothers in GAM was the right thing to do. Muslim scholars answered that Muslims are discouraged from pursuing separatist agendas that threaten the unity of the *Ummah*, or the greater Muslim nation. Any movement perceived to be "separatist" is condemned as such, and fighting is correct.[215]

On the contrary, the military relationship with Laskar Jihad before it was disbanded has been publicized. The military is accused of supporting or at least not taking any action to stop Laskar Jihad from fighting the Christians in Timor-Timor. The Army Special Forces Command was behind the violence in East Timor according to Angel Rabasa because they organized and trained the militias.[216] Today, the Laskar Jihad had been disbanded. Military leaders in Indonesia also established relations with local religious leaders and 'pesantren' (religious schools). They invite them for 'morning coffee talks' and try to be diplomatic and establish relationships with them. This practice has not occurred in Malaysian or the Pakistani Islamized militaries. The Malaysian military remains distant from any Islamic group because of its moderate outlook of Islam. On the other hand, Megawati does not have the political courage to crack down on the militant and radial Islamists using the military because the military have is closely networked with them.[217]

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[213] Azizuddin El-Kaissouni**, "**Bitterness, Accusations & Muslim Denial: Aceh," *IslamOnline*, [http://www.islam-online.net/english/index.shtml] Accessed 7 February 2003.

[214] Ibid., p. 2.

[215] Ibid., p. 2.

[216] Angel Rabasa, Peter Chalk, *Indonesia's Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia*, p. 24, Project Air Force RAND, 2001.

[217] Ibid., Abuza, p. 213.

Pakistan's Inter service intelligence (ISI) was involved in supporting the Taliban and fought the Russians. They channeled American aid to the Taliban secretly, and some researcher claim they provided training to the Islamic militants of Afghanistan. The ISI was also quoted as helping Muslim insurgency in Indian controlled Kashmir by campaigning for foreign Islamists to participate in a jihad.[218] Today, the Pakistan military relationship was halted when the Taliban decided to receive aid from Osama bin Laden, who is anti-American.

Accusations were made against the Malaysian military intelligence agency for aiding the Acheh, Morro and Pattani Islamic militants but solid evidence cannot be found. It could have been done by an individual soldier not related to the organization. A breach of law by individual soldiers or officers whether active duty or retired did occur. Two such cases happened in Malaysia, where one active duty military officer had joined an Islamic group 'Al-Mauna,' a group led by an ex-soldier who attracts followers through religious and self defense art teachings. They stole weapons from an army camp and then, threatened to fight the authorities if their religious demands were not met. The group was captured by the military and then tried in civilian court. Another Islamic group, 'Al-Arqam', emphasized Islamic economic building and fanaticism to the leader.[219] A few military personnel are attracted to the group because it encourages and provides additional wives to the members. The government had to arrest the leader and banned the groups, 'Kumpulan Militant Malaysia' (KMM- Malaysian Militant Group) and 'Jama'ah Islamiah Malaysia' (JI), because they are misleading Muslims and are a threat to the nation.[220] According to the ICG report, the Malaysian government had detained more than 70 KMM and JI Malaysia led by Wan Min. Among them, an ex-military officer, Yazid Sufaat, is believed to have been involved in the Christmas Eve 2000 bombing.[221]

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[218] Kumar Ramakrishna and Andrew Tan, ed., *New Terrorism: Anatomy, Trends and Counter Strategies, Diagnosis and Prescriptions,* p. 11, Time Media Pvt Ltd, Singapore, 2002.

[219] Michael Leifer, *Dictionary of Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, pp. 46-47, Thomson Publishing Company, 1996. Al-Arqam was founded in 1968 and banned in 1994. Ustaaz Ashaari Muhammad was leader.

[220] "Rangkaian KMM dan JI," *Utusan Malaysia Online*, 25 November 2003. [http://www.utusan.com.my], Accessed 26 November 2003.

[221] Special Press Summary, "Jemaah Islamiah (JI) Back in Business," *Virtual Information Center - International Crisis Group, ICG Asia,* Report No 63, Jakarta/Brussels, 17 July 2003.

It is assessed that the Islamized military institutions in the three countries are not willing to answer the call for a 'jihad' and fight alongside any Islamist extremist group because they are loyal to the government. There is a possibility that the lower level

military personnel and officers are involved in supporting Islamic groups on an individual level because of self-interest, money and political reasons without the knowledge of the higher authorities.

D.   SIMILARITIES WITH THE WESTERN MODEL

1.   Ideologies and Belief

An Islamized military institution has certain ideologies, ethics and predetermined right and wrong values. Certain moral values and ethics, such as obedience, taught by Islam are similar to Western modern military ethics requirements. For example, Richard T. De George quotes that obedience is a moral responsibility of every Western military toward a legitimate superior as long as it is not commanded to execute an immoral act.[222] Gone are the days of blind obedience in the modern military.

Islam stresses morality as a reason for war, and thus, the modern citizen-soldier believes in the importance of morality. According to Kenneth H. Wenker, a country can go to war based on moral intentions although it involved tremendous expenses, destruction and the interruption of a peaceful lifestyle.[223] Islam also permits war but it must be for self-defense.

The modern military encourages a 'Professional-Client Relationship' with certain distinct characteristics such as consultations and service, based on special trust, and confidence, understanding and confidentiality, based on conformity to ethical principles with the primary motive being service and not financial gain.[224] This concept is also professed by an Islamized military.

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[222] Richard T. DeGeorge, *A Code of Ethics For Officer, in Military Ethics*, pp. 21-23, National Defence University Press, Washington, D.C., 1987.

[223] Kenneth H. Wenker, *Military Necessity and Morality, in Military Ethics*, pp. 177-184, National Defence University Press, Washington D.C., 1987.

[224] Arthur J. Dick, Ethical Bases of the Military Profession, in Lloyd J Matthews and Dale E. Brown Ed., *The Parameters of Military Ethics*, p. 106, Pergamon-Brassey's, International Defence Publishers, US, 1989.

The Islamic model does not restrict the use of modern weaponry, tactics and strategy when war is necessary. However, Islam stresses that the target and enemy must be properly identified. Islam allows for the invention of smart weapons that can neutralize a legitimate target. The search for smart and high tech weapons has been the Western military objective.[225] When the weapon is uncontrollable, then it is no longer ethical to use. The concept of surgical bombing tactics by the West is similar to that preached by Islamic war ethics. Common world-views accepted by any civilized peoples also exist. Some Western activists recommend proliferation and Islam also objects to nuclear usage for mass destruction. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is in line with Islamic ideology. Acts of terrorism and suicide bombers-tactics are not an ethical way of fighting to end any dispute. This method is condemned and is against true Islamic teachings.

The many similarities between existing ethical codes in the U.S. military and Islamic codes verify that the true teachings of Islam are in accordance and match the world-view as well as Islamic teachings. Examples of those codes used in the U.S. military are integrity, service before self and sustained passion for excellence, Honor, courage, commitment, loyal, duty and selfless service are fine values.[226]   The same ethnics are also mentioned in the Qur'an and 'hadith' demonstrating similarities between Islamic teachings and modern Western ethics.

Although Islam influences the militaries of Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan, the changes are only obvious in cultural, traditional and social aspects. Organizational, structural, strategic, operational and tactical matters are still very similar to the modern Western concept. Similarly, areas such as professionalism, training and educational systems, according to the Western model, will continue to be used and adopted by the Islamized military institution because Islam does not reject modernity or a better system.

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225 Nicholas G. Fotion, *Military Ethics, Looking Toward The Future*, pp. 15-38, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University California, 1990.

226 Ibid., Faber, p. 5.

2. Professionalism and Politics

The Islamized military since the early years has stressed professionalism, fighting not merely for monetary gain but as a contribution to society, and fighting ethically and morally. Today, the West also stresses military professionalism similar to Islam. Gaye Christoffersen notices that the political role of the military has declined and military professionalism has increased in the South East Asia region, in particular Indonesia and Malaysia, due to an emerging and stronger civil society.[227] Muthiah Alagappa also says that the awareness of military professionalism in South East Asian countries is increasing. Emphasis on professionalism is similar to the Western military concept. The three characteristics mentioned by Huntington; expertise, responsibility and corporateness, have differentiated military professionalism from vocation.[228] Muthiah Alagappa said that Samuel Huntington had overemphasized the effect of professionalism. Instead, he agrees that military professionalism is amongst one of the many factors that influences and changes Asian civil-military relations.[229]

Even Huntington said the military could intervene in politics if political instability occurs.[230] This view is similar to Islamic teachings and is confirmed in the 'hadith' that it is possible to use force to correct any wrongdoings.[231] The Western military has also carried out coups against corrupt governments. General A. H. Nasution of Indonesia also supports the idea that the military is free to participate in the government. This view is agreement with the historical practice of early Islam where military leaders were nominated as governors or advisors in recently captured areas. Muthiah Alagappa believes that professional also means that the military must be concerned with political, social and economic spheres. The U.S. military in Iraq acts as political diplomats, as well as social and economic agents to rebuild Iraq after the 2003 war.

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[227] Gaye Christoffersen, "Finding the Boundary pf 'Civil' and 'Military': The Impact of Global Forces on Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia," a paper presented at the 19th annual Berkeley Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, 08 – 09 February 2002.

[228] Muthiah Alagappa, *Military Professionalism in Asia; Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives,* pp. 1-17, East West Center, 2001.

[229] Ibid., Alagappa, pp. 1-16.

[230] J. Kristiadi, "Indonesia: Redefining Military Professionalism," in Muthiah Alagappa, Ed., *Military Professionalism in Asia; Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives,* p. 95, East West Center, 2001

[231] Ibid., The Holy Qur'an, 22:39, 2:190.

This western concept is parallel to the Mohammad Military Islamic model that stresses the importance of professionalism. Islamic teachings demand that its military machinery must be professional in the art of war, social rights as well as in politics. However, in terms of politics, civilians want the military to be apolitical and only have voting rights, and to not interfere with politics in just any situation. Islam allows the

military to vote and voice its opinion if the government goes astray. The military remains professional and apolitical under civil control in a good governance environment. Political scientists such as Huntington and Alagappa share quite the same opinion.

E.   CHALLENGES TO AN ISLAMIZED MILITARY

The politics, and similarly, the military in the Islamic countries, are always challenged by Islam's rhetoric and messages to be self-critical and to live up to the standards and principles of true Islam.[232] An Islamized military faces many challenges especially in order to avoid and denounce the violence and crimes committed by its members who identify themselves as Muslim.

1.   Difficulty of Monitoring Individualized Activity

It is very difficult to monitor the activity of an individual in the military especially outside of working hours. Similarly, it is difficult to know the ideology hidden in the minds of military personnel. Islamic ideology can quickly correct the undesirable ideology but it can also create an extremist mentality. Zia of Pakistan had succeeded in replacing the inherited undesirable British culture with Islamic values. Converting military personnel to Islam may backlash on the institution if the individual believing orthodox ideology turns extremist or deviates from the correct path. The Pakistan Islamization process encounters difficulties because the government fails to accommodate the pluralist nature of Islam. In society, the Ahmadi and different schools of Fiqah and sects such as Shia, Wahabbi Deobandi dispute the government's right to collect the compulsory zakat.[233]

Extremist groups will prey on military personnel who wanted to change and become good Muslims. They know that the military, being an institution with close networking and similar-minded people, can be easily used to spread new ideology

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232 Ibid., Esposito, pp. 238-239.

233 Ibid., Rizvi, p. 173.

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quickly. Not properly understanding true Islamic teachings and blindly following others in Islamic practices can lead individuals astray who will then commit crimes or terrorist acts. Military personnel can be exploited using their own grievances and issues that arouse their anger and hatred.

Islamized institutions can control this symptom by promoting true Islamic teachings and practices to the Muslims through the religious military staff. Efforts made by KAGAT in Malaysia are productive in streamlining Islamic teachings while at the same time monitoring any 'ajaran sesat' (malpractice). Eliminating any issues that can be used by extremists to gain military sympathy and providing all the needs of the military can prevent military personnel from engaging in these criminal acts.

The argument is would a democratic peaceful country be condemned and blamed if a few of its citizen are committing crimes? On that score, the Islamized military institution as an entity cannot be blamed if a few individuals are involved in unlawful activities under the pretext of Islam because the Institution does not authorize nor condone it.

2.   Selecting the Right Leader in the Military

Selecting the right man for the job is easier said than done. The correct selected leader can become the complete opposite of what is expected at certain times and under certain influences. Finding the right military leader to lead an Islamized military institution becomes a problem. The leader of an Islamic state selects the top military leaders based on three criteria: professionalism, religious knowledge of Islam and piousness. However, in the three countries studied, many military leaders are secular and a few grabbed the political role. Political masters today do not observe this selection criteria and instead select those they think can work for them and tolerate their political agenda.

In the case of Malaysia, during Mahathir's regime, he appointed his brother-in-law, General Hashim Ali as the CAFS.[234] Once in 1977, the chief of the Armed Forces, General Mohd Sany Ab Ghaffar was said to be pious, and hence contentious, to the civil control of Mahathir. He did not serve very long. After he retired, the subsequence

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[234] Ibid., Crouch, p. 136.

succession had no controversial relationship with the political elites.[235] Other generals that preceded him were well chosen from loyal personalities who enjoyed extraordinary perks while in the positions and after retirement. Their loyalty was proven during the racial riots of May 13, 1969. The military was given powers but did not carry out a coup d'état. Similarly, during the 'Refomasi 98,' no general went against the government. The selection of the generals had proven to be the correct decision and produced obedient generals subordinate to the civilian government. Few leaders of the various branches are pious. For example, the Chief of the Navy dared to lead a sermon during the Friday prayers on Navy Day.

The future challenge is whether a seemingly loyal military that may use religion to pursue its interests to rule the state can occur. Pakistan experienced this when the military leaders took control of the country. When the right situation and opportunity exists, the right leader, whom we think to be moderate, makes himself a political ruler. An ex-general became the president in Pakistan, and similarly, ex-generals ruled Indonesia for more than 32 years.

Pious generals and officers should lead 'moderate, strong and full' Islamized types of military institutions. Civilians must also be pious and religious in order for the institution to have good relationships.

3.   Controlling the Right Islam

The Islamized military must be controlled and be based on true Islamic teachings in order to prevent extremist teachings from permeating throughout Islam. The Islamic religion has split into sects, 'mazhab' and various schools of thought, and some are potentially deviationist and dangerous. All three militaries have controlling agencies within the military to control the right Islamic teachings of the military personnel. These agencies also act as the monitoring arm of the military to detect any deviationist attempts to corrupt and mislead Islamic ideology that can endanger the military and state security.

The Islamic religious officers in the military are responsible for guiding and teaching the soldiers and officers in religious practices. In the Pakistani military, a department called the Motivation and Religious Directorate exists. It is a single service

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[235] Ibid., Soedjati and Young, p. 267.

organization and every service such as the Army, Navy and Air Force has its own Directorate. For example, in the Air Force, every base has approximately five personnel consisting of officers and other ranks to administer the mosque and the religious activities. Malaysia has a similar Directorate called KAGAT but they are a corps by itself and can work in any of the services. Indonesia has fewer personnel but their structure is different and is called the Department of Spiritual Development. Other religious specialist officers representing Islam, Christians, Hindus and Buddhists also exist, unlike Malaysia and Pakistan, that only emphasize Islam. Due to this arrangement, the influence of Islam remains mild although the majority of the military is Muslim.

In the Malaysian military, the dedicated KAGAT controls and monitors religious activity. Religious teachings are standardized and since it is a single branch, it can be employed in the three services of the military. Thus, it is simpler to unite and command the religious branch. Different religious branches for different services many result in differences standards. This is a risk for Pakistan since their religious department is specific to service. Indonesia can easily lose control because of its small number and the role of its religious department. The existence of a large number of 'abangan' proves the point that Islamic teachings and belief in the military has not been coordinated effectively. Too liberal an Islam can also mean that extremists can multiply in the military.

This is a real challenge for a military that is not strong enough to control the correct Islam that will dominate the military institution. The future wave of Islamic revivals may exploit the situation and strategically place their orthodox supporters to become the top military leaders. A new generation of an Islamized military may have a different perspective about Islamic teachings. Influence by outside extremist groups, such as Al-Qaeda, must be checked. Blocking the spread of Islam may be seen as undemocratic. However, if left unchecked, extremist groups could manipulate the situation and cause a breakdown of democratic rule.

4.   Western Negative Attitude

Some Westerners think very negatively of Islam because they do not understand the religion. They base their perspectives on the extremist actions of criminals amongst Muslims. The negative attitude of the Western public and the military towards Islam after

the September 11 incident must be corrected. Islam's name should be associated with the criminals or terrorists who also claim to be Islamic, because in a democratic system, being a criminal is never associated with the failure of a democracy to prevent them. Westerners should not consider all Muslims to be extremists. As in any society, criminals and lawbreakers will abound and similarly in Islam, a few extremists and terrorists will exist. If the laws of a democratic society are to prevent crimes committed by its citizens, then the purpose of Islamic law is no different.

Islamic influence in the military institution is not a dangerous phenomenon if it is controlled and closely monitored. Earlier arguments emphasize that those moral values in an Islamized military lead to a disciplined force. Restricting Islam in a few areas such as prohibiting the consumption of pork and liquor will not affect the other religions. Similarly, tolerating the short amount of times for Muslims to say their prayers will not harm anyone. Instead, it can remind everyone to be more concerned about time and to be punctual.

Military affairs specialist Stephen P. Cohen said, for instance that Islam has traditionally been identified with the concept of jihad, a righteous religious "striving" against unbelievers, and Islamic governments have been assiduous in describing whatever wars they fight, even against other Muslims, as jihad.[236] His first view is not true in that an Islamized military of Malaysia, Pakistan and Indonesia has never waged war against an unbeliever country. This may be the view of orthodox and extremist Islam, but not that of the strong, moderate or mild Islamized military institution in this thesis. The second view is that Islam is bad because they fight other Muslims. On the other hand, the West wants Islam to stop fighting Muslims such as the Acheh in Indonesia, but the West practices a double standard because they want Islam to help them fight the terrorists and Al-Qaeda who are also Muslim.

The negative Western attitude can result in undesirable policies imposed on the Islamized military institution of the three countries. If the world community boycotts these institutions, they may become extremist similar to the Taliban, which was once a friend of the West, but now has turned into an enemy. It will only be proper for the West

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[236] Ibid., Cohen, p. 50.

to continue its relations based on the many similarities and positive aspects of Islam worldwide. All three countries have worked together well with the missions of the United Nation although they have become Islamized.

5. Western View Towards Islam

Western liberals said that Islam is less tolerant than the West and has discriminating attitudes towards women. September 11 is a classic tragedy caused by Islamic extremists and militants accused of being from Al-Qaeda. Robert Goldston, a Western scholar, wrote that the Battle of Badr was driven by the temptation of spoils rather than as an order from God to Muslims to defend them.[237] Robert's view contradicts the actual reason why Muslims go to war as explained in this chapter. Some argued that the current military rule in Pakistan is due to Islamic influence in the military. Many do not realize that Musharraf wants Islam to be an individual belief and not the culture of the institution.

Western views of Muslims are founded on ignorance according to Hamzah Yusof.[238] The reason why there are Islamic militants and terrorists is because the West wishes their values to prevail throughout the world, but these groups do not want to adopt them, and therefore, find ways to fight back.[239] The West clearly practices a double standard and works for its own interests only.

Few Westerners realize the mainstream Islam (True Islam) dislikes extremists as much as the West does. Some Westerners cannot tolerate the fact that Muslims dress differently (purdah) and do not eat some of their food. Muslims are seen as parasites, obscurely indifferent to personal hygiene, burdened by the strict Sharia law that they claim to be harsh and cruel. On the other hand, they can tolerate other races and religion although the cultures are different from theirs.[240] Hamzah Yusuf disagrees with the Hungtinton thesis that the three great civilizations must inevitably clash. Islamic

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[237] Robert Goldston, *The Sword of the Prophet; a History of the Arab World from the Time of Muhammad to the Present Day*, pp. 35-37, The Dial Press; New York, 1979.

[238] Hamzah Yusuf, "Islam Has a Progressive Tradition Too," *Guardian Unlimited,* Wednesday, June 19, 2002, pp. 1-3 [http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4436548,00.html], Accessed May 14, 2003.

[239] Ibid, Hamzah Yusuf, p. 3.

[240] Ibid., p. 2.

civilization once co-existed in this world with others. The society that Prophet Mohammad led was comprised of many races and religions and they lived peacefully

under his just and fair rule. Actually, if we choose to be friendly and work on our similarities, then we can live peacefully but if we choose to stress our differences, we can destroy the world.[241]

F.   CONCLUSION

This study has revealed that Malaysia and Pakistan can be categorized as a moderate Islamized military institution. The Indonesian military, although dominated by Muslims, can only be considered a mild Islamized military institution because it fulfilled only a few criteria.

Certain types of Islamized military institutions can affect CMR differently. A mild Islamized institution has no effect on civilian control in that civil control can continue. However, in Indonesia, weak civil control before reform was not caused by Islamization. Instead, the government during Suharto's era, had allowed the military to share in politics under the 'dwi-fungsi.'

A strong Islamized military institution produced a general who tends to intervene in politics and coups when the politicians are corrupt and incapable. Bhutto and Zia grabbed power from civilians. When Musharraf, a general, became President and ruled Pakistan, the military institution changed from strong to moderate because Musharraf personally is not a pious Muslim.

Mahathir admits that he is not an expert on Islam but fully supports the Islamization efforts of the military in Malaysia. However, he ensures that the correct type of Islam is followed in the military and provides an environment where Muslims can properly practice their religion. His 'leadership by example' is viewed by the public as complying with Islamic practices. Mahathir uses Islam to win societal and military support so that he can be in power and the country can be in a harmonious state.

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[241] Ibid., pp. 1-3.

The role of the generals in the military must not be forgotten. The Islamic ideology of the top military leaders does influence the state of rapport in CMR. They may decide to promote Islam, and hence, many of their subordinates will follow. This is a normal phenomenon because subordinates want to please their bosses.

The influence of Islam in the military is inevitable and not a dangerous phenomenon. Adapting moderate Islam in the Malaysian military context has enhanced civilian control of the military.[242] An Islamized military actually knows their rights and limits in politics. They can vote but are not supposed to publicly support a party except the ruling party.

Military and societal interaction is harmonious when both follow the same moderate ideology. If either differs, then relations may turn sour. Efforts by an Islamized military to be the protector of society have been demonstrated in Pakistan. In the case of Indonesia, military involvement in the various conflicts such as Acheh, Irian, and Moluku has somewhat reduced the respect of the populace towards the mild Islamized military. The military is also at a crossroads when their perks in 'dwi-fungsi' are being reformed and reduced.

Actually, more similarities that differences exist between the Islamized military model and that of the Western military model. The changes Islam brought were more of the nature to abolish the undesirable cultures inherited from the West. Even today, the West has recognized the bad cultures and measures have been taken to correct and adopt a worldly view of morality and ethics.

New challenges to Islamized military institutions lie in ensuring that the personnel in the Islamized institution do not ruin the reputation of moderate Islam by committing crimes or extremist acts. It is important for the military leadership to remain moderate and not become orthodox because all personnel will follow the behavior of their leaders. Finding the correct leader can be a problem because Islamic ideology in a person is intangible and is seldom revealed. Safeguarding the right moderate Islam in a military

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242 Ibid., Nathan and Geetha, p. 120.

institution needs a dedicated agency that is well versed in the religion. Any deviationist must be checked and monitored. Extremist teachings and ideology must not be allowed to gain a foothold in the military institution.

Finally, the negative Western attitude towards Islam must be changed because moderate Islamists can turn into extremists if they are treated like extremists. Westerners must be knowledgeable enough to differentiate between extremists and moderate Islamic followers. Respecting religion and allowing freedom of religion is a human right and democratic concepts advocate this worldwide. Western powers must not be biased and make the mistake of treating Islam as their enemy because both sides will eventually lose when Islamic extremists decide to execute a 'terrorist attack cum suicide bomber tactic.'

The last chapter will explain how the objective of the thesis has been fulfilled. It will also highlight the theoretical aspect of this study focusing on independent variables and dependent variables while answering the research questions. Some recommendations as well will be made. Areas of further research will be suggested.

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V. CONCLUDING VIEWS

A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan formed their militaries when society was predominantly Islamic. However, the Pakistani and Malaysian military adopted Western military culture while Indonesia experienced a mixture of Dutch and Japanese influence in their military culture. These militaries also inherited many undesirable traditions that were contradictory to Islamic teachings. Westernized and foreign military cultures survived for some time. Bad traditions were then abolished and replaced with Islamic values. In the case of Pakistan it occurred in the 1970's, but earlier than Malaysia and Indonesia. The latter practiced Islamic values into the mid 1980's.

In the three case studies conducted on Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan, some similar factors surfaced that made Islam succeed in Islamizing the military personnel as well as the institution. The Islamic revival in society started first. Islam in society was brought into the military through new recruitment processes. These officers then climbed the ladder and when at the top became agents to change the military's outlook towards Islam. All three countries experienced this phenomenon. Indonesia has approximately 267,300 Muslims who are active military personnel where the majority is secular and a minority are orthodox (90% of the total military), while Malaysia has 67,200 moderate Muslims in the military (70% of the total military). Pakistan has a large mixture of moderate and orthodox Muslims amounting to about 95% of its 612,00 total active military strength. These figures are estimates made at the end of 2003 based on data from books.

Different levels of devoutness in the majority groups of military personnel in each country determine the Islamization category of the military institution. Hence, the majority of secular Muslims favor a mild Islamized institution as in the case of Indonesia by the end of 2003. Megawati does not intervene in the religious culture within the TNI. A large number of moderate Muslims make their military institution follow a moderately Islamized culture which has been demonstrated in the Malaysian case up to the end of Mahathir rule in October 2003 and is predicted to increase under Dato' Seri Abdullah

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Ahmad Badawi. The new Malaysian Prime Minister himself provided an example of this when he was the imam during one of the prayers at the Purtra Jaya complex indicating that he is more pious in terms of Islamic religion. Hence, he set an example for the military to follow suit. Pakistan emerged as a strong Islamized military institution due to the large orthodox personnel in the pre-Musharraf regime, but choice remains individualized under Musharraf's supervision.

Islam cannot survive as an institutional culture and practices without the blessing of the government and the top military generals. The absence of this catalyst will only make Islam a personal individual belief and practices, as can be seen when it was adopted by the 'santri' in the Indonesian military. Mahathir encouraged Islam in the military in the 1980's not because he is very pious but because it was an opportunity to gain the support of the military and the public. By doing so, he avoided being branded as anti-Islam by his own people. Pakistan's presidents, Zulfikar and Zia, also utilized the same strategy of using Islam to gain mass support but Benazir Bhutto did not. On the other hand, Indonesia is different because the political master is content with mild Islam in the military institution although Abdurrahman Wahid, a known pious personality, had the chance to promote Islam while President. Megawati's liberal perception of religion determines the type of Islam the military practices today.

The influence of Islam in the three countries changes only the undesirable inherited culture that is categorized as 'haram' (forbidden). Some of the examples are gambling, consuming alcohol and drugs, eating non-halal food, bullying and fighting among soldiers. While in other aspects, Western cultural aspects such as protocol, respect and discipline are still widely practiced. True Islam does not separate religion from politics nor does it isolate the military from religion as compared to Western practices. The Islamic military model is somewhat similar to the Western military system in terms of ethics, beliefs, and worldwide practices. The Malaysian case study has shown that during the influence of Islam in its military, no military coup occurred. The Indonesian military did not stage a coup and take over the government although the chance existed when Suharto had to step down and there were nationwide demonstrations.

There is empirical evidence that a 'guided Islamic influence' bring harmony to Civil Military Relations (CMR) as in the case of Malaysia when the government is also seen to be Islamic and able to control the military. On the other hand, the uncoordinated influence of Islam in the Indonesian military brought mixed results to CMR and some friction at times. General Prabawo had been accused of attempting to use Islamic activist groups to cause disorder for political gain. Muslim Generals in Pakistan such as Zulfikar, Zia and Musharraf in leading an Islamized military institution used this as a reason to take over power when the civilian government did not adhere to Islamic teachings and allowed itself to disunite and become corrupt. When in power, Zulfikar and Zia; 'generals turned politician' used Islam to Islamized the military institution.

The phenomenon of an Islamized military is of concern to many Westerners who perceive that such an institution may turn aggressive[243] or become sympathetic to Islamic extremist groups. An Islamized military is thought to endanger political stability in that country and world peace in general. On the other hand, Islamic scholars argue that tolerating the freedom of religion is an individual right and may bring harmony to the institution and advantages to the military as it provides the motivational drive to fight well. Overall, in the case studies done, Islamic influences that change some of the military culture yet retain much of the Western relevant traditions had not openly demonstrated that its active military personnel are actively involved in terrorism acts and aggressiveness towards followers of other religions. True Islamic teachings and practices result in peace and solidarity in the institution. Isolated cases of individual military personnel involved in crimes do happen but that does not reflect the overall institution behavior.

B.   CMR HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPED FROM THIS CASE STUDY

If 'civil control' is assigned as a Dependent variable (DV) and 'degree of Islamization of military and civilian government' as the Independent variable (IV), five relationship or hypothesis have emerged from the case study.

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243 Ibid., Afif, p. 3.

- When the military and government both are moderately Islamic (for example, Malaysia) then civilian control is sustained and coherent. If both are strongly Islamic, then CMR is harmonious.

- When the military > (is more) Islamic than the government (for example, Pakistan during Benzie) then civilian control encounters conflict and subsequently a coup occurs.

- When the military < (is less) Islamic than the local government (for example in Indonesia during President Rahmanwahid's regime) civil control is weak and leads to friction.

- When the military and government both are less Islamic (for example in Indonesia during Suharto's era) then civilian control is maintained with some bargaining.

- Extreme Islamic ideology in the military as compared to a lesser Islamic government (for example in Pakistan – military coup) can lead to a breakdown of civil control.

Basically, the DV (in this case, civil control status) can vary from coherent, cohesive, harmonious, obedience, compliance, friction, conflict, and breakdown (coup) depending on the military and government Islamic status. For example, if the military institution is more Islamic than the political government institution, then the military finds it difficult to be obedient and establish a close rapport with the political master. Differences in Islamic practices will affect the relationship, and hence, civil control. A coherent, cohesive, harmonious, obedient, compliant relationship between the military and civilians can ensure that civil control is maintained. Control becomes problematic when relations turn sour during friction, conflicts, and disputes. Control becomes unmanageable and civil control breaks down during coup attempts, and when the military takes over the country.

If IV is represented as X, first DV as Y and final DV as Z, then the general hypothesis statement becomes X causes situation Y to happen and in turn determines the success or failure of Z. It is symbolically represented below:

$$X \longrightarrow Y \longrightarrow Z$$

In this case study, the relationship detected is: 'Differing level of Islamization status of military and political master (X) causes difference facet of CMR relationship (Y). Differing CMR relations (Y) in turn affect civil control effectiveness (Z).

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For an ideal situation, the military and civilians must have the same Islamization status in order to produce a harmonious relationship so that positive civil control can succeed. Failing this, the worst-case scenario is a coup.

How the military and government become Islamic depends on a certain contributing variable (CV). In this case, the 'level of devoutness in Islam within the society' can influence the military and government to be more or less Islamic. The greater the number of people in society who become devoted, the more Islam is able to permeate into the military or government. New generations of pious personnel are given to the military by an Islamic society. Their large numbers can make the institution look more Islamic. Similarly, a pious society will create a new generation of pious governments. They can pressure the older generation political masters to accept Islam as a bargaining chip to remain in power. For example, in the 1980's, new officers who joined the military when the revival of Islam in society started, had became generals in the military and are devout followers of Islam who keep the military institution Islamic. Similarly, the continuous input of officers in the Pakistani military ensure that the Islamic tradition is practiced in the military even when Musharraf is not seen to be personally pious. In the case of Pakistan, new recruits in the military will make it more Islamic rather than the military institution itself trying to be popular for its own interest because today Musharraf is liberal towards Islam.

The attitude of the head of state or military generals towards Islam is another CV. If both are supportive then Islam permeates easily into the military or government institution. If they block the intake of pious personnel into the system and if society is stronger, the head of state in a democratic country risks losing control. The society can divert the votes to the opposition if attempts are made to block Islam. Therefore, most secular governments follow the trend of Islamization because of societal pressure. Then, societal pressure is another CV. Politicians can pretend to promote Islam in the military and government to win the support of society and the military. Examples are demonstrated by Mahathir to support Islam for political causes, and in the case of Pakistan, Zulfikar and Zia's strong support of Islam made it possible for Islam to successfully permeate throughout the military. On the contrary, Musharraf does not want

his military institution to be too Islamized especially when his neighbor, Afghaistan, has too much Islamic influence leading to the support of Osama bin Laden's terrorist activities.

The other CV will be the intensity of the role played by the religious department in the military. Religious corps are established in the military as control and monitoring agents under the command of the military leaders. The departments such as KAGAT in Malaysia, 'Mahlavi' in Pakistan and 'Setaf Agama' in Indonesia regulate Islamic activities in the military and prevent them from turning into an extremist or deviationist group.

C.   OBSERVATIONS FROM CASE STUDY

1.   Behavior of the Heads of State

Political leaders in Malaysia have Islamized the military as a strategy so that it will be easier to control the military. The military that has been Islamized tends to be obedient to their master. Although political masters such as Mahathir are not pious, but if seen as somewhat supportive of Islamic issues, then the public sees them as participating in religious activities and efforts to promote Islam in the military. The military will then value them and they will subsequently enjoy positive civil control over the military. This strategy is advantageous to the political master. Islam is stated as the official religion of Malaysia in the constitution but the Shariah law has not been practiced due to the multi-ethnic composition of the population. The military, accepting the influence of Islam and making changes to some of the Western military traditions that contradict Islam, is indirectly following the constitution whereby it respects Islam as the official religion. The military has voting rights, so if the government is seen to be encouraging Islam, there is no reason why military personnel must vote for PAS, an opposing party that also promotes Islam but has not been proven capable of ruling a multi-ethnic nation.

Political leaders who are not pious always keep the military moderate or mild. They will not tolerate a very pious military because they will not get along with non-pious civilians. This situation follows the opposite of the law of the magnet. Instead of like poles repelling in Islamic CMR, like Islamic piousness levels attract and make good relations. On the other hand, unlike poles show attraction but in Islamic CMR, differing

levels of piousness repel the relationship of the civil military. Similar religious status makes the military and civilians friendly while different Islamic backgrounds cause them to clash.

A strong Islamized military institution will demand the state that does not fully comply with Islam to hand over power otherwise a coup will occur. This type of military would like to see true Islamic religion upheld.

The head of the government always selects Muslim military generals to head the military when a large portion of the society is Muslim. He wants to be seen as pro-Islam. To win over society, political institutions must also be considered Islamized.

Civil control will be maintained as long as the politician leaders make themselves legitimate in the eyes of society and conceal all their corrupt acts from the military. Politicians can award perks or privileges to military generals to secure their obedience in return for the civil control.

The government and military leadership must play a major role to moderate and control these influences so that the military remains moderate and not fundamentalist. Adapting a moderate Islam in the Malaysian military context has enhanced the CMR, and hence, prevented a coup.

2.   Military Behavior

If top generals are not pious, the politicians do not worry as long as the military remains obedient. Politicians can exert influence on the generals to Islamize the military institution because the general's promotion to an appointment or higher ranks is controlled by civilians in democratic countries such as Malaysia. Ruling politicians continue to control the generals after appointment by rewarding obedient generals with 'Datoship' (status similar to Sir or Lord as in Britain) and promising lucrative posts in business and government agencies when they retire. Politicians always ensure that their relations remain good and the military generals work for them. Military generals feel indebted to the politician who selects them among the many others to be a top general, and therefore, they tend to be loyal. They risk losing their position if they are disobedient because the head of state has the power to hire and fire the rank of Colonel and above. Military generals expect perks and privileges while in the military and after retirement.

If there are many pious military personnel, politicians are motivated to allow Islamic liberalism to be practiced in the military as long as they obtain the support of the military. Changes in the military always start 'top down'. Down up changes are seldom seen because of discipline and bureaucracy in the military. The religious corps plays a role in disseminating the teachings.

Few military individuals may support extremist groups for personal benefits such as monetary gain, material, status and power. Ex-service and retired military personnel who have problems may be sought out by extremists to exploit their expertise in terrorism acts. Few individuals associate with extremist Islamic groups for their own benefit.

D.   RECOMMENDATION

Relationships between the military and the heads of state of Islamized military institutions change over time due to internal and external events either within or beyond the control of both parties. Since heads of states regularly change and generals retire and are often replaced, then the relationship also becomes dynamic and volatile. At times, the relationship is good and other times it is in conflict and then becomes better once again. Hence, relations which are good, such as coherent, cohesive, harmonious, obedience (compliance) must occur most of the time, disagreements, friction, conflicts with a few issues must occurrence a while, and relationships that lead to a breakdown of civil control (a coup) are expected to be very rare. This relationship also occurs in the modern military institution although it does not emphasize religion as the guiding principle.

Western political scientists recommend CMR be established following the 'principal–agent' ethic. A 'husband and wife' relationship is the best method to follow. The head of state assumes the 'husband' role and the military the 'wife' role in order to protect the 'children', or in this case, society from the harm of outsiders while at home. Of course, there will be minor disagreements and clashes but a harmonious family will resolve it quickly and the spirit is to work as a team, tolerate, and respect each other and always give and take. The military and civilians take this approach and when unresolved issues arise, refer to the judicial wisdom.

The modern military can adapt some of the sociable Islamic concepts, for example, the prophet had said, "The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim, he does not wrong him or let him down."244 As a matter of fact, Islam develops a great deal of sociability in the believer. A sociable person is one who likes other people. It is developed by telling Muslims to be sociable but also through actual training and practice. Islam asks its military to focus on human development 'Aqidah' (belief), 'Ibadah' (deed and good practices) and 'Ahlaq' (character and personal traits). This forces Muslims to mingle with other people and maximizes their attachment to people in general. Islam instructs the believer to visit the sick, to help the needy and assist the weak. Islam orders believers to be nice to other people as well as to be kind and sympathetic. The modern military should also develop human aspects such as the indoctrination of military ideology, promoting good deeds and voluntary acts, and instilling good character. Modern military personnel can treat counterparts as brothers irrespective of religious beliefs.

Islamic values play a major role in military discipline. For example, homosexuals and lesbians are prohibited in the military because of Islamic teachings. Discipline acts such as punctuality, respecting promises, respecting elders and respecting individual rights are Islamic morale values. Islamic values actually do not compete with the British values in the case of Malaysia if it is similar to the worldwide practices. In terms of operation and the execution of war, Islamic teachings comply with the requirement of the Geneva Convention.

Although the military institution is Islamized, it should maintain some of the modern military models and concepts because Islam only provides guidance in certain areas such as beliefs, culture and social life, and in other areas such as strategy, operations, tactics and weaponry, Islam is flexible and leaves it to the humans to manage, use, progress, innovate and adapt over time as science and technology evolve. Hence, an Islamized military is not separate from modernity as long as it does not breach the forbidden principle stated in the Qur'an. The blending of true Islamic models and Western methods is the ideal combination for successful CMR.

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244 Ibid., Dr. Muhammad Ali, p. 1.

The morality system of Islam suits any military and can be practiced without believing in Islam because it is accepted worldwide. Islamic teachings encompass all the commonly known moral virtues, and with a sense of balance and proportion, assigns a suitable place and function to each one of them in the total scheme of life. It widens the scope of man's individual and collective life, his domestic associations, his civic conduct and his activities in the political, economic, legal, educational, and social relations. It covers his life from home to society, to the battlefield and peace conferences, literally from cradle to grave. In short, no sphere of life is exempt from the application of the moral principles of Islam. It invokes the people, not only to practice virtues, but also to establish virtues and eradicate vice, to proffer good and to forbid wrong. Humility, modesty, the control of passion and desires, truthfulness, integrity, patience, steadfastness, and fulfilling one's promises are moral values which are emphasized again in the Qur'an. The teachings of Islam concerning social responsibilities are based on kindness and consideration of others. Islam emphasizes specific acts of kindness and defines responsibilities and rights of various relationships, the immediate family, relatives, neighbors, friends, orphans and widows, the needy in the community, fellow Muslims and all human beings and animals.[245]

E.   ANSWERING SOME ISSUES

As to the question of 'Should the military institution be allowed to develop into a full Islamized institution or just keep it moderate?' The military can be allowed to become fully Islamized but this may scare the non-Muslim countries because the first two criteria of a fully Islamized military might be misinterpreted by the world in that the Islamized country is aggressive. The Islamized military existence is to defend Islam and it must assist other Muslim states in fighting its aggressor. Other non-Muslim nations will not like this.

The question of 'Can a Muslim military work hand in hand with a non-Muslim military' is regularly asked. An Islamized military institution may face problems when taking part in UN missions, especially when the other party in conflict is also a Muslim brother or they do not want to be seen as siding with the non-Muslims. They may not want to be seen as suppressing their Muslim brothers in such a mission. Perhaps this

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245 Ibid., Holy Qur'an. Ibid., Bukhari and Muslim.

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might be the unwritten reason Malaysia and Pakistan is not keen on becoming involved in Iraq. Another problem is the dietary requirements of food. 'Halal' food must be provided or the Muslim military will not participate. Pious military troops may not want to interact and become friendly with a foreign non-Muslim military if they hold strongly to the belief of an orthodox imam that Muslims shall not trust or take as friend 'kafir' (non believer). This wrong perspective must first be corrected. Islam actually does not prohibit Muslims from being friendly with other religions if they also want to be friendly. The prophet used to be a friend and borrowed things from a Jew.

In terms of food, the Qur'an specifically has allowed Muslims to eat food or meat prepared by 'the people of the book' or Christians and Jews. This indicates that Islam is flexible and wants its followers to be friendly. Cultural and principle differences must be understood by others in order for the military of the Islamic country to interact with a foreign military.

The Muslim military perception that all knowledge and culture from the West is a link to 'tagut' (evil) should be eliminated from their minds. The West must not be prejudiced when Muslims want to dress differently in 'purdah' for the women and cannot eat some of the food eaten by others. The West should not make rude remarks that Muslims want to burden others with the 'Shariah' law that is inhuman and contributes little to the world, or are poor and backward and very indifferent to personal hygiene. In a democracy, everyone is free to do what they like and this is called freedom.

The question of 'Can the Islamic military model be adopted by others?' has a mixed response. It can be argued that the Islamic model cannot be accepted by other religions and non-believers when it comes to worshipping the One God concept. On the other hand, the moral and ethnic values can be easily adapted to any military because many ethics in Islam are now considered as worldviews and adopted by the modern military worldwide. Some would argue that if a military institution becomes an Islamized military, then the institution is going backwards, and hence it is not a good model to adopt. This is not true. Islam only affects cultures and believes, other military aspects can be modern and similar to the West. Culture and beliefs do not contradict modern technology.

The Islamized model can contribute to the modern military in that it can work well because its concepts follow the laws of nature. It emphasizes '*Kemantapan rohani'* (spiritual maturity). It teaches the military to balance spiritual needs and the race for materialistic gain. The Islamic model focuses on individuals first in terms of spiritual and mental development, focusing on correcting the attitude, behavior, tradition, culture, norms, social interactions, discipline, and obedience to rules and regulations. The awareness that all actions cannot escape being recorded and watched by the angels for ultimate reward and punishment in the hereafter can compensate for the limitations of policing. According to Giddens, the military has long been one of the central institutions of the state. People in the military had very strong feelings about their freedom as a nation, and their culture[246] and they were willing to sacrifice their lives so that their children could have those same rights they had enjoyed.[247] The Jihad concept is just an extension of this concept.

The question proffered by atheists or people who want to separate religion from the military of 'why must be religion be in the military' is often asked. There is a difference between military institutions that have no religious influence and those that have religion. History has shown that most militaries depend on religion to motivate their soldiers to fight. Others invented the ideology that follows the concept of religion but eliminates the part of God with other factors. That belief then is the driving force and guides their actions. However, most often, this type of belief is not permanent. For example, the ideology of communism and socialism collapsed over time, but religion remains although one may argue that it too has been modified.

The final question to ponder is 'Can any Muslim country achieve the full Islamized military?' The answer to this is not in the near future, because most of the political masters in the Islamic countries are not ready since they are too concerned with maintaining power and wealth. In the Islamic model, the leadership has eliminated the craze for power and wealth but instead does its role because of God and does not want wealth and absolute power. This example is only done by the prophet and a few of the

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[246] Giddens, "Effects of Modernity and the Military," *Coshe.com Website*, pp. 1-3. [http://www.coshe.com/viewpaper.php], Accessed 14 May 2003.

[247] Ibid., p. 4.

caliphates. To reach full Islamization is to attain perfection, and no man is free from sin and wrongs in this world except the chosen one - the prophet. Since the institution is run by man, therefore, it is very difficult to reach that stage.

F.   THE WAY AHEAD

The Muslim military realizes that its struggle for an Islamic state and fully Islamized military is a difficult one. They have to compete among many others such as the Western democratic model, secularists, socialists, nationalists and multi-religious interests. Muslims have had their ups and downs. In the first decade when nationalism was the trend, Muslims listened to the national anthem and adopted it. Islam does not profess the idea of nationalism and ethnics because of its borderless concept. In the independent era, Muslims learned about the language of democracy and constitution and become enthusiastic about it. Islam had its complete version of guidance based on the Qur'an and 'hadith', so an alternative is not necessary. In the post Cold war, Muslim scholars wanted an Islamic state when they realized that the democratic system was flawed and did not promise justice. The same characteristics in the West are not perfect when the scholars state they are democratic. They also oppress minorities in their country, antagonize non-conformists among the majority, deprive the society of freedoms, do not practice what they preach, and they practice a double standard. Then, Muslims want to resist the non-Muslim way of state controls and revert back to the true teachings. However, Muslims are confused with so many sects and schools of though found in the Islamic world. They realize the world today is not favorable and want to live in the glory similar to the golden age of Islam before. This frame of mind, which is stronger in Pakistan, moderate in Malaysia and mild in Indonesia, leads to the Islamization of the military institution. The trend of Islamizing the government institution became the order of the day.

The push of opposing forces of the Western capitalist world and glamour over globalization caused the Muslims to fight back using rallies and call for solidarity. The desperate Muslim adopts terrorist acts against the enemy comprised of conservative nationalists, democrats, socialists, communists and modernists.[248] Most Muslims in Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia insist on a middle path between secularism and

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[248] Ibid., Hefner, pp. 218-219.

extremist Islam. Islam can only make sense after the September 11 incident, if it is believed that Islam is compatible with democratic values. From one aspect, Islam possesses those democratic values. For example, Islam insists that religion is not compulsory, and it promotes freedom, equality, and justice as its core values.[249]

Other nations must acknowledge that Muslims have a share in the new world order. Muslim culture must be seen as part of the pluralistic world culture. Muslims dream of an Islamic state or that all of its institutions become Islamic in order to make people virtuous. This is a very difficult task to achieve in today's pluralist society. Islam in the military is only a small part of the Islamization effort for the majority of Muslim inhabitants.

Islam as an individual religion, and that of an institution, such as the military, are frequently misunderstood by the West. The True Islamic followers actually dislike terrorist acts and suicide bombers.[250] The Islamized society and military institution can actually co-exist with others in the world such as what Muhammad had done in the 7th century. A quote from Yusof Hamzah states, "We can enrich each other if we choose to embrace our essential humanity; we can destroy the world if we choose to stress our differences."[251] September 11 has created interest in the West to learn about Islam. What is seen now is that Islam is gradually being perceived as a global faith because people respect the freedom of religion. Muslims are not thought of as strangers with unusual practices, but are being welcomed as part of the mosaic of life in this world.[252]

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[249] Ibid., p. 218.

[250] Ibid., Hamzah Yusuf, p. 1-3.

[251] Ibid., p. 2.

[252] Ibid., Discover Islam, p. 2.

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