

# THE THIRTEEN RADICAL GROUPS: PRELIMINARY RESEARCH IN UNDERSTANDING THE EVOLUTION OF MILITANCY IN MALAYSIA

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## **Abstract**

Malaysia is one of earlier nations in Southeast Asia which concerned with radical and terrorist group. There are at least thirteen militant groups identified by the Malaysian Home Ministry as having planned and or attempted a violent takeover of the country's administration. Significant radicalism emerged in Malaysia in 1970s. Some of these groups have tried to stir up trouble related to ethnic relationships in Malaysia, and some have been involved in terrorist activities. This paper attempts to highlight the origins and the foundation of these groups and their relationships with contemporary radical ideology.

*Keywords: Radicalism, terrorist, militant, violent, and ideology*

## **The Militant Groups in Malaysia**

Malaysia's post independence history recorded at least 13 militant groups operating nationwide since the first one emerged in 1967.<sup>2</sup> A major factor for the fanatical ideology emerged was the Islamic revivalism. Islam remained the principal factor in dominating socio-politics in Malaysia decades ago. Malay Muslims believe, Islamic revivalism was a sense of going back to the basic tenets of Islamic teaching. It is important to purify oneself from *maksiat* and discard hedonistic and materialistic values brought by westerners. Furthermore, Islam also recognized *syumul* or the perfect way of life. '*Islam is a Way of Life*', a set of universal, timeless, complete and fully detailed moral and wise values for the benefit of mankind. It is part of a voluntary charter or mutual contract between the Creator and His creation. One should maintain morality and faith in the ultimate justice and in return, he will receive salvation from his Creator. Jansen in his book '*Militant Islam*' also gave an immaculate definition about Islam as;

*".....a vast and integrated system of law, it is a culture and a civilization; it is an economic system and a way of doing business; it is a polity and a method of governance; it is a special sort of society....."*<sup>3</sup>

In addition, the creed that Islam is a *syumul* religion in every aspect of Muslim's life including politics and governance has become the prominent theme of Islamic revivalism in Malaysia as well as world-wide. Islam is widely known as

a religion that does not admit any separation between politics and religion. However, separation was implemented during colonization and also in the post independence era in many countries including Malaysia.<sup>4</sup> The grievances of political leaders in post independence and the struggle to establish the purifying Islamic political system have been among major factors in employing a radical Islamic ideology. There are thirteen of the 'Islamic militant' groups in Malaysia for the period 1967 until 2002.

### **The *Tentera Sabilullah* (Holy War Army)**

*Tentera Sabilullah* was formed in 1967 as the first Islamic-related militant group in Malaysia. The existence of this group related to an incident in January 21, 1965. It happened when the *Persatuan Melayu Semenanjung* (Peninsular Malay Organization) was banned by the government because it was racially-based movement. But the turning point for *Tentera Sabilullah* to become extremists was the 'Hartal' incident (general strike).<sup>5</sup>

Linked with the devaluation of Malaysian currency after the economic crisis in 1967, the municipal government had been torn by factionalism and charges of corruption, criminal elements and secret society thugs, which raised the tension in Penang. The Labour Party, whose members were mainly Chinese, called for a *Hartal*. On 24 November 1967, 5 people were killed and 92 injured. The government made a prompt decision to put Penang under curfew and sent in extra soldiers and police.<sup>6</sup>

However, the tension in Penang spread out to neighbour states including Kedah and Perak as well as Kuala Lumpur. A month after the anarchy and militant acts in this small island, authorities discovered *Tentera Sabilullah* who were a secret Islamic religious based group operating in Kedah and Bukit Mertajam.<sup>7</sup> *Tentera Sabilullah* aimed to create chaos and raise tension between religions in Malaya at that time. Their intention was to take revenge for the Muslims who died as a result of the *Hartal* incidents in Penang and Kuala Lumpur. An official report, released by Tunku Abdul Rahman in January 1968, said that, during the riots, 29 people had been killed, more than two hundred people injured and about 1,300 arrested by the police.<sup>8</sup>

Members of *Tentera Sabilullah* were unhappy with the arrest of their leaders. Most of the leaders were detained because of public accusations of a racist nature during the period of *Hartal*.<sup>9</sup> *Tentera Sabilullah* made arson attacks on several Mosques and *Surau*<sup>10</sup> in Kubang Pasu, Kubur Panjang and Tanah Merah in Kubang Pasu district in Kedah, Malaya in 1967.<sup>11</sup> The main goal for these attacks was to suggest that non-Muslims had participated in attacking Muslims' sacred places and later would turn to an ethnic clash.<sup>12</sup>

However, this plot was uncovered not long after the incidents. Fourteen leaders of the *Tentera Sabilullah* were arrested and 281 surrendered to the authorities for their part in stirring up racial violence.<sup>13</sup> Most of the *Tentera Sabilullah* members were also members of the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), a legitimate right wing extremist party, as reported in the *Straits Times* on 27 December, 1967 and *Eastern Sun* on December, 28, 1967.

This group did not initially dissolve after the raid in 1967 and 1972. This group re-activated under the new leader, Isa bin Hussein who was known as 'Bong

*Isa'*. He successfully expanded his influence to re-establish the new *Tentera Sabilullah* in Kota Setar, Jitra, Gurun, Kulim, Baling, Sungai Petani and Kangar in the northern states of Malaysia. The principal objective for this group was to build an 'Islamic State'. He favourably got mass support from society especially in rural areas.<sup>14</sup> This group also enhanced their support after the last two Prime Ministers (Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Abdul Razak) administration showed they were not keen to establish pure Islamic-based state in Malaysia.

Notwithstanding, this group gained a strong grassroots support and domestic dissolution happened after PAS<sup>15</sup> agreed to joint 'Alliance' with UMNO, MIC and MCA in 1973.<sup>16</sup> However, in 30 October 1978, the right-wing of *Tentera Sabilullah* formed a new radical group called *Pertubuhan Angkatan Sabilullah* or in short forms known as P.A.S. This new group shared the same crucial objective with *Tentera Sabilullah* which is to establish 'Islamic State' through militant means.<sup>17</sup> In 23 January 1980, riots in Kedah by farmers demonstrating against the government's move to introduce a forced-savings scheme, were traced and linked to P.A.S. A peace demonstration in front of Wisma Negeri in Alor Star, Kedah turned to chaos and resulted with fourteen P.A.S. and three PAS members being arrested.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Golongan Rohaniah (Spiritual Group)**

This group was established in 1971 by Haji Abdul Talib bin Haji Ahmad @ Haji Abdul Mutalib Naim in Kelang, Selangor. Most of the activities preaching about Islam based on the book written by him entitled 'Mengenai Roh' (*Knowing Soul*). After five years existence, Golongan Rohaniah successfully gathered support from society including government officers and villagers around Kelang valley.<sup>19</sup>

Golongan Rohaniah has no threat to any parties at the beginning. This group was changed to be a militant movement after Abdul Mutalib repressed his followers to establish "Islamic State" by toppling down the ruling government with militant activities<sup>20</sup>. Furthermore, this group also aimed to demolish the Constitutional Monarchy and Parliamentary Democracy system in Malaysia.<sup>21</sup>

After their radical and militant strategy was uncovered by police in 1978, eleven people most of whom's were leaders at top positions were arrested under the ISA. Followed by their arrest, eleven automatic revolvers, 743 bullets, a hand grenade were unearthed by several raids in a few places in Kelang valley. Moreover, lots of group symbols, drafted manifesto, military uniforms and sixty group flags were confiscated by the authorities.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia (Malaysian Islamic Revolutionary Front-KARIM)**

Another group whose elucidation of Islam threatened the Malaysian government was the Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia (*Malaysian Islamic Revolutionary Front*). KARIM was founded in 1974 by Mohd Ali bin Abdul Rani in Kuala Lumpur, later piloted by Kamarudin bin Abdul Manaf until 1983.<sup>23</sup> In the early 1980s, KARIM gained the support of about nineteen people including one former Malaysian Military commando elite. KARIM preached to vanquish the ruling government through violence and militant activities.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, KARIM established their target to assemble a new republic in this country which is known as the *Government of Islamic Republic* in 1983.<sup>25</sup> They also were working with their ability to prepare the new government lead by Kamarudin Abdul Manaf. In January 1980, KARIM was banned after fourteen of their members including five leaders were detained under the ISA. Lots of ammunition such as 282 bullets, a hand grenade and a bayonet were seized by the authorities. KARIM was recognized as the grass-root of militancy operated in Malaysia.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Kumpulan Crypto (Crypto Group)**

Crypto emerged in 1977 with an operation centre in Penang and later expanded into mainland especially in Seberang Perai, Kulim, Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>27</sup> Mokhtar bin Hassan formed this group with the main argument that the Malaysian government was not giving Islam its appropriate and rightful due. Mokhtar used 'black magic' as part of his method to gain support from the masses and also to sustain his objectives.

Mokhtar claimed he is the *Imam Mahdi* (A Awaited Saviour) who comes into this world to save people. He also claimed the thirty days of fasting in Ramadhan month as a form of torture. Moreover, he declared the Kaabah in the Saudi Kingdom as stone and nothing special. People who perform hajj actually worshipped an idol and waste their money to travel to Saudi just performing deviance.

The 'five pillars' in Islam should not be followed exclude's 'Give Alms' or *zakat*. 'Preaching of Faith' or *Shahadah*, Prayer, Pilgrimage and Fasting were alternative and not compulsory. Heaven is in this present world and there is no more life after death. People should enjoy their life in this world. Every marriage will be witnessed by the moon and the stars as the greatest creature by God. The functions of priests at the wedding ritual were not required.

Furthermore, Mokhtar also planned to set up a 'Theocratic Government' by *jihad*. Theocratic order also known as '*The Government of Jesus*' easily collected strong support from police and military members in order to oust the ruling government in the future. In order to make preparations for the returning of *Jesus* into this world, Crypto followers need to establish the own government with focus on politic and economic system.

After five years operating in Malaysia, the authority took action to clamp down on the movement. The raid successfully uncovered the things used for the preparation of their own government including flags, special identity cards, 'Crypto' currency and uniforms with their own style.<sup>28</sup> This group has been halted and dissolved after nine of their leaders were arrested under the ISA on the 23 and 24 of March 1982.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Kumpulan Mohd Nasir Ismail (Mohd Nasir Ismail Group)**

The militant group with shortest lifespan in Malaysia was identified as the Kumpulan Mohd Nasir Ismail (*Mohd Nasir Ismail Group*). This group was founded in the early 1980 by Mohamad Nasir Ismail, who was a former Cambodian Military officer. He lived in exile in Malaysia from the Pol Pot regime that ruled Cambodia between 1975 until 1979. He then claimed that he was an Awaited Saviour or *Imam*

*Mahdi* who has been chosen by God to protect human beings from disaster and *Dajjal*.<sup>30</sup>

Thirty members called ‘*God’s Army in the Earth*’ operated in Batu Pahat, Johor. They did their operations secretly. The authorities discovered this group only after the attack at the Batu Pahat Police Station on 16 of October 1980. The attack was launched 10 months after its creation. They used *parangs* or long knives during that attack. They also believed that they were immune from any kind of weapons or bullets. They made this attack as a starting point to control the whole of Malaysia and to establish an Islamic State in Malaysia.

Eight of the members of Mohd Nasir’s group were shot dead by the police and eight more were detained. Seventeen policeman and civilians were injured during the attack that was recognized as the first Islamic-based militant attack in Malaysia. Only one report was published about the existence of this group, which is the Malaysian Government White Paper. In November 1980, this group was declared as ‘deviant’ and was banned by the Malaysian government. Numbers of their followers were arrested during the series of raids in the vicinity Batu Pahat district in Johor Bahru.<sup>31</sup>

### **The *Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya* (Ibrahim Libya Islamic Revolution Group)**

*Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya* was founded by Ibrahim Mahmood, or ‘*Ibrahim Libya*’ as he was popularly called, in April 1985<sup>32</sup>. He was a member of the strong Islamic opposition party called PAS. He also had held senior positions in PAS, at Baling district and Kedah state levels. *Ibrahim Libya Islamic Revolution Group* was associated with the Memali incident that had happened on the 19 of November 1985. Fourteen people including Ibrahim Libya were killed in the Memali incident<sup>33</sup>. The incident sparked a long-run conflict between the government and PAS members. PAS described those who were killed as *al-shahid* or martyrs. Ibrahim Libya was called *al-Shahid Ibrahim Libya* by his followers, contrary to the Government’s stance of calling those who died “militants”.<sup>34</sup>

Educated at the University of Tripoli and Al-Azhar University, Ibrahim Libya was a popular religious teacher based at a Madrasah in Kampung Memali in Mukim Siong, Baling Kedah. As a religious teacher and among the prominent PAS leaders, Ibrahim Libya was accused by the Malaysian government of manipulating Islam by the distribution of radical teaching in the states of Kedah, Penang and Perak. Among the *Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya*’s objectives, extracted from the Malaysian Government White Paper<sup>35</sup> was to encourage Muslims to perform Jihad against any government who does not implement Islam in their administrations. The group also aimed to protect Ibrahim Libya from arrest by police in any circumstances. Furthermore, this movement also wants to expand the teaching of Ibrahim Libya and the ideology of radicalism. Finally, they also seek to overthrow the Malaysian government in order to establish an *Islamic Revolution Government* in future.

The Malaysian government reacted by claiming Ibrahim Libya as a ‘deviant’ Muslim. The government also declared his ideology was untrue and restricted his activities. This stance reached its pinnacle when government security forces raided the *Markaz* or Ibrahim Libya residence complex while he was conducting religious

lessons. The *Markaz* was guarded by hundreds of Ibrahim Libya's followers; they tried to protect him from arrest by the Police.<sup>36</sup>

Eighteen people were killed during the disastrous confrontation between Ibrahim Libya's supporters and the police. Police reported fourteen deaths from Ibrahim Libya's members and four from police. Thirty seven people were injured and 166 arrested after the incident.<sup>37</sup> The Malaysian Government White Paper reported that dozens of traditional weapons were confiscated in the raid including pump guns, long knives (*parangs*), swords, short chopping knives (*parang kontot*), arrows and molotov cocktails.<sup>38</sup>

### **The *Kumpulan Jundullah* (Jundullah Group)**

*Kumpulan Jundullah* (Jundullah Group or Allah's Army Group) was formed in Pantai Cinta Berahi (later known as Pantai Cahaya Bulan) in Kelantan by Abdul Latiff bin Mohammad. Abdul Latif, who was a former Deputy Commissioner of Terengganu PAS, fashioned this group on 29 of August 1987, just less than two years after the bloody Memali Incident.

Most of the members were drawn from people who were influenced by Abdul Latif from Kelantan and Terengganu. Abdul Latif was illustrated as a charismatic, clean and committed-Islamic cleric leader especially to Kelantan and Terengganu PAS members. Most of the members were recruited with the militancy activities that happened in every meeting. Jundullah's members also had had training in Southern Thailand with separatists and rebellists from time to time because of the convenience of the border.<sup>39</sup>

The main objective was to toppling the ruling government with violence and to construct the 'Islamic state' in Malaysia. They were willing to fight with authorities to achieve these objectives. However, this group was stopped and dissolved after most of their leaders were detained under the ISA in October 1987 by the 'Operasi Lalang'.<sup>40</sup> Operation Lalang or 'Weeding Operation' also referred as 'Ops Lalang' started on October 27, 1987 by the Malaysian police, to crack down on opposition leaders and social activists. The operation saw the infamous arrest of 106 persons under the ISA including Abdul Latif and Jundullah's leaders as a tool to prevent ethnic tensions and riots in Malaysia.

### **The *Kumpulan Mujahidin Kedah* (Kedah Mujahidin Group)**

*Kumpulan Mujahidin Kedah* (KMK) was formed in February 1986 after a secret meeting held at Manir Mosque, Terengganu. This meeting was organised on the 24 of January 1986 by an ad-hoc team including Zainon Ismail.<sup>41</sup> KMK played a crucial role in establishing KMM in April 1996 after it was instructed to by Abu Bakar Chik and Zainon.

Teachings formerly emphasized Jihad as a main goal and necessity in every Muslim. The true Islamic state can only be created by the '*ruh Jihad*' or the soul of Jihad. KMK also encouraged its members to find *syahid* or martyr as the highest point of faith and to gain a good reciprocation or rewards from Allah. On the basis of finding jihad, this group attacked and set ablaze the Semarak stage in Sik, Kedah on the 05<sup>th</sup> of June 1988. This attack was regarded by the police as a series of attack operated secretly by the KMK.<sup>42</sup>

Malaysian authorities discovered this group after spying and monitoring KMK members since the Semarak incidents. On May 1989, KMK totally disbanded after 23 of their leaders and members were detained under ISA. 18 of them surrendered within a few days of the thorough police operation. After spending two years in ISA detention camp, the detainees agreed to become not involved again with any kind of action that may stir stability and security in Malaysia either in the short or long term.

However, a few figures escaped from arrest and were living in exile for some years. They went to places where they could get shelter and avoid spying by the police and the authorities.<sup>43</sup> Among them, was Zainon Ismail and Zulkifli bin Mohammad who later flew to Pakistan before entering Afghanistan to join jihad against Soviet Russia in Argoon. They took part in this war under the instructions of Commander Khalid Zubir from the Pakistani-Punjabi Camp.<sup>44</sup>

### **The *Kumpulan Perjuangan Islam Perak* (Perak Islamic Movement Group-KPIP)**

A month after KMK was established in Kedah, *Kumpulan Perjuangan Islam Perak* (*Perak Islamic Movement Group* or KPIP) emerged in Perak state in March 1986. KPIP was formed by Sidek bin Mohd Noor who was a Chamber of Perak PAS Youth leader in correlation with establishing KMK. KPIP gathered at least fifty youths especially from Felcra Lekir, Pangkor Island and Pasir Salak in Perak Tengah.<sup>45</sup>

KPIP's main objective was to physically and mentally prepare their members through military training. These preparations were important for KPIP for toppling the Malaysian government in the future for a pure Islamic-based government. To make sure these goals were achieved, they were involved in violent activities in Perak in 1988.<sup>46</sup> Among them were set fire to the Sports Toto (*Malaysian Legal Lotteries and Gambling*) outlet at Jalan Silibin, Ipoh Perak in the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1988 and again on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 1988. Arson attacks on two cars outside of the Ipoh City Council in Perak to show their protest on the Nation Lottery Concert on the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1988. Arson attacks on the Hilir Perak Malay Teachers' Union building in Teluk Intan, Perak on the 31 October 1988. Set fire to the temporary offices of the proposed Taiping Funfair on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1988. Attempted to set ablaze to a bus from Roadways Company in Ipoh on the 27<sup>th</sup> November 1988.

This group was banned and dissolved in May 1989 after twenty seven people including KPIP leaders and members were detained by the police in *Operasi Kenari II* (Kenari Operation II) between October 1988 and May 1989. Although this group was broken down physically, but not totally destroyed, some of their members were believed to have fled to live in exile in Afghanistan rather than be arrested under the ISA.<sup>47</sup>

### **The *Kumpulan al-Arqaam* (al-Arqaam Group)**

Some reports do not include al-Arqaam as one of the militant groups orchestrated in Malaysia. The Pentagon and CIA also do not recognize al-Arqaam as a terrorist group that carry out militant activities. But Malaysia, especially under the Mahathir Mohammad administration, saw that al-Arqaam might use forces, create chaos or split the solidarity of Muslims in the country.<sup>48</sup> Al-Arqaam was banned by the federal

government in June 1993. It happened after their Islamic teaching was considered deviant due to the mystics of al-Aurad Muhamadiyah.<sup>49</sup>

However, main reason the government banned this group was because al-Arqam was building-up the “Badar” military unit. This special military unit consisted of 313 members, with the long term aim of toppling the government in order to establish an Islamic nation. Al-Arqam established networking in almost all Southeast Asia countries including Thailand, Indonesia, and Singapore and also in Cairo, Egypt.<sup>50</sup>

Ashaari Muhammad founded Al-Arqam in 1968. By August 1994, al-Arqam was officially blacklisted in Malaysia and had gained an estimated 100,000 followers. More than five Al-Arqam members including Ashaari Mohammad were arrested under the ISA after raids at the group’s main camp at Kampung Sungai Penchala, Kuala Lumpur.

He took as his inspiration the works of the Sufi Sheikh Muhammad Bin ‘Abdullah as-Suhaimi, who died in Kelang, Selangor in the 1920s.<sup>51</sup> By declaring as-Suhaimi as the Imam Mahdi, Ashaari was already sheering into the realms of Islamic heresy. His declaration that the Mahdi would rise from the dead was among the claims which led to the group becoming barred in 1994.

Ashaari told his followers that he was receiving dreams that came directly from the last prophet “Muhammad”. He also declared himself as a prophet and he had the power to forgive people’s sins. Ashaari told his followers to leave from their homes if their families did not agree with his teachings. Members also worked for small money at the numerous businesses which Ashaari owned. They also lived only in Al-Arqam “communes”. By the time of Ashaari’s arrest, he had established 48 of these communes across Malaysia. Each commune had its own school, business and health clinics.<sup>52</sup>

Followers wore Islamic regalia - long flowing robes and turbans for the men, and black robes and *niqabs* (face-veils) for the women. He was called “Abuya” or “father of the people” by his followers and wrote several books and his sermons were distributed on audio cassettes. Male followers were urged to engage in polygamy, in the manner of their leader.

Al-Arqam members were intelligent and managed their company wisely. They gathered 400 trading companies, including 56 manufacturing companies, 20 department stores, 52 retail shops, 18 restaurants, as well as several publishing companies. It had gathered assets worth \$8,000,000,000.<sup>53</sup> During the 1980s, stress between the government and Ashaari increased. Al-Arqam was barred from operating in any government premises, and its publishing permit was cancelled.<sup>54</sup> Ashaari had shown the problem that he may face and decided to move with his wives to Chiangmai, Thailand, where he had strong support from local Muslim.

The end of the line for Al-Arqam had come in 1994, when the Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad decided that the group posed a threat to national security. Media reports suggested Ashaari had gathered a fighting force in Thailand, and was ready to overthrow the government.<sup>55</sup> Tapes of Ashaari’s conversations with prophet Mohammed had circulated, in which it was suggested that Allah had chosen Ashaari to become the leader of Malaysia’s Muslim community.<sup>56</sup>

Some press reports had said that Ashaari had openly stated his intention to come from Thailand and challenge the leadership in Malaysia. He said he would lead the country one day. Ashaari was by this time banned from entering Singapore, Indonesia and Brunei.<sup>57</sup>

Al-Arqam was declared illegal under the Societies Act of 1996 on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1994. Ashaari was officially detained under ISA on the September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1994. Interpol collaboration managed to arrest Ashaari and his entourage while they were in hiding at Chiangmai, northern Thailand. Then, Ashaari deported to Malaysia and was subjected to interrogation by Islamic authorities, along with seven other prominent members of Al-Arqam. Ashaari Muhammad was then placed under a form of virtual house arrest on the island of Labuan, under strict supervision of the government.

Although al-Arqam did not really pose a big threat to the Malaysian government, the intention to establish an Islamic government by toppling down the current government showed the characteristics of militancy and extremism. Furthermore, al-Arqam also informed the *Badar* military unit in the Kingdom of Thailand to prepare for the establishment of an Islamic country with Ashaari as the next Prime Minister of Malaysia.<sup>58</sup>

With vast support from followers both domestic and regional, it was strong enough to create chaos and long running problems. Malaysian authorities acted carefully and were aware this group that had strong grass-root support and fanatical perspectives on Ashaari. Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi has said “that legal action will taken against anyone who tries to reestablish the Al-Arqam group.”<sup>59</sup>

### **The *Kumpulan Persaudaraan Ilmu dalam Al-Maunah* (Brotherhood of Al-Ma’unah Inner Power)**

Al-Maunah was formed as a legal inner power group registered on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1999. Al-Maunah was an organization that “implemented the teaching of martial arts particularly the development of one’s inner power and the practice of Islamic customary medicine”. The group declared membership of more than one thousand people spread throughout Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.<sup>60</sup> This group also claimed to be a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) involved in martial arts with international and local members including civil servants, security service personnel and even some members from UMNO coalition party.<sup>61</sup>

A-Maunah was led by Mohd Amin bin Mohd Razali a former army corporal who came from Kampung Sauk, Grik Perak. This group was prominent by their audacious raid on July 2, 2000 at the Malaysian Army Reserve Camp at the Temenggor Dam, Grik Perak. Al-Maunah members instructed by Mohd Amin managed to enter the camp’s security infrastructure by disguising themselves in military uniforms and driving jeeps painted in camouflage green as Malaysian Army Jeeps. Disguised as senior army officers, they claimed to be making a surprise inspection of the Battalion 304 in the *Rejimen Askar Wataniah* (Malaysian Army Reserve) camp. This group successfully took away a huge cache of firearms and ammunition, including 97 M16 assault rifles, two Steyr AUG rifles, four GPMGs, six Light Machineguns, five grenade launchers, 182 M16 magazines, eight extra barrels of GPMGs, three extra barrel of LMGs, 26 bayonets, 9,095 rounds of 5.56mm and 60 rounds of 40mm ammunitions.<sup>62</sup>

Besides this audacious raid, al-Maunah members also attempted to blow up the ‘Carlsberg’ factory in Shah Alam with a rocket-launcher. They inflicted some damaged to the ‘Guinness Stout’ refinery in Sungai Way and the Hindu temple in Batu Caves, Selangor. Al-Maunah strongly opposes the idea of elections. Only true

and pure Islam should be implementing in Malaysia by terrorist means as had been done by al-Maunah members.<sup>63</sup>

Zabidi Mohamed, one of the defence counsels on the al-Maunah trial said, al-Maunah members were manipulated by Mohd Amin. Al-Maunah members were loyal, and blinded by their leader. Fanaticisms were also among the reasons why these people join al-Maunah. As he said:

*...in the promise of a better afterlife, and believe on their leader have a "mystical powers", and the group would be assured of a better enrolment...the followers would believe that the leader is purist. They would idolise him. 'Taksab' with the leader can make them break the law as what had happened to the Al-Maunah members...*

Members believed that Al-Maunah was the only way to set up an Islamic state in Malaysia. To achieve that, it should be done by force and using terrorist means. Al-Maunah members were also frustrated when the authorities were not giving *ulama* a bigger place in government and socio-politics. Moreover, Islamic clerics, such as *ulama'* from Pas were denied the ability to hold *ceramah* (sermons).

Malaysian security forces launched a high-status action against the al-Maunah camp in Sauk, Perak in July 2000. During the confrontation, 19 members were arrested and two deaths reported. Al-Maunah took four hostages which were two police personnel, Sergeant Mohd Shah Ahmad and Detective Corporal Saghadevan, as well as civilian Jaafar Puteh and army personnel, Trooper Matthews anak Medan. Zulkefli Makinudin,<sup>64</sup> in his judgement said:

*Mohd Amin was responsible for shooting to death Special Branch police officer R. Sagadevan, and in directing to Jemari to shoot to death Special Operation Force Ranger, Matthew anak Medan<sup>65</sup>...Mod Amin as a leader of the al-Maunah movement, was the mastermind behind the mission to overthrow the government by force in the name of Jihad.*

Following this, members of *al-Maunah* apprehended in the raid were later charged with treason and plotting to overthrow the government in order to bring into being an Islamic state. They were found guilty of waging a war against the Yang Dipertuan Agong (King of Malaysia). Mohd Amin Mohd Razali, Zahit Muslim and Jamaludin Darus were sentenced to death, while the remaining, 16 were sentenced to life imprisonment.

## **The Kumpulan Militan Malaysia**

Less than a month since the botched robbery at the Southern Bank Branch in Jalan Gasing, Petaling Jaya Selangor, 9 members of a new militant group were discovered. The group orchestrated several criminal and militant acts and later claimed to be a defender of the creation of a purist Muslim society in Malaysia via '*Jihad*'.<sup>66</sup>

KMM was founded by Zainon Ismail, who was a member of the PAS Youth State Committee in the Kedah state from 1991 until 1996. Zainon, who is referred to as "Cikgu Non", was very charismatic and respected both in his village in Kampung Memali, Mukin Siong, Baling Kedah and in the opposition party (PAS).

KMM was influenced by the Indonesian *ustazs* (clerics) who were influenced by *Wahhabism* ideology. These *ustazs* were successfully propagated by KMM members to follow the orthodox interpretation of Islam.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, KMM urged its followers to go to war against the enemies of Islam especially to the people or institutions and governments who resisted the application of Islamic law and applied secularism and non-Islamism, by appealing to the *jihad*, emphasizing the meaning of armed struggle.

KMM had strong connections with KMK and KPIP.<sup>68</sup> Although these two groups were dismantled by 'Ops Kenari' between October 1988 and May 1989, the key radical idealists were able to flee to Middle Eastern countries and avoid arrest.<sup>69</sup> They participated in the Afghan-Russia war as *Mujahidin*. Some of these idealists were Zainon Ismail, Solehan Abd Ghafar and Zulkifli Mohammad. Zainon and Zulkifli were in Argoon, the place in Peshawar bordering Afghanistan. They believed they were the first Malaysians there as *Mujahidin* and they were ordered to join the Punjabi *Mujahidin* Camp.<sup>70</sup>

The police discovered KMM on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1995, when founded by Zainon Ismail. KMM had roots with Halaqah Pakindo, a clandestine movement formed as an alumni association for Malaysian graduates from religious institutions in Pakistan, India, and Indonesia. Zainon Ismail, who was involved in the Semarak attack in 1988, established this group in conjunction with a meeting at Kuala Lumpur with Abu Bakar Chik in 1996.<sup>71</sup> This evidence gathered from police interrogation and investigations consequently exposed the fact that these group members were Malaysians who were educated in the Middle East and India as well as Pakistan. They performed *Jihad* in Afghanistan during the Russia-Afghan war and more recently in Ambon and Maluku in Indonesia during the religious tension there, started in 1999.<sup>72</sup>

*...They were believed to have been indoctrinated and recruited into the Afghanistan based mujahideen whilst studying in universities in Pakistan, Egypt and India...<sup>73</sup>*

KMM was linked to an array of crimes since 1999 including the bombing of churches, an Indian temple, a video centre, an attack on a police station, the murder of a local politician, an attempt to attack the US Navy convoy, an attempt to murder two ethnic Indians, and armed robbery and many more.<sup>74</sup> Their aim was to weaken the government through acts of terrorism including agitating ethnic and religious divides.

## The Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)

Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) has made Malaysia one of their important bases for orchestrating attacks and operating militant activities in Southeast Asia.<sup>75</sup> Several months after the uncovering of the KMM, Malaysian police discovered another Islamist-militant group operating under-ground called JI. JI was uncovered after interrogation and further investigation by police on the arrest of KMM members for an attempted robbery at Southern Bank in Petaling Jaya Selangor in May 2001. Yazid Sufaat, a Bio Chemistry graduate from the California State University, Sacramento was detained on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 2001 and was uncovered as the real face of JI.<sup>76</sup>

Ji has a high reputation around the world since the 'Bali Bombing 2002, the disaster that has shifted human thought and belief. 'Global war on terrorism' recognized Ji as the second most wanted terrorist group after Middle East based terrorism group, al-Qaeda. Historically, Ji has strong roots with the Pertubuhan Darul Islam Indonesia (DII).<sup>77</sup> The origins of Ji could be traced to a *pesantren* founded in Solo, Indonesia by two radical Muslim clerics, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. These two clerics were deeply affected by the DII movement and have thus attempted to carry on in its tradition.<sup>78</sup>

Sungkar and Ba'asyir migrated to Malaysia in 1985 to avoid further prosecution by the Suharto regime. They established Ji in 1993 after they laid foundations in Ulu Tiram, Johor and Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan. The ideology of establishment *Darul Islam* and the *jihād* concept from *wahhabism* thought was preached by Sungkar and Ba'asyir from a series of *usrahs* and religious classes.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, this group produced a book called *Pedoman Umum Perjuangan al-Jamaah al-Islamiyyah* (General Guidelines for the Jemaah Islamiyyah Struggle or in short PUPJI) as the crucial source in their *jihād* to be obeyed.

From Malaysia perspectives, Ji's radical ideology represented threats to the security. Their teachings tended to push on the militancy rather than trying to keep society living in harmony and tolerance. To establish *Daulah Islamiyyah* consisting of Malaysia, Indonesia, Southern Philippines, Singapore and Brunei, Ji extremely prefer their followers to only follow *Salafus Soleh* (a righteous predecessors of Prophet Muhammad) doctrine as the trueness of Islamic preaching.<sup>80</sup> Others such as contemporary sects like *ahli sunnah wal jamaah*, *tareqad*, and *syiah* was regarded as deviant.

Need to establish a total Islamic State through *jihād* and *dakwah*. Malaysia and Indonesia were recognized as un-Islamic countries because the Quran and the Sunnah were not implemented in the legislation or administration. Should follow the concept of *Kafir Harbi* (belligerent infidels) for non Muslim and the need to perform *jihād* on them. Most of the followers were willing to wage war on the Indians and Chinese in Malaysia because they were averse accepting Islam. And regards a democracy as a western tool in the new-colonialism era and in other words was deviant from true Islamic teaching. Islamic caliphate has been broken down by British and Western super powers since the 14<sup>th</sup> century laving Muslims and their territories weakened and paralyzed. Ji also sustained Osama Laden and al-Qaeda's anti-US sentiment. Ji also strongly believed that the *Salafus Soleh* approach was the only way to generate and enlarge an Islamic Caliphate again.

According to PUPJI, Ji suppose to be lead by *Amir* who appoints and controls four councils which is governing council, religious council, fatwa council and disciplinary council. The governing council is headed by a central command that oversees the leaders of four territorial divisions or *mantiqis*. The *mantiqis* followed by *Wakalah*, *Sariyah*, *Katibah*, *Kirdas*, *Fiah* and *Thoifah*. Ji also comprised four major divisions, which is Mantiqi 1 – Peninsular Malaysia, Singapore and Southern Thailand. Mantiqi 2 – Indonesia (except Sulawesi and Kalimantan). Mantiqi 3 – Eastern Malaysia, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Southern Philippines and Mantiqi 4 – Australia and Papua New Guinea.

Ji organized special task for every *mantiqis*. Mantiqi 1 had responsibility for fund raising; Mantiqi 2 was given the primary mission on the promotion of *jihād*, Mantiqi 3 created for logistical and the place for *jihād*. However Mantiqi 4 never established but planned by Ji for the future expansion.<sup>81</sup>

Malaysia was the location for three meetings of the *Rabitatul Mujahideen*, a coalition of Jihadist groups from Southeast Asia organized by JI in 1999-2000. The alliance facilitated co-operation and the sharing of resources among the groups, in terms of training, procurement of arms, financial assistance and terrorist operations. The objective was to unify the Islamic militant groups in the region, with the ultimate goal of realizing the Daulah Islamiyah.<sup>82</sup> This group had short term military training in various places in Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Pahang, Kelantan and Sabah.

JI formally halted and abandoned from actively operated in Malaysia since raided in 2001. But the threat of JI still there especially some of the members still at large in Indonesia and Southern Philippines.<sup>83</sup> Malaysian police listed at least 337 of JI members either still in Malaysia or used to be in Malaysia including Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, Nordin Mohd Top, Hambali and the late Dr. Azhari Hussin. Only 68 had been detained with most of them were released under the restriction order.<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

In conclusion, thirteen militant groups in Malaysia who strongly believed and applied the concept of militanism and acted violently appeared since independence. This group being militant and extreme with various methods and different modus operandi, but all of them shared the same ideology which is in struggle to established Islamic state through violence and was trying to create chaos and panic in society and was aimed for country's social and political instability. Most of these groups declined the constitutional law and the system of democracy implemented by Malaysian government. They accused it was inherited from British which is based on westernization and secularization and also did not follow the Islamic principles.

The Malaysian government is acutely aware that social political grievances need to be adequately addressed to prevent exploitation by extremists. It also needs to allow political parties to have their say without worrying about diluting its own power. The latest general election result showed that the increasing price of goods as well as religious and race tensions have contributed significantly to turmoil for the incumbent Barisan Nasional (National Coalition) party and have resulted in its worse performance outcome for the fifty years it has been ruling Malaysia.<sup>85</sup> It is clear that the ruling government faces significant challenges in maintaining its political power and ensuring stability in the country in the future.

Malaysia should be well aware that the current threat from radicals is important, one type of political warfare that requires not only security action but also a comprehensive counter-strategy. No single country in Southeast Asia should feel complacent about what they have done so far.<sup>86</sup> The threat from radicals, and especially Muslim militants, will continue unless comprehensive action can be taken. This initiative may take a long time to succeed, but it is absolutely essential that it is carried out.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Mohd Mizan is PhD student in school of Government, Victoria University of Wellington, doing research about Southeast Asia conflict with focussing in regional terrorism.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with R. Hashim at Bukit Aman Police Head Quarters. Kuala Lumpur on the 30 Dec 2007.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*. (New York: Harpercollins College Div., 1979), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> K. Abdullah, "National Security and Malay Unity: The Issue of Radical Religious Elements in Malaysia," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 21 (2), (1999), pp. 261-262.

<sup>5</sup> L. N. Snider, "What Happened in Penang," *Asian Survey*, 8(12) (1968), pp. 960-969.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 962-966.

<sup>7</sup> "Hartal," *Straits Times*. 27 December, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> "Hartal in Penang," *Eastern Sun*, 09 February, 1968.

<sup>9</sup> Of those arrested, 113 were found to be aliens, and the government instituted banishment proceedings against four of them, besides leaders from Pan Islamic Party, leaders and members from Labour Party and Alliance (party from ruling government) also detained as reported from *Eastern Sun*, 09 February, 1968.

<sup>10</sup> Surau or Musolla is Muslims's small prayer place normally located in every small village for daily prayers. Surau not for performing Jumaah prayer but often used for Eid prayer as well as place for Islamic class and series of talk.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with R. Hashim.

<sup>12</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with R. Hashim.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> For the sake of contesting in the general elections of 1955, the party was re-registered under the name *Pan-Malayan Islamic Party* (PMIP). The name was later changed to *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (PAS) during the Asri Muda era in the early 1970s.

<sup>16</sup> PAS and Alliance also reached an agreement on the principle of having coalition governments at state and federal levels. With that coalition, UNMO-PAS administration would be actualized in Kelantan, Perlis, Kedah, Terangganu and at least one one PAS leader would be co-opted in to the Federal Cabinet.

<sup>17</sup> J. C. Liow, "The Mahathir's Administration War against Islamic Militancy: Operational and Ideological Challenges," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58(2), (2004), pp. 241-243.

<sup>18</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *The Threat To Muslim Unity and National Security: Malaysia Government*, (1984). p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with A. R. Hashim at Bukit Aman Police Head Quarters. Kuala Lumpur on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 2008.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Malaysia Government White Paper, *The Threat To Muslim Unity and National Security*. p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 42.

- <sup>24</sup> J. C. Liow, "The Mahathir's Administration War against Islamic Militancy," p. 243.
- <sup>25</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 43.
- <sup>26</sup> H. Hayatudin, Most KMM Members Are Opposition Party Members Operating in Terengganu, Kelantan," *News Straits Times*. 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2001.
- <sup>27</sup> Interview with A. R. Hashim on January 2008.
- <sup>28</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 44.
- <sup>29</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *The Threat To Muslim Unity and National Security*, p. 5.
- <sup>30</sup> Also known as "The Deceiver/impostor", is an evil figure in Islamic eschatology. He is to appear at a time in the future, before the Day of Resurrection, Judgement Day. Dajjal is a common Arabic word, used in the sense of "false prophet".
- <sup>31</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *The Threat To Muslim Unity and National Security*, p. 5.
- <sup>32</sup> Interview with R. Hashim in 2007.
- <sup>33</sup> "The Battle for Memali." *Far Eastern Economic Review (FEER)*, 05 December 1985.
- <sup>34</sup> Interview with Omar I. at Police College, Cheras. Kuala Lumpur, on the 01 December 2007.
- <sup>35</sup> Malaysia Government White Paper, *The Memali Incident*, (Kuala Lumpur: Government of Malaysia, 1986).
- <sup>36</sup> J. C. Liow, "The Mahathir's Administration War against Islamic Militancy," pp. 241-256.
- <sup>37</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, pp. 45.
- <sup>38</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *The Threat To Muslim Unity and National Security*, p. 5.
- <sup>39</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *Towards Preserving National Security*, (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Government, 1988).
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Interview with Ah Tarmidzi, Head of Special Branch, Baling District Police Station.in Kedah, on the 1<sup>st</sup> December 2007 at 11.00 am.
- <sup>42</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 46.
- <sup>43</sup> Interview with A. R. Hashim in 2007.
- <sup>44</sup> Z. Ismail, *Dagangnya Diterima Allah*, (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pemuda, 1990), pp. 1-2.
- <sup>45</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *Towards Preserving National Security*, p. 45.
- <sup>46</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 47.
- <sup>47</sup> Malaysian Government White Paper, *Towards Preserving National Security*, p. 45.
- <sup>48</sup> K. Abdullah, "National Security and Malay Unity ," pp. 262-272.
- <sup>49</sup> Z. Mohammad, *Tersungkur di pintu 'Syurga': the untold truth and inside story of Al-Arqam & I.S.A*, (Kuala Lumpur: Zabidi Publications, 1998), pp. 10-25.
- <sup>50</sup> Dewan Rakyat Parliament of Malaysia, *Order Paper*, (Kuala Lumpur: Parliament of Malaysia, 1989).
- <sup>51</sup> Z. Mohammad, *Tersungkur di pintu 'Syurga,'* p. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Malaysia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices, 2007. This is available from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78780.htm> (Retrieved 25 Jan, 2008).

<sup>53</sup> A. Morgan, "Al-Arqam: Heretical Islamic cult returns," *The Sun*, 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2006.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> "Al-Arqam Followers give MB a Book of Banned Teachings," *The Sun*, 14<sup>th</sup> September, 2007.

<sup>56</sup> A. Morgan, "Al-Arqam: Heretical Islamic cult returns."

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Dewan Negara, *Aturan Urusan Mesyuarat* (Parliament Hansard). 10, Term 4, 1. (1994).

<sup>59</sup> A. Morgan, "Al-Arqam: Heretical Islamic cult returns."

<sup>60</sup> K. Anuar, & A. Sani, "Persaudaraan Ilmu Dalam Al-Maunah Malaysia," available at [http://members.tripod.com/~al\\_maunah/topics\\_english1.htm](http://members.tripod.com/~al_maunah/topics_english1.htm) (Retrieved 15 February 2008).

<sup>61</sup> "Two Policemen and Nine More Soldiers Identified as Belonging to the Movement," *New Straits Times*, 13 July, 2000.

<sup>62</sup> S. Hafeez, "19 Found Guilty: Al-Maunah Members to be Sentenced Today," *The Malay Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> December 2001, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Z. Mohammad, *al-Maunah the Naked Truth*, (Kuala Lumpur: Zabidi Productions, 2003). p. 45.

<sup>64</sup> Datuk Zulkefli Ahmad Makinudin was a judge for this interesting case with the Prosecution Team Attorney General Datuk Ghani Patail, Senior Deputy Public Prosecutor (DPP) Mohd Yusof Zainal Abidin and Salehudin Saidin, DPP tun Abdul Majid Tun Hamzah, Asmah Musa and Fatnin Yusof. The Defence Counsels are Karpal Singh and Ram Karpal for Mohd Amin, Kamarul Hisham Kamarudin for Idris, Zabidi Mohamed for Zahit and Jamaludin, Surina Suhaimi for Abdul Ghani and Suhaimi, Hasnal Reza Merican and Ahmad Yasmadi Mohd Yusof for Mohd Zaini and Mohd Bukhari, Syed Azimar Amir Syed Abu Bakar for Kamarudin, P.Y.Leong for Ibrahim, Zulqarnaim Luqman for Mohamad Faudzi, Nasrudin, Ahmad Sarkawi and Zainal, Zaini Zainal for Md Amin, Zainal Ithnin for Mohd Ramly, Che Sabri and Yunus and Zamani Ibrahim for Jemari.

<sup>65</sup> S. Hafeez, "19 Found Guilty: Al-Maunah Members to be Sentenced Today," p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> J. C. Liow, "The Mahathir's Administration War against Islamic Militancy," pp. 241-256.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Respondent A. at Cheras, Kuala Lumpur, on 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2007.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Z. Ismail, at Kampung Memali, Mukim Siong Memali, Kedah, on 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 2007. He was KMM leader in 1996-1999 before hand over the administration to Nik Adli Nik Abdul Aziz.

<sup>69</sup> 'Ops Kenari' or 'Kenari (Robin's) Operation' was a massive raids in 1988 by Malaysian Police, it was end up with several PAS leaders have been detained under the accusation of given threat to national security.

<sup>70</sup> Z. Ismail, *Dagangnya Diterima Allah*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Respondent F, at Restaurant in Bangi Selangor, on 10<sup>th</sup> of December, 2007.

<sup>72</sup> L. Morais, G. Raja, M. Abas, & N. Spykerman, "Graduates in Terrorism," *The Malay Mail*, 7 June 2001, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> E. Noor, *al-Maunah and KMM in Malaysia in A Handbook of Terrorism in Insurgency in Southeast Asia*, (London: Edward Elgar, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> K. Abdullah, "The Rise of Radical Political Islam in Southeast Asia: A Malaysian Perspective," Paper presented at the International Symposium on The Dynamics and Structure of Terrorist Threats in Southeast Asia, Kuala Lumpur, 18-20 April, 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Op. Cit., Hashim, R. (2004). p. 51.

<sup>77</sup> *Government of Singapore White Paper*. (2003). *Jemaah Islamiyah Arrests and the Threat of Terrorism*.

<sup>78</sup> Negara Islam Indonesia (DII or NII) has waged anti colonial war against the Dutch and forces battling Sukarno's nationalists.

<sup>79</sup> K. Abdullah, "The Rise of Radical Political Islam in Southeast Asia: A Malaysian Perspective."

<sup>80</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 52-53.

<sup>81</sup> B. Singh, *Asean Australia and the Management of the Jemaah Islamiyah Threat*, (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre ANU, 2003), pp. 1-21.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with I Omar.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with A. K. M. Pitchay, at Special Branch Department, Bukit Aman Royal Malaysia Police Headquarters Kuala Lumpur, on the 30<sup>th</sup> December 2007.

<sup>84</sup> R. Hashim, *Gerakan Militan Islam Yang Mengancam Keselamatan*, p. 54.

<sup>85</sup> "Malaysia prime minister rejects calls to resign amid rare political turmoil," *The Jakarta Post*, 15 March 2008, available at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/03/14/malaysia-prime-minister-rejects-calls-resign-amid-rare-political-turmoil.html> (Retrieved 15 March, 2008).

<sup>86</sup> Interview with N. Abas at Restoran Baso Minang, Blok M, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia. Jakarta. 2007.