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Raziman as a Terrorist in *Gerila*

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Abstract

Characters and the character traits are important elements of creative works, and they are the life of any work of fiction. One of the questions often asked regarding terrorism is the reasons why someone would get involved in acts of terrorism in the first place. The objective of this research is to explore the purpose and motivations driving the main character's involvement in terrorism. This study will enhance the understanding of terrorists' motivation as depicted in *Gerila*, thus, the readers can have a better perspective on terrorism in Southern Thailand. The focus of the study is to examine the factors which spurred the main character of the novel *Gerila* to get involved with terrorist activity. Furthermore, this study too can help us to identify the motivation behind Raziman's negative behaviours' in order to fulfill his goals in this novel. The data for this research is taken from the novel *Gerila* (2008) by Lukman Iskandar a novel which told the story of the people of Pattani and their fight. The framework for analysis of the research is Maslow's theory of motivation, from the book *Motivation and Personality* (1970). The main character of this novel, Raziman, will be used as the sample to investigate the motivation influencing their involvement in terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, *Gerila*, Pattani, Lukman Iskandar, Maslow

Introduction

Terrorism in this era is harder to understand compared to the traditional concept of terrorism because the lines differentiating terrorism with guerrilla, political terrorism and criminal groups, and between 'homegrown terrorism' and 'state-sponsored terrorism' have become blurry (Laqueur, 1999). Etymologically, the word 'terrorism' originated from the root word *terrere*, a Latin word which means 'to frighten'. However, the term 'terrorism' has been given many definitions depending on the context of the discussion. Thus, there is no single comprehensive definition which is accepted by everyone (Goodwin, 2007). Instead, the definitions mostly reflect the political motivations and moral judgment which suits the interests (Naharong, 2013) of those who propose the definitions.

Since the year 1970, terrorism has been a main headline in the landscape of world politics. Debates on terrorism has dominated the discourse of mass media since the 1980s, although less attention was given on the issue of terrorism in fictions (Appelbaum and Paknadel, 2008). However, it is highly necessary to investigate how terrorism is portrayed and discussed in modern creative writing. There are opinions that the issue of terrorism in certain novels is discussed in relation with the world outside the text. Even if there is a relationship between literature and terrorism, it is more for the purpose of implementing counter-terrorisme measures (Foertch, 2004). According to Houen (2002), sometimes the relationship between terrorism and literature is more concerned with how to face and deal with violence which is a byproduct of terrorism itself.

Statement of Problem

It can be said that literature and politics have close connections in translating political issues into creative works (Sujud, 2015). This is because authors with political awareness who want to bring the issue of politics into their writings would use discreet or indirect method to deliver their message (Ariff, 2016). Characters and their traits in creative works are often used by authors for this purpose, and these two elements have also become the life of any work of fiction. One question that often pops into our mind is how does someone or a character in a narrative get involved in terrorism? The use of criminological theory would allow us to understand the causes of terrorism (LaFree and Dugan, 2004). Many different stages of investigations have been carried out to understand the motivation and the reason behind an individual's involvement in terrorism. In the 1970s, studies on terrorism were more focused on pathological explanations that showed how individuals are forced to join terrorist groups or to get involved with the militants. The focus of the studies were on the personalities of the terrorists. In the 1980s, the psychoanalysis approach concluded that terrorists are not the aggressive psychopaths as usually described to public, instead they are confused teenagers who are emotionally affected due to parental rejections which in turn harmed their development of identities as adults (Victoroff, 2005). Meanwhile, research from the 1990s and early 2000s rejected this approach based on methodological and empirical approach (Horgan, 2005). This rejection has given way to a new insight into the observation and discussion of terrorism; it is said that terrorism is a result of group dynamics. This gives a new push in the understanding of the motivation for someone's involvement in terrorism. This motivation is described by Post as:

a clear consensus exists that it is not individual psychology, but group, organizational and social psychology, that provides the greatest analytical power in understanding this complex phenomenon

(Post, 2005, p. 7)

Post's description emphasises that the motivation for an individual's involvement in terrorism is not triggered by individual psychology, rather it is group, organizational and social psychology and this insight could allow greater understanding of this complex phenomena of terrorism. Involvement in terrorism activities due to group motivation is considered normal psychologically (Corner and Gill, 2015).

According to Wardlaw (1989), one of the questions often asked regarding terrorism is about the factors that attract someone to carry out acts of terrorism. The objective of this research is to explore the motives and motivations which drive the literary characters into getting involved in terrorism. It

is important to investigate this motivation because according to Weinstein (2014: p. 3) '*it gives power to behaviour, generate, increase task and management, and direct action to achieve certain ends and/ or goals*'. Normally, terrorism organisations do not recruit new members who are psychopaths or have mental disorders, uneducated or financially poor. According to Corner and Gill (2015), the elites in terrorism organisations recruit those who are capable and talented to carry out the tasks. It is important to emphasise that most terrorist activities require secrecy, measurement of violence and members with technological skills. Thus, educated and healthy members and volunteers are preferred for these purposes.

This study will enhance the understanding of terrorists' motivation as depicted in *Gerila*, thus, the readers can have a better perspective on terrorism in Southern Thailand. Furthermore, this study too can help us to identify the motivation behind Raziman's negative behaviours' in order to fulfill his goals in this novel. The discussion in this article will focus on the psychological approach to literature which is combined with Maslow's hierarchy of needs. This hierarchy of needs will be used as the main foundation for analysing the motivation behind the activities of terrorism carried out by a main character in this novel. This discussion is divided into three sections. Firstly, Maslow's hierarchy of needs which will be used in the analysis of this novel will be discussed. Then, the traits of the characters in the novel *Gerila* will be analysed using this theoretical framework. The third section consists of discussion and summary.

Theoretical Framework

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a theoretical framework that centres on humanistic psychology. This theory by Maslow is very closely related to human personality and put a heavy emphasis on several assumptions concerning motivation. Maslow (1970) believed that when a person moves, they move as a whole person, not only as part of themselves. Maslow considered motivation as complex human behaviours. Motivation is goal-driven. This goal is the need that must be fulfilled for everyone, no matter their cultural background, environment and generation.

Maslow did not consider the hierarchy of needs as something rigid and unchangeable. He believed that a person would have a good motivation to fulfil a need which becomes very important at a specific time in their life (Maslow, 1970). The importance of the need depends on the extent to which other, more basic needs are fulfilled. This means that the process of fulfilling these needs is a dynamic one and continues from a lower hierarchy to the highest, known as *self-actualisation*.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

This article is an attempt to analyse and assess the effectiveness of literary narratives as a tool to approach radicalism, to give real understanding to readers. It is hoped that this research will provide exposure to readers on the reasons that cause an individual to get involved in terrorism, using literature as a means of enlightening. This study also re-evaluates the efforts in literature, to see if they are used to approach the people involved or to be sympathetic to terrorism to understand it. For the purpose of this study, the novel *Gerila* (2009) has been selected as the source of data. This novel was selected as it has successfully portrayed a new look at an individual's involvement in militant fights. The themes and issues brought up in this novel are seen as alive and effective whereby imaginations are supported with facts to make it more convincing. In addition, the author used simple

language but was not didactic, with natural and attractive writing style. This novel is also the author's own experience told through the main character Raziman, who reflects Lukman Iskandar, in the novel *Gerila*.

The novel told its story with the struggle of the society as its main background. It is an important source of knowledge on the factors motivating an individual's fight and struggle. This study also shows that literature can explicitly spread information to help correct readers' views towards radicalism and influence them to consider the issue more meaningfully.

Previous Studies

A review of previous studies has been carried out, looking at several books, academic articles, thesis, and related newspaper articles. Among the sources identified are an article by Che Man (2015), and Al-Anamy's (2014) study on the novel *Lukanya Merah*. Abdul Aziz's (2015) also discussed literature in the context of the Pattanis' fight. An article by Abdul Hamid, Yaapar, and Badrul Munir (2015), also elaborated on the issue of terrorism in Pattani. Meanwhile, Abdul Rahman (2015), and an article by Panaemalae (2015) as well as Abdul Hamid (2015) also discussed literature in the context of the people of Pattani's literary work. There is also an article by Che Man and Jehwae (2013) which also discussed Pattani Malay poems taken from the anthology of poems *Di Gapura Takwa* (1989) by Abu Busari Bujuri, also known by his pen names Ya Hamid or Azhar Karimi.

However, research on the novel *Gerila* is very limited. Only Jehwae's (2017) doctoral thesis has investigated the *Gerila* novel. Shahul Hamid, (2016) also studied this novel concluded that their defeat was due to the lack of unity among the leaders. The study assessed the fight for Pattani's freedom as portrayed in the novel.

Meanwhile, there are also several writings which touch on the *Gerila* novel. One of these is by Yaakub (2017). According to him, *Gerila* is a novel which revolves around patriotism, written based on the true experience of the author, an experience which is both very engaging and inspiring for readers. According to Mohamad (2009), this novel told some of his true story based on the insurgency between the 60s and the 70s, whereby he was at the end disappointed by the leaders of the Pattani insurgency movement, written in the form of fiction. In fact, this novel is different because

Dalam banyak memoir mahupun autobiografi yang dirakam oleh bekas gerilawan yang 'kalah' selalunya dihidup dengan cerita-cerita atau aksi-aksi hebat sepanjang pemberontakannya. Adakalanya boleh naik muak. Semuanya untuk membenarkan tindakannya dahulu atau untuk 'membetulkan' sejarah. Jarang sekali ia ditulis untuk renungan ke arah keinsafan tentang 'kekalahan' itu.

[In many memoirs or autobiographies recorded by fighters who were 'defeated', they are filled with stories of wonder and actions through out the insurgency, that readers may even get sick of them. All these in the quest to justify their previous actions or to 'correct' history. Very rarely are they written for reflection of the 'defeat'.]

In his discussion of this novel, Belia observed that:

novel *Gerila* merupakan satu novel yang ...berlatar belakang pada tahun akhir 70an... ditulis oleh Lukman Iskandar, seorang bekas tahanan ISA yang merupakan bekas gerila bagi Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani(BRN)

[*Gerila* is a novel set in the late 1970s... written by Lukman Iskandar, an ex-ISA detainee who was part of the guerrilla force for Patani Malay National Revolutionary Front (BRN)]

(Ahmad Belia: <http://ammosham.blogspot.com/2009/05/tasik-kenyir-cerita-empat.html>)

Belia also believed that all background and facts in the novel were true, although he was not sure if the names that appeared in the novel were real names. This makes the novel more appealing for readers. However, the focus of this paper is to examine the motives and motivations which led the novel's character Raziman to get involved in terrorism.

Analysis

The story of how the main character fulfilled his needs was not explicitly told in the novel. Instead, Lukman Iskandar has implicitly told how these needs were fulfilled through their every day behaviours. Physiological needs are the impetus for the character of Raziman, although this was not shown as glaringly obvious. Initially, Raziman wanted to protect himself and thus he was looking for protection against the threat of the communists who were roaming the border between Thailand and Malaysia.

In the novel *Gerila*, Raziman got involved in the movement to fulfil his own needs. According to Maslow (1970), this need for self-preservation is very important to give ourselves satisfaction, to strengthen our desire for success and to master certain skills in our life, and to build self-confidence so that we would have the freedom to live. Generally, there are a few factors which will influence the way an individual chooses to live their life. Often, people are faced by a myriad of challenges and difficulties in life. Obstacles, difficulties and challenges are the results of some changes or actions. The challenges could become heavy or light, depending on the individuals' inner strength and the external support that they receive. In *Gerila*, the character of Raziman was faced with many challenges which haunted him during his flight training. His love for Tengku Shartini was objected by her father. If we are to delve deeper into it, Raziman was broken-hearted as he had to break up with Tengku Shartini due to their differences in social status. He was then involved in a flight crash and was saved by the Pattani fighters. This has impacted Raziman deeply as seen through the following dialogue:

"Kamu bangsat! Ada hati nak kahwin dengan anakanda beta! Bukan taraf kamu menjadi suami puteri beta! Bangsat! Kamu fikir besar sangat pangkat kamu ini? Mulai hari ini beta tidak mahu melihat muka kamu lagi di sini! Beta minta kamu ditukarkan ke Labuan!" Tengku Mahkota meludah ke tanah.

(Iskandar, 2008:14)

"You scoundrel! The nerve of you to want to marry my daughter! You are not at the level where you can become the husband to my princess. Do you think your

rank is that high? From today onwards I shall not see your face ever again! I will ask for you to be transferred to Labuan!" The Crown Prince spat to the ground.

The Crown Prince's insult has affected Raziman as he had stomped upon Raziman's position and social status. By spitting and using harsh words publicly, the crown prince had also damaged Raziman's image and dignity. This incident has left great scars on Raziman, haunting and depressing him. Thus, Raziman had a clear motive for joining the insurgency movement. He needed to seek his honour again, to regain what was lost when the Crown Prince had insulted him. Raziman believed that honour is important for someone to be respected and looked highly upon. Everyone has their own dignity and will fight for themselves when it is threatened. This self-defense will restore all honour that is lost. Honour and dignity could be in the form of praises, titles, rank, influences or anything which could lift someone's social status. The Crown Prince's insult has affected Raziman's self-worth and to protect this need, Raziman had chosen to fight. Raziman had made the incident a lesson and a point of motivation for himself to continue to fight. This has turned Raziman into a more aggressive man, as shown in the following excerpt:

Rancangan dan strategi menyerang pasukan meriam Thai adalah tanggungjawab Raziman. Dia sudah bosan dengan semangat-semangat yang diberikan oleh Ayahanda tanpa bertempur. Dialah yang akan memulakan pertempuran ini. Berjaya, dia boleh dapat nama dan pengaruh. Kalah atau gagal, dia akan mendapat kecelakaan besar. Tetapi dia yakin dia akan berjaya.

[The plan and strategy for attacking the Thai troop are entrusted to Raziman. He was tired of Ayahanda's motivational talk without fighting. He will begin this fight. If he is successful, he will gain name and influence. If he loses or fails, he will get into deep trouble. But he is confident he will succeed.]

(Iskandar, 2008:176)

Raziman's motive is very clear in the above excerpt. Raziman was even more eager when he found out that his background was no less impressive, and his line of ancestry traced back to the Pattani royalty. Through the flight crash incident, Raziman found out his ancestry line originated from the Nongchik royalty family. His grandfather Tengku Zakaria Putera was the last Nongchik king. Raziman took this as his right to get involved in the fight to free Pattani from Thai. Raziman needed a motivation to participate in Pattani fight and his familial history provided the motivation he needed to accept the offer from the movement. He felt it was necessary for him to take part in the fight for the independence of Pattani which was seized by the Siam military. It was for this reason that Raziman began to get involved in the fight for Pattani's independence. The discovery of his origins spurred him to prove that he needed to reassert his honour. This can only be achieved by becoming a powerful leader, by joining the group of fighters. This was also clearly the reason why Raziman was sympathetic towards BPMP's fight. His motive is made clear in the following excerpt:

Raziman menganggap ia satu kepercayaan dan tanggungjawab yang diberikan kepadanya kerana dia adalah daripada keluarga Nongchik, sehingga dia percaya yang dia diiktiraf sebagai Putera Raja Nongchik. Sekaligus mewarisi takhta

kerajaan Patani. Dia terasa sanjungan dan kemuliaan yang diberikan oleh TTP sehingga mereka menyebut diri mereka patik apabila berbahasa dengannya.
(Iskandar, 2008:218)

Raziman considered it as trust and responsibility, assigned to him because he belonged to the Nongchik family, that he even believed himself to be the Nongchik Prince. And thus inheriting the Pattani throne. He felt the honour and glory given by the TTP, that they even speak to him as though they are speaking to a royal.

Name and influence could give honour and glory to someone or a group. Raziman had gambled his life and fate to achieve this honour. Involvement in a small organisation like this made it easier for him to improve his social status, compared to a bigger organisation such as the military body of a sovereign country. This has prompted Raziman to participate in an organisation involved with terrorism. Raziman's character is seen as validating Kaplan's (1978) observation that the factors for individuals' involvement in terrorism often stemmed from lack of self-worth, family honour, or to look for ways to attain welfare and security for their people.

According to Simon and Keith (2011), there are three existential motivations for engaging in terrorism. These are the desire for excitement, the desire for ultimate meaning, and the desire for glory. Due to these three desires, people participate in acts of terrorism, as an easy means through which to achieve their goals. On the other hand, the character of Raziman has the traits of someone who wants to achieve a broader and greater ultimate meaning, driven by the desire to achieve honour and glory. The desire to achieve an ultimate meaning could drive someone to do whatever it takes without considering the consequences. The following is an excerpt from Raziman's perspective:

"Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Saya Tengku Raziman bin Tengku Sofian Indera, cucu Tengku Zakaria Putera, dengan ini melafazkan kalimah wallahi wabillahi watallahi. Saya dengan rela hati mengaku menjadi anggota Barisan Pembebasan Melayu Patani ataupun BPMP. Saya akan berjuang hingga ke titisan darah yang akhir bagi membebaskan negara Patani daripada penjajahan Siam. Amin."

["Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. I, Tengku Raziman bin Tengku Sofian Indera, cucu Tengku Zakaria Putera, hereby would like to say wallahi wabillahi watallahi. I sincerely declare to be a member of the Pattani Malay Liberation Front or BPMP. I will fight until the last drop of my blood to liberate the Pattani nation from Siamese occupation. Amin."]

(Iskandar, 2008:131)

This pledge clearly shows Raziman's real motives for sympathizing with BPMP's fight. The aim of BPMP was to fight for Pattani's independence and in this context, Razman demonstrated the desire to achieve this ultimate meaning. After understanding the rationale for the group's fight, Raziman felt compelled to contribute to free Pattani from oppression until his last breath as he had been

persuaded by the fighters. Although the Pattani Malay Liberation Front still stood on the grey lines between independence movement and terrorism, Raziman's willingness to lay his life on the line for this illegal organisation proves his motive which was driven by his need to pursue this ambition. This was the real motive behind his interest in the insurgency. These characteristics have spurred Raziman's desire to achieve the ultimate meaning of freedom and independence of Pattani, especially in light of his apparent ancestry and responsibility as the heir of the Nongchik throne. The following excerpt proves this motive:

Raziman datang pada saat dan waktu yang berbeza. Dia datang semasa TTP berjaya mendapat wang perlindungan kira-kira 20,000,000 baht setahun. Di datang semasa TPP sudah mempunyai alat komunikasi dan senjata yang canggih. Ayahanda tersenyum sendirian memikirkan kejayaanya mengheret Raziman supaya semakin jauh dari TUDM kepada TPP. Raziman sudah dirasmikan menjadi anggota TPP.

[Raziman came at a different moment and time. He came when the TTP has secured 20,000,000 baht of protection money yearly. He came when the TTP already had sophisticated communication devices and weapons. Ayahanda smiled alone as he thought of his success in driving Raziman away from TUDM and closer to TPP. Raziman is now officially a member of TPP.]

(Iskandar, 2008:171)

Another human need is safety and freedom to practice religion. Everyone should feel safe and free to practice their own religion. Raziman's involvement in the insurgency can also be seen in the context of religion. The highest honour for a Muslim is to be able to defend Islam. In Islam, Muslims are encouraged to defend the ~~the~~ religion against those who threaten it. A Muslim is considered honourable by showing faith, good deeds and piety, distinguishing their spiritual level in Allah's sight. Defending the religion is considered a noble act. The following excerpt explains this:

"Kita perlu mengatur strategi jangka panjang yang ada kesinambungan dari satu generasi ke generasi sehingga tegaknya negeri Patani sebagai daulah Islamiah. Perjuangan ini perlu dibayar dengan darah."

["We need to set up a long-term strategy which can be continued from one generation to another, until the day Pattani becomes an Islamic state. We will have to sacrifice our blood for this fight."]

(Iskandar, 2008:48)

Raziman's purpose and motivations are clearly influenced by the need to defend his religion. Although he married Susan, a Christian, to increase his position and rank among the members of the organisation, he saw this marriage as the main motive of BPMP which is to defend Islam that was threatened under the Thai administration. Raziman's action showed to us that in many circumstances, he was driven by his desire to protect Islam. The following dialogue is an example:

"Misalnya agama kita yang berlainan, dapat menghalang perkahwinan kita. Ibu dan ayah kamu juga tidak akan merestui perkahwinan ini," kata Raziman.

"Agama tidak menegah kita berkahwin. Ibu dan ayah saya pasti menurut segala kemahuan dan kehendak saya," jawab Susan.

"Itu kata kamu. Hakikatnya kita masih dibendung oleh undang-undang agama," kata Raziman.

"Habis bagaimana hubungan kita?" tanya Susan agak cemas.

"Hanya agama menjadi rintangannya, kamu Kristian dan saya Islam. Kecuali kamu meninggalkan agama kamu," kata Raziman.

[“For example, we have different religions, which is the reason why we cannot marry each other. Your parents will also not give their blessings for this marriage,” said Raziman.

“Religions do not forbid us from getting married. My parents will follow what I want and need,” Susan answered.

“That’s what you say. Fact of the matter is we are still subject to the law of the religion,” said Raziman.

“Then what will happen to our relationship?” Susan asked, urgently.

“Only religion is the obstacle right now, you are a Christian and I, a Muslim. Unless you leave your religion,” Raziman said.]

(Iskandar 2008:111)

His marriage to Susan, a hostage, has made Raziman’s image even more feared by the government because Susan is an American and the political pressure forced the Thai government to tread more carefully in their negotiation with the fighters. Although the marriage ~~did~~ happened because Raziman had fallen in love, it was mostly to show his motive of defending Islam’s position in Pattani.

According to Simon and Keith (2011), terrorism is as much a site of individual self-drama and self-reinvention as a tactical instrument for pursuing the political goals of small groups. They elaborated on the concept of “existential frustration,” and suggests that terrorist activity may provide an outlet for basic existential desires that cannot find expression through legitimate channels. This frustration becomes one of the factors why an individual engages in terrorism. They felt oppressed by the majority. Thus, they form a minority group to fight against the norm and oppression. Similarly, in terrorist activity, they fight for things they desire for, including political desires. In the novel *Gerila*, it was shown that these factors had prompted Raziman to pursue the political aims of a small group. For example:

“Mereka mundur kerana Thailand menjajah mereka dan tidak mahu bangunkan selatan Thailand ini. Khawatir bahagian selatan akan terpisah, mereka akan rugi besar. Cubalah mereka memerintah sendiri. Saya misalnya. Sekiranya ayah saya menjadi Raja Patani, kamu fikir saya tetap menjadi juruterbang? Saya anak raja, sekurang-kurangnya saya menjadi orang nombor dua selepas ayah saya. Tentulah saya yang melantik menteri-menteri dan panglima perang. Saya akan bangunkan negara saya, negara Patani,” kata Raziman.

[“They are behind because Thailand has colonised them, and refused to develop the southern Thai. They are afraid that should the southern be divided from Thai, they will suffer a big lost. They should rule Pattani themselves. Like me, for example. If my father was the King of Pattani, do you think I would still become a pilot? I am a prince, I am at least the second person after my father. I will appoint ministers and army general. I will develop my state, the nation of Pattani,” said Raziman.]

(Iskandar, 2008:106)

As is generally known, Pattani is under the administration of Thailand. However, there are a few groups who demand for Pattani’s freedom from the Thai government. These are minority groups, considered as terrorists by the majority as these groups have fought against the norms and national politics using various illegal tactics and methods. Raziman was driven by the motivation and goal to help the minority by fighting as a guerrilla to restore his dignity and the rights of his bloodline. This fight is opposed by the authority. The authority has used their position and power to deny the rights of the Pattani royalty through Thailand’s national political channel. This shows that the traits of a terrorist can be found in Raziman’s character who was pursuing the political goals of a small or minority group. His motive was mostly driven by his desire to reclaim his familial rights denied by the opposition who had received assistance from the Thai government.

In addition, injustice is also another motivation commonly observed by many researchers of terrorism. Logically, the dominant reaction towards unjust treatment is the need for revenge. When someone feels as though they or the people close to them are treated unfairly, this would usually be followed by an act of revenge, translated in the form of terrorism (Borum, 2004). Thus, the oppressed would take various actions to fight the power of the authority. The following excerpt shows how the fighters fought against the government:

Beberapa penculikan ke atas guru-guru wanita Thai dilakukan oleh gerila bandar. Mereka juga dihantar ke daerah pedalaman bagi dilindungi dan diawasi oleh TPP. Tindakan ini juga bagi memaksa pihak tentera Thai menghentikan serangan besar-besaran ke atas kubu-kubu kuat TPP terutamanya KODAM Satu dan Tiga.

[Several kidnappings of Thai female teachers were carried out by the city guerrilla. They were sent to the rural area to be protected and watched by the TPP. This action is also to force the Thai military to stop from launching major attacks on TPP’s strong hold especially KODAM One and Three.

(Iskandar, 2008:216)

Oppression and pressure from the majority also sometimes drive someone to engage in terrorist activity. This situation is highlighted in the novel *Gerila* through Raziman’s character who saw the injustice of the communists towards the people of Pattani. This had become the catalyst for Raziman to also view PKM as the enemy of the Pattani fighters. The communists’ violence and oppression are illustrated in the following excerpt:

Segala cukai balak perlu kita pungut. Kita tidak boleh benarkan PKM memungut cukai-cukai dan wang perlindungan di bumi kita. Patani bukan tanah komunis. Kita harus hapuskan penyokong-penyokong. Kemudian barulah kita dapat usir dan buru PKM keluar dari kawasan kita. Kita perlu menghancurkan PKM terlebih dahulu kerana mereka merupakan musuh dalam selimut dan duri dalam daging. Apabila mereka keluar dari kawasan ini, kawasan ini menjadi milik kita. Kita tidak perlu berkongsi kuasa dengan PKM.

[They collect all sorts of logging taxes. We should not allow PKM to collect taxes and protection money from our land. Pattani is not the land of the communists. We need to eliminate their supporters. Then only can we chase and hunt the PKM out of our land. We need to destroy PKM first because they are our closest enemy, a thorn in our side. Once they leave this land, this place will be ours. We do not have to share our power with PKM.]

(Iskandar, 2008:247)

Extortions and unreasonably large taxes have caused a lot of burden for the Pattanis. In addition, the communists also commit acts of violence against the people of the Southern Thailand. They used absolute power and were being unfair and oppressive towards the entrepreneurs who conduct businesses to get financial assistance from them. Thus, they were forced to pay protection money and this often disturbed the life of the Pattanis. To defend the people and curb the power of the communists, the Pattani fighters fought against them and instill fear among the communists who were threatening them in the forest and the people with various kinds of aggression. Raziman was not only against the communists but also their supporters. His stand was shown in the following excerpt:

“Hantar ejen-ejen kita ke Rebing. Kenal pasti penyokong-penyokong PKM di situ. Yang menjadi ketua dan orang kuat PKM di situ hendaklah dibunuh. Hantar pasukan kita ke sana. Orang kampung perlu ditekan supaya mereka taat setia kepada TPP,” kata Raziman.

[“Send our agents to Rebing. Identify the PKM supporters there. The leader and their right-hand men should be killed. Send our team over there. The villagers must be reminded to be loyal to TPP,” said Raziman.

(Iskandar, 2008:245-246)

Raziman’s motive is clear in the above excerpt. Raziman believed there was a pressing need for security for their group. To ensure this security, an effective strategy must be employed. Thus, the enemies and their sympathisers must be sought and eliminated at the root of it. This would ensure the success of their fight. This motive has driven acts of terrorism, especially from the oppressed. They saw this as a means to escape from aggression and injustice. The act of terrorism was aimed at the people and organisation they believe were responsible for the injustice. This agrees with Horgan

(2000) who said the injustice often referred to by someone seeking to justify their act of terrorism mostly revolved around politics, religion and socioeconomic status.

Identity has direct relationship with the moral status, values, beliefs and attitude of an individual. According to Peterson (2010), identity formation of an individual begins at the threshold of adulthood. For a person who gets involved in terrorism when they were in the process of identity formation, they may find themselves attracted towards the values and beliefs of the terrorist organisation. This trait can be seen in the character of Raziman who was initially intrigued to join the Pattani fighters because of the assistance they had offered to him. The following excerpt shows this:

“Saya juga malang seperti kamu. Saya juruterbang Tentera Udara Diraja Malaysia. Pesawat saya jatuh terhempas di belantara ini. Merekalah yang menyelamatkan saya. Sekiranya mereka pengganas, saya mungkin sudah dibunuh mereka.”

[“I am also unfortunate, just like you. I am a pilot for the Royal Malaysian Air Force. My flight crashed in this forest. They were my saviours. If they were terrorists, I probably would have been killed by them.”]

(Iskandar 2008:37)

This can happen in many ways when someone believes or accepts the values and beliefs of an organisation without properly evaluating them. This also happened to Raziman in the novel *Gerila*. Raziman was influenced by the propaganda of certain individuals from the organisation who tried to pull him into their organisation. The following excerpt shows this:

“Dalam konteks ini Ayahanda lihat, Raziman sebagai anak keturunan Patani, perlu tampil ke depan bagi menyahut panggilan ini supaya berjuang bersama-sama umat Islam Patani. Sekiranya raja-raja lari meninggalkan negaranya, siapa lagi yang memimpin rakyat?”

[“The way I see it, as a descendant of Pattani, you [Raziman] should step up and join this fight together with the Muslims of Pattani. If the kings run and leave their state, who will be there to lead the people?”]

(Iskandar, 2008:73)

Such doctrine and propaganda can change someone's identity into joining groups with certain goals such as terrorism. Young people may have problems understanding the world and are often attracted to oversimplified views and wrong perceptions of terrorist organisations (Peterson, 2010). Being a group member helps give them a sense of identity and self-confidence. This often becomes the reason why someone participates in a terrorist organisation (Horgan, 2000). All these also happened to Raziman. He was influenced by TPP's fight to determine his new identity, as proven in the following excerpt:

Selepas bersurai, Raziman memberitahu Susan berkenaan pelantikan itu. Susan sangat gembira dengan pelantikan ini kerana ia adalah satu kepercayaan dan kuasa serta pangkat. Mungkin dia menilai daripada sudut lain. Tetapi bagi

Raziman ia merupakan satu tanggungjawab, bebanan dan amanat yang perlu dipikul.

[After dismissal, Raziman informed Susan of the appointment. Susan was very happy with the appointment as it was a sign of trust, as well as power and position. She was probably looking at it from another angle. However, for Raziman, this was a responsibility, burden and trust that he must carry.

(Iskandar, 2008:143)

This appointment has encouraged Raziman to carry his responsibility like a leader. The appointment was aimed at preparing him to accept the fight and goals of the organisation, which were manipulated by certain individuals in the organisation for their interests and purposes. The following excerpt from *Gerila* shows this:

Ayahanda tersenyum memikirkan kejayaannya mengheret Raziman supaya semakin jauh dari TUDM kepada TPP. Raziman sudah dirasmikan menjadi anggota TPP. Cuma peranan Ayahanda adalah memberi pengetahuan yang lebih mendalam kepada Raziman.

[Ayahanda smiled as he thought of his success in pulling Raziman further away from TUDM into TPP. Raziman has been officially accepted as a member of TPP. Ayahanda's only role now is to further educate Raziman.]

(Iskandar, 2008:171)

This shows the point in which Raziman had swapped his original identity as a member of TUDM to become a member of TPP which mostly engaged in terrorism. This search for self-identity is fulfilled when someone joined an organisation and was satisfied when they found their purpose and focus in the goals of the terrorist organisation (Borum, 2004). On the other hand, the organisation will also evaluate their members recruitment. This happened to Raziman in the novel *Gerila*. To the fighters, Raziman is a valuable asset due to his military training ~~experience~~ from overseas, which gives them extra edge to their fight. Raziman's skills and ability were highly useful for their organisation and their fight. This was highlighted in the following excerpt:

Raziman seperti orang yang datang dari bulan. Seolah-olah Raziman sungguh istimewa kerana kebolehannya memandu pesawat. Jarang anak-anak Patani yang berpengetahuan bahasa Inggeris apa lagi menuntut di seberang laut seperti England dan Amerika.

[Raziman was like someone from the moon. It was as though Raziman was truly special for his ability to fly. It was very rare for the children of Pattani to be able to speak English, much less study overseas like in England or America.

(Iskandar, 2008: 75)

The fighters saw Raziman's advantage as a valuable asset to their fight. His ability to speak English was the first factor why he was asked to help and support the mission of the fighters.

Conclusion

The issue of terrorism in this novel is interesting to study. This novel was written based on the writer's personal experience as part of the insurgency. Although there were many purposes and motivations that got people involved in terrorism, understanding these factors in literary form is interesting as we can understand the situation according to the portrayal of the novel. The purpose and motivations of individuals involved in terrorism are indeed difficult to examine and summarise, however through this novel we are given the opportunity to understand and investigate them in a more meaningful context. This article is an attempt to analyse and assess the effectiveness of literary narratives as a tool to approach radicalism and counter-radicalisation, especially as a channel through which real understanding is conveyed to readers. It is hoped that this research will provide exposure to readers on the issues of radicalism, using literature as a means of enlightening.

In conclusion, the analysis of the *Gerila* shows how Raziman, an aristocratic descendant of the Patani Malays, has been involved in terrorist activities in Southern Thailand. The instigation of Raziman's involvement in radical activities began with the desperation to restore his dignity after being indicted by Tengku Mahkota when he intended to take Tengku Shartini as his wife. This personal factor evolved to bigger factors after Raziman joined BPMP. In this involvement, his narrow personal factor turned into a greater factor of restoring the dignity of the Patani Malays who were not only criticized but also repressed by the Thai government. Consequently, arose more fundamental causes such as anger at injustice, defending Islam and forming a Patani Malay nation which had resulted in activities against the Thai government. These fundamental factors reflect self-actualization of Raziman as stated by Maslow. In the context of terrorism, Raziman's self-actualization is contaminated by his acts of violence-based approach as reflected in the activities of guerrilla movement.

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