

# Portrayal Of The Protagonist Raziman In The Novel *Gerila*

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**Abstract---** *This study looks at Raziman's character in a novel entitled Gerila. The main purpose of this article is to evaluate and explain the character traits of the main character. This study is textual and contextual study with particular focus on the novel written by the Patani community. The data for this study is from Lukman Iskandar's Gerila (2008). The objectives of this study is to explore and discuss the issues concerning the line that distinguishes between nationalist and terrorist based on the selected theoretical frameworks to determine whether the main character in the selected novel was a terrorist or a nationalist. The Urban Terrorism framework by Richard Clutterbuck (1994) and a conceptual framework by Hans Kohn (1968) which underline the three main characteristics of nationalism will be used to discuss the traits of terrorists and nationalists respectively. The discussion will be based on the novel Gerila by Lukman Iskandar, to determine the role of the main character, Raziman. This discussion will attempt to determine whether Raziman in this novel fought in the Patani land as a terrorist or a nationalist based on the selected theoretical and conceptual frameworks. on the selected theoretical and conceptual frameworks.*

**Keywords---** *Nationalist, terrorist, Gerila, Raziman, Patani*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism in general refers to acts of violence committed by certain organisations which are dangerous for human lives. These violent acts are carried out by an organisation to advance certain agenda such as politics. Lodge [1] defined terrorism as “An organized pattern of violent behavior designed to influence government policy or intimidate the population for the purpose of influencing government policy”. This statement clearly explained that terrorism is closely linked to certain organisations that committed violence to influence and threaten the government for certain causes. However, although this phenomenon has long been discussed both through media and academic channels, a consensus agreement on an accurate definition of terrorism which links it to violence is yet to be found. This agrees with the statement by Goodwin [2] who asserts that there is no one comprehensive definition that is generally agreed upon.

Although no accurate definition is established for terrorism, there is no denying that most opinions link terrorism with violence. There may be error in judgment in determining whether an individual or organisation is a terrorist. If this group of people who are labelled as terrorists can prove themselves as otherwise, they can be recognized as warriors or nationalists who fight for their rights, including their people and country. Anderson [3] described nationalism as three basic characteristics of the way in which nations are imagined: Political, limited and sovereign. This means that nationalism is a movement by a community or an organisation which is perceived both as a fixed institution and the supreme power. A limited institution refers to a movement which is considered as potentially threatening to the rulers and as such all their actions will be obstructed and opposed. Should a community or an organisation hold the supreme power and gain success, this organisation will be acknowledged as heroes or warriors. However, if this organisation is limited and viewed as a threat to the rulers, they will be considered as the left wing and opponent to the rulers. This will lead to the accusation that the organisation is a terrorist movement and no longer a nationalist by the ruling power. As such, there is a very fine line that distinguishes between nationalists and terrorists – not unlike two sides of the same coin.

The discussion on the traits of terrorists is based on the Urban Terrorist Techniques in the Urban Terrorism theory outlined by Clutterbuck [4]. Meanwhile, the discussion on the traits of nationalists will be based on the characteristics of nationalism movement outlined by Kohn [5]. In the discussion, the novel *Gerila* by Lukman Iskandar will be analysed to determine the role of the main character, Raziman, who was considered as a warrior or a nationalist by the people of Patani but as a threat or terrorist by the Siam government in this novel. This discussion will attempt to determine whether Raziman was a terrorist or a nationalist based on the selected conceptual frameworks.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

Literary works discuss various aspects of humanities including politics. Often, writers who write on political subjects do so because of their own experience being involved in politics. The writers have political awareness and they intend to bring political matters into their creative work by using subtle method to deliver meaning [6]. The writers are unable to directly voice the political problems that they have observed; thus, literary works become the most suitable platform for them to voice these issues. One of these writers is Lukman Iskandar who wrote the novel *Gerila*. His fight for freedom in Patani is a political issue which could not be directly addressed. As such, this novel became the medium for him to convey the struggle faced by him and the people of Patani in their fight for independence. Indirectly, this shows that his character in the novel carries the spirit of nationalism. However, nationalism today is seen as the opposite of terrorism. Someone who fight for a right may be considered as a nationalist or the opposite, a terrorist. This discussion on the fine line separating terrorist and nationalist is just like the existing discourse on the difference between a fighter and traitor and between heroism and treason.

The question on whether a figure is a warrior, or a traitor is not new. In Malaysia alone, this issue has been raised by certain quarters since a long time ago. Mat Indera was one of the individuals whose nature of role has been hotly argued at one point in the past. There were also other local heroes such as Mat Kilau, Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong, Dato' Maharaja Lela, Rosli Dhobi and others who were branded as traitors by the British colonisers. This perception has since been corrected and now they are known as warriors or nationalists in history. Similar thing happened to the character of Raziman in Lukman Iskandar's novel, *Gerila*. It is undeniable that Raziman acted as an independence fighter in Patani. However, from another point of view and context, the role of Raziman is perceived as disrupting the peace and thus, questions are raised on whether Raziman can be considered as a terrorist. This confusion will be addressed in this research, to determine whether Raziman is a nationalist or a terrorist.

## THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

*The literature of terrorism is not the product of a single discipline* [7]. Elements of terrorism in literature cannot be observed using only one knowledge discipline or conceptual framework. Even a proper definition of terrorism is yet to be established by scholars, and so it goes without saying that evaluating elements of terrorism in literature is not a simple task. Therefore, this study will not be based on only one conceptual framework to investigate the elements of terrorism in Lukman Iskandar's *Gerila*. However, this does not mean that the researchers could simply use several theoretical and conceptual frameworks on terrorism in this research. This research will be based on the Urban Terrorist Techniques in the Urban Terrorism Theory by Clutterbuck [4] as the main conceptual framework. Clutterbuck [4] has outlined seven Urban Terrorist Techniques as follows:

- Damage to property
- Bombs to kill
- Gun and missiles
- Intimidation and racketeering
- Kidnapping
- Hostage seizure
- Hijacking

There is also the possibility that Raziman's character could be proven as a nationalist. The conceptual framework which will be used to prove that Raziman was a nationalist is the characteristics of nationalism movement outlined by Kohn [5]. According to Kohn [5], nationalism is a state of mind, permeating the large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well being. Kohn [5] further added that nationalism is a movement to create or establish a society with more freedom to allow for individual happiness, to guarantee citizens' independence and to free the mind and thinking. Kohn [5] outlined three characteristics of nationalism movement as follows:

- Represent one nation and respect the principle of determining one's own future for each race.
- Protect the sovereignty of the citizens and democracy.
- Stand for loyalty to the nation state.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on *Gerila* have been carried out by several scholars. These studies have discussed the novel from various aspects. Jehwae [8] conducted a research titled “*Krisis Masyarakat Melayu di Selatan Thailand dalam Cereka Terpilih: Satu Pendekatan Kajian Budaya*” [Crisis of the Malays in Southern Thailand in Selected Stories: A Cultural Study Approach] by applying the Patani Malays crisis portrayed in *Gerila*. She analysed the Patani Malays crisis based on this novel, to compare the story in the novel with the real-life situation in Patani. Hamid [9] also analysed this novel in his working paper “*Perjuangan Gerila: Bagaimana akhirnya?*” [Guerilla Fight: What is the end?]. This study was an attempt to portray the fight of the people in Patani to gain independence from the Siam rulers. Hamid [9] concluded this fight as a failure which was resulted from Patani leaders' inability to unite.

In addition, Yaakub [10] also carried out discussions on this novel in an article titled “Patriotisme latar kekuatan *Gerila*” [*Gerila* is grounded in patriotism] which was published in the *Berita Minggu* newspaper dated 27 August 2017. He described *Gerila* as a novel that tells a story of patriotism based on the real-life experience of the writer, making it interesting and at the same inspiring patriotism among the readers. Meanwhile, Mohamad [11] said the novel portrayed the story of Patani Malays' insurgency around the 60s and 70s based on the writer's experience. Undeniably, there are disappointments due to Patani Malay leaders' failure to unite in their movement.

Apart from studies on *Gerila*, several scholars have also conducted various studies on the issue in Patani. Che Man [12] highlighted the issue concerning Patani women in an article titled “Darah dan air Mata Perjuangan Wanita di Tanah Selatan: Menerusi Novel *Lukanya Merah* karya Rohani Deraman” [Blood and Tears in the Fight of Women in the Southern Land: Through Rohani Deraman's *Lukanya Merah*]. Al-Anamy [13] also discussed the same novel in an article titled “Fiksi Sejarah Kekejaman di Patani” [Fiction on the History of Cruelty in Patani] which was published by *Utusan Malaysia* on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2014. Additionally, Hamid et al [14] conducted a research titled “Lirik Lagu Perjuangan

Melayu-Islam Patani dalam Media Baharu: Suatu Analisis” [Lyrics of Songs on the Fight of Patani Malay-Muslims in New Media: An Analysis] in a Malay journal: *Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu* in 2015. Aziz [15] did a research titled “Konflik Politik Antara Melayu Patani dan Kerajaan Siam-Thai: Suatu Kajian Puisi-Puisi Melayu Patani di Laman Sesawang” [Political Conflict between Patani Malays and Siam-Thai Government: A Study of Patani Malays’ Poems on Websites] which also studied the Patani issue through literary context. Most recently, Kanapathy [16] also analysed this novel through comparison with a Tamil Sri Lankan novel titled *Gorilla* in his working paper titled “Motives and Motivations of Characters in Terrorism Novels”.

### III. DISCUSSION

This discussion will delve into the role of Raziman’s character in *Gerila* by Lukman Iskandar, to determine whether he was a terrorist or a nationalist.

Based on the seven urban terrorist techniques outlined by Clutterbuck [4], the novel *Gerila* by Lukman Iskandar will be studied to determine whether the main character Raziman has more characteristics of a terrorist rather than a nationalist.

#### DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

Apart from killing innocent human lives, terrorism also results in damage of properties. Terrorist groups often damage properties on purpose, particularly the rulers’ assets, as a form of political threat. Most terrorist groups attempt to use the technique of damaging properties without involving the public’s lives. Clutterbuck [4] explained that several contemporary terrorist groups who use political violence try to avoid from hurting the public to gain sympathy. This is one of the ways for them to clear their name so that they will not be perceived as terrorists by the public, as opposed to what is spread by the rulers. Therefore, several terrorist groups are considered as warriors by some members of the public. In *Gerila*, the Patani Liberation Army (PLA) led by Raziman employed this first principle in Clutterbuck’s Urban Terrorist Techniques (1994). The PLA damaged various properties, especially the properties of the rulers such as police stations, police trucks and others. For instance:

“Serentak dengan bunyi letupan trak minyak itu, bergema lagi bedilan-bedilan daripada M-79 tepat pada sasaran 20 buah trak. Kereta kebal yang diletakkan di sebelah trak minyak juga meletup.”

[Right as the oil truck exploded, the sounds of shots from M-79 were also heard, accurately hitting 20 trucks. The tank next to the oil truck also exploded.]

Iskandar, [17]

“Balai polis itu menjadi abu.” [The police station turned into ash.]

Iskandar, [17]

“Serentak dengan itu, pasukan pimpinan Basri memecahkan tong-tong minyak dan membakar balai polis dan berek itu.”

[At the same time, the team led by Basri broke the oil barrels and burned the police station and barracks.]

Iskandar, [17]

The examples above prove that the PLA under Raziman's leadership did not exclude the urban terrorist technique as listed by Clutterbuck [4]. This shows that the PLA and Raziman have characteristics of terrorists. Although the narrative of the novel attempts to portray Raziman's character as a fighter or a nationalist, the examples given cast doubts on Raziman's role as a nationalist. Instead, this is a trait of a terrorist.

## BOMBS TO KILL

Bombing is also a main technique used by terrorist groups. Many of the bombing incidents worldwide were done by terrorist groups. One of the most high-profile bombing cases happened in 1983 when the Hezbollah terrorist group in Lebanon struck the embassy of United States and France in Beirut through a bombing attack, resulting in tens of deaths. According to Clutterbuck [4], bombing gives very minimal risk to the bomber. This is because bombings are usually carefully planned and hidden and they do not involve many members in the attack, as compared to firearm attack. There had been many bombing attacks in Patani. According to *Berita Harian* (22<sup>nd</sup> January 2018), more than 6000 people had been killed in Patani since 2004 due to the Malay Muslims' insurgency, including through bombing. In *Gerila*, Raziman and the Patani Liberation Army (PLA) also carried out bombing attacks. For instance:

*"Keadaan di Patani tegang berikutan pengeboman yang dilakukan oleh komando-komando kita malam tadi. Beberapa buah sekolah telah kita bakar di kawasan Khokpo dan Jabat."*

[There is tension in Patani following the bombing by our commandos last night. We have burnt some schools in the Khokpo and Jabat areas].

Iskandar, [17]

This excerpt proves once again that the PLA led by Raziman was not above using another one of the Urban Terrorist Techniques as listed by Clutterbuck, which is bombing. Therefore, the link between Raziman and terrorism is becoming clearer, as bombing also took place in real-life Patani and the Patani Malay Muslims are believed to be behind the bombing attacks in their quest for autonomy in the region.

## GUN AND MISSILES

Killing through firearm attacks is a method preferred by terrorists when there are individual targets and they want to avoid mass deaths, thus rendering bombing unproductive [4]. Just like government army, rifle is the most dominant weapon for terrorists. This is because rifle is flexible and easy to handle, and at the same it can cause great impact. This does not mean that other weapons such as missiles are not used. Missiles are often used in mid and long-range attacks and most of the missile attacks are aimed at properties instead of human lives. In *Gerila*, the use of weapons is very dominant by the PLA and Raziman. Various weapons are used such as guns, rifles, bombs and missiles. The following excerpts indicate the use of several types of weapon including missiles:

*"pada tangan masing-masing terhunus senjata automatik M16"*

[in each of their hand is the M16 automatic weapon]

Iskandar, [17]

*“Tembakan yang pertama akan dilepaskan daripada senjata RPG-7 ke arah trak yang membawa minyak. Kemudian barulah diikuti dengan serangan pelancar roket M 79 ke atas trak-trak tentera Thai.”*

[The first gun shot will be released from the RPG-7 towards the oil trucks. This will be followed by M79 grenade launcher attack on Thai army trucks.]

Iskandar, [17]

These excerpts show that various weapons were used by the PLA and Raziman. This is similar to other terrorist groups who use various weapons in their attacks and terrorism activities. In addition, this novel did not go into the details on the PLA's source of weapons, although it did briefly describe the purchase of the weapons. For instance:

*“...Tok Neban Maewak juga terlibat bersama Mamat dalam memberi sumbangan derma, pembelian senjata, ubat, dan peluru kepada PLA.”*

[... Tok Neban Maewak was also involved with Mamat in giving donation, purchasing weapons, medicines and bullets for the PLA].

Iskandar, [17]

The weapons used by the PLA and Raziman were mostly purchased, although the method was not clearly explained in the novel. This trait is clearly similar to the real-life situation whereby terrorists often use various weapons and missiles.

#### **INTIMIDATION AND RACKETEERING**

Intimidation is an act of imposing fear on targeted individual or group for certain interests. These interests may refer to financial or monetary gain, protection and security. Intimidation and racketeering are done to blackmail, warn and threaten certain quarters through different ways. According to Clutterbuck [4], terrorists intimidate business companies and individuals both in rural and urban area through many ways to convince them that it is not worthy to proceed with their plans or to extort money to fund other terrorism activities. Clutterbuck [4] further added that intimidations are not always extreme. This means any act to threaten can be considered as intimidation. This also happened in the novel, as the intimidation by the Patani Liberation Army (PLA) was not extreme but still led to extortion. For instance:

*“Sejak tindakan tegas diambil ke atas tauke-tauke yang ingkar membawa cukai dan wang perlindungan, ramai tauke Cina membayar wang itu kepada PLA.”*

[Since firm actions have been taken on business owners who did not pay tax and protection money, many of the Chinese owners have paid to the PLA.]

Iskandar, [17]

The term 'tax' and 'protection money' refer to the gains from extortion by PLA, which is also done by real terrorist organisations. Based on the novel, the gains were used as a financial source to purchase weapons and the daily needs of the PLA soldiers. It is therefore clear that intimidation and racketeering technique was also used by the PLA under Raziman's leadership although it was not done in an extreme manner.

#### **KIDNAPPING**

A more conventional individual kidnapping uses a secret hiding place, especially in the town area [4]. Kidnapping is widely carried out to extort money (to gain an edge or to fund political and terrorism activities) or for political concessions,

including to demand changes in government policy and to release prisoners [4]. Through kidnapping, terrorists can gain international attention including from the government of various nations. This depends on the people who are kidnapped. If the victims are the citizens or important figures of another country, the kidnapping will become an international issue which involves many parties. Kidnapping also took place in *Gerila*, as seen in the following excerpt:

*“Sepanjang pemergian Kolonel Khairuddin, Briged Gerila Bandar berjaya tiga orang ejen Amerika. Mereka dipercayai ejen-ejen CIA yang dihantar bertugas di Teluban. Atas permintaan Jihad Islam dan Hizbullah di Lubnan maka mereka sudah pun kita culik.”*

[While Colonel Khairuddin was away, the Urban Guerilla Brigade managed to capture three American agents. It is believed that they are CIA agents sent on a mission in Teluban. At the request of Islamic Jihad and Hizbullah in Lebanon, we have kidnapped them.]

Iskandar, [17]

## HOSTAGE SEIZURE

After kidnapping, terrorists often hold or seize the victims as hostage. Hostages are taken in two ways; first through kidnapping before they are kept as ransom hostages, and the second way is through an ambush attack on the targets and keeping them hostage without kidnapping, as explained by Clutterbuck [4]. According to Poland [18], *“Police statistics reveal that local people throughout the world have been taken hostage in the last decade; unofficially several times that number may have been taken hostage”*. Most of hostage cases are carried out by terrorist groups as seen in Cuba, France and the Arab world. In the context of Patani lately, hostage cases very rarely happen, if not never. However, there was a hostage case portrayed in *Gerila*, as seen in the following excerpt.

*“Pertama hubungan kita dengan jihad Islam dan Hizbullah di Lubnan yang pro-Iran. Kita boleh gunakan mereka bagi kepentingan republik Islam Iran supaya Amerika tidak cuba menggulingkan Ayatullah Khomeini. Kedua, kita boleh mendesak Thailand jangan menggempur kita. Sekiranya kita digempur, kita bunuh sahaja ketiga-ketiga tawanan ini.”*

[First is our relationship with Islamic Jihad and Hizbullah in Lebanon who are pro-Iranian. We can use them for the interest of the Islamic Republic of Iran so that America will not attempt to overthrow Ayatullah Khomeini. Second, we can demand that Thailand not attack us. If we are attacked, we shall just kill all these three hostages.]

Iskandar, [17]

The above excerpt clearly shows that hostages are taken by the PLA for their own interest. The hostages are taken for political interests. This was also done by other terrorist groups as explained by Clutterbuck [4] who said political hostages are kept for publicity purposes although the hostages are given secure protection in the selected location. This proves the similarity between the PLA joined by Raziman and other terrorist groups.

## HIJACKING

Hijacking by terrorist groups often involve large properties or assets such as airplane, train or ship. There are several objectives of hijacking including to seize hostages, to gain publicity or at the very least to obtain the hijacked asset for their own use. Clutterbuck [4] believe that most hijacking that took place are aimed at gaining publicity for the political fight of the terrorists, just like any other hostage cases. In *Gerila* which was set in Patani, the geographical features of Patani do not make for hijacking of large assets such as ship, airplane or train. Instead, hijacking carried out by the Patani Liberation

Army led by Raziman only involved small government assets such as land vehicles, weapons and others. The example can be seen in the order issued by Raziman:

*“...Sebelum itu, Kapten Talib perlu membunuh kedua-dua pemandu trak itu. Ingat! Saya serang dari hadapan. Mejar Abas pecahkan pasukan kepada dua untuk menyerang dari arah kiri dan kanan saya. Apabila saya mulakan serangan, semua pasukan perlu menyerang serentak. Rampas semua senjata dan muatkan ke atas trak.”*

[... Before that, Captain Talib needs to kill both truck drivers. Remember! I will attack from the front. Major Abas is to break the team into two to attack from my left and right. When I start the attack, all teams must attack at the same time. Take all weapons and load them onto the truck.]

Iskandar, [17]

Although the hijacking carried out by the PLA did not involve large assets like the real terrorists in Arab countries especially, in the context of the situation in Patani, this has a strong impact on the rulers and the people. As explained by Clutterbuck [4], the main objective of hijacking by terrorists is to gain publicity. This was also the intention of the Patani Liberation Army under Raziman's leadership as seen in the following excerpt:

*“Serangan ke atas balai polis Bendang Star tidaklah sekuat serangan ke atas pasukan tentera Meriam Thai kira-kira dua bulan yang lalu. Tetapi serangan ini mendapat publisiti besar-besaran daripada media massa di Thailand kerana 14 orang anggota polis Thai yang bertugas mati ditembak dalam serangan nekad ini. Lima pucuk senjata dirampas.”*

[The attack on the Bendang Star police station was not as strong as the attack on Thai Soldier about two months ago. But this attack gained big publicity from mass media in Thailand because 14 Thai police officers died on duty in this decisive attack. Five weapons were taken.]

Iskandar, [17]

The hijacking was more or less a victory for them. This is because this victory became the symbol of the increase of their power and pressure on the rulers. Thus, this excerpt is enough to show the similarity between the PLA led by Raziman and other terrorist groups, further highlighting Raziman's role as leaning towards being a terrorist.

Nationalism in general has two meanings which are love towards the country and movements to free the land from the grip of certain political powers. In the Malay context, nationalism is synonym with words such as heroism, fight and warrior. Thus, if the word nationalism is to be changed into nationalists, then the meaning would also change to hero, fighter and warrior. In Lukman Iskandar's *Gerila*, the main character Raziman can be seen from the point of view of a nationalist. Raziman's spirit of nationalism can be seen in this novel. However, he cannot be called a nationalist without a proper point of reference. Therefore, a conceptual framework is used as a benchmark to prove that Raziman was a nationalist in the novel.

The conceptual framework used to prove Raziman as a nationalist is the characteristics of nationalism movement outlined by Kohn [5]. According to Kohn [5], nationalism is a belief that nurtures a strong and all-encompassing loyalty to group entity, including loyalty to religion. Kohn [5] further added that nationalism is a movement to create or develop a society which has more freedom to allow for individual happiness, guarantee independence of the citizens and to free the mind and thinking.



Three characteristics of nationalism movement outlined by Kohn [5] will be used as the point of reference to evaluate Raziman's character as a nationalist in *Gerila*. The study will use suitable examples from the novel to match with the characteristics outlined by Kohn [5].

#### **REPRESENT ONE NATION AND RESPECT THE PRINCIPLE OF DECIDING ONE'S OWN FUTURE FOR EACH RACE**

The first characteristic refers to the identity of a nation. The value of identity moves according to the time in uniting different segments of the society towards becoming one nation. The one nation meant here should be perceived in the local context. Each country has different ways of uniting the different races and society. In the context of *Gerila* which was set in Patani, uniting the nation refers to uniting the people from the various provinces or states in Patani. This unity is necessary to form a movement to fight for Patani's independence. The character of Raziman is seen as leaning towards these characteristics. For instance:

*Sebagai anak keturunan Patani, anggaplah diri kamu sebagai perajurit Republik Islam Patani. PLA adalah tentera. Kaum feudal perlu turut bersama kaum marhaen memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Patani."*

[As the son of Patani descent, consider yourself as the warrior of Islamic Republic of Patani. The PLA is an army. The feudal class must join the ordinary citizen in the fight for Patani's independence.]

Iskandar, [17]

This excerpt is referring to the main character, Raziman. Although the Patani region has various lines of descendants, it is thought that they need to unite as a Patani nation to advance their fight for independence.

#### **PROTECT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE AND DEMOCRACY**

The people and the king (ruler) are co-dependent. Without the people, the king (ruler) will not be able to govern a country successfully. Therefore, apart from the sovereignty of the king or the ruler, it is very important for a country to protect the sovereignty of the people. When they feel oppressed by the ruler, there will be movement by the people to demand for certain rights. The movement may be carried out through various methods to demand justice for the people. The methods for the people's movement may include democracy, revolution, reformations and escapism. However, Kohn [5] only chose democracy as a nationalism movement and he rejected the other methods. Democracy is seen as the better method which will lead towards the formation of a country and nation with clearer objective and more freedom. Democracy will allow equal victory for all groups from the rulers to the people. Negative elements can be easily eliminated through a structured and well-organised democracy movement. In *Gerila*, Raziman's character is seen as having a role in protecting the people's sovereignty. For example:

*"Begini Kapten, Kapten perlu tahu perjuangan kita ini adalah perjuangan kemerdekaan. Kemerdekaan yang kita rebut dengan kekuatan militer, iaitu perjuangan bersenjata. Perjuangan revolusioner menentang penjajah Thai".*

[Captain, you need to know that our fight is a fight for independence. Independence which we fight for using military strength, an armed fight. A revolutionary fight against Thai colonisers.]

Iskandar, [17]

The principle of sovereignty was clearly shown through his spirit to fight for Patani's independence. Raziman's characteristics of nationalism began to shine when he took the oath to become a member of the Patani Liberation Army. Since then, Raziman has shown increasing commitment to protect the people's sovereignty through attacks on enemies and efforts to defend the PLA. However, Raziman's nationalism was slightly tarnished because of his actions. He was too radical in his fight for independence for the people of Patani. The PLA's revolutionary movement under Raziman's leadership largely contradicts democracy. This shows contradiction with the principle of the people's sovereignty introduced by Kohn [5]. Therefore, although Raziman's nationalism is undeniable in his passion and effort, the actions taken by him and the PLA cast doubts on the true characteristics of nationalism.

#### **FIGHT FOR LOYALTY TO THE NATION STATE.**

The concept of a nation state refers to a new form and identity of the people in a country. Usually, a nation state refers to the name of the country. Therefore, the various communities and segments of the society in a country will be united under one nation for the interests of all. In *Gerila*, Raziman's character also fought for loyalty to the nation state. For example:

*"Bismillahirrahmanirahim. 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."*

[*Bismillahirrahmanirahim*. I, Tengku Raziman bin Tengku Sofian Indera, the grandson of Tengku Zakaria Putera, hereby recite the verse *wallahi wabillahi watallahi*. I voluntarily admit to becoming a member of the National Liberation Front of Patani Malays or NLFP. I will fight until the last drop of my blood to free the Patani state from Siam colonization.]

Iskandar, [17]

Raziman was portrayed as someone who fought for loyalty to the Patani nation. Although Patani has yet to gain freedom and independence, the people and fighters of Patani had focused towards developing a Patani nation. Indirectly, this situation will give a chance for Patani to be establishes as a nation.

In this novel, Raziman displayed the principle of protecting the people's sovereignty. However, he did not practice democracy; instead, he leaned towards a revolutionary movement. This contradicts the characteristics of nationalism outlined by Kohn [5]. Therefore, there are doubts concerning Raziman's role as a nationalist. The revolutionary movement held by Raziman casted some confusions on whether the character was a warrior or a terrorist. However, the principle of protecting the people's sovereignty proves that Raziman has the spirit of nationalism.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, in terms of physical or outer appearance, this study found that Raziman's character in *Gerila* has more characteristics of a terrorist. The Urban Terrorist Techniques conceptual framework outlined by Clutterbuck [4] accurately defined the actions of Raziman and the Patani Liberation Army in their fight for the region's independence. Many

examples have illustrated the accuracy of the conceptual framework to describe Raziman as a terrorist on the outer appearance. The conceptual framework introduced in the West is considered very strong for determining whether an individual or organisation is a terrorist. This makes it difficult for an independence movement to deny terrorism accusations as what had happened to Raziman and the Patani Liberation Army in *Gerila*. However, it is undeniable that the spirit of nationalism still shone through Raziman. His passion and effort to fight for Patani's independence prove that he was a nationalist. Nevertheless, Raziman's role as a nationalist did not physically materialise but it can be seen through his inner passion as he was determined to fight for Patani's independence. Perhaps, the conceptual framework by Kohn [5] is not enough to describe Raziman's role as a nationalist comprehensively. However, Raziman's spirit of nationalism in this novel can inspire the same passion for the readers. This certainly raises the awareness among readers about the efforts to free Patani as an independent country and it also portrays the fight of the Malays in modern times. This academic study on the selected issue has been carried out to contribute knowledge on the issue so that readers can make their own judgment.

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