

Malaysia's Foreign Relations: THE AGENDA OF NATIONAL RESILIENCE

Editors:

Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani
Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz



7.595
IAL



Malaysia's Foreign Relations:
**THE AGENDA OF
NATIONAL RESILIENCE**

DENGAN INGATAN TULUS IKHLAS

DARIPADA

**INSTITUT PEMIKIRAN
TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**

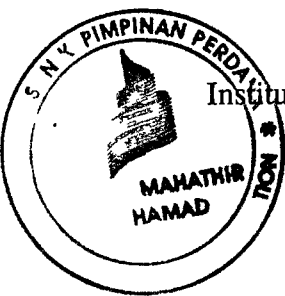


TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD

Malaysia's Foreign Relations: THE AGENDA OF NATIONAL RESILIENCE

editors

**Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani
Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz**



Institut Pemikiran Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad
Sintok • 2012

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1010993



PERDANA
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
YAYASAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA

7 150810

Institut Pemikiran Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad
Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 UUM Sintok
Kedah Malaysia

ISBN 978-967-0193-03-8

© 2012 Institut Pemikiran Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Universiti Utara Malaysia

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be produced, stored in retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of Institut Pemikiran Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Universiti Utara Malaysia.

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Malaysia's foreign relations : the agenda of national resilience /

editors Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz

ISBN 978-967-0193-03-8

1. Malaysia--Foreign relations. 2. Malaysia--Politics and government.

I. Mohd. Azizuddin Mohd. Sani, 1975-. II. Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz.
327.595

Dicetak di Malaysia oleh
UUM Press
Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 UUM Sintok
Kedah Malaysia

*

327.595
MAL



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	vii
Chapter 1	1
THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN ASEAN: CAN MALAYSIA SPEARHEAD THE EFFORT TOWARD A MORE INTERVENTIONIST ASEAN	
Muhammad Fuad Othman & Zaheruddin Othman	
Chapter 2	27
THE ATTITUDE AND COMMITMENT OF THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD ISLAM IN THE FOREIGN POLICY: AN ASSESSMENT	
Anidah Robani	
Chapter 3	53
MALAYSIA'S RELATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA UNDER TUN DR. MAHATHIR'S ERA (1981-2003)	
Asmandy Idris	
Chapter 4	67
THE STRAITS OF MALACCA: REGIONAL POWERS VIS-Á-VIS LITTORAL STATES IN STRATEGIC AND SECURITY ISSUES, AND INTERESTS	
Siti Zubaidah Ismail & Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani	
Chapter 5	87
POLITICAL BATLES OVER GLOBALISATION AND FORGING FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP	
Rana Eijaz Ahmad	
Bab 6	93
KAJIAN PERBANDINGAN DASAR LUAR MALAYSIA DENGAN YUGOSLAVIA: ERA PERANG DINGIN	
Azizan Mat Enh, Zubaidah VP Hamzah, Mohd. Samsudin, Rupawan Ahmad, Farah Afizah Yacob & Nadiyah Yunos	

Bab 7 MALAYSIA - INDONESIA: PENGALAMAN HUBUNGAN DUA NEGARA SERUMPUN Rohani Hj. Ab Ghani & Zulhilmi Paidi	105
Bab 8 DASAR LUAR MALAYSIA ERA DATO' SRI MOHD NAJIB TUN ABDUL RAZAK: KEUTAMAAN DALAM ASPEK HUBUNGAN DUA HALA Rusdi Omar & Juliana Mukhtaruddin	125

PREFACE

Alhamdulillah, All Praised be upon Allah SWT, by whose Grace and Blessings. The book- Malaysia's Foreign Relations: The Agenda of National Resilience was based on a collection of articles presented in a seminar entitled Seminar on National Resilience: Political Managements and Policies in Malaysia. This volume covers the history and contemporary situations of Malaysia's foreign policy especially from the era of the first Prime Minister of Malaysia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra until the era of current Prime Minister, Dato' Sri Najib Tun Abdul Razak.

Transformation is unavoidable which includes social system, organisations and, without doubt, the foreign policy. Thus, the changes in leadership of a country will definitely change the approach of one country in foreign policy. This will affect the international relations particularly with the neighbouring countries. In order to sustain harmonious and peaceful inter-state relations, political leaders must have an ability to understand the world and regional issues and knowledgeable in skills of diplomacy and conflict managements.

Our Malaysia's foreign policy focuses on keeping the stable bilateral and multilateral relations for the sake of national interests. Keys to the success of Malaysia's foreign policy is to avoid conflict, respect the relations and agreements with other countries, maintain the policy of non-intervention especially through ASEAN, and always looking for win-win situation in international relations. During Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's premiership, he upheld the policy or concept of "prosper thy neighbour" that encouraged cooperation between Malaysia with all bordering countries especially in fostering economic progress and development. This is to ensure that Malaysia's national interests from foreign policies must also the national interests of other neighbouring countries, ASEAN countries in particular, as well. It is clear that, regarding the relation between Malaysia with world superpowers and economic powers from the era of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra until the present era of Dato' Sri Najib Tun Abdul Razak, Malaysia has kept the same focus on having a good relation with them and attracting them to prosper the country, for instance, through foreign direct

investments (FDI). Therefore, in this globalised and interdependent world, Malaysia takes a proactive stand to ensure her national interests and national resilience will be protected for the common good.

Finally, I would like to extend an extremely warm appreciation to all contributors or authors in this volume. Hopefully this book will benefit all readers in understanding the country agenda of foreign policy.

Thank you.

Director

Institut Pemikiran

Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad

(Institute of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's Thoughts)

Universiti Utara Malaysia

Chapter 1

THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN ASEAN: CAN MALAYSIA SPEARHEAD THE EFFORT TOWARD A MORE INTERVENTIONIST ASEAN

Muhammad Fuad Othman & Zaheruddin Othman

INTRODUCTION

The Principle of Non-interference into the internal affairs of ASEAN member states has been the long and trusted 'modus operandi' since the inception of the Association in 1967. This method of non-inclusiveness relation has gone through several phases of changes in almost all fields of cooperation except when it concerns political-security issues.

Malaysia as one of the founding members of ASEAN has expressed its support that this principle should be retained in order to create stability in the region, which would then contribute to the process of individual nation building and national resilience. However, during the course of more than forty years of ASEAN existence, the organization has expanded and ASEAN has been facing new challenges which needed new approaches to managing regional conflict including relaxing the principle of non-interference. The question remains, can ASEAN become a more interventionist organization, especially when it involves politico-security matters.

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASEAN

The establishment of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations was succeeded from several earlier attempts by different actors in instituting some kind of regional cooperation. In 1954, the earliest regional cooperation of its sort, the Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty, which was also known as the Manila Pact was being formed.¹ However, the pact was not inclusive and effective enough to survive for

1. For a comprehensive discussion on the comparison between the Manila Pact with other regional pacts and its appraisal in achieving multiple international objectives in Southeast Asia, please refer to Ralph Braibanti (Dec 1957) 'The Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 30. No. 4. P. 321-341.

long. Thus, the formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in February 1955, was considered as the more successful attempt to bring together different countries from within and outside the region. Despite its name, only two Southeast Asian countries (Thailand and the Philippines) were willing to join this organization and uniting other countries such as the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan.² The organisation being backed by the United States and primarily aimed at curbing any communist influence in Southeast Asia.³

Despite having Britain and France alongside the United States, SEATO never really played any significant role in maintaining regional security. For instance, SEATO's intention to get involve in the Vietnam War was rejected by some of its members.⁴ This led to the establishment of the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) in 1959, and then MAPHILINDO, the acronym for Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia, in 1963. Both associations failed due to bilateral rivalry and ineffectiveness. After the failure of these earlier organisations, efforts to establish ASEAN were put into motion by two Malay majority nations in a conflict – Malaysia and Indonesia.⁵ Indonesia at that time was under the new administration of Suharto (as president of Indonesia from 12 March 1967 to 21 May 1998), and he needed instant recognition after deposing Sukarno.

However, being the biggest country with the largest population in Southeast Asia, Indonesia would not want to be seen as a leader of the pact, as meetings were conducted all over the region.⁶ Malaysia, on

2. Refer to Shaun Narine's 'Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia', p. 9-12 for an elaborate discussion on SEATO and its early history.

3. See George Modelski, SEATO: Its Function and Organization in George Modelski (ed), (1962) SEATO: Six Studies for its organisational structure.

4. France and Pakistan did not give their support for SEATO to intervene in the Vietnam War to the dismay of the Americans. SEATO was created as a part of the Truman Doctrine and had the support of President Eisenhower administration in order to curb communist expansionism in Asia.

5. Malaysia and Indonesia put aside their differences and assigned top rank government officials from both sides to explore the possibility of creating a new regional organisation, which would include all Southeast Asian countries. This is why the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 was just a two-piece paper agreement, which did not specifically spell out the operational definition or charter as the United Nations did.

6. Despite its large share of the total ASEAN population, Indonesia did not seek to play a hegemonic role in the new organisation. Meetings rotate between all ASEAN members, and organisational costs are equally shared. Indonesia shifted its priority to concentrate on internal affairs. They had to quell an internal uprising and later invaded East Timor in 1975.



the other hand, was still under Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister, who was an idealist and subscribed to the notion of unity and regional cooperation. He was the founding father of Malaya and subsequently Malaysia in 1963 and the second president of the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) formed by the famous Dato' Onn Jaafar. Dato' Onn with other Malay nationalists demonstrated against the British government rejecting a proposal of a post British colonial government called the Malayan Union and then created the UMNO in 1946.⁷

Over the years, ASEAN has opened its doors to other states to join them, as long as they are located geographically in the Southeast Asia region. Its ultimate goal of having all ten countries to join the organisation materialised in 1999. This achievement, symbolised by its new logo of ten rice stalks, was perceived as another milestone accomplishment in joining all regional member states into the Association.⁸ ASEAN could now fully concentrate on enhancing economic and political cooperation, without having to spend too much time focusing on building up the organisation.

Furthermore, some regional countries were also given observer status pending fully-fledged admission, as in the case of Papua New Guinea (1976) and Timor Leste's inclusion into the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) meetings in 2005. Even Sri Lanka campaigned for ASEAN membership, to the private distress of the Association's leadership. Sri Lanka's intentions of joining ASEAN would have been entertained were it not for its proximity and its shaky internal politics. This

7.The United Malay National Organization (UMNO) was created in 1946 in the wake of the British proposal to introduce the Malayan Union, a new centralised British government post Second World War. The indigenous Malay people saw that the proposed Malayan Union was a new form of British colonialism which they sought to be independent from especially after the British failed to protect Malaya against the Japanese invasion during Second World War.UMNO was the backbone of the Malaysian government and has been the governing party from independence until the present day. For more information on the Malayan Union, please refer to Albert Lau's (1991) the Malayan Union Controversy: 1942-1948, Oxford University Press, USA.

8.Initially, ASEAN's logo has only 5 rice stalks, symbolising the 5 original members. The new logo, which is in use has 10 rice stalks in it, was introduced in the 1990s following its commitment to include all 10 countries in the region of Southeast Asia into the organisation. For an elaborate explanation of the logo, Please visit <http://www.aseansec.org/7095.htm>.

enthusiastic intention to join the Association is a reflection of ASEAN's own 1967 Bangkok Declaration, which opened its membership to all nation states in the region.⁹

Several interested countries have expressed their intention to join ASEAN. However, seeing these countries, namely Sri Lanka, Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste admitted into ASEAN, it will involve a careful and extensive debate among member states, as these countries' locations are not in proximity and are beyond what may be classed as Southeast Asia and furthermore, they lag behind current members in economic terms.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRINCIPLE

The non-interference principle (NIP) has been one of the most important guidelines for ASEAN internal relations. This principle, which is a part of the larger doctrine of the 'ASEAN Way', has been embedded in all ASEAN major documents and continues to be its *modus operandi*. However, as ASEAN membership became larger and the region started to experience significant incidents such as the 1997-98 Asian economic/financial crisis, environmental crises, the suppression of political and democratic movements, the global IT and information revolution, and the proliferation of human rights movements, the effectiveness of the non-interference policy in solving regional conflicts has been targeted for re-examination.

The concept of non-interference was first introduced in ASEAN's Bangkok Declaration of 1967. This foundation document states that the region wanted to be free from outside interference in its internal affairs (Ramcharan, 2000:1). It was further solidified in the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) 1971, in Article 2, which acts as a general guideline for intra regional relationships between states. Among other things, the article commits ASEAN member states to have:

9.The fourth statement in the Declaration invites all countries in the region of Southeast Asia to join the Association. Please refer to The Bangkok Declaration, Bangkok 8th August 1967. Document found on ASEAN's Official Website: <http://www.aseansec.org/1212.htm>.



**Institut Pemikiran
Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad**
INSTITUTE OF TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD'S THOUGHTS
Universiti Utara Malaysia

06010 UUM Sintok, Kedah, Malaysia.
Tel : (04) 928 4008 / 4010 Faks : (04) 928 4005
E-mel : ipdm@uum.edu.my
<http://www.ipdm.edu.my>

ISBN 978-967-0193-03-8



9 789670 193038



PERDANA
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
YAYASAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA