



12 MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND REGIONAL STABILITY

JATSWAN S. SIDHU*
NURLIANA KAMARUDDIN**

SUMMARY: I. Abstract II. Introduction III. Advocating and Promoting Regionalism IV. Improving Relations with its Neighbours V. ASEAN as a Security Guarantor VI. Economic Development for Economic Security VII. Conclusion VIII. Bibliography

* Associate Professor and Executive Director at the Asia-Europe Institute (AEI), University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. In addition, he is also Director at the Centre for ASEAN Regionalism University of Malaya (CARUM) and an academic staff member of the Department of International and Strategic Studies, University of Malaya.

** Senior Lecturer and Deputy Executive Director (Academic) of the Asia-Europe Institute (AEI), University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.



I. ABSTRACT

Since its formation in 1967, the Association of South-east Asian Nations or ASEAN has remained a cornerstone of Malaysia's foreign policy. Prior to its establishment, two attempts had been made at forming a regional entity, though both proved short-lived. In both these attempts, namely the Association of South-east Asia (ASA) and MAPHILINDO, Malaysia had played an important role in pushing for its establishment. Similarly, in 1967, when ASEAN was formed, once again Malaysia played a pivotal role in its creation. This is clear testimony of the role Malaysia's accords to the regional entity. For Malaysia, apart from providing an opportunity for the country to improve its past sour relations with some larger neighbours, ASEAN provides it with an implicit security guarantee from external subversion, not to mention the economic benefits accrued from joining this entity.

II. INTRODUCTION

Malaysia achieved independence from British colonial rule in 1957 as the Federation of Malaya that comprised the eleven states of Peninsula Malaysia. Further, in 1963, Malaysia was formed as a result of the amalgamation of Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the two Bornean states of Sabah and Sarawak. However, Singapore's inclusion in Malaysia was rather short-lived because in 1965, the city-state was expelled from

the Malaysian federation. The country currently constitutes of two major enclaves, namely East and West Malaysia that comprise of 13 states and three federal territories.

Since its independence, Malaysia has practiced a foreign policy based on pragmatism with regionalism as its bedrock. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been the cornerstone of Malaysia's foreign policy since its inception in 1967, such that the country accords great importance to the regional organization, of which it is also one of the founding members (MOFA, 2019: 19). Membership in ASEAN is important to Malaysia in a number of ways. To begin with, ASEAN is not only the cornerstone in Malaysia's foreign policy but membership in the regional entity has benefited Malaysia politically, economically and even when it comes to security.

Not only has ASEAN provided Malaysia with political and economic security it is also a necessary platform and avenue to address Malaysia's regional security concerns. This article will explore the following issues. It will first look at how ASEAN has been the platform for Malaysia to advocate and promote regionalism and improve relations with neighbouring countries. It also assesses the role ASEAN plays as a security guarantor for Malaysia and how membership in ASEAN has enhanced the economic security of Malaysia.

III. ADVOCATING AND PROMOTING REGIONALISM

Malaysia is not only one of the founding members of ASEAN but has been also actively promoting regionalism in Southeast Asia, even prior to the formation of the regional body in 1967. It has been argued that the major thrust of Malaysian foreign policy during the tenure of the country's first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj (1955-1970) was essentially pro-West and anti-communist and that regionalism only became the cornerstone of the country's foreign policy during the tenure of the country's second Prime Minister, Abdul Razak Hussein (1970-1976). This is far from true as regionalism had been a major thrust in Malaysian foreign policy even during the period of Tunku Abdul Rahman's administration. One source notes that Tunku Abdul Rahman's policy "was anti-Communist, pro-Western, and favorable to Southeast Asian regionalism – all supported by a string sense of moral rectitude" (Ott, 1972: 227).

In fact, it was during the tenure of Tunku Abdul Rahman that Malaysia began advocating and working towards the formation of a regional entity aimed at enhancing regional relations and cooperation. As such, on 31 July 1961, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) was formed comprising Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. Malaysia was not only the founding member of this organisation but the entity was in fact formed as a result of Malaysia's initiative. The ASA was created to enhance economic and cultural

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

cooperation between member states and was implicitly an anti-communist in its outlook. It was however short-lived due to disagreements between Malaysia and the Philippines over the latter's claim on the Malaysian state of Sabah. With the claim not only did relations between both deteriorate but it even marked the end to the ASA. While the organization continued to exist till 1967 it was however in a state of dormancy.

Further in 1963, a second attempt was made at forming a regional entity that eventually saw the creation of the MAPHILINDO – a tripartite regional association comprising of Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia. The entity was formed at the initiative of the President of the Philippines, Diosdado Macapagal (Sussman, 1983: 201). However, this regional initiative too was extremely short-lived as it was formed in July 1963 but dismantled about a month later. Once again, the major issue for its failure was related to the Philippines' claim over Sabah. Further, what dealt the last blow to this was when Indonesian President Sukarno launched the *Konfrontasi* (Confrontation) against Malaysia with the aim to *Ganyang Malaysia* (Crush Malaysia).

As far as the formation of ASEAN is concerned, while it is undoubtedly true that Thailand played the lead role in its formation, the backing from the other founding members, including Malaysia, was equally crucial in realizing the regional entity. For Malaysia, it marked a shift in its foreign policy orientation from one that was essentially pro-West and anti-communist to a policy that gave greater emphasis on regionalism and peaceful coexistence. The late 1960s were in fact an important transitional period in Malaysia's foreign relations as it marked the beginnings of the second phase in the country's foreign policy. (Saravanamuttu, 2010: 102-106).

IV. IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS

In the early 1960s and on the eve of the formation of Malaysia, the country's relations with two of its bigger neighbours, Indonesia and Philippines, deteriorated due to a number of issues. The inclusion of the Bornean state of Sabah into Malaysia in 1963 quickly became a source of disagreement between Malaysia and the Philippines, especially when the latter began staking a claim on the state. Friction with Indonesia began in 1963 when Indonesia launched a campaign known as *Ganyang Malaysia* which saw the beginnings of the Indonesia-Malaysia *Konfrantasi* (Confrontation) that lasted until 1966. The confrontation was in fact a manifestation of Indonesia's opposition towards the formation of Malaysia.

It noteworthy to mention that the formation of ASEAN provided Malaysia the much needed opportunity to repair and improve its relations with Indonesia and the Philippines. According to Ott, “[t]he end of confrontation made this a realistic possibility, for it had long been recognized in Kuala

Lumpur that for regionalism to be truly effective, Indonesia must be included” (1968: 131). In turn, ASEAN too became a platform for both Indonesia and the Philippines to end hostility and improve its relations with Malaysia.

While Singapore was a party to the formation of Malaysia in 1963, its expulsion from the Malaysian Federation too impacted negatively its relations with Malaysia. Although relations between both did turn sour this however was only for a short period of time as in 1967, Singapore together with Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines became the founding members of ASEAN. The formation of this regional entity in turn provided both Malaysia and Singapore, as well as other member states to further cement relations between them.

For Malaysia, the formation of ASEAN was therefore a move towards achieving the goal of cordial relationship within the region. This was indeed the case as pointed out by one source: “The immediate effect of ASEAN was to formalize the growing entente of the five Southeast Asian neighbours, thus marking an end of a period of turmoil in the region” (Saravanamuttu, 2010: 101).

V. ASEAN AS A SECURITY GUARANTOR

Membership in ASEAN has also provided Malaysia with an implicit security guarantee especially against its larger and once hostile neighbors, namely Indonesia and the Philippines. Taking into account Malaysia’s past sour relations with both countries, ASEAN to some extent does provide some form of implicit security guarantee. ASEAN was formed during the height of the Cold War years when fear of communist expansionism loomed in the horizon in the region. Coupled with this was the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) tacit support for communist insurgencies in a number of Southeast Asian countries. In this case, Malaysia was no exception as the country had been facing a communist insurgency led by the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) since 1948.

The United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War were signals that communism was indeed spreading in the region and a real threat to the survival of the newly independent nations of the region, including Malaysia. This was especially true when taking into account the domino theory - a fear that neighbouring countries would also fall to communism should one country in the region be controlled by a communist government. However, it later became clear that the US interference in the region did not provide any guarantee towards the peaceful establishment of democratically led countries in the region. This was proven true with the call by United States President, Richard Nixon, to ‘Vietnamise’ the war and the eventual fall of the American-backed regime in South Vietnam in 1975.

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

As mentioned, Malaysia's long experience in fighting the communist alongside the British had also cultivated the image of Malaysia as a pro-Western and anti-communist country. Despite this, Malaysia has always been clear with its desire to live in peace with its regional neighbours as well as ensure its continued independence, free from interference and pressure imposed by the major powers. It was through this desire that then Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman, first proposed the idea for Malaysia to pursue the idea of a neutral Southeast Asian region. Ismail's idea was further championed by the second Prime Minister of Malaysia, Abdul Razak Hussein, who in 1970 made the appeal to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Lusaka, Zambia (Tarling, 2009: 2).

This eventually led to the introduction of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPFAN) in Southeast Asia in 1971, a declaration that was signed the foreign minister of all the five member states of ASEAN, namely Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. Also known as the Kuala Lumpur Declaration, it is aimed at ensuring that the region continues to remain "free from any form or manner of interference by outside major powers" (Saravanamuttu, 2010: 120). To that end it was proposed that ASEAN member states undertake "concerted efforts to broaden the areas of cooperation which contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship" (Saravanamuttu, 2010: 120).

This signified the shared goals of ASEAN member states in protecting the region from becoming embroiled in the competition between the major powers. It also consolidates the ASEAN member countries as the main actors and drivers towards maintaining peace in the region. With the successful establishment of ZOPFAN, this further opened the progress for Malaysia to be reassured of its security within the ASEAN framework.

In addition to the ZOPFAN, the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) also plays a pivotal role in ensuring regional stability. The TAC, a peace treaty signed by all ASEAN member states, promotes the pacific settlement of disputes and the policy of non-interference in affairs of member states. This sentiment carries over into the present day as ASEAN continues to actively engage its dialogue partners and increase the number of TAC signatories, the most recent being Peru in July 2019 (ASEAN, 2019). The rivalry between the United States and China has brought about another security dilemma for ASEAN member states and Malaysia has not been exempted from the pressure either. Case in point is the dispute in the South China Sea over the Spratly of which Malaysia is also a claimant. Malaysia's preference for diplomacy and multilateralism remains the path for solutions to the issue. Returning to the fundamentals of ASEAN's foundation is the key as Malaysia seeks to balance its relations with the two major powers.

VI. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

Barry Buzan (1997) argued for a shift in the study of security particularly since the end of the Second World War. The changing geopolitical reality means that for many, war is not the foremost threat faced by a country. Instead, these threats can be as diverse as economic scarcity to environmental disasters. Moreover, there has also been a general shift within international dialogue in widening not only the concept of security to take into account non-traditional security threats but also to shift the referent object of security from states to the people. This is an important paradigm shift as acknowledgement is given to the fact that nation states are as likely to be the threat to their citizens as much as they are supposed to be the protectors.

The introduction of human security as a concept by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1994 *Human Development Report* also inexorably linked the idea of security with economic development as well. As the UNDP puts it, for many, security is “symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards” (1994: 23). Many of these problems are not likely to be resolved through political solutions or even military might.

Overall, this concept of security is very much in line with the Malaysian approach. For Malaysia, economic development is an important facet of both national and regional security. Since its independence, economic inequality due to the long period of colonization became a key tension point in the country. This tension culminated in the 1969 racial riots, paving the way for Malaysia to closely tie its national security agenda with that of economic development. The introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1970 was done as part of the then government’s efforts to achieve better economic redistribution and was anchored on two main objectives (Milne, 1976). These were, reducing and eventually eradicating poverty by “raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities” as well as “restructuring the society to correct economic imbalance to reduce and eliminate the identification of race with economic function” (Government of Malaysia, 1971). In order to achieve the said objectives, the Malaysian embarked on a drive to modernize and diversify the country’s economy and steer it away from over-reliance on primary commodities. In doing so, Malaysia began opening up its economy to regional and international economic actors in order to lure foreign direct investment and diversify its trading partners (Felker, 2014).

Over the years, ASEAN and its member states have become important partners in Malaysia’s effort to secure itself through economic development and growth, including undertaking joint ventures with neighbouring countries. One of the first major ventures in the area of economic cooperation within ASEAN was the launch of the ASEAN Industrial Projects (AIP)

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

scheme in 1976. Although initially five major projects were mooted, only one – the ASEAN Urea Project in Malaysia and Indonesia – eventually materialized (Lim, 2004). Located in Malaysia and costing some RM700 million, the project was launched on 1 October 1985 and is based in Bintulu, Sarawak. Known as the ASEAN Bintulu Fertilizer (ABF) plant, it is currently the largest granular urea plant in Asia that produces 6 million tons of urea per annum and 0.4 million tons of ammonia per annum (Bernama, 2013). The ABF is a joint venture amongst five ASEAN countries with Malaysia having the largest share at 63.5 percent. Other ASEAN member states that own stakes in the ABF are Thailand (13 percent), Indonesia (13 percent), Philippines (9.5 percent) and Singapore (1 percent) (Bintulu Development Authority, 2015).

In addition, Malaysia and its neighbours in ASEAN have also entered into various other development cooperation initiatives namely at the sub-regional level. For example, at the initiative of the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohammad, the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT) was formalised in 1993. The IMT-GT is a sub-regional framework aimed at enhancing economic cooperation and integration between states and provinces in these member countries. This initiative is to encourage the private sectors of the three countries to spearhead development through seven strategic pillars namely agriculture, tourism, halal products and services, human resource development, transport and ICT, trade and investment, as well as environmental cooperation (CIMT, 2020). Malaysia has been able to position itself as a major player in some of these areas, namely the development of halal industries. A year later, in 1994, a second initiative aimed at intensifying sub-regional cooperation and integration was launched. Known as the SIJORI (Singapore-Johor-Riau) Growth Triangle between Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, it is a strategic partnership between these three countries that is aimed at harnessing economic growth and integration.

Also in 1994, another initiative known as Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia- Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area or BIMP-EAGA was launched. This initiative is focused on encouraging growth in the more remote areas/provinces of these four member countries. The BIMP-EAGA initiative covers the states of Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia alongside Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and West Papua of Indonesia; Mindanao and Palawan in the Philippines and Brunei (BIMP-EAGA, 2020). The islandic nature of the sub-region meant that these territories (for Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) had remained disconnected from the major urban, industrialized centres of their respective capitals. In fact, the proximity of these regions made sense to focus on building their economic connectivity to boost economic cooperation and integration as means to alleviate poverty in the area.

Under the BIMP-EAGA initiative, Malaysia is able to undertake connectivity projects throughout the sub-region such as the completion of the Pandaruan Bridge which connects Brunei and Malaysia in 2013 (Then, 2013). Another project highlighting the cooperation under the initiative is the construction of the Trans Borneo power grid by Sarawak Energy Berhad (SEB), one of Malaysia’s state-owned energy companies and P.T. Perusahaan Listrik Negara (Perser), Indonesia’s state-owned electric company since 2016 (ADB, 2014). The cross cutting projects which consolidates the infrastructure of these sub-regions contribute to encouraging economic growth from areas that would have otherwise been left out.

In terms of trade and investments, membership in ASEAN not only provides Malaysia with greater market access into the region – a region with 648 million people – but also allows it to expand its investments within the region. This is also enabled by the fact that Malaysia is also a signatory to the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) agreement, which entered into force on 28 January 1992. While Malaysia’s trade with ASEAN member states was at US\$482.1 million in 1972, by 1995 it stood at US\$19,682 million. In 2019, Malaysia’s trade with ASEAN member states in goods alone amounted to US\$11,8095 million (ASEAN Statistics, 2020). Singapore is currently Malaysia’s largest trading partner within the ASEAN region, both in terms of exports and imports.

In fact, Singapore has remained amongst Malaysia’s five top trading partners for a number of years now in addition to China, United States, Hong Kong and Japan. The following tables detail the value of export from the top three major ASEAN export and import partners for Malaysia. As immediate neighbours, trade with Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand have naturally contributed significantly Malaysia’s economy. Nonetheless, in recent years Vietnam has also become a major export partner for Malaysia. Malaysia is currently also working to increase its intra ASEAN trade share so as to capitalize of the regions huge market. During the 34th ASEAN Summit in 2019, Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohammad pointed out several areas of cooperation within ASEAN, which can be capitalized by Malaysia and these include tourism and substitution imports (Alagesh, 2019).

TABLE 1. MALAYSIA – MAJOR EXPORT COUNTRIES WITHIN ASEAN, 2018-2020

COUNTRY	YEAR	VALUE OF EXPORTS (IN RM BILLION)	PERCENTAGE (%)
Singapore	2020 (January - June)	64.71	14.4
	2019	136.89	13.9
	2018	140.25	14

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

COUNTRY	YEAR	VALUE OF EXPORTS (IN RM BILLION)	PERCENTAGE (%)
Thailand	2020 (January - June)	21.48	4.8
	2019	55.81	5.7
	2018	57.06	5.7
Vietnam	2020 (January - June)	13.84	3.1
	2019	34.73	3.5
	2018	34.33	3.4

SOURCE: Compiled by the authors from Malaysia External Trade Development Corporation (MATRADE), <http://www.matrade.gov.my/en>

TABLE 2. MALAYSIA - MAJOR IMPORT COUNTRIES WITHIN ASEAN, 2018-2020

COUNTRY	YEAR	VALUE OF IMPORTS (IN RM BILLION)	PERCENTAGE (%)
Singapore	2020 (January - June)	34.86	9.1
	2019	89.55	10.5
	2018	103.07	11.7
Indonesia	2020 (January - June)	16.97	4.4
	2019	38.80	4.6
	2018	40.49	4.6
Thailand	2020 (January - June)	15.22	4.0
	2019	44.23	5.2
	2018	48.62	5.5

SOURCE: Compiled by the authors from Malaysia External Trade Development Corporation (MATRADE), <http://www.matrade.gov.my/en>

Over the years, foreign direct investments (FDI) from ASEAN member states into Malaysia have also been steadily growing. In 2016 alone, total FDI from ASEAN member states into Malaysia amounted to RM8.6 billion and the major investors were Charoen Pokphand (Thailand), Wilmar (Singapore), Muslims Mas (Singapore), Tipco Asphalt (Thailand), San Miguel (Philippines) and TCC Group (Thailand). It was also reported that between 2010 and 2016 alone, Malaysia invested RM76.4 billion in ASEAN countries which accounted for some 24.4 percent of Malaysia's total outward FDI for the said period (Jaafar, 2017).

In addition to joint ventures and the inflow of FDI from the region, Malaysia has also benefited immensely from the significant increase in tourist arrivals from the ASEAN member states into the country. In fact, the ASEAN member states are major source of tourist arrivals for Malaysia, in addition to China, India, South Korea and Japan. Statistics on tourist arrivals in Malaysia between January and September 2019 alone, clearly showed Singapore the major source of tourists for Malaysia, with Indonesia coming in the second place. Of the more than 20 million tourists that visited Malaysia for the said period, tourists from Singapore alone amounted to 7.8 million while those from Indonesia accounted for 2.7 million. In fact, of the top ten countries that were Malaysia's source of tourist arrivals, six were from the ASEAN region (Abas, 2019). This in turn has spurred the dramatic growth in the country's tourism industry thus making it one of the country's important sector.

TABLE 3 MALAYSIA – TOURIST ARRIVALS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 2019

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NO. OF TOURISTS
Singapore	7,868,755
Indonesia	2,792,776
China	2,413,956
Thailand	1,442,224
Brunei	929,789
India	539,167
South Korea	508,080
Vietnam	323,393
Japan	321,283
Philippines	317,294

SOURCE: Azura Abas. Malaysia records more than 20 million tourists in first 9 months of 2019. New Straits Times, 26 November 2019, [https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2019/11/542286/malaysia-records-more-20-million-tourists-first-9-months-2019#:~:text=Tourism%2C%20Arts%20and%20Culture%20Minister,-South%20Korea%20\(508%2C080\)%3B%20Vietnam%20](https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2019/11/542286/malaysia-records-more-20-million-tourists-first-9-months-2019#:~:text=Tourism%2C%20Arts%20and%20Culture%20Minister,-South%20Korea%20(508%2C080)%3B%20Vietnam%20)

Malaysia has also enjoyed the benefits of the bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) signed within the ASEAN framework. These include the ASEAN-China FTA in 2005, the ASEAN-Korea FTA in 2007, the ASEAN-Japan FTA in 2008, the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand FTA in 2009 and the ASEAN-India FTA in 2010 (ASEAN, 2020). Moreover, as ASEAN moves forward with the formalization of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) which will broaden ASEAN's economic framework as well as at

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

the same time ease and reduce the barriers to trade. Although economic integration in ASEAN is nowhere near that of the European Union (EU), it would be a discredit to the organization to dismiss the cooperation that its member states have continued to foster over the years. There is a like-mindedness amongst the ASEAN member states in pursuing economic prosperity in order to secure the region and encourage the well-being of its citizens.

VII. CONCLUSION

For Malaysia, ASEAN has served as an important bedrock in its international engagement strategy. As one of its founding members, Malaysia places great importance to ASEAN in its foreign policy and will definitely continue to do so in the future. The most important factors that come into play, namely peace, stability, neutrality and prosperity of the region – can all be achieved through the deepening of meaningful cooperation and integration between the ASEAN member states. It goes without saying that current challenges such as the Covid-19 pandemic clearly point to the dire need to enhance regional cooperation as a means to address issues and concerns that are transnational in nature. In other words, not just regional but even inter-regional cooperation is vital in confronting such new and emerging challenges and this would surely expand the areas of collaboration between states around the world. It therefore evident regional and inter-regional entities such as ASEAN will remain relevant in not just enhancing cooperation but even providing solutions to regional issues and concerns. Nevertheless and having said that, the deepening of United States-China rivalry may however prove a destabilizing factor for ASEAN especially considering the fact that ASEAN remains split over the South China Sea dispute. This may prove a litmus test for ASEAN in not just ensuring peace and prosperity in the Southeast Asian region but even in maintaining its centrality.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abas, Azura (2019, November 26). Malaysia records more than 20 million tourists in first 9 months of 2019. *New Straits Times*, Retrieved 30 August 2020 from <[>](https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2019/11/542286/malaysia-records-more-20-million-tourists-first-9-months-2019#:~:text=Tourism%2C%20Arts%20and%20Culture%20Minister,South%20Korea%20(508%2C080)%3B%20Vietnam%20(>></p><p>Alagesh, T. (2019, June 23). More effort needed to boost intra-Asean trade, says Dr M, <i>New Straits Times</i>. Retrieved August 24, 2020, from <<a href=)

- ASEAN Development Bank (ADB). (2014, October 7). *Trans Borneo Power Grid: Sarawak to West Kalimantan Transmission Link (Malaysia Section)*. Retrieved August 24, 2020, from <<https://www.adb.org/projects/documents/trans-borneo-power-grid-sarawak-west-kalimantan-transmission-link-malaysia-sectio>>
- ASEAN Statistics. (2020). *Trade in Goods (IMTS), Annually, HS 2-digit up to 8-Digit (AHTN), in US\$*. Retrieved on August 28, 2020 from <<https://data.aseanstats.org/trade-annually/>>
- ASEAN. (2019). *Signing Ceremony of the Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by the Republic of Peru*. Retrieved 26 August 2020, from <<https://www.asean2019.go.th/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/da17f40050a6b67963cdb4f9d51f8b27.pdf>>
- ASEAN. (2020). Free Trade Agreements with Dialogue Partners. Retrieved 25 August 2020, <<https://asean.org/asean-economic-community/free-trade-agreements-with-dialogue-partners/>>
- Bernama. (2013, November 23). RM300bil investment by Petronas in Sarawak.
- BIMP-EAGA Facilitation Centre. (2020). What is BIMP-EAGA? Retrieved August 25, 2020, from <<https://www.bimp-eaga.asia/about-bimp-eaga/what-bimp-eaga>>
- Bintulu Development Authority. (2015). *Projects*. Retrived September 1, 2020 from <<https://web.archive.org/web/20150705145626/http://www.bda.gov.my/modules/web/page.php?id=59#abf>>
- Buzan, B. (1997). Rethinking security after the Cold War. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 32(1), 5-28.
- Centre for IMT-GT Subregional Cooperation. (2020, July 8). *About CIMT*. Retrieved August 24, 2020, <from<https://imtgt.org/about-cimt/>
<https://imtgt.org/about-cimt/>>
- Felker, G. (2014). Malaysia's development strategies: Governing distribution-through-growth. In M. L. Weiss (ed), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia*. New York: Routledge, 133-147.
- Government of Malaysia. (1971). *Second Malaysia Plan: 1971-1977*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers.
- Jeshurun, Chandran (2008). *Malaysia: Fifty Years of Diplomacy, 1957-2007*. Singapore: The Other Press.
- Lim, C. Y. (2009). *Southeast Asia: The Long Road*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company.
- Milne, R. S. (1976). The Politics of Malaysia's New Economic Policy. *Pacific Affairs*, 49(2), 235-262.

MALAYSIA IN ASEAN: THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY AND ...

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia (MOFA). (2019). *Foreign Policy Framework for a New Malaysia: Change in Continuity*. Putrajaya: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia: 19.
- New Straits Times*. (1977, July 31). *Malaysia Determined to Proceed with the Urea Project*.
- Ott, M. (1968). Malaysia: The Search for Solidarity and Security. *Asian Survey*, 8(2), 127-132., 131.
- Ott, M. (1972). Foreign Policy Formulation in Malaysia. *Asian Survey*, 12(3), 225-241.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (1984). ASEAN Security for the 1980s: The Case for a Revitalized ZOPFAN. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 6(2), 186-196.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (2010). *Malaysia's Foreign Policy: The First Fifty Years, Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS).
- Sussman, G. (1983). Macapagal, the Sabah claim and Maphilindo: the politics of penetration. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 13(2), 210-228.
- Syed Jaafar, S. (2017, August 10). *ASEAN investments into Malaysia growing steadily, says Mustapa*, The Edge Markets. Retrieved on August 29, 2020 from <<https://www.theedgemarkets.com/article/asean-investments-malaysia-growing-steadily-says-mustapa>>
- Tarling, N. (2009). Malaysia and the Early Years of ZOPFAN. *Sarjana*, 24(1), 1-12.
- Then, S. (2013, December 9). *Malaysia and Brunei open Friendship Bridge*. Retrieved August 24, 2020, from <<https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2013/12/09/malaysia-and-brunei-open-friendship-bridge-2000km-pan-borneo-highway-finally-completed>>
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1994). *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*. New York: Oxford University Press.