INDEX

A
Abdul Rahman, Tunku, 165, 175, 177, 179, 194, 242
 absence of mosque in Manila, 220–21
 anger towards Indonesia, 205–6
 anti-communist administration, 190
 Federation of Malaysia, 211
 Indonesia–Malaysia treaty, 216
 Indonesians’ contempt for Malaya, 188
 Indonesia’s confrontation, 217, 224
 joint communiqué, 202
 Malayan pro-Indonesian forces and, 204–5
 regional cooperation, 195
 sense of wisdom, 189
 Sumatran rebels, 187
 on West Irian issue, 182, 183, 201–2
 Abdul Rahman Yaakub, 259
 Abdul Razak
 and Adam Malik, 240, 242, 246
 administration, 258–59
 Beijing visit, 276
 withdrawal of British troops, 244
 Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 167–68, 344, 373
 Acehnese rebels, 338–39
 Acharya, Amitav, 92, 94
 actors
 corporate identity, 63
 identifications among, 65
 intersubjective understandings, 64–65
 norms effects on, 93–94
 self-identity, 63, 64
 sense of self, 81
 social reality, 64
 Adams, Henry, 14
 Adams, John, 13
 Adler, Emanuel, 42, 45, 49
 Deutsch’s observation of power, 50
 states’ common identities, 52, 53
 “After Empire: National Identity and Post-Colonial Families of Nations”, 27
 Ali Murtopo, 165, 233–37, 241
 Allen, Harry C., 12, 15, 16, 19
 amalgamated security communities, 44
 Aman, Anifah, 362

411
Ambalat disputes
Front Ganyang Malaysia
movement and, 353
Indonesia and, 329, 330–31, 369
ND6 and ND7, 333–34, 336, 367
solution for, 366
America–Western Europe, 388
American Revolutionary War, 12
Amien Rais, 165
Anderson, Benedict, 83
Anglo-American friendship, 13–15
economic interdependence, 20
foreign policy, 18, 19
military cooperation, 20
in Second World War, 21–22
Anglo-American special
relationship, 1, 3, 6, 23–24,
103, 147, 372, 380, 385
basis of order, 130–31
Britain's war debts, 119–20
Churchill's statement on, 54–55
closeness of, 32
common identities, 103–4
conflict in, 116–23
contectual intersubjective
understandings, 122–23
cooperative relation, 104
effort to contain Japan, 105–6
emergence of, 55, 134
London Naval Conference, 105
naval competition, 104–5
negative identifications, 117
power balance between, 131–32
power competition, 120–21
power imbalance, 142, 145, 152
preferential policies, 32
realists' view of, 33–34, 36–37
sentimental assertions in, 29–30
strategic interests, 43
substantial cooperation, 104–6
superiority of liberty, 117–20
sustainability of, 25–26
war avoidance norms, 136,
137–38
“Anglo-American understanding”,
15–16
Anglo-French Entente Cordiale, 17
Anglo-Japanese alliance, 17, 18
Anglo-Malayan Defence
Agreement (AMDA), 174, 175,
212, 231
Anglo-Malaysian military alliance,
229–31
anti-Americanism, in Canada, 114,
116, 154, 155, 378
anti-Malaysia sentiments, in
Indonesia, 353, 355, 360–64,
366–67, 369–70
Anwar Ibrahim, 323
Arafat, Yasser, 312
Archipelago Doctrine, 171, 255
Argentina, peace between Brazil
and, 95
Aristotle's description of
friendship, 2
Army Staff and Command College
of Indonesia, 231
ASEAN High Council, 320
ASEAN Way, 249
Asian-African Conference, 168,
288, 290
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
(APEC), 303–4, 309–11
aspiration for peace, 133
Indonesia–Malaysia relations,
230, 242, 367
in security regime, 123–25
in special relationship, 54
war prevention norms, 95, 134
Asquith, Herbert Henry, 19
Association of Southeast Asia
(ASA), 195–97, 246–47
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 302–4, 371–74
anti-Vietnamese forces, 283
Bali summit (1976), 253
Bangkok Declaration (1967), 247, 248, 250
creation of, 230, 247
de facto alliance, 283
member states, 248
purpose of, 248
as security regime, 248, 250, 254, 264, 267
solidarity, 283
Southeast Asia’s neutralization, 271
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, 277–78
war avoidance norms, 253
Atlantic battle, British neutrality in, 16
Austria–Germany security community, 388–89
Azahari, A.M., 210–11
Aziz, Shaukat, 78

B
Baba, Ghafar, 323, 324
Bachtiar, Dai, 368
Bali summit (1976), 253
Bandung Conference, 168, 169, 207
Bandung Principles, 290
Bangkok Agreement (1966), 242, 244, 246
Bangkok Declaration (1967), 247, 248, 250, 276
Barnett, Michael, 45, 49, 50, 52–53
Bayley, Lewis, 20
Baylis, John, 29, 34, 40
Benteng Demokrasi Rakyat (Bendera), 354
Berger, Thomas U., 92
Bersih movement, 324
Bhutan, 68
bilateral pluralistic security communities, 45–46
Blair, Tony, 24, 29
Boer War (1899), 16
Borden, Robert, 113–14
Border Crossing Agreement (1967), 244–45
Bornat, Nirmala, 350
Bothwell, Robert, 87
Brazil, peace between Argentina and, 95
Britain. See also Anglo-American special relationship
Anglo-American cooperation, 140–41
benevolent neutrality policy, 16
confrontational behaviours against America, 143
Defence White Paper (1966), 267
German invasion, 141, 144
gold and dollar reserves, 142
and Malaysia, 242–43
Malaysia’s military alliance with. See Anglo–Malaysian military alliance
naval supremacy, 121, 122
neo-colonialism, 231
power imbalance, 151
reliance on America for security, 142, 143
special relationship between United States and, 12–13
unbearable amount of cost, 148–49
war against Nazi Germany, 90
war debts, 119–20
Brunei, 374
military ties with Singapore, 375
revolt, 210–11, 213
Brunei People’s Party, 210
Bryan, William Jennings, 20
Brysk, Alison, 27, 32, 36
Butterworth, W.W., 155

C
Cambodia, Vietnam’s occupation of, 254, 283
Cameron, David, 62–63
Canada, 131
  anti-Americanism in, 87, 114, 116, 154–55, 378
  Commonwealth Caribbean relation with, 27
  confrontational behaviours against America, 145–46
  connection with British Empire, 110–11
  power imbalance, 151
  relationship with United States, 26–27, 144–45
  superiority of culture, 111–14
  unbearable amount of cost, 149–51
  Canada–Commonwealth Caribbean special relationship, 27
  Canada–United States special relationship, 4, 6, 86–87, 381, 385
Carter, Jimmy, 23
Carver, Michael, 252
Castlereagh, 124
Central America, 128, 129, 131
Chamberlain, Austen, 120, 138
China, 376
  dominance in Asia, 68–69
  expansion into South Asia, 68–69
  friendship with Vietnam, 90–91
  Indonesia’s alignment with, 224
  law on citizenship, 282
  power competition India and, 67–69
  power imbalance Vietnam and, 73–74
  relations with Pakistan, 78–79
  South China Sea, 373–74
  Vietnam de facto alliance, 283
China–Malaysia relations, 276
China–Vietnam special relationship, 386–87
Chinese–Malays clashes, 257
Christopher, Warren, 26
Churchill, Winston, 12, 21, 31, 36, 118, 121, 122
  preferential policies, 32
  “special relationship”, 23, 24
Clarendon, George, 133
Clark, Champ, 110
Clark, Marshall, 164
classical realism, 60, 61, 63
Clayton, John, 128–29
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 128, 129
Cleveland, Grover, 137
Clinton, Bill, 25
cognitive structure, 49, 52–53
collective-self understanding, 47, 52, 96
Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), 252–53
Community Learning Centres (CLCs), 366
“competition breeds competition”, 66–67
Conservative party of Canada, 111
constructivism, 37–38, 42, 46–47
convergence of expectations, 126–27, 136–38
corporate identity, 63, 64, 84
Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC), 376
Craigie, Robert, 122
Crush Malaysia, 222, 357
cultural affinity-induced positive identifications, 88–89
Index

D
Danchev, Alex, 30, 31
Dawson, Raymond, 35
De Quay, Jan, 202
defensive realism, 61, 62
Deutsch, Karl W., 43–45, 48, 94
common political values, 51
notion of security community, 50–51
observation of power, 50
on pluralistic security community, 49
states’ identities, 53
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), 246
Dickey, John Sloan, 26
Dickie, John, 34
Djuanda Declaration, 171, 202, 206
Dobbs, Michael, 30
double-edged effects, 5, 91, 280, 382
of common identity, 84–89
Indonesia–Malaysia special relationship, 315, 349
of special relationship, 98–99
Dulles, 184
Dumbrell, John, 25
Dunne, Tim, 60
Dutch
assertion of sovereignty, 202–3
military clashes between Indonesia and, 200–1
transit facilities in Malaya, 182
E
East Asia Economic Caucus (EAEC), 309
East Asian Economic Group (EAEG), 300–4, 306–9
East Timor, 259–60, 326, 329–30
Eden, Anthony, 142
Edward VII, 18
ego identity, 81
Egypt
Saudi Arabia relations with, 85
withdrawal of British troops, 154
Elang Malindo IV, 262–63
Elie, Jerome B., 34
Erikson, Erik H., 81
ethnic community, 82, 83–84, 160, 166–67
ethnies, 82, 84–85, 89
European Community (EC), 299, 301
expectation, 89–91
F
Fairlie, Henry, 90
Federation of Malaysia, 210–11, 218, 219, 222
Feldman, Lily Gardner, 27, 28, 30, 32
Finland, power imbalance Russia and, 74–76
Finland–Russia special relationship, 386–87
Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA), 268–69, 273, 315–16
“floating mass”, under Suharto regime, 239–40
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 289–90
France, 12
acquisition of Louisiana, 13–14
African colonies and, 27–28, 40
invasion of Spain, 14
military expansion, 70
power balance Germany and, 70, 71
surrender to Nazi Germany, 141
treaty with Russia, 70
United States war with, 13
France–Sub-Saharan Africa special relationship, 26
Franco–German Friendship Treaty, 3
Franco–Prussian War (1870), 69
Franklin, Benjamin, 118
Frederick the Great, 60
Freedom House, 323
friendship, dynamics of, 2–3
Front Ganyang Malaysia
  movement, 329, 353, 354

G
“Ganjang Malaysia”, 222
Garver, John W., 79
General Agreement on Tariffs and
  Trade (GATT), 299
General Border Committee (GBC),
  317, 318, 321, 372
  border security cooperation,
    260–61
  collaborations between armed
    forces, 266–67
  command-post exercises, 263
  “Elang Malindo IV”, 262–63
  formation of, 260
Ghazali Shafie, 266
Kuala Lumpur meeting, 265
military cooperation, 261–64
Najib Razak, 265
Natuna Island, 262–63
Panggabean, Maraden, 265
  patrols and surveillance plans,
    262
  war avoidance norms, 261
Geneva Naval Conference (1927),
  121, 122
Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM),
  339
Germany, 37, 69
  invasion of France, 71
  military power, 71
  power balance France and, 70
  relationship to Israel, 23
  reunification of, 299
  triple alliance, 70
  unification of, 70
  Germany–Austria security
    community, 388–89
Ghazali Shafie, 233–37
  at GBC meeting, 266
  Suharto and, 257
Godfrain, Jacques, 40
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 92–93
Grey, Edward, 20
gross domestic product (GDP), 59,
  180, 284–86, 294–96, 298, 307,
    314, 325
Group of Fifteen (G-15), 294
Guam Doctrine (1969), 268
Guiana–Venezuela border dispute,
  137–38
Guided Democracy, 191, 206, 213
  establishment of, 198
  forming of, 199
  operating of, 200
  presidential system of, 198
  Sukarno and, 198, 199

H
Haglund, David G., 26, 30
Hajar, Siti, 351, 364
Halifax, Lord, 22
Harper, Stephen, 23
Hay, John, 15–16
“Hire Indonesians Last” policy,
  342, 345, 349
Hoover, Herbert, 104
Houghton, Alanson Bigelow, 103
Houston, David, 120
Hull, Cordell, 115
Huntington, Samuel P., 84, 88, 89

I
identity, 80
  Canada–U.S. relations, 86–87
cultural affinity-induced positive identifications, 88–89
double-edged effects of, 84–89
dynamics of self, 80–81
national, 81–84
nation-states’ common identities, 88
Pan-Arabism, 85
identity school, 33, 35–36
Immigration Act, 342, 345
India
China’s rapprochement with, 79
emergence as nuclear power, 78
power competition China and, 67–69
Indon, 343, 344
Indonesia
airstrike on, 227
alignment with China, 224
anti-Malaysia sentiments, 353, 355, 360–64, 366–67, 369–70
ASEAN. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Asian-African conference (1955), 288
Benteng Demokrasi Rakyat (Bendera), 354
big brother sentiment, 305–6, 324
communiqué rejection, 203
communism in, 170, 185
confrontation against Malaysia, 165, 214–16, 224–25
currency, 303
defence budget, 333
democratization, 323, 333
demonstrations against Malaysia, 361, 362
development budget, 303
domestic politics, 331
dominance over Malaya, 175–76
Dutch military clashes and, 201
East Timor, 259–60, 326, 329–30
economic reforms, 286, 289, 303
export revenue, 285–86
extension of territories, 209
foreign policy, 200, 231
Front Ganyang Malaysia movement, 329, 353, 354
geographical expression of, 166
gross domestic product, 180, 285–86, 294, 325
independence, 288
labour migration to Malaysia, 337
as leader of Third World, 286–90, 310, 313
maids, legal protection in Malaysia, 350–51
Malaysia’s neutralization proposal, 272, 274, 277
media industry, 331
military attacks on Malaysia, 222–23
military power of, 210
Muslim population, 312
national identity, 187
ND6 and ND7/Ambalat, 329
Netherlands diplomatic ties with, 200
New Emerging Forces, 208, 209, 213
New Order regime, 259, 277, 286–87, 289, 290, 322
Non-Aligned Movement, 288, 290, 310, 311
ownership of Sipadan and Ligitan, 326
parliamentary election, 323
petroleum, 330
politics, 172–73
power balance, absence of, 227–28
power politics between Malaysia and, 176
presidential election, 323
press freedom, 331
regional preponderance, 212, 215, 222, 232
repudiation of SEAFET and ASA, 197
resentments towards Malaya, 206
rice self-sufficiency, 289–90
schools in Sabah, 365
sense of humiliation, 361, 362, 368, 369
Singapore military cooperation with, 313
strategic dependence on Malaysia, 234, 237
struggle for West Irian, 206
Sukarno, 172–73
“Suku Melayu”, 186
superiority sense over Malaysia, 176, 177, 310, 312, 335, 346, 358, 359
threat of war, 208
unemployment, 350
view of Maphilindo, 220
Indonesia–Malaya Treaty of Friendship, 192–93, 216, 227
Indonesia–Malaysia relations (1957–65), 159
Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement, 174, 175
Archipelago Doctrine, 171
Association of Southeast Asia, 195–97
Brunei revolt, 211, 213
common identities, 160–65
confrontation against Malaya, 214, 216, 222, 224
Federation of Malaysia, 210–11, 218, 219, 222
friendship treaty, 192–93
geographical proximity, 178, 180
Guided Democracy, 191, 198–99
Malaya’s pro-Indonesian forces, 181–82
Malay language, 163–64
Malay-Sumatran intimacy, 186–87
Maphilindo, 219–21, 246
mutual strategic dependence, 178–81
notion of kingdom, 160–61, 163–64
power balance, 227–28
professed wisdom, 188–89
rebellions, 184–91
regional prescriptions, 193–98
serumpun, 166–67, 196
Southeast Asia Friendship and Economic Treaty, 194–95
strategic preponderance, 170–72, 215
strategic understanding, 166–68
Sumatran rebellion, 184–86, 190–91
superiority sense, 175–77
Third World concept, 168–69
West Irian issue, 181–84, 200–2, 204, 206–9, 217
Indonesia–Malaysia Relations: Cultural Heritage, Politics and Labour Migration (Clark and Pietsch), 164–65
Indonesia–Malaysia special relationship (1966–84), 382–83
absence of security community, 278–79
Ali Murtopo and Ghazali Shafie, views of, 233–37
Bangkok Agreement (1966), 242, 244, 246
“Berkampung”, 233
Border Crossing Agreement (1967), 244–45
border disputes, 236
common identities, 230, 235–36
confrontation issues, 229
creation of ASEAN. See
Association of Southeast
Asian Nations (ASEAN)
de facto alliance, 245, 264
de jure alliance, 265
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, 246
diplomatic ties, 247
East Timor annexation, 259–60
end of confrontation, 240–42
friendly coexistence, 237, 245
General Border Committee. See
General Border Committee
(GBC)
Kuala Lumpur Declaration, 275,
276
Kuantan Principle (1980), 254
Malays–Chinese clashes, 257
military operations, 230–31, 266
OPSUS–Malaysia’s officials
meetings, 236, 240
peace agreement, 241
power balance, 229–32, 234,
278–79
under Razak administration,
258–59
security cooperation, 245
SESKOAD study, 231, 232
shared strategic interests, 230,
235–36
Southeast Asia’s neutralization,
269–75
Straits of Malacca, sovereignty
over, 255–57
strategic cooperation, 234, 254
“Total Wipe Out”, 251
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
in Southeast Asia, 277–78
Tun Razak–Adam Malik peace
talks, 240, 242, 246
against Vietnam, 254–55
Zone of Peace, Freedom and
Neutrality, 276
Indonesia–Malaysia special
relationship (1985–2017),
absence of power imbalance, 281
Acehnese rebels, 338–39
anti-Malaysia sentiments, 281,
353, 355, 360–64, 366–67,
369–70
ASEAN. See Association of
Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN High Council, 320
Bahasa Indonesia–Melayu, 372
border disputes, 319
Brunei, 374–75
common culture, 305, 355, 357,
359
common identities, 304, 374
domestic politics, 281
East Asian Economic Group,
300–4, 306–9
economic cooperation, 338, 376
economic development, 280, 285,
296
education system, 305
Five Power Defence
Arrangement, 315–16
Four-Eyes Meeting, 320, 321
GDP per capita, 284, 285, 296
indigenous people, 281–84, 297
International Court of Justice,
joint commission, 319–20
memorandum of understanding,
350–51, 364
military exercise, 314–15, 372
mismatch of expectation, 315
ND6 and ND7/Ambalat
sovereignty disputes, 327–36,
366–67
palm oil production, 377
power competition, 315
 power politics, 304, 307
security cooperation, 374
sense of uniqueness, 304, 305
serumpun, 370
Singapore economic ties,
375–76
Singapore’s military presence,
313–14
Sipadan and Ligitan island
disputes, 317–22, 325–27,
330–31, 334
sources of conflict, 315, 353
strategic cooperation, 284, 314,
315
superiority of national identity,
315
superior–subordinate relationship,
343
territorial disputes, 281, 319,
327, 367
Three Power Defence
Arrangement, 315–16
war avoidance norms, 281, 321
warship collision, 328–29
Indonesia migrant workers
deportations of, 340–42
ill treatment, 346, 348
maid abuse, 348–49
in Malaysia, 338, 345, 347,
349–51, 364, 367
Indonesia migrant workers, 342
Indonesia Raya, 163
Indonesian army, 225, 231
defeating Sukarno, 226
in Natuna Island, 262
September 30th Movement, 226
Indonesian People’s Consultative
Assembly (MPR), 165
“Indonesia’s Free and Active
Foreign Policy”, 231
Inter-Allied Supreme War Council,
22
International Boundary
Commission, 135
International Court of Justice (ICJ),
320–22, 330, 334–35
Ambalat disputes, 334
ownership of Sipadan and
Ligitan, 325, 326
International Joint Commission,
135
Iraq, sovereignty of, 88
Iraq War, U.S.–UK relations in,
30–31
Islam, 164–65
Ismail, Tun Dr, 182, 183, 189, 193,
201, 207, 256
Israel
Germany’s relationship to, 23
shared values of, 39–40
special relationship with West
Germany, 27
strategic value of, 42
U.S. relation with, 26, 33, 41
Israel–United States special
relationship, 380, 381
J
Jakarta, 189, 190, 221
Japan, 291–92, 302
Anglo-American effort to
contain, 105–6
naval expansion, 104
Japan–China relations, 376
Jefferson, Thomas, 13
Jervis, Robert, 124
Johnson, Reverdy, 133
K
Kennedy, John F., 148, 149
kerajaan system, 161, 163–64
Khairy Jamaluddin, 369
King, Mackenzie, 101, 115, 146,
150–51
Kissinger, Henry A., 25, 32
“Kofrontasi 2.0”, 329
Kolopitha, Donald Peter Luther, 343–44
Komariyah, Isti, 364, 368
Kuala Lumpur Declaration, 275, 276
Kuantan Principle (1980), 254

L
Lansdowne, Lord, 18
Layang-Layang Island, 265, 316
League of Nations, 75
Leahy, James P., 90
Lee Kuan Yew, 219, 243, 250
legal norms, 94
liberal democracy, 51, 53, 323
liberty principles, 38–39, 100, 108, 148
Ligitan island, 316–22
Liow, Joseph, 28, 161, 164, 165
Li Peng, 300
London Naval Conference, 105
Louisiana, France’s acquisition of, 13–14

M
Macapagal, 219
Macdonald, John, 113, 136
MacDonald, Ramsay, 104, 105
Mackie, J.A.C, 161–62
Macmillan, Harold, 148–49
MacShane, Denis, 29
Mahan, 15
Mahathir Mohamad, 282, 290, 311–12
administration, 291, 292
East Asian Economic Group, 300, 301
“Look East” policy, 291–92
“Malaysia Boleh”, 292
Vision 2020, 298, 299
Majapahit (AD 1293–1525), 162, 163, 166
Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR), 165, 345
Malacca (AD 1402–1511), 162
Malay archipelago, 166–67, 178–79, 182
Malay language, 160, 161, 163–64, 258–59
Malay Royal Regiment, 174
Malay–Sumatran intimacy, 186–87
Malaya–Indonesia Relations 31st August 1957 to 15th September 1963, 178
Malaysia abuses of Indonesian workers, 368
agricultural economy, 294–95
airstrike on Indonesia, 227
Anwar Ibrahim, 323
Association of Southeast Asia, 195–96
Baba, Ghafar, 323, 324
Bandung spirit, 197–98
Bersih movement, 324
Britain and, 229–31, 243
“Champion of the Poor”, 294
Community Learning Centres, 366
cooporation with Southeast Asian states, 193
de facto trading, 302
democracy, 325
as developed state, 291–92, 298
East Asian Economic Group, 300–4, 308
economic expansion abroad, 299
education system, 258–59
exports, 299, 300
foreign direct investments in, 300
foreign policy, 190
foreign workers, 352
formation of, 214, 218, 221, 222, 232
GDP per capita of, 180
geographical proximity, 178, 180
gross domestic product, 295, 298, 307, 325
heavy industries, 291
“Hero of the South”, 294
“Hire Indonesians Last” policy, 342, 345, 349
illegal Indonesian migrants, 339–42
Immigration Act, 342, 345
independence, 176–77
Indonesia’s confrontation against, 165, 214–16, 224–25
Indonesia’s strategic dependence on, 234, 237
industrialization, 292, 337
joint communiqué with Netherlands, 203
Layang-Layang Island, 316
leader of the Third World, 289–90, 294, 297, 301
Look East policy, 292
Malaysia Truly Asia, 356, 357
Malay supremacy in, 258
material capacity of, 227
mediation in West Irian issue, 204, 207
migrant childrens, education for, 365, 369
military attacks on, 222–23
military power of, 210, 314
National Culture policy, 258
national identity, 186, 187, 291, 292
Negaraku, 356
neutralization of Southeast Asia, 269–72
New Economic Policy, 258, 291
non-involvement policy, 185
oil and gas, 316
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, 294, 312
patent on batik, 359–60
and Philippines, 252
policymakers of, 243
power balance, absence of, 227–28
power politics between Indonesia and, 176
professed wisdom, 188–89
pro-Indonesian forces in, 174, 181–82, 204
“pseudo-independence”, 188
under Razak administration, 258, 259
reformasi movement, 323
regional cooperation, 194, 197
RELA volunteer security force, 344–45, 353–54
SEAFET, 194
security, 174
semi-democracy, 322
sense of superiority, 190, 307, 308, 342
separation from Singapore, 241, 243
6P programme, 364–65
technological and industrial advancement, 307–8
United States’ support for, 224
UN Security Council admission, 223
view of Maphilindo, 220
Vision 2020, 298, 299, 302
“Malaysia and Indonesia: A Study of Foreign Policies with Special Reference to Bilateral Relations” (Yaakub), 161
Index

**Malaysia Truly Asia**, 356, 357
Malaysia–China relations, 257, 276
Malaysia–Philippines–Indonesia Confederation (Maphilindo), 219–21
Malaysia–Thailand relations, 252–53
Malaysian Constitution, Article 160, 161
Malaysian SEA Games Organising Committee (MASOC), 369
Malik, Adam, 165
  Malaysia’s neutralization proposal, 272, 273
  peace talks, 247
  Tun Razak and, 240, 242, 246
Malingsia, 355
Manila Agreement, 218, 221, 222
Manila Summit (1963), 218
Marsh, Steve, 29, 34
Maznah Mazlan, 368
McNeill, William Hardy, 22
Melayu, 164
*Melayu Raya*, 163
memorandum of understanding (MOU), 350–51, 364–65
Middle East, United States policy in, 41–42
Midway Island, 132
Milner, Anthony, 161
Moeldoko, 367
Moffat, Pierrepont, 144
Momson, Janet Henshall, 27
Motley, J.L., 133
MPRS. See Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly (MPRS)
multilateral pluralistic security community, 45–46
Murdani, Benny, 250, 265

**N**
Nahrawi, Imam, 369
Najib Razak, 265, 318, 366, 367, 373
Napoleon, 14, 61
Nasser, Abdul, 154
national identity, 80, 81–84, 383
corporate identity, 84
dualistic nature of, 82
for individual, 83
uniqueness of, 86
national security, 62–63
nationalism, 83–84
Natuna Island, 262–63
Nazi Germany, 140
  surrender of France to, 141
United States confrontation, 141–42
ND6 and ND7/Ambalat disputes, 327–30, 333–34, 336, 367
Negara, 161
Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara, 210
Negaraku, 356
Nepal, 68
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 29
Netherlands, 202
  Indonesia diplomatic ties with, 200
  joint communiqué, 202, 203
  West Irian issue and, 202–3
New Order Regime, 259, 277, 286, 287, 290, 295, 322
“New Thinking” norms, 93
Newly Industrializing Country (NIC), 295
Nixon, 268, 274
Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 207, 269, 288, 290, 310
  norms, 92–95
  legal, 94
  “New Thinking”, 93
  regulatory effects of, 93
social, 94
war avoidance. See war avoidance norms
North America, 134
America’s preponderance in, 150
identity, 139
security order, 133
North American Air Defense Agreement (NORAD), 145
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 299
North Atlantic area
democracy, 50–51
non-Soviet-dominated states, 52
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), 35, 145
North Kalimantan National Army (TNKU), 210
notion of kingdom, Malay, 160–61, 163–64
ancient kingdoms, 162
kerajaan system, 161, 163–64
Nurdin, Musliannah, 344
Nye Jr., 126

O
Obama, Barack, 23, 29
Operasi Khusus (OPSUS), 233, 236, 238, 240, 241, 261
Organicism, idea of, 239
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 32
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), 294, 312
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 330
Ottawa Conference (1932), 115

P
Page, Walter Hines, 19, 20
Pakistan
China’s partnership with, 69
strategic cooperation China and, 78–79
Palestine Liberation Organization, 312, 313
Palmerston, Viscount, 129
Pan-Africanism, 85
Pan-Arabism, 85, 87–88
Pancasila principles, 166
Panggabean, Maraden, 265
Pan-Islamism, 87, 88
Pan-Latin-Americanism, 85
Parsons, Craig, 27, 32, 36
Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 170, 184, 198, 200
ties with Sukarno, 225
Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), 210
peace, aspiration for, 94–95
peaceful change, dependable expectations of, 4, 95–96
Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI), 184–85
pendet dance, 356–57
Permanent Joint Board on Defence (PJBD), 149
Philippines
Malaysia and, 252
Sabah dispute, 252
view of Maphilindo, 220
Phillips, Christopher, 29–30
Piagam Perjuangan Semesta Alam (Permesta), 185
Pietsch, Juliet, 164
pluralistic security community, 4, 44, 138, 385, 386
bilateral, 45–46
characteristic of, 58
common identities of states, 53
elements of power, 49–50
foundations for, 138–40
key features of, 45
magnetic power, 50
multilateral, 45–46
security regime, 139
of sovereign states, 138
special relationship and, 47–48, 54–56, 140–46
war avoidance norms, 138–39
Polaris, 148, 149, 386
The Politics of Indonesia–Malaysia Relations: One Kin, Two Nations (Liow), 161
power
classical realism, 60, 61, 63
defensive realism, 61, 62
definition, 59
states pursuing, 59–60
structural realism, 60, 61, 63
survival of state, 58
power balance
Indonesia–Malaysia relationship, 229–32, 234
presence of, 98–99
between states, 66–67, 106
power competition
Anglo-American special relationship, 120–21
cause for, 66–67
Franco–German competition, 69–71
between India and China, 67–69
mismatch of expectation, 107
national identity, 107
power balance and, 106
United States–Canada special relationship, 114–15
power imbalance, 98, 146
accelerator of war, 72
Anglo-American special relationship, 142, 145, 152
basis of peace, 72–73
China and Vietnam, 73–74
Indonesia and Malaysia, 227, 382, 385, 386
Russia and Finland, 74–76
in special relationship, 152–53, 385, 386, 389
between states, 72, 386–88
United States and Western Europe, 76–77, 388
preferential policies, special relationship and, 32
pre-modern cultural identities, 383
Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly (MPRS), 226
Prussia, 69

R
Rabin, Yitzhak, 312
Rahim, Lily Zubaidah, 163
Rais, Amien, 345, 346
raison d’être principal, 34
Rasa Sayang, 356–58
realist school, 33
Anglo-American special relationship, 36–37
“Reassessing the United States–Israel Special Relationship” (Reich), 26
Red Plan, 55, 56
“Reflections on a Partnership: British and American Attitudes to Postwar Foreign Policy” (Kissinger), 25
reformasi movement, 323
regional coups, 169, 171
Reich, Bernard, 26, 30, 31
Reid, Anthony, 164
RELA volunteer security force, 344–45, 353–54
Reog Ponorogo, 356–58
Reynolds, David, 25
on Anglo-American relations, 31, 33
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 22, 101, 102, 118
Roosevelt, Theodore, 17, 18, 109, 139, 141
Rosecrance, Richard, 35
Rumpun Melayu, 163
Russia
   France treaty with, 70
   power imbalance Finland and, 74–76
   threats of Nazi Germany, 34–35
   United States friendship with, 37
Russia–Finland special relationship, 386–87
Russo–Japanese War, 18
S
Sabah, 240
   British troops in, 242, 244
   Philippines’ take over, 252
Samana Bay, 132
Sandholtz, Wayne, 27, 32, 36
Sarawak, 240, 245
   British troops in, 242, 244
Saudi Arabia
   Egypt relations with, 85
   Indonesian maids abuse, 349
Schmidt, Brian C., 60
Second World War, Anglo-American friendship in, 21–22
security community, 94, 95
   amalgamated, 44
   central tenet of, 46
   defining, 43–46
   Deutschian notion of, 50–51
   intersubjective understanding, 46–48
   Kantian school’s interpretation of, 50–51
   pluralistic. See pluralistic security community
   sense of community, 44
   security regime, 5, 97–98, 384
   aspiration for peace, 123–25
basis of order, 125–26
convergence of expectations, 126–27
pluralistic security community, 139
special relationship, 127–28
Sekolah Staf Komando Angkatan Darat (SESKOAD), 231, 232
“self”
   actor’s understanding of, 63
   conceptions of, 65
   dynamics of, 80–81
   existence of, 63, 66
   self-identity, 63–64
   sense of community, 44
Senu Abdul Rahman, 201
“September 30th Movement”, 226
serumpun, 166–67, 196
Seward, William, 133
shared strategic interests, 5, 380, 384
Singapore, 375
   Chinese-dominated, 250
   combat-readiness, 251
   military training, 313, 315
   “Operation Trojan”, 251
   separation from Malaysia, 241, 243
Singapore Armed Forces (SAF), 251, 252
Singapore in the Malay World—Building and Breaching Regional Bridges (Rahim), 163
Sino–Soviet split, 224
Sipadan Island, 316–22
Six-Day War, 41, 42
Skybolt missile, 148
Smith, Anthony D., 81–83
Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (1930), 115
social norms, 94. See also norms
Soekarnoputri, Megawati, 327
Southeast Asia
ancient kingdoms, 162
neutralization, Malaysia’s proposal, 269–72
regional cooperation, 195
Southeast Asia Friendship and Economic Treaty (SEAFET), 194–95, 197
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 175
Soviet Union, 388
Indonesia’s alignment with China, 224
Spain
colonies in Latin America, 40
French invasion of, 14
Spanish-American War (1898), 16
special relationship
Anglo-American. See Anglo-American special relationship
Churchill’s conception of, 24
common identities in, 5, 380, 381, 383, 384
concept of, 11–12
conflicts in, 3
deeper degree of interactions, 32–33
definition, 57–58
double-edged effects of, 98
expectations in, 31, 89–91
expressions of, 28–33
France–Sub-Saharan, 26
historical intertwining, 28
identity, 80–89
identity school, 33, 35–36
intensity of interactions, 31–32
mutual preoccupation, intense history of, 28
norms, 92–95
notion of, 1–2, 6
peaceful change, 95–96
peaceful traits of, 54
pluralistic security communities and, 47–48, 54–56
power. See power
realist school, 33, 36
strategic cooperation, 77–80
United States–Israel, 26
US–UK relations. See United States–United Kingdom special relationship
West Germany–Israel, 27
special relationship, security regime and, 127
basis of order, 130–31
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 128–29
peaceful coexistence, 132–34
war avoidance norms, 128–30, 139
Spring-Rice, Cecil, 17–19
Srivijaya (AD 683–1377), 162, 163, 166
Stimson, Henry, 105
Straits of Malacca, sovereignty over, 255–57
strategic cooperation, 80
China and Pakistan, 78–79
external threats, 77–78
intersubjective understandings, 79
positive identifications between two states, 79
structural realism, 60, 61, 63
Subandrio, 200, 203, 214
criticism of Tunku, 205
Indonesia’s confrontation against Malaya, 214, 216
Stimson, Henry, 105
Subandrio, 200, 203, 214
criticism of Tunku, 205
Indonesia’s confrontation against Malaya, 214, 216
strategic cooperation, 80
China and Pakistan, 78–79
external threats, 77–78
intersubjective understandings, 79
positive identifications between two states, 79
structural realism, 60, 61, 63
Subandrio, 200, 203, 214
criticism of Tunku, 205
Indonesia’s confrontation against Malaya, 214, 216
substantial conflicts, 97, 106
power competition, 106–7
substantial cooperation, 97, 99
Anglo-American special relationship, 103–6
United States–Canada special relationship, 100–3
Sudjarwo, 223
Suez crisis, 154
Suharto, 289–90, 297, 304, 306, 308
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, 246
“First Development Cabinet”, 239
“floating mass”, 239–40
and Ghazali Shafie, 257
Indonesian Army under, 226
international statesman, 286–88, 290
leadership in Indonesia, 226
New Order administration, 238, 239
New Order regime, 286–87
OPSUS under, 233
Organicism, 239
re-election, 287
Sukarno, 165, 169, 179, 184, 205, 221, 287, 312
efforts to confront Malaysia, 217, 218
idea of Third World, 207–8
Indonesian army and, 170–71
Indonesia’s politics and, 172, 198
leftist policies, 184
opposition to idea of Malaysia, 213–14
Pancasila principles, 166
PKI’s ties with, 225
principles of Pancasila, 239
speech at Bandung Conference, 169
superiority sentiments, 177
transfer of executive powers, 226
on Tunku’s initiatives, 207
West Irian issue and, 173, 199–200
“Suku Melayu”, 186
Sulawesi
rebellions in, 170
rebel movement in, 185, 212
regional coups in, 169–70
Sumatra, 170
rebel government in, 184–85
rebellion, 185–86, 190–91, 212
regional coups in, 169–70
survival, 60–61
existence of self, 63–66
Sweden–Finland defensive alliance, 75
T
Taft, William, 108, 109
Tandjung, Akbar, 327
Terang Bulan, 356
Thailand–Malaysia relations, 252–53
territorial disputes, 319
Thatcher, Margaret, 1
Third World concept, 168–69, 197
Sukarno and, 207–8
Three Power Defence Arrangement (TPDA), 315–16
Tjokropranolo, 257
TNKU. See North Kalimantan National Army (TNKU)
“Total Wipe Out”, 251, 315
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), 277–78
Treaty of Friendship, Indonesia–Malaya, 216, 227
Treaty of Washington (1871), 134–35
tripartite summit meeting (1963), 218
U
“Understanding Melayu (Malay) as a Source of Diverse Modern Identities” (Reid), 164
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 93
United Kingdom
- military power of, 56
- naval power, 55
United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 174, 175, 243, 257, 293, 322, 324
United Nations (UN), 40, 147, 193, 202
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 358–59
United States
- assistance for Britain, 142–43
- on Britain’s war debts, 119, 120
- Canada relationship between, 86–87
- Canada’s confrontational behaviours, 145–46
- as Canada’s security guarantor, 144–45
- confront Nazi Germany, 141–42
- control of Canadian forces, 149–50
- export market for Malaysia, 299, 300
- friendship with Russia, 37
- global predominance, 146–47, 151
- intervention in West Irian issue, 208–9
- liberty principles, 38–39
- military power of, 56
- in NATO naval forces, 143
- naval power, 55
- Nixon, 268, 274
- open door concept, 108
- power imbalance Western Europe and, 76–77
- rise as superpower, 143, 145, 146
- shared values of, 39–40
special relationship between Britain and, 12–13
state’s identities, 39
support for Malaysia, 224
war against communists, in Vietnam, 248
war with France, 13
United States–Canada special relationship, 4, 6, 26–27, 100–3, 109–10, 147, 150–51, 377–78, 381, 385
American economic power, 108–9
anti-Americanism, 154–55
chronological transformation of, 155
common identities, 100
conflict in, 108–16
conflictual intersubjective understandings, 116
cooperative relation, 100–1
immigration treatments, 114
liberty concepts, 109–10
negative identifications, 114–15
Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 149
power competition, 114–15
power imbalance, 152
reciprocal trade, 108–9, 111, 116
security community, 140, 152, 154
Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (1930), 115
solidarity, 101, 102
substantial cooperation, 101
superiority of Canadian culture, 111–14
threat posed by fascist powers, 102, 103
trade agreement, 103
trade barriers, 101
Treaty of Washington (1871), 134–35
war avoidance norms, 135, 136
United States–Israel special relationship, 26, 33, 41, 380, 381
United States–Soviet peaceful coexistence, 126
security cooperation, 124–25
United States–United Kingdom special relationship, 3, 4, 379, 381, 386. See also Anglo-American friendship
“Anglo-American understanding”, 15–16, 23–24
bilateral relationship, 20
Britain’s purposive cultivation, 34
chronological transformation of, 155
Clinton’s speech on, 25
common identities, 13–14
economic interdependence, 20
foreign policy, 18–19
growth of American power and, 14–15
in Iraq War issue, 30–31
lend-lease agreement, 142
military cooperation, 20
Russo–Japanese War, 18
in Second World War, 21–22
sentimental associations, 29–30, 34
shared identities of, 40–41
special relationship, 12–13
war against France, 13
UN Political Committee, 182
UN Security Council, 35
Malaysia’s admission to, 223
restructuring of, 310
U Thant, 222

Vietnam
ASEAN against, 254–55
cross-border incursions, 283
occupation of Cambodia, 254, 283
withdrawal of troops from Cambodia, 283–84
Vietnam–China special relationship, 90–91, 386–87
power imbalance, 73–74
Vision 2020, 298, 299, 302

Wacik, Jero, 359
Wahid, Abdulrahman, 376
Wallace, William, 29–30
Walt, Stephen M., 77
Waltz, Kenneth N., 61, 66
war avoidance norms, 127–28
Anglo-American, 129–30, 136–38
Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 253
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 128, 129
Guiana–Venezuela border dispute, 137–38
pluralistic security community, 138–39
in special relationship, 139
surfaced, 134–35
Treaty of Washington (1871), 134–35
United States–Canada special relationship, 135, 136
Warsaw Pact, 93
Wendt, Alexander, 63, 66, 96
West Germany–Israel special relationship, 27
West Irian, 173, 181, 184, 198, 203, 205
Indonesia’s struggle for, 182–83
joint communiqué, 202
Malaysia’s mediation in, 204, 206–7
Sukarno and, 199–200
Tunku administration, 201–2
United States intervention in, 208–9
Western Christianity, 388
Western Europe–America, 76–77, 388
Widodo, Joko, 366, 367, 370, 372
WikiLeaks, 336
Wilson, Woodrow, 19

Y
Yaacob, Ibrahim, 163
Yaakub, Ahmad Nizar, 161–63
Yamin, Mohammad, 162–63, 166
Yatim, Rais, 372
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 328, 334, 344, 362, 371, 372

Z
Zainal, Abdul Aziz, 335
Zakaria, Fareed, 61, 62
Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 276