PREFACE
The international relations of Southeast Asia, during the post-Second World War period, could be broadly studied under three categories. The first, the manner in which decolonisation was accomplished and the unfolding of relations between the ruling elites of the newly independent countries and their former colonial masters; the second, the impact of Cold War and the strategies adopted by United States, Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China to incorporate the member states of the region within their spheres of influence and the third, the relations between Southeast Asian states, not merely in a bi-lateral sense, but also as a response to the first two categories.

This dissertation is an attempt to analyse the bilateral relations between Malaysia and Indonesia in a tumultuous phase of their political evolution, namely from the transfer of power by Britain to Federation of Malaya on August 31, 1957 to August 11, 1966 when a Peace Agreement was signed in Jakarta. The Peace Agreement paved the way for normalisation of relations between the two countries after the stormy phase of military, political and economic confrontation. Since the bi-lateral relations were influenced by the manner in which decolonisation was accomplished in the two
countries, the study forms a part of the first category also. What is more, the professed objective of Malaysia to be an anti-communist bastion pushed it into the quagmire of cold war politics and also competitive/co-operative relations among the two communist giants. Equally important is the fact that the three major political actors in the Indonesian domestic political arena - the President, the Army and the PKI - contributed varying inputs into the making of foreign policy; what is more, their political fortunes depended, to a certain extent, on the manner in which the triangular relations functioned. In other words, this dissertation will, not only analyse the bilateral relations, but also study all inter-related domestic and external factors which had a bearing on Malaysia-Indonesia relations during this period.

Number of scholarly works have appeared in recent years dealing with foreign policies of Malaysia and Indonesia; few are exclusively devoted to the formation of Malaysia and Indonesian Konfrontasi. To highlight the more prominent among these publications:

(1) J. Saravanamuttu, The Dilemma of Independence: Two Decades of Malaysia's Foreign Policy, 1957-1977 (Penerbit University Sains Malaysia, Penang, 1983);
(2) Peter Boyce, Malaysia and Singapore in International Diplomacy (Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1968);
(3) J.M. Gullick, *Malaysia and Its Neighbours* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967); and (4) Dato Abdullah Ahmad, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's Foreign Policy (Berita Publications, Kuala Lumpur, 1985) are extremely useful in understanding the nature and overview of Malaysia's foreign policy. The books by Gullick and Peter Boyce also contain interesting documentary materials. In the same way, (1) Ide Anuk Agung Gde Agung, *Twenty Years of Indonesia's Foreign Policy, 1945-1965* (Duta Wacana University Press, Yogyakarta, 1990); (2) Franklin Weinstein, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Independence* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1976) and (3) Michael Leifer, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1983) are invaluable for an understanding of Indonesia's Foreign Policy. As far as the books relating to the topic of dissertation are concerned, mention should be made of Willard A. Hanna, *The Formation of Malaysia: New Factor in World Politics* (New York, 1964). A compilation of American Universities Field Staff Reports, the book unfortunately is very partisan and characterises Indonesian opposition to Malaysia as an expression of "Indonesian expansionism". S. Nihal Singh, *Malaysia: A Commentary* (Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971) is a collection of the despatches filed by the Southeast Asia
correspondent of *The Statesman*. By its very nature these articles, written by an observer of the Southeast Asian scene, though absorbing, lack academic depth. J.A.C. Mackie, *Konfrontasi, The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute, 1963-1966* (Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1974) analyses the subject in the backdrop of radical transformation in Indonesian Foreign Policy, the beginnings of Sino-Soviet dispute and Jakarta's close relations with Beijing. However, it makes no attempt to analyse the earlier relations between the two countries. Among the articles, specific mention should be made of George McT Kahin, "Malaysia and Indonesia", *Pacific Affairs* (British Columbia), vol.37, no. 3, pp. 253-70. With his vast knowledge of Indonesia, including personal friendships with many Indonesian leaders, Kahin throws refreshing insights into Indonesian motivations, its fears and misgivings of the new Federation, including its fragile ethnic balance. A research article, by its very nature, cannot be exhaustive. My dissertation goes beyond these publications; what is more, it is the first attempt by an Indian scholar to understand the ups and downs in the bi-lateral relations of two countries, with whom historically India had very friendly relations. While being critical of certain views held by the above mentioned authors, I have, at the same time, tried to make full use of the information and insights provided
by them. I would like to add that as a student of History, I have tried to analyse the political developments in a historical and chronological perspective. Wherever necessary, inputs from allied disciplines are also used.

Regional conflicts, in the context of the cold war, present a real challenge to the maintenance of regional order and international peace. They involve basic questions of territorial integrity, political independence and domestic political consolidation. They also involve external powers, with whom the contesting parties have security arrangements/convergence of interests and also those who want to play a major role in the region. The external involvement have the potential of transforming regional conflicts into international conflict. In the same way, in the fields of conflict management/resolution not only the regional actors have a role, but also the extra-regional powers. In some cases, a shift in the nature of the regime throws up new possibilities and acts as an important cause for the resolution of the conflict. I propose to test these hypotheses in my analytical study of Malaysia-Indonesia relations in a chronological perspective. Special emphasis is given to find satisfactory answers to the following posers. (1) Why did the bonds of ethnicity and religion not act as
cementing factors in Malaysia-Indonesia relations during the period under review? (2) How did the unique historical experiences of the two countries affect their foreign policy perceptions? In the case of Malaysia, special attention is given to the long spell of communist insurgency, the smooth transition to independence and the friendly relations with the Western countries in the post independence period. In Indonesia’s case, attention is devoted to the protracted anti-colonial struggle, the struggle to preserve territorial integrity in the post independence era and Jakarta’s objective to play a leading role in international politics. (3) What was the political background to the formation of Malaysia and what were the British objectives? (4) How did Malaysia, which was intended to bring political stability in the region, become a source of international tension? (5) Why did Jakarta, which initially welcomed the Malaysia proposal change its stance? (6) What were the roles of the domestic determinants - Malay and Chinese parties in Malaysia and the President, the PKI and the Army in Indonesia - in the denouement of the Konfrontasi? (7) What was the role of the external powers - Great Britain, United States, China and Soviet Union in the Malaysia dispute? (8) Why did attempts to break the Malaysian deadlock fail? (9) Why did Indonesia finally
abandon confrontation? (10) What were the long term effects of Konfrontasi in the foreign and domestic policies of Indonesia and Malaysia?

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter I is a curtain raiser; it highlights the ethnic, religious and cultural ties between the two countries and provides the political background. It contrasts the nationalist movements and how the unique political experiences led to divergences in foreign policy and security link ups. Chapter II takes up as the starting point the euphoria that followed the attainment of independence, and the hopes that were raised for benign interaction which led to the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation in April 1959. The negative elements are also highlighted; the divergences as exemplified in the attitudes and responses to the PRRI revolt, the West Irian issue, the formation of Association of Southeast Asia and questions relating to smuggling and illegal trade. Chapter III analyses the political background to the formation of Malaysia and the aims and objectives of the three major actors - United Kingdom, Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore. The political developments in Singapore; the possibility of a leftist takeover; the factors that led to the incorporation of the Borneo territories in the proposed Malaysia Federation; the
British objectives of decolonisation and desire to maintain vital economic and security stakes - all these are dealt in detail. The Indonesian response in the backdrop of radicalisation of Indonesia's Foreign Policy and the emerging convergence of interests between Jakarta and Beijing are also discussed in this chapter. The chapter also deals with the background to the Filipino claim to Sabah and how Manila and Jakarta came together in their opposition to Malaysia. Chapter IV devotes attention to the abortive mediatory efforts made by regional and extra-regional friends. The chapter concludes with the momentous changes in the Indonesian political system in August-September 1965 and how they paved the way for the abandonment of confrontation. Chapter V examines the close nexus between domestic factors and foreign policy and, in particular, how the triangular relationships among the President, the Army and the PKI made their inputs into Indonesian Foreign Policy. Chapter VI is devoted to describing the regional and international implications of the Malaysia dispute. Chapter VII is in the form of a summing up and provides a capstone to various arguments woven together in earlier chapters.

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