

**MALAYSIA'S UNITED NATIONS
PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE POST
COLD-WAR ERA**



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UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH

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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, ARTS AND
HERITAGE
UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH
2017**

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ASRI SALLEH



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THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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HERITAGE
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2017**

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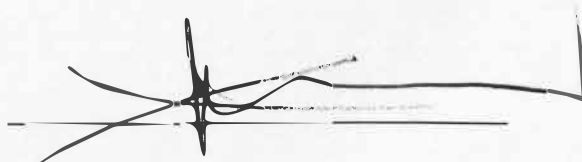
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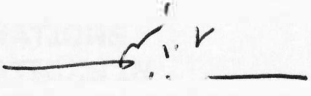
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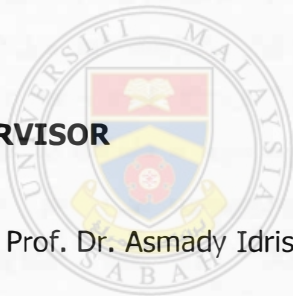
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ABSTRACT

Small and developing states make up the most participants of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). Malaysia is one of those. However, states participation is voluntary. Accordingly, it has led Malaysia's UNPKO to be precarious and selective, causing it to be incoherent. In attempting to examine the determinants of such, by relying on qualitative data collection methods such as key informant interviews and documentary analysis, via neoclassical realism analytical framework, this study has found that, under different contexts and time, the prime ministers had different perceptions of the prevailing systemic-external and domestic-internal pressures that accordingly influenced Malaysia's participations thereafter. Nonetheless, systemic-external pressures generated by bipolar and unipolar world orders had greater influence as opposed to domestic-internal ones. Yet, under specific circumstance, the prime ministers had perceived the systemic pressures to be indeterminate. As a result, it had allowed the prime ministers to assume the independent causal role *vis-à-vis* Malaysia's UNPKO. Combined, these imperatives sufficiently account for the precarious pattern of Malaysia's UNPKO. In addition to that, it is also consistent with realism's primacy of security and power interests, over values or norms, in influencing small and developing states' behaviour. Thus, this study has supplied two major original contributions to international relations body of knowledge, particularly for UN peacekeeping studies. Firstly, in terms of theoretical approach, the employment of the neoclassical realism based analytical framework has improved the explanatory power of the realist paradigm on the international relations of small power facing and reacting to pressures brought about by emergent structural power configuration. Subsequently, this might assist other researchers to examine other small and developing states' UNPKO along similar line of reasoning. Secondly, while most extant literature of Malaysia's UNPKO singles out domestic imperatives as the most vital determinant, this study, on the contrary, has comprehensively identified the prevailing world security order as the most important determinant influencing Malaysia's UNPKO, followed by the domestic ones.

Keywords: United Nations, peacekeeping, Malaysia, foreign policy, veto

ABSTRAK

MISI PENGAMAN MALAYSIA DI BAWAH PERTUBUHAN BANGSA-BANGSA BERSATU DALAM ERA PASCA-PERANG DINGIN

Negara-negara kecil dan membangun merupakan antara negara penyumbang terbesar Operasi Pengaman Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu (OPPBB). Malaysia adalah salah satunya. Namun, penyertaan negara dalam OPPBB adalah bersifat sukarela. Oleh itu, corak penyertaan Malaysia dalam OPPBB adalah tidak teratur sekaligus menjadikannya membingungkan. Dalam usaha untuk memahami sebab serta impak perkara ini, menggunakan kerangka analitik realisme neoklasikal, berpandukan kaedah pengumpulan data kualitatif seperti temubual elit dan analisis dokumen, kajian ini mendapati bahawa, bergantung kepada konteks dan masa tertentu, perdana menteri Malaysia sebagai pembuat keputusan tertinggi OPPBB Malaysia mempunyai persepsi berbeza terhadap tekanan sistemik dan domestik semasa dan ini mempengaruhi keputusan yang dibuat oleh mereka. Namun, tekanan sistemik yang dihasilkan oleh dunia bipolar dan unipolar adalah lebih dominan berbanding tekanan domestik. Tetapi, dalam keadaan tertentu, persepsi perdana menteri terhadap tekanan sistemik adalah kabur. Ini membenarkan mereka untuk memainkan peranan pembolehubah bebas berkaitan OPPBB Malaysia. Apapun, kedua-dua bentuk tekanan ini memberikan penjelasan yang baik mengenai OPPBB Malaysia. Malah, ia selari dengan penekanan perspektif realisme tentang keunggulan elemen kuasa dan sekuriti, berbanding nilai atau norma, dalam mempengaruhi tingkahlaku negara kecil dan membangun di peringkat antarabangsa. Sehubungan itu, kajian ini telah menghasilkan dua sumbangan utama kepada bidang hubungan antarabangsa, khasnya kajian mengenai OPPBB. Pertama, dari segi pendekatan teoretikal, kerangka teori neoklasikal realisme telah meningkatkan lagi kemampuan perspektif realisme menjustifikasi cara negara kecil dan membangun bertindakbalas terhadap struktur kuasa dunia semasa. Juga, ia boleh membantu pengkaji lain menganalisa OPPBB negara-negara kecil dan membangun yang lain menggunakan tatacara kajian serupa. Kedua, literatur sedia ada setakat ini menekankan elemen domestik sebagai faktor utama penglibatan Malaysia dalam OPPBB. Sebaliknya, kajian ini telah berjaya mengangkat secara komprehensif faktor sistemik sebagai paling dominan, tanpa menafikan sepenuhnya peranan faktor domestik.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABIM	- Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia
ALIRAN	- Aliran Kesedaran Negara
APC	- Armoured Personnel Carrier
ASEAN	- Association Of Southeast Asia Nations
ATGM	- Anti-Tank Guided Missiles
CIS	- Commonwealth Of Independent States
CIVPOL	- United Nations Civilian Police
CPKF	- Collective Peacekeeping Forces
DFS	- Department Of Field Support
DPKO	- Department Of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOWAS	- Economic Community Of West African States
EO	- Emergency Ordinance
G-77	- Group 77
GCC	- Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
ICJ	- International Court Of Justice
IFV	- Infantry Fighting Vehicle
INTERFRET	- International Force For East Timor
ISA	- Internal Security Act
JFH	- Joint Force Headquarters
MAB	- Markas Angkatan Bersama

MAFHQ	- Malaysia Armed Forces Headquarters
MALBATT	- Malaysia's Battalion
MALCON	- Malaysia's Contingent
MBM	- Majlis Belia Malaysia
MBT	- Main Battle Tank
MINDEF	- Malaysian Ministry of Defence
MINURSO	- United Nations Mission For The Referendum In Western Sahara
MLRS	- Multiple Launcher Rocket System
MONUA	- United Nations Observer Mission In Angola
MONUC	- United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission In The Democratic Republic Of The Congo
MOOTW	- Military Operations Other Than War
MPC	- Malaysia Peacekeeping Centre
M-UNPKO	- Malaysia's UNPKO
TREASURY	- Malaysia Ministry Of Finance
NAM	- Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	- North Atlantic Organization Treaty
NDP	- National Defence Policy
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organizations
NSIZ	- Non-Strategic Interests Zones
ONUC	- United Nations Operations In Congo
ONUMOZ	- United Nations Operation In Mozambique
OSA	- Official Secrets Act

PKPIM	- Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar Islam Malaysia
PMO	- Prime Minister Office
PPPA	- Printing Presses And Publications Act
SADC	- Southern African Development Community
SIZ	- Strategic Interests Zone
SUARAM	- Human Rights Organization Of Malaysia
UK	- United Kingdom
UN	- United Nations
UNAMA	- United Nations Assistance Mission In Afghanistan
UNAMIC	- United Nations Advance Mission In Cambodia
UNAMID	- African Union - United Nations Mission In Darfur
UNAMSIL	- United Nations Mission In Sierra Leone
UNASOG	- United Nations Aouzou Observer Group (Chad)
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNIFIL	- United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon
UNIIMOG	- United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group
UNIKOM	- United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
UNIMEE	- United Nations Mission In Ethiopia And Eritrea
UNMIBH	- United Nations Mission In Bosnia-Herzegovina
UNMIL	- United Nations Mission In Liberia
UNMIK	- United Nations Mission In Kosovo
UNMIN	- United Nations Mission In Nepal
UNMIS	- United Nations Missions In Sudan

UNMISSET	- United Nations Mission Of Support In East Timor
UNMIT	- United Nations Mission In East Timor
UNMLT	- United Nations Military Liaison Team (Cambodia)
UNMOT	- United Nations Mission Of Observers In Tajikistan
UNOB	- United Nations Operation In Burundi
UNOMIL	- United Nations Observer Mission In Liberia
UNOSOM	- United Nations Operations In Somalia
UNPKO	- United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
UNPROFOR	- United Nations Protection Force
UNSAS	- United Nations Standby Arrangement System
UNSC	- United Nations Security Council
UNSGRC	- United Nations Secretary-General Representative To Cambodia
UNTAC	- United Nations Transitional Authority In Cambodia
UNTAET	- United Nations Transitional Administration In East Timor
UNTAG	- United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Namibia)
UNTSO	- United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
US	- United States Of America
WISMA PUTRA	- Malaysia Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

The United Nations (UN) was set up on 24 October 1945. The UN serves a multitude of purposes which include, but not limited to upholding international peace and security, encouraging and developing friendly international relations among states as well as promoting social progress, improving living standards and human rights and freedoms.¹ These can only be possible if there is international peace which can allow the UN to achieve what it has been set out to. Thus, since the UN's inception, a considerable degree of its focus has been about maintaining international peace and security i.e. to save 'succeeding generations from the scourge of war'.² It makes peacekeeping, *inter alia*, as one of the important means for the UN to keep international peace so integral to prevent the recurrence of World War I and II.

With the consent of all parties concerned secured beforehand, United Nations peacekeeping operation (UNPKO) is the deployment of UN military and/or police personnel and civilians in the field.³ Essentially, UNPKO prevents conflicts by enabling peace to take place.⁴ UNPKO includes, *inter alia*, fact-finding mission, observing cease-fire agreements and supplying humanitarian aid. It can be broadly categorised into observer missions and peacekeeping forces of which major function is to cease hostility between belligerent parties. It is then followed by peace-making efforts i.e. bringing belligerent parties to come to and apply

¹United Nations, *United Nations at a Glance*, <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml> (accessed September 13, 2011).

² United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* (New York: Department of Peacekeeping, 2003), 1.

³ Leow F. Chang and Dillon Mejoh, *Malaysia in United Nations Peacekeeping Missions* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995), 9.

⁴ Ibid.

agreements. Thereafter, peace-building initiatives can begin to take place i.e. restoring public order and strengthening nation-building.⁵ In short, peacekeeping deals with the behavioural component of a conflict.⁶

Interestingly, the word 'peacekeeping' is not specifically mentioned in the UN Charter. In its absence, Chapter VI (Articles 33 - 38) on 'Pacific Settlement of Dispute' and Chapter VII (Articles 39 - 51) on 'Action with Respect to Threats to Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression' of the UN Charter are commonly referred to as the legal basis of UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO)⁷. In the 1960s, such an absence prompted some states like France and Soviet Union to challenge the constitutionality of the UNPKO particularly the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to Egypt in 1956 and the *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC) to Congo in 1960. The constitutionality of the two UNPKOs, and their expenses, were judicially settled (validated) by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in its Advisory Opinion 1962.⁸ In lieu of the absence of the word 'peacekeeping', the ICJ adjudication served to validate the constitutionality of both UNEF and ONUC and the subsequent UNPKOs. Furthermore, in order to meet the UN as many purposes, especially to prevent disputes from escalating into war, the UN has established Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in 1992.⁹ The first UNPKO was UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), authorized in June 1948 to monitor Arab-Israeli ceasefire in the Middle East.¹⁰ The 1990s were among the busiest years for UNPKO. From 1992-1999 alone, there were already 30 UNPKO, the equivalent of about 4 operations each year.¹¹ The following decade, however, saw the numbers of UNPKOs plummeted to only 11 (2000-2010), the

⁵ Chang and Mejoh, *Malaysia in United Nations*.

⁶ Mitchell, C.R., *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989) 280.

⁷ France and Soviet Union argued that these operations violated several articles of the UN Charter notably Article 24 (Responsibility of the Security Council in matters of international peace and security) and Article 17 (2) (Expenses of the UN) of the UN Charter. See Mynt Zan, "UN Peacekeeping Efforts in the Context of International Law", in *UN Peacekeeping: Panacea or Pandora's Box?* (ed.), Abdul Rahman Adam and Zakaria Haji Ahmad (Bangi: UKM, 1994), 31-33.

⁸ International Court of Justice, *Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962 - Certain Expenses of The United Nations - Article 17, Paragraph 2, UN Charter*, <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/49/5259.pdf> (accessed September 3, 2013).

⁹ United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations*.

¹⁰ United Nations, *UNTSO: UN Truce Supervision Organization*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/untso> (accessed March 3, 2013).

¹¹ United Nations, *List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948-2012*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>, (accessed 4 March 2013).

equivalent of more or less 1 operation for each year.¹² This plummet, nonetheless, refers only to newly authorized UNPKO in the respective period. It does not take into account UNPKOs which are still active past the year 2000 until the recent time.

In respect of peacekeeping financing, in accordance with Article 17 of the UN Charter¹³, every UN member state has the legal obligation to pay their share befitting each respective category as per the 'Scale of Assessments for the Apportionment of the Expenses of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations'.¹⁴ The UN, for instance, puts Malaysia under Category I while the US, under Category A.¹⁵ Accordingly, as at 1994 and 2010, Malaysia was assessed to contribute at 0.02% which came to USD792,000 and USD1,164,240 respectively.¹⁶ The US is the biggest contributor to UNPKO budget at 27.14%, followed by Japan at 12.53% and the United Kingdom (UK) at 8.15%.¹⁷ Additionally, the UN pays USD1,210 monthly which, was an increase from USD1,028 in 2013,¹⁸ for each uniformed peacekeeper while that of Police's and other civilian personnel's may vary since theirs are determined from budgets established for each operation.¹⁹ UN member states also receive reimbursements for equipment, personnel and support services rendered.

Malaysia joined the UN on 17 September 1957. In sum, Malaysia participated in only one UNPKO during Tunku Abdul Rahman's era, 25 during Tun

¹²Ibid.

¹³ Article 17; 1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization. 2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly. 3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned. See United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-iv/index.html> (accessed March 11, 2013).

¹⁴United Nations, *General Assembly Resolution A/67/224 Dated August 3, 2012*, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/67/224 (accessed on March 8, 2013).

¹⁵ Ibid. This category reflects the general principles underlying the financing of UNPKO such as the scale of assessments for the regular budget to be used in fixing rates of assessment applicable to peacekeeping operations. Category I refers to member states with per capita GNI less than the average for all member states while Category J refers to the permanent members of the UNSC.

¹⁶ International Peace Institute, *Providing for Peacekeeping: IPI Peacekeeping Database*, <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/contributions> (accessed November 11, 2015).

¹⁷United Nations, *United Nations Peacekeeping, Financing Peacekeeping*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml> (accessed March 11, 2013).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Rezaul Karim, "UN raises salaries of peacekeepers", *The Daily Star*, July 5, 2014, <http://www.thedailystar.net/un-raises-salaries-of-peacekeepers-31882> (accessed July 7 2015).

Dr. Mahathir's and seven during Tun Abdullah Badawi's.²⁰ Its first involvement with the UNPKO was in 1960-1963 (Congo/Zaire-ONUC) involving 3,000 Malayan Special Forces (MSF).²¹ Throughout 1960 until 2010, Malaysia had participated in 33 of 65 UNPKO (51% involvement).²² The 33 operations involved 25,000 personnel for which Malaysia lost 28.²³ Fatality-wise, as a comparison, other Southeast Asian countries which had suffered similar losses during UNPKO include Indonesia at 31, the Philippines at 22 and Thailand at seven.²⁴ While Brunei and Singapore had not suffered any loss, India's was the highest at 150, followed by Pakistan's at 132, Ghana's at 130, Canada's at 121 and Bangladesh's at 112.²⁵ As of December 2010, in terms of military and police contributions to UN operations, Malaysia was ranked 21st out of 115 troops contributing countries (TCC) to UNPKO.²⁶ To put this into perspective, for the same year, Malaysia's contribution of 1,163 personnel was dwarfed ten times by Pakistan's 10,652, which was the highest TCC in 2010.²⁷

Looking from national wealth perspective, such a difference is relatively significant. In 2010, Malaysia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was higher than

²⁰Ibid.

²¹ Chang and Mejoh, *Malaysia in United Nations*, 60.

²² The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations 1948-2012 (UNPKO 1948-2012) shows 60 operations from 1960-2010. However, it excludes UNSGRC, UNMLT, UNMIN, UNAMA and UNSOGI which Malaysia includes as part of its peacekeeping operations as indicated in Malaysia's National Defense Policy 2010 (NDP 2010), 32. As far as UNPKO 1948-2012 is concerned, Malaysia has joined 27 UNPKO. If NDP 2010 is taken into account, the total numbers of Malaysian peacekeeping become 33 and those of UN to be 65. This study combines both the UNPKO 1948-2012 and NDP 2010. See Malaysia Ministry of Defense, *National Defense Policy*, (Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Haji Jantan, 2010), 32 and United Nations, *List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948-2012*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>, (accessed 4 March 2013). Other official online official references include United Nations, *United Nations Peace Operations*, <http://www.unmissions.org> (accessed February 3, 2013), Malaysia Peacekeeping Centre, *MAF Involvement: 35 Missions Around The World*, <http://www.mahfq.mi.my/mpc/index.php/en/2014-06-26-04-07-27/maf-missions>, (accessed January 5, 2015) and http://www.12_UNIFIL_for_TE25_BY_MPC_COMNDT.pdf (accessed January 25, 2015).

²³ United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping, *Peacekeeping: Fatalities by Nation up to 31 January 2013*, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_2.pdf (accessed March 3, 2013).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping, Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml (accessed November 11, 2015).

²⁷Ibid.