

**FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES AND FOREIGN POLICY
BEHAVIOUR OF THE MAJOR POWERS IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC
AFTER THE COLD WAR**

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ABSTRAK

Hubungan kuasa-kuasa besar di rantau Asia-Pasifik semasa Perang Dingin digerak oleh mekanise dwipolar, yang pada dasarnya berfungsi sebagai prinsip beroperasi sistem antarabangsa selama lebih empat dekad. Amerika Syarikat (A.S.) dan Soviet Union merupakan aktor-aktor utama, ataupun 'superpower' di rantau tersebut memandangkan keupayaan serta kepentingan mereka. Walaupun China dan Jepun, disamping kuasa-kuasa kecil dan sederhana di rantau ini berperanan ketara dalam konfigurasi kuasa, equilibrium sistem tersebut adalah paling bergantung kepada pola dasar luar aktor utama, ataupun kaedah intraksi antara mereka. Oleh yang demikian, sistem dwipolar, walaupun mempunyai kelemahan, memperlihatkan kestabilan pada umumnya. Kuasa-kuasa dwipolar berwaspada dalam intraksi mereka. Walau bagaimanapun, dengan terkuburnya Soviet Union dan tamatnya Perang Dingin, rantau Asia-Pasifik telah mengalami transformasi berbentuk sistematik yang membawa kepada berakhirnya sistem bipolar antarabangsa yang telah beroperasi semenjak tamatnya Perang Dunia Kedua, dan merosot langsung pada 1991.

Dengan tamatnya Perang Dingin, perubahan ketara berlaku dalam struktur kuasa sedunia. Konfigurasi kuasa baru muncul dalam era pasca Perang Dingin, yang berkisar kepada peranan Amerika Syarikat, Jepun, China, dan Persekutuan Rusia. Keempat-empat negara ini adalah kuasa-kuasa Asia dari segi keupayaan nasional serta agenda kepentingan masing-masing di rantau tersebut. Maka dengan ini adalah dihipotesiskan dalam karya ini bahawa faktor kestabilan ataupun ketidakstabilan

serantau berkait rapat dengan perlakuan dasar luar yang dipraktik oleh kuasa-kuasa Asia tersebut. Turut dihipotesiskan bahawa mengenal pasti trend dasar luar A.S., Jepun, China dan Persekutuan Rusia adalah perlu bagi maksud menganalisa struktur dasar luar ataupun faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pembuat dasar mereka mengambil pendekatan tertentu. Justeru itu, dibahaskan bahawa dalam era pasca Perang Dingin ini, A.S., Jepun, China dan Persekutuan Rusia adalah kuasa-kuasa penting yang mempunyai peranan mewujudkan imbalan sistemik dan membentuk rejim antarabangsa di rantau Asia-Pasifik. Perbincangan mengenai struktur dasar luar kuasa-kuasa tersebut dalam tesis ini dibuat pada empat peringkat: (1) status keupayaan nasional mereka dari segi ekonomi dan juga strategik, (2) kepentingan nasional masing-masing di rantau Asia-Pasifik, (3) institusi-institusi dalaman mereka (sumber domestik) seperti perjawatan presiden, badan perundangan, birokrasi, parti-parti politik, kumpulan pendesak, pendapat umum dan lain-lain yang terlibat dalam proses pembentukan dasar luar, dan (4) sumber-sumber tekanan luar yang didepani oleh penggubal-penggubal dasar mereka.

Kerangka teori bagi menganalisa struktur dasar luar kuasa-kuasa utama menggunakan konsep-konsep penting yang tertentu seperti kepentingan nasional, sifat sistem antarabangsa era pasca Perang Dingin, mahupun struktur dalaman dan luaran dasar luar kuasa-kuasa Asia-Pasifik ini. Turut dimuatkan adalah analisa corak hubungan luar yang dipraktik kuasa-kuasa sezaman Perang Dingin untuk mengenal pasti trend dasar luar mereka pada tahap penting tersebut.

Melalui analisa struktur dasar luar A.S., Jepun, China dan Persekutuan Rusia, kajian membuat beberapa kesimpulan dalam bab penutup mengenai trend dasar luar era pasca Perang Dingin kuasa-kuasa tersebut di rantau Asia-Pasifik. Karya ini merumuskan bahawa orde antarabangsa yang beroperasi di rantau ini ialah sistem imbangan kuasa unipolar yang didominasi A.S. Kajian turut membuat kesimpulan bahawa sebagai dua negara yang mempunyai cita-cita menjadi kuasa kelas dunia, Jepun dan China mampu untuk menggugat kepentingan A.S. di rantau Asia-Pasifik. Mengenai kes Rusia, karya ini menyimpulkan bahawa sebarang analisa atau ramalan tentang trend dan perlakuan dasar luar Rusia dirumitkan oleh masalah politik dan ekonomi yang sedang berterusan di tanah besar Eurasia tersebut. Tambahan pula, desakan-desakan yang timbul daripada sistem unipolar boleh memungkinkan sebarang kerjasama atau perkongsian antara Moscow dan Beijing. Disebabkan oleh perkembangan-perkembangan di atas, adalah diyakini bahawa kerjasama pertahanan Amerika Syarikat-Jepun akan terus dikekalkan bagi fungsi menimbang-balas sebarang kemungkinan merosotnya hubungan A.S dengan Rusia dan/atau China. Walau apapun, memandangkan pengagihan kuasa yang kurang saksama antara kuasa-kuasa besar tersebut, perhubungan mereka akan dicirikan kestabilan secara relatif dalam konteks keselamatan serantau untuk sekurang-kurangnya suku abad hadapan.

Akhir kata, perlu diamati di sini bahawa prinsip perimbangan kuasa menteraskan sistem antarabangsa yang telah beroperasi sepanjang kurun yang ke Dua Puluh ini, dan akan mencirikan hubungan antarabangsa pada abad ke-21. Ianya telah menyumbang kerangka analisa yang berguna bagi mengkaji konfigurasi kuasa

sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua dan ketika era Perang Dingin. Kerangka tersebut juga membolehkan kajian pengagihan kuasa dalam sistem antarabangsa pasca Perang Dingin di Asia-Pasifik. Jadi, dapatlah disimpulkan bahawa sistem perimbangan kuasa menyumbang asas teoretikal yang berfungsi bagi menganalisa struktur kuasa yang muncul di era pasca Perang Dingin di rantau Asia-Pasifik, yang dibentuk pada asasnya oleh empat kuasa besar: Amerika Syarikat, Jepun, China, dan Rusia.

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ABSTRACT

Major power relations in the Asia-Pacific region during the Cold War were undergirded by the bipolar mechanism, which essentially served as the operating principle of the international system for over four decades. The United States and the former Soviet Union were the primary actors, or the superpowers in the region in terms of their capabilities and interests. Although China and Japan along with some small powers in the region were significant actors in the configuration of power, the systemic equilibrium in the region basically depended on the foreign policy trends of the primary actors, or the way they interacted in the region. However, the bipolar system, despite all its weaknesses, was relatively stable. Superpower interactions were marked by caution as well as a high degree of restraint. However, the international system as such began to transform when the former Soviet Union began to review its great power role, both at the global and regional levels, since the ascendancy of the reformist Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. The circle of systemic transformation was completed when the former Soviet Union disintegrated. The bipolar international system that existed since World War II was declared dead in 1991.

The end of the Cold War heralded significant changes in the global power structure. A new configuration of power began to take shape. The distribution of power that is being shaped in the Asia-Pacific region in the post-Cold War era involves essentially the United States, Japan, China, and the Russian Federation. These four major actors are Asian powers in terms of their interests and capabilities

in the Pacific Rim. Therefore, it is hypothesized in this study that stability and/or disturbances in the Asia-Pacific region depend largely on the foreign policy behaviour of these powers in the region. Nevertheless, it is further hypothesized that identification of the foreign policy trends of the United States, Japan, China, and the Russian Federation is contingent upon the analysis of their foreign policy structures, or the elements that influence or persuade foreign policy makers to adopt a certain course of action or policy. Thus, it is argued that the United States, Japan, China, and Russia are powers vital or essential to the systemic equilibrium and regime formation in the post-Cold War Asia-Pacific. Hence, their foreign policy structures are analysed and discussed in this thesis at four levels: (1) power status or capabilities, both economic and strategic, of each power, (2) their respective national interests in the Asia-Pacific, (3) their internal institutions (domestic sources) such as the presidential apparatus, legislature, bureaucracy, political parties, pressure groups, public opinion, and so on, that are involved in foreign policy formulation, and (4) the external constraints or pressures on foreign policy makers of the respective powers.

The theoretical framework for the analysis of major power foreign policy structures utilizes certain key concepts such as national interest, the nature of the post-Cold War international system, and the internal and external structures of foreign policy. The Cold War pattern of relations among the major powers is discussed with the aim of identifying the foreign policy trends of the four powers during that crucial era.

On the basis of the analysis of the foreign policy structures of the four powers, the study makes some important observations in the concluding chapter regarding the post-Cold War foreign policy trends in the Asia-Pacific region. This work draws the conclusion that the operating international order in the post-Cold War Asia-Pacific region is the preponderant balance of power system characterised by unipolarity i.e. US dominance. It is also concluded that Japan and China are aspiring world class powers that could someday pose a threat to American capabilities and interests in the region. In the case of Russia this study concludes that any analysis, projection or prediction of Russian foreign policy trends and behaviour is compounded by the ongoing internal political and economic malaise in that Eurasian land mass. Moreover, the dictates and pressures arising from unipolarity could impel Moscow and Beijing into some kind of strategic cooperation if not partnership. Thus, US-Japan security cooperation is likely to continue, to function as a counter-balance in the event that US relations with Russia and/or China deteriorate. Nevertheless, given the power differentials among the four major actors, relative stability in major power relations in the Asia-Pacific will continue to underscore regional security at least for the next quarter of a century.

Finally, it is necessary to bear in mind that the principle of balance of power has been the operative mechanism of the international system in the twentieth century, and will also inform international relations in the 21st century. It provided a useful analytical framework for the study of power configurations before World War II, during the Cold War, and provides one for examining the distribution of power in the

post-Cold War international system in the Asia-Pacific. Thus, the balance of power system offers a viable theoretical foundation for the analysis of the emerging post-Cold War power structure in the Asia-Pacific region, shaped largely by the four actors: United States, Japan, China, and Russia.

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