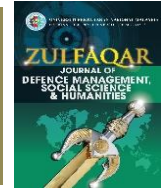




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BILATERAL RELATIONS OF PHILIPPINES AND MALAYSIA: THE ERA AND AFTER OF PRESIDENT MARCOS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to discuss the Philippines' foreign policy to improve its economic position after being in its internal political turmoil. The exploring on the bilateral relations between the Philippines and Malaysia since the leadership of President Carlos Garcia until President Rodrigo Duterte. At the international level, the termination of U.S. military bases from the country in 1992 invites a significant challenge to the Philippines in the international arena, changing the fate of Filipinos' political elite position. The Philippines claim to Sabah as part of its territory, while Indonesia declares the region of Borneo as its territory through the desire of Sukarno to establish Indonesia Raya. The claim of Sabah by the Philippines for over thirty years. The conflict in the southern Philippines over the MILF and M.N.L. and the latest issue relating to the economic downturn in 1997 until 1998 generates a relationship that cannot be avoided between the Philippines and Malaysia. The support of the two countries towards the United Nations and the positive support towards the role of ASEAN's makes bilateral relations between Malaysia and the Philippines. The contributions to the harmonious relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia result from the spirit of Asian countries formed through policies of both countries to support ASEAN.

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Introduction

The Philippines' foreign policy was revamped based on the spirit of relations with neighbouring countries, which has been bounded through many organisations and forums in South East Asia. This country is a part of the U.N. and United Nations Specialised Agency and has a close relationship with the O.I.C. This country also has played a vital position over the past few years in ASEAN. Apart from that, it also has good quality affairs with Arab Countries for there are over 100 000 Philipines working in the Arab country. The Philippines, in support of democracy and human rights, can be seen through its foreign policy. The Philippines Armed Forces and the Police have participated in several joint operations in Asian areas or internationally. Their participation in peacekeeping operations, and the fact that a general of the Philippines Army has served as the First Government in Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations in East Timor.

The Philippines government has also actively taken initiatives to reduce tensions on territorial and water claims rich in mineral resources at the Sulu Sea. The Philippines recognises the critical role of the

United Nations as a mechanism to provide satisfaction and a final decision in all political, economic and social needs matters of the forms of cooperation on a global basis. Among the problems that need to be addressed are financial issues, trade, debt and aid distribution and security and safety. The Philippines, together with the developing countries, actively cooperate in taking action as a whole at the international level in the search for a solution that is effective and efficient in dealing with all these issues. In the 70s, the foreign policy of the Philippines showed a change when the foreign policy was regarded as basic pragmatic and focused on development. In tracing the national interest which is affected by rapid changes in Asia and the world, the era of the 70s saw a restructuring of the foreign policy of The Philippines, which concentrated on the main foreign policy objective to support the national aspirations of the security, stability, development and social justice.

The Philippines foreign policy agenda was to participate and support the United Nations, which was the core of foreign policy formulation. In that era, The Philippines was also determined to maintain good relations with other countries, regardless of these countries' ideological, economic, and social systems. The Philippines foreign policy also showed a total commitment to the principles and goals of ASEAN to be a body that can connect its member states to cooperate in promoting peace, development and stability and fully supports the reform initiatives of the world economy. The relationship was formed by President Carlos Garcia and by other leaders until today under the leadership of Gloria Macapagal. This paper aims to discuss the bilateral relations between The Philippines and Malaysia from the leadership of President Carlos Garcia until President Rodrigo Duterte.

Objectives

This paper discusses bilateral relations between The Philippines and Malaysia by focusing on the following elements. History of bilateral relations between The Philippines and Malaysia at the Formation of Malaysia and the Malaysian Confrontation era. Looking back at the relationship before and after President Marcos's era and issues relating to bilateral political, security and economic.

Methodology

This paper is exclusively prepared to meet its goals and objectives. The main discussion is on bilateral relations with a focus on before and after the Marcos era. The primary references for this paper are documents and statements obtained from the Foreign Ministry and books that discuss matters regarding the leadership of the President of The Philippines. Apart from these sources, information from the Internet and transcripts and translations from sources are notified through footnotes in each chapter. The Philippines has a particular position on the issue of cases to the district.

Discussions

i. The emergence of Malaya and the Philippines as an Independent Country

The freedom assessment has topped among individuals of Malaya amid and after the Second World War in 1957. The Federation of Malaya, built up by the British Government in 1948, has discussed the request for autonomy from the United Kingdom. This claim was driven by Tunku Abdul Rahman, who later turned into the leading Prime Minister of Malaya. English settlements comprised of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah converged to shape the Federation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963. Singapore was separated from the Federation of Malaya in 1965 due to disputes between the Malays and Chinese.

Malaya had weathered the emergency that began in 1948 when the Communist Party of Malaya launched a counteraction towards the Government and intended to establish a communist government in Malaya. Emergency was declared during the communist resistance, and it was terminated in 1960. The British Government has undertaken various initiatives to curb the communist movement, and after the emergency ended, the communist guerillas continued with their struggle by launching their resistance from inside the forest. The communist resistance ended in December 1989 when they laid their arms down and decided to settle in Aman village in southern Thailand (Harold James, 1971, 5).

The movement of terrorists in Sarawak was also taking similar steps with their opposition with the Terminate Agreement signed in October 1990. The establishment of Malaysia has caused controversy, in which the Government of the Philippines and Indonesia claimed that the region that covers the eastern states of Sabah and Sarawak are an integral part of the Philippines territory and Indonesia. The Philippines claims Sabah as part of its territory, while Indonesia said the provincial island of Borneo is a regional aspiration through the wish of Sukarno to establish the idea of Indonesia. Commonwealth forces have curbed revolt against the establishment of Malaysia, and the confrontation that Indonesia has launched was also broken. The United States supported the establishment of Malaysia since the British Government supported Vietnam in return. Brunei did not participate in forming Malaysia; nevertheless, it is still under British auspices. Malaysia has since maintained the political balance and various ethnicities and has built up economics and politics, which uniquely benefited the Malays who practice Islam.

The history of the formation of Malaysia was not a lengthy one. It has no lengthy stages as a struggle for the independence of Malaya. However, the events that took place within 2 or 3 years prior to the shape of Malaysia also a few years after its existence be fascinating. Various concerns like states' interests, domestic issues, collaboration and conflict, and confrontation towards our country give a lesson. In the meantime, there were a lot of arguments and disputes. The result of the Constitution is a compromise that is acceptable to all parties. The attempts to harmonise the requirements of autonomous states with the requirements of the Central Government did not run smoothly. The competition of constitutions has complicated the relationship. The states of the Borneo government disputed the Central Government as what happened in Sarawak in 1966. The relationship between the Central Government and Sarawak had caused more difficulties. The separation of Singapore provided more space for the Alliance to govern without interference. Indeed, efforts to form Malaysia is a struggle that is no less challenging.

Since then, Spain had conquered almost all the islands in the Philippines territory and eventually became a transit centre in Asia. In the late 19th century, opposition towards the occupation of Spain has increased where the local people wished for independence. The students formed the Propaganda Movement to voice out their dissatisfaction and act for justice between the locals and Spain and political rights. Jose Rizal was among the famous propagandist who was eventually executed in 1896. Changes began after the U.S. invaded Spain. The U.S. Navy has attacked Spain in Manila from the sea, whereby the Philippines army that Emilio Aguinaldo led attacks from the land. The action of the two-pronged attack has resulted in the Spanish defeat and retreat. To withstand the heat of the defeat, Spain sold the Philippines to the United States, ending the Spanish-American war. At the same time, the Philippines' people declared independence under Emilio Aguinaldo's leadership in June 1898. However, this action was opposed by the U.S. The Filipinos opposed American occupation in the Battle of Philippines-American, and nearly 250,000 Philippines troops were lost in the fight against the occupation.

The Japanese occupation occurred in 1941. The prowess of the Japanese military has led Gen MacArthur and President Quezon to leave the Philippines. Filipinos have opposed the presence of the Japanese and were successful in preventing the Japanese from dominating the islands of the Philippines. Gen MacArthur then returned to the Philippines and defeated Japan together with Sergio Osmena. The Philippines gained independence in 1946 whereby Manuel Roxas of the Liberal Party became the first president (Matsunubo Tsuji, 1941, 65). Nevertheless, the American influence still exists despite having gained independence. The American has executed tasks to develop the Philippines after the war. Since independence, the Government of the Philippines has been marred by rebels influenced by the Huk Communist. The rebel opposition disrupted the recovery effort of the Philippines. President Ramon Magsasay then broke it.

During the administration of President Diosdado Macapagal, the Philippines established relationships with the Asian neighbouring countries, conducting internal reforms and developing and expanding the Philippines' economy. People Power had happened in the Philippines history when the people went against President Marcos and ousted President Joseph Estrada. Since the assassination of Benigno Aquino, the Philippines experienced intense internal political unrest by inviting external intervention in the administration of the election of President (The Philippines Foreign Affairs, Dec 1998). However, the beginning of the 90s shows changes in the foreign policy of the Philippines and led to comprehensive regional cooperation. Philippines President Carlos Garcia

inspired the establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian States (A.S.A.) in 1961. He has discussed and expressed a desire to establish A.S.A. to Tunku Abdul Rahman during a visit to Malaya in Feb 1961. A.S.A. was officially established on 31 July A.S.A. 1961 with Malaya, the Philippines, and Thailand.

A.S.A. is seen as an organisation that was blunt and unenergetic, especially on the issue of membership. A.S.A. has also concluded that the pro-western and anti-communist is politically motivated. A.S.A. experienced a threat in turbidity survival when the diplomatic relations between Malaya and the Philippines claimed on Sabah's extension of the proposed idea of Malaysia. A.S.A. viewed defendants once again at the height of the formation of Malaysia when Maphilindo formed partially unified the different views and beliefs of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia. However, Maphilindo has failed to become an organisation that is credible when conflict arises through the constant confrontation that saw the turbidity of the relationship between Malaysia and Indonesia (<https://www.asean.com>, early day, 2017).

A.S.A. initially hoped to consolidate cooperation among countries in Southeast Asia, especially in the Philippines-Malaysia relations that have failed to play its role when in the late 1960s saw several issues which constrain the bilateral relations of the member of the countries. Malaysia - Singapore, for example, clarified the functions of A.S.A. and Thailand although there were no issues with regional and internal discontent about the problems of the border with Malaysia. In the meantime, the Philippines still pursued its claim on Sabah and Indonesia and was still reducing the resistance of the post-confrontation era of Malaysia. A.S.A. failed to act as a platform in solving problems that arise; this climax raised the idea of establishing the ASEAN in a more proactive and fully oriented regional cooperation (<https://www.asean.com>, early day, 2017).

ii. Relationship before the Era of Marcos

The relationship of the Philippines - Malaya before the era of Marcos can be seen after two years, Malaya gained independence. The formal relationship was seen through the establishment of the Consulate (The Philippines Legation) in 1959, and in 1961 that was recognised as the Embassy, whereby Ambassador Yusuo Abubakar was appointed as Chief of Mission.

The relationship during President Carlos Garcia significantly the approval of both countries to set up the Association of Southeast Asian States (A.S.A.) in 1961. President Carlos Garcia also said the Philippines' foreign relations has called on all the countries of Southeast Asia to unite jointly towards the prosperity and happiness of their citizens. In July 1963, he held the Meeting in Manila and attended the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia governments. During this meeting, had suggested the establishment of Macapagal Maphilindo and indirectly terminated the emergence of A.S.A. has idea by Carlos Garcia during his reign. Macapagal era also saw the cooperation between the Philippines - Malaya muddled the waters between the spirit of neighbourliness and the issue of sovereignty of the Philippines.

The establishment of Malaysia caused dissension among the three countries of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia that involved the intervention of the U.N. Secretary-General to resolve the difficulties setbacks the Philippines on people's willingness to participate in Sabah Malaysia. The relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia before the era of Marcos looked into the leadership of the two countries, especially Malaysia being newly independent, and the Philippines even after they gain independence, they are still looking for an identity to get rid of the status of a country still mired in the effects of colonialism, especially the United States and Spain. However, the national spirit and the desire to generate regional cooperation shown by the leaders of the Philippines has helped strengthen bilateral relations as well as between Malaysia and the Philippines.

iii. **Philippines and Malaysia Relations after Marcos**

a. **The Philippines Foreign Policy under Marcos**

Marcos was born in the province of Ilocos Norte, located in the Southwest of Luzon, where the interiors consist of poor people and practice intense racism. Marcos was an intelligent law student, whereby his intelligence was revealed when he defended himself before the Supreme Court of the Philippines for the accusation of murdering his father's political opponents. During the Second World War, Marcos joined the fight in the Battle of Bataan and led the Guerrilla Unit Maharlikas. He has a great personality and reputation that is admired by many of his supporters. His reputation was also recognised by the first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, when he received Marcos first visit to Malaysia on 10 January 1968.

The Constitution has mandated that this country "shall pursue an independent foreign policy". In its relations with other states, the paramount consideration shall be national sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interest and the right to self-determination (Jose Maria Sison, 2017). In this Constitution, after Marcos declared, the Philippines government mobilised leadership to shape business policy foreign policy towards absolute freedom without shackles and indirect colonial influence. The decision taken by the Philippines Senate to terminate the placement of U.S. Military Base is a manifestation of the Philippines leader despite opposition from some politicians that the average Filipino to support Marcos and the Philippines business council predicted difficulties in establishing trade with the United States.

Marcos also made the Philippines join ASEAN in 1967. In 1968 and 1969, showed turbidity relationship the Philippines - Malaysia when in the Philippines The Corregidor Incident has shown no sincerity to conduct relations with The Philippines in Malaysia through faith conquered the Philippines to Sabah uncovered, while in Malaysia the turbidity was triggered through movement activities supporting the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Some of the issues that occurred during the Marcos government's foreign relations with India include the issue of smuggling that goes on between the people of Sabah and southern the Philippines. Through the Joint Communique (Journal of Foreign Affairs Malaysia, 1966 – 1968, 44-45) issued after the talks with Malaysia Philippines, the Philippines has stressed that the problem of smuggling has reached a level of concern and has adversely affected efforts to improve the Philippines economy in addition to the wealth loss of \$ 75 million a year.

Recognising the problem is that the Government has submitted a joint statement to curb these activities and has agreed to impose strict control over every movement of businesses that come either from or to Sabah and the Philippines. During his administration, Marcos has implemented many changes through public development projects, projects to raise the level of poverty so that this initiative has made him famous and attracted a loyal supporter. Marcos has also established a relationship with the United States through the efforts of economic and military assistance. This relationship has forced Marcos to send 2000 members of the Philippines to Vietnam Civil Actions in the Second Indochina War between 1966 and 1969 (Putzel, James, 1992, 39).

Historically, the Philippines is bound to influence the United States for economic, cultural, and security reasons. At the same time, survival in terms of economic relations with Japan should be maintained. Notwithstanding the policies advocated by the Government, the Filipino people wanted a foreign policy dedicated to friends in neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia. The presence of the Chinese in the Philippines slightly undermine the focus and provide leadership to the Philippines because the pomegranate relationship with Beijing is taken as a good survival of development and external relations of the Philippines. One of the most relevant focuses in safety is a foreign relation with the countries of the Middle East. This policy is essential in the foreign policy agenda of the Philippines due to the presence of existing internal conflicts posed by the Muslim Liberation Movement in the southern Philippines. However, a focused foreign policy for the Philippines is a close relationship and enhances more intimate cooperation with neighbours who mostly sits on ASEAN.

Foreign policy is positive towards Malaysia is no exception in the agenda of the Philippines. Relations with Malaysia and the Philippines police foreign policy are more specific to the existing issues. The Philippines claim to Sabah over the age of thirty years, the

issue in Palawan and MNLF and MILF on the latest regarding the economic collapse of 1997-98 generated the inevitable relationship and at the same time support the policy of the two countries to the United Nations and support ASEAN's positive role in bringing the bilateral relations between Malaysia and the Philippines continue. However, if the review connections made directly by almost all the Philippines president after Marcos was not so focused on the closeness of the relationship. Apart from the problems of the recession, there are no issues that can evoke familiarity, so leaders of the two countries during his visit often be the last initiative in resolving an issue involving bilateral relations. Harmonious relatives between Manila and Kuala Lumpur show Asian countries spirit formed through policies of both countries support the policies and values of both should be generated among the ASEAN countries.

b. The Relationship between Manila and Kuala Lumpur under Marcos

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj had expressed interest in establishing relations with the Government of the Philippines during a dinner in conjunction with the first visit of President Ferdinand Marcos to Malaysia in January 1968 (Journal of Foreign Affair Malaysia, 1968, 43) and has declared that *...the things that unite us are more profound and more lasting than the things that divide us...* The history of the external relations between Malaysia - The Philippines has interwoven indeed a bitter (Harold Crouch, ISIS Paper 1988, 3) evolved for both countries. The two countries are supposed to have the same goals at the level of regional cooperation through mutual understanding with the A.S.A., and the two governments have also been trying to establish a good relationship despite the turbidity in the Sabah claim submitted by the Philippines government and the conflict on smuggling (Journal of Foreign Affair Malaysia, 1966, 41) activities undertaken by the people of Sabah in the Southern Philippines. Even though the events and activities of the people of Sabah have taken place for centuries and are daily economic activities, the Philippines government's problems from these activities have led to a revenue loss of \$ 75 Million per annum.

Relationship during the era of President Marcos (1965-1986) shows the immaturity of the Philippines government, apart from the ego of President Marcos. During the Spanish colonisation for 50 years and was followed by the occupation of the United States until 1946, it can be said that the Philippines is a country that can be called *a state that lacks originality and identity*. Marcos and the previous leadership searched for identity and space to convince neighbouring countries in Asia that the Philippines is a country that can stand independently from the help of other countries, especially the United States. Such statements made by the former foreign secretary of the Philippines, Mr J. Apolinario Lozada Jr. is a revival of the idea of Filipinos after the People Power 1 agenda and awareness of Filipinos of to not have the presence of the United States through a placement at the Subic Base indirectly becomes a legend to a mechanism that continues the tradition of the conquest of the United States to the Philippines.

The relationship of the Philippines - Malaysia that showed turbidity and full of conflict and crisis can be concluded at the beginning of the term of the Philippines claim on Sabah in 1962 (Journal of Foreign Affaire Malaysia, 21 August 1968, 72) until the issue of the closure of the Office of the Philippines Consulate in Malaysia in 1968. President Marcos had won the presidential election in 1965 when the Philippines Nacionalista party candidate defeated Macapagal. Marcos has dominated the political scene of the Philippines for over two decades; the first was when he was elected as President in 1965 and 1969 and the second as a dictator after declaring Martial Law (Thompson, Mark R, 1995, 235).

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there are no issues that can evoke intimacy, so leaders of the two countries during his visit often be the last initiative in resolving an issue involving bilateral relations. Harmonious relations between the Philippines and Malaysia result from the spirit of Asian countries formed through policies of both countries support the policies and values of both should be generated among the ASEAN countries.

The next issue is about the actions close to The Philippines Commission Office in Malaysia, which expressly has severed diplomatic ties between the two countries through a memo dated 20 July 1968. This is a unilateral action as indicated by the statement by Tan Sri M Ghazali bin Shafie on the status of relations between Malaysia and the Philippines in the parliamentary Assembly on 14 November 1968 (Journal of Foreign Affair Malaysia, Vol 1 - 10 the Year 1966 - 1968, 14-15). Malaysia nevertheless took similar action against the Philippines as an approved Sabah Annexation act and the Philippines attitude of not recognising the independence and sovereignty of Malaysia through the Malaysian Government Memorandum dated 19 September 1968. However, the action of drawing out the Philippines Commission staff and the closure of the Philippines Embassy in Kuala Lumpur has been withdrawn by the Philippines government through the notes issued by the Philippines government through The Philippines Commission in Bangkok and resume diplomatic relations with the Government Malaysia (Journal of Foreign Affair Malaysia, Vol 1 - 10 the Year 1966 - 1968, 14- 15).

The Philippines - Malaysia relationship, as stated by Tunku Abdul Rahman during his speech during the first visit of President Marcos on 10 January 1968, is geared to regional understanding. *"We who live in this region as neighbouring nations all realise only too well that much has still to be done to provide a fuller and better life of happiness and prosperity that all our people so ardently desire and so undoubtedly deserve"* (Journal of Foreign Affair Malaysia Vol 8 - 1968, Article 3, 43). Malaysia generally adheres to the ASEAN's policies and objectives and maintains the best possible relations with the Philippines. Nevertheless, as an independent state and to build the development agenda together is still the long way; Malaysia had mortgaged the harmony of this relationship, and through the strong leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Deputy Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak, and diplomacy measures, has managed to undo turbidity and relationships with the Philippines during the Marcos era.

iv. The Relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia during the Time of Aquino

The People Power movement that has resulted in the move to oust Marcos in February 1986 is a movement known as People Power Revolution; the movement that has the support of all Filipinos despite the support of the rural population is not comprehensive. The movement of which the leader of Roman Catholics, members of the business and part of faction army was not united by ideology or the interests of the class but united by a deep feeling of support to Corazon Aquino and their hatred of the Marcos regime. Corazon Aquino was seen as symbolic and subsequently as a leader of the opposition. She is described as a devout follower of Catholic teachings, shy and a simple housewife. These characteristics have aroused strong sympathy and support among the people who hated the Marcos regime. During her reign as President, Corazon Aquino was an inexperienced and naive American leader (Steven Erlanger, 6 December 1989, 4). Nevertheless, her effort to overthrow Marcos has shown that most Filipinos' confidence is amazing and unexpected.

Aquino has broken the tradition of the Philippines President to visit the United States as her country's first tour out. At the beginning of her administration, Aquino also visited Jakarta and Singapore in August 1986. The relationship with Malaysia, however, Aquino's agenda is particularly in bilateral issues and issues of the claim on Sabah. Prior to the ASEAN meeting in December 1987, Aquino has raised the issue with a claim on Sabah hope it gets the attention of the Government, but the Philippines Congress does not agree upon its intention. Apart from these claims, existing problems in southern Mindanao remains a concern since the development agenda focuses on the economy and the stability of her Government rather than Malaysia.

v. The Relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia during the Time of Ramos

Aquino chose Ramos as President in the elections in 1992. Ramos won the election with a slim victory and became the 12th President of the Philippines. Upon becoming President, Ramos focused on the energy crisis and economic problems. He dealt with economic problems through a transparent fiscal policy and deregulation rather than using the old raising taxes. Ramos also took the initiative to end the communist movement by insurgents and Muslim separatists and set up the National Unification Commission in 1992 to address this issue. At the same time, he also allowed Marcos corpse to be brought back to the Philippines. In the legislative elections in 1995, Ramos submitted a referendum that outlined the administration he would implement, which has led many of his supporters to win the election. At the same time, the policy he outlined has changed the economic conditions of the Philippines and has resulted in an economic growth almost equal to the neighbouring countries in the region, the Pacific that known as the 'Tiger Economies.' In September, his Government signed a memorandum of understanding with the Moro National Liberation Front in Mindanao.

To link the Philippines with the regional economy, he held personal diplomatic relations. Since mid-1992, he had visited almost all the East Asian countries, including Australia and New Zealand. He also visited the United States and Western European countries. Relations with Latin America and Africa has been strengthened through the participation of the Philippines in the establishment of N.A.M. He also visited Saudi Arabia and other countries in the O.I.C. In the international arena under the banner of the United Nations peacekeeping, the Philippines joined the program in Cambodia in 1994 and Haiti in 1994/1995. Relations with India during his administration, however, continues to resemble the policies during Aquino. The issue of the claim of Sabah was not at all raised except for the conflict in the southern Philippines involving Malaysian waters, where the two countries have been working to protect their territorial waters against pirates and rebels of the MILF. The Relationship between the Philippines – Malaysia during the Time of Estrada.

Estrada became the 13th President of the Philippines after winning the presidential election in 1998. His political career started when he was the mayor of San Juan in Manila. He has been the mayor of San Juan for 17 years, and in 1987, he was selected as a member of the Philippines Senate. He is a strong supporter of the termination of the placement of the U.S. Military Base in the Philippines, and as a vice president, he led the anti-crime commission in the Philippines. In January 2001, the Philippines Supreme Court declared that Joseph Estrada is no longer qualified to rule as President. As a result, the Philippines Supreme Court declared Deputy President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo as his successor. People Power II movement played an important role in urging Estrada to resign and hand over the presidency to Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. During the past two years as President, there were not many changes made by Estrada in the interest of the Filipinos. Estrada is hostile to the United States at the international level because he supports the termination of military bases in the Philippines.

vi. The Relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia during the Time of Arroyo

President Arroyo has outlined her foreign policy to get better relations to the U.S.A., Japan, ASEAN and the international Muslim community. Arroyo has expressed that relation with major power countries like the U.S., Japan and China and rapport between them was a significant factor in the safekeeping and the economic situation in the region (<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/thePhilippines.html>, 2017). Arroyo Government has also explained some fundamental realities which are the subject of foreign policy formation of the Philippines. Among the realities raised are (Far Eastern Economic Review, Philippines Foreign Policy, Jan 2001, p 67) as follows:

- a. *China, Japan and the United States, and their relationship will decide on East Asia's security circumstances and economic development.*
- b. *More of the Philippines outside strategy choices must be made with regards to ASEAN.*
- c. *The worldwide Islamic people group will keep on being necessary for the Philippines.*
- d. *The nation's financial development will keep on being vigorously reliant on other country investments.*
- e. *The coming years will see the developing significance of multilateral and local associations to advance everyday interests.*

- f. *The barrier of the country's power and the assurance of its condition and characteristic assets lie at the core of the remote arrangement.*
- g. *Get profit by international or universal tourism.*

Based on reality presented by the Government Arroyo, there is an apparent relationship with Malaysia leading to an interest in aspects of international relations with the Muslim community, the tourism industry that benefits the Philippines. Besides that, the Philippines also stress safety and regional cooperation through ASEAN's external relations with state decisions that focus on the importance of ASEAN. Indirectly, Malaysia and the Philippines became partners in generating and realising the Arroyo government's foreign policy goals. It is still early to implement Arroyo reality regarding the importance of ASEAN through new initiatives. What can be seen is that the importance of preserving ties with ASEAN partners is a string of foreign policy practised by her predecessors.

vii. The Relationship between the Philippines – Malaysia during the Time of President Rodrigo Duterte

Malaysia and the Philippines continue to enjoy intimate and friendly bilateral ties despite the many political challenges, especially in the Sulu Sea in the Southern Philippines. Security and law enforcement issues and concerns, particularly those that arise from these aspects, can be solved with the spirit of ASEAN. Both the Government and the top leadership of politics have a good relationship that shows a positive transformation as diplomatic relations between the two countries have begun for decades; we have various dimensions and cooperation with the Philippines covering many areas of defence and security besides economics. Both countries recorded U.S. \$ 5 billion in a trade last year, with Malaysia's total exports to the Philippines valued at the U.S. \$ 3.3 billion while imports U.S. \$ 1.7 billion. Last year saw a U.S. \$ 1.6 billion trade surplus, and it was Malaysia's fifth-largest trading partner among ASEAN countries (Berita Harian, 9 November 2016). Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak hoped that with Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, who is more aggressive towards extremists like Abu Sayyaf, the southern Philippine region would have improved its security. Philippines government for having killed Abu Sayyaf leader. According to some reports, Philippine marine forces have killed an Abu Sayyaf commander Alhabsy Misaya. The Philippines has also helped save five Malaysians who have been a ransom for eight months a week. He said Malaysia has also committed to completing the Comprehensive Peace Plan involving the Moro people. This clearly shows that both countries are serious about addressing militant issues. With good cooperation, especially in the sharing of information and information on militant movements, it is seen at the time of being able to destroy their movements, especially in Sabah waters.

viii. The Problems and Main Issues in the Relationship of the Philippines and Malaysia

The change in the strategic balance of the world that occurs after the Cold War has brought some changes to bilateral and regional relations. An overall, the situation in the ASEAN region can be classified as safe and stable. All countries in the region have taken initiatives to strengthen bilateral relations and further strengthen cooperation in various fields, including the security and economic aspects. This initiative can be seen and realised through the exchange of talk by both Head of Country, the establishment of regional mechanisms such as APEC, A.R.F., ASEAN + 3 and most recent is the AFTA.

From the perspective of strengthening the military (military development), significant changes after the Cold War era is intended to stabilise the strategic aspects of displacement through "asymmetric strategic superiority" (*Overview of Regional Political and Security in the Asia Pacific*. Dis 2002, 99). Nevertheless, the relationship among ASEAN countries continued positively, and it has been demonstrated through the increased cooperation among ASEAN. The shape of expanding bilateral relations, especially in trade, investment, environment and other areas, is a manifestation of the close relations between the countries in Southeast Asia. Relationships and linkages formed is an encouragement of the role and commitment of ASEAN. The financial and economic crisis that struck from 1997 to 1998 hurt the prosperity, stability and security of countries in the Southeast Asia region. This situation has changed the focus of security from the Southeast Asia region from military to economic security. After three years of the economic crisis that hit Southeast Asia, the economic situation in the Southeast Asian region has been overgrown and supported by robust development with an inflation rate that is moderate and manageable. The financial crisis in

Southeast Asia has shown the importance of Southeast Asian countries to strengthen their economic survivability and work together as a family to meet the challenges of the future.

ix. The Issue of Claim of Sabah

The Philippines cannot acknowledge Sabah's joint in Malaysia in September 1963 as Sabah is considered a piece of its domain. The interest of Sabah is the decision of the general population ensured by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (U.N.). Sabah is asserted by the Philippines as well as guaranteed by the beneficiaries of the Sultan of Sulu since before World War II. In 1961, the issue emerged again when the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, proposed Malaysia's development, including North Borneo. Under the administration of Macapagal, the Philippines government has brought the authenticity of British title over North Borneo into question on 22 June 1962. In October and November 1962, Macapagal has conveyed this case to the U.N., and after that accommodated with Sukarno and Azahari (pioneers of Brunei) to restrict the arrangement of Malaysia.

The Summit was held in Manila in late July 1963 by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Sukarno and Hatta to determine the struggle on the development of Malaysia and the instance of North Borneo. The Philippines and Indonesia have consented to help the arrangement of Malaysia on the occasion it is demonstrated to help the inhabitants and is endorsed by the United Nations. The assertion came to on 9 July 1963 between the British and Malayan about the development of Malaysia on 31 August 1963. Even though the relations between Malaysia and the Philippines have been recouped, the Philippines government yet still cannot seem to end its claim on Sabah prematurely.

x. The aid of the Southern Philippines

Philippines government and the Armed Forces (AFP) has effectively executed the publicity which made a conflict 12,500 Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) revolt individuals into two groups; bunches that need viciousness and revolt to proceed as they battle, and gatherings who need peace and foundation of associations with the Philippines government. By the by, the truth of the matter is that these divisions have debilitated the development since the gatherings give a chance to the administration of the Philippines to dispatch activities to advance a favourable and tranquil circumstance with the gatherings that needed peace. This activity was fruitful in 1996 when the Philippines government consented to a Peace Arrangement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) - the first Muslim contender in the Philippines. The other group that is still to continue with the rebellion action has formed another group known as MILF (Katherine G. Adraneda, "Human rights activists to G.M.A.: Please stop Basilan siege," *Cyberdyaryo* (11 October 2001).

This split is viewed as an open door by the Philippines government to debilitate the impact of MNLF and the annulment of the foundation. The Philippines government is sure that a comparable circumstance could occur against the MILF, which is the chips of MNLF, and consequently, the tranquillity the nation can be settled, and there is no inner clash. MILF, at long last, went into a comprehension with the Philippines government through their choice to quit protesting the administration and instead bolster the legislature and their stand not to confederate with the Abu Sayyaf Group, which the U.S.A. has pronounced as terrorists.

The Malaysian Government has a firm remain on the issue and trusts that each exertion produced by the Philippines government in deciding the Peace Agreement in 1996 is followed by the two gatherings, particularly the Philippines government and the MNLF. Malaysia additionally trusted that the measures to help the Peace Agreement are not to be mixed up by the Philippines government as Malaysia's intercession in the household issues of that state. Notwithstanding, in executing the resolutions which have been suggested by the Organization of Islamic Countries (O.I.C.), it is proper for the administration to survey the effect of the usage of the assertion that is introduced to the Peace Agreement 1996, which depended on the real circumstance winning in Southern Mindanao. From this perspective, Malaysia needs to recognise the impacts of the execution of the Peace Agreement as far as the interests of people or a gathering. The intrigue that appeared by the administration in this issue ultimately supports the usage of the Peace Agreement.

Malaysia is of the assessment, the acknowledgement consequences of the decisions held by the ARMM is proper and opportune help of the endeavours embraced in the foundation of an

independent Islamic state in the southern Philippines. As has been perceived by the Group of Eight Members of the Islamic Community of Southern Mindanao amid a meeting held in Doha³³, acknowledgement is more vital than the issue of authority is the interior clash of the battle gathering. Malaysia is a recommendation that the O.I.C. will keep on being bound by these issues and should ask and urge the gathering to stop the strife and join together. The Malaysian Government has given full participation and sense of duty regarding composing and activating the activity to decide whether the security procedure is completed in total between the Philippines government and the MILF (GRP-MILF Peace Agreement).

This activity is an expansion of the individual demand of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo³⁴, in which the Government of Malaysia has composed an underlying meeting on (Peace Talks) and has figured out how to create eight Articles of Agreement between the GRP-MILF in March 2001. This Agreement has opened up the means and given an open door for the two sides to direct discourses. Security (Peace Talks) have been relinquished amid Estrada's administration. Peace talks were held thus in Tripoli, Libya, in June 2001. Malaysia is as yet progressing part while arranging the second meeting held in Kuala Lumpur in July 2001. Amid this meeting, a concession to halting the brutality and tumult (Cessation of Hostilities) was marked in August 2001 in Kuala Lumpur amid President Arroyo's visit to Malaysia³⁵. Following the meeting, a concurrence on Implementing Guidelines on Rehabilitation and Development Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001 was marked in Putrajaya in May 2002. The part and support that appeared by the Government of Malaysia are exclusive to help peace in the locale of South East Asia. Malaysia additionally does not mean to meddle in the internal issues of the Philippines. Enthusiastic and The Government of the Philippines has comprehended Malaysia's stand through the certainty they have appeared in arranging various gatherings between the GRP-MILF.

xi. Economic Cooperation

The relations in the economic sphere had existed since 1963 when the Philippines and Malaysia signed a Memorandum of Understanding to address the issue of trafficking. Both governments have agreed to work together in addressing the issue. The smuggling problem contributed to the loss of nearly 20% of the Philippines' annual income (Foreign Affair Malaysia, Vol 10 p 234). Through its external relations policy during President Carlos Garcia and other leaders, especially President Corazon Aquino, the Philippines government took the initiative to develop the country's economy. The aim and focus of the Philippines are to open up more opportunities for foreign investors to invest in the Philippines. This opportunity is open to all ASEAN countries, including Malaysia (<https://www.the-Philippines.gov.com>, The Philippines Economic and International Economic Relationship, Dec 1991).

In 1971, during the Fourth Meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers, which was held in Manila in March, Tun Ismail Abd Rahman had suggested the establishment of a Limited Free Trade Area on selected commodities to promote the development of regional trade (Foreign Affair Malaysia, Vol 9, p 45.). This initiative and proposal bring many benefits, especially to the Philippines and Malaysia, and as a result of these initiatives, the Philippines government has exported over 10,000 metric tons of rice to Malaysia. This has also led to the agreement on the exemption of double taxation - Avoidance of Double Taxation. When Anwar Ibrahim was the Minister of Agriculture, he led a delegation to Manila in 1984 to agree on the Agricultural Policy, which benefits ASEAN countries and agriculture as the cornerstone of ASEAN economic strength (<https://www.pembentukanMalaysia.gov.com>. Malaysia and the Philippines Relationship).

The statistics provided show that the trade relations between the Philippines and Malaysia in 2002 has reached R.M. 11 billion. Malaysia's exports to the Philippines were valued at £ 3.9 billion, while imports amounted to RM 7.1 billion. In 2001, there was a total of 23.5% of Malaysia's total exports to the Philippines recorded, whereby 67.2% of exports from the Philippines to Malaysia consisted of electronic materials. The Philippines Investment in Malaysia in 1996 and 2002 focused on manufacturing projects amounting to RM6.5 million. Approved investments in the Philippines include the production of wood, chemicals and chemical production, also petroleum production. Malaysia is one of the sources for the Philippines, Foreign Investors within the ASEAN region after Singapore. Malaysian companies mainly invest and operate in manufacturing, financial services, agriculture and tourism services. Total investments in Malaysia in 2001 amounted to 176.8 million pesos or RM 13.2 million (<https://www.the-philippines.gov.com>, The Philippines Economic and

International Economic Relationship, December 1998). Cooperation in the economy, security and politics are the basis for bilateral relations between the Philippines and Malaysia (<https://www.aseantiger.esm.hbu: ASEAN Economic Crisis, 2002>).

xii. Security Cooperation

Cooperation in the security field is concentrated mainly in the agreement set out in the Asian Regional Forum and the countries' defence policy. However, the bilateral cooperation began as early as 1977 when The Tripartite Agreement was agreed by the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia discussing the security aspects specialising in restricting the development of chaos, arms smuggling and safety aspects that would threaten the regional security to the detriment of bilateral relations Philippines – Malaysia (<https://www.the.philippines.usg.com>, The Philippines).

In 1994 when Najib was defence minister, he signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Defense Cooperation on 26 September 1994. Through the M.O.U., some initiatives to strengthen bilateral relations between the Philippines - Malaysia has achieved such cooperation in military training and joint operations in the waters of the South China Sea. Malaysia has also held talks with the Philippines government on the issue of security in Sabah waters, where the Government looked at the incidence of severe kidnapping and piracy occurring. On the issue of MILF, on the other hand, the Government of Malaysia has agreed and sought to help solve problems faced by the MILF of the Philippines government. Malaysia has organised a series of meetings between the Philippines government and leaders of MILF (<https://www.regionalrelationship.com>: Overview of Regional Political and Security Situation in the Asia Pacific, 2002).

xiii. Political Cooperation

Relation in the political field becomes the basis of the bilateral relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia. As early as the beginning of the relationship established in 1959, the two governments already desired to shape and carve out a mutually beneficial relationship with one another. However, the national interest that became the basis for the two countries' development often overshadowed this noble goal. Malaysia aims to establish the idea of independence which includes Sarawak, Sabah, and Brunei. The Philippines, on the other hand, which boasts a history of the Sultanate of Sulu, disagreed with Sabah to become part of Malaysia's independence until the intervention of the United Nations and the British Government at the time of polling the Cubbold Commission. Both countries have already complied with the regional spirit. As envisioned by President Carlos Garcia, Malaya that has the same culture and harmony with the Philippines' people, is the agenda of the Philippines to strengthen the ties between the two countries. While the dispute over the decision of the people of Sabah to join Malaysia, both governments agreed that the intervention of the United Nations validated it.

The Philippines and Malaysia have also agreed to establish MAPHILINDO in addressing issues seen at that time as straining the relations between the three countries that are struggling with a passion formation of Malaysia. There was a time when the Philippines has closed its embassy in Kuala Lumpur following the failure to solve the Sabah claim. However, the embassy was reopened in 1968 in the spirit of the region. Both governments have also reached a consensus agreement through the Manila Agreement in 1963, where the issue of territorial claims shall be settled by good neighbourliness. Some other agreements agreed upon by the two sides were curbing smuggling in the southern Philippines. The diplomatic relations between the two countries were once affected on the issue of Corregidor and Jabitah whereby the Philippines government considers it an internal issue, however for Malaysia, but it is about the bilateral issue. Malaysia claimed that the Philippines had trained Special Forces that were instructed to infiltrate into the state before taking over Sabah. The Government of the Philippines denied the matter, and Malaysia had no evidence on that matter.

In 1993 the Philippines and Malaysia relationship was narrowed through the tours of the country's leaders through the Philippines and Thailand Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation Meeting held in Manila. Several leaders such as Datuk Anwar Ibrahim, Rafidah Aziz, Najib Tun Razak, and several other Malaysian leaders visited the Philippines. The visit was to strengthen the relationship in all fields, including defence, economic and regional matters. This relationship will continue with glory and success until the end because only good cooperation will cause a good impact on the economy, security, and any other things.

Conclusions

The Philippines and Malaysia also take pride over the years of bilateral relations between the two countries woven through the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation in the spirit desired by ASEAN. Moreover, these two countries are founders of the organisation besides Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore. As early as 1959, the governments of the Philippines and Malaysia has initiated bilateral relations that are expected to benefit both countries. Despite the slight turbidity, both parties wanted a solution, and this is proven by the establishment of the A.S.A., Maphilindo, ASEAN and the recent recognition of the ability of each partner country with complete confidence in solving the countries' internal issues such as the MILF and the handling of Overseas Philipinos. The official bilateral relationship between the Philippines and Malaysia has been ongoing for almost 42 years, commencing two years after Malaya gained independence from the British Government. The Malay culture has been inherited and shared by both countries to bring to the close cooperation, thus putting behind the bitter history full of turbidity communication wave. Through the current relationship that is never silent from disputes and bilateral issues that need to be addressed, both governments have adopted a proactive and a more sensitive approach to maintain good relations and harmony without offending the neighbouring countries.

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