

## PERSONAL DATA



HASHIM

YUSOF

Last Name

First Name

Middle Initial

Address to which correspondence should be sent

Telephone Numbers

Home \_\_\_\_\_

Office \_\_\_\_\_

Fax \_\_\_\_\_

Citizenship MALAYSIAN

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Birth 12.07.39 Sex MALE  
month/yearProfessional title and institutional affiliation AMBASSADOR (RETIRED 12.07.96)Proposed dates of fellowship PREFERABLY EARLY 1997Field of study INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAMME

REFERENCES Please ask the people whom you list below to send their recommendations directly to the Center by October 1st.

- 1) TAN SRI ZAINAL ABIDIN SULONG, CHAIRMAN INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, MALAYSIA  
Name and Occupation
- 2) AMBASSADOR ROBERT CARLEY, FORMER UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO PAKISTAN (NOW IN WASHINGTON)  
Name and Occupation
- 3) DR JUDITH GRADVOHL, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTIONS, WASHINGTON  
Name and Occupation

## PROJECT INFORMATION

Title of Project ASEAN AND THE UNITED STATES: TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND COOPERATION

100-WORD PRECIS OF ATTACHED PROJECT PROPOSAL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE:

IN THE 21ST CENTURY THERE WILL BE FIVE MAIN FOCUS OF POWER IN THE ASIA PACIFIC AREA: NAMELY THE UNITED STATES, CHINA, JAPAN, RUSSIA AND ASEAN. THE INTERPLAY OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FIVE WILL BE THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SECURITY CONSIDERATION OF THE REGION.

ASEAN WITH A POPULATION OF OVER 400 MILLION IS SECOND ONLY TO CHINA BUT WITH RAPID ECONOMIC PROGRESS COULD BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT. ASEAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES RIGHT FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT HAS BEEN ONE OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION. AS ASEAN IS IN THE FOREFRONT IN THE SEARCH FOR REGIONAL SECURITY IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH ASEAN BE MAINTAINED AND ENHANCED.

EDUCATION	Date	Institution	Major Field
B.A./B.S.	DEC 1964	SYDNEY UNIVERSITY AUSTRALIA	ECONOMICS GOVERNMENT
M.A./M.S.	DEC 1966	SYDNEY UNIVERSITY AUSTRALIA	ECONOMIC HISTORY GOVERNMENT
Ph.D.			
Title of your Ph.D. dissertation _____			
Other _____			

PROFESSIONAL/OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE *List current position first.*

Dates	Organization	Position
1994-1995	FOREIGN MINISTRY (MOLDOVA)	AMBASSADOR
1990-1994	(PAKISTAN)	AMBASSADOR
1988-1989	(VIETNAM)	AMBASSADOR

FELLOWSHIPS/HONORS *List most recent first.*

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\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

LANGUAGE

If English is not your native language, indicate your degree of fluency in English, using Excellent, Good, Fair, or Poor:

EXCELLENT                      EXCELLENT                      EXCELLENT  
 Reading                      Speaking                      Writing

In what languages relevant to your proposal are you proficient? ENGLISH

What language would you use in writing the final product proposed in this application? ENGLISH

[Signature]  
Signature of Applicant

21 SEPTEMBER 1996  
Date

### List of Publication

Being in the Public Service and especially in the diplomatic service I was not allowed to write for publication. I have written an article " Management of a Malaysian mission " a departmental magazine of the Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia (INTAN). My masters thesis at Sydney University Australia was entitled " Singapore-Malaysia : Analysis of political differentiation".

## **ASEAN (THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS) AND THE UNITED STATES: TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND COOPERATION**

### **ASEAN In the context of Asia-Pacific security**

ASEAN has grown in strength politically and economically since its formation on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1976. The United States was an active supporter of the regional organisation on its inception and subsequent development.

The 21<sup>st</sup> Century will see rapid economic development of China besides that of Japan. With the break up of the Soviet Union, and the reduction of the threat from the truncated Russia, the United States has reduced its defence commitments in Asia. Besides, the United States has the domestic agenda and is more involved in Europe than in Asia.

As the result of the reduction of the United States military presence the major powers especially China and Japan are likely to exert themselves in the Asia Pacific region. Economic and trade issues have shown that competition between the United States and China and Japan have become intense and acrimonious. This is especially so as the United States is involved in comprehensive relations with China which affects Chinese domestic standing, such as in the human rights issue. In the future as China becomes economically strong, China is not likely to compromise easily in its trade negotiations with the United States or other countries.

At the same time China is likely to exert its claim in the South China Sea and the Taiwan issue will become an important issue.

It is within this scenario that the United States relations with ASEAN becomes important. ASEAN has become an active player in the Asia-Pacific and has multifaceted relations with China, Japan and Russia (which will assume its important role before too long). ASEAN can be the moderating influence in any areas of disputes. ASEAN has certain institutions and in-built system which could be the safeguard, a sort of presentive diplomacy.

The ASEAN role in the conflict resolution of the Asia-Pacific region is therefore important area of study as the world march towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### The ASEAN-United States relations

The formation of ASEAN was welcome by the United States. It was a step at which the United States was Taking to consolidate the position of the South East Asian countries at the time of the cold war. ASEAN was formed on economic consideration .

The U.S. policy emphasised socio-economic consolidation in South East Asia. Russell H. Fifield for the U.S. council on Foreign Relations in the study, South East Asia in US policy, gave a blueprint for a US South East Asian policy. Fifield wrote that in view of the SEATO, it was essential that a new regional organisation be formed which would not give an impression of security or defence arrangement, but be for economic and cultural cooperation. The participation of Indonesia in this new organisation was indispensable. Fifield also suggested that the new alliance "be termed an association of Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN)."<sup>(1)</sup>

At the same time , United States would support ASEAN by providing aid through multilateral agencies. This meant that western presence would be preserved and trade relations with the west would be intensified. Western model of economic development was adopted and private enterprise began to assume its importance.

Although the United States's investment has increased, other countries such as Japan, Korea and Taiwan also have increased their investments. In trade United State holds the first or second place as trading partner of the ASEAN countries. Just like Japan many ASEAN countries have favourable balance of trade with the United States. This let to friction in their relations when the United States products are brought into competition against the ASEAN products and when the United States try to restrict its market to the newly industrialised ASEAN countries. The ASEAN countries fear that the loss of their market would effect their economic development. The United States has taken this factor in deferring its action.

In the episode of the "boat people" there was tremendous pressure placed in the relations when thousands of Vietnamese came ashore in ASEAN countries in their drive towards finding homes in the United States. The relationship was severely tested. When the United States could not accommodate all the boat people, and the first Asylum countries have the burden to look after them for considerable time. It was only recently that the issue came to a close.

The economic performance of ASEAN has impressed the United States. As a whole it has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Since 1981 ASEAN has become one of five leading trading partners of the United States.

It is however, in the sphere of security during the cold war years that America and ASEAN became close. The Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1978 was opposed by ASEAN and the United States which saw the involvement of the Soviet Union. Although the United States was not directly involved in Cambodia, the United States gave defence assistance to individual ASEAN countries. Consultation became active.

The admission of Vietnam into ASEAN in 1995 signalled the final chapter in the episode of the cold war in Southeast Asia. After Vietnam became a member of ASEAN, diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam was resumed. The inclusion of new members into ASEAN meant that ASEAN is further consolidated and would assume equal partnership with the United States.

#### **ASEAN formation and Consolidation**

ASEAN was established on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1967 by the five original members; Indonesia, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The ASEAN declaration gave the main objective of the organisation as to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interests in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields. At the time of its formation the population of ASEAN was 250 million.

Taking into economic consideration as the prime motivation ASEAN began to take steps to increase economic cooperation but in the early years economic and trade cooperation was not too successful. ASEAN trade was only slightly more than before the formation of ASEAN. It remained around 16 percent. Subsequently, many projects were launched but they had difficulties to lift off the ground. It was not until the first summit in Bali in February 1976 that agreement was reached to establish large scale ASEAN industrial projects basically to meet regional requirements of essential commodities. It was decided to finance the project jointly with the host country contributing sixty percent of the

equity and the other members ten percent each. Some of the projects were converted onto ASEAN projects from national projects and some were successful and some were abandoned.

It was political factors which consolidated ASEAN brought about in order to face the new situation such as the winding down of the Vietnam war and the rapprochement between United States and China. At the February 1976 Bali Summit, a declaration of the ASEAN concord was signed together with the treaty of Amity and Cooperation. The ASEAN concord was meant to make ASEAN countries more resilient and to take steps for the establishment of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality. At the same time it stressed the need of cooperation and security matters between ASEAN and non ASEAN countries. On the economic side the summit decided that the ASEAN countries should cooperate among themselves on the basic commodities, particularly food and energy, establishment of large scale ASEAN industrial ventures and cooperation in trade.

ASEAN began further consolidation and cooperation in 1980s. The main factor was the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam in 1987. After that event ASEAN began closer cooperation with United States and China as relations between ASEAN and Vietnam deteriorated. However dialogues continued to be held by the two sides and with Cambodia.

The resolution of the Cambodian issue was the most successful aspect of the ASEAN cooperation in the political field. When Vietnam, after so many years considered the "enemy" by ASEAN joined the organisation in July 1995, it was an unprecedented event. In reconciling seemingly unbridgeable forces, ASEAN would refer to the norms that have been developed together, the "ASEAN way".

## The United States, ASEAN and the Search for ASIA Pacific Security

ASEAN countries have considered that the United States presence and active participation as essential in the Asia Pacific region. The United States has close cooperation with ASEAN and is not considered a threat. On the part of the United States, the stability of South East Asia is an important aspect of the United States policy. Winston Lord, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, during his confirmation hearing stated ten major goals of the United States in Asia Pacific. Among these were strengthening ties with Japan, helping to resolve the Korean dispute, deepening ties with ASEAN, strengthening ties with the Asia Pacific economic cooperation (APEC) and with developing multilateral for a security co-operation. <sup>(2)</sup>

With rapid economic growth of many countries in the Asia Pacific area, the region has become too powerful for the United States alone to control or contain other countries. The APEC nations have generated about half the world's economic output. The economy of East Asia is expected to grow twice as fast as the US economy over the next decade, while intra Asian trade is already growing four times faster than the US east Asia trade.

The situation meant that the United States has to adopt or adjust to the changes especially in relations to the growing economic status of China. The United States could not deploy a containment policy towards China but United States interests could be served by co-operating with other Asia Pacific countries to assist China. In recent years China has adopted "modernisation" as a long term policy and has discarded dogmatism or "leftist" revolutionary ideas. China needs a peaceful environment for the modernisation programme which will take several generations to be realised. China does not take trade as the main measure to build itself up. Its product are mainly for domestic market and foreign trade only play supplementary roles in its economic developments.<sup>(3)</sup> The question is

whether in an interdependent Asia Pacific with prosperity , the countries will work to achieve security together.<sup>(4)</sup>

As ASEAN consolidated, norms and institutions began to develop in dealing with regional security. ASEAN has adopted an informal approach to conflict prevention. ASEAN has adhered to non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and non-use of force in inter-state relations. Consultations and accommodations have been held regularly in order to stop any possibilities of series disputes. As Noordin Sopiee, the ISIS Director General said " these norms and practises have created a sturdy structure of trust, confidence and goodwill between the member states and contributed to ASEAN's role in sublimating and defusing conflicts as in actually resolving them".

In checking to resolve any serious dispute the ASEAN countries would refer to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). The treaty has established a "code of conduct" governing relations among the Southeast Asian countries.

ASEAN has also introduced the ASEAN regional forum (ARF). It is a formula for co-operative (collective) security approach which could meet the idea of President Woodrow Wilson after the Second World War. The ASEAN regional forum applies to the norms of ASEAN to a broader regional context. There are eighteen countries involved in the ARF including the Seven ASEAN dialogue partners (The US, Canada, Australia, The European Community, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea), Russia and China, Papua New Guinea and Laos. The first ASEAN regional forum as multilateral dialogue, confidence building, preventive diplomacy and non proliferation. The next ministerial meeting took place in Brunei in 1995. Garath Evans found that the ARF is suitable and viable vehicle of address regional security question.

Added to the ARF is the newly formed Council on Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (OSCAP) which is expected to provide further inputs into the ARF. Within ASEAN itself there is ASEAN ISIS which has made a study of the Security questions and proposed measures in the national defence white papers, a Southeast Asian arms register, greater regional cooperation in arms purchases, exchange of intelligence information, mutual invitation to observe force manoeuvres, notification of forthcoming military exercises, exchange of information and comparison of estimates of military strength.

A new dimension on the question of security is the inclusion of the humanitarian aspects of the threat besides the traditional security questions such as territorial conflicts and arms proliferation. The "Comprehensive security would include such question as natural resource competition, illegal migration, environmental degradation and human rights violations. These non military aspects would be considered by ASEAN, ARF and PEC in the search for comprehensive security.

ASEAN is therefore at the forefront in the search for the co-operative and comprehensive security arrangement in the Asia Pacific. The United States is expected to play its traditional active role as it is involved with all the countries in the region. An acceptance of a peaceful approach in a "win-win" situation would incorporate the Wilsonian or cooperative (collective) approach to security which would be beneficial to all.

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1. Naidu, G.V.C. Two decades of ASEAN.Strategic Analysis Vol. 12, No.1, April 1988.
  2. Douglas T. Stuart, Adelphi Paper 299, A U.S strategy for the Asia Pacific
  3. Guoxing, Ji, Sino-ASEAN Prospective Relationship and its Effects on US, Vol. 18. No.1, Asian Profile. Shanghai Institute for International Studies. February 1990.
  4. Evans, Gareth, Asia Pacific in the Twenty First Century: Conflict or Cooperation? The World Today, February 1996.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is the list of selective bibliography and constitutes the latest materials on the subject. For the project itself the list would include statistical data on trade and investment from the Asia Pacific countries and from interviews.

Archarya, Amitav, Preventive Diplomacy: Issues and Institutions in the Asian Pacific Region (8<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Roundtable , Kuala Lumpur: ASEAN-ISIS 1994).

Dr. Soesastro Hadi: Economic Integration and interdependence in the Asia Pacific: Implications for security (8<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Roundtable , Kuala Lumpur: ASEAN-ISIS June 1994).

Prof. Valencia Mark, The South China Sea Disputes: Context Conjecture and Confidence Building (8<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Roundtable, Kuala Lumpur: ASEAN -ISIS, June 1994.)

ASEAN Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), Focus on the 10<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Roundtable, Monitor, Issue No. 14, Kuala Lumpur: June 1996.

Wah Chin Kin, ASEAN and the Major Powers, (U.S , Japan, China) Asia Pacific Forum, International Conference on ASEAN: Internal and External Cooperation in the 1990s and Beyond. " Manila: January 1993.

Douglas T. Stuart, Adelphi Paper 299, A U.S strategy for the Asia Pacific.

Simon Sheldon W. , Prof of Political Science, Arizona State University. United States Security Policy and ASEAN. Current History. March 1990.

Evans, Gareth, Asia Pacific in the Twenty First Century: Conflict or Cooperation? The World Today, February 1996.

Guoxing, Ji, Sino-ASEAN Prospective Relationship and its Effects on US, Vol. 18. No.1, Asian Profile. Shanghai Institute for International Studies. February 1990.

Naidu, G,V,C. Two decades of ASEAN. Strategic Analysis Vol. 12, No.1, April 1988.

Sodhy, Pamela, The US -Malaysian Nexus, Themes in superpower small state relations, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, 1991.



Chairman

28 September 1996

The Woodrow Wilson Center  
The Fellowship Office  
1000 Jefferson Drive, S..  
SI MRC 022  
Washington D C 20560

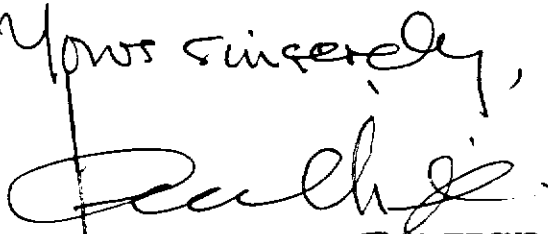
Dear Sirs

I am one of the three referees for the application of Dato' Yusof Hashim from Malaysia for the fellowship of the Woodrow Wilson Center. Enclosed herewith, as an introduction, my curriculum vitae.

I know Dato' Yusof Hashim for a long time, since we were both in the Malaysian Foreign service.

The topic he has chosen for his research is at present most current and topical, both in United States and in this part of the world. In the first instance ASEAN is moving rapidly not only as a socio-economic entity, but as a politico-security grouping as well. The ARF which has been established and the 2nd track process CSPAC which preceded it, are active mechanism that bring forth issues of security concern and continuously strive towards creating confidence-building measures among countries of the Asia Pacific region. Asean role in this context should be seen as crucial to ensure and sustain peace and stability in the area. Major powers especially United States must take full cognition of Asean role in this regard. Most importantly, United States strategists should view security of the Asia-Pacific, not just in triangular dimension i.e. US/CHINA/JAPAN, but more now in the context of quadrangular dimension i.e. US/CHINA/JAPAN/ASEAN, of which ASEAN constitutes a very important and crucial factor.

I believe Dato' Yusof Hashim's research will contribute to this strategic process and I will therefore support his application.

Yours sincerely,  
  
TAN SRI DATUK ZAINAL ABIDIN SULONG

**LEMBAGA KEMAJUAN PERINDUSTRIAN MALAYSIA**

(Malaysian Industrial Development Authority)

Tingkat 6, Wisma Damansara, Bukit Damansara, Jalan Semantan, Peti Surat 10618, 50720 Kuala Lumpur.  
Kawat: MIDAMAL. Telek: 'MIDA' MA 30752. Telefon: 03-2553633. Fax: 03-2557970



**DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20319-5066  
September 26, 1996**

REPLY TO  
ATTENTION OF:

Institute for National Strategic Studies

Fellowship Office  
Woodrow Wilson Center  
MRC 022  
1000 Jefferson Drive, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Sirs:

This is a letter supporting the fellowship application of Yusaf Hashim of Malaysia, based upon his project paper. In my judgment, Yusaf Hashim's project has a great deal of merit and would be a worthy one for the Woodrow Wilson Center to support. His presence at the Center would enable Yusaf to take much further the research and analysis of ideas contained in his project paper.

As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, I was a principal participant in the formulation and implementation of the Carter Administration policy decision in early 1977 to try and revitalize ASEAN as a means of both improving United States' relations with the five member states and enhancing their mutual stability and capability to withstand threats from Vietnam (with Soviet support) and China in the immediate aftermath of U.S. defeat in the Vietnam conflict. The outline of evolving events and policy issues in Yusaf's paper from 1977 to 1995 with respect to ASEAN relations and interaction with the U.S., China, Cambodia, and Vietnam is particularly insightful. The importance of ASEAN's role as a strong stabilizing force in Southeast Asia during this period has not been properly recognized. Yusaf's work can contribute to doing so.

Further research could enable him to clarify and expand these historical aspects of the project paper. The same is true of ASEAN's formal dialogue with other states from outside the region (U.S., Japan, Australia, New Zealand, El Salvador, etc.) and its growth in numbers. Study at the Wilson Center would also put Yusaf into contact with other scholars on East Asia and enable him to refine his thinking about ASEAN's future relations with Japan, China, and the U.S., including a critical assessment of its ambitious ideas for a major regional role in conflict prevention and other security issues. This will be a very important issue for the early decades of the 21st Century.

A careful study of the prospects for this future role in light of ASEAN-related events over the past thirty years would be very useful.

It seems to me that Yusaf could also take on the task of examining the near-term effect of ASEAN's relations with Cambodia and Burma--two troubled countries in Southeast Asia recently admitted and soon to be admitted to ASEAN membership with the objective of helping them attain a peaceful resolution to internal conflict and move toward democracy. What occurs with these countries will provide an indication of ASEAN's optimism about its potential for a more active, geographically expanded policy of promoting conflict resolution for East Asia.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Robert B. Oakley". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Robert B. Oakley  
U.S. Ambassador (Ret.)

# ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS PROGRAM

September 27, 1996

Fellowship Office  
Woodrow Wilson Center  
1000 Jefferson Drive, SW, MRC 022  
Washington, D.C. 20560

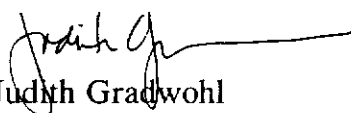
To whom it may concern:

Ambassador Dato' Yusof Hashim asked me to provide a reference letter in support of his fellowship application. I met Ambassador Hashim while he was Deputy Chief of Mission of the Malaysian Embassy here in Washington, D.C., 1987-1988. Hashim was instrumental in helping me obtain permission and make logistical arrangements to take a film crew into Mulu National Park in Sarawak. The film was eventually used in the traveling exhibition *Tropical Rainforests: A Disappearing Treasure*, which opened at the Smithsonian in 1988 and toured nationally for five years. Because of the environmental content of the exhibition and the fact that we wanted to film in the heart of the area in which Penan Indians were gaining international attention for blockading logging operations, Ambassador Hashim provided extremely sensitive and critical support.

I found Ambassador Hashim to be thoughtful and thorough in his capacity as Deputy Chief of Mission. He was quite well-versed in environmental issues in the state of Sarawak, and still appears to be knowledgeable about environmental considerations throughout east Asia.

Since my association with Ambassador Hashim was in essence diplomatic, and my field is biology, I am unable to comment fully upon his academic abilities in the context of this fellowship application. In focusing on the future of ASEAN and security in Asia, Ambassador Hashim has certainly chosen a fellowship topic that is both interesting and one that he seems fully qualified to address. His background in economics and experience throughout Asia would make him an good fellowship candidate. On a personal level, Ambassador Hashim is very warm, personable and energetic.

Sincerely,



Judith Gradwohl  
Director