

A Review of Malaysia-United Kingdom Relations: A Literature Review Analysis

Mimi Nur Atifah Ahmad Daud¹ and Asmady Idris*²

^{1,2}Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, International Relations Programme,
Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Jalan UMS, 88400 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia

*Corresponding author: miminuratifah@gmail.com

Abstract

Malaysia and the United Kingdom have a long history dating back to before independence, where numerous areas of cooperation have developed, resulting in the British system having a significant impact on Malaysia's political system, parliamentary system, economy, and educational system. Therefore, when examining Malaysia's foreign policy and relations with other nations, Malaysia's relations with the United Kingdom are by far the most prominent compared to those with its other bilateral partners. Nonetheless, given the significance of both countries' relations, how extensively has past research examined Malaysia-United Kingdom relations? To address this statement of problem, the purpose of this paper is to conduct an in-depth analysis of the past literature studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom ties. This includes identifying what studies have been conducted, what has not, and evaluating previous studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations. The study's research method is a critical analysis of previous studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations, encompassing summarising, synthesising, and evaluating the literature. The study found that, there are still a lack of studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations, with only a few in-depth studies undertaken on the subject. This is evident from a review of the literature which reveals that most studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations have concentrated on issues that arose between the two countries during Mahathir Mohamad's administration, leaving a gap in understanding of how the two countries' relations were during the administrations of other prime ministers. Moreover, an examination of the existing body of literature indicates that there has yet a comprehensive study conducted that offers essential data on the dynamics of the bilateral relations between the two nations, specifically concerning their cooperation in defence, economy, and social. Thus, research on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations remains inadequate in empirical data, and it is anticipated that forthcoming studies will make greater contributions to this area of study.

Keywords: Bilateral Relations, Foreign Policy, Literature Review Analysis, Malaysia, United Kingdom

Introduction

The British had a long historical role in the development of Malaysia, beginning with a relationship between a coloniser and a colony, later becoming the defender of Malaya (later Malaysia in 1957) during Communist insurgency and Indonesian Confrontation, and then embarking on a political and economic relationship with Malaysia. Early relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom (UK) began when Sir Francis Drake, an English admiral, embarked on a voyage into the Straits of Malacca in 1579, which revolved around trading activities and was part of his global

navigation from 1577 to 1580 during the Elizabethan period (San Francisco Call News, 1895; Northern Whig & Belfast Post, 1932; Mimi Nur Atifah Ahmad Daud, Asmady Idris, & Asri Salleh, 2022: p. 989; Plymouth Britain's Ocean City, 2022). Since Drake's first voyage, more Englishmen ventured into Malaya, gradually establishing their political and economic influence through significant signings and treaties. These included the lease of Penang to Francis Light on behalf of the East India Company (EIC), also known as the British East India Company (BEIC), in 1786, and the attainment of legal authority over Singapore by Stamford Raffles in 1819. By the nineteenth century, the British had already gained complete dominance over Malacca and the majority of the Malay Peninsula when, in 1824, they signed the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, which legalised their acquisition of the majority of Malay states on the peninsula to the British (Asmady Idris, 2015: p. 48).

The conquest to rule or colonise Malaya lasted until the mid-twentieth century, when Malaya finally gained independence from the British on August 31, 1957. Even after Malaysia gained independence in 1957, the long decade of British colonisation had an impact on the country, particularly when many Western values and norms were incorporated into its system, including its government and society. This is apparent when British immigration policies, divide-and-rule practices, and parliamentary systems all contribute to Malaysia's political, social, and economic makeup (Nurliana Kamararuddin & Roy Anthony Rogers, 2020). As a result, Malaysia's political system (guided by the Westminster-style Parliamentary system), economy (followed the *laissez-faire* system), and its social system (the adoption of British education system with English as the language of instruction in government schools) were all modelled after the British system.

Additionally, these long-standing bilateral relations have fostered extensive cooperation in various fields, defence, education, and trade (Diplomatic Voice of Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, 2018, p. 8). The extensive historical relationship between Malaysia and the United Kingdom, coupled with the numerous areas of cooperation in which both nations have engaged, elevates the significance of Malaysia-UK relations beyond that of Malaysia's other bilateral partners. While Malaysia's bilateral relations with the United Kingdom have been a significant component in the study of Malaysia's foreign policy and relations, the extent to which previous research has addressed or examined this particular subject or topic is uncertain. As such, the purpose of this paper is to conduct an in-depth analysis of previous literature studies on Malaysia-United Kingdom ties. In doing so, the paper aims to outline which studies have been conducted and which have not, as well as evaluating previous research on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations.

Literature Review

In conducting the literature review, it is important to acknowledge that numerous studies have been conducted on Malaysia's foreign policy, fewer focus on Malaysia and United Kingdom relations. This section begins by reviewing previous studies on Malaysian foreign policy before delving into available studies on Malaysia-UK relations.

Literature on Malaysian Foreign Policy in General

Malaysian foreign policy studies in the early days were mostly descriptive or narratively written in historically chorological order, as demonstrated by Silcock (1963), Hazra (1965), Dalton (1967),

Tilman (1969), Ott (1972), Tongpricha (1970), and Khaw (1976) studies. Ott's article 'Foreign Policy Formulation in Malaysia' was one of the first to attempt to examine Malaysian foreign policy analytically, and he described Malaysian foreign policy as "the virtual prerogative of a small stable elite comprising four or five men" (Ott, 1972: p. 225). However, he also does not totally dispute the important role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) by describing "the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as second to the Prime Minister in the shaping of Malaysian foreign policy" (Ibid: p. 229).

Meanwhile, Saravanamuttu in all of his works (1976, 1983, 1987), has attempted to trace the sources and content of Malaysia's foreign policy chronological, using an analytical framework derived from foreign policy theoretical literature. He identified four sources of foreign policy: external sources, eco-historical sources, and idiosyncratic/elite sources, which are linked to four types of foreign policy outputs: objectives, postures, strategies, and actions. In addition, his studies also argued that for developing, Third World countries, such as Malaysia, foreign policy was personally relate to the fulfilment of those domestically identified needs and interests. On his latest work on Malaysia foreign policy (2010), he sought to grasp Malaysia's opening up an increasingly globalising environment and at the same time maintaining regional solidarity; how it seeks to navigate domestic pressures and economic imperatives; and how its leaders forge international initiatives but yet maintain Islamic credentials (Saravanamuttu, 2010). In doing so, he outlined major issues and key players involved in Malaysian foreign policy since independence utilising a critical-constructivist approach.

There are several studies on Malaysian foreign policy that particularly focus on specific eras during prime minister's administration. This includes studies by Pathmanathan and Lazarus (1984), Abdullah Ahmad (1985), Chamil Wariya (1989), Camroux (1994), Liow (2001), Rozeman Hassan (2003), Dhillion (2005, 2009), Paridah Samad (2009), Mohd. Sohaimi Esa (2022), and Mohamad Ikhrum Mohamad Ridzuan and Marfunizah Ma'dan (2023). Three of the studies, Rozeman Hassan (2003), Paridah Samad (2009), and Mohd Sohaimi Esa (2022), focused on Malaysia's foreign policy during the Tun Razak era. Abdullah Ahmad (1985) focused on Tunku's premiership and Mohamad Ikhrum Mohamad Ridzuan and Marfunizah Ma'dan (2023) focused on Tun Abdullah Badawi's period in relation to China. The remaining studies solely examined Mahathir's administration. Another study on Malaysian foreign policy has been conducted by Faridah Jaafar (2003) whereby, she particularly concentrated on the element of idiosyncratic or personality during Tun Hussein premiership. This then was followed by her later study in 2007 in which she studied on Malaysia's foreign policy from 1957 until 2005 again, focuses entirely on prime ministers' personality. Similarly, Dhillion's (2009) study emphasised the idiosyncratic factor in analysing Malaysia's foreign policy during Mahathir Mohamad's tenure. It highlighted that along with factors like domestic contingencies (such as ethnic integration and national development) and the global environment (external factors), Mahathir's personality traits played a significant role in shaping major shifts in the direction nature, substance, style, and rhetoric of Malaysia's foreign policy.

In the realm of economy, both studies by Stubbs (1990) and Faridah Jaafar (2012) explained Malaysia's international economics relations within its foreign policy framework. However, Faridah's work focused on a comparative study between the eras of Tunku and Mahathir. In the defense policy and alliances related to Malaysia, studies have been carried out by Chin (1974, 1983) and Jeshurun (1980). Then, other studies by Mohammed Azhari, Llewellyn,

and Okuda (1990) and Abdul Razak Baginda and Rohana Mahmood (1995) have focused on Malaysia's foreign policy as well as its defence policies. Meanwhile, a work pertaining to Malaysia diplomacy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been done by Jeshrun (2007). In Shanti Nair's (1997) study, she examined Islam in Malaysian foreign policy, concluding that foreign policy is not merely a function of structure and processes, but also encompasses societal norms and values. She argued that Islamic culture, ideas, and values have been influential in shaping Malaysia's social, economic, and political structures. Another similar work that analyses the role of Islam in Malaysia's foreign policy is the recent study by Prashant Waikar, Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, and Rashaad Ali (2019). However, unlike Shanti Nair (1997), their research focuses on the importance of Islam in Malaysian foreign policy under Prime Minister Najib Razak. Alternatively, the study by Milner (2015) attempted to explain the puzzling aspects of Malaysia's foreign policy by drawing on concepts found in "pre-modern Malay" writings.

On Malaysia's bilateral or foreign relations with specific countries or powers such as the United States (US), Soviet Union, Russia, China, Japan, German, Australia, "South", Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and Singapore, studies have been conducted by Nathan (1987), Sodhy (1982, 1991, 2007), Hoong (1987), Camilleri (2001), Liow (2004), Ahmad Faiz (2005), Mohd. Noor Mat Yazid (2007, 2013), Ming (2009), Azhari Karim (2012), Balakrishnan (2012), Saravanamuttu (2012), Ahmad Nizar Yaakub (2013), Asmady Idris (2015), Kadir Mohamad (2015), Md Nasrudin Md Akhir, Leong, and Hafiz Muhammad Tahir (2018), Nuruddin Abdul Aziz (2018), Rizal Zamani Idris (2018), Govindasamay and Muhammad Danial Azman (2020), Kuik and Thomas (2022), and Lai, De Silva, and Wang (2023) accordingly. Thus, it is evident that many researchers have conducted research on Malaysia's foreign policy, but few have specifically addressed Malaysia's foreign policy or its relations with the United Kingdom.

Literature on Malaysia-United Kingdom Relations

To date, although Malaysia-United Kingdom relations might have sounded common in general, it is important to acknowledge that not much academic work has been done or published concerning to the topic. If studies on Malaysia-UK relations have been conducted, the majority of them have focused on the Mahathir administration, as evidenced by Hock (1982), Leifer (1983), Sunora Sagi and Azlizan Mat Enh (2017), and Mohd Afendi Daud, Abd Aziz A'zmi, and Mohd Sufiean Hassan (2018) studies.

To elaborate more on past studies on the relationship between Malaysia and the UK, Hock (1982) examined the causes and implications for the changing of directions in Malaysia's bilateral relations with Britain and Singapore in 1981. It appears that during Mahathir's administration, the ties between Malaysia and British deteriorated, while those with Singapore improved in 1981. Hock established that domestic politics, particularly the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP), had a significant impact on Malaysia's foreign policy behaviour and bilateral relations with the United Kingdom and Singapore. While Britain did not fully understood the objectives and structure of the NEP, Singapore comprehended and cooperated extensively with Malaysia toward achieving NEP's goals.

The NEP was implemented with the aims to eradicate poverty regardless of race and to restructure society to eliminate identification of race with occupation. It was hope that national integration of the diverse races would be achieved by 1990. Greater emphasis has been placed on the second objective so that a Malay commercial and industrial community can own at least 30%

of the country's corporate sector by 1990. Additionally, Hock added that, the scope of NEP was wide and extensive, ranging from investment opportunities to higher education, which, if impacted, would have repercussions for Malaysia's bilateral relations with others. The British, however, appear to be oblivious the NEP goal, even raising university and college tuition, which has had a significant impact on Malaysian students studying there. Hock extended that, since then, Malaysian-British relations have deteriorated to the point where the Commonwealth's relevance in Malaysian foreign policy has been downgraded, and ASEAN, Islamic bloc and the non-aligned have become Malaysia's priorities.

Although Hock case study included Malaysia and Britain, the study however only essentially covered during Mahathir's period. The study does not cover the period in which Malaysia transitioned towards non-aligned policy which took place during Tun Razak's administration. Nonetheless, Hock's study does leave a gap for future research because, according to him, "the changes in bilateral relations with Britain began even during Tun Razak's period but were muted," implying that there is a need to expand the area of research beginning with Tun Razak's period. Hock goes on to say that this was especially the case when Tun Razak changed the country's foreign policy from open and unwavering support for the British Commonwealth to strict neutrality via ASEAN's Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) concept. Moreover, despite claiming that the relationship between Malaysia and the United Kingdom has been deteriorating during Tun Mahathir period, Hock argued that the situation was not serious enough to break diplomatic ties, and that Malaysia still required British investments for her development in order to achieve her NEP's objectives. In addition, Hock also stated that despite the government under Mahathir's administration's efforts to discourage Malaysian students from attending British universities, many still prefer to study there despite the high fees, leading him to conclude that "psychologically, the days of British socialisation of Malaysian elites are not yet over".

While Hock's study provides some important and interesting facts on the nature of Malaysian and British relations during the Mahathir Mohamad administration, it is important to note that his study does not provide enough actual data on the so-called "deteriorating" relationships between Malaysia and the British, as well as further explanation on the amount of British investment in Malaysia that makes both countries relations are still intact to each other despite the unfriendly environment. Furthermore, Hock's study also leaves a gap in both countries' educational ties because he argued that many Malaysians still prefer to study in the UK, but no further data was provided in his argument. Nonetheless, Hock made an interesting observation that there is a strong sentimental attachment in the minds of many Malaysians towards the British in terms of the need to obtain Western education, which may imply that in terms of education ties, both countries' relations are still intact, though further research is required.

Another study by Leifer (1983) discusses the reasons behind the strained relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom. It also details the actions Mahathir took to retaliate against British attitudes, which primarily consisted of various forms of trade discrimination against the British. In a manner similar to Hock's (1982) research, Leifer (1983) argued that issues between Malaysia and the United Kingdom have existed since the 1970s, during the Tun Razak administration. According to Leifer, the electoral results of 1969 and the racial unrest in May 1969 prompted Tun Razak to implement the NEP to ensure that UMNO and the Malays retained power. The implementation of the NEP, which stipulated that Malays must attain 30% of the holding in the management of commercial and industrial enterprise and in the corporate wealth of the country

by 1990, impacted the relationship between Malaysia and the United Kingdom. This policy led to a decrease in British company ownership in Malaysia. It is to be noted that, only 2% of the corporate sector was owned by the Malays in 1970, while the remaining 62% was subject to foreign ownership and control, primarily by the British especially, in the plantations agriculture and extractive industry.

Leifer elaborated that Malaysia and the British had estranged relations during Mahathir's administration primarily because the British exhibited a neo-colonialist attitude towards Malaysia, whereas Mahathir demanded that Malaysia be treated equally and with respect. Several factors contribute to Mahathir's holding such a viewpoint. Firstly, even before becoming Malaysia's fourth prime minister, Mahathir already had clashed with the British. His 1970 book "The Malay Dilemma," asserted that the British were responsible for the Malays' precarious position, as they had encouraged unmanageable numbers of Chinese and Indian to immigrate and then segregating them from the Malays. In the same book, he also criticised the British for their exploitative system of colonial rule, which exacerbated Malay backwardness, as well as for their insidious design of the 1946 Malayan Union, which sought to deprive the Malays of their political birth right. Second, he was neither a member of the traditional Malay ruling class, which had been socialised into the colonial bureaucracy, nor was he educated in Britain, as was his other prime minister predecessor. Thirdly, the British attitude that did not comprehend the objectives of the Malaysian New Economic Policy (NEP) impeded the smooth implementation of the NEP, similar like what Hock (1982) has asserted. Fourthly, the issue of British subsidy withdrawal for overseas students in higher education further worsened Mahathir's perception of the British.

Leifer study also revealed that, Mahathir was brave enough to discriminate against the former colonial power because, Britain had become decreasingly relevance to Malaysia's security needs since the departure of Tunku. This assertion is somewhat intriguing because it raises the question of whether security protection from the British was no longer needed after Tunku's prime. Furthermore, this relates to the relevance of Malaysian security cooperation with the British, particularly the significance of the FPDA, which has remained in place until now, as this would imply that military exercises between Malaysia and FPDA members have also decreased. Hence, more research is required to explore and validate Leifer's claim. In addition, Leifer disclosed that while Mahathir displayed a bitter attitude towards the British, this does not represent the views of all Malaysians, as young Malaysians, including the children of cabinet ministers and officials, continue to study in the United Kingdom due to the residual goodwill and affection. This is important because it shows that no matter what policy the prime minister and his government impose, it may not be effective in its citizens and that a strong social attachment to certain ideas and values may be ruled by other factors. Nonetheless, because no data were provided for this argument, more research is required to clarify Leifer's argument.

In Amarnath Kakkar (1986) study, he discusses Anglo-Malayan relations from 1957 until 1970, focusing on security. He asserted that "the Anglo-Malaysian relations since independence until 1970's involved mostly in the area of security or defence in addition with some economic aspect". The aims of the British policy in the region were mainly to get rid of its responsibilities of colonial rule and; to protect the region from communist domination keeping in view Peking's role as perceived at that time. Besides for security protection, British presence also contributed to the economic growth (between 30 000 to 35 000 local people were directly employed on the military base, with at least same number of people being dependent on the base for their live hood).

He added that Malaysia and Singapore had similar attitudes in many respects regarding the British presence and the US role in the region. Amarnath Kakkar asserted that, both countries gave the impression that British and US presence contributed to the stability and security of the Southeast Asian region (particularly in countering Chinese expansion), and that they have always hoped that Britain would remain present in the region and continue its responsibility for Malaysia-Singapore defence.

Moving to FPDA discussion, Amarnath explained that the FPDA has many weaknesses considering all the three powers in ANZUK (Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom) provide inadequate amount of forces to defend Malaysia and Singapore; the limitation in nature of the FPDA (the ground units were limited in their effectiveness because of the scarcity of training areas and their circumscribed mission; the integrated air defence system could not work very efficiently because of high technicality involved in it; Malaysia and Singapore do not have expertise in the field of air and missile systems; the lack of participation from the Britain; the lack of cooperation and mutual distrust between Malaysia and Singapore; and that there were conflicts of national interest among FPDA members, which slowed progress toward genuine cooperation.

Amarnath also explained that Malaysia was quite aware of the limitations of the five power arrangements and that relying completely on the arrangement was useless unless it was converted into a formal treaty. At the same time, the idea of neutralization was strongly floated in the minds of the Malaysian government stating that they would withdraw from five power arrangement. Neutralization was an alternative model for security that the Malaysian leadership had in mind. Hence, despite the fact that Malaysia and Singapore reliance for external powers was quite useful, a strong desire for self-reliance seemed to also been prominent in the minds of the leaders. Nonetheless, despite the FPDA's many contradictions, clashes, and controversies, all member countries agreed that the pact was useful in some way. The FPDA, for example, can assist in providing a sense of security to foreign investors and reducing the likelihood of conflict between Malaysia and Singapore, and that, because ANZUK (whose members are members of the FPDA), was an extension of American maritime interests in Southeast Asia, these forces limited the activity of Soviet Naval arms in the Malacca Strait area. Furthermore, although it is widely assumed that the agreement would be of no significance for Malaysia, Tun Razak stated in an interview that the FPDA was useful for providing psychological support to Malaysia and Singapore in light of their non-existent conventional threat, which they claimed to have. Therefore, if the FPDA continued to exist, it would at least provide some psychological assurance to both countries that if any conflicts erupted in their respective territories, the FPDA would be there to assist.

Several gaps in Amarnath's study include that his discussion was not solely focused on British-Malaysia relations but mostly encompassed Anglo (UK, Australia, and New Zealand) and Malayan (Malaysia and Singapore) relations in the aspect of security. Therefore, it was not an in depth study of Malaysia-UK relations. In addition, discussions were mostly on the contradiction between Malaysia and Singapore view on their security cooperation or FPDA arrangement as well as, how Australia and New Zealand indicate its lacking of interest over the FPDA. Indirectly, Amarnath's study may also shed light on the fact that, despite the fact that FPDA may no longer support the overall security and defence of Malaysia, the psychological and historical attachment that it had with the arrangement that included three significant powers that played a significant role in defending Malaya during the communist insurgency may still be intact, prompting Malaysia to still welcome the FPDA's presence. Furthermore, his research may also indicate some insights

that, in terms of security, Malaysia may prefer to work with Western countries or Western majority security arrangements, as cooperation with the UK and the US would provide assurance in countering Communism expansion. But nevertheless, more in-depth analysis is required to justify the psychological and historical attachment, as well as Malaysia's preference for western security cooperation, given that Amarnath's study has not yet addressed and provide sufficient evidence for this argument.

Another study by Ruhanas Harun (2015), on the other hand, has illustrated issues and challenges in Malaysia-Europe relations as a whole. Similar like Hock (1982) and Leifer (1983), Ruhanas also asserted that there has been a changed in bilateral relations between Malaysia and the UK since the 1970s especially when, Malaysia found it necessary to reduce its political tutelage and security dependency on Britain and that Malaysia policy of non-aligned has broaden its external relations with others countries. Although, there has been a changed in bilateral relations, Ruhanas justified that, Malaysia has continued to have close and strong relations with the British in the defence, economic, education, cultural and social ties. Nonetheless, Ruhanas explanation of Malaysia-British relations was only in a small portion of the whole work, and no in-depth data was provided to support her argument regarding the continual close and strong ties between Malaysia and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, her views appear to be contradictory, particularly when she asserts that Malaysia has to minimise its political and security reliance on the UK but then asserts that Malaysia maintains strong and close ties with the UK, including in defence areas. Therefore, the study does not provide the essential data and information on the overall character of Malaysia-UK relations.

Meanwhile, in Sunora Sagi and Azlizan Mat Enh (2017) study, they focused on the reactions of the British towards 'Buy British Last policy' and the implications of the policy on short-term bilateral relations between Malaysia and Britain. British reactions include reactions from Margaret Thatcher, British officials, and British businessmen. Factors lead to 'Buy British' policy to be implemented include the increase of universities fees for Malaysian students in Britain; the failure of British to understand the NEP; Mahathir personality; the British media that gave negative perceptions about Mahathir and Malaysia. On the reactions of British towards the implementing of the policy, some did not agree with Malaysia implementing the 'Buy British Last' policy while, others seem to be wanting to calm and solve the tensions between Malaysia-British relations and willing to accommodate Malaysia wishes. Although the policy was terminated in 1983, bilateral relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom were again strained in 1994 when British media (London Sunday Times) allegedly accused Mahathir of corruption for receiving \$50,000 from the George Wimpey International (GWI) corporation. This then followed by Malaysia under Mahathir to once again boycotted British goods and services and imposed restrictions on the awarding of contracts as in the 'Buy British Last' policy.

Among the impacts of the 'Buy British Last' policy on the bilateral relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom are the return of study fee subsidies to Malaysian students in the United Kingdom, resulting in a reduction in university or college tuition fees; the financial loss incurred by British businesses and services in Malaysia; and the termination of contracts with British firms. It appears that the British also attempted to rectify the situation by conducting a series of negotiations between their officials and Malaysian officials to defuse the situation and ultimately end the Buy British Last campaign because it had a significant impact on the economy,

particularly on British businesses and services. This suggests that when it comes to economic relations with Malaysia, the British view it as a serious and long-term matter.

Interestingly, the study by Sunora Sagi and Azlizan Mat Enh also revealed that as the policy is being implemented, not all British firms face restrictions in awarding contracts, particularly those in the private sector. This is especially apparent in British companies that provided technology transfer to Malaysia, such as the supply of weapons and tanks for Malaysia's defence. Hence, this indicates that Mahathir's restrictions against the British during the period of 'Buy British Last' were limited to selective trade areas and did not include the trade of military hardware, which is in Malaysia's interest. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Sunora Sagi and Azlizan Mat Enh's study focused solely on the impact of the 'Buy British Last' policy on Malaysia-British relations (a small portion of their overall bilateral relations). In addition to that, while their study covers the implications of the 'Buy British Last' policy on Malaysia-British relations, there is no data presented in a diagram or table to show how the introduced policy affects both countries' relations, leaving room for future research.

A study by Mohd Afendi Daud et al. (2018) may contain the most analytical data on Malaysia-UK relations, particularly focusing on economic data. This is because, in contrast to the other studies discussed above, Mohd Afendi Daud et al. (2018) study clearly displays a table containing trade data between Malaysia and the UK, in which he shows how their relationships have been since Mahathir became Malaysia's fourth prime minister, when many issues have been affecting both countries' relations. To be more specific, the study looks at Malaysia-Britain foreign policy during Dr. Mahathir's tenure as Prime Minister. The study focuses on several issues involving both countries, especially the 'Buy British Last' policy, the took over of Guthrie Corporation, the implementation of 'Look East' policy, Mahathir role in directing Malaysia's foreign policy in Commonwealth, Mahathir on the Apartheid issue in South Africa, the landing of Concorde plane in Kuala Lumpur, the increase of Malaysian students' fees, London Metal Exchange, additional MAS flights to London and Bukit Carcosa issue.

According to the study, dependency on Britain has begun to be disrupted and reduced since Tun Razak's time through the ASEAN and ZOPFAN concepts, whereby Tun Razak has broken Malaysia's foreign relations tradition by establishing diplomatic relations with China. The changes made, however, did not directly affect Malaysia's relations with Britain. On trade data, the study provided data on the impacts of the 'Buy British Last' policy and the 'Look East' policy on Malaysia-Britain, Malaysia-Japan, and Malaysia-South Korea relations. Import and exports were shown in a table from 1980-1990 (for Malaysia-Britain) and 1981-1990 (for Malaysia-Japan and Malaysia-South Korea). Data from their study indicate that, Malaysia-Japan export and import were much higher than the export and import between Malaysia-UK throughout 1981-1990. The export of Malaysia-UK and Malaysia-South Korea indicate the same numbers from 1982-1985 while, Malaysia-South Korea export was much higher than Malaysia-UK export from 1986-1990. Meanwhile, the import between Malaysia-UK was much higher compared to the import between Malaysia-South Korea throughout 1981-1990.

The authors leave a gap in his study in which he explains that Tun Razak broke Malaysia's foreign relations tradition after introducing the ZOPFAN concept and establishing diplomatic relations with Communist China, but there is no direct impact of Malaysia-UK relations. However, to what extent does the policy change not directly affect Malaysian-British relations? as none so far did in-depth study on Malaysia-UK relations during Tun Razak period. Furthermore, although

data was provided, the data on the impact of the policies (Buy British Last and the Look East) only covers up to 1990 (not the whole of Mahathir administration which is 1981-2003). Besides, the data provided does not classify which products were imports and exports products between the two countries. In addition, the majority of the in-depth data provided pertained to the economic area, particularly the trading between the two countries, leaving the security and social areas data between the two countries unfilled. Also, if the 'Buy British Last' and 'Look East' policy indicate Malaysia trade relations with British was smaller compared to Japan, where did Britain or other western countries rank in Malaysia trade relations from 1981-2003?

There are a few relatively recent works that cover the subject of Malaysia-UK relations. In terms of the healthcare aspect, a study by Shereen Allaham, Isabel-Catherine Demel, Intesar Nur, Faizul Nizam Abu Salim, and Logan Manikam (2021) attempted to compare the strategies of Malaysia and the UK healthcare systems for containing COVID-19. The study's comparison argues that Malaysia, being a former colony of the United Kingdom, historically possessed the similar health-care framework as the United Kingdom. However, Malaysia has managed to establish a more cohesive health system than the United Kingdom, which has enabled the country to respond to the crisis in a more timely and effective manner. The article does present a few interesting facts regarding Malaysia and the United Kingdom, notably regarding their healthcare systems, but it mostly compares the success of Malaysia's COVID-19 containment efforts to those of the United Kingdom. It was not so much about Malaysia-UK healthcare relations or ties.

Another study by Rizwanah Souket and Syed Arabi Idid (2020), for instance, attempted to trace the early form of public information services in British Malaya during the British colonial period to bring new insights into the historical evolution of Malaysian public relations. The author's own work (2022) is similar in that it touches on historical aspects, focusing on the historical background of Malaysia and Great Britain from the 16th century to the pre-independence period. This covers an assessment of the British early presence in Malaya from the 16th century to the start of British colonialism, the structure of British colonial governance in Malaya, and the strategic significance of Malaya for the British economy. While there are similarities in that both studies touch on the same theme of the early stages or historical context of Malaysia-UK relations, they appear to diverge in terms of discipline and subject matter in that one focuses on the early stages and development of Malaysia public relations in regard to British colonial influence, whereas the other is completely contended in terms of Malaysia-UK relations in the early days from an international relations perspective. However, it is important to acknowledge that the context of both studies is merely historical; thus, there are plenty of potential for enhancement and further research to delve into other aspect of their relationships, including the nature of their current relationships in today's world.

Results and Discussion

Based on the reviewed literature, there are some similarities among Hock (1982), Leifer (1983), Sunora Sagi, and Azlizan Mat Enh (2017), and Mohd Afendi Daud et al. (2018) studies. They all discussed the issues that the factors contributing to strained relations between Malaysia and Britain, as well as Mahathir's actions in response, which impacted Malaysia's relationship with the British. Some of the existing literature, such as Sunora Sagi and Azlizan Mat Enh (2017), have only focused on the 'Buy British Last' policy. In contrast, others like Hock (1982), Leifer (1983),

and Mohd Afendi Daud et al. (2018) delve into broader aspects of Malaysia-British relations. These include discussions on the Guthrie Corporation, the implementation of Look East policy, Mahathir's role in directing Malaysia's foreign policy on Commonwealth, the Apartheid issue in South Africa, the landing of Concorde plane in Kuala Lumpur, the increase of Malaysian students fees, London Metal Exchange, Mahathir's personality, the failure of British to understand the New Economic Policy (NEP), the British media that gave negative perceptions about Mahathir and Malaysia, additional flights by Malaysia Airlines to London and Bukit Carcosa issue.

Based on observation, studies on Malaysia-Britain relations during administrations of Tun Razak, Tun Hussein, and the post-Tun Mahathir have often overlooked by others. The lack of studies on Malaysia-UK relations during this period was a significant setback, especially considering that the administration of Tun Razak marked a notable transition in Malaysia's foreign policy. During this time, Malaysia shifted from its longstanding pro-Western stance to a new posture of non-alignment in 1970. Most authors who have studied Malaysia-British relations mentioned changes in Malaysia bilateral relations may have taken place since 1970, but none so far have specifically studied bilateral relations during the transitional period. If there are studies on Malaysia-British relations during Tun Razak's administration, they might be from Ahmad Zainudin Husin (2014, 2016), who studied British involvement in the Vietnam War from 1960-1975 and its effects on Malaysia as well as "Dasar British di Asia Tenggara dan Kesannya terhadap Malaysia 1968-75". However, the focus of his research was on how British policy in Southeast Asia has affected Malaysia, not Malaysia-UK relations as a whole. Therefore, there remains a significant research gap in studies of Malaysia-UK relations between 1970 and 1980. Additionally, the dynamics between the two countries may have changed over time following the tense relations during Tun Mahathir's tenure. This underscores the need for further research into the nature of their bilateral relations in the post-Mahathir period.

Another important observation that could be drawn from the previous studies' discussion of Malaysian-British relations was that they focused primarily on the period during which Mahathir was in power and on the impact of the relationship in terms of economic matter or trade area (with some extension in the education area, although was not too detail). While some studies, such as Amarnath's (1986), do cover Malaysian-British relations in terms of security, the discussion was confined to the Anglo-Malayan Defense Agreement (AMDA) and the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA)—possibly only a small portion of the overall security cooperation between the two countries—and the information is only available up to 1970. As a result, there has yet to be a comprehensive study of Malaysia-UK relations in terms of their cooperation in defence, economy, and social aspects. Besides that, the majority of the aforementioned studies on Malaysia-UK do not provide relevant data on Malaysia-UK trade (exports/imports), security or defence cooperation data, and social data (education, diplomatic visits between the two countries, and tourists travel) when discussing both countries' bilateral relations, which may raise questions about the reality of both countries' relationships and whether or not they are on good terms.

It is also important to note that none of the previous-mentioned studies actually analysed their case study in terms of the impact of the non-aligned policy on Malaysia and United Kingdom relations, despite the fact that the Malaysian shift towards the non-aligned policy since the 1970s has played a significant role in the development of the country's foreign policy. Changing from an initial pro-West policy to one that is non-aligned is a major change, given that Malaysia and the United Kingdom have had a long historical connection dating back to before independence. Upon

Malaysia's reaffirmation of its non-aligned stance, there may be a shift in the nature of its relations with the United Kingdom (e.g. probably becoming more distant). Therefore, additional research is needed to fill this knowledge gap, particularly regarding the impact of non-alignment stance on Malaysia-UK relations. Moreover, drawing from the analysis of the literature review in the preceding section, it is critical to recognise that there have been fewer studies conducted on the relevant subject in recent years, particularly in the literature from the past five years, indicating that the topic has not been actively explored for quite some time now. Interestingly, while there are limited existing literature on Malaysia-UK relations, none so far has explained the theory or concept they used in explaining the bilateral relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom. Thus, with limited of studies on the Malaysia-UK relations, future studies on the subject will contribute more on the empirical data.

Methodology

The study's framework or approach is established through a literature review analysis method that examines past studies on Malaysia and the United Kingdom's bilateral relations. This entails conducting a critical analysis of the existing literature pertaining to the relationship between the two countries. As such, this paper can be classified as a literature review analysis concept paper. The study is of a descriptive and explanatory nature, as pertinent materials on the subject were gathered, evaluated, and synthesised critically. The selection for the literature search is of any relevant materials related to Malaysia's bilateral relations with the UK, as this would allow the author to determine the numbers of studies that have been conducted and what has been covered by prior studies on the subject. Three processes were applied to perform the literature review analysis which include summarization, synthesis, and evaluation of the prior literature pertaining to Malaysia-United Kingdom relations. The process of summarising past studies on Malaysia-UK relations, entails around outlining the main findings, themes, arguments, or propositions put forth by previous researchers. In synthesising the relevant literature on the subject, it was conducted by relating different arguments or explanatory variables and connecting them in such way that their ideas converge and diverge from one another. Upon summarising and synthesising, the literatures were evaluated in terms of their contributions, strengths, weaknesses, or gaps that needed to be filled for future research.

Conclusion

In conclusion, although Malaysia and the UK relations being a common topic in the study of Malaysia's foreign policy and foreign relations, given Malaysia's long historical connection with the British even before independence and continuously evolving after independence until the present day, the assumption that extensive research exists on both countries relations, an analysis of the available literature review reveals otherwise. The study discovered that there is still a scarcity of research on Malaysia-United Kingdom relations. Recognizing the great value attributed to the bilateral relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom, it was rather disconcerting to discover the plenty of unexplored domains and concerns that require further scholarly investigation in the studies of Malaysia-UK relations. Among the areas that could be further explored are the relations between both countries during the administrations of Tun Razak and Tun Hussein. It was

during Tun Razak's administration that Malaysia shifted from a pro-Western policy to a non-aligned policy, which could have had an impact on the dynamics of Malaysia-UK relations. Additionally, given the limited amount of research on their relationships in the post-Mahathir era and in the last five years, it would be highly beneficial if subsequent studies could fill this gap by exploring the extent to which their relationship has evolved, particularly in the present day.

Furthermore, conducting more research to provide comprehensive data on the level of cooperation between Malaysia and the UK in the areas of defence, economy, and social aspects would contribute to more empirical insights in the study of Malaysia-UK relations. Furthermore, conducting a study on Malaysia's non-aligned policy and its implications for Malaysia-UK relations would be an interesting area for future research. Lastly, an exploration into the theory or concept used to illustrate the bilateral relations between Malaysia and the United Kingdom would be pertinent and enhance understanding of the subject matter. Given that no prior studies have addressed this particular matter. Therefore, it could be of great importance and increase the depth and breadth of knowledge of studies if additional research were conducted on the relevant subject. Future studies could thus focusing on filling the gaps that remain in the literature concerning bilateral relations between the Malaysia and the United Kingdom.

Acknowledgement

This study was made possible through the provision of financial support by the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE) and Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) via the SLAI scholarship and the UMGreat grant, respectively. A grateful appreciation is also extended to the corresponding author of this paper, Professor Dr. Asmady Idris, who served as the first author's supervisor.

References

- Abdullah Ahmad. (1985). *Tengku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's foreign policy*. Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing.
- Abdul Razak Baginda. & Rohana Mahmood. (1995). *Malaysia's defence and foreign policies*. (Eds). Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications.
- Ahmad Faiz Abdul Hamid. (2005). *Malaysia and South-South cooperation during Mahathir's era: determining factors and implications*. Selangor Darul Ehsan: Pelanduk Publications.
- Ahmad Nizar Yaakub. (2013). *Dances with Garuda: Malaysia-Indonesia bilateral relations*. Kota Samarahan: Penerbit Universiti Malaysia Sarawak.
- Ahmad Zainudin Husin. (2014). *The British involvement in Vietnams War 1960-1975 and its effects towards Malaysia*. Conference Paper, August 2014.
- Ahmad Zainudin Husin. (2016). *Dasar British di Asia Tenggara dan kesannya terhadap Malaysia 1968-1975*. *Jurnal Perspektif*, 8(1), 85-95.
- Amarnath Kakkar. (1986). *Anglo-Malaysian relations (1957 – 1970s)*. Champaign, Illinois: Arms Control & Domestic and International Security (ACDIS), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.
- Asmady Idris. (2015). *Malaysia's relations with Saudi Arabia 1957-2003*. Kota Kinabalu: Penerbit Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

- Azhari Karim. (2012). Malaysia-Germany bilateral cooperation. Doctoral Thesis, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Balakrishnan, K.S. (2012). Malaysia's relations with Australia during the Mahathir administration. Doctoral thesis, Universiti of Malaya.
- Camilleri, R. (2001). Attitudes and perception in Australia-Malaysia relations: a contemporary profile. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Camroux, D. (1994). Looking east... and inwards: internal factors in Malaysian foreign relations during the Mahathir era, 1981-1994. Australia-Asia Paper No.72. Queensland: Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University.
- Chamil Wariya. (1989). Dasar luar Mahathir. Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.
- Chin, K.W. (1974). The five power defence arrangements and AMDA: some observations on the nature of an evolving partnership. ISEAS Occasional Paper No. 23. Singapore: ISEAS.
- Chin, K.W. (1983). The defence of Malaysia and Singapore: the transformation of security system, 1967-1971. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalton, J.B. (1967). The development of Malaysian external policy, 1957-1963. Doctoral Thesis, Oxford University.
- Dhillon, K.S. (2005). Malaysian foreign policy in the Mahathir era, 1981-2003. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.
- Dhillon, K.S. (2009). Malaysian foreign policy in the Mahathir era, 1981-2003: the dilemmas of independence. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Faridah Jaafar. (2003). Peribadi politik Tun Hussein Onn dan dasar luar Malaysia, 1976-1981. *Jurnal Sejarah*, 11, 57-82.
- Faridah Jaafar. (2007). Perdana menteri dan dasar luar Malaysia, 1957-2005. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya.
- Faridah Jaafar. (2012). Hubungan ekonomi antarabangsa periode Tunku Abdul Rahman dan Dr Mahathir Mohamad: suatu kajian komparatif. *Sarjana: Journal of Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences*, 27(2), 23-37.
- Govindasamay, G. & Muhammad Danial Azman. (2020). Regime change and Malaysia-Japan relations: explaining shifts and continuity in foreign policy. *The International Journal of East Asian Studies*, 9(1), 75-88.
- Hazra, N.K. (1965). Malaysian foreign relations 1957-1963. Master Thesis, Department of History, University of Singapore.
- Hock, C.H. (1982). Changing directions in foreign policy trends: a comparative analysis of Malaysia's bilateral relations with Britain and Singapore in 1981. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 4(3), 346-368.
- Hoong, K.K. (1987). Malaysia-Japan relations in the 1980s. *Asian Surveys*, 27(10), 1095-1108.
- Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations. (2018). Ambassador lecture series 1/2018. *Diplomatic Voice*, 2, 1-16.
- Jeshurun, C. (1980). Malaysian defence policy: a study of parliamentary attitudes, 1963-1973. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Jeshurun, C. (2007). Malaysia: fifty years of diplomacy 1957-2007. Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press Sdn. Bhd.
- Kadir Mohamad. (2015). Malaysia-Singapore: fifty years of contentions 1965-2015. Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press Sdn. Bhd.

- Khaw, G.H. (1976). Malaysian foreign policies in South-East Asia, 1957-70: the search for security. Singapore: Singapore National Printers Pte. Ltd.
- Kuik, C.C. & Thomas, D. (2022). Malaysia's relations with the United States and China: asymmetries (and anxieties) amplified. In Southeast Asian Affairs 2022 by Daljit Singh & Hoang Thi Ha. (Eds), pp.201-224.
- Lai, Y.M, De Silva, M., & Wang, Y. (2023). Crouching tiger, ascending dragon: the trends and dynamics of Malaysia-China relations. *Kajian Malaysia*, 41(1), 85-108.
- Leifer, M. (1983). Anglo-Malaysian alienation. *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 72(285), 56-63.
- Liow, J.C. (2001). Personality, exigencies and contingencies: determinants of Malaysia's foreign policy in the Mahathir's administration. In Mahathir's Administration: Performance and Crisis in Governance by Ho, K.L., & Chin, J. (Eds). Singapore: Times Books International.
- Liow, J.C. (2004). The politics of Indonesia-Malaysia relations: one kin, two nations. New York: Routledge.
- Md Nasrudin., Md Akhir., Leong, L.C., & Hafiz Muhammad Tahir. (2018). Malaysia-China bilateral relations, 1974-2018. *The International Journal of East Asian Studies*, 7(1), 1-26.
- Milner, A. (2015). Nama, group-binding and moral balance: themes and origins of Malaysian foreign policy. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia.
- Mimi Nur Atifah Ahmad Daud., Asmady Idris., & Asri Salleh. (2022). Malaysia's early relations with Great Britain from 16th century to pre-independence era. *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics*, 15(7), 987-1005.
- Ming, H.T. (2009). Singapore-Malaysia relations revisited: an English School IR analysis. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 11, 172-198.
- Mohamad Ikhran Mohamad Ridzuan & Marfunizah Ma'dan. (2023). Abdullah Badawi's foreign policy towards China: three-level analysis of a pragmatic and idealistic diplomacy strategy in a two-way cooperation. *Journal of International Studies*, 19(1), 145-168.
- Mohammed Azhari., Llewellyn, D.H., & Okuda, G. (1990). Malaysian foreign policy: issues and perspectives. Kuala Lumpur: National Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia.
- Mohd Afendi Daud., Abd Aziz A'zmi., & Mohd Sufiean Hassan. (2018). Hubungan luar Malaysia Britain era Mahathir Mohamad. Melaka: Penerbit Kolej Universiti Islam Melaka.
- Mohd. Noor Mat Yazid. (2007). Hegemonic powers, radical politics and developmental state: the case of Indonesia-Malaysia political relations during the Cold War. Kota Kinabalu: Penerbit Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Mohd. Noor Mat Yazid. (2013). Malaysia-Indonesia relations before and after 1965: impact on bilateral and regional stability. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 6(4), 150-159.
- Mohd. Sohaimi Esa. (2022). Biografi Tun Razak: bapa pembangunan negara. Kota Kinabalu: Penerbit Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Nathan, K.S. (1987). Malaysia and the Soviet Union: a relationship with a distant. *Asian Survey*, 27(10), 1059-1073.
- Nurliana Kamaruddin. & Roy Anthony Rogers. (2020). Malaysia's democratic and political transformation. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 47(2), 126-148.
- Nuruddin Abdul Aziz. (2018). Malaysia's foreign policy towards Saudi Arabia under the UMNO-led Barisan Nasional (BN) government. Master Thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

- Ott, M.C. (1972). Foreign policy formulation in Malaysia. *Asian Survey*, 12(3), 225-241.
- Paridah Abd. Samad. (2009). Tun Abdul Razak fenomena politik Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia.
- Pathmanathan Murugesu. & Lazarus, D. (1984). Winds of change: the Mahathir impact on foreign policy. Kuala Lumpur: Eastview Productions.
- Plymouth Britain's Ocean City. (2022). Sir Francis Drake. Retrieved on 15 June 2022. Retrieved from <https://www.visitplymouth.co.uk/explore/sir-francis-drake>.
- Prashant Waikar., Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman., & Rashaad Ali. (2019). Dancing with the ummah: Islam in Malaysia's foreign policy under Najib Razak. *The Pacific Review*, 34(2), 230-258.
- Rizal Zamani Idris. (2018). Malaysia-Australia bilateral relations (1981-2003): an analysis from the English School perspective. Doctoral Thesis, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Rizwanah Souket. & Syed Arabi Idid. (2020). The early days of public relations in British Malaya: winning the hearts and minds of the empire. *Public Relations Review*, 46(2), 1-9.
- Rozeman Hassan. (2003). Tun Abdul Razak Bin Dato' Hussein: dasar luar Malaysia 1970-1976. Tanjong Malim: Penerbit Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris.
- Ruhanas Harun. (2015). Issues and challenges in contemporary Malaysia-Europe relations. In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia* by Weiss, M.L. (Ed), pp.428-438.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (1976). The content, sources and development of Malaysian foreign policy, 1967-1975. Doctoral Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (1983). The dilemma of independence: two decade of Malaysia's foreign policy, 1957-1977. Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (1987). The state, authoritarianism, and industrialization: reflections on the Malaysian case. *Kajian Malaysia*, 5(2), 43-75.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (2010). Malaysia's foreign policy the first fifty years: alignment, neutralism, islamism. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Saravanamuttu, J. (2012). Malaysia-Russia relations: revving up a distant relationship. In *ASEAN-Russia foundations and future prospects* by Sumsky, V., Hong, M., & Lugg, A. (Eds), pp.184-195.
- Shanti Nair. (1997). Islam in Malaysian foreign policy. London: Routledge.
- Shereen Allaham., Isabel-Catherine Demel., Intesar Nur., Faizul Nizam Abu Salim., & Logan Manikam. (2021). The impact of United Kingdom and Malaysia's inherent health systems on their COVID-19 responses: a comparison of containment strategies. *World Medical & Health Policy*, 13(3), 571-580.
- Silcock, T.H. (1963). Development of a Malayan foreign policy. *Australian Outlook*, 17(2), 42-53.
- Sodhy, P. (1982). Passage of empire: United States-Malayan relations to 1966. Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of the Graduate School, Cornell University.
- Sodhy, P. (1991). The US-Malaysian nexus: themes in superpower-small state relations. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies.
- Sodhy, P. (2007). Malaysia-US relations. In *Malaysia's Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change* by Abdul Razak Baginda. (Ed), pp.29-90.

Stubbs, R. (1990). The foreign policy of Malaysia. In *The political economy of foreign policy in Southeast Asia* by Wurfel, D. & Burton, B. (Eds), pp.101-123.

Sunora Sagi. & Azlizan Mat Enh. (2017). Polisi Buy British Last (1981-1983): reaksi-reaksi British dan implikasi terhadap hubungan bilateral jangka pendek Malaysia dan Britain. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 12(3), 1-23.

The Northern Whig. & Belfast Post. (1932). The Malay Peninsula, romance of discovery and growth. Retrieved on 6 June 2022. Retrieved from <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001542/19320201/219/0008?browse=False>.

The San Francisco Call News. (1895). In the Malay Peninsula. Retrieved on 10 March 2022. Retrieved from <https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-san-francisco-call-and-post-francis/97121579/>.

Tilman, R.O. (1969). Malaysian foreign policy. Report RAC-R-62-2. Strategic Studies Department. Washington, DC.

Tongpricha, V. (1970). Malaysia and the Commonwealth. Master Thesis, American University.