

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

In the late of 1960's, British military force was pulled back from 'east of Suez' to Singapore and Malaysia.¹ British government found that Indonesia and Vietnam might be potential threats to Singapore and Malaysia. Indonesia was in issue of confrontation toward Malaysia and facing aggressive Vietnam. British military force concerned to help Malaysia and Singapore because of the gap in air capability. Both Singapore and Malaysia had limited area to get patrol or battle in air and sea.²

Unfortunately, Britain declined economically and militarily, so it pulled back the troops from Malaysia and Singapore in 1971. British government, though needed to review the Anglo-Malaysian Defense Agreement (1957), it used Malaysian because Singapore was still part of Malaysia until it separated from Malaysian and got its independence in 1965. Anglo-Malaysian Defense Agreement (AMDA) 1957 was replaced into a "loose consultative political framework" called Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA). In its first establishment, FPDA consisted of five members that are Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and Malaysia.

¹ Carlyle Thayer, "Five Power Defence Arrangements: The Quiet Achiever", (Security Challenges, vol. 3, No. 1, February, 2007), p. 79.

² Ibid., p. 80.

In the same year, the five defense ministers held their first meeting in London to form about Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA). In that meeting, those five defense ministers agreed that FPDA was not an alliance. FPDA, as noted, was a loose consultative. FPDA was not formed to attack, but those five parties were only obligated to consult if there is an external attack toward Singapore and Malaysia therefore those five parties could decide what action were supposed to be taken. That was result of the first meeting and was called as Communique. Communique which became the fundamental principle of Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA).

Singapore and Malaysia are the Commonwealth of Britain therefore protecting those state might be part of Britain government concern. FPDA has been formed to help Singapore and Malaysia to face potential external threats at that time until now. FPDA was initially conceived as a transnational agreement to provide for defense of Malaysia and Singapore until these new states could fend for themselves.³

FPDA opens Singapore to do more security cooperation. Singapore has several bilateral and multilateral cooperation, for Singapore has cooperation with China. China and Singapore even established an agreement namely Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP). Singapore and Japan have cooperation in maritime terrorism. In case of security of Malacca Strait, Japan has more important East-bound traffic (or loaded oil tankers from Middle the East). Singapore also has cooperation with

³ Ibid.

the United States of America, They have an agreement that formalize their bilateral security and defense relationship called “Strategic Framework Agreement”. The agreement allows US to resupply vessels from Singapore and to use a naval base, a ship repair facility, and an airfield on the island-state.⁴

Beside bilateral relation, Singapore also in follows some multilateral cooperation. Singapore with Malaysia and Indonesia joined in Malacca Straits Sea Patrol (MSSP) or Malacca Strait Security Initiative (MSSI). This arrangement was established in 2004 and the perception of maritime piracy and terrorism was also a catalyst for maritime security.⁵ Singapore joined the ASEAN Regional Forum. ARF, formed in 1993, was found the first intraregional security institution encompassing in the Asia Pacific region. This organization now aspires to be an active in the resolution of regional conflicts.⁶

Singapore had followed ASEAN Security Community (ASC) which will be formed by 2015. It is a framework to facilitate political and security cooperation in ASEAN. The ASC tends to be a framework which focused on conflict prevention, peaceful conflict resolution, and post-conflict peace-building, rather than a military alliance.⁷

⁴ Emma Chanlett-Avery, “Singapore: Background and U.S. Relations”, Congressional Research Service (July 26, 2013), p. 3.

⁵ Anthony S. Massey, “Maritime Security Cooperation in The Strait of Malacca”, Thesis of Naval Postgraduate School (June, 2008), p. 2.

⁶ G.V.C. Naidu, “Multilateralism and Regional Security: Can the ASEAN Regional Forum Really Make a Difference?” Analysis from the East-West Center Asia Pacific Issues, No. 45 (August 2000), p. 1.

⁷ Shoji Tomotaka, “ASEAN Security Community: An Initiative for Peace and Stability”, NIDS Security Reports (2008), p. 1.

As a city-state, Singapore realizes that security is important therefore it joins in some multilateral cooperation and also builds a good bilateral relation in term of security. FPDA is one of the multilateral security cooperation which help Singapore in strengthening its military and defense from the very beginning of the state.

In Singapore Defense White Paper published in 2000, Singapore mentions FPDA as a unique component of security architecture. In the White Paper, Singapore mentions that it welcomes the strengthening of existing multilateral security such as the FPDA.³

In June 2003, defense ministers of FPDA members held a meeting in Penang. In that meeting, the ministers agreed that FPDA should be more relevant; also upheld their commitment to regional security.⁸ Defense White Paper Singapore (2000) asserts that FPDA is an important part of state's defense architecture and support its strategic objectives.

B. Research Question

In order to maintain the defense power for facing the threats, Singapore needs the military backup by joining multilateral cooperation, in this case is FPDA, although Singapore has joined several multilateral and bilateral security cooperation. The research question based on the background above is: What are Singapore interests in Five Power Defense Arrangements?

⁸ Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

C. Theoretical Framework

To explain the interest of Singapore in Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA), this paper will use two concepts.

1. Rational Actor Model

This paper uses the rational actor model to understand the decision of Singapore for keeping FPDA as their strategic multilateral security arrangements although it also joins other multilateral security cooperation. This research uses the Model I of Graham Allison decision making models. Model of rational actor is famous because it contains the assumption where policy makers are considered for being rational. In general, policy makers (especially foreign policy) are made rationally.⁹ Rational actor model in foreign policy is regarded as acts of national actor, especially a monolith government where has been done intentionally to archive a goal.

According to Mohtar Mas'ood, the government behavior is associated to analogize with the behavior of rational individuals and coordination. If an individual is analogized through a series of the intellectual, by applying the reasoning and earnest attempt to implement alternatives choices, therefore, a unit

⁹ Graham Allison, 1971, "Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis", p.67.

of analysis on this decision making model is choices taken by the government.¹⁰ Analysis of foreign policy should focus on national interest and objective review of a nation, alternatives of the wisdom that can be taken in by the government and by calculation cost-benefit for each an alternative.¹¹

Policy makers are also assumed to be able to obtain information that conduct quite a lot, so it can do investigation toward all alternatives which possible to be done and all sources which can be used to archive objectives they set.¹² Rational actor model emphasizes on alternatives choice to maximize the existing. The results of this policy are taken from the election of an alternative to rationalizing based on possible cost-benefit to be the impact of policy.

Model basis of this policy making is performed by the policy makers by considering some choices by the use of intellectual ways that could produce a policy that gives benefits by minimizing possible losses that will be the impact of the taken choice. The rational actor model puts forward the use of the logic of policy makers. The policy makers have to use their logic to maximize the potential that they have with the available choices. All listed on this model of policy making is accurate calculation with the objective of benefit and minimize the risk of losses to reach their goals.

This model is applicable to the case of Singapore retaining FPDA. As the city-state, Singapore has limitation to be involved to international system.

¹⁰ Mohtar Mas' oed, 1990, "Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi", LP3ES: Jakarta, p. 233.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 234.

¹² Ibid., p. 235.

Singapore main objective is to ensure that there is no political and security upheavals that can disturb them.

Likely to Singapore, policy makers use territorial as the main reason which becomes the background for their foreign policy in security. Like in common, Singapore has small territory in Southeast Asia region. Small countries tend to be powerless in the international system, while the integration of Singapore to FPDA of which three members are large countries, raise Singapore's confidence in dealing with other large countries.

The FPDA also gives advantages to improve the SAF (Singapore Armed Force) skill. By joining FPDA, Singapore has the opportunity to conduct joint exercise with members of other FPDA. So, they can exchange experiences, strategy and information in security.

Furthermore, Singapore has a chance to at least build a good relationship with Malaysia as a neighbor. Singapore has disharmony relation to Malaysia during the separation movement which gave Singapore its independence in 1965.

However, Singapore must understand if FPDA does not guarantee the protection to directly help Singapore against the aggressor. FPDA only gives suggestions that can be taken by Singapore to address external threat and Singapore has to undertake this consultation towards other members of FPDA before deciding the act of defense against the aggressor.

There are two sides between what Singapore gets by joining FPDA with what they need to take as a consequence of the decision, joined FPDA may be conceived as a rational step of decision makers of Singapore do.

A cost that Singapore has to pay is expensive enough; FPDA will not give support physically. Physical support simply means FPDA will not send troops, weaponry and other defense needs. They will only give advice to Singapore about what things that Singapore may take against the aggressor. As it is known, however, the ability of SAF is not greater than that civil forces trained through compulsory military service. Unsurprisingly, Singapore has the most sophisticated military weaponry in Southeast Asia region and establishes relations in bilateral and multilateral security agreement to cover their shortage of troops if there is an aggressor that would like to attack Singapore.

Actor rational model here is going to help to assess the conditions of Singapore policy makers about their decisions to continue maintaining FPDA as said on the Defense White Paper in 2000 if they see FPDA as multilateral which is important for Singapore.

2. Collective Security

Collective security is a form of a commitment as a member in order to protect the security interest of the individual members concerned to avoid from

aggressors.¹³ Most countries see collective security as a tool to archive their own security and strengthen security system by becoming a member of collective security.

Cooperative security is a consequence of a community security where countries in a community security work together to overcome the threat of security around them.¹⁴ Collective security works only as far as to accommodate the requirements of the smaller state because their most important interests cannot be left to meet the interests of the powerful state.

By joining security cooperation such as FPDA, Singapore can build their security system and strengthen it. Singapore is also helped by the FPDA to overcome the external threat and aggressor that might attack Singapore.

To be noted, FPDA is different from collective security such as in Nation League or United Nations that used pact to bind the members. FPDA is a loose consultative. It does not mean that the member is not binding. The member has been bound with Communiqué but if one of the members is attacked by other party, FPDA will not send troops to help them. Rather, they will discuss that they will take.

However, as a small state such as Singapore joining security cooperation such as FPDA where the members are United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia and

¹³ Dr. Stefan Aleksovski, Dr. Oliver Bakreski, M.A, Biljana Avramovska, “Collective Security – The Role of International Organization – Implication in International Security Order”, (Mediterranean Journal of Social Science, Vol. 5, No. 27, December, 2014), p. 274.

¹⁴ Richard Cohen, Michael Mihalka, “Cooperative Security: New Horizon for International Order”, (The Marshall Center Paper No. 3), p. 38.

Malaysia, it makes the country more or less feel secure. Singapore realizes that there are four countries behind it that will help Singapore although it is only consultative.

D. Hypothesis

Singapore decides to keep Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA) because:

First, Singapore considers security as their main priority to protect the survival of its development. Second, Singapore uses FPDA to protect and prevent it from external threats, such as geographical condition and international economy.

E. Objective of Research

The objectives of this research are:

1. To fulfill the requirement in obtaining the undergraduate degree in International Relations major of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
2. To understand the policy made by Singapore to keep joining Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA).
3. To understand the interest of Singapore in Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA).

F. Range of Research

This research focuses on the Singapore policy to keep FPDA from 2000 to 2014.

G. Research Methods

The research applies deductive method where the theoretical framework and approaches are first examined in order to draw/formulate. The hypothesis will be proven through data finding and analysis of the fact related to the theoretical framework used.

The data collecting method is library research in which the data are secondary source. All the data are taken from books, scientific papers, journals, articles, electronics books, and other relevant data. All the data the later analyzed using the theories determined above.

H. Systematic Writing

On Chapter I, this paper gives a brief explanation of the paper, explains the background of the research and problems or question need to be answered or the research question. This paper explains the theoretical framework that is used to analyze the research. Hypothesis, objectives of the research, range of the research, methods and systematic writing are also written on this chapter.

Chapter II will elaborate the brief history of Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) including its functions and role of FPDA in Singapore defense.

Chapter III will discuss about Singapore perspective toward FPDA and relations with the members, also the development of Singapore defense before and after joining FPDA.

Chapter IV will explain about Singapore's decision to keep FPDA by using the two concepts already mentioned above.

Chapter V is the conclusion from Chapter I o IV.