

**INDONESIA – MALAYSIA RELATIONS
IN THE POST SUHARTO ERA (1998-2008):
AN ANALYSIS**

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ABSTRACT

This research discusses Indonesia-Malaysia relations during the post-Suharto era (1998-2008). The issues discussed are Indonesian leaders involvement in the Malaysian domestic affairs, terrorism issue, border issue, Indonesian immigrant issue and culture disputes. By applying defensive realism this research found that the new international political structure after the end of the Cold War influences to the changes Indonesia-Malaysia relations. Nevertheless, other factors such as leadership (idiosyncratic), domestic politics, and kinship [serumpun] also give significant impact to the relationship.

Keywords: Bilateral relations, Cold War, international politics, international structure.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The main objective of this thesis is to understand the changes in Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post Suharto era (1998-2008) and to understand the factors that influence the relationship. Furthermore, the main question of the thesis is how do the changes and the factors behind the Indonesia-Malaysia relations (1998-2008). Beginning with the first chapter up to fourth chapter, the thesis have discussed regarding Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008). Chapter one is research background encompasses research problem, theoretical assumption, objective and hypothesis. Chapter two explains the wider concept and appropriateness of defensive realism as a theory compared to other theories. Chapter three highlighted the development of Indonesia-Malaysia relations since 1957 up to 2008. In addition, chapter three also discussed and indentified determinant factors behind the rise and fall of both countries relationship during that period. Chapter four is empirical chapter to demonstrate how the assumptions of defensive realism analyze Indonesia-Malaysia relations (1998-2008). Specifically, using defensive realism chapter four is to testify defensive realism in the context of how, when and what the extent to which the changes and factors that influence the bilateral relations during that period.

This conclusion chapter is aimed to provide a summary and conclusion of the thesis. Systematically, this chapter divided into four sections encompasses introduction, research finding, theoretical finding, and wrapped up with limitations and recommendation for future research.

5.2 Research Finding

Based on the discussion conducted at the previous chapters, this thesis has answered three important aspects namely research problem, objective, and hypothesis. Firstly, research problem is "how do the changes in Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008), in relation to the changes of international political structure towards bilateral relations" have been answered in the part of chapter three and chapter four. The thesis obtained an important conclusion and argued that Indonesia-Malaysia relations (1998-2008) have been changed. It could be evidence by the occurrence of some cases which affected and evoke tension between the two countries compared to previous period of relationship. Among cases had emerge were the involvement of Indonesian leaders (BJ Habibie and Abdurrahman Wahid) towards Malaysian domestic affairs notably in the Anwar Ibrahim's case, Sipadan-Ligitan disputes, Ambalat disputes, culture disputes, Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, and terrorism issues.

In the meantime, the second question regarding the impact of international structure the thesis conclude that international structure totally the most important factor in the changes of Indonesia-Malaysia relations (1998-2008). Nevertheless, as it have discussed in the chapter two, the thesis suggest that the role of international structure should be examined further. This is because, the role of international structure itself is not stable, tend to fluctuated and under certain condition whether in high pressure or low pressure. Chapter 3 and 4 has shown that the change of international structure was affect to the Indonesia-Malaysia relations indeed. Hence, the change relationship also determine by the significant alteration in the foreign policy of both countries which influenced by two important factors namely internal factor and external factor. Internal factors are refers to domestic politics which encompasses leadership, nationalism, the role media and elite competition. However, internal factors are fully determined by external factors such as the change in international environment, regionalism, alliance countries and economic interdependence. All the external factors are really determining international structure situation whether in low pressure or high pressure.

The thesis also has been fulfilled research objective required and clearly explained in the chapter three and fourth. The three objective of the thesis are:

- a. To discuss Indonesia–Malaysia relations in the post- Suharto era.
- b. To analyze the change in the bilateral relations before and after Suharto era.
- c. To analyze the factors which determine the change in Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era.

The first objective has been widely answered in the whole chapter from first to fourth chapter. To the second objective fully highlighted in the chapter three, while the third objective broadly discussed in the chapter four. Specifically chapter four is made an analysis the factors behind the change in Indonesia-Malaysia relations. Importantly, the discussion in the chapter four is based upon defensive realism as theoretical guidance of the thesis.

The thesis is empirically successful to give evidence of the two hypothesis has been proposed namely:

- a. The Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008) were changed due to the change in the domestic politics and the leadership (idiosyncratic) aspect.
- b. The change in the domestic politics and the leadership (idiosyncratic) aspect were influenced by the change in international structure.

The following sections will highlighting such empirical evidences which indicate that the hypothesis has been proposed were confirmed and proven. Basically, the hypothesis is divided into two important aspects namely the role of international structure and the role of domestic variable. The domestic variable is divided into three elements that is nationalism, the role of media and elite competition.

The empirical evidence to prove the hypothesis has been observed in such cases which the thesis focused on. In the case of the involvement of Indonesian leaders towards Malaysian domestic affairs for instance was determined more by sympathy of the BJ Habibie and Abdurrahman Wahid. The rise of the sympathy issue was really influenced by human rights factor as popular issue at that time. The two Indonesian leaders were hardly condemned the treatment of Malaysian government towards former Malaysian deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim during

his terrible arrestment. In addition, Indonesia also faces a serious human rights charge in the case of East Timor separation soon after the fall of Suharto regime. It shows that the rise of new issues such as human rights, democracy and the increasing role of ideational factors were the real evidence that the change in international structure entirely influence to the domestic politics. The change of international structure notably in the post Cold War era was indicates that international pressure slightly down than before. Along with the decline of international pressure automatically influence to the flexibility of international environment. Consequently, the hard issues which extremely dominant during the Cold War was replaced by softer and non-security issues such as human rights, democratization and free market. The issues were influence in the foreign policy decision making process of the two countries especially in the post Cold War era.

The above international situation was influence further and affected to the bilateral relations due to the blow up and provocative media reporting. It was undeniable that the liberation of media in Indonesia is the consequence of the *reformasi* and democratization following the fall of Suharto regime in 1998. It was also shown that the change in Indonesian domestic politics influence to the Indonesia-Malaysia bilateral relations. The Indonesian leadership after Suharto also had transformed compared to Suharto which has close relationship with Malaysian counterpart. At the same time, the *reformasi* in Indonesia also a bit influence to the Malaysian political trend and constellation. Hence, the hypothesis of the thesis regarding the role of international structure and the alternation of domestic politics is proven.

The involvement of Indonesia and Malaysia in the "war against terrorism" was a consequence of the rise of terrorism issue following the emergence of 9/11 attack. In other words, the two countries obtained "high pressure" from international system especially after the US war on terrorism policy. This scenario also indicates that the role of international structure was really critical and determinant to push Indonesia and Malaysia to involve in the terrorism issue. Furthermore, this scenario shows that international pressure was gradually enhance and higher compared to previous period of time which dominated by softer issues such as human rights and democratization. At the same time, the domestic

elements such as leadership and political elites of the two countries were lack of function due to the high pressure of international structure. It is could be evidence by the active involvement of the two countries during the campaign. Both countries also take serious actions notably arrestment towards suspected person subsequently. Thus, based upon the hypothesis regarding the role of international structure in the terrorism issue is proven.

In the border issues shows that the role of international structure was important indeed. As it have discussed in the previous chapters, the border issues emerge twice in the two main cases namely Pulau Sipadan-Ligitan and Ambalat dispute. The emergence of the two cases was also close correlation with border problem which actually have been existed and not settle yet by Indonesia and Malaysia especially after *konfrontasi*. Due to the regional security reasons as well as under the pressure of international power notably the US, both countries have been forced to made postponement for a while in order to stabilize and maintaining regional politics. Nevertheless, the border issues become seriously increasing the tension when the both countries attempt to re-negotiate and discuss it while the international situation have changed already following the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, the border issues especially Ambalat dispute quite disturbing the security of the two countries and the region. It was indicated that the change in international structure totally affected to the bilateral relations specifically in the pushing border issue. Probably this situation this situation will be different if the international situation was not change. This is because border issue will not be emerged in order to keep the common security interest. In the mean time, it is should be noted that the rise of the tension in the border issues were also due to the impact of the domestic political scenarios. The increasing role of internal variables was due to more open and flexible of the international environment. In this context, the low pressure of international structure influence to the flexibility of domestic variable behavior in the foreign policy making. In the border issues shows that some actors such as elites and media were played a key role in the foreign relations decision making process. In this scenario clearly demonstrate that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) have been utilized the Ambalat issue in a way to maintain the people's support during his unpopular policy regarding the oil price. Nonetheless, the increasing role of domestic politics was also the real impact and

consequence of the decline of international pressure in the post Cold War era. Hence, the hypothesis if proven that the international structure have a key role in those scenarios.

In the Indonesian workers issue, the thesis obtained a conclusion that the international structure maintain to influence in the scenario of the issue. The Indonesian workers are close correlation with the international situation at that time. In addition, as it has discussed before the arrival of huge interest towards Indonesian to Malaysia were encouraged. The Malaysian government also has a political interest towards Indonesian migrants especially after the ethnic riot in May 13, 1969. In spite of that, the "political arrival" was also in line with the common agenda both countries namely war against communism. In the contrary, in the post Suharto era the Indonesian migrants issue become a sensitive issue due to the change of Malaysian government actions against Indonesian migrants. At the same time, Indonesian migrants issues were also become a political issue in Indonesian due to the increasing role of opposition group. Added with the contemporary situation has demonstrated that many Indonesian workers obtained bad service and treatment in the various cases, this issue obtained serious attention from public in Indonesia. Especially the torture issues towards Indonesian maids directly gain serious attention from society and wider reporting in the mainstream media. However, in the Malaysian point of view the Indonesian media was seen as injustice due to only focus on the torture and bad treatment issues. In contrast to this media in Indonesian were not trying to make a reporting about success stories of many Indonesian migrants in Malaysia. The above phenomena reveal that more open of international situation following the decline of international pressure after the Cold War influence to the sensitivity of migrant issues between the two countries. This scenario has been occurred due to the domestic variable more dominant and influence in the low pressure on international structure, while Indonesia freer and open due to his successful of democratization. The migrant workers issue also have been determined and pushed by human rights following the growing number of torture cases involving Indonesian workers in Malaysia. This situation has been more complicated in the mid of uncontrolled media and liberal. The provocative media reporting indirectly influence to the change of the perception between people-to-people and government-to-government of the two

countries. Hence, the hypothesis of the thesis regarding the role of international structure is proven.

In the culture disputes, the thesis has a conclusion that the role of international structure was still crucial. The emergence of the culture disputes was an indirect impact of the negative perception between the two countries especially between people to people. The negative perception was a consequence of the downgrade of the quality of relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia following the rise of some sensitive issues. By the emergence of the culture disputes the brotherhood relationship between the two countries or so-called "*serumpun*" began to be questioned. Furthermore, from the culture disputes also emerge what should be recognized as a property rights or copy rights. It affected to the rise of the identity issues which quite sensitive. It should be noted that the identity development has become more popular only after the end of the Cold War. The culture disputes should not be an issue if the brotherhood concept taking into account first by the two nations. According to Dewi Fortuna Anwar the development of identity is become more important indeed. She opined that "...Malaysia should be aware in away to demonstrate their identity to the international community due to many Malaysian was Indonesian descent such as Minang, Bugis and Java".¹ These phenomena indicate that in the post Cold War era following the decline of international pressure the development of identity/political identity especially culture nationalism was become a central issue. This is indicates that the hypothesis of the thesis regarding the role of international structure is proven.

5.3 Theoretical Finding

This section discusses the effectiveness of defensive realism and suitability in various cases of international relations.

- i) The thesis have been demonstrate that defensive realism was affectively could answer the questions that emerged in introduction chapter as well as hypothesis.

¹ *ANTARA*, 18 June 2008, Pola Hubungan RI-Malaysia Setelah Reformasi Banyak Berubah.

As it has discussed in chapter two explore that defensive realism was suitable theory to analyze Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008) compared to other theories whether neorealism itself as well as neoliberalism and constructivism. The first suitability of defensive realism compared to other theories is the role of international structure which recognized play critical role. In the contrary, the other theories did not have this characteristic as defensive realism has. In addition, defensive realism was suitable theory due to taking into account and consider domestic variable also play important role in the foreign policy process. In contrast, some theories as neoliberalism was lack consider the domestic variable even not account anymore. Nevertheless, the constructivism's hospitality to domestic politics is useful in a way to strengthen defensive realism analysis. Hence, the usage of defensive realism in the Indonesia-Malaysia relations analysis especially in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008) is appropriate.

The analysis of defensive realism is proper while it has enlarged to the foreign policy analysis which attempts to linkage various important components. These component were directly and indirectly become an important factor in the change of foreign policy which followed by the alternation of Indonesia-Malaysia relations further. Generally, these components are divided into two main factors namely external factors (international structure) and internal factors. The external factors encompass international environment, regionalism, alliance resolve and economic interdependence, while internal factors including leadership, nationalism, media liberalization and elite competition.

By understanding these components the factors behind the change in Indonesia-Malaysia relations (1998-2008) could be easier to identify especially during foreign policy decision making process in certain condition and specific time. This is because the bilateral relations will involve the above components indeed and could be identified which factor was dominant whether external or internal. As it has mentioned before that defensive realism's emphasis more on international structure was undeniable. Nevertheless, as it explained more in the theoretical chapter that the concept of international structure need to be investigated more in order to ensure whether on the high pressure or low pressure condition. Furthermore, the level of international pressure was also determine the role of

domestic indeed such as leaders and the other components. By scrutinizing the bilateral relations phenomena along with such cases the thesis could argue that the application of defensive realism in Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008) was really effective.

International structure is fundamental to defensive realism. Nevertheless, in this thesis the concept of international structure as discussed above have been applied and modified to be such components as international environment, economic interdependence, alliance resolve and regionalism.²

In the "arrestment" Anwar Ibrahim for instance, the sympathy behavior of BJ Habibie and Abdurahman Wahid towards Anwar Ibrahim demonstrate the interference action to Malaysia domestic affairs. Furthermore, the interference issue has produced a tension between the two countries following the provocative media reporting which dominated by supporting to Anwar Ibrahim. At the same time, the interference issue produced sensitivity among Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members under the "non interference" norms have been existed since the establishment. The phenomena are in line with the concept of defensive realism. This is because the decline of international pressure in the post Cold War era has been produced a more open of international environment and tend to unpredictable. The end of the Cold War has been creating some issues such as democratization and human rights which become more important. Consequently, the regional organization that is ASEAN has been disturbed and threatens by disputes among members. This situation occurred following the turn down of the US interest towards Southeast Asia as well as Indonesia and Malaysia compared to the Cold War period. Thus, the analysis is suitable with defensive realism elements in relation with the change of international structure is totally influence to international structure as well as regional.

In the "war against terrorism" issue for instance it was clearly the behavior of the two countries in the post 9/11 attack have been fully colored by international demand at that time. Malaysia for example was taken an active action by arrest

² Lai, Yew Meng (2008), Nationalism and Power Politics in Japan's Relations with China: A Neoclassical Realist Interpretation, *Ph.D Thesis*, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick. p. 58.

some suspicious groups allegedly having close relationship with terrorism movement such as Al Maunah and Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM). In Indonesia, President Megawati also directly had given political support by make a visit to the US soon after the attack. Furthermore, Indonesia and Malaysia obtained advantages from the "war against terrorism" which indirectly the relationship with the US was normalized after a bit problem previously. This scenario indicates that the US government directly had invited Indonesia to arrange security cooperation though Indonesia was alleged involve in serious human rights abuses previously.³ Looking to above phenomena the analysis of defensive realism is acceptable. Firstly, the international pressure in the post-9/11 attack was increase. It means that the security elements were returned. Secondly, the thesis shows that the two countries could not move away from and should follow the US behavior. Nevertheless, both countries were also gained advantages from the campaign. Among the most advantages is both governments have a gun to attack domestic political enemy notably those who have ally with Islamic and militia groups. In other words, the concept of international structure in defensive realism is really important and suitable to the thesis.

The same situation also occurred in the border issues where it could not be separated with the un-settled problems between the two countries. The rise of two main border issues namely Pulau Sipdan-Ligitan and Ambalat disputes were also highly influence by political situation especially in the post-*konfrontasi*. This scenario was also determined by the "good will" between the two countries in order to resolve and avoid conflicts specifically after the establishment of ASEAN. This scenario could be reality due to the active involvement of the US along with his interest in Southeast Asian region. Automatically, Indonesia and Malaysia should be forced to agree to postpone all the problems including border issues in a certain period.

In the meantime, the border issues have been sensitive due to it was rose when the international situation was change and more open as well as domestic situation. It can be evidence by the growth number of mass media in Indonesia

³ Glaser, Charles L. (2003), Structural Realism in a More Complex World, *Review of International Studies*, No. 29, pp. 403–414.

especially in making provocative reporting during the rise of the issues so that triggering heroic nationalistic sentiment. Furthermore, the complicated of domestic political situation was also used and manipulated by political elite in order to gain political support. These phenomena were clearly highlighted in Ambalat case which allegedly has political chain between President SBY-oil prices-Ambalat. Due to the provocative reporting by Indonesian media, many Indonesian people were quite angry towards Malaysian due to the high sentiment of nationalism. In other words the Ambalat issue has saving President SBY from occupation and overthrown by people. In the border issues it was clearly that the analysis of defensive realism is correct. This is because the border issues were actually not as main problem and disputes between the two countries due to the high pressure of international structure in the Cold War era. However, when the Cold War was ended the issues indirectly influence to the security between the two countries. At the same time, the role of domestic variable were also increase such as media, leadership, political elites and nationalism due to the decline of international pressure.

In Indonesian workers issue such defensive realism have been play important role as media nationalism and political elites. As it has mentioned before that at the early period after the emergence of May 13 riot along with anti-communist sentiment between the two countries was the critical factor behind the arrival of huge number of Indonesian migrants. Nonetheless, in line with more open of international structure the Indonesian migrant workers issue began to be discussed following the rise of Indonesian workers involvement in criminal cases. Chapter four have been highlighted that the opposition group has attempted to use and manipulate the issues to attack government. At the same time, Malaysian government was also regularly made provocation by picturing bad images of Indonesian workers. Furthermore, the Malaysian media were also actively made negative and provocative reporting concerning Indonesian migrants. Automatically, when the emergence of torture cases involving Indonesian workers are indirectly obtained serious and condemnation from Indonesian people. This phenomena indicates that internal component such as media, political elites and nationalism sentiment were also play important role in triggering tension between the two countries. Nevertheless, it should be noted that without the change in international structure those internal component are difficult to play a role. Thus, it could be

argued that the element of defensive realism have played important role in the migrant issues.

In the culture disputes also the analysis of defensive realism is suitable and applicable. Although the culture disputes are a new issue, yet the element of defensive realism are able to make a comprehensive and wide analysis. As like as other issues abovementioned the culture issues have been produced two main issues namely nationalism and development of identity. The emergence of nationalism sentiment was stipulated by the controversy made by a production house in Malaysia regarding their short-video grabbing one of the Indonesian culture heritages. In Indonesian point of views the Malaysian claim towards Indonesian culture heritage was a sovereignty violation. The issues related to bad treatment involving Indonesian workers and sovereignty was a main trigger to the Indonesian angry towards Malaysia. In the mid the warm and hot situations the culture disputes become a new stimulant followed by provocative reporting by Indonesian media. Unfortunately, Indonesian government also did not take an official action regarding the culture disputes. This situation was indirectly triggering anti-Malaysia sentiment among Indonesian followed by massive demonstration in the nationwide. This phenomena is indicates that such components as nationalism and media reporting play a key role in the culture disputes. Its indicate that the decline of international structure influence the role of domestic politics. Thus, the element of defensive realism was crucial in the culture disputes scenario.

- ii) The effectiveness of defensive realism and the application to the various international relations affairs.

Having analyzing the Indonesia-Malaysia in the post Suharto era (1998-2008) by using *defensive realism*, the author find out that that defensive realism was an effective theory to analyze international relations. This is because defensive realism has been widening with some concept and component so that applicable to analyze foreign policy decision making. Basically in the foreign policy making require two fundamental variables namely external variable (international) and internal variable (domestics). In the defensive realism the position of international variable is critical as well as domestic politics although totally dependent on the

international pressure whether in high pressure or low pressure. International variable itself divided into four main elements such as international environment, economic interdependence, alliance resolve and regionalism which all are totally influence to the state behavior. All in all, whatever international condition looks like the four elements are determine the domestic politics role and behavior.

In the thesis, the four elements namely leadership, nationalism, media and elite competition are really determine the shape of Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post-Suharto era (1998-2008). Probably, in the other various international relations scenario the elements are changeable. Sometime leadership and nationalism are more dominant, while elite competition and media provocation are lack of role or vice versa. It is possible also in some international relations scenario will emerging a new component notably in the domestic variable. Thus, it is clear that external variable (international) is important and decisive in international relations analysis in certain, various condition and region.

5.4 Limitations and Recommendation

Having discussion from chapter one up to chapter four, the thesis is successfully fill up and answer the objective, hypothesis and questions have been rose in the first chapter. In the chapter four (empirical) also the thesis is successfully demonstrate some empirical findings using the rich full of primary data notably from newspapers in Indonesia. In addition, the thesis also added interviews with various parties related to Indonesian foreign policy making and expertise.

Nonetheless, the author really conscious and recognize that some positive findings also will explore the weakness and error of the thesis. One of the weakness is the minimum source primary data especially interviews from the elites in the both countries. The weakness regarding respondents notably elite was existed due to the bureaucracy obstacles as well as administration. The author also faces difficulties to obtain official document and archives due to the limited access to the official government. In the author point of view the weakness and limitation of the thesis will be more complete if it be explored for future studies. It is hopefully that this area could be develop and empower in the future.

Observing those phenomena and based upon defensive realism analysis, the author argue that the future of Indonesia-Malaysia relations continue to flourish and harmony. The close relations between the two countries are back upped and supported by the close relationship between government to government (G-to-G). In this context, the concept of "state to state relations" is still dominant in the bilateral diplomacy including in Indonesia-Malaysia bilateral relations as well as in the region. Nevertheless, the two countries will be frequently faced many obstacles in the future. Among the obstacles will be faced is determine and influence by some factors, as below:

- i.) The existence of some unsettled problems especially border issues, migrant workers, socio-cultures as well as environment.
- ii.) The negative perception between people to people especially Indonesian people towards Malaysia is serious. It means that people to people relationship is problematic.
- iii.) The liberal and freely media in Indonesia which sometime tend to make provocative reporting.
- iv.) The enhancement of nationalism sentiment as well as anti-Malaysia in Indonesia.

Looking to those phenomena the Indonesia-Malaysia bilateral relations need a new framework indeed. Indonesia and Malaysia should taking into account seriously above matters. The role of media and the easy access of information should be used properly in order to strengthen understanding between the two countries and not to jeopardize relationship. Furthermore, some potential problems could be a source of conflict should be eliminated and avoided. Hence, the two countries should observe international relations with optimistic spirits by take cooperation first as priority. This is also suitable with the element of defensive realism where:

"Defensive realism believes that states can indeed overcome the obstacles posed by anarchy to achieve cooperation under many circumstances"⁴

In the context of future Indonesia-Malaysia relations, the above statement should be considered. In addition, the commitment and firmness of Indonesia and Malaysia are needed in sustaining bilateral relationship. The liberation of media and also irresponsible domestic elite are could damage the relationship. The two countries should effort to avoid from the short term political interest from irresponsible parties.

As final summary, the thesis opine that the international structure is critical to the change in Indonesia-Malaysia relations in the post Suharto era (1998-2008). Although the thesis demonstrates that domestic politics was also exist, yet it was not occur automatically. The role of domestic politics was no longer influence and determine by the decline of international pressure. The decline of international structure directly and indirectly totally influence to the role of domestic variable. In contrast in line with the increase of international pressure, the role of domestic variable is also decrease. Hence, it is correctly to argue that the role of international structure is important and critical in international relations.

⁴ Tang, Shiping (2007), *From Offensive Realism to Defensive Realism: A Social Evolutionary Interpretation of China's Security Strategy*, *State of Security and International Studies Series*, No.3, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.