

Africa-Malaysia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period

BIJAY KETAN PRATHARI

Associate Professor

Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi (India)

ABSTRACT

The post Cold War period has paved a new way in Africa for new types of relationship with other partners. The South-South cooperation has unfolded the opportunities for economic cooperation between Africa nations and the developing countries in the contemporary global arena. This transitional change has made Africa and Malaysia to work together in tandem during in the era of globalization. Malaysian relationship with Africa, comparing with other countries like India and China, has been limited in the past decades. Since the end of colonialism in the 1960s, the main focus of African nation's relations with other nations was mainly based on political issues. But recently their focus and interest has shifted from political to economic issues. Hence, many countries from African continent are now showing acute interest in strengthening relations with the South countries like Malaysia for enhancing growth, reducing poverty and most importantly integrating into the world economy.

Key Words : Post-cold war period, South cooperation, Globalization, African nation's relations

INTRODUCTION

The world has witnessed major transformations taking place in international relations on different levels during the era of globalization and over the past two decades which coincides with post Cold War developments. Since the end of Cold War and the dawn of the new millennium, the ideas of an anarchic system that was filled with self-serving states are beginning to seem obsolete. Despite persistence from certain actors within the nation-state, self-reliance has become less and less possible in several fields of statecraft, whereas interdependence and globalization have grown and resulted in an evolution for restructuring systematic interactive phases among nations by breaking down barriers in the areas of politics, diplomacy, economics, culture, communication and several other fields of endeavor. These transformations have brought overall development in Africa particularly the sub-Saharan Africa and show more bright future and also Africa relations with other world especially the Third world countries.

The first decade of the 21st century has paved a

new way in Africa for International Relations as a whole. The increasing role of many developing South countries in global trade, investment, investment, finance and governance which was coupled with their rapid economic growth has revived the interest in South-South cooperation and further invigorated debates on its implications for Africa continent. The South- South cooperation has unfolded the opportunities for economic cooperation between Africa nations and the developing Southern nations in the contemporary global arena. A hallmark of the old geography of trade in which the relationship between the North and the South was the center periphery is gradually being replaced by more balanced economic relations among developing countries. Thus, this transitional change has made Africa and Malaysia to work together in tandem during the international arrangement in the era of globalization. Thus, better future and development for Africa starts germinating through their engagement with other developing South countries particularly Malaysia during globalization in the 21st century.

Malaysian relationship with Africa, comparing with

other countries like India and China, has been limited in the past decades. However, the trend of global economic, politics and cultural relationship and partnership are now moving forward toward a period of disruptive change in the 21st century. Since the end of colonialism in the late 1950s, the main focus of Africa nation's relations with the southern nations was mainly based on political issues. But recently their focus and interest has shifted from political to economic issues. Hence, many countries from Africa continent are now showing acute interest in strengthening relations with the South countries like Malaysia for enhancing growth, reducing poverty and most importantly integrating into the world economy.

Apart from understanding Africa engagement with the developing Southern countries, it is crucial to highlight the Malaysia engagement in Africa. Subsequently after the announcement of Malaysia's Vision 2020, Malaysia has experienced a globalized era in different areas by opening up the market for outside world, education policies, migration of people in and out of Malaysia, etc. Therefore, in order to fulfill the Vision 2020 Malaysia needs to adopt a broad and more open policies, not only in economic but also social and culture. The beginning of the 21st century has also witnessed renewed interests from both regions towards a political rapprochement. Africa engagement and bilateral relationship with Malaysia has been largely under the umbrella of South-South cooperation

During the last couple of decades, trade and investment flows between Africa and Malaysia have rapid increased due to the recent revival of South-South cooperation. Although trade and investments remain central issues on the bilateral relations, social, political and economic cooperation is gaining relevance, particularly in the case of Malaysian foreign policy towards Africa. Another important key aspect towards African-Malaysian relationship success in the era of globalization is education. Malaysia has also been considered by the international community as a significant educational hub or a "middle man" that attracted investments in the form of partnerships between Malaysia's educational institutions and foreign educational institutions. A part from the above mentioned relationship between Africa and Malaysia at the government-to-government level, non-governmental organizations such as religious organizations and cultural groups and others non-state actors like NGOs and cultural activists have strengthened and created people-to-people's partnerships

and become a very important tools in the 21st century.

The 21st century which endowed Africa continent and Malaysia with new partnerships have presented challenges despite the significant benefits from the South-South cooperation. One most striking challenges is that the patterns of trade and investment by developing countries of the South in Africa, like the North, appears to be primarily focused and interested in the continent's primary commodities which may end up with marginalization of Africa even in the new era of trade and investment geography. However, the present scenarios have raised the eyebrows of the many people which clearly show that African countries are actively engaging with other South countries particularly Malaysia and are becoming no longer passive recipients of money, but places for investment. Similarly, foreign countries are no longer gate keepers but are now partners.

Africa's relation with Malaysia is historical and time-tested; nevertheless, in recent years their relations have been rejuvenated with the increasing pace of globalisation. Their political, economic and cultural relationship has strengthened apart from their traditional trading partnership that deserves attention. In the last decades, Africa continent increased their ties with Asia's emerging powers- like India, China and Malaysia and have received considerable scholarly attention. Malaysia has a deep historical political, economical and cultural relationship with many African countries through their active involvement in many international activities which has been facilitated by South-South Cooperation.

Continuity and changes are two key features of Malaysia's relationship with African countries. Malaysia in its engagement with African nations follow political and economical strategy but it has also established cultural links with these nations. Indeed, Malaysia's strategic interest in Africa after globalization was mainly due to its foreign policy "prosper thy neighbor" and its policy to support weaker allies. Also Malaysia's engagement with Africa through trade, investment, technical assistance, training and capacity building was facilitated by South-South Cooperation.

The beginning of Africa-Malaysia strategic relationship could be traced back to the 1955 Bandung conference. This conference was a milestone because all the leaders of Asia and Africa came together with a common mind, objective and ideology. They all sought for the solidarity and cooperation of the developing south. "Instead of a unipolar, bipolar or multipolar world, we

may be seeing the coming into being of a Bola Takraw world. Like the rattan ball popular in the Malay world, there are so many poles that lines of linkage are more obvious than the points they join” (Ooi Kee Beng, 2006). Even though Malaysia did not participate in the conference, it was influenced by the Bandung spirit and the latter played an active and integral role in the formalizing the movement for South-South Cooperation. Also she developed bilateral and multilateral relationship with African countries through international mechanisms such as UN, OIC, NAM, G-77, G-15 and other regional and international organizations.

Understanding Afro-Asian Cooperation at Regional Level:

Africa and Asia shares similar historical experiences as far as their relationship with the Europeans is concerned. They both were destroyed and devastated by imperialism for more than three hundred years. Europeans depended on the African and Asian countries for raw materials and human resources in order to develop their own war-torn economies and society and thus, exploited resources from both the continents at different time. The character of imperialism in both continents was not of similar nature. Slavery and slave trade was prevalent in Africa whereas, in Asia, slave trade was not really prominent but the natural resources were exploited by the Europeans. This trend continued until the twentieth century. In short, the main basis and driving force of Afro-Asian relations initially was to assist each other in order to solve the problems of oppression and subjection.

The colonial intervention destroyed the society and left the nation-states in both continents underdeveloped. Globalization has integrated the politics and economy of the world and at the same time, has made the survival of nations difficult particularly of the underdeveloped and the developing nations as these nations could hardly develop at the pace of the developed nations. In fact, what the developing world need in the twenty first century is to redefine its position and ensure its development and benefits.

Development for both Africa and Asia relations in the twentieth century was a long process as there was many reorientations and adjustments done. The first set of reorientation was that of consciousness which is evident in the idea of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism. These two systems paved the way for cooperation in a

different manner. The vision of Pan-Africanism was translated to nationalism at the backdrop of colonialism with demands being made for self government without interference. It was in this process of nationalism that the Afro-Asian solidarity sprang up in most of African states. Pan-Asianism and Pan-Africanism’s similarity lies on the fact that, their basic motive was avoidance of imperialism and colonialism even though they operated differently. The fact that both continents were backward in terms of development aroused the need for friendly relations between the two and brought them together for a common cause.

Several meetings were held during the colonial period with the aim of consolidating the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity against Western imperialism and influences. The need for unity and consolidation developed at the non-governmental as well as at the governmental level. For instance, the Bierville Congress in France in 1926 was among the first meetings at the non-governmental level in promoting the idea of Afro-Asian solidarity. This meeting was organized by Asian student movements in Europe and led by a young Hatta (Indonesia), K.M Panikkar (India), Duong Van Gio (Vietnam) and many others. This meeting emphasised on liberation of the Asian spirit and the condemnation of imperialism and oppression in Asia (Abdullah, 2013). The post Second World War period presented a new and different perspective and framework for action by poor and newly independent countries especially the third world or developing countries. Wartime experiences, poor economy and independence for many former colonies had widened perspectives against imperialism. The UN was an important platform for the newly independent states for expression and collective action, although the general attitude towards the idea was ambiguous. Afro-Asian states’ first attempt to ensure greater cooperation through international gatherings such as the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi in 1947 was successful only to a limited extent despite being organized by non-government groups having full support of the newly independent Afro-Asian countries (Williams, 1981).

The Western imperial powers were skeptical of Afro-Asian cooperation and consolidation. Nonetheless, this provided impetus for the newly independent Afro-Asian countries to unite. Nehru, former Prime Minister of India, for example, initiated the idea of creating an Asian common platform that could build strong political and economic ties across the continent. The platform

emphasized on the need for collective efforts of Asian countries to defend themselves against the probable future expansion of Western power (Bushan, 1976). The idea of common platform and collective effort by Asian was expounded at the first governmental level conference of Asian countries, which was again held in New Delhi in 1949. The conference was held as a result of the Dutch action against Indonesia in 1947, an "... Asian riposte to a flagrant attack made" by the colonial powers (Bushan 1976). Later, in 1954, five leading newly independent Asian countries— Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan—met in Colombo to prepare for the first ever summit of Afro-African countries that were concerned about the ideological rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union and the situation in Indo- China.

This meeting was proposed in Bandung, Indonesia as an Afro-Asian Summit having the objective of developing joint policies for newly independent countries especially Asia and Africa. The Bandung Conference, held in 1955, brought together the leaders from two continents of Africa and Asia to promote peace, prosperity and progress in the two regions. Later, Non-Aligned Movement was formed in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The spirit of Bandung Conference as well as Nehru's non-alignment ideas became the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In spite of the considerable differences, the leaders agreed in their ideas of development in both the continent which paved the way for Afro-Asian relations. Towards the turn of the twentieth century, the idea of 'the oneness of Asia', an 'Asian personality' or 'Afro-Asian solidarity' was indivisible and inalienable in the political agendas of newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. India, together with several other countries including Egypt, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka, took the lead in calling for the unity of peoples of both continents (Bhushan, 1976).

Africa- Malaysia relations in the 1990's:

A new era of Africa-Malaysia relations ushered in when the Cold War abruptly ended at the close of the 1980s and with the arrival of globalization in the 1990s. Africa's relations with Malaysia in the 1990s moved together in tandem along with the changes experienced by the international community's at large. In the 1970s and 1980s, the changes in old issues like political, social and economic crisis with new developments and new challenges faced by the world communities have changed

the nature of the relations among the developing countries, including between the Malaysian government and its African counterparts. More importantly, the new relations created by the developing countries in the 1990s were clearly gearing towards future cooperation as could be seen by the formation of the South-South Commission.

When most of the African countries reached its independence in 1960s, they had high hopes of independence, democracy, political stability and economic development. Their dreams were scattered and gave way to military coup, personal and authoritarian rule and the collapse of economy which were witnessed in the 1970's and 1980s. Political, social and economic crisis during these two decades accompanied by the natural catastrophe such as drought underlined the development in challenges faced by Africans in the 1990s. Africa was indeed the only region in the world that witnessed decline in their average output per capita between 1960s and 1990s. At the same time, Africa's share in the world trade also plummeted (World Bank, 2000). The 1980s was a decade of catastrophe and total crises for African economic development and developed countries decision on the debt of African countries forced many African countries economies to their knees (Hamidin Abd Hamid, 2003). Therefore, in 1980s Africans were bracketed by crisis and experienced 'a steep regional economic decline, stagnant growth, dwindling production and trade, widening internal poverty and worse still burgeoning foreign debt. (Peter Lewis, 1998).

By 1980s the South countries had realized that economic development and industrialization that took place since their independence in 1950s were highly "uneven and has encountered serious setbacks". Therefore the development of the South, particularly the economy until 1980s "took place in highly propitious circumstances and under a conducive international order." The South began to accept the reality that "the principal of non-reciprocity in trading relation between the North and the South" and importantly the South accepted that "the principle of special and differential treatment for southern countries because of their underdevelopment." (Singh, 2003).

The world communities, especially the developing countries, had experienced the hardship of the economic downturn during the period of 1990s as the economic recession brought the price of the commodities into the ground and in turn strongly affected the economy of the world. The failure of the developed countries to addressed

and participate in the efforts to stabilize the price of the commodities caused the developing countries to question the developed countries role towards their relation with the developing countries particularly the third world countries. However, this decade witnessed the political transition and economic transformations in many developing countries. It further enhanced and established the path way for political, economical and cultural relationship between the developing countries, particularly Africa and Malaysia in the 21st century. Africa's relations with Malaysia, within this period, have been bolstered through their constant efforts and engagement in the south-south cooperation. In short, the economic hardship of the 1980s and the issues of Apartheid strongly brought Malaysia and Africa closer to each other.

The historical phenomena has played a pivotal role in understanding Africa's relations with Malaysia in the 1990s as some scholars reminded us that "one cannot grasp the reality of the third world if the analysis is limited to the contemporary data" as the 'Third World' or 'Developing Countries' or 'The South' is a historical phenomenon" (Ali A. Mazrui, 1993). The notions of belonging to the 'same world' and to act as one voice in the global politics were discussed and debated way back in 1955 Bandung Conference, long before south-south cooperation was introduced. Malaysia efforts and engagement with issues concerning Africa in the 1980s and her continuously commitment with African problems was certainly in the right path because their existence in the South is too big to be ignored if any attempts to revise the unjust relation between the North and the South. Malaysia as one of the developing countries shared the mutual feelings towards African countries that were affected most by the situation that existed. Therefore, Malaysia strongly believed that the initiative for a better world condition must be worked together by the south and should come from the South. Africa-Malaysia relations in the 1990s can be broadly seen into three distinct ways, namely -political, economical and cultural.

Political relations:

The political relationship between Africa and Malaysia in 1990s was strengthen due to the failure of the efforts in the 1970s to create a new world order in terms of economic and trade system in order to narrow the gap between the developed and developing world and the situations that the developing countries were experiencing in the 1980s. During the 1990s, most of the

developing countries in the South felt the impact of unjust economic system than the North and were facing political instability. This unjust relation between the North and the South eventually pave way for a better understanding between Malaysia and African countries as they both began to search for the best approach to encounter the unjust international world order. This leads to the formation of south-south cooperation. The South-South cooperation which refers to a cooperative strategy between two or more countries is essentially political.

As we had already discussed above, Africa-Malaysia political relations starts since from the Bandung conference in 1955. Later, the formation of Non-Alignment movement, the emergence Group of 77 (G-77) following the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in 1964 in Geneva, principally aimed at advancing a broad set of proposals to restructure the international economic system in South's favor and the formation of Group of 15 (G-15) in Kuala Lumpur between 1 and 3 June 1990 for reactivating the stalled North-South dialogue 'on all key issues of development, such as, inter alia, external debt, monetary and financial problems, international trade and commodities, science and technology, food and agriculture... on the basis of shared responsibility and mutual interests' (Economic Documents, 1989) are all political and economical strategy of coalition bargaining for the south or developing countries to encounter the unjust relations of the North and the South. Therefore, the strategy of coalition bargaining was put to effective use during the period of 1980s and had a profound impact on the bargaining power of the poor countries.

The political relations between Malaysia and its counterpart African countries can also be seen through the high frequency of exchange visits and diplomatic relations between the two countries. In 1990s, one of the major problems faced by the South was their inability to act as one group. This caused many countries to have so many interests of their own which undermined the collective interests of the south. So Malaysia, in urging the south to be united, admitted the differences that had existed between them and sought that the south must work not to emphasize the differences but concentrating on the similarity of the goals needed to improve themselves. The 1990s witnessed Malaysia efforts to cultivate a stronger bilateral relation with some of the African states, especially south of Sahara.

Furthermore, the political scenario of the Southern

Africa in the first year of the 1990s underwent tremendous changes which were manifested by the decision of the Pretoria Regime to release Nelson Mandela and other black South Africa from their jails in February 1990 followed by the declaration of Namibia independence in March 1990. Hence, Malaysia acted swiftly to forge a stronger relationship with region of South African. Eventually, Southern African region became the “the port of entrance” for Malaysia to participate more effectively in Sub-Sahara Africa. Malaysia has played a more active role in the bilateral relations with selected African partners by the end of the 1990s.

Malaysian government took some important initiatives towards African countries that are the Langkawi International Dialogue (LID) and the Southern Africa International Dialogue (SAID) which were both launched in 1995 and aim to develop and strengthen the political and economical relationships between Malaysia and the African countries. The main aims of LID are to promote ideas and experiences on development and economic growth to developing countries in Africa (and the Caribbean). SAID is a follow-up and counterpart to LID, advising on the potential of the Southern African area for Malaysian entrepreneurs (Rafeeat Aliyu 2011). The LID and SAID provided the framework on which Malaysia-Africa political and economic relations have been built. By the end of 1990s, Malaysia had a bilateral relation with most of the countries in Sub-Sahara Africa such as Gabon, Mauritius, Senegal, Uganda, Kenya and Chad (Hamidin Abd Hamid, 2003).

Economic relations:

Africa- Malaysia relationship was basically based on economy since from the very beginning. The efforts in the 1970s by the developing countries to create a new world order in terms of economic and trade system in order to narrow the gap between the developed and developing world brought together both Africa and Malaysia to a closer economic ties. The tremendous economic problems faced by the developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s forced them to alter their coalitional behaviour which was more of North- South relations or negotiations. Therefore, in the 1990s, Malaysia’s relations and involvement, particularly, in the economic sector, with its African counterparts increased enormously.

Malaysia’s role, commitment and efforts in the formation of the South-South Commission could be seen

from the Second South-South Conference that was held in Kuala Lumpur on May 1986, three years after the first conference was Held in Beijing, China. The holding of this conference on South-South Cooperation could not have come at a more opportune time as South-South Cooperation must emphasized on Africa as “in Africa the battle for survival remains as grim as ever” (Hamidin Abd Hamid, 2003).

The changing scenario of politics and economic developments in Africa, particularly Sub-Sahara Africa strongly witnessed Malaysia’s efforts to establish bilateral relations with African countries in 1990s. The increasing bilateral relations between African states and Malaysia could be seen through the participation of African countries with Malaysia’s Technical Cooperation Program (MTCP) which was started in 1980. The MTCP belief strongly in the concept of developing a country through its human resources i.e. the quality of its human resources determines the success and development of the country. MTCP focuses on the development of human resources by providing training to the various sectors which are crucial in a country’s development e.g. development planning, poverty alleviation, agriculture development etc. The Economic Planning Unit is responsible in the administration and coordination of all MTCP activities.

Malaysia’s engagement in Africa throughout the 1990s was mostly through its involvement in international institutions such as the UN and its permanent body of organizations. However, Malaysia’s own initiative to group the developing countries to work together in order to challenge the imbalance of developments between the North and the South could be seen through the establishment of the G-15 inaugural summit in Kuala Lumpur in 1990. The formation of Group-15 also paved the way for better cooperation in economic relations between Malaysia and other members of the Group that belonged to Sub-Sahara Africa, such as Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria and Senegal. Malaysia and African countries as a developing country realized the needs of a new approach for the developing countries to act as one voice in order to encounter the challenges brought by the new world order .The formation of the G-15 must be seen as part of the efforts of strengthening the South-South Cooperation as suggested by the South Commission.

During the 1990s, Asian countries’ including Malaysia acknowledges and shown concerns about the

continued fragility of Africa political and economic structure and situations. Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) was held in October 1993 by Asian countries in support of African conditions and the 1991 UN New Agenda for the Development in Africa (UN-NADAF). Through the formation of TICAD, Asian countries “will serve to strengthen an emerging new partnership for sustainable development of Africa based on self-reliance of African countries and the support of Africa’s development partners” (United Nations, 1993). In its declaration known as “Towards the 21st Century” TICAD adopted 35 point of action to improve African development. In the declaration one of the major points highlighted was that the African countries will work closely with its Asian counterparts in exchanges of ideas and experiences for its development. The TICAD opened up the door for commitments of Asian communities to involve in African development and furthermore increased South-south cooperation between Asia and Africa in the 21st century. This was followed by the second TICAD (TICAD II) held in Tokyo on the 19 October 1998.

The Tokyo declaration gain momentum and was followed by the first Asia-Africa Forum which was held in Bandung on the 12-16 December 1994 and the second Asia-Africa Forum was held in Bangkok in 1997. Malaysia, in this new partnership, never failed to attend the subsequent Asia- Africa Forum conferences which was held in Bandung and Bangkok and took up the leadership to lead the new partnership. Malaysia also involved in other subsequent program that emerged from the TICAD conference such as the Asia-Africa Cooperation in Export Promotion Conference which was held in Seoul Korea in December 1998 to mainly to review both Asian experience and the challenges facing African countries in promoting their exports and emphasized the formation of the framework for cooperation and equal partnership. Furthermore, Malaysia involves in organizing the Africa-Asia Business Forum which taken place at Kuala Lumpur on October 1999.

Malaysian also participation also happened outside the TICAD in giving hand and ideas towards the development of Africa. Malaysia organized the 2nd Afro-Asian International Conference regarding on Power Development in September 1994 in conjunction with 100 years of electricity in Malaysia. The Conference objectives were to share Malaysia experience in developing their power infrastructure with other African countries. Another personal attempt in forging relationship

with Africa, Malaysia also made its own initiatives by taking initial steps by introducing Smart Partnership that is based on win-win cooperation to enhance the economic relationship between the South-South cooperation to survive in the globalized economy. Langkawi International Dialogue (LID) established in 1995 is a Malaysian initiative towards Smart Partnership that aims to promote ideas and experiences on development and economic growth to developing countries in Africa and the Caribbean. LID is a platform through which ideas on development, trade, and even topics such as religious extremism are discussed and exchanged among participating countries. LID also brings together industry and labour leaders, social groups, civil servants, members of the media, and academia to access varied perceptions on issues related to socio-economic development and the role of technology in business development (Rafeat, 2011).

Malaysia’s relations and engagement particularly, in the economic sector, with its African counterparts is increased enormously in the 1990s. Many Malaysian companies such as Petronas , Malaysia Resources Corporation Berhad (MRCB), Telekom, TV3, and Promet were involved in various economic sectors in Africa such as manufacturing, construction, property development, farming, electricity, energy (oil and gas) and also infrastructure. South Africa is the largest and the most important trade and economic partner for Malaysia among the Sub-Saharan African States. On the other hand, Malaysia is also the largest Southeast Asian investor in Africa. At the same time, Malaysia is the major destination for South African’s investors. In fact, when a consortium consisting of a United States’ company, SBC Communications Inc and Malaysia’s Telekom bought 30% of South Africa’s Telkom in 1996 it was the largest FDI ever in the history of South Africa (Hamidin Abd Hamid, 2003). The below table no.1 shows Malaysia investment destinations in the Sub-Sahara Africa from 1993-2000.

Conclusion:

Looking at the historical background of Africa-Malaysia relation, we can conclude that their relationship started from the Bandung conference in 1955. As both Africa and Malaysia shared the same yoke of European imperialism and exploitations, they started their journey towards solidarity and cooperation through regional cooperation and international conference. This had resulted in passing the resolution of final communiqué of

the Bandung conference. The Bandung spirit along with the Afro-Asian caucus engagement gave impetus for the formation of the G-77, NAM, G-15, LID, SAID, MTCP, etc. in the post Bandung conference.

Studying the history of Africa-Malaysia relations in the 1990s, we can clearly see that their political, economical and cultural engagement and commitment towards each other was mainly due to the unjust relations between the North and the South. This paved way for better understanding between Africa and Malaysia and brought them together under the umbrella of South-South cooperation. While discussing their historical relationship before the 21st century, a conceptual framework of IR theory has been discussed in order to have firm understanding of the nature of Africa-Malaysia relations in the 21st century. Since both Africa and its counterpart Malaysia have failed to achieve the economic benefits promised by globalization and were marginalized, critical theory becomes relevant as a theoretical framework of analysis. Critical theory which works in the interest of the silenced and marginalized communities and opened up doors for the voiceless to be heard neatly fits well for studying Africa and Malaysia relations as they belong to the marginalized South or the third world countries.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Kamarulnizam (2013). "Malaysia's Role in Invigorating NAM's Bandung Spirit", *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategy*, **40**(1), : 21-41
- Akokapari, John K. (2001). "Post Cold war International relations and Foreign Policies in Africa", *New issues and New Challenges*, *AJIA*, **4** (1&2), 2001.
- Aliyu, Rafeeat (2011). "Bridging Africa and Malaysia: The Langkawi International Dialogue", *Consultancy Africa Intelligence*, November
- Bhushan, S. (1976). "Non-Alignment Legacy of Nehru", New Delhi Progressive people Sector publication.
- Can Africa Claim the 21st Century, *New Strait Times*, 32 August 2001, p.27
- Hamid, Ahmad Faiz Abdul (2005). "Malaysia and South-South Cooperation during Mahathir's Era", Subang Jaya, Pelanduk Publications.
- Karim, Azhari (2011). "Langkawi International Dialogue: Out and Into Africa", *New Straits Times*, 23 June 2011, p.18
- Kyle Brown (2013). "Understanding African-Asian Cooperation at the regional level: ASEAN and the African Union", *Consultancy Africa Intelligence*
- Rafeeat, A. (2011). "Bridging Africa and Malaysia: The Langkawi International Dialogue", *Consultancy Africa Intelligence*
- Singh, Ajit (2003). "South-South Cooperation: A Historical Perspective", in *South Centre High Level Policy Forum Dead Sea, Jordan, Geneva, South Centre*, 2003
- UNCTAD (2010). "South-South Cooperation: Africa and the New Forms of Development Partnership", *Economic Development in Africa Report*, New York, Geneva, UN
- Xinhua (2013). "Malaysia to Invest in African Countries", *SAFPI*, Monday, 1 July 2013
- Yoshino, Yutaka (2008). "Africa-Asia Trade and Investment: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Bank*, April 2008.
