



One-day International Conference on:

The Middle East and the Malay world: Contemporary Issues and Future Challenges



Organizers:

Asia Middle East Center (AMEC)

Bait Al Amanah Institute

Asia West-East Center (Asia WE)

Academy of Malay Studies – Universiti Malaya

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Venue:

Academy of Malay Studies – Universiti Malaya

International Conference on: THE Middle East and the MALAY WORLD

Contemporary Issues and Future Challenges



Dato Sri Dr
Wan Junaidi



YBrs. Enick
Khairul Azwan



Dr. Abdul Razzak
Ahmad



Dr. Asif Shuja



Prof. Dr. Mohd
Nazari Bin Ismail



Dr. Olsi Jazexhi



YB Liew Chin
Tong



Dr. Awang Azman
Awang Pawi



Prof. Mehmet
Ozay



Dr. Asep
Setiawan



Dr. Chandra
Muzaffar



Dato Ku Jaafar
Ku Shaari



Dr. Fauziah Mohd
Hasan



Dr. Hoo Chiew
Ping



Prof. Dr. K.S.
Nathan



Prof. Dr. Ahmad
Fauzi Abdulhamid

Concept Paper

Nowadays, culture and civilization are among the most important factors defining the nations in our world. Whenever a nation wanted to rebuild itself, inevitably it returned to these premises. Muslim countries did not stay away from resorting to this method in the continuous historical process of the rise and fall of civilizations.

Throughout our history, there were many cases of the rise of civilizations that eventually reached a state of decline. Although Muslim societies went through the whole process from birth to decline, they reappear again in the quest for revival.

The development of Muslim civilization in various regions of the world is an amazing process that continues to attract the attention of many researchers. Its origins can be considered a complex and inimitable phenomenon that, along with its rapid growth, was able to offer humanity some guidance.

Indeed, the Muslim world can be compared to the carpet that, with all its diversity of colors and geometrical patterns, symbolizes unity. It is possible to witness this unity when all the patterns are analyzed in a composition next to each other. Following this logic, it can be seen that the Muslim world has a mesmerizing diversity of cultures, languages, ethnicities, and religious sects, and yet it cannot be looked at without the lense of unity, disregarding the sectarianism that may seem to tear it apart, because it has a uniting unchangeable principle that lies in the religion and has no substitute.

If to distinguish the model Muslim nations may adhere to based on where they inherited Islam, it can be roughly divided into Arabic, Turkic, Iranian, Malay, and African.

While there is only one Islam in the world, there is its great plurality, when viewed within the national, cultural, and linguistic frameworks. Domains of Arabic, Persian, Turkic, African, and Indian culture, and the culture of the Malay world make up the civilizational block of the Muslim world.

Middle East Countries played a significant role in the spread of Islam in Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and East Asia from China to Malaysia and Indonesia. Arab and Iranian traders, Indian Sufis introduced Islam to Southeast Asia in the 13th century.

The regional cultural abode of Islam consists of Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Malay-speaking minorities in South Thailand and the Philippines which altogether account for 250 million people.

If to look for the political factors that helped to shape Muslim civilization, the Arab language that spread all over the Muslim lands, was one of them, and after that, it gave its place to Persian and Turkish.

Islamic Culture as a driver of spreading Islam in Iran itself, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent also became widely spoken in various dialects at that time. As a result, the role of Arabic was reduced to the performance of solat and other prayers.

Islam's influence is noticeable through the Malay language (which served as a lingua franca for the Muslims of Indonesia and Malaysia), as well as the Thai language (from the 16th century and Ayutthaya time).

Quite a lot of research was made on the Iranian influence in the Malay and Chinese world before the advent of Islam, but there was no consolidated work touching on all the aspects of their complexity.

The role of Middle East countries including Arab countries and Iran and Turkish in the spread of Islam among the people in this region is also of interest and issue for disputes among the researchers.

Therefore, based on the outlined matters of interest, it is suggested to organize a Two-day International Conference on “**The Middle East and Malay world: Contemporary Issues and Future Challenges**” with a focus on History, Politics, Culture, and Finance, among the categories to be presented at the Conference.

The structure of the conference is planned on the following three panels

- **The Malay Archipelago in the Muslim World: Relations with the Middle East**
- **The Malay World and the World Powers: The United States and China**
- **Malaysia and Indonesia on Palestine**

Tentative Program

- 08:00-09:00 Guest arrival
- 09:00-09:15: **Opening speech by Emcee**
Haniss Haidi – Bait Al Amanah Institute
- 09:20 – 09:30 **Welcoming Speech by:**
Dr. Abdul Razak – chairman of Bait Al Amanah Institute
- 09:35 – 10:10 **Keynote Speech by**
Honorable Yang Berhormat Dato Sri Wan Junaidi bin Tuanku Jaafar Minister in the Prime Minister's Department-(Parliament and Law)
- 10:15 – 10:30: **Launching of Asia Middle East Center for Research and Dialogue:**
Short speech by Mr. Muslim Imran – Director of AMEC
Launching by AMEC Advisor Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamed Albar,
Minister in the Prime Minister's Department Datuk Seri Wan Junaidi, and other VIPs

Session I: The Malay Archipelago in the Muslim World:

Relations with the Middle East

Moderator: Nabila Ismail – Bait Al Amanah

- 10:30 – 10:45: **Speaker I: Prof. Dr. Ahmad Fauzi Abdulhamid** - University of Science Malaysia (USM)
Title: Malaysian Islamists' Responses to the August 2021 Taliban Takeover of Afghanistan
- 10:45 – 11:00: **Speaker II: Dr. Asif Shuja** –The Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore
Title: “Malay World’s Navigation in the Changing Dynamics of the Islamic World”
- 11:00 - 11:15: **Speaker III: Assoc. Prof Mehmet Ozay**. (ISTAC-IIUM)
Title: “Narration or Fictionalization of Historical Relations: The responsibility of Historians in the context of the Ottoman-Malay World Relations”
- 11:15 – 11:30: **Speaker IIII: Dato Ku Jaafar Ku Shaari**– Former Secretary General of D8
Title: Middle East Malay World Thousand Years’ Relations.
- 11:30 – 11:45: **Speakers V: Associate Professor Dr Awang Azman Awang Pawi** – Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya
Title: The Role of Aceh and Turkey in Relation to Islamic Intellectualism in the Malay World
- 1145 – 12:20 **Q & A**

Session II:

The Malay World and the World Powers: The United States and China

Moderator: Sohil Marjani -Asia WE

- 12:20 – 12:35 **Speakers I: YB Liew Chin Tong** - Former Deputy Defense Minister of Malaysia
Title: Malaysia as an aspiring middle power in the context of great power rivalry
- 12:35 - 12:50 **Speaker II: Dr. Hoo Chiew Ping, Senior Lecturer – SSIR- UKM**
Title: The Malay World in East Asia
- 12:50-13:05 **Speaker III: Dr. Chandra Muzafar** – International Movement for a Just World (JUST)
Title: The Malay World and China: past, present, and future ties
- 13:05 - 13:20 **Speaker IIII: Prof. Dr. K.S. Nathan- ukm Malaysia**
Title: Malaysia’s Relations with the United States and China: Examining Convergence and Divergence of Interests in a Trilateral Framework
- 13:20 – 13:45 **Q & A**
- 13:45 – 14:30 **Lunch Break**

Session III: Malaysia and Indonesia on Palestine

Moderator: Mr. Muslim Imran – Asia Middle East Center (AMEC)

- 14:30 – 14:45 **Speakers I: Prof. Dr. Mohd Nazari Bin Ismail** - Hashim Sani Center for Palestine Studies, University of Malaya
Title: [Boycotting Israel – The Challenges](#)
- 14:45 – 15:00 **Speaker II: Dr.Olsi Jasexhi** - International Islamic University Malaysia
Title: [Israel’s belligerence against Palestine: from the Balkans to Nusantara](#)
- 15:00 – 15:15 **Speaker III: Dr. Asep Setiawan** - Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta (UMJ), Indonesia
Title: [Palestine, Indonesia and Struggle Against Colonialism](#)
- 15:15 – 15:30 **Speaker IIII : Dr Fauziah Mohd Hasan-**
Title:
- 15:30 - 16:00 **Q & A**

Session IV

Closing Ceremony by

- 16:00 - 16:30 - **Short speech by Dr. Abdolreza Alami – Director of Asia WE**
- **Keynote Speech by YBrS. Encik Khairul Azwan former Malaysian Senator of the Dewan Negara**
- 16:30 - 16:45 **Souvenirs and Photo Session**
- 16:45 - 17:00 **Closing Remarks by Emcee**

Biography of Guest Speakers

Yang Berhormat Dato Sri Wan Junaidi bin Tuanku Jaafar born 1 February 1945) is a Malaysian politician who has served as Minister in the Prime Minister's Department for Parliament and Law in the Barisan Nasional (BN) administration under Prime Minister Ismail Sabri Yaakob since August 2021. He served as Minister of Entrepreneur Development and Co-operatives in the Perikatan Nasional (PN) coalition under former Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin from March 2020 to August 2021 and Member of Parliament (MP) for Santubong since March 2004. He served as Minister of Natural Resources and Environment, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat in the Barisan Nasional (BN) administration under former Prime Ministers Abdullah Ahmad Badawi and Najib Razak, former Minister Ahmad Zahid Hamidi and former Speaker Pandikar Amin Mulia from April 2008 to May 2018 and MP for Batang Lupar from October 1990 to March 2004. He is a member of the Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB), a component party of the Gabungan Parti Sarawak (GPS) coalition.



YBrs. Encik Khairul Azwan Harun is a Malaysian politician. He is a former Malaysian Senator which is part of the Dewan Negara. He is a member of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO).

Azwan has been vocal in championing the issues related to youth and the future generations of Malaysia. His progressive political views can be seen through various initiatives that he brought forward including supporting English medium school, organizing the interfaith dialogue, and becoming the chairman for Kuala Lumpur International Youth Discourse (KLIYD). He was the chairman for KLIYD for 2 consecutive years.

Since 23 October 2013, he has been the Deputy Leader of the UMNO Youth Wing and a member of UMNO Supreme Council chaired by the Party President. He won the post in the national party election with Khairy Jamaluddin who won the post of National Leader of UMNO Youth Wing. Prior to this, Azwan was the Leader of Barisan Nasional Perak Youth (the youth organization of Malaysia's governing coalition), and the Head of the Perak State UMNO Youth Wing. At UMNO's grassroots level, he has held the post of Youth Chief for the Pasir Salak Division.



Abstract articles and Biographical details of Speakers

Prof. Dr. Ahmad Fauzi Abdulhamid is Professor of Political Science, School of Distance Education, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang, Malaysia, and former Visiting Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, at University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), Malaysia. He has held Visiting Fellowships with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore; the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore; the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, United Kingdom. A well-published author of about 100 academic works in the form of journal articles, book chapters and research monographs, Ahmad Fauzi has since January 2019 been leading *Kajian Malaysia: Journal of Malaysian Studies* (Penang: USM Press) as its editor-in-chief. Ahmad Fauzi's research has earned him airtime over international media such as Singapore's Channel News Asia and BBC. He gives occasional commentaries over Malaysia's media channels. In May 2017, Ahmad Fauzi represented Malaysia at the Russia-Islamic World Strategic Meeting held in Grozny, Chechen Republic, Russian Federation. In December 2018, Ahmad Fauzi was appointed to the Malaysian Home Ministry's panel of experts to advise the government on terrorism cases investigated under the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act 2012. Ahmad Fauzi is also an elected member to USM's Senate for the 2020-2023 term



Malaysian Islamists' Responses to the August 2021 Taliban Takeover of Afghanistan

Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, Che Hamdan Che Mohd Razali, Wan Rohila Ganti Wan Abdul Ghapar

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The August 2021 re-assumption of power by the Taliban, twenty years after being ousted from power in Afghanistan by the military might of the United States of America (USA), was generally welcomed by Muslims in Malaysia. Many of them had treated the USA's initial incursions into Afghanistan with ambivalence. While empathizing with Americans who were at the receiving end of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, Malaysian Muslims generally frowned upon the USA's military assaults and installation of a puppet government in Afghanistan as blowing things out of proportion. As far as Malaysians were concerned, in a space of twenty years, the USA's reputation had plunged from being a paragon of democracy to being a perpetrator of horrible human rights abuses in Afghanistan. Malaysian Muslims received Taliban 2.0 with equivocation. They were aware of Taliban's past unsavory reputation in such matters as women's rights, minority rights, and modern education, but they were not prepared to see their Muslim brethren in Afghanistan suffer much longer under the rule of a foreign occupier. Taliban's own record of regressive rule notwithstanding, they were at least fellow Afghans who were more in touch with the religio-cultural sensitivities of the ordinary Afghan populace. From the interviews we conducted among stakeholders of post-Taliban 2.0 Afghanistan-related policies in Malaysia, we discovered that Malaysian Muslims were open to giving the Taliban 2.0 administration a chance to prove its worth in the management of the country, for want of a better alternative. Continually viewing Taliban 2.0 as a terrorist entity, as the USA was inclined to do, would be counter-productive at a time when the national economy was in doldrums and the population was suffering. Help to Afghanistan from Malaysian Islamists has focused on humanitarian assistance rather than jihadist accouterments. While it would be too early at this stage to dismiss altogether the impact of Taliban 2.0's triumph in Afghanistan in fueling Islamist extremism in Malaysia, the researchers believe that the ramifications, if any, should not be exaggerated either.

Dr. Asif Shuja is a Senior Research Fellow at the Middle East Institute (MEI) at the National University of Singapore (NUS). He is an Iran expert whose research focus includes Iranian domestic politics, the Iranian nuclear issue, Iran's foreign policy, and Iran's regional role. He was previously associated with the International Center for Strategic Studies, Abu Dhabi, as a non-resident fellow. His other research affiliations include the Indian Council of World Affairs, where he worked as a research fellow, and the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi where he was attached to the Nuclear Security Project of the Department of Atomic Energy. Asif obtained his PhD on Iran's political power struggle from the Centre for West Asian (Middle East) Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is the author of the book, *India-Iran Relations under the Shadow of the Iranian Nuclear Issue*.



“Malay World’s Navigation in the Changing Dynamics of the Islamic World”

Asif Shuja

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While Islam remains at its core, the Malay world has retained its own identity in a way that many consider as inspirational and a viable model for Islamic society. The current geopolitics of the Middle East – the centre of Islam – has created a situation in which the three prominent Islamic powers, i.e., Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey are competing to claim the leadership of the Islamic world. This scenario, compounded with the Russia-Ukraine war bringing back the importance of oil and Malaysia’s membership in the OPEC+, has created some new socio-political and economic challenges as well as opportunities for the Malay world. While chronicling these opportunities and challenges, this paper would delve into the bilateral relationships of the Malay world respectively with the major powers of the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey to analyse how the Malay world could navigate during the current times under the backdrop of the changing dynamics of the Islamic world.

Assoc. Prof Mehmet Ozay received Bachelor's Degree from Marmara University in 1997 under the Department of English Teacher Training of Education Faculty. He pursued Master Degree in Sociology and Anthropology in 2000 at the "Institute of the Middle East and Islamic Countries" where his first professional academic work completed, titled "Anthony Giddens and His Sociology". In 2006, He authors "Modernization-Secularization-Religion Relations in Contemporary Sociology" as a fulfillment of a Doctorate degree from Theology Faculty of Marmara University.



Between 2007-2010, Özay became a visiting lecturer in Education Faculty and Post-graduate studies at Islamic State University of Ar-Raniry and taught Sociology and Anthropology in the department of Social Sciences and Politics (SOS-POL) at Syah Kuala University (Unsyiah) and Muhammadiyah University in Banda Aceh, Indonesia.

He worked as a researcher and lecturer at the Faculty of Education, the University Technology Malaysia (UTM), Skudai, Johor Bahru between 2010-2013. Between post graduate lecture works he was awarded research grants on Colonial Education; Malay Language and Nationalism; and Traditional Islamic Education in Malay World; Aceh History and Sociology, by Research Management Center at UTM. His further career endeavour was at journalism field leading socio-political coverage of the Malay World under Turkish national media, Anadolu Agency and TRT, before joining Ibn Haldun University in Istanbul from 2017 to 2021.

He is currently a full time lecturer in International Institute of Advanced Islamic Thought and Civilization at International Islamic University of Malaysia (ISTAC-IIUM).

“Narration or Fictionalization of Historical Relations: The responsibility of Historians”

Mehmet Ozay

This paper challenges the problem of historical epistemology in the studies on relations between Ottoman and Malay World which is believed to have been initiated in the inception of the 16th century. It is closely observed that a significant intensification of academic studies to have been triggered by the calamitous event of the tsunami that hit the Indian Ocean in 2004. That 'natural' disaster has implicated both the humanitarian initiatives of the Turkish government/semi-government, civil organizations and also certain academic works academia in order to re-discover the earlier historical contacts and interactions. It is quite interesting to have witnessed that the above-mentioned academic works of reviving and reminding of the past relations were coincidental apparently with the initiation of the Ottomanist worldview of some circles in Turkey. Instead of developing a historical epistemology through rational and critical approaches in an innovative way which would be laying emphasis on diverse scopes of the relationships by taking into consideration of multiple reasons and actors in order to understand the past relation, the recent academic stance has shown implicitly a certain tendency to narrate the relations in the limitation of superiority-inferiority dichotomy and/or one-sided power-based domination. The latter issue is no doubt to be defined as gravely problematic. And because researches and studies in the field of history have certain explicit methodological weaknesses, the ventures to understand past relations with the Malay world have not produced robust results. In this paper, there is a major issue -as mentioned below- to be taken into consideration: 'The nature of the observed problem in the ventures of the reconstruction of the Ottoman and the Malay world relations is the echo of the already established methodological weaknesses in academic circles. In addition, there are some suggestions in the paper will be furnished for the purpose of overcoming the exist epistemological problem.

Key Words: the Malay world, the Ottomans, critical approach, historical epistemology

Ambassador (Retd.) Dato Ku Jaafar Ku Shaari is the Former Secretary-General of the Developing Eight Organization for Economic Cooperation.

Ambassador Jaafar joined the Malaysian Public Service in 1981. In his distinguished diplomatic career in the Foreign Service of Malaysia, he served as Malaysia's highest envoy in Qatar, Brunei and Egypt. He was Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of Malaysia in Zagreb, Croatia as well as in Amman, Jordan. He also served in different diplomatic Missions in different capacities.



At the Foreign Office of Malaysia, Ambassador Jaafar worked in bilateral, multilateral and academic Wings. He overhauled and undertook major works on the restructuring of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation during his office as Undersecretary (OIC). He also developed and guided the professional aptitude programme of Malaysian Diplomats during his office at the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

Ambassador Jaafar holds two honorific titles namely, Ahli Mahkota Kedah (AMK) and Dato' Setia DiRaja Kedah (DSDK) conferred upon him in 2001 and 2006, respectively. He is married and they are blessed with three children.

Ambassador Jaafar had expressed his firm commitment to take the D-8 Organization to a new height; he believed that the Organization had a lot to achieve for the common good of the peoples. He expressed his confidence that, in concert with the Member States, the achievable goals of the Organization would be reached well before the targeted timeframe and to this end, sought continued cooperation from all stakeholders.

Middle East- Malay World Thousand Years Relations

Ku Jaafar Ku Shaari

As said and believed, early relation started when Prophate Ibrahim travel to the east and married his third wife, a Malay lady, Siti Ketturah .

In the book of mormon, it is said that two lost tribe of jews, Ephraim and Manasseh were found to have settled down in Suwarnabhumi that is now the peninsular of Malaysia.

According to the Sheikh as a guardian (descendant of the Prophet Mohamad SAW) of a small muzeum at Hussein Mosque of Cairo that the Prophet has asked his family members to travel to the east and spread Islam as he said the people will be faithful and a strong defender of the religion. Many descendants of the prophet came to nusantara to spread Islam and married local people..Many sultans of Malaysia and Brunei are descendants of the prophet.

It is said that Sultan Ahmad Al Fatih invited Hang Tuah, the Malaccan warrior to meet with him and told Hang Tuah that Ottoman Empire will become the defender of Islam in the West and Malacca Empire will become the defender of Islam in the east.

It is said the Sultan of Kedah sent 10,000 soldiers to fight along with Ottoman army for the conquest of Constantinople

Many Malays regard middle east in particular Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Morocco and Sudan as a center of Islamic religious study.

Thousands of Muslims studied at Al Azhar University..during 1967 war between Egypt and Israel, many Malay participated in war fighting along with Egyptian soldiers..As an appreciation, President Jamal Abdel Nasser presented a piece of land to Malaysia in 1969.

Relations between Malay world and Middle East was concentrated in the education field.

Associate Professor Dr Awang Azman Awang Pawi is an academician at the Department of Socioculture, Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya. He is also a research fellow at the University of Malaya Center for Democracy and Elections (UMCEDEL). He has received a Phd in Malay Studies. His involvement in the Malay Studies for more than 20 years in area studies including the study of Malay socioculture and heritage, Malay political culture and Malay literature. His research grants include Fundamental Research Grant Scheme, Ministry of Higher Education (FRGS) from Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE), Astro Awani Grant, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Yayasan Sarawak and others. He has been a Visiting Scholar at The Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS University of Leiden, Netherlands and at the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences).



He has also received frequent travel grants and international workshops from the Toyota Foundation, SEASREP and Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Global Network, International Institute for Cultural Studies & National Chiao Tung University, University System of Taiwan, Friedrich Naumann Foundation. He has been a reviewer for various grants and journal articles local and abroad from, to name a few, the USAID/OTI Malaysia Program - Malaysia Reform Initiative (MARI) and Round Table - the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs and in the board of Journal of The Malaysian Parliament. In addition, he has been a columnist for Utusan Sarawak and Sin Chew Daily and is also a member of EUROSEAS (European Association For South East Studies) and SEALG (Southeast Asia Library Group).

Associate Prof. Dr. Rahimin Affandi Bin Abdul Rahim is an Associate Professor at Department of Fqh and Usul, Academy of Islamic Studies. He obtained his Mphil from St Andrews University, Scotland and Ph.d From Birmingham University UK. His areas of studies are Syariah Studies in Malaysia, Sociology of Islamic Law and Islamic Law Reform. He teaches Schools of thought in Islamic Law in Southeast Asia, Shariah studies and Orientalism. His research grants are from Islamic Museum Pahang, Centre of Malay Excellence, Universiti Malaya Research Grant, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka as well as a few states government grants. His latest research includes the role of the the islamic authority and its impact towards Malay Muslim in Malaysia, Museum and Postcolonialism. He wrote several books and articles in the field of syariah (Islamic law) as well as islamic history in the Malay world.



Siti Maimunah Kahal is from Academy of Contemporary Islamic Studies (ACIS), University Teknologi Mara UiTM), Shah Alam.



The Role Of Aceh And Turkey In Relation To Islamic Intellectualism In The Malay World

Rahimin Affandi Abdul Rahim, Awang Azman Awang Pawi, Siti Maimunah Binti Kahal

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In the 16th-18th centuries, the Malay region has risen to become an important block of the Muslim community (ummah). At a global level, there are two world power blocks based on religious and military strength that are the Islamic and non-Islamic blocks (represented by the Portuguese / Christians who are hostile to the Islamic group). Among Islamic blocks, there are several; (i) Turkey which holds the status of Islamic caliphate and military power; (ii) Mughals and Saljuks who also have strong military power; (iii) The Middle East as the center of Islamic knowledge and (iv) the Malay world that needs protection from blocks i, ii and iii. This study will analyze the history and the role played by the government of Aceh and Ottoman Turkey in establishing Islamic intellectual relations. It will focus on several key issues. First, the role of Aceh and Turkey strengthens the political power of Islam. Second, the relationship between Turkey and Aceh in an effort to empower Islamic knowledge. It started with the effort to create a safe road for pilgrims of the Malay society and then birthed the Jawi community in Haramayn. This reality has made Masjidil Haram a place that trains professional 'ulama' in the Malay world. They are involved in the process of transmitting Islamic knowledge from Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) to the Malay world in the form of religious books that are still in use today.

YB Liew Chin Tong is the Opposition Leader in the Johor State Assembly and State Assemblyperson for Perling, Johor. He was a Senator in Dewan Negara (17 July 2018 to 17 July 2021) and served as Malaysia's Deputy Defence Minister from 17 July 2018 to 24 February 2020. He was first elected Member of Parliament for Bukit Bendera (2008-2013), and was subsequently the Member of Parliament for Kluang (2013-2018). Since 1999, Chin Tong has served the Democratic Action Party (DAP) in various capacities and is now the Deputy Secretary-General.



Chin Tong graduated with a degree in Political Science and an honours degree in Asian Studies from the Australian National University, and holds an International Masters in Regional Integration from the Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya.

Chin Tong is the Chairman of Research for Social Advancement (REFSA) since 2012.

Dr. Hoo Chiew Ping is a Senior Lecturer in Strategic Studies and International Relations at the National University of Malaysia (UKM). She is concurrently a member of the Consultative Council on Foreign Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia; Adjunct Lecturer at the Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College and the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations of Malaysia.



She was previously Council Fellow of, Global Future Council on the Korean Peninsula at the World Economic Forum until September 2021, Korea Foundation Fellow at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia from 2019 until 2020, Shangri-la Dialogue's Southeast Asian Young Leaders Programme (SEAYLP) Associate Research Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS-Asia) in Singapore (2018), Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) research fellow in 2011, and Korea Foundation Field Research Fellow at Seoul National University in 2010.

While her main research focus is on the Korean peninsula security, she also works on the security and economic linkages between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia and smaller states' response to power and security issues, and external powers' influence (US, China, Japan, Korea, Australia) in Southeast Asia. Hoo received her PhD in Politics and International Relations from La Trobe University, Australia.

Dr. Hoo is consulted by Malaysian and international media on Korean security issues which appear in English and Mandarin mediums, including BBC News, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, South China Morning Post, China Review, Sin Chew Daily, among others.

"The Malay World in East Asia" is Her speech topic in a conference on "The Middle East and Malay world: Contemporary Issues and Future Challenges"

Dr. Chandra Muzaffar is the President of the International Movement for a Just World (JUST), an international NGO based in Malaysia, which seeks to critique global injustice and to develop an alternative vision of a just and compassionate civilisation guided by universal spiritual and moral values.

He has published extensively on civilizational dialogue, international politics, religion, human rights and Malaysian society. The author and editor of 32 books in English and Malay, many of his writings have been translated into other languages.

In 1977, he founded a multi-ethnic social reform group called Aliran Kesedaran Negara (ALIRAN) which he led for 14 years. Today, apart from his role in JUST, Chandra sits on the board of a number of international NGOs concerned with social justice and civilizational dialogue.

Chandra was Professor and Director of the Centre for Civilisational Dialogue, University of Malaya (1997-1999) and Professor of Global Studies at Universiti Sains Malaysia (2007-2012)

Chandra travels abroad frequently, giving lectures and speaking at seminars and conferences. He is also a regular speaker at meetings at home in Malaysia.

Chandra is the recipient of a number of international awards related to his scholarship and social activism. Chandra is married to Mariam Mohd Hashim and they have two daughters.



'The Malay World and China - past, present and future ties'

Chandra Muzaffar

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for centuries. Chinese historical records reveal that the two regions traded with one another, and exchanged diplomats and gifts on a regular and continuous basis as peaceful neighbours would. There were times when China, given its strength and power, offered protection to an ally in the Malay world against an aggressive and hostile kingdom in its vicinity as it did in the case of the then emerging kingdom of Melaka when it was confronted by Siam in the 15th century.

What interrupted the flow of Malay -China relations was the intrusion of Western colonial powers in the region from the 16th century onwards. First, the Portuguese and Dutch gained control of the maritime routes and then the British and the Dutch established their rule over the land mass that was Malaya in one instance and Indonesia in another instance. British colonial rule over Malaya and Dutch colonial rule over Indonesia marginalised China's influence in the Malay world for a long while.

However, in both instances it left behind a "Chinese imprint" which has shaped the Malaysian and Indonesian economies and even politics in the two countries in the present era and may well continue to influence the future. I am referring of course to the permanent presence today of the Chinese minority in a number of Malay states such as Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia. The role of the Chinese minority in these states has impacted upon the relations of these states with China and vice-versa in contemporary times. Of course, Malay world- China ties are determined by a variety of other forces and factors which go beyond the role of the Chinese minority in Malaysia or Indonesia.

One such factor which may have an overwhelming impact in the future is the rivalry between China and the United States. In its drive to perpetuate its dominant power in the world, the US it is obvious seeks to curb the inevitable rise of China. As China's neighbour with whom it enjoys ever increasing economic, cultural, political and security relations, Southeast Asia, within which nestles the huge Malay world, is bound to feel the heat of this rivalry. What compounds the intensity of this heat is the fact that the Malay world like the rest of Southeast Asia is also close to the US and the West in general. Forging foreign policies which maintain good relations with both China and the US while ensuring that one's own nation does not become a pawn of either the declining superpower or the emerging global power would be the litmus test for the states in Southeast Asia.

To put it in another way, countries that define the Malay world today such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei, will have to strive to protect their independence and sovereignty in the midst of the turmoil and turbulence that will invariably confront all of them in the coming decades. In the process, they will remember that China is a longstanding friend that has never sought to conquer or vanquish them. That implies a degree of respect for the other ~ the sort of respect that should prevail in relations between all nations and peoples everywhere for now and forever.

Prof. Dr. K.S. Nathan holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from Claremont Graduate University in California, USA. And LL.M. from the University of London. He is also an Advocate & Solicitor of the High Court of Malaya, having been called to the Malaysian Bar in July 2015. Professor Nathan is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA) in the National University of Malaysia (UKM). He served as Director of the Institute of Malaysian & International Studies (IKMAS) in UKM from 1st January 2011 until 1st April 2013. He served as a Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore from 2001-2007. From 2003-2007, he was also the Editor of the ISEAS journal, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Prof. Nathan also served as the First President of the Malaysian International Affairs Forum (MIAF), and the Malaysian Association for American Studies (MAAS), both of which were founded in 1983. He was a Visiting Scholar at several leading academic and research institutes including: Harvard University (1980-81), the USSR Academy of Sciences (1984), University of California, Berkeley the Strategic & Defence Studies Centre (SDSC) of the Australian National University, Canberra (1996), and International University of Japan (IUJ), Niigata, Japan (1998). He is also the current President of the Malaysian Association for American Studies (MAAS), and has served on the Editorial Board of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*.



Professor Nathan has several publications including twelve books and numerous articles in local, regional, and international journals.

**Malaysia's Relations with the United States and China:
Examining Convergence and Divergence of Interests in a Trilateral Framework**

K.S. Nathan

This presentation will focus on Malaysia's relations with the United States and China in a comparative context, i.e. identifying points of convergence and divergence of interests in Malaysia's trilateral engagement with the two major powers. It will argue that Malaysia's policy of equidistance, pursued since the 1970s, espouses a foreign policy that emphasizes the cultivation of good political, economic, and diplomatic relations with ALL external powers USA, China, India, Japan, and to a lesser extent, Russia) that impact Southeast Asia's security and development. In this regard, Malaysia assigns priority to its interaction with both the United States and China - the former for its traditional role in Asia-Pacific/Indo-Pacific stability, and the latter for its rising economic profile in Asia. There is convergence of interests on the part of the U.S., China and Malaysia on the need to support ASEAN-style regionalism based on inclusivity. Nevertheless, while the overall relationship with the United States is good, there are ideological differences when it comes to motivations behind Malaysia's support for Palestine and U.S. support for Israel. Other areas include Malaysia's belief that the world order needs to be restructured to provide more voice to the Developing World, including democratization of decision-making in the UN Security Council. With respect to China, Malaysia is concerned over Beijing's activism in the South China Sea, and would therefore support strategies of deterrence and balance of power to protect its sovereign and geo-economic interests. The presentation will conclude on the note that Malaysia's engagement with ALL major external powers including USA and China will be governed by political and economic pragmatism, strong commitment to ASEAN regionalism, and pursuit of moderation without necessarily compromising ideological commitments such as the role of Islam in external relations.

Prof. Dr. Mohd Nazari Bin Ismail is currently the chairman of BDS Malaysia. He is also a professor at the Faculty of Business and Accounting, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

He was the dean of the faculty until 30 June 2015 and was also the head of the university's strategic planning unit from 1996 to 1998 and from 2006 to 2009.

He has written four books, the latest entitled 'The Globalization Debate: A Case of Barking up the Wrong Tree' and presently completing his fifth book on the danger of the lending-for-profit industry (i.e. the banking and finance industry)

He has also consulted as well as provided training programs to a number of public and private sector organizations including The Prime Minister's Department of Malaysia, Proton, Matsushita, The Royal Malaysian Police, and the Malaysian Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators.

He was the 1999 Fulbright Foundation Malaysian Scholar at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA and also the Fulbright Visiting Specialist at Pfeiffer University, North Carolina, USA in 2005.

In June 2005, he was a visiting fellow at Oxford Center for Islamic Studies, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Prof. Mohd Nazari Ismail obtained his B.Sc. Economics (Hon.) from the University of Wales, U. Kingdom, followed by an MBA from the State University of New York, USA and a PhD from the Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, United Kingdom



Boycotting Israel – The Challenges

Mohd Nazari Bin Ismail

The fact that Israel is guilty of committing crimes of apartheid against Palestinians is acknowledged by numerous reputable bodies. By right, and as the global BDS movement insisted, Israel should be boycotted by the international community until it abandons its apartheid policies towards Palestinians. Unfortunately, until today Israel is enjoying normal relations with almost all countries. The speaker will explain the challenges faced by the BDS movement, internationally and locally. He will also suggest actions that can help overcome the obstacles.

Dr. Olsi Jazexhi is an Albanian-Canadian historian who teaches Russian, Ottoman, and Muslim nations modern history in the Department of History at the International Islamic University Malaysia. He has previously taught history at the University Aleksander Moisiu of Durres and Aleksander Xhuvani University of Elbasan in Albania. His expertise covers the Balkans and Muslim communities in ex-Ottoman space, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Muslims in China



Israel's belligerence against Palestine: from the Balkans to Nusantara

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The collapse of the Soviet Union and the triumph of the United States as the sole hegemonic superpower of our planet in the 1990s have brought very important changes to the geopolitical situation of the countries of the Middle East. The wars that the United States and its allies waged against Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen, were accompanied by the triumph of the US / Israeli alliance over the Palestinian issue. If during the cold war the Palestinian war of independence was supported by an array of countries from the Soviet Union to Indonesia, after the collapse of the Socialist block, Israel has managed to win over many countries in its battle against Palestine.

Israel's colonial aggression against Palestine has been military as well as diplomatic. The most important diplomatic victory for Israel against Palestine came in 2020 when the United States forced the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain to sign the Abraham Accords. This year Morocco and Sudan were also forced to sign normalization agreements with Israel while Saudi Arabia established covert relations with the Jewish state.

Israel's diplomatic war against Palestine has been waged even in the Balkans. Countries like Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia which until 1991 were staunch supporters of Palestine, after the collapse of communism have established strong diplomatic and military relations with Israel. While the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Kosovo became the first Muslim-majority country to open its embassy in Jerusalem in 2021.

Israel's diplomatic war against Palestine has been waged even in Southeast Asia. While it has established strong relations with Thailand and Singapore, its major ambition after the collapse of the Soviet Union has been to establish diplomatic relations with Malaysia and Indonesia. My paper will analyze Israel's diplomatic and military war against Palestine in the Balkans and Southeast Asia during the past three decades.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, Islamism, Zionism, Balkans, Southeast Asia

Dr. Asep Setiawan is a chair of the Political Magister's Program at the Faculty of Social and Political Science at the University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta. His subject and research interests include Foreign Policy and International Relations in the Middle East. He received his master's degree in international studies from the University of Birmingham, UK. Asep completed a Doctoral Degree in International Relations Faculty of Social and Political Science, University Padjadjaran, Bandung. Asep has published several journal articles and books on international affairs issues, including *Dinamika Timur Tengah* (Dynamic of Middle East)



Title: Palestine, Indonesia and Struggle Against Colonialism
Asep Setiawan

Indonesia's relationship with Palestine is strongly influenced by the values adopted by the Indonesian nation. There are several elements that cause the relationship to be consistent in the span of seven decades. In contrast to some Arab states that pragmatically ignore Palestinian interests by establishing diplomatic relations, Indonesia remains supportive of the noble cause of Palestine. The first element is the value of anti-colonialism embodied in the Indonesian constitution's preamble. The second element is the religious values adopted by the majority of the Indonesian people so that attention to Palestine is based on Islamic values. The third one is Indonesia's position as a Non-Aligned leader, so there is a tendency not to submit to Western or Eastern powers.

Keywords: Palestine, Indonesia, relationship, anti-colonialism, Islamic values, Non-Aligned

Dr. Fauziah Mohd Hasan was born in Kuala Terengganu, Malaysia and received her MBBS from University of Tasmania, Australia. Dr Fauziah is a fellow of the Royal College of Obstetrics and Gynaecology (United Kingdom) since 2003 and is serving as a consultant obstetrician and gynaecologist in KPJ Ampang Puteri Specialist Hospital, Kuala Lumpur since 1997.



Her humanitarian work has long started since 1999, starting as a member, and later on, Treasurer of Malaysia Medical Relief Society (MERCY Malaysia). With Mercy Malaysia, Dr Fauziah has participated in missions to Kosovo (1999), Maluku Indonesia (2000), Afghanistan (2001,2002,2003), Aceh (2005), Pakistan (2005) and Gaza (2009).

Dr Fauziah was then active in Aqsa Syarif, a Malaysian humanitarian NGO supporting the Palestinians. In 2015, Aqsa Syarif became an agency under the umbrella of Humanitarian Care Malaysia (MyCARE). She was Deputy Chairperson of Aqsa Syarif. Currently Dr Fauziah is a member of the Board of Trustees of MyCARE. Since 2011, Dr Fauziah is also the Advisor of Rose2Rose (R2R), an agency of MyCARE focusing on empowering women and children.