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THE CHALLENGING DECADE



A review of Malaysia's ten years of independence based on a Radio Malaysia broadcast highlighting the major political and constitutional developments from 1957 to 1967.

COVER: *Giant panels at the 10th Merdeka Anniversary celebrations erected outside the Exhibition building in Kuala Lumpur.*

THE CHALLENGING DECADE

ON 31st August, 1957, the Federation of Malaya became a free and independent sovereign nation, thus marking the beginning of a new existence for Malaya and her people.

The night of the eve of Merdeka is worth recalling for it was a night of happiness and rejoicing not only for Malaysians but for her friends all over the world. The end of British rule was near—an era which lasted for more than 170 years.



Sir Donald McGillivray

In the last few minutes before the birth of the new and momentous day, the last High Commissioner under British administration, Sir Donald McGillivray, sent the following farewell message:

"I seem to see myself standing at the end of a long picture gallery, stretching back through decades of progress to the time of Francis Light in Penang and Stamford Raffles in Malacca. I see the faces of many men and women who came here to serve and who enjoyed every minute of their service, however long the hours or hard the road. For they have found here a very wonderful country and it is the people who make the country. Men and women who have looked out from the past, wondering with anxiety in their faces what sort of ending there would be this era of British rule and who now will be rejoicing with us that it should come in this happy way, with the old friendships between Britain and Malaya stronger than ever before."



Mid-night Flag Rising Ceremony on 30th August, 1957, to mark the birth of the new nation.

At exactly twelve midnight, the Chief Minister and Prime Minister designate, Tunku Abdul Rahman, led a mammoth crowd at the Selangor Club padang in front of the Secretariat to witness and rejoice the birth of a new nation. Addressing the crowd, the Tunku said:

"This is the greatest moment in the life of the Malayan people, for a new nation is born. A nation that will stand forthwith free and independent.

To all Malaysians this is a fateful moment. A moment we have long prayed for. A moment of joy and gladness. Humble yourself before God, whether it be in mosques, churches and temples or in our homes. Give thanks to Him for this blessing He has showered upon us. A new star rises in the Eastern sky—a star of freedom for yet another Asian people. A new hope comes into being. A dream long cherished now materializes. It is freedom—freedom for the Malayan people. And once this torch of free-

dom is lit, let us hold it up high so that all around us will glow with radiant happiness.

Let freedom be secured for all the law-abiding people. There shall be freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom from want, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of movement. Let us be free from the menace of communist terrorism—the terrorism which has terrorised this country for the last nine years, so that the people of this country can be free to move wheresoever they choose—unharassed, unafraid and undisturbed.

With freedom there is much to do for us all. Freedom must bring with it opportunities for all—to the needy, new hope; to the sick and afflicted, relief; to those distressed and in want, help.

We shall build our social, economic and educational structures so that the new nation will rear its head sturdy and proud and the people happy and contented."

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Perpustakaan Negara

On the morning of 31st August, 1957, at huge ceremony held at the Merdeka Stadium, the Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman received the instruments of power from the Queen of England's representative, the Duke of Gloucester and immediately after, he read the Proclamation of Independence:

"Now in the Name of God The Compassionate, The Merciful, I, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, Prime Minister of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, with the concurrence and approval of Their Highnesses The Rulers of the Malay States, do hereby proclaim and declare on behalf of the people of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu that as from the 31st day of August 1957 the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu comprising the States of Johore, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perak, Malacca and Penang is, and with God's blessing, shall be forever a sovereign, democratic and independent State founded upon the principle of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations."

*Tunku Abdul Rahman proclaiming
MERDEKA on the morning of 31st August,
1957.*







Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

The historic occasion was marked by messages of congratulations from all over the world. One such message came from the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, the late Jawaharlal Nehru. His message reads:

"This is a great day not only for Malaya but for Asia, and we welcome it and send our greetings to the people of Malaya on their achievement of Independence. I look forward to close co-operation with them for our mutual advantage and in the cause of world peace and progress. Even as countries of Asia shed their colonial status and attain Independence, the face of Asia changes and the Commonwealth, with which some of us are associated, also is powerfully affected. I earnestly hope that this historic event will help the cause of peace and co-operation between nations. To Asia it is of a special importance. It is another forward step in the awakening and rejuvenation of this ancient continent which has played such an important part in world history.

Today the world is in the grip of fear and the hydrogen bomb is the symbol of impending catastrophe. I hope that the countries of Asia will throw their weight on the side of peace, for without peace there can be no progress. Merdeka!"

On the 17th of September, 1957 the Federation of Malaya became the 82nd member of the United Nations. Tun, then Dato, Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Ambassador to the United States and head of the Malayan delegation to the United Nations in presenting the case for Malaya's admission to the world body, said:

"I speak here today in this the greatest assembly of nations as the representative of a small nation. A nation of only 6 million people, living in an area of only 50,000 square miles. The acceptance by this General Assembly of the membership of the Federation of Malaya in the United Nations confers on my country a privilege and a right which we shall cherish. At the same time it confers on my country, small that it is, a great responsibility which we envisaged when we set out with determination and singleness of purpose on the road to Independence.

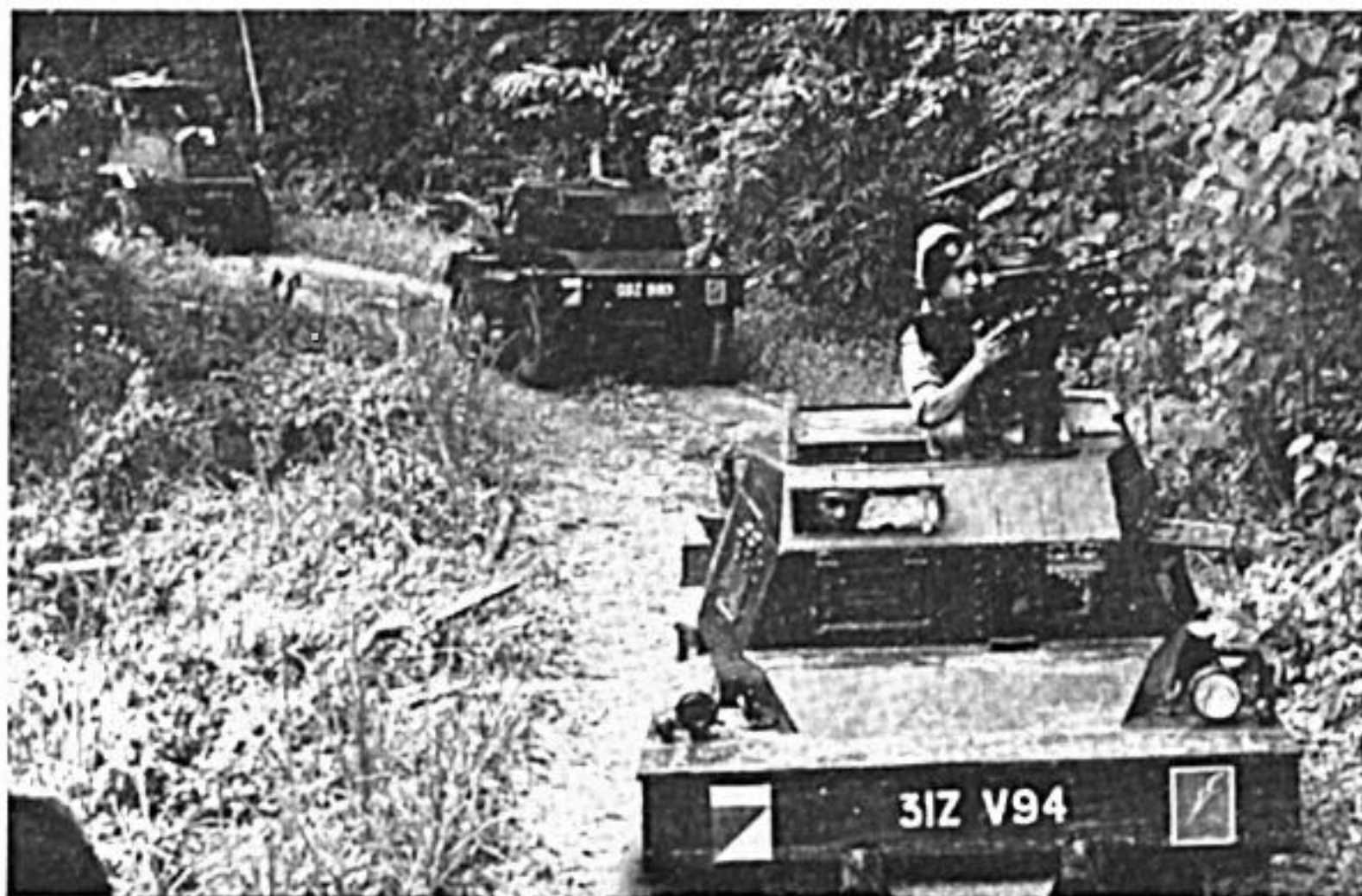
Although our material wealth and our standard of living compare very favourably with those of many nations in the world today, as a small nation our basic strength lies not in these material things but in the moral character and purposes of our people. We have in Malaya three major racial groups—the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians—who have lived together for generations in peace and harmony. Neither the difference in religion and cultural background nor the difference in their economic and social status has created an insuperable barrier towards a national unity of these races. Our great desire is to have the right and the good fortune to live as a free, independent and a united nation among the free nations of the world. The achievement of this desire, through peaceful and constitutional means, through friendly negotiations and a spirit of compromise, is the result of the abiding moral strength inherent in each of the three racial communities living in Malaya today. We suggest that to a small nation such as ours, as to all small nations, it is in the moral strength of our people that we shall find the inspiration to shoulder the responsibility which membership of the United Nations bestows upon us.

It is my duty as a representative of the new, independent Federation of Malaya to affirm solemnly in this General Assembly of the United Nations, the aims and objects of the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya with the grace of God, to observe the principles and further the purposes of the United Nations' Charter."



Dr. Ismail bin Dato' Abdul Rahman head of the Malayan delegation to the U.N. at the formal hoisting of the Malayan Flag to mark the nation's admission to the world body.

When the Proclamation of Independence was read, Malaya was still in the midst of an armed struggle against Communist insurrection and terrorism—a struggle that seemed likely to go on endlessly. But on the 31st of July 1960 the Emergency ended after 12 years of struggle against communist tyranny.



Security Forces on operations against Communist Terrorists.

From London a message of congratulation was sent by Tun Sir Gerald Templer who was High Commissioner in the country during the height of the Emergency from 1952 to 1954. He said:

“A few of you will recall the stirring times which you and I went through together. I expect some of you may say “Do you remember that man saying this to us?” or even “Do you remember that man doing this to us?” Anyway, I hope that not very many of you think I did you any injustice, because I can truly say that during the whole time I was with you my main thought was to try to help to mould the Federation of Malaya into a country which was ready for its Independence, which had the men and women to shoulder the responsibilities which that Independence would demand, and to attempt to do my best to ensure that when that Independence came it would be carried by a united Malayan people—regardless of race, regardless of creed, regardless of colour, but all owing their allegiance, undivided, to a Federation of Malaya which would serve as a model in those respects to many other countries, not only in South East Asia but in other parts of the world also. Anyway, you and I and all of us can be very happy with the result.



Sir Gerald Templer.

Perhaps you will forgive me if I, an old and most sincere friend, sound one note—not a warning—but in spite of that, of great importance. Liberty is a gift which has not only to be earned but maintained. I trust that the affairs of Malaya will always be so organised that never again will any section of the community feel itself strong enough to attempt to enforce its will at the point of a pistol. That surely is the lesson which the country has learnt as a result of the long years of trial from which it has at last so splendidly emerged.”



Tunku Abdul Rahman at the luncheon given by the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Singapore.

On the 27th of May 1961 the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman was the guest of honour at a luncheon given by the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Singapore. On that day the Tunku announced his proposal for the creation of Malaysia—a plan which was to bring about a political change in the country. The Tunku told the luncheon gathering:

"So Malaya today, as a nation, realises that she cannot stand alone and in isolation. Outside of international politics, the national one must be broad-based. Sooner or later Malaya should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of the territories of Singapore, Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak.

It is premature for me to say now how this closer co-operation or understanding can be brought about but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this as an objective and think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought closer together in a political and economic co-operation."

The reaction to the Tunku's proposal was received with enthusiasm. It resulted in the formation of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee made up of representatives of all the territories involved in the plan. The committee held four meetings—first in Jesselton, then in Kuching and Kuala Lumpur and finally in Singapore. The outcome of these four meetings was a Memorandum on Malaysia "setting out a practicable and realistic framework for the setting up of the proposed Federation of Malaysia."

Enche Mohd. Khir Johari.



The leader of the Malayan delegation was Enche Mohd. Khir Johari, made this comment on the proposed Federation of Malaysia:

"The Malaysia that we have together conceived will be a happy land of free people, enjoying peace and prosperity under a stable and strong central government which will ensure the security of the lives and property of our people, and at the same time accommodate the special interests of each territory through the granting of local autonomies within a federal system of government.

We from the Federation of Malaya who have already achieved our own Independence would like to share the benefits of freedom with our brethren in this part of the world with whom we have so much in common. There is no question of the Federation of Malaya or any territory for that matter trying to dominate the other territories in the proposed Federation of Malaysia. For with the establishment of Malaysia, the Federation of Malaya will itself cease to exist and will be replaced by a greater Federation of Malaysia in which the eleven independent states which now form our present federation, and the other four territories will take their places as equal partners in the Federation of Malaysia."

The meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee were most successful. The discussions had been free and open. Views were exchanged, questions asked, doubts settled and in the end the blue-print for Malaysia was signed. But this was only the beginning. Now it was up to the members of the committee to put this plan before the people of their respective territories and convince them that this was what they should look forward to and fight for.

At the same time Tunku Abdul Rahman was taking the next logical step to find out the British government's views on this plan. For the British still held sovereignty over Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and protectorate rights over the territory of Brunei.

Through correspondence the British Prime Minister and Tunku Abdul Rahman reached a wide measure of agreement on the proposed Federation of Malaysia. This eventually led to talks between the Tunku and Mr. Harold Mac-Millan on November 20th 1961. The talks lasted for only three days because there was so much in common on the basic principles. When the Tunku returned to Kuala Lumpur he told the nation:

"We agreed also at the talks on the appointment of a commission consisting of two men from the Federation and two from the British side and with the British as the Chairman."



Lord Cobbold.

The commission went to the Borneo territories in February 1962. It was made up of Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherston from Britain and Tan Sri Wong Pow Nee and Tan Sri Mohd. Ghazali bin Shafie from Malaya. The chairman, Lord Cobbold, said on arrival:

"We come here—and this I emphasise—as a Commission of Enquiry. Our first function is to ascertain what the peoples of Sarawak and North Borneo think about the idea of Malavsia. In this task we shall need and we shall welcome your help. We hope that the people throughout the territories will let us know their views freely and we will undertake to read and listen to evidence from every quarter with care and attention. The British and Malayan Governments have stated that they favour the idea of Malavsia, but no decision has yet been taken and no detailed plans are yet in existence. We are here to find out what you think about the proposal and at the end of our enquiry we shall make a report and put forward recommendations. It is only after our report and recommendations have been completed and considered by the two Governments that any detailed plans can emerge for debate and discussion.

We recognise the great importance of this enquiry for the future well-being of the peoples of Sarawak and North Borneo. It will be our objective in making our report to take fully into account the views and wishes of every section of the population and to make recommendations which will, in our judgement, be best suited to the long-term interests of all concerned."

For two months the Cobbold Commission travelled in jeeps, boats, trains and planes holding fifty hearings at thirty-five different places in Sabah and Sarawak. They received over two thousand letters and memoranda from town boards, district councils, political parties, chambers of commerce, trade unions, religious leaders, native chiefs, community leaders and all kinds of associations and individuals. When their work was completed, members of the commission met again in London, to compile their report. The commission in its report said that the majority of the people in Sabah and Sarawak favoured Malavsia. The British and Malayan Governments studied the report and soon after the Tunku left for London for further talks. On July 31st 1962 an agreement was signed in principle—that the proposed federation should be brought into being on the 31st of August, 1963.

The United Nations Mission sent to Sarawak and North Borneo to determine the wishes of the people there regarding the formation of Malaysia was headed by Mr. Laurence Michelmore of the United States with Mr. Georg Janecek of Czechoslovakia as his Deputy.

Picture shows Mr. Georg Janecek addressing a crowd in Sabah during his tour of the State.



On his return, the Tunku told a Press conference:

"Although we have come to agreement in principle much detailed work of course remains to be done; in particular, relating to the future constitutional arrangements and the form of the necessary safeguards for North Borneo and Sarawak. We have therefore agreed with the British Government to the establishment of an Inter-Governmental Committee soon, on which the British North Borneo, Sarawak and Malayan Governments will be represented. This committee will have Lord Landsdowne, the British Minister of State for the Colonies as its chairman, who with the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak as the Malayan member, will be proceeding shortly to North Borneo and Sarawak to conduct discussions."

Sabah, Sarawak and the Federation of Malaya worked out their problems and the recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Committee were accepted by the legislative assemblies of the two Borneo states. Malaysia was a step closer to reality. As for Brunei, it was up to the Sultan to decide whether she would join the new Federation. However, even before he could reach a decision, Brunei faced a revolt led by Sheikh Azahari, leader of the anti-Malaysia Party Ra'ayat of Brunei.

The revolt was crushed in a very short time. But all was well.

There were also problems with our neighbours. The then Indonesian Government which had welcomed the idea of Malaysia when it was first put forward by the Tunku, suddenly changed its attitude. Indonesia supported Azahari and his rebels and soon after the Brunei revolt she launched a policy of political confrontation against Malaya. The Philippines, too, had been pressing forward a claim to North Borneo—a claim brought about by the descendants of the Sultan of Sulu who had ceded Borneo to Baron Overbeck and his successors—a claim Britain would not accept.

For the sake of maintaining friendly relations with her neighbours, the Tunku had talks first with Dr. Sukarno, then Indonesian President, in Tokyo and then with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and the Philippines in Manila. At both these meetings Malaya explained her stand as far as Malaysia was concerned—that the enlarged federation was not an imperialist or neo-colonialist design. Both these talks were successful and the way seemed clear for the establishment of Malaysia on the 31st August 1963.

On July 8th 1963 the Malaysia Agreement was signed in London. Brunei was not a signatory to the agreement because she decided not to join the federation. Signing on behalf of the British Government was her Prime Minister, Mr. Harold MacMillan, who had this to say:

"We are about now to sign the birth certificate. The agreement which we have reached among us is the product of much anxious thought, careful consultation and keen argument. These processes have continued up to the last possible moment, but I do not regret that. Understandings which are slowly and painfully achieved after satisfaction of all reasonable scruples are often more welcome and more enduring in the long run than easy accords."

We are about to commit ourselves to a historic undertaking in this formal ceremony. On the 31st August all these territories for which my country has for so long been responsible in South East Asia will have achieved independent nationhood by common consent on terms freely negotiated in a unique brotherhood. It is our hope, our confident hope that this bold and imaginative development in the evolution of our Commonwealth will establish a new focus of peace, freedom and stability in South East Asia."

With the signing of the London Agreement, Malaysia again became an explosive issue. The then Indonesian government claimed that the agreement was a breach of the Tokyo agreement between her President and the Tunku. Confrontation began again.



Mr. Harold MacMillan.

On the 30th of July 1963 a Summit Conference on Malaysia was held in Manila attended by Dr. Sukarno, Diosdado Macapagal, then President of the Philippines and Tunku Abdul Rahman. Both Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided that the support of the people of the Borneo territories was ascertained by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. When the Conference ended on August the 5th, the three parties agreed to seek the help of U Thant on this matter. The ascertainment mission was the subject of a U.N. Report broadcast that week by Mr. Pringle. He said:

*U.N. Secretary-General
U Thant.*



"Secretary-General U Thant this week sent a United Nations mission to the South-East Asian territories of North Borneo and Sarawak. Its task was to determine if recent elections in these territories truly reflected the wishes of their peoples in regard to joining the Federation of Malaysia. Other members of the federation will be Malaya and Singapore.

The mission was set up and despatched to the Secretary-General at the request of the Governments of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines. The mission is staffed by members of the U.N. Secretariat. It is headed by Laurence Michelmores of the United States with Georg Janecek of Czechoslovakia as his deputy. Also serving are Secretariat officials from Argentina, Brazil, Ceylon, Ghana, Pakistan, Japan and the United Arab Republic."

Mr. Jose Rolz-Bennett, Deputy Chef de Cabinet in the office of the Secretary-General, provided some background on the U.N. mission to Sarawak and North Borneo.

"In the first place," he said, "it should be recalled that on 5th August 1963 the Foreign Ministers of the Federation of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines the Secretary-General to undertake certain responsibilities in the territories of Sarawak and North Borneo pursuant to the discussion held by the heads of government of these three countries which was taking place in Manila at the time. It was requested that the Secretary-General or his representative should ascertain, prior to the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia, the wishes of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak by a fresh approach which would be necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination. The Secretary-General replied that he was prepared to undertake the assignment requested by the Foreign Ministers provided that the government of the United Kingdom which is still the administering authority of the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak gave its consent to the United Nations mission. Having secured the consent from the United Kingdom, the Secretary-General then proceeded to organise the mission to these two territories."

The members of the team left headquarters on 13th August and it was expected that they would reach the area on the 16th of August added Mr. Bennett.

It was also expected that the mission would take about 3 to 4 weeks and that the Secretary-General would be able to receive a report on the operation by the 14th of September.

Mr. Bennett said the Secretary-General had made it clear to all parties concerned in his reply to the Foreign Ministers on 8th August 1963 that when the mission had completed its task, the working teams would report to the representative of the Secretary-General and on the basis of this report he should communicate his final conclusions to the three governments and the government of the United Kingdom. The Secretary-General had also underlined that neither the report of his representative nor his own conclusions would be subject in any way to ratification or confirmation by any of the governments concerned.

U Thant's mission arrived in the Borneo territories on the 19th of August 1963 but postponed their work until the 25th because of a dispute over the number of observers. On the 5th of September the mission finished its task. The U.N. Secretary-General studied their report and his verdict was that the peoples of the Borneo territories of Sabah and Sarawak wanted Malaysia.

And so Malaysia was born on the 16th of September 1963. On that day the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman proclaimed the formation of a new nation:

NOW in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ IBNI ALMARHUM SULTAN ABDUL HAMID HALIM SHAH, Prime Minister of Malaysia, with the concurrence and approval of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong of the Federation of Malaya, His Excellency the Yang di-Pertuan Negara of Singapore, His Excellency the Yang di-Pertuan Negara of Sabah and His Excellency the Governor of Sarawak DO HEREBY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM on behalf of the peoples of Malaysia that as from the Sixteenth day of September in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three, corresponding to the Twentyeighth day of Rabi'ul Akhir in the year of the Hijrah one thousand three hundred and eighty-three, that MALAYSIA comprising the States of Pahang, Trengganu, Kedah, Johore, Negri Sembilan, Kelantan, Selangor, Perak, Perlis, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak shall by the Grace of God, the Lord of the Universe, forever be an independent and sovereign democratic State founded upon liberty and justice, ever seeking to defend and uphold peace and harmony among its peoples and to perpetuate peace among nations.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN,
Prime Minister.

Kuala Lumpur,
Sixteenth day of September, 1963.

The Malaysia Proclamation Ceremony at the Stadium Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur. On the extreme left is the Prime Minister. In the centre is His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra, Yang Di-Pertuan Agong.







فہمبوراک پلسیا

دشن نام اللہ یقیناً موروہ لاکھ میہامفا سیمانی . سکل فوجین ۲ ہاکی اللہ نوہن سرو سکون
 عالم دان صلوات دان سلام ہاکی جنہو عن کیت بی یخدان ہاکی سکون کلوارک سرت صحابہ ۲
 یہواسن اولہ کران سوات فرجنین یخد فروات قد سیمیلن ہاربولن جولہ تاهوت
 سربو سیمیلن راتوس ام فولہ نیکن اتار فرسکون تانہ ملاو . یونا یسد کیدم . یونو او تارا
 سراوق دان سیفا فورامک تلہ در سجنوب . یواہندقلہ دسکونکن نکری ساہ
 نکری سراوق دان نکری سیفا فورادشن فرسکون تانہ ملاو یخد وخرپ
 نکری فیلیغ . نکری ترنگانو . نکری قدح . نکری جوہر . نکری سیمیلن . نکری کلتن .
 نکری سلاطون . نکری فیراق . نکری فرلیس . نکری فووفیلن دان نکری ملاک
 دان یہواسن سکون ایت ہندقلہ دنماکن "ملیسیا"

دان یہواسن اولہ کران فیلیق ۲ عالم فرجنین یختر سبوت تلہ ہر سجنوب یواہ مولای
 درفد فووفیلن ملیسیامک نکری ساہ . نکری سراوق دان نکری سیفا فورام
 ہندقلہ تم درفد یخترادی جہان تقووق دولہ یقیناً ملیسیامک کونکون
 دان دولہ یقیناً ملیسیامک کونکون نیاد لاکھ ممفویا یی کدولتن دان کواس
 دالسر کیت ۲ یواہ نکری ایت

دان یہواسن اولہ کران تلہ دمشہورکن سوات فرلیکائن ہاکی ملیسیامک اکن یخترادی
 قانون یی معقد ددالمن

دان یہواسن اولہ کران فرلیکائن یختر سبوت ایت تلہ دلانکن شہل ہاکی یخترادی کسلا متحق ۲
 دن کاؤنٹن ۲ دولہ ۲ یقیناً ملیسیامک سرت حق ۲ اساسی دان کیپیلن سکون رہیت دان
 ہاکی مفکالکک کائنات دان کسلا ددالمن ملیسیامک کراچن یی ممفویا یی سراج یی ہر فرلیکائن
 دان یی برداسرکن دیوقراسی چارابہ فرلیمن

دان یہواسن اولہ کران فرلیکائن ییختر سبوت ایت تلہ دسجن اولہ سوات اولہ ییخترادی لولسکن
 اولہ فرلیمن فرسکون تانہ ملاو دان فرلیمن یونا یسد کیدم ملک تلہ ہر حالہ قوادکواس فرلیکائن
 ایت فدالمن پلس ہاربولن سفینہ تاهوت سربو سیمیلن راتوس ام فولہ نیکن

ملک دشن نام اللہ یقیناً موروہ لاکھ میہامفا سیمانی . ساج . تنکو عبد الرحمن فترا الحاج ابن
 المر حور سلطان عبدالحکیم شاہ . فردان منترہ ملیسیامک دشن فرسکون دان فرلیکن کباوہ دولہ
 یقیناً ملیسیامک سرفادک نکندایختر فووفیلن کلاسا سیفا فورام . یخترادی تمام
 یخد فراتوا نکلا ساہ دان یخترادی تمام کینور نکری سراوق دشن این مفاشتہار دان ہمشہورکن
 باکم فیلیق اومہ ملیسیامک یواہ مولای درفد ام پلس ہاربولن سفینہ تاهوت سربو سیمیلن راتوس
 ام فولہ نیکن ہر جان دشن دو اولہ لافن ہاربولن سرجی اخرت تاهوت ہر سرجی سربو نیکن راتوس
 لافن فولہ نیکن ملیسیامک ییختر فیلیق . نکری ترنگانو . نکری قدح . نکری جوہر .
 نکری سیمیلن . نکری کلتن . نکری سلاطون . نکری فیراق . نکری فرلیس . نکری
 فولہ فیلیغ . نکری ملاک . نکری سیفا فورام . نکری ساہ دان نکری سراوق دشن
 ایدین دان کھندق اللہ سرب العلین اکن کل یخترادی یواہ نکلا دیموقراسی یی مردیکا
 لاکھ ہر دولہ سرت براسا سکن کیاسن دان ککادیلن دان ستیاس مفرتا ہنکن سرت
 ملیہارا کائنات دان کسلا اومت دان مفکالک کائنات دان اسکل ییخترادی
 ایت

کسلا سرجی منترہ

فردان منتری

کوالا لمپور
 ام پلس ہاربولن سفینہ ۱۹۶۳

With that proclamation Malaysia came into being, bringing freedom and hope to 10 million people and re-uniting again peoples of a common heritage. Indonesia and the Philippines refused to recognise Malaysia. Both these governments broke off diplomatic relations with the new federation.

Indonesian intensified her military and economic confrontation. The hostility of Sukarno's regime took many forms—subversion, aggression and propaganda. The people of Sabah and Sarawak had to face armed intrusion and in August and September Indonesian troops landed at Pontian, Labis and on the beaches of the southern districts of the Malay Peninsula. But all these attempts failed. Tun Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman presented Malaysia's case to the U.N. Security Council as follows:

"Having failed to liquidate Malaysia either in its spirit or by recourse to military arms, by the hit-and-run methods adopted on the Borneo borders with comparative safety to itself, Indonesia naturally felt something more dramatic and damaging had to be done abroad to sustain its revolutionary image in the eyes of its own people.

In one reckless gamble, therefore, which at once enlarged the area of conflict and intensified the methods used, Indonesia has now moved forward to blatant aggression by dropping three platoons of heavily-armed paratroopers in a remote area of southern Malaya.

This is an incident without parallel in peacetime relations and without precedent in history between two neighbouring sovereign states not at war, however ill-disposed to each other they may be.

I ask out of deference to you—I do not use the word "demand" as I may rightfully do—that you do adjudge Indonesia guilty of the gravest act of aggression. I ask that you do condemn such international brigandage. I suggest humbly that you cannot condone it and thereby shake the very foundations of the United Nations and its Charter. I ask that you do enjoin upon Indonesia that it shall desist from such activity.

I ask that you do demand an assurance from Indonesia that it will not repeat such or similar acts in the future and that it will vacate such aggression as it has already committed. I ask that you remind Indonesia that its membership of the United Nations is not a cloak under which she can do as she pleases beyond the borders of its own territory and dress up its activities in high-sounding slogans designed to throw dust on the watchful eyes of a puzzled world.



Tun Dr. Ismail at the U.N. Security Council.

I ask that you remind Indonesia that it cannot shake itself free of the commitments to all the moral and legal obligations it has solemnly undertaken as a signatory to the Charter. I ask, too, that you remind it that gleefully to embark on aggression, however small in scope and tiny the area involved, must and will spread if it is not nipped in the bud.

And, lastly, I do not need to remind you, members of the Council, even a small fire left undampened and uncontrolled will inevitably lead to a wider conflagration, which it is in your power to prevent—a power which is in your power to prevent if you act, and act now, in the spirit and letter of the Charter."

Only two members of the Security Council—the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia—voted against Malaysia. The Soviets used their veto. Although our case was rejected, the 9—2 vote in our favour was a moral victory for us.

Tun Dr. Ismail then commented the issue on the following lines:

"My first feeling is one of relief, that in spite of every effort at confusing the principle, indeed the sole issue, the Security Council in a clear voice has spoken. Why the Council was unable to pass that resolution is also taken for all to see. The victims that we are of these continuous acts of aggression, we would have, in a resolution that secured such support, preferred stronger terms. But we are not wedded to words. Hard words break no bones. They only come in the way if conciliation is to continue. My Government, therefore, welcomes the near-unanimous voice with which the Council has admonished Indonesia in no uncertain terms and given expression to its unambiguous disapproval of the act perpetrated on the 2nd of September upon my country.

This accords entirely with the spirit of moderation and prudence that has always informed our attitudes in our relations with the outer world, particularly with Indonesia. We feel reassured that the Council has spoken equally clearly regarding the inviolability of Malaysia's territorial integrity."

Tunku Abdul Rahman at a Press Conference on the separation of Singapore from Malaysia.



In spite of Indonesia's increasing acts of provocation and aggression, Malaysia had not given up hope for peace. The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman had openly declared many times that he was prepared to go anywhere to have peace talks with Indonesia. Other nations, too, made attempts to mediate but there was no response from the then Indonesian government.

Meanwhile, the nation was still faced with endemic problems which culminated in the Prime Minister making this Proclamation on 9th August 1965.

"Now in the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-haj ibni Almarhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, Prime Minister of Malaysia, with the concurrence and approval of His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong of Malaysia DO HEREBY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM that as from the 9th day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five, Singapore shall cease to be a state of Malaysia and shall forever be an independent and sovereign state and nation, separate from and independent of Malaysia, and that the Government of Malaysia recognises the present Government of Singapore as an



independent and sovereign Government of Singapore and will always work in friendship and co-operation with it."

The nation, and with it, the whole world was shocked. But it had to be done said the Tunku in a broadcast.

"To me it is the most painful piece of work that I have had to do since I've been the Prime Minister for the last ten years. The reasons for this as I had informed Parliament have been many," he said.

"For some time there have been differences between the Central Government and the leaders

of the Singapore State Government," he added, and these differences take so many forms and are of so many kinds that it has not been possible to resolve them and so we decided that we must part company.

I am convinced that an amicable settlement this way is the best. So we now separate on terms of friendship.

I hope and pray that Singapore will enjoy peace, happiness and prosperity and if there is anything we can do to make her happier and safer we will make or do our utmost to contribute towards that."





Not long after Singapore's separation from Malaysia, a political change took place in Indonesia—a change that would affect greatly the relations between Malaysia and Indonesia. On October the 1st 1965 a communist-inspired attempted coup was crushed decisively by the Indonesian army. This event led to the purge of the communist elements in the Indonesian government and ultimately the ban on the PKI—the Communist Party of Indonesia. The communists, who were responsible for Indonesia's policy of military and economic confrontation against Malaysia, were now removed from power.

The new government resulted in a change of attitude towards Malaysia—a change that ultimately brought together Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Malik and Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak to Bangkok for peace talks. On his return from Bangkok on June the 2nd 1966, Tun Razak told a Press conference:

"Gentlemen, this is indeed a very happy occasion. We were able to reach an agreement in Bangkok on the principles to be taken to normalise relations between our two countries. This means that there will be peace between us and Indonesia. It will mean the end of confrontation and I think this is certainly a very happy event indeed. I would like to state here that we were able to reach this agreement because the Indonesian leaders, the present leaders—General Suharto and Dr. Adam Malik—have shown sincerity and a desire to have peace with us. We, on our part, have always wanted peace and if the Indonesian leaders sincerely desire peace then obviously it is possible to come to an agreement. But naturally talks or negotiations on a matter like this are delicate and difficult but we were able to come to an agreement in a matter of a few days and this shows that there is a real desire on both sides to have peace.

I hope the recommendations we are now submitting to our respective governments will be approved and accepted. As far as we are concerned there will be no difficulty because the Tunku and my colleagues have given me full mandate to settle this and we do hope that it will be possible for Indonesia to indicate their approval soon so that we can normalise relations as early as possible."

Malaysia's Deputy Premier Tun Abdul Razak and Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik at the successful end-of-confrontation Talks in Bangkok.



Mr. Narciso Ramos.

On 3rd June 1966 two days after the end of the Bangkok talks, Malaysia received another welcome piece of news. This time the Philippine announced her recognition of Malaysia at an impressive ceremony in Manila.

The Philippine Foreign Secretary, Mr. Narciso Ramos who was present said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, you have just witnessed the initialling of the Notes exchanged

between the Governments of Malaysia and the Philippines normalising relations between the two countries. Today the Philippine Government fulfilled a pledge—the pledge of President Ferdinand E. Marcos to establish full diplomatic relations with Malaysia. This singular event brings to a happy ending the impasse that was caused by the incorporation into the Federation of Malaysia of the territory of Sabah, over which the Philippines had staked a legal claim.

This restoration of full diplomatic relations between the Philippines and Malaysia, co-inciding as it does with the rapprochement reached in Bangkok between Indonesia and Malaysia, ushers in a new era of peace in this region which we fervently hope will endure.

Happily we have already established the framework for co-operation. We have ASA and Maphilindo—the two original products of Asian inventiveness. ASA has already been revived. We hope that Maphilindo will likewise be resuscitated. Regional ingenuity may yet fuse ASA and Maphilindo into a harmonious whole, perhaps under another name but expanded to include

14 Foreign observers from 5 nations at the first direct elections held in Sabah.



other friendly Asian countries which would be more conducive to solving common regional problems and more responsive to the aspiration of our peoples for an abundant life. If the co-operative spirit which animates the three nations to date prevails and persists we can all trust in the future and look forward to a better tomorrow."

The Bangkok talks paved the way for the peace agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia, signed in Jakarta on the 11th of August 1966.



Signing of the Peace Agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia in Jakarta. Standing between Tun Abdul Razak and Adam Malik is Indonesia's Acting President, General Suharto.



Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Thus Indonesian confrontation officially came to an end. In the spirit of the peace agreement, Sabah held its first direct elections in April this year. Sarawak will have theirs next year. With the ending of confrontation, the government's policy of "peace with freedom and progress through development" could be maintained without any major obstacle—a policy aptly enunciated by the Prime Minister in these words:

"We believe in food, rather than in bullets; we believe in clothing, rather in uniforms; homes, rather than barracks. During our first ten years of Independence, we have had our moments of joy and our moments of sorrow. In our moments of triumph we didn't just sit back to rest on our laurels but we've strived to attain even greater heights of achievement. In times of trials and tribulations, we were calm and resolute and fought for our ideals.

This has indeed been a challenging decade—a challenge we have faced with determination and hope that our nation "shall forever be a sovereign, democratic and independent state, founded upon the principle of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of her people and the maintenance of justice and peace among all nations."

NASKAH PEMELIHARAAN
PERPUSTAKAAN NEGARA MALAYSIA

10 SEP 1991