

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN : THE CHALLENGE OF ESTABLISHING MALAYSIA

Mohd Afendi Daud

Pusat Asasi dan Pengajian Umum, Kolej Universiti Islam Melaka

Mohd Sufiean Hassan

Fakulti Komunikasi dan Pengajian Media,
Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) Cawangan Melaka,

Abd. Aziz A'zmi

Pusat Asasi dan Pengajian Umum, Kolej Universiti Islam Melaka

Corresponding Author's Email: afendi.daud@kuim.edu.my

Article history:

Received : 18 June 2021

Accepted : 13 August 2021

Published : 10 September 2021

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini bermula dengan pengenalan iaitu mengupas peristiwa penubuhan Malaysia yang telah dicadangkan oleh Tunku Abdul Rahman yang dikenali sebagai seorang pro-Barat. Kemudian melihat rasional penubuhan Malaysia dalam usaha beliau untuk merealisasikan penubuhan Malaysia bukanlah satu perkara yang mudah dan Tunku menghadapi pelbagai rintangan dan cabaran sama ada dari dalam negara mahupun luar negara. Seterusnya bantahan penubuhan Malaysia yang lebih mencabar iaitu tekanan dari Sukarno, presiden Indonesia yang tidak mahu Malaysia ditubuhkan dengan melaksanakan konfrontasi dan menggunakan slogan "Ganyang Malaysia". Satu tindakan yang dianggap agresif dan secara kekerasan ke atas negara Malaysia yang berdaulat dan merdeka. Sukarno beranggapan Malaysia adalah sebuah negara yang masih dijajah kerana masih rapat lagi dengan British walaupun sudah merdeka. Beliau menggelarkan Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara neo kolonialisme. Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara yang baru merdeka masih lagi bergantung kepada British dalam banyak bidang terutama pertahanan dan hubungan luar negara. Ancaman daripada Indonesia tidak melemahkan Malaysia dan pihak British bersama Komanwel telah membantu Malaysia dalam usaha menangani tekanan daripada pihak Indonesia. Begitu juga Filipina turut memberi tekanan kepada Tunku dengan menyatakan North Borneo (Sabah) adalah milik mereka dan mahukan Malaysia memulangkan semula kepada mereka. Pertelingkahan ini telah berlanjutan hingga membawa kepada pemberontakan yang diketuai oleh A. M. Azahari di Brunei. Beliau turut tidak bersetuju dengan cadangan penubuhan Malaysia. Pemberontakan oleh Azahari berjaya ditumpaskan dengan bantuan dari Malaya, Komanwel dan British. Walau bagaimanapun Brunei telah menarik dari

daripada bersama Malaysia. Penubuhan Malaysia diteruskan tanpa Brunei dan Malaysia berjaya ditubuhkan walaupun terdapat protes dari Indonesia, Filipina dan Brunei. Akhir sekali adalah kesimpulan.

Kata Kunci: Tunku Abdul Rahman, Konfrontasi, Indonesia, Komanwel, Pemberontakan

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN : THE CHALLENGE OF ESTABLISHING MALAYSIA

ABSTRACT

This article begins with an introduction that examines the events of the establishment of Malaysia which has been proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman who is known as a pro-Western. Then seeing the rationale of the establishment of Malaysia in his efforts to realize the establishment of Malaysia. It is not an easy task and Tunku faces various obstacles and challenges both from within the country and abroad. Next, the protest against the establishment of Malaysia is more challenging, pressure from Sukarno, the Indonesian president who did not want Malaysia to be established by carrying out a confrontation and using the slogan "Ganyang Malaysia". An action that is considered aggressive and violent against a sovereign and independent Malaysia. Sukarno thinks that Malaysia is a country that still colonized because close to the British even though it is independent. He called Malaysia a neo-colonial country. Malaysia as a newly independent country still depends on the British in many areas, especially defense and foreign relations. The threat from Indonesia did not weaken Malaysia as a new and independent country. The British together with the Commonwealth helped Malaysia in its efforts to deal with pressure from Indonesia. Similarly, the Philippines also put pressure on Tunku by stating that North Borneo (Sabah) belongs to them and wants Malaysia to return it to them. This quarrel has continued to lead to an uprising led by A. M. Azahari in Brunei. He also did not agree with the proposed establishment of Malaysia. The uprising by Azahari was successfully defeated with the help of Malaya, the Commonwealth, and the British. However, Brunei has withdrawn from Malaysia. The establishment of Malaysia continued without Brunei and Malaysia was successfully established despite protests from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Brunei. Finally a conclusion.

Keywords: Tunku Abdul Rahman, Confrontation, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

Tunku Abdul Rahman announced the establishment of Malaysia at a banquet organized by the Foreign Correspondents Association of South East Asia at Hotel

Adelphi, Singapore. (Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, 2005:129, Ramlah Adam, 2004:316). He had proposed it on May 27, 1961, and had invited Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak to join Malaysia (National Archives of Malaysia, 127). Tunku stated the idea of setting up Malaysia was from his own. This was stated by Lord Selkirk by stating: "a sound long term plan. No one suggested it to him." (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977:85). However, Ramlah Adam states that the idea of setting up Malaysia is not an idea from Tunku. He thinks the idea of setting up Malaysia has begun in the 1940s. The greater merger of the country is between the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia knew by the name of Malay Raya. (Ramlah Adam, 2004:318). The effort to unite the two countries is from Ibrahim Yaacob's efforts. First, his strategy is to gain independence from the Japanese side and then to join Indonesia. (Ramlah Adam, 2004:49-52). Ibrahim's efforts were supported by the Japanese to establish it as a political unit (Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:38).

Indonesia became a leader and Malaya became part of Indonesia Raya (Ramlah Adam, 2004:49; Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:86). The idea of Malay Raya or Indonesia Raya was triggered through a concept formulated by Abdul Hadi Hassan through books titled *Kitab Sejarah Alam Melayu*, Volumes 1, 2, and 3 published by Malayan Publishing House, Singapore in the 1930s. Abdul Hadi's ideas have influenced Ibrahim and also talks by Harun Mohd Amin and Buyung Adil (Ibid.). According to Mohammed Nordin Sopiee, the proposed establishment of Malaysia is similar to the idea of the British since the late 19th century (Ibid., 39). The first proposal was made in 1887 by Lord Brassey. The British also discussed the idea of setting up Malaysia in the Cabinet in 1888 and again discussed in 1932 (Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, 2005:131). R.S. Milne stated in 1894, Lord Brassey, a director of the British Borneo Company, had asked the British government to combine British colonies as a large colony but his proposal was rejected by the British government. After World War II, the British High Commissioner in Southeast Asia, Malcom Mac Donald had been following British colonies. (R. S. Milne, 1967:62). Since 1947, Singapore has also triggered the idea of setting up Malaysia. (Abdul Rahman Ismail, 2005:14).

The name of Malaysia is a proposal from Onn Jaafar from the National Party (Ramlah Adam, 2004:319-320). Before attaining independence there was a suggestion from UMNO to the Reid Commission to name Malaysia. The proposal was not approved by the MCA and wanted to retain the name of Malaya. However, this proposal did not get the attention of the Reid Commission as it was beyond their jurisdiction. (Joseph M. Fernando, 2005:208-209). Tunku's proposal was supported by the British (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1986:75; Mubin Sheppard, 1987:58). The proposed establishment of Malaysia has been debate and discussed for two weeks by the British and they have agreed with the proposal. Then they have billed for discussion to Parliament. The bill laid out in parliament was approved without any objection in July 1963 which took a year to be approved (Mubin Sheppard, 1987:58). James P. Ongkili (2000:51) argued that the proposed establishment of Malaysia is a constructive idea and the most important factor is the right time to incorporate into a large entity. The establishment of Malaysia has indirectly liberated Singapore, Sarawak, North

Borneo, and Brunei to achieve independence from the British immediately and has the same rights as other states which are already in Malaya (Ghazali Shafie, 1982:23). However, this effort should be sought from Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei. Besides, the views and opinions of the locals are also taken into account. (*Malaysian Year Book*, 1963/64:31).

CONSULTATIVE BODY

A position of power established and known as the *Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee* (MSCC) (See the Parliamentary Debate, January 10, 1962:2611-26120) consists of representatives of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak for the support of the establishment of Malaysia. The MSCC Meeting was held between August 1961 and February 1962 in Jesselton, Kuching, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapura. (James Chin, 2003:33).

After the MSCC was established, an Independent Commission was established and known by the Cobbold Commission in January 1962 (Ghazali Shafie, 1982:25;Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977:107). The purpose of the Cobbold Commission was to formulate the views and aspirations of the people of Sarawak and Sabah whether they also supported the wishes of the two states to join Malaysia (Zainuddin Maidin, 2004:57). The Cobbold Commission commenced on 19 February 1962 until 17 April 1962 (James P. Ongkili, 2000:52;Paridah Abdul Samad, 1988:34). The Cobbold Commission has interviewed four thousand people in both states and there are 2,200 written proposals from the City Board, the Workers' Union, politicians, religious members, rulers, and individuals alike (*Official year Book: Malaysia*, 1984:15-16).

In Singapore, they have held a poll to support Malaysia's proprietary proposals. (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963:127). While Brunei did not hold a poll because the decision was dependent on the consent of the Sultan Brunei himself (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977:86;Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2000:22-30). Tunku left for London after getting approval from Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah. On July 8, 1963, Tunku and representatives from Britain, Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah signed an agreement to establish Malaysia. (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963:125). Principle agreement between the British and Malaya that the establishment of Malaysia could be realized on 31 August 1963 taking into account most suggestions from the Cobbold Commission are acceptable (*Official Year Book: Malaysia*, 1984:125).

The Cobbold Committee has suggested that an Intergovernmental Committee (ICC) should be established which will be responsible for ensuring the rights and interests of the people of Sabah and Sarawak so that they are not compromised upon the establishment of Malaysia. JAK was established in August 1962 (Mohd Nor Abdullah, 1979: 74) and is also known as the Landsdowne Committee. The Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC) was established on 1 August 1962 and headed by Lord Lansdowne to draft a perfect agreement on the formation of Malaysia. The IGC has also been given the

responsibility of drafting a complete constitution by providing protection and special interests to Sabah and Sarawak.

During a preparatory meeting in Jesselton (Kota Kinabalu) on 30 August 1962, the IGC decided on the division of tasks based on five sub-committees as follows:

- Constitutional Sub -Committee;
- Finance Sub -Committee;
- Legislative Subcommittee;
- Public Service Sub -Committee; and
- Departmental Arrangement Sub-Positions.

According to Mohd Noor Abdullah, the Sabah State Legislative Council on 12 September 1962 approved a motion to accept the decision to establish Malaysia on 31 August 1963 with specific conditions and guarantees to the rights of the state of Sabah. The motion also decided on the representatives from Sabah who would be in the IGC. A similar step was taken by Sarawak on 26 September 1962. The IGC held 24 meetings, including 12 subcommittee meetings, and the last meeting was held on 20 December 2012 in Kuala Lumpur.

In February 1963 the final report of the IGC was completed taking into account all matters that demanded the guarantee and preservation of rights over Sabah and Sarawak through Memorandum 20 for Sabah and Memorandum 18 for Sarawak. On 8 March 1963, the Sarawak State Council agreed to the recommendations contained in the IGC report and the North Borneo State Legislative Council also took a similar resolution on 13 March 1963. Memorandum 18/20 submitted for consideration by IGC and has been accepted by IGC for inclusion in the final report is as follows:

- i. Islam is the official religion of the federation but there is no official religion or guaranteed freedom of religion for Sabah and Sarawak;
- ii. English is the official language but English as a federal official language of Sabah and Sarawak as well as the freedom of unlimited use of the mother tongue;
- iii. The Constitution should be a new document based on the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya in 1957;
- iv. The Head of State in Sabah and Sarawak cannot be the Head of State;
- v. The name of the federation is a non-Malays in Malaysia and Indonesia;
- vi. The matter of Immigration is the autonomy of Sabah and Sarawak;
- vii. Sabah and Sarawak have no right to withdraw from the federation;
- viii. Borneonization of the civil service should be accelerated;
- ix. British officers are encouraged to continue serving until replaced by Sabahans and Sarawakians;
- x. Citizens of Sabah and Sarawak born before Malaysia Day have the right to become citizens;
- xi. Financial, development, and tariff matters as well as making their loans are the rights of Sabah and Sarawak;

- xii. The rights and privileges of the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak are protected;
- xiii. The form of government in Sabah and Sarawak uses the ministry system;
- xiv. The conditional rights of legislative power are retained to the governments of Sabah and Sarawak or cannot be delegated to the governments of Sabah and Sarawak by the central government within seven transitional years;
- xv. The practice of the education system is ready to be continued and maintained under the autonomy of Sabah and Sarawak;
- xvi. Amendment, modification, or issuance of any special protection for the state including the amendment of the state constitution shall not be done without the consent of the people and the government of Sabah and Sarawak;
- xvii. Representation in the Federal Parliament should take into account the population and size as well as potential that is not less than Singapore;
- xviii. The names of the Chief Minister are the Governor of Sarawak and the Yang di-Pertua Negara of Sabah;
- xix. The name of the state of Sarawak was retained and North Borneo was changed to Sabah; and
- xx. The powers of the National Land Council cannot be used in Sabah and Sarawak (Bilcher Bala 2018: 36-37).

The committee is chaired by Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for British Colonial Affairs, Tun Abdul Razak as deputy chairman and Sabah representative comprising the Secretary-General, Attorney General, Finance Secretary, Datu Mustapha Datu Harun and DA Stephens, Sarawak representative comprising the Secretary-General, Attorney General, Financial Secretary, Director of Montegrai anak Tugang, Lim Beng Siew, and Chia Chin Shin. The purpose of the establishment of this JAK is to study the constitutional provisions related to the participation of Sabah and Sarawak in the establishment of Malaysia. This is to create understanding between governments (Mohd Salleh Abas, 1997: 24). Aiming to discuss the rights and interests of Sabah and Sarawak. For Singapore the formation of a referendum to survey the views of the people of Singapore and as a result, the people of Singapore agreed with Singapore's participation in Malaysia (M. Bravo 2006: 25).

In Singapore, on the other hand, they held a referendum to support the proposed establishment of Malaysia on their own (Speeches of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963: 127). While Brunei does not hold a referendum because the decision depends on the consent of the Sultan of Brunei himself (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977: 86, Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2000: 22-30). Brunei agreed to join Malaysia at an early stage, but that changed when some of the conditions in its claim were not accepted by Malaysia (FEER, 8 November 1962).

RATIONAL BRITAIN SUPPORT

From another point, the rational formation of Malaysia, the British did not object to the proposed establishment of Malaysia because it was in line with Britain's policy which focused on the decolonization process. It is a process of transferring the territorial sovereignty of formerly British colonies to Malaysia which has been independent (R.S. Milne, 1967:76). The British were unconvinced that Britain's Borneo territories were ready for independence and Britain was also uncertain about the willingness of these provinces to join Malaysia without a gradual shift of power to Malaysia. Britain sees the idea of setting up Malaysia as not an ideal but a possibility that can bring success (Ibid., Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2000:22). The establishment of Malaysia is also an attempt to curb the tapping and expansion of communist influence in Southeast Asia, especially in Singapore and Sarawak. It is also to ensure the security of Britain's military base in Singapore. The British needed a base in Singapore to guarantee and defense requirements in the Southeast Asian region from the threat of the enemy especially the communist advance (Ruhanas Harun, 2006:58).

The British did not continue to break the relationship with Malaysia and have always been behind to assist Malaysia in addressing any problems faced by Malaysia. They need to maintain their influence and position in Malaysia and Southeast Asia. Given the pressure from Communists moving from North Vietnam to South Vietnam and some communist movements that have been established in Indonesia, Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo Tunku states that the concept of setting up Malaysia is: "It will be a bastion of democracy and buldward against communism in this part of the world." (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 2007:35).

The importance of British investment in Malaya is very important as it has contributed to the improvement of the British economy. This is explained by Joseph M. Fernando (2006:213): "... economics, the importance of Malaya as a dollar earner for the sterling area, played an important part in the policies of the British government in the immediate post war period." Although Malaya has achieved independence from Britain but still controls some companies and agencies. According to J. Saravanamuttu (1985:265), all ore dredgers in Malaya, three-quarters of large rubber estates, oil palm plantations, possibly two-thirds of international trade, and most of the new industries are foreign ownership or control, especially the British. Zuraina Majid (1985:49) argues that the Malaysian economy was founded by the British. After achieving Malaya's independence still inherited a capitalized economy of half-capitalist. Malaya still relies on the export of two commodities namely rubber and tin ore which is a major contributor to the national economy. The British strategy of maintaining the Malayan leaders who could sit together with them had given them the advantage of maintaining their influence and protecting their economic interests in Malaya for a relatively long time. (Khadijah Md. Khalid, 2004:50). Even the *laissez-faire* economic system practiced by the British was also followed by the leader of Malaya. This explains the mastery of the British against the Malayan economy, especially in the field of plantation and mining. Tunku's refusal to intervene in

national-oriented and economically-oriented and no attempt to take on foreign interests has led Britain to dominate the economy of Malaya. Tunku felt like a newly independent nation and faced various dilemmas causing Malaya to rely on the British (Ibid.)

PROTEST OF MALAYSIA'S ESTABLISHMENT

The establishment of Malaysia has been protesting against Indonesia and the Philippines (Paridah Abdul Samad, 1988:35). The idea of establishing Malaysia has sparked dissatisfaction in the country (Ramlah Adam, 2004:354-363). There are some leaders, namely Ong Kee Hui, AM Azahari, and Donald Stephen, who have held a meeting to discuss Tunku's proposal to establish Malaysia in Jesselton in July 1961. As a result of the meeting, they have issued a joint statement directed to the British that they represent the three states ie. Sarawak, Sabah, and Brunei did not accept and reject Tunku's proposal. (James Chin, 2001: 33; *Sarawak Tribune*, July 11, 1961). Leadership in Southeast Asia is also a barrier to the formation of Malaysia (Shariff Ahmad, 1991:56). Indonesian leaders disagree if the influence of Malaysian leaders is greater than them, especially in matters in Southeast Asia. Indonesian leaders think that they have the advantages and disadvantages of Southeast Asian regional affairs (Ibid.:53). Indonesia thinks they are brothers because of their rich cultural heritage and extensive experience in fighting against colonization. (Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:53). Both leaders have different opinions and ideologies. Even Tunku was scaled down because Tunku's involvement in the political arena was slow. Sukarno thinks Tunku is a new politician in comparison with him. Looking at Tunku's Indonesian leader thought that Tunku was an ordinary leader who would not give wise and proud ideas. (Shariff Ahmad, 191:56). Indonesian leaders see Tunku's suggestion with the idea of establishing Malaysia will rival Sukarno's ambitions that want to implement the idea of Indonesia Raya. Sukarno and his friend Mohd Yamin wish to be based on the Majapahit empire in the fourteenth century. (Ibid.:53). According to Ruhanas Harun (2006:57) the indoctrination of the two leaders is different and there is some tension due to the clash of personalities between the two leaders who have different views on the world (Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:86). Sukarno states: "Malaysia is the product of the brains and efforts of neo-colonialism." (Ruhanas Harun, 2006:57). He also sees Malaysia's position close to Indonesia can threaten Indonesia's security (Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:86). Malaysia having raw materials such as rubber and tin ore could be a source to develop neo-colonialism and economic resources of the former colonists. (Ruhanas Harun, 2006:57). Sukarno states: "... Malaysia is to protect the safety of tin ... rubber ... oil for the imprefiast." (Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:62). Therefore, Indonesia considers Malaysia's establishment as a form of neo-colonialism and old established forces that threaten Indonesia's security (J. O. Sutter, 1966:527).

Indonesia considers the establishment of Malaysia can change the status quo in Southeast Asia and threaten stability in the Southeast Asian region. Ghazali Shafie (2002:29) argues: "How those sane minds can seriously imagine

that ten million Malaysians can threaten Indonesia with more than ten people." The provocative act of Sukarno against Malaysia's establishment and labeling as an effort by Malaysia to conspire with neo-colonialism is an attempt to allow him to act more aggressively to prevent Malaysia's formation. The establishment of Malaysia is not a tool of colonialism but a way that allows the elimination of colonialism in the Southeast Asian region (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak Hussein, 1963:208). Tun Abdul Razak states: "Malaysia was set up with the aim of releasing Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak countries from the grip of the colonies so that the nations could become independent." (Ibid.:206).

Sukarno has long been involved in the political arena and his success in bringing Indonesia out of the hands of the Dutch colonizers through armed struggle has sparked his patriotic spirit and anti-colonialism. (Ibid.:43). Compared to the Tunku who had freed Malaya by way of negotiations and diplomacy from the British. (Ruhanas Harun, 2006:50). Tunku's success with this diplomacy was misinterpreted by Sukarno and thought Malaysia was still influenced by Britain. Indeed, Tunku's achievement of Malaya's liberation of Malaya was spurned by Sukarno claiming Malaya's independence was a British gift to Malaya compared to Indonesia's achievement of independence through combat. He is very proud of the way Indonesian independence. "We have gained our independence through an unparalleled struggle in this world." (Ibid., 75). There were also leaders especially from the opposition who voiced dissatisfaction with the Malaya way of independence and some intellectuals felt the British did not want to release their grip on Malaya. They want to strengthen their position with the help of the rulers and senior Malays (Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: 1986:10).

The political atmosphere of the world is in turmoil between the ideals of different ideologies of the world between capitalists and communists have led to Malaysia's conflict with Indonesia. It is known as the Cold War (Ghazali Shafie, 2002:321). Independence achieved by Malaysia is different from Indonesia. Malaysia achieved independence through negotiations between Malaya and the British. This has resulted in Malaya still binding with the British and still pursuing diplomatic ties with the British. Indonesia has to compete with Malaya in the economy. After Malaya achieved higher economic growth independence compared with Indonesia which still faces an economic downturn. (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963:210). The issue of Sumatra is interested in merging with Malaysia (Mohd Noor Yazid, 200:86). The effort to include Sumatra in Malaysia has caused the Indonesian side to feel disappointed (Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2009:79).

This dissatisfaction has been triggered by A. M. Azahari by a rebellion in Brunei. (James Chin, 2001:364-372, Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:147-152). He has declared himself the Prime Minister of a new nation known as North Borneo (Roosfa Hashim, et al., 1998: 275). Azahari was in Manila, Philippines during a rebellion in Brunei and believed that Azahari had received instructions from the Indonesian side to make a revolt in Brunei (Ramlah Adam, 2004:372-375). Azahari led his underground army, known as the National Army of Northern Kalimantan (TNKU), launched a rebellion against the Brunei government on 8

December 1962, two in the morning (Zainuddin Maidin, 2004:58;Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:82). Azahari states: "... we had no 'alternative we decided to strike' ..." (David Leake Jr. 1990). This revolt by Azahari was thwarted by Brunei with the aid of British troops, the Malayan Police Force, and the Gurkha battalion (Zainuddin Maidin, 2004:58;Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud,2000:72-73). When the Azahari rebellion took place the British and Malaysia had intervened to deal with the issue of the rebellion. The Mutual Defense Treaty in 1957 between the British and the Federation of Malaya allowed Malaya to intervene in solving Brunei's internal problems with the British (Ramlah Adam, 2004:370). This Azahari revolt was defeated on 16 December 1962 (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977:88). The impact of the Azahari rebellion has had an impact on the establishment of Malaysia, especially Brunei. Azahari's uprising spread to North Borneo and Sarawak but was defeated by the British. Some issues arise and do not favor Brunei as a matter of Brunei's financial contribution to the federal government as well as the turn of the Agong. Brunei has withdrawn from joining Malaysia on February 8, 1963 (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1986:77, Roosfa Hashim, 1998:297).

Indonesia also objected to the establishment of Malaysia (Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:130-131;Zainuddin Maidin, 2004:58). In the beginning, Indonesia supported the proposal of Malaysia. Kunaseelan (1996:137) has given reasons why Indonesia initially accepted and did not object to the proposed establishment of Malaysia because Tunku's influence and support from the West would be able to assist them in addressing West Irian problems. Kunaseelan also divides two stages of Indonesia's reaction to the establishment of Malaysia, namely, before the outbreak of the rebellion in Brunei from 27 May 1961 to 7 December 1962 and the second stage, following the uprising in Brunei from 9 December 1962 to 16 September 1963 (Ibid.,130-131). On January 20, 1963, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio has announced a protest against the establishment of Malaysia (Rohani Abdul Ghani, 2003:148). Indonesian President, Sukarno has launched a confrontation with Malaysia (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963:206). He also launched the slogan "Ganyang Malaysia" in protest against the proposed establishment of Malaysia. (*Official Report Malaya/Indonesia Relations: 31st August 1957 to 15th September 1963*, 1963:327).

Sukarno's action protested against the suggestion of Malaysia's establishment was said to have been influenced by sedition from the Communist Party of the Indonesian (PKI) who had decided against the proposed establishment of Malaysia through a resolution at the third PKI Central Committee rally held on 30-31 December 1961. Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein's speeches, 1963:209). Sukarno also pointed out that the stand was taken against the establishment of Malaysia, not because of the sedition and influence of the Communists. (*Official Report Malaya /Indonesia Relations: 31st August 1957 to 15th September 1963*, 1963:327). He assumed that the establishment of Malaysia was a manifesto and it represented the influence of neo-colonialism. (Speech of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 1963:208). Mohd Noor Yazid (2000:86). said Indonesia's action against the establishment of Malaysia was because it as a new form of colonialism. This will threaten the safety of Indonesia and its

regional expansion plan. The news that threatened Sumatra's position which was said to have joined Malaysia was alarming Indonesia. He also stated that Indonesia supported Azahari's action in rebellion in Brunei as the rebellion was considered a struggle for independence from Malaysia's "neo colonialism". (*Official Report Malaya / Indonesia Relations: 31st August 1957 to 15th September 1963*, 1963:327). Sukarno thought Malaysia was a British puppet and the merger would further strengthen British domination in Southeast Asia and feared threatening Indonesia's independence (*News Sunday*, September 16, 2007:11).

The Indonesian side is more aggressive than Malaysia which is more defensive. Malaysia did not conduct military counter-attacks and only defended its position from being infiltrated by Indonesian troops who tried to infiltrate Malaysia through Sabah and Johor. (*News Sunday*, September 16, 2007:11). The British warned Indonesia to prevent Indonesians from attacking Malaysia but the leadership of Indonesia ignored it (Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2000:75). The Tunku and the British continue to implement Malaysia's establishment despite protests from Indonesia. Tunku's efforts to establish Malaysia received support from the British (Kunaseelan Muniandy, 1996:139). The Tunku states:

Things were looking pretty grim for us, but despite all threats, I was determined to go right ahead with Malaysia as planned and as I had promised Singapore, North Borneo, and Sarawak ... and to our friendly countries in our Defense Treaty Agreement ... Britain, Australia, and New Zealand to help us if the war of words should escalate into a shooting war. We were destined to encounter both (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1977:94).

In the effort to establish Malaysia, the British also played a role in assisting Tunku (Ramlah Adam, 2004:325) even though it seemed that Tunku played an important role in addressing any problems arising both from within and outside the country. The problem of the confrontation also sought a solution for both countries by negotiating either with the British or Malaya itself (Ibid.:327). According to Mohd Noor Yazid, (2000:84-85) the Indonesian authorities objected to the establishment of Malaysia as they were more influenced by the social communist ideology than Malaysia which was more inclined to the ideals of capitalist democracy. Indonesia is more dependent on communist countries such as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Meanwhile, Malaya is more dependent on Western countries, especially Britain and the United States (Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:84-85; *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 1, No. 3:44.). The world's political scenario shows great powers are expanding their ideology and the outbreak of war in Indo China that has involved the intervention of major powers such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China (Ibid.:85). These powers are so aggressive in the quest to develop and defend their ideology in the Asian region (*Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 1, No. 3:44). The Philippines also objected to the formation of Malaysia as their claimed North Borneo was part of the Philippines (Ramlah Adam,

2004:377-378) and on 22 June 1962, the Philippines formally filed a claim against North Borneo. (*Asiaweek*, 22 January 1988:9). However, the Philippines' claim to North Borneo did not lead to military conflict. (Phua Khai Litt & Soo Keing Soon, 2004:47).

The attempt to thwart the establishment of Malaysia was unsuccessful and Malaysia existed on September 16, 1963. However, there was a protest against the establishment of Malaysia. Two violent protests have taken place at the British Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia for the next two days after the establishment of Malaysia (Mohd Noor Yazid, 2000:82). The impact of the establishment of Malaysia was the attempt by the PKI on September 30, 1965, to be known as GESTAPU in Indonesia but was defeated by Major General Suharto and this prompted the termination of the confrontation. Subsequently on 11 March 1966, Suharto had succeeded in forcing Sukarno to surrender the power of Indonesian rule to him. (Ruhanas Harun, 2006:61).

FOREIGN POLICY CHANGE

After the end of the confrontation, Malaysia has changed its foreign policy slowly and opened the door regardless of national ideology. Economic diplomacy is under pressure by expanding external relations with any country that could have an impact on the Malaysian economy. (Mahathir Mohamad, 2004:146). After Tun Abdul Razak took over the governance feature, he discovered that the foreign policy implemented by Tunku had many weaknesses and detrimental to Malaysia. Tunku himself stated that Malaysia's foreign policy was: "Malaya is not an independent country. We are anti-communists and support the West." (Zainal Abidin Abdul Wahid, 1978:15). He, therefore, acted by changing Malaysia's foreign policy from the West to principled neutrality and friendly with any country regardless of ideology. Tun Abdul Razak stressed efforts to change Malaysia's foreign policy: "We in Malaysia will continue to follow our independent external policies and our friendly friendship with all nations as well as make independent measurements of all things." (*Malaysia's Official Official Book*, 1972,1974: 79).

CONCLUSION

The establishment of Malaysia which was proclaimed by Tunku Abdul Rahman was finally established although Brunei had withdrawn after various obstacles. The protests of Malaysia's establishment by A. M Azahari have led to Indonesia's confrontation against Malaysia and as a new independent state still need help from the British and the Commonwealth in the face of opposition from Indonesia. The pressure was also given by the Philippines who wanted North Borneo to be returned to them. During the confrontation period, Singapore was removed from Malaysia due to the suspicion of Lee Kuan Yew to pressure Tunku on the Malaysian Malaysian concept. This concept was not agreed upon by Tunku and Singapore should be eliminated for being a thorn in the flesh and fire in chaff which at any time could harm Malaysia with Lee Kuan Yew's stubborn

attitude and still want to implement *Malaysia Malaysian* concept. The impact of this confrontation has made Tun Abdul Razak aware that Malaysia can no longer favor ideology and have to change to neutrality.

REFERENCE

- Abdan. S. & Hussin. N. (2011). 'Pembangunan dan Perkembangan Ekonomi Singapura 1961-1966. *Jebat*. Vol. 38. (1)
- Adam. R. (2005). *Biografi Politik Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- Ahmad A. (1985). *Tengku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's Foreign Policy*. Kuala Lumpur Berita Publishing
- _____. (2016). *Conversations with Tunku Abdul Rahmanis*. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish
- Abdul Wahid. Z. A. 'Sejarah Dasar Luar Malaysia', Syarahan Tun Sri Lanang, Syarahan Ketujuh, Panggun Bandaraya, Kuala Lumpur, 29 April 1978
- Asrar. R.et. al. (2008). *Hubungan Malaysia-Singapura: Era Mahathir*. Sintok Universiti Utara Malaysia
- Berita Harian. 31 Ogos 2007
- Berita Harian 6 Mei 1965
- Berita Minggu. 9 Disember 2007
- Buku Rasmi Tahunan Malaysia, 1972, 1974.
- D. K. Mauzy. (1999). *Barisan Nasional*. Kuala Lumpur: Marican and Sons (Malaysia) Sdn Bhd
- Fernando. J. M. (2006). 'British Attitude Towards Malayan Independence, 1945-1957'. dalam Mohamad Redzuan Othman et.al. , *Sejarah Pembinaan Negara Bangsa*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya
- Harun. R, (edited), (2006). *Malaysia's Foreign Relations: Issues and Challenges*, Kuala Lumpur : Universiy Malaya Press
- Hansard Britain. HC Deb 12 February 1963 vol 671 cc171-2W171W
- Hansard Britain. HC Deb 04 February 1963 vol 671 cc35-8
- Ismail Abdul Rahman. (1965). *Pendapat Parti Perikatan Tentang Konsep Malaysia bagi Rakyat Malaysia*.
- Jaafar F. (2007). *Perdana Menteri dan Dasar Luar Malaysia, 1957-2005*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya
- J. S. Solomon. (editor). *Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj: Challenging Times*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications
- J. Saravanamuttu. (1985). 'Rupabentuk dan perkembangan dasar luar Malaysia sejak 1957', dalam Zuraina Majid, *Masyarakat Malaysia, Edisi II*, Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia
- Kheng C. B. (2000). *Malaysia: The making of nation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
- Lau A. (1998). *A Moment of Anguish: Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement*. Singapore: Eastern University Press
- Maidin. Z. (2004). *Wira tak Didendang*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publishers and Distributors

- _____ (2004). *Unsung Heroes*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publishers and Distributors
- Malaysia's Official Official Book, 1972, 1974: 79
- Md. Khalid. K. *Malaysia-Japan Relations: Explaining the root cause of the Pro Japan Orientation of Malaysia in the post 1981 period*,
- Michael D. Barr. (2000). *Lee Kuan Yew*. Washington D. C.: Georgetown University Press
- Mohamad M, (2004). *Mahathir Mohamad: Achieving True Globalisation*, Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publications
- Muniandy. K. (1996). *Hubungan Malaysia Indonesia 1957-1970*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- N. Ganesan. (2005). *Realism and Interdependence in Singapore's Foreign Policy: Politics in Asia*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group
- New Straits Times, Oct. 25, 1999
- Nik Mahmud, N. A. (2009). *Konfrantasi Malaysia-Indonesia*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
- _____. (2001). *Duri dalam daging: Singapura dalam Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia
- Ottawa Citizen. Ogos 11, 1965
- P. Boyce. (1968). *Malaysia and Singapore International Diplomacy : Documents and Commentaries*, Australia, Sydney University Press
- Perbahasan Parlimen. Dewan Ra'ayat. Vol. III. No. 25. 11 Januari, 1962.
- Perbahasan Parlimen, Dewan Ra'ayat, Vol. III, No. 24, 10 Januari, 1962.
- Radzi A, M, dan Pakeer A. S. (2012). 'Singapura dan kemerdekaan Malaysia'. dlm *Pemikir*. Bil. 70. Okt.-Dis. 2012
- Report of Federation of Malaya Constitution Commission, 1957*
- R. S. Milne. (1967). *Government and Politics in Malaysia*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company
- Sadali M. G, & Mohd Hassan. J. (editor). (2001). *Kisah Singapura: Memoir Lee Kuan Yew*. Singapura : Times Media
- Sheppard. M. (1987). *Tunku: A Pictorial Biography, 1957-1958*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications
- Sopiee M. N. (2007). *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation: Political Unification in the Malaysia Region, 1945-1965*. Kuala Lumpur : University Malaya Press
- Straits Times Press. (2013). *One Man's View of The World: Lee Kuan Yew*. Singapura. Straits Times Press Pte. Ltd.
- Straits Time, 6 May, 1965
- The New Straits Times. 25 Oct. 1999
- The New Straits Times. 9 Jun, 1989
- Tunku Abdul Rahman. (2011). *Looking Back*. Petaling Jaya: MPH Publishing
- Tunku: Pengorbanan dan kemerdekaan. (2005). Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia
- Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra. (1986). *Political Awakening*, Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications

- Ucapan-ucapan Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein 1971. (1976). Kuala Lumpur : Arkib Negara Malaysia
- Yazid M. N. (2000). *Politik Antarabangsa Asia Pasifik*. Kuala Lumpur : Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd
- Yew L. K. (1998). *Kisah Singapura: Memoir Lee Kuan Yew*. Singapore: Marshall -Cavendish Editions
- Zuraina Majid, Masyarakat Malaysia: Tinjauan Perbincangan Terhadap Beberapa Isu dan Topik Semasa, dalam Zuraina Majid, *Masyarakat Malaysia, Edisi II*, Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia

AGREEMENT FOR RELATIONSHIP NORMALIZATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA.

Realizing the need for close and friendly relationships between Indonesia and Malaysia and to create a good atmosphere for cooperation between the two countries, embodied by the Manila Agreement as well as brotherhood between the two nations with historical and cultural ties since ancient times, then

REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

and

MALAYSIA

decided to enter into an agreement to normalize relations between the Republic of Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia, and for this purpose has been pointed out as their representatives in full power:

For the Government of the Republic of Indonesia:

His Excellency Adam Malik, Chief Minister of Political Affairs / Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Indonesia;

For the Government of Malaysia:

His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia; which after checking their respective credentials and getting them right and in due course, agrees as follows:

Article 1.

Government of Malaysia, to resolve questions between the two countries which arose due to the formation of Malaysia, agreed to provide opportunities to the people of Sabah and Sarawak, who are directly interested, to assert again, as soon as possible, freely and democratically through general elections, the decisions they have made about their position in Malaysia.

Article 2.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for the sake of its sincere desire to establish close cooperation and friendship between Indonesia and Malaysia, agreed, and the Government of Malaysia accepted, that diplomatic relations between the two countries will be held soon, and that they will hold exchange of diplomatic representation as soon as possible.

Article 3.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Malaysia agree, that, in relation to the above, hostile actions between the two country immediately stopped.

Article 4.

This Agreement shall take effect on the date of its signature.

To witness it, then the one signed below is powered by

Their respective governments have signed this Agreement.

Made in Jakarta in duplicate, dated the eleventh of August 1966.

For the Government Federation of Malaysia,

TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO HUSSEIN.

For the Government Indonesia,

ADAM MALIK.

Below is an attachment in picture format.

NOTES

Excerpt: NATIONAL SHEET AND ADDITIONAL NATIONAL SHEET OF
1966

REPRINTED