

THE DREAM OF MALAYAN UNITY: PRESIDENT MACAPAGAL AND THE MAPHILINDO

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Abstract

In July 1962, a proposal to form a greater Malayan Confederation was proposed by President Diosdado Macapagal. This proposal was to include the Philippines, the Federation of Malaya and the British territories of Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. The proposal would have been a realization of a Malaya Irredenta which was dreamed of by visionaries like Wenceslao Vinzons who once made an oration advocating for the unity of Malayan people working toward a common destiny. The opportunity came near as colonial powers were liquidating their possessions in post-World War II Asia. Already an earlier association, the Association of Southeast Asia was formed in 1961 and this association included non-Malay countries. The Malayan confederation which would be called MAPHILINDO was to be different. On August 5, President Macapagal issued his declaration calling for the creation of MAPHILINDO. The formation of the MAPHILINDO was met with jubilation as it was the realization of a centuries-old vision and the culmination of the anti-colonial struggle. The organization however floundered because of significant problems among the three countries. It led into a diplomatic crisis that had the possibility of widespread armed conflict. MAPHILINDO floundered and was later superseded by the present Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Despite its stillbirth the formation of the MAPHILINDO demonstrated fraternal relations in dealing with problems and issues among the three states of Malay origin.

Key words: Malay union, Confederation, Sabah Claim, Konfrontasi

The dream of a united Malayan homeland traces its origin to the colonial era. Back in the 1880s Filipino patriot Jose Rizal envisioned a union of peoples of Malay origin. Many nationalists including Filipinos realized that before the coming of Europeans people of the Malay Archipelago comprising the present Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia freely traded with each other and its leaders were related by family ties and economic relations. The royalty of Manila, for example, traced its lineage to the royal house of Brunei. This was erased following the Magat Salamat Conspiracy when the Spaniards executed the main leaders and deported the others to far areas such as Mexico. Even during European colonization the links between the islands under different European colonizers functioned. During the Spanish campaigns against Sultan Kudarat in 1640, warriors from Ternate in the Moluccas joined the fighting against the Spaniards.

In the 19th century Filipino reformists and later revolutionaries began to look at the past as inspiration for their nationalism. They realized that European colonization created a national amnesia which made the Filipinos to forget their noble past and had created barriers which shut off free contacts and commerce. They envisioned restoring this once free union once enjoyed by their ancestors. One of the early exponents of the rebirth of a Malay union was none other than Jose Rizal. According to Brackman "Rizal envisioned a union of peoples of Malay origin comprising of Borneo, the East Indies, Malaya and the Philippines. " (Brackman, 178-179). This development began in the 1880s. In his writings Rizal exhorted his fellow propagandists fighting for reforms from Spain to look for the Filipinos identification with their Malayan language. The propagandists got in contact with European liberals and scholars who had positive views about Malays and Malay civilization. (Baviera, p. 135). One scholar who became Rizal's friend, Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt introduced Rizal to the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt who did a study on the Kawi language which is still a very significant work on the Malayo-Polynesian comparative linguistics. In 1889 Rizal rewrote with his own annotations a work of a 16th century Spanish historian Antonio de Morga. In his annotation of the work Rizal led the propagandists in rediscovering their Malayan identity through the history of the Philippines. Rizal emphasized that the Filipinos were never submissive because they fought for Spain's battles in Asia and against foreign invaders.

Rizal aspired for freedom for all Malay peoples. While in Paris he and some fellow Filipinos wrote a group called the *Indios Bravos*. The Indios Bravos had an inner secret group called R.d.L.M. which pledged to liberate the Malay people from colonial rule beginning with the Philippines later extending to the inhabitants of Borneo, Indonesia and Malaya (Baviera, p. 136)

In 1891 Rizal personally went to Sandakan in North Borneo to negotiate for the establishment of a Filipino colony to relocate displaced farmers from his hometown in Calamba. The project fell through because of opposition of the Spanish authorities in Manila. Rizal was later implicated as the moving spirit behind the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and died a martyr's death in Manila on December 30, 1896.

Despite his death Rizal's vision lived on among Filipino revolutionists. Apolinario Mabini who was the brains of the second phase of the Philippine Revolution (1898-1899), saw that the final aim of the Philippine Revolution was "to give light to the gloomy night in which the vilified and degraded Malay race finds itself so that it may be led to the road of social emancipation." (Mabini, vol. II, p. 56). Mabini's biographer Cesar Majul writes "To Mabini what the Filipino Malays of Rizal were doing were exemplary to the other peoples under the colonial yoke for it "was very contagious, having within its womb the seeds of a disease that is mortal to the colonial interests (of Great Britain, Germany, France, Holland, etc.) – a dam to their overflowing ambitions in the not far away future." (Majul, p. 204) It was Mabini who proposed the formation of a Federacion Malaya which is a revitalized race imbued with a new nationalism.(Baviera, p. 138)

Historical research into the great past of the Malays confirms the earlier findings of the 19th century historians. During the American period colonial textbooks contain findings particularly by anthropologist H. Otley Beyer that the ancestors of the Filipinos including the black Negritos to the ancestors of the Moros of Mindanao came from the Malay islands. In 1916 J.G.R. Furlong revealed that the origin of the Malays was the foremost factor in the peopling of the Philippines. The Malays were the seafarers and colonizers who sailed from Polynesia to the Cape of Good Hope. They colonized the Malabar Coast of India now Bengal, the Maldivas, Sri Lanka up to Madagascar. These Malays colonized what he called as "Outer India" which was which is the East Indian Archipelago. He called this archipelago as "Malaysia." Other American authors limited their view of the Malayan ancestry for the

Filipinos. Eslan Best said that from the East Indian Archipelago, the Malays who came through Kalimantan became the Tagalogs of Luzon and the Visayans of Central Philippines. He added that the Tagalog language was one of the purest of the Malay dialects. (Craig and Benitez, pp. 79-117)

The development of a pan-Malayan consciousness was clearly a legacy of the Philippine Propaganda Movement and the Philippine Revolution. Malayan consciousness grew in other territories. Many Indonesians as well as Malays began considering Rizal as “the Great Malayan.” It brought forth the creation of nationalist movements in the Malay world. The Indonesian founder of the Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavor) among them was Mohamad Husni Thamrin, Vice President of the Dutch-installed People’s Council (Volksraad) knew about Rizal. Rosihan Anwar knew about Rizal and was inspired by his works. During the battle of Surabaya, Indonesian freedom fighters were told to memorize Rizal’s last poem, the *Mi Ultimo Adios* and a copy of the poem translated in Malay was circulated among the Indonesian freedom fighters during the battle against the Dutch and the British in November 1945. (Anwar, pp. 298-303)

In the Philippines, Rizal’s vision was followed up in the 20th century the vision of Rizal by a new crop of leaders. In 1926 a group called the Pan Malayan Union was established at the University of the Philippines. The group was comprised by students from the Philippines and some Southeast Asian countries. Among its leaders was Wenceslao Q. Vinzons, then a law student at the university. Its other leaders were Tengku Usman Hussein; Baron Sudhadfistra and Tengku S. Djaja. Vinzon’s dream was to realize a free Malay nation that will comprise “a million brown people.” This nation will not be a single state but the entire Southeast Asian nation where the people who share a common racial and cultural heritage will live in peace and freedom devoid of colonial anthem. (Suradji, 1983: 136-137) Vinzons was inspired by Mabini through his writings. The region of the Malays will be called a Malaysia redeemed and revitalized. He coined his world view and vision as *Malaya Irredenta*. (Baviera, p. 138)

As a young law student at the University of the Philippines Vinzons became a student leader and editor of the school paper. He founded a group called the Pan Malayan Union composed of young and idealistic students and professionals. Recruiting students from the Philippines, Siam, the Malay Peninsula and Polynesia, the group was a miniature version of his vision- a league of Malayan brotherhood. Its aim was to promote the study of the history, civilizations and culture of the Malay race, promote intra-Malay trade and develop a sentiment of unity among all brown peoples. (Gaité, p. 5-8)¹

When he became a lawyer Vinzons developed the Pan Malayan Union as the Young Philippines in 1934. It was supported by prominent politicians such as Manuel Roxas, Jose P. Laurel and academicians like Dean Rafael Palma and Dean Maximo Kalaw of the University of the Philippines. The group became a political party and counted young leaders like Arturo Tolentino, Carmen Planas, Maria Kalaw Katigbak, Camilo Osias and Diosdado Macapagal. The Young Philippines party worked for Philippine independence and tried to secure the approval of the first Philippine Independence Law, the Hare Hawes Cutting Act. Once the Philippines achieves its independence Vinzons and his associates will work for the formation of confederation of free Malayan Republics. (Poulgrain, p. 31)

Vinzons wrote his vision in a pamphlet inspired by his slogan *Malaya Irredenta*. The pamphlet entitled *Malayan Irredenta* was translated into Malay but was immediately banned by the Dutch in

¹ Ranavalona Vinzons-Gaité was the daughter of Wenceslao. Her very name Ranavalona, according to her was inspired by a princess in Madagascar. This island was settled by Malay seafarers.

Indonesia. According to Vinzons a world war will occur in a few years and he advocated the adoption of Pan Malayan understanding and unity if the Malayan countries would not be the Balkans of the East. (Baviera, p. 138)

The book was entitled *Malayan Irredenta* His vision of a unified Malaysia was written in a book inspired from his slogan *Malaya Irredenta*. (The name was also proposed as the name of the union. In 1932 he spoke an oration about a United Malaysia extending from the northern end of the Malay Peninsula to the shores of Polynesia. He said that this swath of territory was the "original state of Malaysia." The unification of this area was represented the empires of Sri Vijaya and Madjapahit empires.

The group pointed out that the Malay world which once spread from Madagascar to the East Indies was broken up by western powers. Madagascar was once a Malay kingdom before it was annexed by France; the Malay Peninsula was taken over by the British and Indonesia by the Dutch. The vision of Vinzons was to restore this Malay world by removing the colonial barriers.

Vinzons later ran for political office becoming the youngest member of the 1934 Constitutional Convention which drafted the 1935 Philippine Constitution. In 1938 he was elected governor of the province of Camarines Norte. Vinzons did not live to see his dream of a united Malayan nation realized because of the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941. Vinzons became a guerrilla leader in his province and was betrayed by his in-laws to the Japanese. The Japanese invaders wanted the young Vinzons to collaborate with them but he staunchly refused. His captors executed him in 1944.

In Indonesia and Malaya visions of a great Malayan confederation were continued by ideologues like Tan Melaka, Muhammad Yamin and Ibrahim Yaakov. Tan Melaka who said to have introduced communism in the Philippines, considered Rizal an intellectual in relative isolation from the masses (Brackman, p. 51) Like Rizal Melaka cited the extent of the Malay civilization that once stretched from Madagascar off East Africa to the East Indies. These regions were broken up by western colonization.

Arriving in the Philippines from Hong Kong on July 20, 1925, he passed himself off as a Filipino musician named Jorge Fuentes. He came to the Philippines upon invitation of Filipino delegates who attended the Transport Worker's Conference in 1924 in China. The Filipinos believed that Tan Melaka was a sincere nationalist and a refugee from Dutch persecution not knowing that he was a co-founder of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) and was the chief Southeast Asian representative of the Communist International (COMINTERN). During his stay in the Philippines he met Filipino leaders like Manuel Quezon, Claro M. Recto, Emilio Aguinaldo and other prominent persons. He met Filipino labor and peasant leaders among whom was Crisanto Evangelista who founded the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas in 1930. Tan Melaka was instrumental to sending Filipino delegates to the a trade conference in Canton, China in 1928. (Suradji, p. 3) While in the Philippines Tan Melaka advocated the formation of a pan Malayan union with Davao in Mindanao as the capital. (Poulgrain, p. 31)

Melaka was arrested by Philippine Constabulary Agents while returning to Manila from southern Indonesia. His Filipino friends did not see him as a veteran communist organizer and two of them, Aguinaldo and former Manila Mayor Ramon Fernandez posted a bond for Malaka's temporary release and a prominent lawyer Pedro Abad Santos acted as his chief counsel arguing for his right to stay as a political refugee. As the case would involve prominent Filipinos, Melaka was ordered deported to Amoy,

China by Acting Governor General George Gilmore on August 22, 1927. (Baviera, p. 98) As Melaka was being deported, he was viewed by Filipino leaders as a martyr for the cause of the Malays even as the American authorities told them that he was an Indonesian communist. (Salazar, pp. 152-153)

Other persons who dreamed of a pan Malayan union was another Indonesian named Muhammad Yamin and Ibrahim Ya'acob of Malaya. Both men were fervent Malay nationalists who advocated the expulsion of all western colonizers. Yamin who was a lawyer from Padang, West Sumatra was a leading figure in the radical nationalist movement. With oratorical powers comparable to Sukarno in the 1930s he envisioned a greater Indonesia called Indonesia Raya that will include would include all of the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and the Philippines. Although he aligned his fervent nationalism with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), he joined Parindra, a moderate party after 1926 when the PKI was suppressed following an attempted rebellion against the Dutch.

Another proponent of a Malay union was Ibrahim Ya'acob a nationalist firebrand from Pahang, Malaya. Ya'acob founded a party consisting of anti-colonial youth calling itself the Kesatuan Melau Muda (Union of Malay Youth or KMM). Ya'acob advocated the formation of a fraternal cohesion of Malay-speaking peoples capable of transcending colonial boundaries. His concept was similar to that of Yamin. It was similar to the vision of Vinzon in the Philippines. In the 1930s he wrote articles critical of the British. He continued his activities until his arrest. The Japanese freed him when they defeated the British in 1941. Ya'acob formed a political party the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) during the Second World War. The party advocated the achievement of independence through a union of Malaya with Indonesia. (Means, p. 23)

The ideologies of the three men were bound by a common Malay heritage, the Malay language and to an extent the Islamic religion. The KMM enunciated its vision for the "political salvation for the Malays by means of the expulsion of the British and the union of Malaya with a yet to be formed Indonesia. Immigrants from Indonesia were attracted to the KMM and they contributed to its radical and revolutionary flavor. (Gordon. p. 23.)

During the Japanese occupation of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies Yamin, Ya'acob and Melaka cooperated with the Japanese during the occupation of Malaya and Indonesia. Their role with the invaders however tainted their characters. Yamin was accused of recruiting involuntary laborers or romusha for the Japanese. Seventy per cent of those recruited died during the occupation. Following Melaka was painted as a communist agent and a Trotskyist. He was later executed by Indonesian Republican forces. Though sidelined the visions of Yamin, Ya'acob and Melaka for a pan Malayan union lived on. Yamin later revised his vision that the new Malay union not to include the Philippines but should include Sarawak, East Timor and North Borneo. This revision was supposed to be temporary. (Means, pp. 45-46)

The Birth of the MAPHILINDO

The dream of achieving unity along Malay nations continued into the postwar years. One of the thrusts of the Philippine government in the late 1950s was to develop closer relations with its Asian neighbors as part of the strategy of reducing its dependence on the United States and the western powers. In July 1962 President Diosdado Macapagal proposed to form a greater Malayan confederation consisting of the Philippines, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the British territories of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. Macapagal who was once a member of Vinzon's Young Philippines

movement shared Vinzon's view of Malayan unity. Macapagal' announced his plan was announced during a weekly press conference that month.

The proposal to form a Malay union was reached after meeting with Vice President Emmanuel Pelaez who was also the Philippine foreign affairs secretary, Senator Lorenzo Sumulong and Congressman Godofredo Ramos. The last two were chairmen of the Senate and House Committee on Foreign Relations respectively. The proposal had the support of both houses of the Philippine legislature. (Baviera, p. 161) At first the proposal for a Malayan confederation did not include Indonesia which was lukewarm to the idea of an Asian regional bloc like the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) which was formed earlier in 1961. Indonesia considered the ASA as western-inspired. With the failure of Indonesian support the ASA was considered a failure.

Macapagal envisioned that the Malay confederation will supersede the soon to be formed Federation of Malaysia. According to him "At the time when colonial powers were liquidating their empires in our region the time has come when we, the Malay people, must try to discover a new and broader basis for more effective cooperation and unity... I do not believe that we should leave the vital task to the outgoing colonial powers. This is a task that we Malay peoples must ourselves do..." (Baviera, p. 162)

If realized the confederation will place 250,000 miles of territory and 40 million people (of the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo) into one solid bloc. Aside from fostering fraternal relations, Macapagal intended the soon-to-be formed Malay union as an alliance against aggression and subversion. The Philippines saw the threat as a disturbance to peace with the outright incorporation of North Borneo to Malaysia while Malaysia on the other hand saw the Philippine claim to North Borneo and the Indonesian encroachments on its territory as well as the growth of communism in Borneo as threats. Indonesia for its part saw the formation of Malaysia as a continuation of British influence in the region.

Macapagal's plan faced formidable obstacles. The Philippines has a standing claim to Sabah and it was worried about the incorporation of the territory into the soon-to-be formed Federation of Malaysia. Though the Philippines based its claim on legal documents the British government refused to discuss it and stated that it was leaving it to the government of Malaya which was incorporating North Borneo into the new federation.²

Another obstacle was the opposition of Indonesia to the formation of Malaysia. Indonesia objected to the formation of Federation of Malaysia because of the perception was that it represented the forces of neocolonialism. (Ongkil, pp. 80-112)

Undaunted by the British refusal, Macapagal was optimistic about his plan "The unity of the Malay peoples," he declared, " is the business of the Malay Peoples. We must forge it ourselves by our

² Since 1946 according to Macapagal after presiding over the return of the Turtle Islands to the Philippines found documents that the territory was leased, not ceded by the Sultan of Sulu to two European adventurers, Baron de Overbeck of Austria and Alfred Dent of England in 1875. Since then the government was negotiating with the British to return the territory to the Philippines as the heirs of the Sultan allowed the government of the Philippines to represent them in the negotiations. -avv

own efforts, out of our sense of history and in recognized community of interests. We should not accept a European project as a substitute for an Asian project, planned and carried out by Asians themselves, in the true and enduring sense of the Asian world...." (Baviera, p. 162)

Another reaction to was that the proposed confederation was a plan to offset the failure of the Philippine government in its negotiations with the British government regarding its claim to Sabah. Speaking before the UN Security Council the Indonesian Deputy Foreign Minister said on September 10, 1964 that the establishment of Malaysia is not a conflict between peoples or even countries but a fight against a political concept which was neocolonialism. Both the Philippines and Indonesia were of the position that they would have no objection to its formation as long as the peoples of Borneo wished to be incorporated into the Federation.

The plan to form the Federation of Malaysia was already known since 1961. The Indonesians already opposed it since the Brunei revolt of December 8, 1962 and declared its policy on February 11, 1963. Indonesian irregulars and volunteers began their armed infiltration into Sarawak. To resolve the matter the heads of the Malayan and Indonesian governments together with that of the Philippines agreed to meet in Tokyo in June 1963. It was during this meeting Prime Minister Tunjku Abdul Rahman, Sukarno and Macapagal discussed the formation of the forming of the MAPHILINDO. This confederation shall serve as the venue in solving the differences between the three countries.

Another criticism against MAPHILINDO was that it was accused of being racially-inspired being formed along Malay lines. Historian Teodoro Agoncillo however commented that although MAPHILINDO was composed of peoples of Malay stock, its guiding principles were nonracial and it was no more racial than NATO or the Rio Pact is. (Agoncillo, p. 540)

To provide the groundwork for the MAPHILINDO, foreign ministers and representatives of the three countries consisting of Vice President Emmanuel Pelaez, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya Tun Abdul Razak and Deputy First Minister/Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, met in Manila from June 7 to 11, 1963. The meeting resulted in the drafting of the Manila Accord. The accord basically provided for a commitment to work in close harmony for the peaceful resolution of mutual problems, close cooperation in common concerns such as security, economic and cultural matters without sacrificing each other's national sovereignty.

The group also discussed the formation of Malaysia and the Philippine claim to Sabah. It was agreed that the three countries will resolve the issues through peaceful means. On the inclusion of North Borneo to Malaysia, it was decided that the three governments welcome the formation of Malaysia provided that the will of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority like the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative. On the Philippine claim to Sabah it was agreed that the three countries agreed to exert their best efforts to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution by peaceful means, such as by negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration. (Manila Chronicle, August p. 5)

On July 30 to August 5, 1963, the heads of states of the Federation of Malaya, the Philippines and the Republic of Indonesia held a summit conference in Manila and ratified the Manila Accord. After marathon meetings, the three leaders agreed on the following: firstly adherence to the principle of equal

rights and self-determination of peoples as enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Bandung Declaration; secondly that they are determined, in the common interest of their countries, to maintain fraternal cooperation among their peoples in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote economic progress and social well-being in the region, and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another; thirdly that the three nations shall combine their efforts in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations and for the eradication of the vestiges of the thereof in the region in particular and the world in general; fourthly that the three nations, as new emerging forces in the region, shall cooperate in building a new and better world based on national freedom, social justice and lasting peace; and lastly the agreed to take initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo. The holding of frequent and regular consultations shall be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo. (*Manila Chronicle*, August 6, 1963, p. 5)

In their joint communiqué issued following the signing of the Manila Accord it was agreed that the three countries would work inside the parameters of the UN Charter and the Bandung Declaration. They also agreed to comply with Resolution 1541 of the UN General Assembly providing for the peaceful holding of a plebiscite in Sabah and working with the UN to ascertain the elections (North Borneo) and Sarawak but nevertheless further examining and verifying and satisfying himself as to whether

- (a) Malaysia was a major issue, if not the main issue;
- (b) Electoral registers were properly complied;
- (c) Elections were free and there was no coercion; and
- (d) Votes were properly polled and properly counted; and
- (i) The wishes of those who being qualified to vote would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not had been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offenses or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak.

The formation of Maphilindo was met with jubilation. Macapagal called the Manila Accord “a declaration of Asian independence.”(*MDB*, August 6, 1963, p. p. 2.)³The accord was seen to ensure peace between the three countries. The set of agreements consisting of the Manila Accord and the leaders’ joint communiqué was seen to ensure peace between the three countries and would drastically change the course of events in Southeast Asia. One commentator said that the establishment of MAPHILINDO “is a prelude to the Malay Confederation of our visions. (Espiritu, *MDB*, p. 1. August 6, 1963). He said “one gets the feeling that the eventual union of the Malay peoples from each other by the accidents of history, is so exhilaratingly close.” They (the three countries) are determined in their respective countries to maintain fraternal relations to strengthen cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields and social well-being of the region. These are authentic tones of a new Malay generation,” he said.

Diplomatic Crisis and Limbo

In reality MAPHILINDO was still a far cry from the vision of Malay irrendentists like Rizal, Vinzons, Melaka, Yamin and Ibrahim. The Manila Accord merely provided for close cooperation on social, economic and cultural fields. It did not provide for a political or even economic union. More importantly though the MAPHILINDO professed the rejection of imperialism and neocolonialism two of its members are still very much entangled in these issues. The Philippines at that time hosts US military

³ This source shall hereafter referred to as *MDB*.

and naval bases and was bound by various political and economic treaties with its former colonizer. Malaya too was dependent on British military and economic support. It left Indonesia with a neutralist though increasingly leftist stance.

Despite its serious defects, the establishment of MAPHILINDO was a right step towards the vision of a united Malaysia not limited to the former British territories but all areas inhabited by Malays. Still basking from euphoria of the formation of MAPHILINDO, Macapagal hoped that the formation of the group would lead to a golden age. He said "In MAPHILINDO and through MAPHILINDO, nourished constantly by their vision and enterprise, the Malay peoples shall be borne upon the wave of the vast, irresistible wave of the future. The aim of the MAPHILINDO is to capture the glory of the past before the coming of the West. On the other hand the three countries were headed toward a showdown over the interpretation of the Manila Accord calling for the sending of United Nations observers to a UN ascertainment regarding the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. The British were firmly opposed to allowing more than four observers in Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah).

The Malayan Prime Minister Tunjku Abdul Rahman himself urged Britain to allow more observers to watch the UN mission. The British allowed four observers and four clerical assistants into each territory to observe the UN nine man team to determine if the people of Sarawak and North Borneo agree to join the Federation of Malaysia. Prime Minister Rahman agreed with the Indonesian thinking by saying "I am happy the British government has agreed to eight observers from each country but Malaya is content to have four. He said that "many have already derided him for making so much concessions and lowering myself in the face of threats from our neighbors." (*MDB*, August 25, 1963, p. 2) Another step backward taken by Malaya was to postpone the formation of Malaysia from August 31 to September 14 pending the result of the mission of the UN team. The nine-man UN team headed by American Laurence V. Michaelmore was "very balanced." He had 17 years' experience of working with the UN. The Philippines and Indonesia sent their respective teams. The UN observer team arrived in Singapore before proceeding to Kuching.

On September 13, 1963 the UN Secretary General submitted the findings of the UN teams to the governments of the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya. The findings showed that the inhabitants of North Borneo and Sarawak agreed to become part of the Federation of Malaysia. The Philippines was not satisfied with the results saying that these did not reflect the true feelings of the peoples of both North Bornean territories because of British pressure. (Agoncillo, p. 540). According to one report the UN observers were not present during the early part of the ascertainment and that the questions given were superficial. Indonesia on the other hand considered the formation of Malaysia as a neocolonial creation and refused to recognize the union. The Philippines demanded that a referendum should be held but the Malayan government refused. (Villadolid, *MDB*, August 1, 1963 , p. 1)

Three days later on September 16, 1963 the Federation of Malaysia was inaugurated. It absorbed the two North Bornean territories, Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak and the island of Singapore. While the Manila press mentioned the event and the editorials voiced their greetings, the Philippine government withheld its recognition. Aside from doubting the results of the ascertainment by the UN teams another reason for the non-recognition of Malaysia by the Philippines involved the its claim to Sabah. According to Agoncillo President Macapagal's refusal to recognize Malaysia was to force the latter to recognize its claim on the territory. The Indonesians meanwhile were openly hostile and increased its program of Konfrontasi which would last for several years.

With the deferment of recognition of Malaysia, the embassy of the Philippines lost its diplomatic status. Celebrations by the Malaysian and Philippine embassies in both Manila and Kuala Lumpur were cancelled. On the same day the Philippine ambassador was recalled to Manila. According to the Foreign Office in Manila, the Philippine ambassador Yussup Abubakar was being recalled for consultations and help draft the Philippine position on Malaysia.

Malaysian officials asked the Philippine and Indonesian officials to explain why both countries have not recognized the new union. Speaking five hours after the inauguration of Malaysia Foreign Minister Ghazali Shafie asked the ambassadors of both countries clarification whether they are breaking off diplomatic relations. "I am completely befuddled at the moment," Ghazali said. Regarding the possible breakup of MAPHILINDO, Ghazali said: "It is a tremendous disappointment, we never geared to the possibility of Indonesia breaking off diplomatic relations. "As the Philippine ambassador Abubakar left for Manila, the Malaysian Ambassador Zaiton Ibrahim said during a planeside interview: "I deeply regret that the Philippine government has not extended recognition to the Federation of Malaysia." He added however: "I am confident that the desired recognition be given soon, so that I may be able to return. (MDB, September 18, 1963, p. 5)

While students demonstrated in front of the Malaysian embassies, newspaper columns called for restraint and sobriety. In its editorial on the first Malaysia Day, the Manila Daily Bulletin wrote: "

"In the long and hard days that lay ahead the new state of Malaysia and her neighbors now at odds, much can be gained by proceeding cautiously and sobriety toward re-establishment of cordial relations. Malaysia for example should consider the advisability of giving continuity to foreign policies of the old Malayan government, among which is one according sympathetic treatment to Philippine claims, in succession to those of the Sultanate of Sulu on North Borneo.

There is no denying sympathy and good wishes for Malaysia in non-official quarters. There is no reason for thinking these sentiments will not eventually shared by our government, not alone because of geographical propinquity are inescapable but also blood is thicker than water and peoples of the Malay Race cannot be forever be divided. Malaysia is destined to play an increasingly vital role in reuniting all Malay peoples into one big happy family linked by indissoluble ties of true brotherhood." (MDB, Editorial, September 16, 1963)

In the Philippine Congress, pressure mounted to recognize the new Malaysian Federation. Macapagal for his part awaited the report from the Foreign Affairs Department. Later the Philippines requested that its embassy in Kuala Lumpur be downgraded into a consulate. This request was turned down by the Malaysian government. This move was unprecedented in Philippine diplomatic history. No less than the Tungku himself complained about the Philippine suggestion saying it was insulting and uncalled for. He said "It is like living in your house and then I am suddenly told to move into the servants' quarters." He added "I have made myself appear rather small in their yes. I went begging on my knees for peace I have done everything for peace; I cannot be expected to do any more." (MDB, September 23, 1963, p. 6)

The Malaysian government then severed diplomatic relations with the Philippines. The Malaysian officials assured the Philippines that the severance of relations was done "with a heavy heart and it was "last ditch effort" to protect the dignity of the Malaysian government. (MDB, September 23 1963, p. 6) They put up the defense that the Tungku had no choice but to cut off relations because of the

recall of Manila of its envoy. According to the Philippine government recognition of Malaysia was necessary because of Malaya ceased to exist and Malaysia, a new state, has come into being. Among all nations only Indonesia shared this view of the Philippines.

The Malaysians for their part said there exists no precedent for the Indonesian decision not to recognize Malaysia and for the Philippines to withhold recognition. Apparently the pullout of ambassadors meant that the governments concerned had indicated their desire to sever diplomatic relations with Malaysia.

In explaining the Malaysian position Foreign Minister Ghazali said that the Malaysian Constitution provided for the admission of new states to the Federation. The Constitution was amended by an Act of Parliament providing for the inclusion of the new states of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. Ghazali also stressed that there is no need for the extension of recognition by any nation to the state of Malaysia and there will be no representation of credentials by foreign envoys accredited by Malaysia. Only new envoys will be accredited by Malaysia instead of Malaya in line with the change of name of the country. (*MDB*, September 23, 1963, p. 6) With the severance of Philippine-Malaysian relations, the Philippine embassy in Kuala Lumpur closed shop.

As the Philippine government was plotting its next moves. Macapagal was assailed for breaking his vow to the Tungku in promising to work out the differences in a conciliatory and peaceful manner. (*MDB*, September 22, 1963, p. 1.) The diplomatic crisis clearly shook MAPHILINDO to its very foundations. The Macapagal administration was chided for being a tool of the Indonesians. Even the Tungku was convinced as it was said that Sukarno won over Macapagal by lavishing praise on him as a leading statesman in Asia. Outside of the Philippines the Philippines gained a sort of notoriety in Singapore and in Malaya that was associated with *Bung Karno* (Brother Sukarno) and the *Konfrontasi*. There was growing uneasiness among opinion leaders and government officials about the Philippines' growing partiality towards Indonesia. (Villadolid, *MDB*, P.I. Blurs Image over Malaysia, p.1)

Malayan officials Kuala Lumpur also saw that Manila lacked concern regarding Indonesian supported raids in Sarawak, North Borneo and fifth column activities in the rest of Malaysia. (*MDB*, December 28, 1963, p. 1) In an issue of the *Manila Daily Bulletin's* Listening Post column it commented that the Indonesian press tried to give the impression that the anti-communist Filipinos aligned themselves with neutralists Indonesians against anti-red Malaysians. This was clearly red-baiting on the part of the Manila media which avoids the issue of strained relations with Malaysia. But to build its image as an impartial peacemaker the Philippines must stay clear of Indonesia's *Konfrontasi* with Malaysia.

For the rest of the Macapagal administration MAPHILINDO and Philippine-Malaysian relations remained in a limbo. There were proposals in 1964 to expand MAPHILINDO to include non-Malay countries. With the inauguration of the new Marcos administration in 1965, President Ferdinand Marcos promised to reestablish relations with Malaysia. It received the assurance from Malaysia that it was not adverse to elevating the Sabah issue to the World Court or to submitting it to peaceful negotiations or arbitration. On June 3, 1966, the Philippines and Malaysia resumed diplomatic relations. MAPHILINDO, on the other hand remained dormant until it was superseded by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on August 8, 1967.

Conclusion

The road to the formation of the MAPHILINDO has its origins to the dreams of heroes and martyrs from Jose Rizal, Mabini, Vinzons to Melaka, Ibrahim and Ya'acob. It was part of the anti-colonial struggle and the aspiration to regain the Malay world which existed before the coming of western colonizers. The awareness of the glorious past led visionaries to aspire for a union of racially related peoples living peacefully and in harmony and proceeding towards happiness and greatness. During colonial times colonial authorities tried to suppress this dream. Only during the era of decolonization it was given a chance to be finally realized.

The formation of MAPHILINDO in the 1960s was a way to attain the irredentist vision of a united Malay homeland. It was plagued by insurmountable obstacles and imperfections. One factor was that it was a result of a failed Philippine attempt to solve the Sabah issue. Diosdado Macapagal who conceived the idea wanted some kind of a union between Malaysia and the Philippines. Indonesia was included to solve the issue of neocolonialism. The purpose for its formation therefore was not entirely pure.

Upon its formation MAPHILINDO diverged far from the visions of conceptualizers. It was a loose confederation of three Malay-related states. It was more of an association rather than a political, social or economic union. The MAPHILINDO was also haunted by the ghost of neocolonialism. Its members like Malaysia and the Philippines were bound by neocolonial agreements and arrangements. The aggrupation which professed to be anti-imperialist and anti-neocolonialist hosted military and naval bases of their former colonizers like in the case of Malaysia and the Philippines. Indonesia for its part was drifting towards the Soviet/Socialist bloc.

Divergent national interests caused the failure of MAPHILINDO. These interests often clashed with regional interests. These included the Philippines' claim over North Borneo; Malaya's desire to realize the Federation of Malaysia what would include the two Bornean territories and Singapore; and Indonesia's aversion to neocolonialism. There is also concern about the global alignment of the three states: Malaysia was allied with the British Commonwealth of Nations; the Philippines with its various treaties with the United States and Indonesia's neutralist stance. An outside observer may liken MAPHILINDO as a group of strange bedfellows. If one should rely solely on national interest of each country the group was likely to fail.

Nevertheless the formation of MAPHILINDO that the people of Malay stock showed they can easily work together despite the serious differences. This attitude supersedes organization itself. The leaders and peoples of the three countries showed uncommon patience, diligence and a willingness to work together to attain a higher goal. This can be seen in the attitude of the leaders and officials in solving their problems. Credit should be given to the Prime Minister of Malaysia Tunjku Abdul Rahman for his prudence in agreeing to postpone the formation of Malaysia from August to September to await the results of the ascertainment report from the United Nations. Credit should also be given to Sukarno to agreeing to have the dispute between Malaya and Indonesia to be mediated by Macapagal in Tokyo which lead to the Manila Accord which in turn led to the formation of MAPHILINDO. Macapagal for his part proposed his vision to the three leaders.

When Malaysia severed diplomatic ties with the Philippines it was reported that Malaysian Prime Minister Tunjku Abdul Rahman who was said to have grave cause to sever relations with the Philippinesaid he had not lost faith in the majority of the Filipino people and their feelings for Malaysia.

He showed this concern during the first emergency meeting of the Malaysian cabinet where he asked that the Philippines should be removed in the government's declaration of preparedness against possible armed Indonesian action in Malaysia especially in Sabah and in Sarawak. (Villadolid, MDB, September 23, 1963, p. 3)

Malaysia always kept the door open for backdoor and backroom negotiations whenever there is a deadlock in any negotiation. Recently (during 2010 and few years thereafter) Malaysia played an important role in working for the peaceful solution towards the separatist rebellion in southern Philippines. It served as a mediator between the separatist Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Philippine government. Indonesia for its part also developed very close relations with the Philippines. Last June 2014 the Philippines and Indonesia peacefully resolved their border issues. Indonesia also played a part in the resolution of the conflict in Southern Philippines. Regarding the relations with Indonesia and Malaysia, the two nations eventually came to terms following the *Konfrontasi* and now respect each other's sovereignty. In any negotiation with the Malaysians and Indonesians there is always room for backdoor and backroom discussions to resolve problems even on the official level were deadlocked or rendered stale.

The key to the camaraderie between the three nations is the Malay blood that runs through the veins of the peoples of the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. The peoples of these islands are blood brothers that not even parochial concerns, geographical divisions can separate the fraternal bonds. Though MAPHILINDO is no more and is superseded by an organization with non-Malay peoples the peoples remain as partners and friends working towards a common future.

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Appendix No. 1

HEADS OF THREE STATES ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE⁴

(EDITOR'S NOTE IN VIEW OF THEIR HISTORICAL and transcendental significance the joint communiqué and other important documents ratified by Malaya, Philippines and Indonesia tentatively known as Maphilindo, at their summit meeting just concluded are published in this page.)

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya met in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963

1. Moved by a sincere desire to solve their common problems in an atmosphere of fraternal understanding, they considered, approved and accepted the Report and Recommendations of the Foreign Ministers of the three countries adopted in Manila on June 11, 1963 thereafter to be known as the Manila Accord.
2. In order to provide guiding principles for the implementation of the Manila Accord, the Heads of Government have issued known as the Manila Declaration, embodying the common aspirations and objectives of the peoples and governments of the three countries.
3. As a result of the consultation, amongst the three Heads of Government in accordance with the Manila Declaration, they have resolved various common problems of common concern.
4. Pursuant to paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Manila Accord the United Nations Secretary General should ascertain prior both the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia the wishes of the people of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak within the context of the General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) Principle 9 of the Annex, by a fresh approach, , which in the opinion of the Secretary General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination within the requirements embodied in Principle 9, taking into consideration:
 - (ii) The recent elections in Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak but nevertheless further examining and verifying and satisfying himself as to whether
 - (e) Malaysia was a major issue, if not the main issue;
 - (f) Electoral registers were properly complied;
 - (g) Elections were free and there was no coercion; and
 - (h) Votes were properly polled and properly counted; and
 - (iii) The wishes of those who being qualified to vote would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offenses or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak.
5. The Secretary-General will be requested to send working teams to carry out the task set out in paragraph 4.
6. The Federation of Malaya, having undertaken to consult the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak under paragraph 11 of the Manila Accord on behalf of the three Heads of Government, further undertake to request them to cooperate with

⁴*Manila Chronicle*, August 6, 1963, P. 5

- the Secretary-General and to extend to him the necessary facilities to carry out his task as set out in paragraph 4.
7. In the interest of the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government deem it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams and will use its best endeavours to obtain the cooperation of the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in furtherance of this purpose.
 8. In accordance with paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, the three Heads of Government decided to request the British Government to agree to seek out a just and expeditious solution to the dispute between the British Government and the Philippine Government concerning Sabah (North Borneo) by means of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, judicial settlement and other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. The three Heads of Government take cognizance of the position regarding the Philippine claim to Sabah (North Borneo) after the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia as provided under paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, that is that the inclusion of Sabah (North Borneo) in the Federation of Malaysia does not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder.
 9. Pursuant to paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the Manila Accord and the Fifth Principle of the Manila Declaration, that is, that initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo, it is agreed that a National Secretariat fort for Maphilindo affairs and as a first step the respective National Secretariats will consult each other with a view of coordinating and cooperating with each other in the study on the setting up of the necessary machinery for Maphilindo.
 10. The three Heads of Government emphasized that the responsibility for the preservation of the national independence of the three countries and of the peace and security in their region primarily in the hands of the governments and peoples concerned, and that the three governments undertake to have close consultations (Mushawarah) among themselves on these matters.
 11. The three Heads of Government further agreed that foreign bases- temporary in nature – should not be allowed to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three countries. In accordance with the principle enunciated in the Bandung Declaration, the three countries will abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.
 12. President Sukarno and Prime Minister Abdul Rahman express their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by President Macapagal in calling the Summit Conference which, in addition to solving their differences concerning the proposed Federation of Malaysia, resulted in paving the way for the establishment of Maphilindo. The three Heads of Government conclude this Conference which greatly strengthened the fraternal ties which bind their three countries and extended the scope of their cooperation and understanding, with renewed confidence that their governments and peoples will together make a significant contribution to the attainment of a just and enduring peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

Manila, August 5, 1963

Appendix No. 2.

THREE NATIONS INK MANILA ACCORD

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of Federation of Malaya assembled in a Summit Conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963 following the meeting of their Foreign Ministers held in Manila from June 7 to 11, 1963;

Conscious of the historic significance of their coming together for the first time as leaders of sovereign states that have emerged after long struggles from colonial status to independence;

Desiring to achieve better understanding and close cooperation in their endeavor to chart their common future;

Inspired also by the spirit of Asian-African solidarity forged in the Bandung Conference of 1955;

Convinced that their countries, which are bound together by close historical ties of race and culture, share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities and to ensure the peaceful development of their respective countries and their regions and aspirations of their peoples and;

Determined to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and their neighbors in a world dedicated to freedom and justice

DO HEREBY DECLARE:

First that they reaffirm their adherence to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Bandung Declaration:

Second, that they are determined, in the common interest of their countries, to maintain fraternal cooperation among their peoples in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote economic progress and social well-being in the region, and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another;

Third, that the three nations shall combine their efforts in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations and for the eradication of the vestiges of the thereof in the region in particular and the world in general;

Fourth, that the three nations, as new emerging forces in the region, shall cooperate in building a new and better world based on national freedom, social justice and lasting peace; and

Fifth, that in the context of the joint endeavors of the three nations to achieve the foregoing objectives, they have agreed to take initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo.

Manila, August 3, 1963

(Sgd.) **SOEKARNO**

President of the Republic of Indonesia

(Sgd.) **Diosdado Macapagal**

President of the Philippines

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj

Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya

Appendix No. 3

MANILA ACCORD⁵

The governments of the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines, prompted by their keen and common desire to have a general exchange of views on current problems concerning stability, security, economic development and social progress of the three countries and of the region and upon the initiation of President Diosdado Macapagal, agreed that a Conference of Ministers of the three countries be held in Manila on 7th June 1963 for the purpose of achieving common understanding and close fraternal cooperation among themselves.

Accordingly, Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya; Dr. Subandrio, Deputy First Minister/Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia; and Honorable Emmanuel Pelaez, Vice President of the Philippines and concurrently Secretary of Foreign AFFAIRS, met in Manila from 7 to 11 June 1963.

2. The deliberations were held in a frank manner and in a most cordial atmosphere in keeping with the spirit of friendship prevailing in the various meetings held between President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra of the Federation of Malaya and President Diosdado Macapagal. This Ministerial Conference was a manifestation of the determination of the nations in this region to achieve closer cooperation in their endeavor to chart their common future.

3. The Ministers were of one mind that the three countries share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities and to ensure the peaceful development of their respective countries and of their region, in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples.

4. In the same spirit of common and constructive endeavor, they exchanged views on the proposed Confederation of nations of Malay origin, the proposed federation of Malaysia, the Philippine claim to North Borneo and related problems.

The Macapagal Plan

5. Recognizing that it is in the common interest of their countries to maintain fraternal relations and to strengthen cooperation among their peoples who are bound together by ties of race and culture, the three Ministers agreed to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and for their neighbors.

6. In this context, the three Ministers supported President Macapagal's plan envisaging the grouping of the three nations of Malay origin working together in closest harmony but without surrendering any portion of their sovereignty. This calls for the establishment of the necessary common organs.

⁵*Manila Chronicle*. August 6, 1963, p. 5.

7. The three Ministers agreed to take the initial steps towards this ultimate aim by establishing machinery for frequent and regular consultations. The details of such machinery will be further defined. This machinery will enable the three governments to hold regular consultations at all levels to deal with matters of mutual interest and concern consistent with the national, regional and international responsibilities or obligations of each country without prejudice to its sovereignty and independence. The Ministers agreed that their countries will endeavor to achieve close understanding and cooperation in dealing with economic, social and cultural development

8. In order to accelerate the process of growth towards the ultimate establishment of President Macapagal's plan, the Ministers agreed that each country shall set up each own national secretariat. Pending the establishment of a Central Secretariat for the consultative machinery, the National Secretaries should coordinate and cooperate with each other in the fulfillment of their tasks.

9. The Ministers further agreed to recommend that Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers meet at least once a year for the purpose of consultations on matters of importance and common concern.

Malaysia and North Borneo

10. The Ministers reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination and for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. In this context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertain by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative.

11. The Federation of Malaya expressed appreciation for this attitude of Indonesia and the Philippines and undertook to consult the British Government and the Governments of the Borneo territories with a view to inviting the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative to take the necessary steps to ascertain the wishes of the people of those territories.

12. The Philippines made it clear that its position on the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia is subject to the final outcome of the Philippine claim to North Borneo. The Ministers took note of the Philippine claim and the right of the Philippines to continue to pursue it in accordance with international law and the principle of the pacific settlement of disputes. They agreed that the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia would not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder. Moreover, in the context of their close association, the three countries agreed to exert their best efforts to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution by peaceful means, such as by negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration.

13. In particular, considering the close historical ties between the peoples of the Philippines and North Borneo as well as their geographical propinquity, the Ministers agreed that in joining the proposed Federation of Malaysia the Government of the latter and the Government of the Philippines should maintain the harmony and the friendly relations subsisting the security and stability of the area.

Meeting of Heads of Government

14. The Ministers agreed to recommend that a meeting of their respective Heads of Government be held in Manila not later than the end of July 1963

15. The Ministers expressed satisfaction over the atmosphere of brotherhood and cordiality which pervaded their Meeting and considered it as a confirmation of their close fraternal ties and as a happy augury for the success of future consultations among their leaders.

16. The Ministers agreed to place on record their profound appreciation of the statesmanlike efforts of President Macapagal whose courage, vision and inspiration not only facilitated the holding of this historic Meeting but also contributed towards the achievement for the first time of a unity of purpose and a sense of common dedication among the peoples of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines.

APPROVED AND ACCPETED

Manila, July 31, 1963

SOEKARNO

President of the
Republic of Indonesia

DIOSDADO MACAPGAL

President of the Philippines

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL HAJ

Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya