

บรรณานุกรม

ภาษาไทย

หนังสือ

กระมล ทองธรรมชาติ. "การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ". พระนคร : สำนักพิมพ์แพรวพินทยา  
พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๔.

กระมล ทองธรรมชาติ. นโยบายต่างประเทศอินโดนีเซีย. พระนคร : โรงพิมพ์สมาคมสังคมนศาสตร์  
แห่งประเทศไทย พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๔.

เขียน ธีระวิทย์. นโยบายต่างประเทศจีนคอมมิวนิสต์ พระนคร : โรงพิมพ์คุรุสภา ลาดพร้าว  
พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๕.

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย แผนกวิชาการต่างประเทศและการทูต (รวบรวม) รวมบทความความสัมพันธ์  
ระหว่างประเทศ. พระนคร : โรงพิมพ์สมาคมสังคมนศาสตร์แห่งประเทศไทย พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๕.

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บุคคลจักรและยุคปรมาณู. กรุงเทพฯ : โรงพิมพ์กรมสารบรรณทหารเรือ ๒๕๑๒.

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ตะวันออกเฉียงใต้. พระนคร : สำนักพิมพ์ไทยวัฒนาพานิช พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๖.

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ประชาธิปไตย ฉบับที่ ๒๒๑ (๕ สิงหาคม ๒๕๑๗)

### สัมภาษณ์

สถานเอกอัครราชทูตสิงคโปร์ประจำประเทศไทย สัมภาษณ์ นายลิขาว ผู้ช่วยทูตฝ่ายหนังสือพิมพ์ ๒๐ มกราคม ๒๕๑๗.

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"ภาคผนวก"

ဇယား ဂ.

SINGAPORE REFERENDUM ON MERGER, 3 SEPTEMBER 1962

Statement showing the result of the referendum	
Number of ballot papers cast for Alternative A	397,626
Number of ballot papers cast for Alternative B	9,422
Number of ballot papers cast for Alternative C	7,911
Number of blank ballot papers	144,077
Number of uncertain ballot papers	2,370
Number of rejected ballot papers	153
	<hr/>
Total number of ballot papers found in boxes	561,559
	<hr/>
Total number of electors as contained in the electoral registers used	619,867

M. PONNUDURAY,  
 Superintendent,  
 National Referendum, Singapore.

Date: 3rd. September, 1962.

Source: State of Singapore, Government Gazette Extraordinary,  
 No. 60, IV, Monday 3 September 1962. The alternatives were:

- Plan A. (a) Singapore would join the Malaysian Federation while retaining considerable local autonomy in labour and educational matters;  
 (b) all citizens of Singapore would automatically become citizens of Malaysia;  
 (c) Singapore would have 15 seats in the Malaysian Parliament;  
 (d) multi-lingualism would be retained in Singapore.
- Plan B. "Unconditional merger" , with Singapore's rights restricted to those of the component States of the Malaysian Federation, and with English and Malay as the only languages of the State Legislature.
- Plan C. A merger on terms "no less favourable than merger conditions for the three Borneo territories" .

မာဂ္ဂ ၇.

MANILA DECLARATION, 5 AUGUST 1963.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the 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 closer cooperation in their endeavour to chart their common future;

Inspired also by the spirit of Asian-African solidarity forged in the Bandung Conference of 1966;

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 region in accordance with the ideals 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 neighbours 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 relations, to strengthen 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 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 5, 1963.

SOEKARNO

President of the Republic of Indonesia

DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL

President of the Philippines

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ

Prime Minister of the Federation of  
Malaya.

မူဝါဒ ဂ.

THE SEPARATION AGREEMENT, 7 AUGUST 1965

An Agreement dated the 7th day of August, 1965, and made between the Government of Malaysia on the one part and the Government of Singapore on the other part.

Whereas Malaysia was established on the 16th day of September, 1963, by a federation of the existing states of the Federation of Malaya and the States of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore into one independent and sovereign nation:

And whereas it has been agreed by the parties hereto that fresh arrangements should be made for the order and good government of the territories comprised in Malaysia by the separation of Singapore from Malaysia upon which Singapore shall become an independent and sovereign state and nation separate from and independent of Malaysia and so recognized by the Government of Malaysia;

Now therefore it is agreed and declared as follows:

ARTICLE I

This Agreement may be cited as the Independence of Singapore Agreement, 1965.

ARTICLE II

Singapore shall cease to be a State of Malaysia on the 9th day of August, 1965, (hereinafter referred to as "Singapore Day") and shall become an independent and sovereign state separate from and independent of Malaysia and recognized as such by the Government of Malaysia; and the Government of Malaysia will proclaim and enact the constitutional instruments annexed to this Agreement in the manner hereinafter appearing.

and will permit the Government of Malaysia to make such use of these bases and facilities as the Government of Malaysia may consider necessary for the purpose of external defence;

- (4) each party will undertake not to enter into any treaty or agreement with a foreign country which may be detrimental to the independence and defence of the territory of the other party.

#### ARTICLE VI.

The parties hereto will on and after Singapore Day cooperate in economic affairs for their mutual benefit and interest and for this purpose may set up such joint committees or councils as may from time to time be agreed upon.

#### ARTICLE VII

The provisions of Annex J and K of the Agreement relating to Malaysia dated the 9th day of July, 1963 are hereby expressly rescinded as from the date of this Agreement.

#### ARTICLE VIII

With regard to any agreement entered into between the Government of Singapore and any other country or corporate body which has been guaranteed by the Government of Malaysia, the Government of Singapore hereby undertakes to negotiate with such country or corporate body to enter into a fresh agreement releasing the Government of Malaysia of its liabilities and obligations under the said guarantee, and the Government of Singapore hereby undertakes to indemnify the Government of Malaysia fully for any liabilities, obligations or damage which it may suffer as a result of the said guarantee.

## ARTICLE III

The Government of Malaysia will declare by way of proclamation in the form set out in Annex A to this Agreement that Singapore is an independent and sovereign state separate from and independent of Malaysia and recognized as such by the Government of Malaysia.

## ARTICLE IV

The Government of Malaysia will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of Malaysia and of an Act in the form set out in Annex B to this Agreement and will ensure that it is made operative as from Singapore Day, providing for the relinquishment of sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Government of Malaysia in respect of Singapore so that the said sovereignty and jurisdiction shall on such relinquishment vest in the Government of Singapore in accordance with this Agreement and the constitutional instrument annexed.

## ARTICLE V.

The parties hereto will enter into a treaty on external defence and mutual assistance providing that:-

- (1) the parties hereto will establish a joint defence council of external defence and mutual assistance;
- (2) the Government of Malaysia will afford to the Government of Singapore such assistance as may be considered reasonable and adequate for external defence, and in consideration thereof, the Government of Singapore will contribute from its own armed forces such units thereof as may be considered reasonable and adequate for such defence;
- (3) the Government of Singapore will afford to the Government of Malaysia the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities used by its military forces within Singapore

In witness whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto, have signed this Agreement.

Done this 7th day of August, 1965, in two copies of which one shall be deposited with each of the Parties.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF MALAYSIA:

Prime Minister	(Sgd.)	TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN
Deputy Prime Minister	"	TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN
Minister of Home Affairs	"	DATO DR ISMAIL BIN ABDUL RAHMAN
Minister of Finance	"	TAN SIEW SIN
Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications	"	DATO V.T. SAMBANTHAN

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SINGAPORE:

Prime Minister	"	LEE KUAN YEW
Deputy Prime Minister	"	TOH CHIN CHYE
Minister for Finance	"	GOH KENG SWEE
Minister for Law	"	E.W. BARKER
Minister for Culture	"	S. RAJARATNAM
Minister for Social Affairs	"	OTHMAN WOK
Minister for Education	"	ONG PANG BOON
Minister for Health	"	LIM NYUK LIN
Minister for National Development	"	DATO LIM KIM SAN
Minister for Labour	"	JEK YUEN THONG.

Kuala Lumpur, 9th August, 1965.



พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๑

## THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA (ASA)

## BANGKOK DECLARATION

The Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand:

Upholding the ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being;

Believing that these ideals can best be attained by fostering good understanding, good neighbourliness and active cooperation among nations:

Desiring to establish a firm foundation for common action to further economic and social progress in Southeast Asia;

Convinced that mutual cooperation in the economic field and cultural relationship will greatly contribute to their endeavour to enhance the welfare of their respective nations and promote better understanding and mutual appreciation among their peoples;

Do hereby declare:

First, the establishment of an association for economic and cultural cooperation among the countries of Southeast Asia to be known as ASA- Association of Southeast Asia.

Second, that the aims and purposes of the Association shall be:

1. To establish an effective machinery for friendly consultations, collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and administrative fields:

2. To provide educational, professional, technical and administrative training and research facilities in their respective countries for nationals and officials of the associated countries.

3. To exchange information on matters of common interest or concern in the economic, cultural, educational and scientific fields;
4. To cooperate in the promotion of Southeast Asian Studies;
5. To provide a machinery for fruitful collaboration in the utilization of their respective natural resources, the development of their agriculture and industry, the expansion of their trade, the improvement of their transport and communication facilities, and generally raising the living standards of their peoples;
6. To cooperate in the study of the problems of international commodity trade; and
7. Generally, to consult and cooperate with one another so as to achieve the aims and purposes of the Association, as well as to contribute more effectively to the work of existing international organizations and agencies.

Third, that this Association is in no way connected with any outside power or power bloc and is directed against no other country, but is essentially a free association of countries of Southeast Asia having as its objectives the promotion, through joint endeavour, of the well-being and the economic, social and cultural progress of this region.

This Declaration made at Bangkok, this thirty-first day of July, nineteen hundred and sixty one, shall be known as the Bangkok Declaration.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ  
Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya

FELIXBERTO M. SERRANO  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the  
Philippines

THANAT KHOMAN  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand.



ပုဒ်မ ၂.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

THE ASEAN DECLARATION

The Presidium Minister for Political Affairs/Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand:

MINDFUL of the existence of mutual interests and common problems among the countries of South East Asia and convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation;

DESIRING to establish a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in South East Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region;

CONSCIOUS that in an increasingly interdependent world, the cherished ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being are best attained by fostering good understanding, good neighbourliness and meaningful cooperation among the countries of the region already bound together by ties of history and culture;

CONSIDERING that the countries of South East Asia share a primary responsibility for strengthening the economic and social stability of the region and ensuring their peaceful and progressive national development, and that they are determined to ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples;

AFFIRMING that all foreign bases are temporary and remain only with the expressed concurrence of the countries concerned and are not intended to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence and freedom of States in the area or prejudice the orderly processes of their national development;

DO HEREBY DECLARE:

FIRST, the establishment of an Association for Regional Cooperation among the countries of South East Asia to be known as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

SECOND, that the aims and purposes of the Association shall be:

1. To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South East Asian nations;
2. To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter;
3. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matter of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;
4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;
5. To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standard of their peoples;



6. To promote South East Asian studies;
7. To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves,

THIRD, that to carry out these aims and purposes, the following machinery shall be established:

- (a) Annual Meeting of Foreign Ministers, which shall be by rotation and referred to as ASEAN Ministerial, may be convened as required.
- (b) A Standing Committee, under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of the host country or his representatives and having as its members the accredited Ambassadors of the other member countries, to carry on the work of the Association in between Meetings of Foreign Ministers.
- (c) Ad Hoc Committees and Permanent Committees of specialists and officials on specific subjects.
- (d) A National Secretariat in each member country to carry out the work of the Association on behalf of that country and to service the Annual or Special Meetings of Foreign Ministers, the Standing Committee and such other committees as may hereafter be established.

FOURTH, that the Association is open for participation to all States in the South East Asian Region subscribing to the aforementioned aims, principles and purposes.

FIFTH, that the Association represents the collective will of the nations of South East Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the



blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity.

DONE in Bangkok on the Eighth Day of August in the  
Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-Seven.

FOR INDONESIA:

ADAM MALIK  
Presidium Minister for Political  
Affairs, Minister for Foreign Affairs

FOR MALAYSIA:

TUN ABDUL RAZAK  
Deputy Prime Minister  
Minister of Defence and Minister  
of National Development.

FOR THE PHILIPPINES:

NARCISO RAMOS  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs

FOR SINGAPORE:

S. RAJARATNAM  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

FOR THAILAND:

THANAT KHOMAN  
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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UNION 7.

## THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC COUNCIL (ASPAC)

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE

1. At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Korea, the Ministers of the Asian and Pacific countries comprising Australia, the Republic of China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Republic of the Philippines, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam as well as the Observer from the Kingdom of Laos, met in Seoul, the Republic of Korea, from 14th to 16th June 1966.
2. His Excellency Chung Hee Park, President of the Republic of Korea, in his address, welcomed all the delegates and, underlining the importance and significance of the Meeting, called for greater cooperation and solidarity among the free Asian and Pacific countries in their efforts to safeguard their national independence and integrity against any Communist aggression or infiltration, and to develop their national economies.
3. Throughout the entire course of deliberations, there was a free and frank exchange of views on matters of common concern in a spirit of friendship and mutual cooperation.
4. The Ministers reaffirmed the dedication of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific region to the common cause of peace, freedom and prosperity, and their determination to preserve their integrity and sovereignty in the face of external threats. They agreed that the free countries of the region should further strengthen their solidarity and cooperation to achieve their common objectives in various fields.
5. The Ministers, noting the threat to peace and the hazards to health and safety caused by nuclear explosions, deplored tests conducted within the Asian and Pacific region.

6. The Ministers expressed their sympathy for the Government and people of the Republic of Vietnam in their firm stand to protect their independence and sovereignty and they upheld the inherent right of the Vietnamese people to self-defence and to choose their own way of life and their own form of government free from external aggression and subversion. They also noted its satisfaction the value of the assistance being given by those nations, both Asian and non-Asian, which have themselves decided to support the Republic of Vietnam in one form or another.

They deplored that up to date moves towards bringing about a peaceful solution of the problem have been rejected and expressed the hope that every effort would continue to be made to achieve peace.

7. The Ministers were keenly aware of the urgent need for continuing consultations among participating countries with a view to forging better international understanding, promoting closer and more fruitful regional cooperation and further strengthening Asian and Pacific solidarity. They emphasized that every encouragement should be given to other free countries in the Asian and Pacific region to participate in future consultations.

8. To this end, the Ministers resolved that to implement the desired continuing process of consultations on regular basis, the Second Ministerial Meeting for Asian and Pacific Cooperation would be held in Bangkok in the course of 1967, and that pending and during the Second Ministerial Meeting, the Government of Thailand would act as the clearing house and provide a working secretariat. To permit further consultations pending the Second Ministerial Meeting, it was agreed to set up in Bangkok a standing committee composed of accredited ambassadors from participating countries and with the Foreign Minister of Thailand as Chairman. Future Ministerial Meetings shall be referred to as Ministerial Meetings of the Asian and Pacific Council.

9. The Ministers also felt the pressing necessity for more active and fruitful cooperation among participating countries for the mutual benefit of their peoples in the economic, technical, cultural, social and the information fields. They accordingly considered the desirability of setting up an economic Co-ordination Centre, a Technical co-ordination Centre, a Social and Cultural Centre and a Mutual Information Service and requested the Standing Committee referred to in the preceding paragraph to undertake detailed studies concerning their establishment for further consideration by the Governments of the participating countries. Other proposals for the setting up of a Commodities and Fertilizer Bank, a Technicians Pool and a Centre for Asian and Pacific Studies shall also be referred to the Standing Committee for study.

10. The Ministers recalled that all countries participating in this Meeting were members of a number of existing international and regional organizations and agreed that they should work for the further enhancement of the value to be derived from them as well as explore all avenues for even greater cooperation among themselves.

11. The Ministers strongly supported the United Nations objectives in Korea as set out in General Assembly Resolution No. 376-V dated October 7, 1950 which had been reaffirmed in subsequent resolutions the latest of which was Resolution No. 2132-XX dated December 21, 1965. These objectives are to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. They reiterated that these objectives be respected and implemented by all parties concerned.



12. The Ministers noted with satisfaction the improvement in the relations between countries in the region, and expressed the hope that the rule of law will be observed in the relationships between countries of the region and that regional disputes shall be settled in the spirit of friendly consultations and in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

13. The Ministers of the Asian and Pacific countries expressed their deep appreciation for the cordial and generous hospitality of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea as well as for the inspiring guidance graciously provided by the President of the Republic of Korea.

FOR AUSTRALIA:	P.M.C. HASLUCK Minister for External Affairs
FOR THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA:	WEI TAO-MING Minister of Foreign Affairs
FOR JAPAN:	ETSUSABURO SHIINA Minister for Foreign Affairs
FOR THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA:	TONG WON LEE Minister of Foreign Affairs
FOR MALAYSIA:	MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI Minister of Education
FOR NEW ZEALAND:	NORMAN LESLIE SHELTON Minister of Customs and Associate Minister of Industries and Commerce.
FOR THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES:	NARCISO RAMOS Secretary of Foreign Affairs
FOR THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND:	THANAT KHOMAN Minister of Foreign Affairs
FOR THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM:	TRAN VAN DO Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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## ประวัติการศึกษา

นายเอียน หววัน ผู้เขียนวิทยานิพนธ์เรื่อง "นโยบายต่างประเทศของสาธารณรัฐสิงคโปร์ในการแสวงหาการอยู่รอด (ค.ศ. 1965-1975)" ฉบับนี้ สำเร็จการศึกษาจากคณะนิเทศศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย และได้รับพระราชทานปริญญา นิเทศศาสตรบัณฑิต เกียรตินิยม เมื่อปี พ.ศ. 2514 ต่อมาในปีเดียวกันได้เข้าศึกษาต่อที่ บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ในแผนกวิชาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ ปัจจุบันทำงานอยู่สำนักข่าว เอ. พี. กรุงเทพฯ