Brunei and Malaysia Relationship in *Pelita Brunei*, 1957-1970

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Abstract

Over the years most studies conducted on the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia did not consider Pelita Brunei newspaper as the main source of research despite the newspaper is considered the official discourse by the Government of Brunei since 1956. In fact, the newspaper plays an important role in providing information related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia in the period specified. Therefore, this study attempts to uncover the extent to which Brunei and Malaysia's relationship issues affect Pelita Brunei's reporting from the period of 1957 to 1970. This research has a historical theme and fully uses qualitative methods. Sources and materials are obtained from major archives and libraries such as the National Archives of Malaysia, the National Archives of Brunei Darussalam, the National Library of Malaysia, and local university libraries throughout Malaysia and other countries. The results of the study found that Pelita Brunei played an important role in conveying issues related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia from 1957 until 1970. The newspaper also became one of the main mediums in the Brunei Government's efforts to form their own nation state. At the same time, it can be seen that several important issues related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia became the focus of this newspaper during the period mentioned. For example, issues related to the formation of Malaysia, education and security issues of Brunei were highlighted during the period.

Keywords: *Brunei, Malaysia, Pelita Brunei, International relation, International politics*

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Hubungan Malaysia dan Brunei dalam Pelita Brunei, 1957-1970

Abstrak

Kebanyakan kajian yang sedia ada berkaitan hubungan Brunei dan Malaysia tidak menggunakan Pelita Brunei sebagai sumber utama kajian meskipun akhbar ini telah menjadi lidah rasmi Kerajaan Brunei sejak tahun 1956. Hakikatnya, akhbar ini memainkan peranan penting dalam memberikan maklumat berkaitan hubungan antara Brunei dan Malaysia pada tempoh yang telah dinyatakan. Oleh itu, kajian ini ingin melihat sejauh mana isu hubungan Brunei dan Malaysia mempengaruhi liputan Pelita Brunei dari tahun 1957 hingga 1970. Kajian ini bertemakan sejarah dan menggunakan kaedah kualitatif sepenuhnya. Sumber dan bahan diperoleh dari Arkib Negara Malaysia, Arkib Negara Brunei Darussalam, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, perpustakaan universiti awam seluruh Malaysia dan beberapa pusat sumber lain. Hasil kajian mendapati, Pelita Brunei memainkan peranan penting dalam menyampaikan isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan hubungan antara Brunei dan Malaysia dari tahun 1957 hingga 1970. Akhbar ini juga menjadi salah satu media utama dalam usaha kerajaan Brunei membentuk negara bangsa mereka sendiri. Pada masa yang sama, dapat dilihat bahawa beberapa isu penting yang berkaitan dengan hubungan antara Brunei dan Malaysia menjadi tumpuan akhbar ini semasa tempoh yang dinyatakan. Sebagai contoh, isu berkaitan dengan pembentukan Malaysia, pendidikan dan soal keselamatan Brunei.

Kata Kunci: *Brunei, Malaysia, Pelita Brunei, Hubungan antarabangsa, Politik antarabangsa*

Introduction

The development of correspondence and newspapers in Malaya, Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak in the 19th and 20th centuries was concentrated in Singapore, which has become a focal point for journalists, writers, literary experts, and film stars to work. This has indirectly contributed to the development of the printing and newspaper publishing industry. This situation has led to the emergence of Malay newspapers that play a major role in the intellectual, social, and political development of the Malay community either before or after the independence of Malaya and the formation of Malaysia. Newspapers not only record current events,

but also reflect the level of thinking and the quality of the society. In the early stages, the Malay press did not just broadcast current news of a general nature. In fact, at a certain level, early Malay newspapers showed their use as a method for Malays to express the specific needs of their readers (Hamedi Mohd Adnan, 2015).

This can be seen from the existence of newspapers that specialize in education, entertainment, religion, the voice of associations or organizations and politics. Looking at the existence of the newspaper system in Malaya, the early phase of the Malay newspaper before independence and the formation of the idea of Malaysia showed its writing characteristics that used Jawi script and there were certain magazines that used Roman script (Mohd Shahrul Azha Mohd Sharif et al., 2022). In addition, the publication of newspapers that is so lively in Malaya has also been driven by the introduction of printing press technology. For example, a printing press that uses a letter block system (Mohd Shahrul Azha Mohd Sharif et al., 2021). In the decade of the 1950s, various newspapers were found to have appeared which were likened to mushrooms growing after the rain. Brunei also published their first newspaper although it was slow compared to the publication of newspapers in Malaya including Sabah, and Sarawak. *Pelita Brunei* newspaper is the first official newspaper for the Brunei government. *Pelita Brunei* was first published in 1956 in cyclostyle form by the Brunei Government Information Office (Jabatan Penerangan Negara Brunei Darussalam,12 November 2021). *Pelita Brunei* presents many current issues and government plans. It can be said that Pelita Brunei is used by the government as a medium of notification about the actions of the government as well as current issues that happened at that time. One of the main issues reported by the newspaper between 1957 until 1970 was related to the issue on Brunei and Malaysia's relations. Therefore, this study examines the extent to which Brunei and Malaysia relationship issues affect the reporting of *Pelita Brunei* during the period.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted using the historical research and qualitative research methods. Several actions and processes were carried out such as criticism, analysis, heuristics and historiography in an effort for this

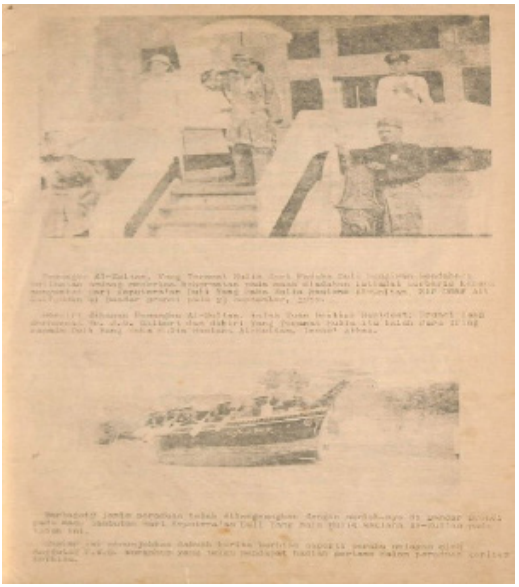
research to achieve objectivity in historical research. Like other historical research, library research was used to collect primary and secondary sources. The researchers visited major archives and libraries such as the National Archives of Malaysia, the National Archives of Brunei Darussalam, the National Library of Malaysia, and the libraries of public higher education institutes throughout Malaysia, and other countries, to collect the sources mentioned. This research relied heavily on official documents such as *Pelita Brunei*, academic journals, and relevant books.

This research began with a heuristic process, which is the collection of sources such as*Pelita Brunei*, official documents and others that have important information related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia from 1957 to 1970. These sources were scrutinized in depth as it contains all actions, thoughts and important information related to the matter stated. The next process is source criticism where the sources obtained were compared with other records such as books, journals, scientific exercises and so on. This process is important to determine the truth and validity of the sources obtained, in order to remove inaccurate information related to this research topic. Next, this research went through an analysis process involving conclusions based on primary and secondary sources. This process produced a synthesis of the stated sources and presented the findings of the study. The last process involved the process of writing history or known as historical historiography. Thus, historical research was achieved upon the completion of the processes mentioned.

Background of *Pelita Brunei*

Newspapers play a major role in the intellectual, social, and political development of the Malay community (Hamedi Mohd Adnan, 2015; Kershaw, 1984). *Pelita Brunei* is the first official newspaper for the Brunei government. The name 'Pelita' is taken from the word 'pelita' which means a lamp that illuminates the darkness. The name is in line with the objective of Pelita Brunei which serves to give understanding and explanation about the government's efforts, especially to people living in remote areas. For the first time, *Pelita Brunei* was published by the Information Office of the Government of Brunei on 15 February 1956 and was entirely in Roman script. The first publication was in the form of

a cyclostyle which allowed many copies to be produced. For example, the first edition of *Pelita Brunei* newspaper was printed as many as 300 copies and distributed free to the people. It also released its papers twice a month. At the beginning of its publication. *Pelita Brunei* newspaper only contained writings. Only later it started using pictures. For example, in the November 1, 1957 publication, *Pelita Brunei* contained four pictures in its content (Edisi Khas Jubli Nilam *Pelita Brunei*, 15 Februari 2021).



Picture 1: *Pelita Brunei* Newspaper Clipping
Source: *Pelita Brunei*, 1 November 1957

Picture 1 shows a newspaper clipping published in *Pelita Brunei* in November 1957 that included pictures in its publication. The picture is loaded using the block method. This shows the renewal shown in the Pelita Brunei newspaper even though it has only been over a year since its first publication date. At the start of February 18, 1959, *Pelita Brunei* began its printing using Linotype printing machines. Newspaper printing was carried out by Brunei Press Ltd. in Kuala Belait until 1964 (Edisi Khas Jubli Nilam *Pelita Brunei*, 15 Februari 2021). Printing using a machine allows the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper to be produced in a larger

size than before which was only A4 size. The content of the newspaper was also seen to be more organized and systematic after the newspaper was printed using a machine. The evidence can be seen in Picture 2:

PELITA BRUNEI

PADA HARI RABU PERTAMA DAN KETIGA

Jambatan Edinburgh untok mengingatkan lawatan ka-Brunei

JADUAL PENOH LAWATAN DUKE

Persidangan khas Majlis Meshuarat Negeri

SULTAN KETUA ROMBONGAN

Picture 2: *Pelita Brunei* Newspaper Clipping
Source: *Pelita Brunei*, 19 Februari 1959

Through Picture 2, it can be seen that the arrangement of content in the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper was more systematic compared to printing using a cyclostyle. The printed picture can also be seen more clearly. By using a printing machine, *Pelita Brunei* newspaper printing can be produced once a week, namely every Wednesday. The printing company was later replaced by The Star Press Company on 9 July 1965. Printing from The Star Press Company was stopped and replaced by the Government Printing Department using Offset printing machines in 1976. In 1983, the quality of *Pelita Brunei*'s newspaper printing increased when the Government Printing Department uses Web Offset machines. This shows that the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper has undergone a transition from printing using a cyclostyle to a printing machine. The printing machines used were also increasingly sophisticated, improving the quality of the print results and increasing the amount of newspaper production.

Since the first edition of Pelita Brunei publication, Bahasa Melayu has been used entirely in newspaper writing. On 6 January 1961, a page from this newspaper was published in Chinese known as 'Pai li ta pao' or 'Bai li da bao' for the needs of the Chinese community. This can be said to be an effort by the Brunei government to attract Chinese readers to read the *Pelita Brunei*newspaper. However, the Chinese version was discontinued in the early 80s and replaced by an English version. On September 24, 1980, the English version was also discontinued which led to the complete re-use of Malay in the writing of Pelita Brunei newspaper (Edisi Khas Jubli Nilam *Pelita Brunei*, 15 Februari 2021).

If viewed chronologically, the Pelita Brunei newspaper has undergone many changes and improvements throughout its publication. Since it was first published, the Sultan of Brunei has given an order to *Pelita Brunei* This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"Saya sangat sukachita mengetahui yang Pejabat Penerangan kita telah mengeluarkan berita Keraja'an "Pelita Brunei" yang dapat dibacha oleh pendudok2 Negeri, terutama oleh pendudok2 yang jauh dari pekan2, yang diam didarat2 dan diulu2. Saya perchaya berita yang dapat mencheritakan perjalanan dan usaha2 Keraja'an dari satu masa kasatu masa akan memberi peluang kapada pendudok2 semua mengikuti atas keadaan kemajuan Negeri, dan perkhidmatan2 yang dijalankan bagi kebajikan mereka."*
>
> *(Pelita Brunei* 15 February 1956)
>
> *I am very happy to know that our Information Office has released the "Pelita Brunei" government news that can be read by the people of the State, especially by the people who are far from the towns, who live on the land and in the countryside. I believe that news that can tell the journey and efforts of the Government from one time to another will give the people the opportunity to follow the progress of the State, and the services that are carried out for their welfare.*
>
> *(Pelita Brunei* 15 February 1956)

The quote shows that the Sultan of Brunei also supports the publication of the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper. This is because the purpose of publishing the newspaper is to provide information to the people regarding national development goals, government policies that include the well-being of the

people, important announcements and changes related to the interests of the people and the country. Not only that, the content of *Pelita Brunei*has been supplemented with interesting advertisements to be able to attract the attention of readers from all walks of life. Thus, *Pelita Brunei* received a good response from the people and the improvements made allowed the newspaper to improve the quality of its publications.

Background of Malaysia-Brunei Relations

The relationship between Malaysia and Brunei has certainly gained attention among scholars around the world. Since the establishment of Malaysia, the conflicts or issues that arise between these two countries have been widely studied by local and foreign historians. In general, many people know that the establishment of Malaysia was opposed by the left-wing Bruneians led by A. M. Azahari. The idea of Malaysia proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman not only covers Singapore, but also includes Sabah, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei (Abdul Halim Ramli & Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 2012). The dissatisfaction of the people of Brunei was triggered by A. M. Azahari and led to the rebellion. Azahari led his underground army known as the North Kalimantan National Army or Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara (TNKU) and staged a rebellion against the Brunei government on 8 December 1962. However, the resistance did not achieve its major objective of kidnapping Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien and failed to capture the city of Brunei. In the end, this rebellion was thwarted by the Brunei government with the help of the British army, the Malayan police force and the Gurkha battalion. This rebellion has to some extent influenced Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien's decision regarding Brunei's participation in the idea of Malaysia. Originally, the sultan of Brunei was interested in Tunku Abdul Rahman's proposal as it could help address the communist threat that was rampant at the time. However, the Sultan of Brunei decided to reject the entry of Brunei into Malaysia due to some of the demands made could not be fulfilled (Mohd Afendi Daud et al., 2021).

After Brunei refused to participate in the establishment of Malaysia, the relationship between the two countries became tense. This had an impact on Brunei's education policy, namely the 1962 Education Policy, especially in placing Malay as the main language of every school. The

failure of the 1962 Education Policy did not stop the Brunei government from continuously improving the education system in Brunei. This caused Brunei to issue a new education policy, namely the 1972 Education Policy.

The 1972 Education Policy is said to have emerged due to the influence of race riots in Malaysia that occurred on 13 May 1969. (Awg Asbol Mail, 2020). The incident of racial riots has caused the Malaysian government to take more decisive steps in the aspect of education by implementing the National Education Policy. The policy provides for Bahasa Melayu as the medium of instruction in all schools regardless of English, Tamil or Chinese schools. This was done to foster the spirit of racial unity in Malaysia and thus prevent the incident of the 1969 Racial Riot from happening again. Seeing the approach taken by Malaysia, Brunei implemented the 1972 Education Policy by emphasizing Islamic education subjects in every school. However, Brunei's education policy once again failed to be implemented. This is because Brunei needs Malaysia's help in terms of teaching staff, textbooks and the examination system (Awg Asbol Mail, 2020). However, relations between Malaysia and Brunei at that time were quite strained due to factors such as Malaysian prison wardens helping some former leaders of the Brunei People's Party to escape and Bruneian students who opposed the government having fled to Malaysia.

The relationship between the two countries became even more tensed when Brunei ordered its students who were studying in Malaysia to return to the country for fear that they would be influenced by Malaysia to oppose the Brunei government. This matter had indirectly caused a negative effect on the 1972 Education Policy implemented by Brunei. This is because Brunei's education policy wanted to make the Malay language as the main language in every school. The conflict between both countries hindered the effort because Brunei required Malaysia's help in terms of textbooks and teaching staff to realize the dream. Not only that, but this also closes the opportunity for Bruneian students of Malay descent to continue their education in Malaysia, even though Malaysia has an education system that puts Malay as the medium of instruction (Awg Asbol Mail, 2020). Clearly, the relationship conflict between Malaysia and Brunei had a large influence towards the education policy that Brunei wanted to implement.

Conflicts or issues that arise in Malaysia-Brunei relations can also be seen through the border dispute over Limbang. This dispute has arisen since 1979 when Brunei claimed Limbang which was then managed by the Sarawak government. The loss of Limbang caused a severe setback for Brunei's politics and economy. This is because, Limbang has a river basin that supplies food to Brunei, so Brunei does not want to lose Limbang. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"... the ruling sultans had already ceded successive river basins along the north-west coast of the island in exchange for much needed revenue. But the Limbang basin, once described as the 'rice-bowl' of Brunei, was held dear by the sultans, not least because of its strategic importance in the heart of the country."*
>
> (Mark Cleary & Brian Shaw, 1992)

Through the passage, it can be seen that the sultan of Brunei does not want to lose Limbang because the Limbang basin is one of the main food supplies for Brunei. Not only that, Limbang's strategic position is also a factor for Brunei to reclaim Limbang. This is because, the loss of Limbang will cause the Brunei region to split into two. This claim is also often used as a political agenda between Malaysia and Brunei. Negotiations on the Limbang claim issue have lasted for 30 years. Throughout the negotiation period, Malaysia and Brunei agreed to stop oil and gas extraction in the Limbang region. This is done to avoid the emergence of other issues that can complicate the process of negotiating rights over Limbang. However, this issue was resolved in 2009 after Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah (Sultan of Brunei) and Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi signed 'The Exchange of Letters'. Brunei has withdrawn its claim over Limbang and Malaysia has full control of the area (Ade Hendro Agustri Manalu 1979).

The Brunei-Malaysia Issue in *Pelita Brunei*, 1957-1984

Issues of the Formation of Malaysia

The formation of Malaysia proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman is one of the main issues reported by Pelita Brunei. This is because, the formation has provided for the combination of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore,

Sarawak, North Borneo (Sabah) and Brunei. At the beginning of the plan presented, the Sultan of Brunei gave a positive reaction. On 18 July 1962, the Sultan of Brunei (Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin) made a statement in the Brunei State Assembly as follows:

> *'... Beta telah menyatakan bahawa pada pandangan beta sendiri, chadangan ini ia-lah chadangan yang menarek hati kerana tali perhubongan, agama, bangsa, adat resam dan kebudayaan di-antara negeri ini dengan negeri2 yang terkandong di-dalam rancangan ini ada-lah serupa dan kokoh. Dan beta telah memerentah agar Kerajaan beta mendapatkan pendapat2 ra'ayat di-atas chadangan Ranchangan Melayu Raya ini."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 August 1962)
>
> *"…I have stated that in my own view, this event is a heart-wrenching event because the relationship, religion, race, customs and culture between this country and the countries included in this master plan are similar and strong. Thus, I have ordered that my Government get the opinions of the people on the proposal of the Malay Raya Plan."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 August 1962)

Through the passage, it can be seen that Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin showed interest in the formation of Malaysia proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman. This is because, he considers the states included in the plan to have many similarities and are in good relations. However, it can be seen that the Sultan of Brunei showed wisdom by not making his own decisions but he chose to accept opinions from the people. With that, the Government of Brunei formed a commission to get the views of the people, if they agree, what conditions need to be faced and if they don't agree, what are the reasons. The Sultan of Brunei also gave an opinion that his decision in accepting the policy of the Formation of Malaysia has not been finalized, but he first sees the benefits and profits if Brunei participates in the formation.

Hearing the order put forward by the Sultan of Brunei, several ministers and heads of Brunei supported the Sultan of Brunei to accept the policy of Malaysia's plan. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *“ Satu rombongan 25 orang Menteri2 Darat, Penghulu2 dan Ketua2 Kampong di-Daerah Tutong, dengan di-ketuai oleh Penyurat Haji Abu Bakar bin Jambul telah mengadap Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan Brunei Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin di-Istana Darul Hana baharu2 ini kerana menyembahkan uchapan sokongan mereka yang kuat dan tegoh terhadap titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia yang menerima ranchangan penubohan Persekutuan Melayu Raya itu pada dasar-nya.”*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 September 1962)

> *“A group of 25 Land Ministers, Penghulu and Village Heads in the Tutong district, led by Haji Abu Bakar bin Jambul, the scriber, had met His Majesty Maulana Al-Sultan Brunei Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin at Istana Darul Hana recently to show their strong and steadfast support for the order of His Majesty the King who accepted the plan to establish the Federation of Melayu Raya.”*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 September 1962)

Through the following excerpts, several ministers and heads of Brunei have shown their support for the Sultan of Brunei who accepted the principles of Malaysia’s formation plan. The support was made after the following ministers held a meeting to study and refine the Sultan of Brunei’s speech. For them, the wise decision made by the Sultan of Brunei to accept the plan for the establishment of Malaysia allowed the Brunei government to participate in the negotiation of the formation. Not only that, the Brunei government was also able to see the true direction in the formation of Malaysia which was still being questioned by the people at that time.

The negotiation of the plan for the formation of Malaysia has been disrupted due to rebellion or rebellion by the Brunei People’s Party. This is because the party wants to reject Brunei’s participation in Malaysia and overthrow the Brunei government. This proves that the party has a great goal to overthrow the government by using force (firearms) and establish a Republic Government in Brunei (*Pelita Brunei*, 31 Disember 1962). However, the rebellion was successfully defeated by the Bruneian police force and the help of the British armed forces. With that, Brunei continued to send representatives to Malaya to discuss the plan for the formation of Malaysia and to present Brunei’s conditions. The conditions were as follows:

1. The Federation of Malaysia must be formed voluntarily between the states in the Federation of Malaya, the State of Brunei, Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore.
2. The special interests of the country and the people of Brunei must be recognized and protected in accordance with the guarantees given to His Majesty by the Government of the Federation of Malaya (*Pelita Brunei,* 3 July 1963).

Several consultations were held between Brunei and the Federation of Malaya, but no real results have been found. This is because the discussion on Brunei's oil products were not agreed upon by both parties. Even after several consultations were carried out, no consensus had been reached between the Federation of Malaya and the Brunei government. Finally, on 17 July 1963, the Sultan of Brunei ordered to make a final decision for Brunei's refusal to join the formation of Malaysia. This can be seen through his following command:

> *"Oleh itu sa-te'ah mengkaji dengan sa-habis teliti akan semua hal2 mengenai soal ini, maka Beta dan Kerajaan Beta telah membuat keputusan bahawa kepentingan bagi kebajikan kebaikan Brunei dan ra'ayat-nya tidak akan dapat terchapai dengan kita memasoki Persekutuan Malaysia yang di-chadangkan itu pada waktu ini."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)
>
> *"Therefore, after carefully studying all the matters related to this matter, me and my Government have made a decision that the interests of the welfare of Brunei and its people will not be achieved by us entering the Federation of Malaysia suggested at this time."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)

Through the passage, it can be seen that the Sultan of Brunei has given the final decision of the government to the people regarding Brunei's refusal to join Malaysia. This is because the Sultan of Brunei considers the state and the people of Brunei will not be able to protect their interests if Brunei joins Malaysia after the conditions presented had been rejected. Nevertheless, the Sultan of Brunei stated that the decision was made peacefully and he still wants to continue good relations with the states that participated in the formation of Malaysia. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"Ada-lah sesunggoh-nya menjadi dasar Kerajaan Beta untok memelihara dan memperkukoh-kan perasaan kebajikan muhibbah yang ujud sa-bagai anutan di-antara kita sa-kalian dan Beta suka menjelaskan bahawa keputusan tidak memasoki Malaysia itu bukan-lah satu langkah yang berlawanan dengan hasrat berbaik2 pada memelihara dan mempereratkan tali kebaikan persahabatan muhibbah dengan jiran2 kita yang memasoki Malaysia."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)

> *"It is vital as the basis of my Government is to preserve and strengthen the feeling of goodwill that exists as a bond among us all and I would like to explain that the decision not to unite with Malaysia is not a step that goes against good intentions to maintain and strengthen the bonds of good friendship and goodwill with our neighbours who agree to be part of Malaysia."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)

The following quote shows the desire of the Sultan of Brunei to continue to establish good relations with the neighboring states that have participated in the formation of Malaysia. With that, it can be seen that from the beginning of planning the formation of Malaysia, *Pelita Brunei* plays an important role in conveying information related to Brunei as long as they are involved in participating in the idea of Malaysia. Although Brunei decided not to join the idea of Malaysia, it can be seen through this newspaper, the government was trying to convince its people of the wisdom of the steps taken by the Sultan of Brunei through his statement that he was seen to be concerned with the well-being of his people rather than joining Malaysia. This shows that the Sultan of Brunei uses *Pelita Brunei* in the social construction of the people of Brunei with his ideas and thoughts. In fact, during the stated period, Sultan Omar Ali Saiffuddien was shaping Brunei towards their own nation state. It is clear that His Majesty has used *Pelita Brunei* for the stated purpose and His Majesty's actions were seen as a new social control as *Pelita Brunei* was fully under the control of the Brunei Government.

Education Issues

Before the formation of Malaysia, there was an interaction between Malaya and Brunei in terms of education. This interaction happened as Brunei sent their students and teachers to study and practice in Malaya. This is because the level of education in Malaya at that time was quite

good compared to Brunei. For example, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper issued on 6 April 1960, contained a section stating that 20 students would be sent to Malaya the following year. This can be proven through the following quote:

> *"Dua puloh orang penuntut dari negeri ini akan di-hantar ka-University of Malaya di-Singapura dan Kuala Lumpur dalam tahun hadapan kerana mempelajari berbagai2 ilmu."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 6 April 1960)

> *"Twenty students from this state will be sent to the University of Malaya in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur in the next year to pursue their studies in various field."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 6 April 1960)

The following excerpt shows that the Brunei government will send their students to Malaya to learn various skills. Among those skills are science, agriculture, technology and others (Pelita Brunei, 6 April 1960). Not only that, Brunei has also recruited teaching staff from Malaya to help with learning sessions in Brunei. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"... beliau2 itu telah menemui 85 orang guru2 ugama dari Singapura dan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Di-antara bilangan tersebut, 34 orang telah di-pileh untok berkhidmat di-negeri ini. Pada masa ini 70 orang guru2 ugama, kebanyakan-nya dari Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengajar di-tiga puloh empat buah sekolah2 ugama. Sekolah2 ugama itu bertempat di-sekolah2 Melayu di-Negeri Brunei ..."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 21 September 1960)

> *"…He had met 85 religious teachers from Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. Among that number, 34 people have been selected to serve in this state. Currently, 70 religious teachers, mostly from the Federation of Malaya, teach in thirty-four religious schools. The religious schools are in Malay schools in the State of Brunei…"*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 21 September 1960)

Through the quote above, it can be seen that the Brunei government has increased the number of religious teachers from the Federation of Malaya and Singapore to teach religious knowledge to students in Brunei. This shows that since the beginning, Brunei used teaching staff from the Federation of Malaya to assist learning sessions in Brunei.

After the formation of Malaysia in the early stages, Brunei's relationship with Malaysia in terms of education was still in good condition. Although Brunei did not reach a final word in the negotiations on the formation of Malaysia, they still maintained relations with the country. As evidence, in October 1963, Bruneian religious officials and teachers visited Malaysia for three weeks to receive further training in education (Pelita Brunei, 6 November 1963). Not only in the religious aspect, Brunei Scout teachers were also sent to Malaysia to attend the course. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"... tujuan menghantarkan Guru2 Pengakap tersebut untok menghadiri Kursus Jurulateh Pengakap itu ia-lah supaya membolehkan mereka menubohkan satu pasokan pelateh untok melateh Pengakap2 tempatan ..."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 18 December 1963)

> *"…the purpose of sending the Scout Teachers to attend the Scout Coach Course is to enable them to create a group of Scouts trainer to train the local Scout…"*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 18 December 1963)

According to *Pelita Brunei*, it was the first initiative in sending Scout teachers to Kuala Lumpur for training. This effort allows Brunei Scout teachers to gain exposure and thus improve their skills to be able to train local Scouts if they return to Brunei. This shows that Brunei and Malaysia still had good relations after the formation of Malaysia.

However, the education aspect between Malaysia and Brunei became increasingly strained when the relationship between the two countries had become tense. As a result of the issue of Brunei's claim to the Limbang region which is one of Sarawak's regions, to some extent it has affected the relationship between Malaysia and Brunei in terms of education. If seen throughout 1970, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper did not publish a single piece of news about the educational relationship between Brunei and Malaysia which had previously been frequently exposed to the people. Through the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper, the relationship in the aspect of education is established between the governments of Brunei and Singapore only. This can be seen in the picture below:

KHUTBAH JUMA'AT

KOLERA: PENGASINGAN JEMAAH2 HAJI UNTOK MEMBOLEHKAN MEREKA MENUJU KA-TANAH SUCHI

1,083 orang penuntut akan memasoki peroksa Ugama

Waktu2 Sembahyang, Imsak dan Matahari Terbit

Picture 3: *Pelita Brunei* Newspaper Clipping
Source: *Pelita Brunei*, 4 February 1970

Picture 3 shows an issue of the *Pelita Brunei*newspaper which only provides education relations between Brunei and Singapore. Whereas previously, Malaysia was Brunei's main focus for sending its students to continue their studies abroad. Not only that, in 1970, Brunei experienced a shortage of teaching staff because Brunei did not get help from Malaysia. This caused Brunei to only be able to borrow teaching staff from Singapore as there were not enough teaching staff in Brunei. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"Kita telah berusaha meminjam guru2 dari negara jiran kita. Tahun lepas kita dapat 10 orang dari Singapura dan tahun ini kita akan chuba menchari lagi. Di-samping itu, Jabatan Pelajaran juga sedang memenohi Maktab Perguruan dengan menggalakkan penuntut2 yang lulus S.C atau SPM dan G.E.C supaya mahu berlateh menjadi guru."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 21 January 2970)

> *"We have tried to hire teachers from our neighbouring countries. Last year we were able to hire 10 teachers from Singapore and this year we will continue to get more. In addition to that, the Department of Education is also supporting Teachers' Colleges enrollment by encouraging students who pass their S.C or SPM and G.E.C examination to apply as trainee teachers."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 21 January 2970)

The quote before shows Brunei in a situation of shortage of teaching staff. The number of teachers borrowed from Singapore was insufficient to teach the schools in Brunei at that time. This caused Brunei to take its own initiative by encouraging qualified Bruneian students to train to become teachers. Thus, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper did not discuss the education aspect of Malaysia-Brunei after the occurrence of another conflict that affected the relationship between the two countries.

Brunei Security Issues

Police training is an important aspect to improve the quality and efficiency of police officers and ensure security in Brunei. With that, Brunei has taken steps to send Brunei police personnel to Malaysia to undergo training. This can be proven through the following quote:

> *"Dua puloh orang Pelateh2 Pulis Brunei akan belayar ka-Singapura melalui Labuan dalam perjalanan mereka ka-Kuala Lumpur sadikit hari lagi untok berlateh di-sana."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 4 December 1963)

> *"Twenty Bruneian police officers will depart to Singapore via Labuan on their way to Kuala Lumpur in a few days for the training."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 4 December 1963)

Through the following passage, it can be proven that the Brunei police have been sent to Kuala Lumpur to receive training. The Brunei police trainees will receive training from the Royal Malaysian Police Training Center. However, there was a conflict that caused tension between the two countries, which was regarding the position of the officers sent by Malaysia to Brunei who were said to be treated badly. Brunei found out about this when a news story appeared on the front page of the Malaysian newspaper about the position of the officers sent by Malaysia who were serving in Brunei. In the Pelita Brunei newspaper, the Brunei government has denied the statement. This can be seen in the quote below:

> *"Berita2 itu sangat-lah mendukachitakan dan tidak dapat diterima sama sekali, kerana berita2 itu ada-lah bertentangan dengan keadaan yang sa-benar-nya mengenai perhubongan Pegawai2 tersebut dengan ra'ayat dan Kerajaan Negeri Brunei. Tudohan itu yang menyatakan bahawa Pegawai2 Pinjaman dari Malaysia telah di-anggap oleh orang2 Brunei sebagai 'penjajah berkulit hitam' dan mereka telah diberi layanan yang tidak sa-wajar-nya oleh Kerajaan Brunei ada-lah tudohan dan anggapan yang tidak berasas sama sekali."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 January 1964)

> *"The news reported (by the Malaysian newspaper) is improper and saddened us, thus cannot be accepted at all, because the news is contrary to the actual situation regarding the relationship between the officials and the people and the Brunei State Government. The allegation that the expatriate of Malaysia has been regarded by the Bruneians as 'black-skinned colonists' and that they have been treated unfairly by the Government of Brunei is a serious allegation and assumption that is equally baseless."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 January 1964)

Through the content of the Pelita Brunei newspaper, it can be seen that the Brunei government did not agree with the statement issued by the Malaysian newspaper. This is so because the Brunei government provided services and facilities suitable for the position and level of the officers. Brunei also stated that they did not differentiate the treatment of officials from Malaysia and from other states. The Brunei government also welcomes representatives from Malaysia if they wanted to investigate the issue that could affect the relationship between the two countries.

Although there have been issues that have clouded the relationship between the two countries, the issue of sending police officers to Malaysia to follow the training program was still ongoing. This proves Brunei's dependence on Malaysia in this matter. This was proven in the publication of Pelita Brunei newspaper in 1970, there was still content on sending police officers to Kuala Lumpur for training purposes. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"Sa-ramai dua puloh orang anggota pulis di-raja Brunei telah berlepas ka-Malaysia Barat pada hari Ahad lepas untok menjalani latehan di-Pusat Latehan Pulis di-Kuala Lumpur. Sa-puloh orang daripada mereka akan menjalani kursus bagi pemandu2 kereta dan 10 orang yang lainnya akan menjalani kursus dalam bahagian semboyan."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 April 1970)

> *"A total of twenty members of the Royal Brunei Police Force left for West Malaysia last Sunday to undergo training at the Police Training Center in Kuala Lumpur. Ten of them will undergo a course for car drivers and the rest will be trained in the signal section."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 April 1970)

In the passage, it is clear that Brunei sent their policemen for training in Kuala Lumpur despite the fact that there were several conflicts that arise between both countries. The efforts were continously implemented then as intensive police training will improve the security aspect of the country. With proper training in Malaysia, the quality and efficiency of the Brunei police officers will be indirectly enhanced.

Apart from police officers, Brunei soldiers also receive military training in Malaysia. For example, before the conflict mentioned earlier, Brunei soldiers had already undergone training in Malaysia. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"Semua parajurit Askar Melayu Brunei, di-ketuai oleh Second Lieutenant Sulaiman bin Awang Damit yang telah balek ka-Brunei dalam bulan Oktober yang lalu kerana berchuti di-Tanah Ayer akan berangkat balek ka-Negeri Sembilan pada hari Isnin 25 November untok meneruskan latehan di-Perkhemahan Siginting."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 20 November 1963)

> *"All soldiers from Askar Melayu Brunei (Brunei Malay Regiment), led by Second Lieutenant Sulaiman bin Awang Damit will be departed for Negeri Sembilan on Monday, 25 November, to continue their training in Siginting Camp. Sulaiman will resume his duty after completing his annual leave in Brunei since October."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 20 November 1963)

The following quote shows that Brunei soldiers have undergone training in Malaysia or specifically in Negeri Sembilan. They only returned for a short vacation in Brunei and will resume their training in November

1963. After the conflict, the training of Brunei soldiers in Malaysia was not affected at all and still continues. This can be seen through the content of Pelita Brunei newspaper on 19 February 1964:

> *"Seramai 46 orang anggota2 Askar Melayu Brunei telah kembali ka-Brunei dengan kapal laut dari Negeri Sembilan pada tengah hari 12 Februari untok berchuti di-Tanah Ayer..... Anggota2 Askar Melayu tersebut di-jadualkan balek ka-Negeri Sembilan pada awal bulan March."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 19 February 1964)

> *"A total of 46 members of the Brunei Malay Regiment have returned to Brunei by sea from Negri Sembilan on the afternoon of February 12 for their annual leave...The soldiers are scheduled to return to Negri Sembilan at the beginning of March."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 19 February 1964)

Through the passage, it can be seen that the training of Bruneian soldiers in Malaysia was still continuing and not stopped despite the conflict between Malaysia and Brunei at that time involving Malaysian government officials. Thus, it can be seen that Brunei still attaches importance to the training of their security officers in Malaysia because Brunei's security officers competency had not yet reached a sufficient level. In conclusion, Brunei still needs Malaysia to help the improvement and efficiency for the trained Brunei's officers as it strengthened security in Brunei.

Implications of the Report on Brunei-Malaysia Relations Issues, 1957-1967

Forming the Trust of the People of Brunei

*Pelita Brunei*functions in forming the trust of the people so that they believe in the actions and decisions made by the government. This is so because every content published in the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper was in favor of the Brunei government. The production of *Pelita Brunei* newspaper definitely be in favour of the government and writing that convinces the people against every action of the government. This can be seen through the production of the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper throughout the issue of the formation of Malaysia which also involved Brunei.

As discussed at the beginning of the writing, Brunei was interested in the formation of Malaysia proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman. In the early stages, the publication of the Pelita Brunei newspaper showed the government's efforts to obtain the people's opinion on the formation. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

> *"Pendapat2 dari seluroh ra'ayat di-negeri ini akan di-minta berhubong dengan ranchangan Melayu Raya yang meliputi negeri2 Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Sarawak, Sabah dan Brunei yang di-anjorkan oleh Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Tengku Abdul Rahman."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 20 December 1961)

> *"The public opinions will be sought on the proposed idea for Ranchangan Melayu Raya (Melayu Raya Plan) which covers the states of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei which is recommended by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 20 December 1961)

The following excerpt shows that the Brunei government wanted the people's opinion first about the formation of Malaysia. If seen in that aspect, the following notification was the Brunei government's initial disclosure to the people regarding the formation of Malaysia. It was also issued to show that the Sultan of Brunei will not take a decision without considering the opinion of the people even though the decision was in the hands of the sultan. With the revelation about the formation of Malaysia, the Brunei government was able to see the reaction of the people and take the next step in the negotiations.

Immediately upon the exposure to the people of the idea of the formation of Malaysia, the newspaper Pelita Brunei has published news about the order of the Sultan of Brunei who was interested in the formation. Pelita Brunei newspaper shows the benefits and advantages that can be obtained for the people if Brunei joins Malaysia. This can be seen through the following quote:

> *"... Ranchangan Melayu Raya ini ada-lah berfaedah akan menambahkan kema'amoran kapada ra'ayat beta dengan sebab ada-nya Persekutuan yang mengandongi lebeh kurang 10 juta orang maka bertambah luas-lah pasaran di-dalam dan di-luar negeri yang berma'ana bahawa peluang2 bagi anak2 negeri akan bertambah."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 August 1962)

> *"…This Melayu Raya plan is great and beneficial because it will offer future prosperity to the local people as the Federation will be a home to more or less than 10 million people, thus the market will expand inside and outside the country which means that opportunities for our people will expand."*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 1 August 1962)

Through the quote, *Pelita Brunei* newspaper informed the people about the advantages of Brunei joining Malaysia. This was to convince the people to accept the decision if the Brunei government agreed to the formation of Malaysia. However, Brunei's participation was only subject to the conditions given by the Brunei government. The Government of Brunei will only join Malaysia if all the conditions submitted are accepted by the Federation of Malaya. Looking at the following, if interpreted carefully, basically the people's view of Brunei's participation may not really affect the government's decision. This is because even though the people unanimously expressed their support for Brunei's participation in the idea of Malaysia, the Brunei government would still reject the participation if Brunei's demands regarding the conditions of participation are not accepted by the Federation of Malaya.

After the Brunei government refused to participate in the formation of Malaysia, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper played a role in convincing the people that the decision made by the Sultan of Brunei was a wise decision. *Pelita Brunei* newspaper voiced that the sultan was very considerate of the interests and well-being of the people to the point that he refused to join Malaysia. This can be proven through the following quote:

> *"... Beta yakin bahawa keputusan tidak memasoki Persekutuan yang di-chadangkan itu di-masa ini ada-lah untok kepentingan kebajikan ra'ayat Brunei ..."* (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)

> *"…I am confident that the decision not to join the proposed Federation at this time is for the welfare and betterment of the people of Brunei…*
>
> (*Pelita Brunei*, 7 August 1963)

Through the following excerpt, it can be seen that the government told the decision not to join Malaysia was related to the welfare of the people of Brunei. However, Brunei's refusal to join Malaysia was generally focused

on economic aspects that were detrimental to the Brunei government and on the succession of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (YDPA) (Mohd Afendi Daud et al., 2021). The disadvantageous economic aspect was related to oil royalties which would affect the Brunei government's income if Brunei joins Malaysia. This is because Brunei will be taxed on petroleum products where Brunei will have to give 95 percent of the oil revenue to Kuala Lumpur and Brunei will only get 5 percent (Abdul Fajri, 2018). Looking at the losses, it is inevitable that the Brunei government will reject Malaysia's participation. Not only that, the turn regarding the sultan's ascension to the throne as YDPA was also not in favour of the Brunei government. These two main factors had led to Brunei's refusal to join Malaysia. However, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper did not publish content that showed the two factors in the decision not to join Malaysia. *Pelita Brunei* only stated that the government's decision was made after considering the impact on the well-being and prosperity of the people. There was no denying that the oil royalty issue would affect the people, but *Pelita Brunei* did not touch on the matter and only explained the government's concern for the well-being and prosperity of the people. Clearly, the *Pelita Brunei* newspaper played an important role as a government tool to convince the people to accept and agree with every decision made by the government.

TITAH BAGINDA
Kapada Pendudok2 Negara

Lord Selkirk
Dan
Sir Geofroy Tory
Mengadap
D.Y.M.M.

Laksamana
Sir David Lee

SUKAT WALAFIAT

Kerajaan Brunei Haramkan
Partai Ra'ayat Brunei

PASOKAN SAIKOLOJIKAL

Picture 4: *Pelita Brunei* Newspaper Clipping
Source: *Pelita Brunei*, 31 December 1962

If seen through Picture 4, this issue of rebellion has become the main issue in the publication of *Pelita Brunei* newspaper at that time. The *Pelita Brunei* newspaper also announced the banning of the Brunei People's Party which was the originator of the idea for the unrest that happened in Brunei at that time. This was done to prevent the people from falling into the spirit of rebellion led by the Brunei People's Party. People refused to get involved in the party. Clearly, *Pelita Brunei* played an important role as the voice of the government in condemning acts of rebellion or rebellion carried out by a group of irresponsible people and indirectly strengthening the loyalty of the people to the Sultan of Brunei.

Brunei Nation-State Building

Brunei during the reign of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien was headed towards the formation of a nation state. Under His Majesty's rule, Brunei successfully published their first newspaper, Pelita Brunei, which aimed to provide information to the people regarding national development goals, government policies that include the well-being of the people, important announcements and changes related to the interests of the people and the country. Evidences suggest that Sultan of Brunei uses this newspaper to display his efforts in forming the nation of Brunei itself. Some of news reported during His Majesty's reign included on the written constitution of the state of Brunei 1959, Bruneian politician A.M. Azahari and politics of the Brunei nation, Brunei People's Party, and the idea of Malaysia.

The formation of Malaysia in the early stages sparked when the idea of Malaysia Raya or the Federation of Malaysia was initiated by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman on 27 May 1961 was opened to Brunei, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. A series of negotiations was held in Kuala Lumpur, Brunei and London on the issue in the spirit of goodwill, but on some important matters, especially on the future guarantee of Brunei in the issue of oil resources which will only be held by Brunei for 10 years after merging with Malaysia. After that, it will be controlled by the central government. Likewise the annual payment of 40 million ringgit which was later increased to 60 million ringgit a year to the federal government until an understanding between the two sides failed to be reached. Finally, Brunei decided not to join Malaysia

in September 1963. As far as the event was concerned, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien's political policy was consistent with the desire to maintain the nation of Brunei alone without being linked to other countries. Previously, His Majesty also rejected the idea of Borneo Federation. Newspapers in the United Kingdom, the Federation of Malaya and other countries exaggerate the news of the Sultan of Brunei's rejection of the proposal as a mistake and a missed opportunity to gain independence for the nation of Brunei. Some also stated that the rejection was because His Majesty was not given the opportunity to become Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, while others indicated that it was due to oil politics. Although His Majesty welcomed the proposed establishment of the Federation of Malaysia, it did not mean that Brunei was going to join Malaysia. It highly depended on what could benefit the nation of Brunei (D.S Ranjit Singh 1991).

After Brunei decided not to join Malaysia, *Pelita Brunei* was seen to be more passionate about reporting news related to the formation of the nation of Brunei. The argument in this article clearly shows that the best way for the authorities to control society, dominance and monopoly over an issue through the press is the best strategy to do. The issue of the idea of Malaysia is seen as an opportunity for this newspaper to form the support and construct of the people for the government's actions and efforts towards the construction of a nation state. This newspaper realizes that they should act wisely in sensationalizing the nation state building issue through systematic planning. This article also argues that one of the strategies used by this newspaper was to gain support among readers through reports related to the construction of the nation of Brunei towards their independence.

In the process of building a nation state, especially leading to a government that is independent from colonial rule and has a democratic pattern, every leader and people of a nation state has its own way. The policy of diplomacy was practiced by Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien. His Majesty's success in enacting the Written Constitution of the State of Brunei in 1959 has led Brunei to the vision of an independent and sovereign nation state. This matter is seen to have been sensationally planned by *Pelita Brunei* in 1959. The emergence of this constitution abolished the position and authority of the British Resident in the administration of the

nation of Brunei and was replaced by the British High Commissioner. The role of the Resident who was responsible to the sultan for the administration of the state has been taken over by the Menteri Besar appointed by his Majesty. In order to manage the administration of the nation state well, under the jurisdiction of the Chief Minister, the positions of Government Secretary, Attorney General and National Finance Officer were created. In addition, the sultan gets advice from the State Assembly in the administration of the country. Although during the stated period, Brunei was still under the auspices of the British, His Majesty succeeded in strengthening the construction of the nation state of Brunei which became the pillar of his leadership dominated by the monarchy, Malay and Islamic systems (Awg Asbol Mail, 2008). Therefore, he can be said to be a charismatic leader in building the nation state of Brunei and Pelita Brunei acknowledged that His Majesty directly through the reporting of this newspaper from 1957 until 1970.

Conclusion

Pelita Brunei played an important role in conveying issues related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia from 1957 until 1970. In fact, this newspaper also became one of the main mediums in the Brunei Government's efforts to form their own nation state. From another aspect, the Government of Brunei was responsible for publishing and reporting through*Pelita Brunei* in the specified period. Through this newspaper, it can be seen clearly, the relationship between the government and the people can be brought closer through the social control carried out by the government. At the time, *Pelita Brunei* was considered the major newspaper in Brunei. It made it easier for the Government of Brunei to socially construct the population through the government's ideas and thoughts without interference of other newspapers. *Pelita Brunei* is considered the official newspaper for the Government of Brunei in representing the ideas, thoughts, and perceptions of the government on issues related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia in the period stated which coincides with the Soviet Media Theory. This can be seen clearly when Pelita Brunei acts as a government tool as in authoritarian theory. In fact, the ownership of Pelita Brunei by the Information Office of the Brunei Government was seen to reinforce the

theory stated (McNair, 2006). *Pelita Brunei* does not focus on profit, rather the news reports published were strictly controlled and not free. Based on news reports by this newspaper regarding the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia, it clearly shows that they were free to express any truth that was considered to be the truth by the government. For them, the people required close guidance and care and should not be exposed to information that opposes the government. Only information and ideas decided by the government will reach the people through official government channels.

At the same time, it can be seen that some important issues related to the relationship between Brunei and Malaysia such as the formation of Malaysia, and Brunei's education and security received the attention of this newspaper in the period mentioned. The issues stated are different from the background of the relationship between the two countries that have been discussed by past researchers. Thus the current research presents new findings related to the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and Brunei. As this study may only look into some parts of the relationship between both countries, future studies should conduct more studies that looks in depth on the relationship between Malaysia and Brunei.

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Pelita Brunei, 3 Julai 1963.

Pelita Brunei, 7 Ogos 1963.

Pelita Brunei, 6 November 1963.

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