



Ucapan-Ucapan

Tun Haji Abdul Razak Bin Hussein
1967
(Jilid I)

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PENDAHULUAN

Arkib Negara Malaysia merasa amat bangga kerana berjaya menerbitkan satu lagi siri ucapan Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak. Siri ini adalah merupakan Jilid I dari dua jilid yang akan diterbitkan. Jilid I ini mengandungi ucapan Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak bagi tempoh 1 Januari 1967 hingga 30 Jun 1967.

Sebagaimana yang diketahui Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak terkenal dengan gelaran Bapa Pembangunan. Oleh itu koleksi ucapan Allahyarham bagi tempoh ini tidak terlepas daripada usaha-usaha pembangunan terutamanya bagi kawasan luar bandar.

Tahun 1967 merupakan tahun kesepuluh negara mencapai kemerdekaan dan Kerajaan merasakan perlu negara mendaulatkan Bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa rasmi. Sehubungan dengan ini Rang Undang-Undang Bahasa Kebangsaan telah dibentangkan di Parlimen. Allahyarham Tun berpendapat sebagai sebuah negara merdeka kita perlu mendaulatkan Bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di negara ini.

Selain itu Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak juga mengadakan lawatan ke luar negeri iaitu ke Australia dan New Zealand. Lawatan-lawatan ini bertujuan untuk mewujudkan hubungan dagangan dengan negara-negara berkenaan disamping mengeratkan hubungan baik yang sedia wujud.

Ahirkata, saya ingin merakamkan setinggi-tinggi penghargaan kepada semua Jabatan yang telah memberikan bantuan dalam usaha mengumpulkan ucapan-ucapan untuk Jilid I tahun 1967 ini, khasnya kepada Jabatan Perdana Menteri. Ucapan terima kasih juga disampaikan kepada mereka yang terlibat secara langsung maupun tidak langsung, kerana tanpa bantuan mereka tidak mungkin penerbitan siri ini dapat dihasilkan.

DATO' ZAKIAH HANUM

Ketua Pengarah

Arkib Negara Malaysia

PENJELASAN

Nombor Klasifikasi

Di atas tiap-tiap ucapan diberikan satu nombor klasifikasi; misalnya TR 1:3:65. Ini adalah nombor klasifikasi Arkib untuk tiap-tiap ucapan asal di dalam siri ini yang disimpan di Arkib Negara.

SINGKATAN

ASA	-	Association of Southeast Asia
DAP	-	Democratic Action Party
EPU	-	Economic Planning Unit
FAMA	-	Federal Agriculture Marketing Authority
FLDA	-	Federal Land Development Authority
IMR	-	Institute of Medical Research
IGC	-	Inter-Governmental Committee
MCA	-	Malayan Chinese Association
MIC	-	Malayan Indian Congress
MAHA	-	Malayan Agri-Horticulture Association
MARA	-	Majlis Amanah Rakyat
MTUC	-	Malaysian Trades Union Congress
NDPC	-	National Development Planning Committee
NUJ	-	National Union of Journalists
PAP	-	Peoples' Action Party
PPP	-	Peoples' Progressive Party
PAS	-	Parti Islam Se Malaya
PWD	-	Public Works Department
RIDA	-	Rural Industrial Development Authority
SUPP	-	Sarawak United Peoples' Party
UMNO	-	United Malay National Organization
UDP	-	United Democratic Party
UN	-	United Nations



**PERUTUSAN TAHUN BARU OLEH
Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI MALAYSIA
PADA 1 JANUARI 1967**

Perajurit-perajurit sekalian:

Hari ini negara kita memasuki tahun yang ke empat dengan perasaan yang penuh yakin yang kita menghadapi satu tahun yang lebih cemerlang dan lebih makmur lagi daripada tahun-tahun yang lepas.

Masa hadapan negara kita, rakyatnya, termasuklah masa hadapan perajurit-perajurit sekalian, sebagai pembela dan penjaga keselamatan negara dan rakyat, adalah cerah sekali. Nasib kita bersinar kerana kita memulakan kehidupan kita dalam tahun baru ini dalam keadaan dan suasana yang aman dan tenteram kerana konfrantasi telah tamat.

Pada hari tahun baru ini, saya suka mengucapkan kepada perajurit-perajurit sekalian Selamat Tahun Baru, Selamat Berpuasa, Selamat Bertugas dan Selamat membaharui azam dan niat masing-masing. Saya berdoa dan berharap tahun 1967 ini akan memberi dan menjamin perajurit-perajurit sekalian lebih tua, kesihatan yang baik, kemakmuran serta kesejahteraan hidup, kesejahteraan rohani dan jasmani, dari tahun-tahun yang lalu.

Pada hari ini saya suka mengambil peluang mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada perajurit-perajurit yang telah menunjukkan taat setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Kerajaan dan negara. Saya mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah di atas kecergasan dan keberanian perajurit-perajurit menjalankan kewajipan masing-masing. Sepanjang konfrantasi dengan Indonesia dan selama 12 tahun menghadapi darurat melawan komunis keberanian dan kecekapan askar-askar kita disanjung tinggi dan telah mendapat pengiktirafan dunia.

Sungguhpun konfrantasi sudah tamat tetapi kewajipan perajurit-perajurit berjalan terus dan perlu lebih berwaspada lagi. Kita masih mempunyai banyak musuh-musuh yang terdiri dari komunis dan anasir-anasir jahat yang lain. Kerana itu pasukan bersenjata kita mestilah sentiasa berwaspada terhadap gerakan-gerakan yang hendak menghancurkan negara, agama dan bangsa kita.

Mustahaklah kita meneruskan pembersan pasukan bersenjata kita supaya kita mempunyai tentera-tentera yang cukup lengkap bagi mempertahankan negara kita. Pasukan bersenjata kebangsaan kita,

tentera darat, tentera laut dan udara, mestilah dialati dengan senjata-senjata dan kenderaan-kenderaan yang paling moden. Begitu juga Kerajaan adalah berazam hendak menjaga dan mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan dan kesenangan hidup bagi perajurit-perajurit sekalian.

Perajurit-perajurit sekalian:

Kerajaan Perikatan benar-benar berazam hendak memelihara kepentingan-kepentingan perajurit-perajurit sekalian dan saya berdoa moga-moga dengan berkat Tuhan, kerjasama tuan-tuan sekalian dan keamanan yang ada, nasib kita semua – tuan-tuan, saya dan negara kita - akan bertambah baik dalam tahun 1967.

Selamat Tahun Baru dan Merdeka!

UCAPAN SELAMAT HARIRAYA AIDILFITRI
KEPADA 'PERAJURIT' OLEH
Y.A.B. TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN,
TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
PADA 5 JANUARI 1967

Perajurit-perajurit sekalian:

Hariraya Aidilfitri tahun ini ialah Hariraya yang pertama kita semua merayakannya setelah konfrantasi tamat. Syukur kita kepada Allah s.w.t. kerana telah memperkenankan doa umat Islam di kedua-dua buah negara yang memohonkan tamat pertikaian antara dua negara sahabat dan tetangga ini.

Pada hari yang berbahagia bagi semua umat Islam, setelah sebulan lamanya berpuasa, saya dan keluarga, dengan tulus ikhlas mengucapkan kepada Perajurit-perajurit sekalian dan umat Islam yang lain Selamat Hariraya Aidilfitri. Saya berharap Perajurit-perajurit sekalian bersukaria dengan anak isteri, kaum keluarga dan sahabat handai pada hari yang bertuah ini. Pada mereka yang dapat menyambut Hariraya bersama-sama dengan keluarga masing-masing, saya harap gunakan peluang ini dengan sepenuh-penuhnya. Kepada mereka yang terpaksa berada di tempat-tempat yang berjauhan kerana menjalankan tugas masing-masing dan terpaksa berhariraya dengan keadaan yang tidak begitu sempurna, saya ucapkan selamat Hariraya yang Istimewa. Mudah-mudahan pada tahun hadapan mereka itu dapatlah menyambut Hariraya dalam keadaan yang lebih sempurna bersama-sama anak-anak isteri masing-masing.

Dengan tamatnya konfrantasi, Malaysia dan Indonesia telah memasuki satu zaman baharu, zaman persahabatan dan kerjasama yang erat. Kita berdoa kepada Tuhan yang amat pemurah supaya persahabatan antara rakyat Indonesia dengan rakyat Malaysia akan bertambah kuat, lebih mesra dan berpanjangan buat selama-lamanya. Semenjak konfrantasi tamat, segala usaha telah dibuat oleh kedua-dua belah pihak - Indonesia dan Malaysia - untuk mencapai kerjasama dalam segala bidang kehidupan dengan tujuan supaya kita hidup sebagai dua negara jiran yang rapat dan bersahabat dan dapat memberi kebahagiaan hidup dan kemakmuran kepada rakyat masing-masing.

Perajurit-perajurit sekalian, satu daripada perkara-perkara yang telah pun dipersetujui ialah kedua-dua buah negara ini bekerjasama

bagi memburu dan memusnahkan komunis-komunis dan anasir-anasir yang menjadi musuh rakyat Indonesia dan rakyat Malaysia yang masih bersembunyi di sempadan Indonesia/Malaysia di Malaysia Timur. Komunis-komunis dan Agent-agentnya sedang berusaha untuk menimbulkan kacau-bilau; merosakkan keamanan dan rancangan-rancangan kerajaan yang bertujuan hendak membawa kemakmuran kepada rakyat negara ini.

Pada hari yang berbahagia ini saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada semua perajurit-perajurit yang telah menunjukkan taat setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Kerajaan dan negara. Saya mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah di atas kecergasan dan keberanian perajurit-perajurit kita menjalankan kewajipan masing-masing. Keberanian dan kehandalan askar-askar kita dalam menjalankan kewajipan, mempunyai disiplin dan tatatertib yang baik, sudah sangat terkenal dalam peperangan dunia yang kedua; semasa darurat dan semasa mereka berkhidmat di Congo dahulu. Kehandalan perajurit-perajurit kita memenangi peperangan gurila dengan komunis dalam masa darurat tahun 1948 hingga 1960 dahulu telah menjadi satu ciptaan sejarah dan menjadi ingatan dunia. Kecekapan dan kehandalan mereka mempertahankan kita daripada serangan dari gurila-gurila dan askar Indonesia masa konfrantasi telah mengharumkan lagi nama pasukan bersenjata Malaysia. Tidak dapat dinafikan oleh mana pihak bahawa tentera kita mempunyai kecekapan dan keberanian tidak kurang daripada mana-mana tentera di dunia. Malaysia adalah sebuah negara di dunia yang telah dapat menewaskan pemberontakan gurila-gurila komunis dan kemenangan ini adalah kemenangan Malaysia. Tentera-tentera kita telah menjadi tulang belakang dengan peperangan dengan komunis. Sungguh pun pasukan bersenjata Malaysia kecil tetapi cergas, bertanggungjawab dan mempunyai tatatertib yang teguh. Kerana sifat-sifat inilah mereka telah menjadi satu pasukan bersenjata yang sungguh pun kecil tetapi handal dan cekap dalam menjalankan kewajipan masing-masing. Begitu juga pada masa negara kita ditempo oleh mala petaka banjir ini ahli-ahli tentera kita telah bersungguh-sungguh menjalankan gerakan untuk menolong orang-orang kecemasan dan menyelamatkan nyawa-nyawa.

Kepada perajurit-perajurit sekalian saya mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah bagi pihak kerajaan dan rakyat Malaysia di atas kehandalan perajurit-perajurit dapat menjaga kemerdekaan negara dan juga keselamatan rakyat dari ancaman musuh-musuh kita. Pasukan bersenjata kita adalah penjaga keselamatan dan kemerdekaan negara Malaysia dan mereka telah menjalankan tugas-tugas ini dengan baik semenjak kita mencapai kemerdekaan. Rakyat semua berasa terhutang budi kepada perajurit-perajurit sekalian. Terima

kasih khasnya saya ucapkan kepada perajurit-perajurit kita yang sedang berkhidmat di sepanjang-panjang sempadan Malaysia/Indonesia dan di sempadan Malaysia/Thailand. Kerana taat setia dan ketekunan merekalah kita berada dalam aman dan dapat menyambut hari yang berbahagia ini. Rakyat semua tidak lupa kepada perajurit-perajurit ini. Kaum Ibu UMNO seperti biasa pada tahun ini juga menghantar kuih-muih kepada perajurit-perajurit sekalian disertai dengan ucapan Selamat Hariraya.

Sungguh pun konfrantasi sudah tamat tetapi kewajipan perajurit-perajurit berjalan terus dan perlu lebih berwaspada lagi. Kita masih mempunyai banyak musuh-musuh yang terjadi dari Komunis dan penyokong-penyokongnya. Kerana itu pasukan bersenjata kita mestilah sentiasa berwaspada terhadap pergerakan yang hendak menghancurkan negara dan bangsa kita. Oleh sebab Malaysia dan cara kehidupan kita masih diancam oleh musuh-musuh maka mustahaklah kita meneruskan pembesaran pasukan bersenjata kita yang ada pada hari ini. Cita-cita kerajaan, jika keadaan wang negara mengizinkan hendak membesarkan lagi pasukan bersenjata kebangsaan kita, Tentera Darat, Tentera Laut dan Udara, dan dialati dengan senjata-senjata yang paling moden; Perajurit-perajurit sekalian diberi segala kemudahan perang dan juga rumahtangga dan kehidupan yang lebih sempurna.

Inilah niat dan tujuan Kerajaan Perikatan - kita tidak bercadang hendak mempunyai tentera yang besar tetapi hanyalah hendak menyediakan pasukan bersenjata kita supaya sesuai dengan kehendak keselamatan Malaysia dan mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan yang berpatutan kepada ahli-ahli pasukan bersenjata kita supaya mereka dapat menjalankan kewajipan dan tugas masing-masing dengan lebih cekap dan sempurna lagi. Akan tetapi oleh sebab konfrantasi telah tamat mustahaklah kita mengurangkan perbelanjaan di lapangan pertahanan, di tempat-tempat yang difikirkan tidak perlu untuk keselamatan negara. Pasukan-pasukan sukarela ditamatkan perkhidmatan kerahannya, dan masa latihan-latihannya dikurangkan. Saya suka mengucapkan setinggi terima kasih kepada ahli-ahli pasukan sukarela yang telah menunjukkan kesediaannya untuk berjuang dan berkorban kerana negara. Kepada mereka yang terpaksa berhenti daripada perkhidmatan penuh (atau Call-up) kerajaan akan berikhtiar menolong mereka itu mendapatkan pekerjaan-pekerjaan berpatutan.

Setelah konfrantasi tamat, tugas yang paling penting bagi pasukan bersenjata Malaysia ialah melawan komunis dan menolong membasmikan penganas komunis yang hendak menghancurkan kita. Dalam usaha ini Pasukan Bersenjata kita selain daripada menggunakan kekuatan senjata mestilah juga memenangi sokongan-

sokongan dan kerjasama rakyat dengan cara menolong mereka dalam kerja-kerja pembangunan, kebajikan dan sukarela. Saya sangat sukacita mengetahui yang pasukan bersenjata kita tidak ketinggalan dalam kerja-kerja pembangunan dan kebajikan selain daripada sentiasa sedia berperang bagi menjaga kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan negara ini.

Tamatnya konfrantasi bermaknalah lebih tanggungjawab bagi pasukan bersenjata kita dan tanggungjawab ini akan bertambah banyak lagi masa-masa akan datang. Tugas-tugas yang dijalankan oleh askar-askar Komanwel sekarang menjadi kewajipan kita. Saya sangat bangga kerana askar-askar kita telah mengambil alih tugas-tugas ini dengan licin dan menjalankannya dengan baik.

Masa hadapan Malaysia dan pasukan bersenjata Malaysia adalah terletak kepada kita sendiri. Kita menentukan nasib kita. Jika rakyat dan pasukan bersenjata terus menerus bekerjasama seperti masa-masa yang lepas, mempunyai kesedaran tanggungjawab dan azam yang kukuh, masa hadapan kita mesti cerah dan kejayaan menunggu kita. Satu bangsa yang bertanggungjawab dan mempunyai tata-tertib yang tinggi tidak akan jatuh atau ditewaskan oleh musuh-musuhnya.

Kerajaan adalah sentiasa menjaga dan memperhatikan keadaan perajurit-perajurit dan anak isteri mereka. Kerajaan akan berikhtiar untuk memperbaiki tempat-tempat tinggal perajurit-perajurit sekalian terutama tempat-tempat tinggal askar-askar biasa supaya dengan seberapa boleh anak-anak dan isteri perajurit-perajurit dapat tinggal bersama dengan suami masing-masing di tempat mereka bertugas atau sekurang-kurangnya berdekatan dengannya.

Selain daripada mengambil perhatian yang berat tentang kebajikan perajurit-perajurit, saya juga mengambil perhatian tentang nasib bekas perajurit dan pada suatu hari kelak Perajurit-perajurit yang sedang bertugas akan menjadi bekas perajurit juga. Ada antara bekas Perajurit-perajurit yang menganggur, setengah-setengahnya pula masih sihat dan muda lagi. Ini ialah satu masalah yang rumit dan mesti dihadapi dan diatasi dengan seberapa segera yang boleh. Saya sedang berfikir hendak menubuhkan satu Jabatan Khas bagi menjaga kepentingan-kepentingan bekas perajurit-perajurit dan badan ini saya harap akan bertanggungjawab bagi "memule kan" semua bekas perajurit memasuki dalam kehidupan awam; menolong mencarikan mereka pekerjaan; menolong menasihati mereka dan mengawasi pelajaran anak-anak yatim perajurit, janda-janda dan tanggungan-tanggungan bekas perajurit.

Saya berpendapat masanya sudah sampai bagi jabatan "Veteran Affairs Administration" atau "Jabatan Hal Ehwal Bekas Perajurit-perajurit seperti didapati di setengah-setengah negara, ditubuhkan di

Malaysia kerana bilangan bekas perajurit-perajurit bertambah dari setahun ke setahun. Mereka mestilah ditolong seberapa yang boleh sebab mereka itu telah membuat jasa kepada negara dan tanahair.

Perajurit-perajurit sekalian,

Tahun 1966 adalah tahun yang bertuah; satu tahun kemenangan. Tahun 1967 adalah tahun kita menegakkan perpaduan negara – tahun kita meneruskan perubahan nasib kita semua kepada yang lebih baik lagi. Kita sedang menuju kearah kemajuan dan keadilan untuk semua golongan rakyat. Selamat Hariraya dan selamat maju jaya.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
SELAKU YANG DI-PERTUA, PERSATUAN SEJARAH MALAYSIA
DI MAJLIS PEMBUKAAN RASMI
PAMERAN SEJARAH MALAYSIA DI MUZIUM NEGARA,
KUALA LUMPUR PADA 17 JANUARI 1967**

**Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dan Puan Sharifah Rodziah,
Yang Berhormat Menteri-menteri dan isteri,
Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama dan isteri,
Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan;**

Bagi pihak Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, saya suka terlebih dahulu mengucapkan selamat datang kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, khususnya kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, yang dapat meluangkan masa untuk hadir ke majlis pembukaan rasmi Pameran Sejarah Malaysia pada hari ini.

Inilah kali yang pertamanya Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia mengadakan Pameran seperti ini, iaitu sesuai dengan Perlembagaannya yang di antara lain bertujuan bagi menolong di dalam penyiasatan dan penulisan sejarah, serta memberi galakkan yang lebih luas mengenai sejarah, kebudayaan dan adat resam rakyat Malaysia.

Di dalam pameran hari ini tuan-tuan akan dapat melihat dengan selayang pandang sejarah Malaysia dari zaman pra-sejarah, zaman manusia hidup di dalam gua-gua batu, membawa kepada zaman kedatangan pengaruh-pengaruh Hindu pada awal Kurun Masehi. Zaman keagongan Kesultanan Melaka serta kedatangan Portugis yang menjatuhkannya. Zaman Kerajaan Aceh K.M. de XVI; Zaman Kerajaan Johor-Riau serta perbalahannya dengan Bugis dan Belanda, membawalah sampai kekedatangan orang-orang British dan Jepun yang menewaskannya dalam Perang Dunia II; dengan tidak pula melupakan pengaruh-pengaruh dari jiran kita Thailand dari utara.

Sebenarnya, begitu banyak yang hendak dipamerkan, hingga menjadikan pekerjaan memilih dan menapis bahan-bahannya suatu perkara yang rumit pula, lebih-lebih lagilah kerana Dewan inipun sebenarnya adalah kecil untuk pameran seperti ini. Namun demikian Jawatankuasa Pameran ini telah berjaya memberikan kita satu gambaran yang jelas mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa yang penting di dalam peredaran sejarah kita. Saya rasa sudah sepatutnyalah tahniah di atas usaha yang cemerlang ini.

Sukalah saya menambah bahawa bahan-bahan yang dipamerkan ini biasanya tersimpan di Jabatan Arkib Negara dan di muzium-muzium baik di Muzium Negara ini sendiri mahupun di muzium-muzium negeri.

Persatuan ini sekarang sedang giat berusaha untuk menambahkan ahli-ahlinya supaya dapat bergerak dengan lebih luas lagi. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang berminat terhadap sejarah dan yang belum menjadi ahli eloklah berbuat demikian. Begitu juga saya berharap supaya sekolah-sekolah akan mendaftarkan diri menjadi ahli, serta menubuhkan Persatuan Sejarah di sekolah masing-masing. Elok benar rasanya kalau Guru-guru Besar di sekitar Kuala Lumpur menggalakkan murid-muridnya datang menyaksikan Pameran ini. Dengan langkah-langkah ini kita harap sedikit sebanyaknya dapat disemaikan rasa bangga dan cintakan tanahair di kalangan anak-anak muda kita yang akan memikul tanggungjawab terhadap negara ini pada masa hadapan kelak. Hanya dengan perasaan bangga dan cinta, kasih serta sayang, maka seseorang itu sanggup memberi pengorbanan yang setinggi-tingginya terhadap tanahairnya, lebih-lebih lagi bagi Malaysia kita yang mempunyai rakyat yang berbilang bangsa. Ini perlu dipupuk di kalangan anak-anak kita di bangku sekolah; dan dalam perkara seperti inilah pengetahuan sejarah memainkan peranan yang penting dan utama.

Untuk maklumat tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sukalah saya sebutkan bahawa Persatuan ini juga dari satu ke satu masa menerbitkan majalahnya "Malaysia in History" atau "Malaysia dari segi sejarah," yang dimuatkan dengan rencana-rencana yang bersangkutan paut dengan berbagai aspek sejarah negeri ini.

Di dalam menjalankan rancangannya Persatuan ini adalah berhubung rapat dan mendapat kerjasama yang penuh dengan Muzium Negara, Jabatan Arkib Negara serta Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya. Pameran kita pada hari ini merupakan bukti dari kerjasama yang seperti itu. Kepada semua pihak yang berkenaan saya ucapkan terima kasih dan setinggi-tinggi tahniah.

Di sini sukalah saya menarik perhatian para hadirin sekalian bahawa demi kepentingan pengkajian sejarah kita di dalam semua aspeknya, baik dari segi sastera, kesenian, agama dan lain-lain; kita masih lagi memerlukan bahan-bahan yang mempunyai unsur sejarah. Saya mengambil peluang ini menyeru kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang mempunyai dan menyimpan barang-barang lama, akhbar-akhbar lama, gambar-gambar, buku-buku dan lain-lain lagi, yang tidak boleh didapati lagi sekarang ini supaya menghantarnya ke Muzium Negara atau ke Jabatan Arkib Negara untuk disimpan dengan sempurna dan selamat. Dengan itu dapatlah lebih ramai orang

menyaksikannya dan dapat pula dijadikan bahan kajian oleh peminat-peminat sejarah kita.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan;

Sesungguhnya kita sekalian hidup di dalam zaman yang paling bersejarah di negeri ini. Tidaklah dapat dinafikan bahawa masa 10 tahun yang lepas ini merupakan zaman yang penuh dengan peristiwa-peristiwa yang bersejarah. Kita hidup dalam zaman yang penuh dengan pergolakan, perjuangan dan pembangunan – kita hidup dalam satu revolusi-revolusi yang tidak menumpahkan darah – Revolusi Senyap!

Bukan sahaja kita mengkaji sejarah; bahkan kita juga sedang mencipta sejarah. Oleh itu adalah mustahak bagi kita menjaga dan memelihara bahan-bahan yang bernilai sejarah yang berlaku di keliling kita sekarang ini, supaya akan dapat menolong peminat-peminat sejarah masa depan untuk mengkaji kita pula.

Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku,

Patek dengan hormatnya mempersilakan Tunku memberi sedikit ucapan dan merasmikan pembukaan Pameran Sejarah Malaysia hari ini.

Terima kasih.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE OPENING OF THE MALAYSIAN YOUTH COUNCIL
SEMINAR ON 20TH JANUARY 1967**

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy and honoured to be invited to open your Seminar this evening. I am also happy to note that there seems to be an ever-growing awareness among the youths of this country and, in particular, among the Members of the Majlis Belia Malaysia, of the need for better youth leadership in this country. Malaysia is a young nation and more than half of our population consists of youths. Therefore, the accent is all Government policies and activities must be on the youths.

The Malaysian Youth Council, in its role as the co-ordinating body of your organizations and as the National Committee of the World Assembly of Youth in Malaysia, has a definite responsibility not only to give that dynamic and creative leadership among the youths of this country but to help to train our youths so that they will be able to give more effective and useful leadership in all fields of activities.

Your Council has now entered the third year of its existence and I do hope that during the last three years you have been able to bring greater unity among youth movements in this country. I hope that besides carrying out your role as the co-ordinating body of youth organisation, I would like your Council to do everything possible to encourage and promote more multi-racial and multi-religious youth organisations in this country. I would also like to see more and more Malaysian youth clubs and organizations rather than youth clubs confined to a particular community.

I understand the Seminar which you are organising now has the object of bringing together youth organizations of different interests, social levels and even tendencies so that an appropriate study can be made about the problems facing the various youth organisations. It is hope that as the result of this Seminar, the MYC will be able to carry out its task more effectively. I also hope that it will lead to greater understanding and unity of purpose in tackling the problems facing our youths today, and that the MYC would make greater efforts to get all the youth organizations in this country to be its affiliates. It is only by getting the great majority of the youth organizations under its wing that the MYC could really be able to carry its task efficiently and

effectively. If the MYC is really representative of all the youth organizations, then it will be easier for Government to channel whatever assistance Government may wish to give through the MYC as the co-ordinating body for all youth organizations.

Since we achieved independence almost ten years ago, our country has moved forward in all fields, particularly, in the field of development. Our Government has been able to bring about changes in the towns and the villages and indeed, as has often been said, during the last ten years there has been a silent revolution throughout the country. The Government has been able to bring to our people greater and better amenities of life and generally, our people enjoy better and higher standards of living than they did under colonial rule. In other words, with freedom and political democracy, we are able to carry out economic democracy, that is to say, we have been able to allow our available economic resources to be shared more equally and justly among all sections of our people. In this task of economic development, the youths in this country have an important role to play. I have always said that the greatest resources that we have in our country is the human resources. In order to achieve greater economic growth and progress we must tap the human resources and must bring up into the surface those latent qualities that exist in the hearts and minds of our people. We must make our people realize that vast opportunities for progress are open to them provided they are prepared to make sacrifices to work harder. This pioneering spirit and the will to work are there in the hearts and minds of our people and it is our duty to promote and encourage the spread of this spirit and the will to work for one's own betterment. Afterall, the progress has been achieved - the tall buildings around us, the beautiful towns and cities in our country have been built through the sweat and toil of our forefathers. It is for us all to continue to build on the progress that has so far been achieved so that we and our children will enjoy a better and higher standard of living.

Everyday we see changes around us. We see concrete examples of development and of progress affecting the lives of our people. The youths of this country must herefore be prepared to accept responsibilities to carry on and enhance the progress that has so far been achieved. Our youth leaders and organization must provide a wider base of responsible leadership for the growing masses of our people who are freeing themselves from the traditional way of life and social structure and values; and are slowly changing their attitudes as they become conscious of the great competition as they come to face with the changes of the modern world. Our schools provide our youths with education. Education can only give one a start in life but to be able to play our full part in the life of our country, we must inculcate a

sense of responsibility, civic consciousness and patriotism which must also be developed outside the school system.

Our youth movements will have to change to promote concrete and responsible leadership. Programmes of youth activities must be so organized as to help discover the problems faced in way of personal and community development. Small study groups should be organized which can examine such pressing questions as savings, higher education, housing, unemployment, leisure and even marriages. This type of programme for youths will help them to face the realities of life in order that they will become responsible leaders of the community. Indeed, we have to channel the energies of our youths for the solution of the problems that faced us today. In evolving a really effective training programme, the MYC could play a prominent role by bringing together experience leaders of youth movements. Methods and techniques used by youth movements seem sometimes to be unimportant and that they are submerged by larger and more complicated problems of economic and social development. Yet these larger problems depend essentially on the work of these educative movements. The efforts of present leadership in our developing country must be reinforced by an ever-increasing number of responsible leadership at all levels and in all fields and in all efforts of Government so that we can achieve better results and greater success.

The first steps of a baby are heralded with joy because he has started his long road to an autonomous and free personality. The first steps of leadership are to be seen with the same eye. The secretary of a small working group may today be taking down minutes, but it leads him a few steps away from illiteracy and prepares him to become the secretary of a co-operative, a trade union or later even that of a political party. The parliamentary procedure of a discussion group prepares young people to participate effectively in the working of democracy.

This is the road that MYC must plod in the sixties. It must make youth movements into the reservoir of leaderships waiting to be tapped. This is MYC's great task during the remaining years of this decade and in the seventies. So much for MYC's task. Now I would like to talk about the role of youth in nation-building and what the Government is doing for the young people of this country.

We are a young nation striving to build up a common loyalty and national consciousness. Through our national education system, where our children are learning the same thing in the same way and in some cases under the same roof, it is hoped that our children will grow as useful and loyal citizens of our country. Although we have made great efforts and achieved much progress in the nation-building

since merdeka, there is still much to be done. We must continue to consolidate the foundation which have already been laid in the education system for the integration of the various races and for the creation of a united Malaysian nation.

The Government is alive to the problems facing our youth today. That is why the Government has created the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports. It is the policy of the Government to assist in providing facilities for youth in the various parts of the country so that they will have greater opportunities to carry out their various activities in order to make them useful members of the society. Also, the Government is fully aware of the problem of unemployment among the youth in the various parts of the country and the government has started a National Youth Pioneer Corps which will enable these youths to be given practical training and experience so that they can be absorbed into useful employment. Besides, the Government has embarked on the training of youth by other Government agencies, such as MARA and the Central Apprenticeship Board so that necessary training can be given to our youth to fit them for employment in various fields of commerce and industry. Indeed our youth are being given whatever training necessary to become disciplined skilled and semi-skilled workers. It is to objective that they should be imbued with the pioneer spirit of endeavour and hard work and also a sense of belonging to the country and a sense of loyalty and patriotism. It is in our youth that we must inculcate the harmony and goodwill in our desire to build a strong and united nation and all our hopes of the future depend on our youth - the success of our efforts in building a progressive and happy Malaysia depends on the aspiration, enthusiasm and vigour of our youth of today.

I have much pleasure in declaring the Seminar open.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S
ON 1967 DEVELOPMENT ESTIMATES ON
20TH JANUARY 1967**

Mr. Speaker¹, Sir,

I beg to move that the motion standing in my name on the Order Paper be referred to a Committee of the Whole House, namely:-
"That this House resolves that a sum not exceeding \$836,095,454 be expanded out of the Development Fund in the year 1967, and that, to meet the purposes of the Heads and Subheads set out in the first and second columns of Development Estimates for 1967, laid on the Table as Command Paper No. 50 of 1966, there be appropriated the sums specified opposite such Heads and Subheads in the 7th and 8th columns thereof: and that the Resolution passed by this House on 25th October, 1966, in respect of expenditure to be met out of the Development Fund for the financial year 1967 is hereby rescinded."

Mr. Speaker Sir,

This House may or may not know that for 24 hours some years ago after the General Election in 1959, after a Cabinet reshuffle, I was in actual fact Minister of Finance, but luckily because of Tengku's ever attentive ear, he listened to my plea and gave me a more cheerful and happier portfolio.

So I have every sympathy with my friend and colleague the Minister of Finance in performing his depressing task of introducing a hard-hitting Budget and as I was listening to him, I said to myself, "There but for the grace of God (and Tengku) "Go I." Therefore, Sir, if the Minister of Finance² depressed you with his speech, it is now my task to cheer up both you and all Members of this honourable House.

We may be short of funds, but this does not mean we are a bankrupt nation; this does not mean that the end of development, and the end of progress. The very fact that I can stand here and introduce these ambitious Development Estimates, supported by an equally ambitious Development Plan, shows that 1967, for our country Malaysia, is not the beginning of the end, but the beginning of the beginning!

¹ Dato' C.M. Yusuf bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman, S.P.M.P., J.P.

² Tun Tan Siew Sin, J.P., S.S.M.

Admittedly we can do much more with more money, and I can assure you, Sir, that the extra money raised by taxation, and that which we hope to receive from friendly donor countries, will be put to the utmost use for the utmost benefit of our future development.

We have a lot to be thankful for. 1967 stands before us as a year in which our country can develop even further, unshackled by the human and financial drain we suffered as a result of Confrontation.

Although, the withdrawal of Commonwealth Forces from East Malaysia has taken place, we are still left with our own loyal and efficient Army, Navy, Air and Police Forces, which although young, we, as a nation, are extremely proud, and I would like to take this opportunity, Sir, in my capacity of Minister of Defence, to call upon this House to pay tribute to the unselfish and loyal service which all officers and men of our Armed Forces gave to Malaysia when our sovereignty was so severely threatened during the last three years of Confrontation.

I am sure that no Member of this House would deny that we in this country owe gratitude to those who gave their lives and to those who suffered the stresses, strains and perils of the jungle in order that the rest of us could live safely and unhampered and apply ourselves with a feeling of security to the task of achieving further progress of our country.

However, Mr. Speaker, Sir, although Confrontation is over, this is no time for complacency on matters affecting both Defence and Internal Security, and because of the continuing internal threat of Communist subversion we still have to maintain a fairly large security force, and this means, maintaining considerable expenditure on Defence and Security.

Nevertheless, I as Minister of Defence give this House every assurance that no more funds will be spent than are absolutely necessary, and I know for a fact that the Minister of Development will not allow the Minister of Defence to waste unnecessary funds for Military purposes.

Let us now turn to the question of development.

In presenting the First Malaysia Development Plan to this House, we in the Government visualized that the full implementation of the Plan would require the raising of funds both from internal and external sources.

So, there is nothing depressing or despairing about a tough budget.

We are merely putting our plans into force. So let us not be despondent; let us look towards 1967 with hope and determination that our Plan will succeed.

Past performance over the last 5 years has shown that we have got the means both mental and physical and the know-how to implement a Plan and achieve results. The Estimates which I now move are the 1967 element of the five years of the First Malaysia Plan.

I do not want to analyse these Estimates item by item, but you will find that many of the major projects are the continuation of those which were started in the previous year. Also out of this sum of \$836 million, are allocations for the implementation of new high priority projects which will contribute in a major way to the provision of an infra-structure facilities and the needs for further economic and social development.

The allocation of this total sum among different Ministries and Departments of the Government conforms to the priorities of the First Malaysia Plan.

Every effort has been made to eliminate any project which is not economical and which will not bring in definite benefits. Also, strict measures will be taken, as the Minister of Finance had explained when he introduced the Supply Bill for 1967, to cut out frills and to reduce cost. We shall have to reduce our standard, go for functional buildings and, wherever possible adopt standard type. As I have said before, as a developing Asian nation we cannot follow the standard of a developed Western nation. We have to be contented with our own standards so that as many of our people as possible will be able to reap the benefits of our Development Programme.

In accelerating economic and social development throughout Malaysia, we have at the same time to be especially mindful of the needs of Sabah and Sarawak. These needs are vast and very urgent indeed, since massive and co-ordinated efforts to promote development in these States began only after Malaysia was formed. We are determined to accelerate the pace of development in East Malaysia. While this involves substantial resources that the more fortunate West Malaysians are willing to offer quickly, I ask also that those in East Malaysia be prepared to do their bit so that there will be unity of purpose in nation-building.

It must be appreciated, however, that the development of these States will be time-consuming and expensive in view of their relatively under-developed nature. A first requirement is to lay a firm foundation for growth. While this process is rapidly changing the face of these States, its impact on the standard of living of the people will not be significantly felt immediately - the next pay day or the next harvest.

We appreciate the desire of our brothers in Sabah and Sarawak for quick and significant improvements to their living standards. A fundamental improvement in the economic conditions of East

Malaysia, as well as West Malaysia can only be assured when the proper basis for doing so has first been established. There is no other way out. This we are attempting to do as quickly as possible. This is amply evidenced by the fact that we are allocating to East Malaysia financial provisions far in excess of the amounts agreed upon in the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Hon'ble Members will note that the Development Estimates now presented make no provision for meeting the cost of repairing and rehabilitating roads and bridges and other projects damaged or destroyed during the recent floods in West Malaysia particularly in Kelantan, Terengganu and Perak. This is because we do not have yet firm estimates of the damage done and what it will cost us to put them back to a workable and operating state. Although this disaster adds to our already difficult financial position, the Alliance Government will not shirk its responsibilities to assist those most in need of help.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, many have helped in providing assistance to the flood victims and their response has been most gratifying. I would like to publicly acknowledge our gratitude to all who have contributed to the National Disaster Relief Fund and to those many government officers, police and the Malaysian military personnel as well as the British Royal Air Force who have assisted in the work of flood relief and rehabilitation. I would like also to express the sincere appreciation of our Government for the timely assistance provided by our neighbours and friendly governments.

In the important area of transportation, I am happy to say that a major overall transport study will be undertaken this year and will cover all media of transport and all States in Malaysia. A request has already been made to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for assistance in carrying out the study. It is hoped that the project will be implemented not later than six months from now. Several discussions have been held with officials of the United Nations and the World Bank to facilitate the early implementation of this project. The study will take a year or so to complete. It will deal with measures for improving transport operations and planning. It will also include the preparation of several detailed feasibility studies for individual transportation projects in the Plan.

I am also glad to say that in regard to another major sector of our Plan, namely Education, the report of the Higher Education Planning Committee on the long-term needs for higher education in this country is almost ready now. The Government hopes to carry out similar studies soon on agricultural research and development, forest development, and land capability in Sabah and Sarawak. Hon'ble Members are already aware that a land capability study is in progress

in West Malaysia. In this important undertaking, we are receiving substantial assistance from Canada.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would now like to touch upon a problem which has been of great concern to us in recent years. This is the rising cost of administration which in part is a concomitant of the development process itself. The Government has undertaken a number of measures to examine these problems and to seek solutions. We cannot expect dramatic results overnight. But I ask, and in part the answer may well lie here, that every civil servant from the office boy and the clerk to the top Ministry official should continue to cultivate maximum dedication to service and a sense of pride in their work; they should perhaps examine their conscience each day to see what they have done for the good of the country. They should also ask whether they would have done more. I would also ask every Head of Department to be planning conscious, to strive for maximum co-ordination in individual Departments as well as between Departments. It is also important for them to assist their staff in planning their work not only from day to day but also over the long-term.

Sir, although as I have stated I do not wish to discuss specific items in the Development Estimates, I do however, want to stress our sound assets.

The Minister of Finance in his budget speech took stock of our financial liabilities. Let me take stock of our *national assets*.

First, our ever increasing political stability and our growing political maturity. Political stability is one of the first ingredients which a developing country must have if it is to attract the necessary investment for Development. We are politically stable and we are proud of it!

Our second asset is our capacity to plan widely together with our administrative ability to implement these Plans. The proof of this is the success and the tangible results which we achieved in our last 5-Year Plan.

During that period, as this House well knows but which the Opposition are reluctant to admit, we succeeded beyond all our expectations.

The achievement of that last 5-Year Plan laid a very sound framework without which modern development cannot take place. We have definitely established this firm base for development. This is our third asset.

Let me now, Mr. Speaker Sir, turn to our fourth and most important asset, and that is, our human resources – our own people.

These resources fall into two categories: the harnessed human resources and the as yet unharnessed human resources.

Let us take stock of our harnessed human resources.

The investment which the Alliance Government, since Merdeka, put into an ambitious Education Programme, is now beginning to repay with results.

The flow of professionally qualified Malaysians is gaining impetus. These young, qualified, modern Malaysians are taking their place in ever greater numbers, and playing their part in this great task of National Development –

with new ideas – new skills – new abilities – new drive – new enthusiasm – new energy and new aspirations.

All these, Mr. Speaker Sir, are as important if not more so than money in the development process. Without these, no amount of money would lead us to the goal of progress we have set ourselves.

Let us turn now, Sir, to the unharnessed human resources which we also have in even greater abundance.

As I have said before, comparing our country, Malaysia, to the rest of the World, I am convinced, and I know this for a fact, that there is no difference in the latent human potential which exists in other countries and the great potential that exists amongst our own people.

If in such times of national crisis the potentials and capabilities of our people can be really wakened up by Floods, Disasters and Confrontation, why cannot the same spirit be aroused and channelled into something much more important – the task of developing our country towards greater progress?

This is what I mean by the unharnessed human resources which we have in abundance throughout the country. And Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is my main message that in moving these Development Estimates – a message not only for this House but for the whole nation. In the heart, mind and body of every single Malaysian lies an asset worth a thousand times more than the \$836 million we are going to debate.

What is most needed at this stage of our development is not so much the amount of funds but the *will to work*. This *will to work* cannot be legislated, cannot be voted by Parliament, cannot be allocated by a Minister. It cannot be borrowed from another country. We must mobilise this asset to the full. We must galvanise our people to play a greater individual part in the implementation of our Development Plan. We must galvanise them to cultivate to the full every single acre of arable land, that has been given to them and to do a full day's work in return for a decent and dignified wage.

In other words, the year 1967 must be a year of greater application of effort on the part of every one of us.

Sir, I beg to move.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
REPLY TO DEBATE ON THE BUDGET SPEECH AT
DEWAN RAKYAT ON 26TH JANUARY 1967**

Throughout the debate on the budget, one cannot help noticing it – and frankly we are happy - that even the Opposition has found little to criticise this year's budget. The Member for Bungsar¹ found the budget "sound, realistic and sober".

As the result of this realistic budget, most of the Opposition Members had throughout the debate said little about the budget itself but spent much of the time talking on issues quite strictly unconnected with the budget. A good example of this is the Hon'ble Member for Ipoh². He spoke and made the debate on budget as if we were debating on the language issue. But I expect this from him. He has always been a 'language infantile and opportunist'. He just refuses to understand the issue and has always tried to exploit this sensitive question for political opportunism.

It is heartening to know that the Opposition has found little fault about the Budget. But still they must criticise it, otherwise they can't go on masquerading as champions of the people. The Hon'ble Members had commented and criticised several issues. Some of them did so through misunderstanding of the issues, some through their perpetual muddled- thinking and on this I can do little to put it right. A few of their observations are quite legitimate and we will try to answer them and even correct them.

Language

Before I reply to some of the points raised by Hon'ble Members of this House on the budget, I would like to speak on the question of the National Language, which has been referred to by the Hon'ble Member for Ipoh.

The question of language in a country such as ours, consisting of people of different racial origins and when there are so many different languages in the country, is a controversial and sensitive issue. It is therefore the responsibility of all of us, Members of this House as well as political leaders, to be responsible and objective in our approach on this issue and not to make use of the language issue for political gains.

¹ Encik C.V. Devan Nair.

² Encik D.R. Seenivasagam.

Anyone who does this is clearly playing with fire and anyone who plays with fire will get his fingers burned.

We in the Alliance Government are always conscious of our responsibility to the people of this country. We always have the true interests of our people at heart. We know that if trouble breaks out because of language issue, it is the ordinary people in this country – the ordinary men and women – who will suffer. It is our duty to protect the interests of these people and to look after their safety and well-being. This language issue can and will be resolved by the Alliance Government. In fact it has already been resolved in our Constitution. The Constitution, while declaring that Malay is the National language and would be the sole official language from 1st September this year, also guarantees the use and study of the languages of other races. The Alliance Government being a just and fair Government, while taking measures to expand the use of the national language, also provides assistance to Chinese and Tamil Schools in order to enable the study of these languages to be carried out more effectively.

That is why we have advised all the people not to play on the sentiments of this language issue because we know the tragedies which have taken place in some countries because of irresponsible leaders making use of the language issue in inflaming the sentiments of the people and if that happens, no one will benefit. In fact, all will suffer and, in particular, the poor people.

As I said before, the language issue can and will be settled by the Alliance Government. But our people, particularly leaders, must always be objective and responsible. The Hon'ble Member for Ipoh alleged that I told the Press not to over-play the language issue. However, I did not use any threat or endeavoured to curb the freedom of the press. At the meeting with the Press, I made it quite clear that we in the Alliance Government upheld the freedom of the Press. I only appealed to the editors of various newspapers, as responsible citizens of this country, to assist in projecting a balanced and same picture about the language issue, and to be careful and responsible in reporting statements on the language question. The Hon'ble Member himself had admitted that when one section of the community statement shouting out on the language issue, there would be reaction from the other sections. So obviously, if we are responsible leaders and if we have the interests of the country at heart and the safety and welfare of our people, then it is our duty to discuss this language issue intelligently, objectively, soberly and with moderation. At the meeting with newspapers editors, I appealed for their co-operation and to the credit of these newspaper editors, they listened to what I have to say attentively and none of them, as alleged by the Hon'ble Member,

stood up to assert their rights because there is no question of interfering with their rights. I was only appealing for their good sense and sense of responsibility. I am very pleased that the editors and publishers of the newspapers fully appreciated what I said, and have given their co-operation to the Government. There is no doubt that there are a few political leaders in this country who want to make use of the language issue to obtain support. But I warn these people that if, because of their irresponsible approach on this controversial issue, they may bring the country into trouble and unrest, they must be held fully responsible. However, the people of this country of all races, have enough intelligence and commonsense to know that under the leadership of the Alliance Government their just and rightful aspirations will always be safeguarded. It has never been any intention on our part to eliminate the use of any language but rather we warn to preserve and sustain the use and study of all the other languages while accepting and promoting Malay as the National Language. This policy of ours is embodied in the Constitution and it will be there for all time. I have no doubt that the Alliance Government, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, will resolve the question of language satisfactorily and in the spirit of our Constitution.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if you would permit me, may I direct my attention to the distinguished Member for Batu³, who is also a well-known 'Medicineman', I mean, doctor.

In his traditionally rambling way, the Member for Batu, this year, has not much criticisms against the Government and this I take to mean a progress of his understanding of Government policies and the facts of Malaysian politics.

The Member for Batu criticised the expenditure of nearly \$1 million (\$911,919) for consulting work on the proposed Batu Balek/Kampung Aur/Rompin Road.

To start with, the Member was wrong when he said the road was from Rompin to Kampung Aur. It is in actual fact from Batu Balek to Kampung Aur to Rompin. The length of the proposed road is about 70 miles. The expenditure is not nugatory and the proposed road is not an uneconomical proposition because, when constructed, it will provide a useful forest access and construction road which could later be developed into a main access road from Pahang to Johore (forming an alternative route A2 of the Asian Highway) and South Pahang to the coast.

³ Dr. Tan Chee Khoon.

Floods

The Government will be taking measures, including a request to U.N. to help us with experts, to reduce and control the danger of floods in our country. If we can, we will try to prevent it - though sometimes it is difficult - to prevent natural catastrophes but we will try as best as we can.

The Government does not want devastating floods such as the recent one to ever occur again. There will be plans to straighten the course of the main rivers of Malaysia, like the Pahang, Perak and Kelantan Rivers. We hope by doing this it will reduce the danger of floods considerably. This will no doubt cost a lot of money and I hope the Member for Batu will not make any criticism when I come back to this House to ask for the money needed to prevent flood occurrences. Efforts are also being made to encourage the people to leave the low-lying areas for higher grounds. The Government will do all it can to rehabilitate flood victims so that they can start life all over again with some prospects of improvement.

The Perak and Terengganu State Government are doing a good job rehabilitating the flood victims. In Perak, cheap houses will be constructed for these victims in Lenggong and these houses would be built on higher ground.

In Kelantan rehabilitation work is going on but the Kelantan State Government will need all the assistance from the Central Government if the work is going to be satisfactory carried out. The damage in Kelantan is massive and the resources of the Kelantan Government is very limited. But I can assure the people of Kelantan and the State Government that all the resources and power within the Central Government will be used to help the flood victims.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I now reply to the criticisms by the Hon'ble Member for Batu on the Malaysian Centre for Development Studies and why it should not be merged with the Development Administration Unit as suggested by the Member.

As everyone in this country knows, the Alliance Government is a modern and forward - looking Government. The creation of these new divisions is in fact to keep pace with modern times. The days of the old general practitioners are fast disappearing and only old medicineman from Batu ought to know this. We are living in a modern and more specialised world which demands improved techniques and up-to-date machinery of Government and in keeping with the independent status of the country.

The two new Units, the Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, and the Development Administration Unit, are created and designed to perform specific and specialised functions. They are two

entirely different organizations and are concerned with two entirely different functions. The Centre for Development Studies is concerned with organising seminars among Afro-Asian nations on national development and with research or studies on economics, social and political developments of the country, while the D.A.U. is primarily concerned with the improvement in the administrative machinery of the Government. The studies that the D.A.U. will undertake are not related to the substantive issues in economic, social and other development programs, but are related to the question of how the administrative machinery could be improved and be made more efficient from the point of view of financial administration, personnel administration, organisation methods and procedures and co-ordination between federal, state and local administrations. The D.A.U.'s task is therefore to recommend measures for administrative improvement and efficiency based on the studies it undertakes. The Centre, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with making economic and national development studies as such and the question of improving the nation's economy is a matter for the Ministries, the Economic Planning Unit, the Treasury and the State Governments to consider. Merging the Centre for Development Studies with the D.A.U. is therefore like a dispensary operated by a doctor and an engineer. It is best to keep them apart as they are doing two entirely unrelated functions.

The question of an organisation being top heavy is a matter of relativity. It depends on the functions of the organisation. Although the D.A.U. has more Division I officers than Division II and III, it is not top heavy when its duties and responsibilities are taken into account. The officers in the D.A.U. have to have in the first place a great deal of experience before they can make a thorough analysis of the shortcomings or inadequacies in the departments, ministries and in the total administration. It is inconceivable to have clerks or executive officers or even junior administrative officers doing such highly analytical and critical work because they would not have the experience and the calibre to undertake such functions. Just as being a doctor to diagnose malfunctioning of a human body so do we need another kind of doctor to diagnose the malfunctioning of the administrative machinery. We cannot have a hospital assistant to do this job.

As I said earlier, the primary function of the Malaysian Centre for Development Studies is the conduct of seminars on National Development for personnel of Afro-Asian countries with special attention paid on the aspects of development implementation techniques. Our development implementation techniques have earned international recognition and we would like to improve it and

exchange ideas with friendly foreign countries. This is friendship through development.

International Seminars organise for personnel of developing countries where views and ideas on development experiences could be exchanged would help not only Malaysia but also others as well to evolve new approaches to development. This will be an exercise in practical co-operation among nations in their development endeavour.

The Centre does not undertake studies in applied economics as in done by the Faculty of Economics and Administration of the University of Malaya but merely gathers all experiences of countries, Governments and people in the techniques of development implementation.

At the moment the Centre is headed by a Director, who is concurrently the Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of National and Rural Development and who is only receiving a charge allowance. In the course of organising Seminars such as those contemplated by the Centre, a lot of papers and correspondence between itself and participants had to be done. Hence the services of two English language stenographers are required and the services of another National Language stenographer is required for internal correspondence. Two clerks are the barest minimum number needed to man an office of this kind.

Expenses incurred in running the last Seminar as well as for any subsequent Seminars for that matter are reimbursable through grants received from a private foundation. The reimbursable expenditure includes those allocated for transport and travelling.

The Government's own financial commitment is considered small in terms of the potential international understanding and goodwill that will be obtained and as well as in terms of the benefits resulting from the discussions on development experiences of other countries.

As anyone can see now the functions of the Centre and that of D.A.U. are entirely different and therefore should not be merged.

The Hon'ble Member for Batu also found it fit to criticise my assurance that MARA would not repeat the mistakes of RIDA.

I feel it would do him a lot of good if he appreciates that at a time when our country was in an entirely different stage of development and political status, the then RIDA had quite an impact. At that particular time, way back in 1951 and at the height of the Emergency, RIDA was the correct organisation but viewed through the circumstances obtaining in the post-Merdeka years, RIDA had certain defects. As the Hon'ble Member may perhaps admit that time have changed and in 1966, a situation arose which necessitated a new organisation with more streamlined methods based on the outcome of diagnosis of past activities of the old RIDA together with

the prediction of future development. MARA was therefore evolved along more modern lines in keeping with more modern methods and it is my duty to see to it that the mistakes of RIDA should not be repeated by MARA so as to enable MARA to move forward with gusto and with the new spirit manifested by the Congress Economy Bumiputra in June, 1965.

I can assure the Hon'ble Member for Batu that MARA will not repeat the mistakes made by the former RIDA. MARA is presently undergoing a major change in its policy, objectives and functions. The objectives of MARA are being redefined and unlike the past, MARA will not engage in activities unrelated to its work. MARA will instead confine itself solely to activities that will bring about greater participation of the Bumiputras in commerce and industry and to assist develop industrial and commercial enterprise in which the Bumiputras can participate.

MARA's responsibility is therefore to stimulate, facilitate and to assist the Bumiputra to participate more actively in the commercial and industrial enterprises of the country by way of providing supervised credit facilities, and also to give them business and professional training that they require. Where necessary MARA will undertake enterprises in its own name and operate them in trust for the Bumiputras until such time when the people themselves will be ready to take them over.

To ensure the success of the projects undertaken by MARA, proper qualified staff are being engaged. When such staff are not available assistance from world organisations such as the United Nations and Colombo Plan are being sought to assist the local staff to carry out the projects.

I am confident that with trained staff MARA will not fail its obligations to the people.

The Hon'ble Member for Ipoh also alleged that there was deterioration in the efficiency of the civil service and that the officers are demoralized. I think this is an unfair remark because I know better than anyone about civil servants and the civil service and I find that our civil servants are second to none. They are always loyal to the Government of the day and they are doing all they could to help the people and in carrying out Government development programmes. In fact they have done so well that we have been able to carry out our development plans successfully and we have no doubt that they will carry out the First Malaysia Plan greater efficiency and success than the previous two Malayan Plans and to their credit the civil servants had done it without much additional staff. I would like to pay my tribute to the civil servants for a job well done and I am quite sure that they will continue to strive to even do a better job in the future. Their

administrative efficiency is being looked into by the newly-created Development Administration Unit, which is studying how to improve Government machinery and I have no doubt very soon the civil servants in this country will be even more efficient than ever in keeping with a fast advancing country such as ours.

Election in Sarawak

The Hon'ble Member for Ipoh claimed that Sarawak is slowly and steadily moving out of Malaysia. I do not know on what basis he formed his opinion, but if he did so because the Alliance lost in an unimportant district by-election, then I am really sorry for him. The majority of the people of Sarawak support Malaysia and wish to remain in Malaysia, including even SNAP and you heard two days ago a SNAP MP re-item thing in Party's pro-Malaysia in the name. I am satisfied that it is the desire of the majority of the people of Sarawak to remain in Malaysia. Regarding the General Election Sarawak which several Hon'ble Members both from West and East Malaysia had raised, I would like to say that the Government will of course hold the elections when the election machinery is ready in Sarawak. It will take some time because Sarawak is a large State and lacks experienced personnel coupled with great problems of communication the State. But I can assure the House that elections in Sarawak will be held as soon as it can be done. We will certainly have the elections some day and the sooner the better for all concerned.

Alliance Philosophy

The Hon'ble Member for Ipoh also accused the Alliance of preaching communalism in the Kampung Bahru by-election. This is of course untrue for if anybody who has always been harping on this theme and thrives on it politically, it is the Hon'ble Member himself. Although the Alliance candidate in the Kampung Bahru by-election happens to be a Malay, he campaigned just as hard in non-Malay areas as he did in Malay Kampungs. In all his campaigns, he was ably assisted by the MCA and the MIC. I would like to point out the mis-conception of most people that Kampung Bahru is a predominantly Malay constituency. This is quite untrue because more than 50 per cent of the number of voters there are non-Malays, consisting mainly of Chinese and Indians. The Malay voters only formed about 45 per cent of the total electorate.

The Alliance candidate won the election not on Malay votes alone – though most of the people who voted for the Alliance were Malays – but we also got some non-Malay votes. On the other hands

there is evidence that the votes the DAP candidate received were exclusively Chinese as a result of DAP's exploitation of racial issues and condemnation of Malay privileges and rights. In a poor effort to deceive the people, DAP subtly preaches multi-racial co-operation and the so-called Malaysia Malaysian openly but privately in house-to-house campaign we have enough evidence to show that DAP was a mischievous lot and campaigned and exploited racial differences. DAP, like its predecessor, DAP is to some extent multi-racial in structure only but racial in its political approach. I even begin to doubt if it is really multi-racial structurally. I don't know how of any "outsiders" other than the Member for Bungsar, who is slowly being reduced in importance. One only has to glance through the Kampung Bahru by-election Committee of DAP to prove this.

The Alliance, as is well-know to all, including the Opposition, is for racial harmony and co-operation. The Alliance is represented by three parties, namely, the UMNO, MCA and MIC, and we are pledged to work for the promotion of racial unity which we hope eventually will lead to a united Malaysian nation. We will continue to work as we have always worked since the Alliance was formed more than 13 years ago, for peace, progress, prosperity and justice to all Malaysian, irrespective of race, colour and creed. It is the aim of the Alliance to provide a place for everyone under the Malaysian sun so that everyone will live in peace and happiness and has one common loyalty to this country.

The Hon'ble Member also accused that one of the Alliance banners had different slogans in three different languages. I have checked on this and has found out that this particular banner was not an authorised banner of the Alliance and was not put up by the Alliance Headquarters. Official banners issued by the Alliance have the same slogans whether they are in Chinese, Tamil or in Malay. They always proclaim "Vote Alliance for Peace, Prosperity and Justice". This particular banner could be a bogus one have might and been put up by our opponents to embarrass us. I certainly hope DAP has not faked it up. Let me be generous and presume that the banner was not a fake one them the banners must have been put up by an over-zealous Party supporter and certainly not put up by the Alliance Headquarters. The Alliance Headquarters has always put up same slogans in all languages and the Hon'ble Member knows this, having been fighting the Alliance since 1955, that what I am saying is true.

Mosque

The Member for Dato' Keramat⁴ has criticized the building of a mosque on the Penang Hill. I don't know why he picked on this rather sensitive issue and which could easily be misunderstood by people as attack on Moslems and their religion and the State Religion. He said he was against waste. But there was no waste on this. Unless of course, the Member wants a shed to be built among mansions and bungalows on Penang Hill. A place of worship must be built consistent with the 'dignity' of its surroundings. Incidentally, most of the money came from public donations. The mosque did not cost \$240,000 as alleged by the Member. It only cost \$72,000. The public contributed \$42,000 and the Government only contributed \$30,000. If we follow our rules of matching contribution a grant, that is a dollar-to-dollar basis, we would have to contribute \$42,000 but we did not and in fact we have saved the Government a lot of money.

From mosque, the Hon'ble Member moved on to the question of the dissolution of Malaysia. He has given three alternatives to us regarding the future of this country. First, he wants us to reformulate Malaysia we want with new and different terms; whether Sabah and Sarawak want to remain in Malaysia in its present set-up or whether they want fresh discussions after they are separated or if they wish to have the present Malaysian set-up with different terms. I do not know on what basis the Hon'ble Member concludes that the people of Sabah and Sarawak are not happy with Malaysia or we are not happy with the people of these two territories. As far as I know, the Government is satisfied with the desire of the people of Sabah and Sarawak to remain in Malaysia and that the two States are happy and want to remain in Malaysia under the present set-up. Perhaps, from time to time we will review the conditions of the Malaysia Agreement in the light of our experience and changing time and political requirements to consolidate and integrate the nation.

Sometimes the Hon'ble Member spoke as if he wants us to preside over the burial of Malaysia and talked about Sabah and Sarawak leaving the new country. He claimed that everyone wants to give up Sabah and Sarawak but nobody dares to speak it up. This is not true, with Alliance Party; it must be true with Labour Party. As you know, the Labour Party and some other Opposition Parties have always been opposed to Malaysia and this is the only thing I know they are always consistent about.

⁴ Encik Lim Kean Siew.

As I had mentioned earlier, we will be holding the election in Sarawak as soon as it can practically be done. We are not with holding elections because we are afraid as alleged by some Opposition members. In fact, in March, Sabah will be holding its first General Election and naturally after Sabah we have to have another election in Sarawak. But when it is going to be, I cannot say exactly because it will depend on the completion of the election machinery in the State.

The Hon'ble Member also claimed that we are neglecting the peasants and the poor people of this country. This is not quite true because we are doing all we could to help these people to get a higher standard of living by urging them to modernise their methods of cultivation, giving them subsidised urea and providing the people with greater amenities of life. The fact that these people have always been staunch supporters of the Alliance since 1955, proves that they are satisfied with what the Government is doing for them. But being a good Government, we are not satisfied with what we are doing for them simply because we want to do much more for our peasants and poor workers.

Defence Expenditure in Sarawak

The Hon'ble Member Mr. Edmund Langgu⁵ stated that he was sorry to note that there was still a heavier expenditure to be incurred on defence in Sarawak in spite of the suspension of Confrontation. He further stated that the massive influx of West Malaysian soldiers into Sarawak was unwarranted and that a small contingent of Sarawak Field Force would be more than adequate to contain the so-called subversive activities.

I would first like to inform the Hon'ble Member that there is no such thing as "West Malaysian soldiers" as such. The Armed Forces of this country is Malaysian in character. It is called the "Malaysian Armed Forces" and in fact a large number of Sarawakians and Sabahans have joined the Armed Forces, and units of the Armed Forces which have Sarawakians and Sabahans are already serving in Sarawak.

Militant Indonesian Confrontation may have ended but the danger from militant Communism and the TNKU still exist and has in fact increased as evidenced in the White Paper recently published on the Communists activities in Sarawak. The presence of the so-called large number of soldiers is still necessary and the Sarawak contingent or Field Force alone will not be adequate to keep law and order in the Sarawak border and the areas infested with Communist

⁵ Member for Sarawak.

terrorists. The soldiers and personnel of PFF as a matter of fact is very thin on the ground but if the situation does not worsen and if the population and political parties co-operate with the Government, the present strength of the Armed Forces and the PFF stationed in Sarawak would be adequate.

Ahli Yang Berhormat bagi Kawasan Johor Tenggara⁶ telah mengaku yang ia bingung dengan dasar Kerajaan Perikatan terhadap komunis atau komunism. Kononnya, ia menyatakan dasar kita terhadap komunism telah berubah. Saya suka memberi penjelasan sedikit di sini bahawa seperti kata Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri⁷ adalah menjadi dasar Kerajaan Perikatan untuk sentiasa berkawan dan bersahabat baik dengan semua negara yang ingin berkawan dengan kita dan menjamin yang mereka tidak akan melibatkan diri dalam soal-soal rumahtangga negara ini dan menghormati kemerdekaan kita. Malaysia akan bersahabat dengan mana-mana negara jua pun dengan tidak mengira apa fahaman politik Kerajaan negara itu. Berlainan fahaman politik tidak boleh menyekat persahabatan antara dua negara namun bagi orang-orang perseorangan juga.

Semenjak konfrontasi tamat, kita telah dapat perubahan-perubahan dasar dan pandangan negara-negara komunis terhadap Malaysia dan ini menunjukkan tanda-tanda yang mereka suka bersahabat dengan kita dan mengakui dan menghormati kemerdekaan kita. Keinginan ini kita balas kerana seperti kata saya tadi adalah menjadi dasar kita untuk bersahabat dengan semua negara. Dalam masalah ini tidaklah ada apa-apa perubahan dasar kita terhadap negara-negara komunis. Sebelum konfrontasi, sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka, kita berbaik-baik dengan negara-negara komunis walaupun kita tidak ada perhubungan diplomatik. Permusuhan negara-negara komunis terhadap negara kita hanya kita dapati selepas Indonesia konfrontasikan kita sahaja. Dan sekarang konfrontasi sudah tamat.

Seperti kata Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri bahawa negara-negara komunis pun ada yang baik juga. Dunia komunis sekarang ini telah berpecah menjadi tiga puak. Puak pertama diketuai oleh China yang mengamalkan dasar militan komunism atau mahu menakluki dan menjadi seluruh dunia komunis melalui kekerasan. Puak yang kedua ialah yang diketuai oleh Soviet Union yang mendakwa mereka mengamalkan komunism tetapi tidak dengan cara kekerasan. Mereka boleh berkawan-kawan dan hidup dengan fahaman-fahaman politik lain. Satu puak lagi ialah negara komunis yang "merdeka" yang tidak

⁶ Dato' Syed Jaafar bin Hasan Albar.

⁷ Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

tertakluk kepada mana-mana negara komunis di atas tadi. Negara komunis yang "merdeka" ini selalunya bersikap berkecuali seperti negara Yugoslavia.

Dengan negara-negara komunis seperti Yugoslavia, Soviet Union dan negara-negara komunis yang tidak mengamalkan kekerasan untuk menakluki dunia inilah nampaknya kita boleh bersahabat dan sebab itulah kita telah bertukar-tukar lawatan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat Kawasan Muar Utara⁸ telah membawakan perkara kenaikan elaun Ketua-ketua Kampung kerana pada masa ini mereka diberi kerja yang lebih di bawah rancangan-rancangan Gerakan Maju dan Ketua-Ketua Kampung itu juga telah dijadikan Pengerusi-pengerusi Jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung.

Masalah pembayaran sugu hati atau elaun kepada Ketua-ketua Kampung adalah tanggungjawab Kerajaan Negeri. Sama ada hendak dinaikkan ataupun diberi lebih lagi maka terpulanglah kepada pertimbangan Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri. Tetapi saya suka menarik perhatian Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat yang jika kita sebenar-benarnya hendak memberi kesedaran, tanggungjawab dan keinsafan kepada rakyat bagi mencapai kemajuan maka seluruh rakyat termasuklah Ketua-ketua Kampung, rakyat biasa, pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan dan Wakil-wakil Rakyat khasnya memberi tenaga usaha dan fikiran yang lebih besar lagi kepada pembangunan dan Gerakan Maju di tempat masing-masing dengan tidak fikirkan sangat tambahan-tambahan elaun. Saya berharap kesedaran ini akan timbul supaya rakyat lebih bekerja kuat, berusaha dan tekun dalam mencari kemajuan bagi diri masing-masing dan Malaysia. Seperti yang saya katakan tadi bahawa soal kenaikan elaun itu adalah semata-mata tanggungjawab Kerajaan Negeri maka saya serahlah soal itu kepada Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri.

With regard to the question raised by the Hon'ble Member Mr. Stephen Yong⁹ regarding the "on-the-spot-grants", I regret to say that the Hon'ble Member has completely misunderstood this method of allocating funds for development purposes. The on-the-spot-grants are in fact *the end process of detailed investigations by both the State Development officers and the District Officers*. The projects concerned for which funds I approve on my tour of the rural areas have been properly worked out long before I arrived on the spot. The only thing that is done on the spot is the announcement to the public that funds for the projects are approved.

The advantage of this method is that the people who are going to benefit from the implementation of such projects know, in fact, that

⁸ Encik Ahmad bin Arshad.

⁹ Member for Sarawak.

they have been approved and if there is any delay in the implementation then they can, through the proper channels, speed up action on it.

Take the alternative to this. What happened in the old days of colonialism when the lifeless allocation warrants were passed from office to office and none of the rakyat and everyone on the ground knew of the approval of the projects and such allocation of funds could lie idle in files while the projects remained still-born. This method of on the spot announcements of the allocation of funds has brought to life the whole of the minor works programme throughout the length and breadth of the country to the advantage of our rural people.

The Hon'ble Member for Kota Star Selatan¹⁰ mentioned about expensive building and other paraphernalia.

The Government is very much aware of this. In fact, I have already instructed all concerned to see to it that all new Government buildings and other projects be constructed on *Standard Plans*. It has been the policy of the Government for the past three years to construct buildings only on *utility lines*, without expensive esthetic contraptions.

I would like to assure this House that all new Government and engineering project and constructions will have to be scrutinised carefully by the Standards and Cost Committee before actual implementation is carried out.

A more sweeping step than this will be a review of the Building By-Laws so that some of the expensive hut un-utility types of requirements under the Building By-Laws could be dispensed with.

Now I come back to the point raised by several Opposition Members on defence expenditure.

The Hon'ble Member for Bungsar, Mr. Devan Nair, stated that the Ministry of Defence Estimates shew a net reduction of 1,770 in personnel, i.e. a decrease of 3½% in personnel, but it shew an increase of 7% in personal emoluments.

I would like to confirm that there is a reduction in personnel from 50,192 to 48,422 but personnel includes civilians, regular servicemen as well as mobilised servicemen. If the Hon'ble Member were to examine the Estimates carefully and intelligently, he will see that the net reduction in personnel is due to:

- (a) firstly, in the reduction of civilians concerned with Control of Manpower and The National Service and of servicemen concerned with the training of national servicemen;

¹⁰ Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed.

- (b) secondly, in the reduction of permanent military staff concerned with the training of Local Defence Corps;
- (c) thirdly, in the reduction of mobilised servicemen.

These are very clearly shown in Bahagian 'C', 'D' and 'E'.

On the other hand, an examination of Bahagian 'B' will show that there is an increase of both civilian and regular servicemen, i.e. civilian personnel increased from 1634 to 1971 and servicemen from 21,882 to 24,633.

Perhaps I should explain that the reduced civilian personnel, except for three Administrative Officers and two Executive officers, involves mainly the Clerical grades and the reduced military personnel similarly mainly involves NCOs and Other Ranks. On the other hand, the actual strength of military personnel - regular are catching up with the approved establishment and the effect of this, as well as the increases in salaries due to their normal promotion in service, is to increase the total emoluments.

Yang Berhormat Ahli Muar Utara (Ahmad bin Arshad) telah berkata di dalam pertahanan kita tidak patut bergantung kepada negara luar tetapi bentuk pertahanan sendiri. Ia juga berkata perjanjian pertahanan dengan Britain patut dikaji semula dan patut perjanjian pertahanan baharu diadakan dengan Singapura, Thailand dan di Vietnam Selatan.

Bagi menjawabnya saya suka hendak menegaskan bahawa tidak ada negeri-negeri di dalam dunia ini yang boleh menjalankan pertahannya sendiri melainkan barangkali Russia dan Amerika Syarikat. Mereka semuanya masuk di dalam perjanjian pertahanan mahupun secara 'collective' ataupun 'Bilateral'. Jadi kita sebagai negeri yang kecil hendaklah menjalankan pertahanan kita dengan bersekutu dengan negara-negara sahabat, maka oleh sebab itulah maka kita ada perjanjian pertahanan dengan Britain, Australia dan New Zealand bersekutu dengan perjanjian pertahanan itu.

*The Hon'ble Member for Sitiawan*¹¹ suggested that the youth of this country should be called up for military training.

The suggestion is indeed a very good one. However, we have to take into consideration the financial position of the country and the expense involved. As a matter of fact, National Service training was instituted during the period of Confrontation, but we could not go on with this and have to close down or National Service Training Centres and stop calling up our youth for military training in order to cut expenditure on defence and enable money to be made available for development.

¹¹ Encik Kam Woon Wah.

*The Hon'ble Mr. Ong Kee Hui*¹² stated that rather than spend large sums of money on the military to defend ourselves the Territorial Army should be expanded.

In our military plan we have provided for an Army which consists of both regulars and volunteers. It is not clearly shown in our Estimates, but the strength of the volunteers is very much larger than that of the regulars. The volunteers under go regular training and will be called up whenever there is a state of emergency. This was done during the Confrontation and, as the Estimates show, a large number of them are now being demobilised. It is, however, necessary to maintain at any time a certain strength of regular Army. Our military plan is based on this principle.

The Hon'ble Mr. Stephen Yong said that Government is spending too much money on Defence and we could reduce expenditure on defence if Government were to practise real democracy and allow the free interchange of ideas and ideologies.

We are practicing democracy. But some political leaders either intentionally or inadvertently allow the Communists to subvert or infiltrate into their Party which makes the work of Government difficult and require more Security Forces. If these political leaders can show courage and stand up against the Communist, it might be possible to reduce some expenditure on Defence and Security.

What I don't understand is that some Opposition Members suggested that we should depend on ourselves for defence while others criticised the crease in defence expenditure. We are increasing the size of our force and increasing the number of aircraft and ships so that we should take more upon ourselves to defend our country because we believe in last analysis the defence of a country is in the hands of its alone particularly if there is an actual external attack. What we intend to have is a force of a size adequate to assists the civil authorities in internal security and to carry out a 'close defence' of our country.

Conclusion

Hon'ble Members, I think I have replied to all the major questions and observations raised in the House during the debate. Before I yield the floor to my other colleagues, I would like to say the Malaysian people, every one of us here, has worked reasonably hard to make Malaysia a happy land for all people. We are a diligent people and while we go that fighting alien subversion, only the Alliance Government can go about improving the people's lot.

¹² Member for Sarawak.

I give the House the assurance that under us, Malaysian of every race will always have a reasonable live hood, security and happiness; and for our efforts, the people have always been with the Alliance Government and I have no doubt they will continue to do so for many years to come. Thank you.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
DI MESYUARAT MENUBUHKAN JAWATANKUASA GERAKAN
MAJU (PERINGKAT KEBANGSAAN) DI BILIK
GERAKAN KEBANGSAAN, KUALA LUMPUR
PADA JANUARI 1967**

Saya ucapkan terima kasih kepada tuan-tuan yang telah sanggup berkhidmat di dalam Jawatankuasa Gerakan MAJU Peringkat Kebangsaan ini, terutama kepada Dr. Abdullah Sedky (F.A.O).

Selain daripada ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa ini saya telah meminta hadir di sini Ketua-ketua Jabatan yang lain yang ada hubungan dengan perkara pembangunan masyarakat supaya mereka dapat mengikuti perkembangan-perkembangan yang saya harapkan mengenai Gerakan MAJU yang telah saya lancarkan 9 bulan yang lalu

I learn that as a result of this orientation many officers have shown greater enthusiasm in helping the people to help improve themselves. In their enthusiasm these officers have made several useful suggestions concerning our Gerakan MAJU programmes. Some have even suggested that there should be more balanced representation in the membership of Village Development Committees.

On this last point I would like to clarify that there should be a gradual change of membership of these Committees so that representatives from the various Government sponsored organisations at Village or Mukim Level such as the Farmers' Association, W.I., Youth Clubs can sit as members of these Committees. How gradual this change is to be effected will be the discretion of the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister concerned.

In our Red Books are embodied the hopes and aspirations of our people in the projects proposed by them for their own improvements. The Red Books were produced after taking into consideration the conditions of our country, its social structure and our administrative system.

Again, in formulating our Gerakan MAJU programmes we take into consideration the "felt needs" of the people and the method we use is one well suited to our own conditions. We integrate our Community Development programmes within the framework of the overall development programme.

The Alliance Government has no such bad intentions for the people as has been proved by the success of many of its Rural

Development schemes. Nor has it the intention of repeating the "sandiwara" of the Colonial days when our traditional leaders were given the role of "seri-panggung" or prima donna in a stage-play so cleverly directed by our Colonial masters. We are reminded of such incidents of play-acting because they reacted on our own people and had adverse effects on them. The people, as audience, and our traditional leaders as sectors, consciously absorbed all the attractions of the stage-plays, little knowing that they were victims of a bigger scheme of things which was fomulated by our Colonial masters. Not only were they made unconscious of the drain of the nations' wealth but the traditional leaders were obsessed by other trifles and could do little to ameliorate the difficulties of the people. As a result we inherit much of the social injustice as part of what is universally known as independence.

The Alliance Government is not going to repeat such incidents. It is, in all sincerity and purpose, detemined to weild the partnership between the Government and the people even more closely. Knowing the handicaps suffered by our people at Merdeka time the Government did not immediately insist that they should exert themselves in implementing our 2nd. Five Year Development Plan. That was why the Government took upon itself the task of providing the basic things for a sound economic infra-structure for the development of the country as illustrated in and implemented under Phase I described earlier by me.

As you are aware no one, apart from cynics and hard-headed opposition members, can deny that the Alliance Government had done and achieved substantial progress in developing this country of ours - Despite these success we are determined to do very much more and the establishment of your committee is an important aspect of that process.

I have formed this Committee because I know that there are certain aspects of the country's development that have to be looked into from a different perspective. I refer to the areas of social development, involving the livelihood of our people, the development of which overlaps in (or even not touched upon by) the jurisdiction of a number of Ministries, Government Departments and agencies. You have been given your terms of reference and you will note that your role covers a dimension which strikers the root of human existence, namely our peoples' own ability and initiative to better themselves in a highly competitive world full of stresses and strains of the modern to which most of them have to re-adjust or change from their own under-developed societies. I ask you to serve, to improve this area of human development, not only their material advancement but also their spiritual progress.

We know there are, in the rural areas many of our people who, despite their low standard of living, still like to take life quite easily. They like to take things, however difficult, in their own strides. They like to regard what little things they own or what small income they receive as "good enough" for them. We must try to make them think so as to improve. What is good enough to them should be made good enough only as a start for the better and that it is much better for them to earn much more. This they can do by learning and striving and working harder. This is, in fact, what Islam teaches us to do.

In your endeavour to communicate the need for this type of change in the people's pattern of behaviour you will need a touch of psychology and some common-sense appeal. Many, including religious teachers, have ventured in this field but leave impression on the kampung people because in their approach little they lack this human touch and appeal. Let us try to do much more by revealing to our people that contentment is good enough at certain times and for certain occasions but never good enough all the time.

I know this is a difficult job - a job which has baffled many people because in our effort a change in society, first and foremost, we ourselves must not merely be convinced of the advantage of those changes but also be prepared to adjust our own attitudes. However, I have personally selected you all to serve this Committee because each one of you has some experience and training in this field and I hope you will carry out your job to the best of your ability.

As your field of operation is wide I suggest that you decide priorities in your plan of operation. I would like you to give priorities to the following:

- (i) Generate more orderly activities involving the people, particularly the rural population, so that they will develop their own resources compatible with the Government's aims and efforts to upraise their standard of living. In other words, more Community Development projects should be carried out laying greater stress on our people's participation.
- (ii) Plan, co-ordinate and implement programmes whereby our Community Development concept can be properly transmitted and communicated to Government officers (especially our Extension Workers) and to the people (especially the Village Level Workers). This will involve not only training but also the holding of Seminar as the last one held at Jitra.
- (iii) Plan and cause to implement a programme providing for better nutritional standards of our people, particularly the rural population.

As regards this last point I would like to announce here that from this year a portion of the proceeds from the Social and Welfare Lotteries will be spent on projects contributing directly to human development. While grants will still be allocated for mosque, suraus, temples and other buildings of religious or charitable nature, funds will also be allocated to projects to combat ill-health (such as applied nutrition), to help overcome handicaps in obtaining adequate (such as the text book problem) and worthwhile projects to combat other social problems which can not be easily eradicated or minimized under existing Government departmental programmes.

I would certainly like you to deal with the problem of ill-health immediately because from what has been revealed by research undertaken by the I.M.R. a great deal of attention is needed in the rural areas to overcome the problems of malnutrition, infant mortality and toddler mortality. In this regard I am happy to note that the Home Economics Classes under my Ministry's Adult Education programme have achieved a break-through in establishing the necessary link to convey the results of research and education of food values from our level to that in the villages. As you know this Ministry's 3 women Training Centres have produced 1,605 teachers and taught Home Economics subjects to about 16,099 adult students in the rural areas. The results have been impressive.

But we must do more! I would like the plan of operation already formulated by the Applied Nutrition sub-Committee of the National Health Council to be launched without further delay and your Committee should see to this and, if feasible, to link it with the functions of the newly established Centre for Food Technology.

This extra effort, if successfully implemented, will I am sure enhance the efforts of the Government's Health Programmes. In turn these combined efforts will ensure that our Nation's health will be a real wealth, truly an asset to our efforts in nation-building.

You may be glad to know that I have approved the sum of \$25,000/- for the purpose of producing some form of publications which can be a medium of communication amongst all concerned in development work. I have agreed that an Editorial Board comprising your Chairman and other officials from my Ministry and from the Malaysian Centre of Development Studies to be set up to produce this publication.

I realize that there is a great need for Government officers, especially those in Development implementation and Extension Workers to be regularly supplied with information relating to Government policies, results of research and the impacts of our development projects on the people. This publication will bridge the gap between the lowest level of Community Development workers to

grasp Government policies and those in the higher level to know the impact of Government programmes at grass-root level. It can also provide opportunities for our officers to write about their experiences, as case-studies, in development which can be of use to other officers. At the same time I hope by this means our officers will develop their talents in writing during their spare time and enrich the literature on the Development Decade as experienced in Malaysia.

About six weeks ago I addressed the Conference of Social Welfare Officers and stressed on the necessity of these officers to orientate their outlook and work from merely one of looking after the welfare of the handicaps and destitutes to an outlook of development. As you all know our Social Welfare officers are among those who have been highly trained in social work and a great asset for Community Development work.

As the area of our operation in Community Development is vast and involve several different levels of societies with different problems, we must deploy our manpower resources in our Gerakan MAJU programmes. In the areas where we have applied the 'mass approach' I am quite satisfied with the arrangement to use Community Development workers who are generalists in the subject such as D.Os, A.D.Os, Penghulus, Adult Education Supervisors, teachers and Ketua-ketua Kampung.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE
SYMPOSIUM ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH'S DINNER AT MALAYSIA HOTEL
ON 3RD FEBRUARY 1967

Mr. Chairman,
Hon'ble Minister(s)
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am surprised that you, some hundred Scientists have, at the culmination of your successful Symposium, invited me, a *politician* to be your guest at dinner tonight, because, in most countries in the world, scientists have a *silent contempt* for politicians!

Historically, I believe this contempt dates back to the time that Scientists invented an *aeroplane* that could travel *faster than sound*, but now things are *equal* because there are in the world today politicians who can make *sound* travel *faster than aeroplanes*!

Secondly, the scientific approach to politicians is that they are *not* infallible. So, let us get the record straight!

If the politician is not infallible, neither is a Scientist!

Let me quote you an example of the non-infallibility of science.

I understand, recently there was a computer, or what you might call an *electronic brain* invented by scientists in America, and this machine was designed to translate at speed any given sentence, in any language, into any other language!

When it was tested, the intention was to feed in an English sentence, convert it into Russian, and finally retranslate it into our National language, Malay. The words fed into this electronic brain was a well-known English expression: "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak".

When the final result came out of this Computer, and this shows where scientists can make mistakes, the translation of this expression in Malay came out like this: "Vodka bagus, akan tetapi, daging busuk (tak baik)".

So, therefore, gentlemen, let us start this evening on the understanding that both politician and scientist - we have one thing in common, - neither of us are infallible!

In fact, there is a similarity between our functions.

The role of the Scientist is to harness the forces of science, the forces of nature and the advanced knowledge of technology to make the world a better place for our people to live in.

Similarly, the role of the politician is to harness the opinions, the thinking and the energies of our people in order to make the fullest use of the discoveries of science, so that we can go forward – scientists, politicians, and our people, towards a better way of life, a better world, better in every respect than was enjoyed by our fore-fathers.

Let me enlarge on this theme. Our aim, in modern Malaysia, whether we be scientists or politicians or the ordinary layman in the street, must be to make, to harness, and to use, to the *fullest extent*, the most modern knowledge available in the world to the benefit of the progress of our people.

I firmly believe that although both Malaysia and Singapore are young nations, there is nevertheless, a tremendous future for us and a great future for our children and grand children provided we view the process of development in a modern context.

That modern context, to my mind, is the ability to make the fullest use of new discoveries and modern ideas, the results of research, and apply them to our development and to our way of life.

This does not mean that we entirely discard the past, but it does mean that we analyse the traditions of the past and accept and retain *such* traditional ideas which are still of value, and at the same time, superimpose on our traditions of the past, a new layer, a new blood and a new thinking which can be only derived from scientific research.

This, your second successful Symposium, is a very definite step in the right direction towards the achievement of making the maximum use of science, in so much that in your meetings, over the last few days, research workers in both the academic field, and in government came together, discussed together, thought together, exchanges views and ideas together.

Research workers in the academic field, more often than not, concentrate on the basic or fundamental aspects of Science, while those engaged in *government* service and *private industry* tend to be more *applied* in their research and more concerned with immediate application of their research results.

The bringing together of representatives in these two fields for a double advantage, in that University research workers can gauge the most appropriate fields for long term study which could lead eventually to practical applications in our environment, and their studies in this field will also influence the nature of their teaching which they pass on to their students.

Applied Scientists working in other sectors, in term are able to enlarge their thinking, better appreciate their individual contributions to the total research academics of the country and relate their work to the longer term research projects which *only* the academic scientist is often able to pursue.

Although I myself am a layman, I now fully appreciate not only the value of such a Symposium, but also the need for turning this sort of thing into something more permanent in the form of a National Scientific Research Council.

Such a National Scientific Research Council would, I hope, become part of the driving force of modern Malaysia - as I mentioned earlier - and help us to put to the fullest use for the development of our country, the latest discoveries and up-to-date knowledge of science.

I firmly believe that a developing nation such as Malaysia can, by applying the most modern methods and knowledge available to it, skip a few generations and catch up with the so-called developed and matured nations of the world.

However, we cannot, with the greatest stretch of imagination, expect to develop quickly if we plod on with old ways, old ideas and old methods. We have got to utilise our scientists, and we have got to make the fullest use of *all*, I repeat *all*, scientific knowledge available to us.

But, to achieve this, we have got to aim firstly, at more cohesive thinking. The instruments of such cohesive thinking is in fact, a National Scientific Research Council which can channel new thoughts and new ideas on scientific progress both to our government and to our people.

The terms of reference of such a Scientific Research Council would be:-

- to co-ordinate research programmes being conducted in universities and other institutions of higher learning, in Government departments and agencies, and where possible, in industries;
- to advise the Government on policy matters concerning science and technology;
- to advise the Government on the allocation of funds for scientific and industrial research;
- to give independent scientific advice on such matters as may be referred to it by the Government;
- and to advise the Government on International scientific Liaison.

Although my colleague, the Minister of Education became a "Doctor" in the record time of a few minutes during a Convocation ceremony, there is little hope of your distinguished gentlemen turning me into a scientist in the course of one single meal.

Although you have not turned me into a scientist, you have turned me into a "Catalyst", and I pledge myself before you tonight to make myself the main catalyst in precipitating both action and

reaction on government support for setting up as soon as possible a National Scientific Research Council.

I can foresee the advantages to our Nation both in the field of International co-ordination. National development, economy in scientific effort and obtaining maximum use of our natural resources, and all these aspects are of tremendous value for direct application of scientific knowledge to our problems and the maximum dedicated utilisation of Scientific manpower.

Looking into the future of this Council as has been so correctly pointed out in editorial comment by our leading newspapers, in the difficulty of assessing priorities on scientific work will arise.

However, I have no doubt in my mind as to what is in fact the first most immediate priority in our country which needs the application of the best scientific brains and the utilisation of the best scientific knowledge in the world, and that is the application of science to one of our greatest national problems at the present time. The problem of preventing disastrous flooding so that our people, particularly, in the East Coast States can live a peaceful and prosperous life without the perennial fear of flood disaster.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you once again for your kindness and hospitality tonight, and I am not hinting that you give me another free dinner in the near future, but I do hope that next time I have the honour to address you distinguished scientists, I hope it will be on the occasion of launching the National Scientific Research Council.

**UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
KETIKA MENCADANGKAN KEPALA BEKALAN S.16
BAGI KEMENTERIAN PERTAHANAN UNTUK TAHUN 1967
DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 3 FEBRUARI 1967**

Tuan Yang di-Pertua¹,

Saya pohon mencadangkan supaya Kepala Bekalan S.16 yang menunjukkan peruntukan wang sebanyak \$250,005,081 bagi Kementerian Pertahanan untuk tahun 1967 menjadi sebahagian daripada jadual.

Peruntukan sebanyak \$250,005,081 itu adalah terdiri dari \$109,489,670 bagi gaji-gaji, \$119,572,139 bagi lain-lain perbelanjaan berulang tiap-tiap tahun dan \$20,943,272 bagi perbelanjaan khas. Jumlah peruntukan itu merupakan tambahan sebanyak \$12.3 juta iaitu 5.2% dari jumlah peruntukan yang telah diberi kepada Kementerian Pertahanan dalam tahun 1966.

Sebelum saya mendalami peruntukan kewangan yang dimasukkan dalam Anggaran Kementerian Pertahanan, saya berbesar hati dan amat sukacita bahawa negara kita dan Indonesia telah berbaik-baik semula setelah berenggang selama 3 tahun. Adalah menjadi harapan kita semua bahawa persahabatan kita dengan Indonesia itu akan menjadi lebih mesra lagi dan berpanjangan.

Dalam masa beberapa tahun yang telah sudah, kita telah memperhebatkan pembesaran Angkatan Tentera kita. Pasukan-pasukan baharu telah ditubuhkan. Kapal dan kapalterbang telah diperbanyakkan bilangannya. Kita telah terpaksa berbuat demikian, demi kepentingan negara.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah banyak kali menyatakan bahawa Angkatan Bersenjata kita akan diperbesarkan. Bukan sahaja diperbesarkan, tetapi perlu juga diperkemaskan lagi kerana adalah menjadi cita-cita Kerajaan bahawa kita mestilah mempunyai Angkatan Bersenjata yang kuat serba lengkap bagi mempertahankan nusa dan bangsa. Kita mestilah bersiap sedia untuk menentang sebarang ancaman dari dalam mahupun dari luar. Di Sabah, Sarawak dan di sempadan Malaysia dengan Thailand masih lagi terdapat ancaman dari komunis dan anasir-anasir jahat yang kalau tidak dimusnahkan akan menimbulkan keadaan huru hara dan kacau bilau dalam negara kita ini.

¹ Dato' C.M. Yusof bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman.

Oleh itu Tentera Laut, Tentera Udara dan terutama Tentera Darat kita hendaklah diperbesarkan lagi. Tentera Darat mempunyai tambahan anggota yang banyak sekali dalam tahun 1967. Pasukan-pasukan baharu berjalan kaki adalah ditubuhkan supaya menambahkan lagi kekuatan yang sedia ada. Selain dari itu terdapat juga pasukan-pasukan kecil yang akan ditubuhkan. Pasukan-pasukan yang telah lama ada juga diperkuatkan lagi dengan menambahkan anggotanya oleh kerana peranan yang dimainkan oleh pasukan-pasukan itu.

Berkenaan dengan Tentera Laut pula jumlah kapal yang ada dalam tahun 1966 akan ditambahkan dalam tahun ini untuk menjalankan peranan yang lebih memuaskan lagi. Oleh kerana terdapatnya tambahan kapal-kapal itu maka bermaknalah lebih banyak lagi kakitangan yang dikehendaki supaya kapal itu dapat digunakan dengan sempurna. Pasukan baharu akan ditubuhkan. Pasukan yang sedia ditubuhkan itu akan diperbesarkan lagi anggotanya.

Tentera Udara kita juga akan diperbesarkan. Kapal terbang yang ada pada masa ini akan ditambahkan lagi supaya dapat melaksanakan tugas yang lebih sempurna. Dengan penambahan kapal terbang itu seperti mengadakan satu skuadron jet pembinasa maka pasukan baharu terpaksa ditubuhkan. Pasukan yang telah lama ditubuhkan juga ditambahkan anggotanya.

Berhubung dengan Pasukan Askar Wataniah, saya telahpun memberitahu Dewan ini bahawa pasukan itu tidak akan dikurangkan anggotanya. Ini adalah disebabkan oleh perkhidmatan mereka itu masih lagi dikehendaki untuk membantu tentera biasa.

Pada masa ini kita mempunyai tiga Batalion Askar Wataniah dan kesemuanya adalah sedang berkhidmat sepenuh masa untuk mengisi tempat yang telah dikosongkan oleh tentera biasa.

Berkenaan dengan tentera-tentera tempatan, oleh sebab kekurangan wang, kita tidak akan menambah lagi bilangan tentera tempatan ini dan mereka-mereka yang sedang berkhidmat sekarang ini akan terpaksa dikurangkan masa latihan mereka untuk mengecutkan perbelanjaan. Saya suka mengambil peluang ini mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan penghargaan yang tinggi kepada ahli-ahli Pasukan Tentera Tempatan yang telah dikerah berkhidmat pada masa kita menentang konfrantasi Indonesia dahulu. Sekarang mereka-mereka itu telah dibenarkan balik semua berkhidmat seperti masa aman. Begitu juga Kerajaan akan menjalankan apa juga usaha-usaha yang patut untuk hendak memberi pertolongan kepada mereka itu supaya dapat memulakan kehidupan mereka semula. Begitu juga masalah sagu hati sedang ditimbangan. Seperti saya telah terangkan di Dewan ini bahawa saya telah menubuhkan satu Bahagian di

Kementerian Pertahanan untuk hendak menolong dan menjaga kepentingan ahli-ahli bekas pasukan keselamatan yang telah menjalankan perkhidmatan kepada negara. Mereka-mereka itu akan diberi apa juga pertolongan untuk hendak mempunyai cara hidup yang berpatutan. Begitu jugalah isteri-isteri bekas pasukan keselamatan yang telah terkorban, pihak Kerajaan sedang mengambil langkah untuk hendak menjaga kepentingan mereka itu dengan kerjasama dari Persatuan Bekas Pasukan Keselamatan dapatlah dijalankan usaha-usaha untuk menolong mereka itu dengan memuaskan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya hendak memberi keterangan sedikit sebanyak berkenaan dengan peruntukan kewangan yang terdapat di bawah Kepala S.16 Kementerian Pertahanan. Kebanyakan dari tambahan peruntukan ini adalah terdapat di bawah gaji-gaji. Tambahan itu sebanyak %7.1 juta disebabkan oleh perkara-perkara yang telah dan akan saya sebutkan.

Pada umumnya rangka Anggaran Pertahanan tidak mempunyai perubahan besar. Di bawah gaji-gaji terdapat lima bahagian iaitu Bahagian 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D' dan 'E'.

Bahagian 'A' ialah untuk jawatan awam dan tentera yang telah diwujudkan selepas terbentuknya Malaysia. Di dalam bahagian ini terdapat kekurangan anggota awam sebanyak 2 orang, tetapi jumlah peruntukan yang dikehendaki telah bertambah sebanyak \$3.7 juta.

Bahagian 'B' pula ialah bagi jawatan awam dan tentera yang telah ditubuhkan dengan terbentuknya Malaysia. Kebanyakan dari tambahan anggota yang terdapat dalam tahun ini ialah di bahagian ini yang mempunyai tambahan anggota sebanyak 3,048 orang. Peruntukan kewangan adalah bertambah sebanyak \$7.6 juta.

Bahagian 'C' adalah untuk Jabatan Khidmat Negara yang pada masa ini telahpun dibubarkan. Sebagaimana ahli yang berkhidmat sedia maklum Khidmat Negara telah mula ditubuhkan pada tahun 1964 setelah difikirkan mustahak bagi rakyat Malaysia diberi latihan tentera. Oleh itu rakyat Malaysia yang dilahirkan antara 19 haribulan November, 1934 hingga 19 haribulan November, 1942 telah didaftar dan dipanggil untuk menjalankan latihan tentera selama 2 bulan di pusat latihan. Sehingga ini seramai lebih kurang 400,000 orang telah didaftarkan dan 9,827 telah dilatih di empat tempat latihan iaitu Port Dickson, Ipoh, Penang dan Kuala Terengganu.

Selain dari itu, seramai 24 orang doktor telah juga dipanggil untuk berkhidmat. Setelah berlatih selama 2 minggu di Pusat Latihan mereka adalah dihantar ke pasukan tentera untuk menjadi doktor pasukan itu selama 1 tahun. Panggilan doktor ini akan diteruskan oleh kerana kita tidak mempunyai cukup doktor berkhidmat dengan tentera kita. Saya mengambil peluang di sini mengucapkan terima kasih kepada mereka-mereka yang terlibat dalam Khidmat Negara

ini, sama ada yang telah dilatih yang memberi latihan dan juga yang duduk di pejabat.

Dalam tahun 1967, hanya 27 orang sahaja dikehendaki di bawah Bahagian 'C' dan mereka ini ialah untuk mengendalikn rekod-rekod dan sebagainya, kerana ianya mungkin diperlui pada masa yang akan datang.

Bahagian 'D' diuntukkan bagi jawatan awam dan tentera yang dikehendaki untuk Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan. Pasukan ini telah mula diperbesarkan pada tahun 1963. Pada masa itu terdapat sebanyak 22,000 orang dan telah meningkat menjadi 38,000 orang dalam tahun 1966 termasuklah sebanyak lebih kurang 900 orang pasukan Pertahanan wanita. Oleh kerana keadaan kewangan tidak mengizinkan maka perbelanjaan bagi Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan ini terpaksa dikurangkan seperti:

- (a) Pasukan Latihan (Training Team) dikurangkan jumlahnya. Sungguhpun peruntukan telah dibenarkan sebanyak 276 Pasukan Pelatih pada tahun lalu tetapi hanya 165 Pasukan sahaja yang telah ditubuhkan. Dengan ini tidaklah bermakna bahawa Jurulatih yang ada pada masa ini diberhentikan perkhidmatan mereka. Pasukan Latihan yang belum ditubuhkan itu tidak akan ditubuhkan.
- (b) Seorang sukarelawan itu hanya menjalankan latihan sebanyak 60 jam sahaja setahun dan tidak 120 jam setahun seperti dahulu.
- (c) Seorang sukarelawan hanya mendapat sepasang pakaian sahaja dan gantinya akan diberi sekali dalam 3 tahun.
- (d) Mereka akan menggunakan senapang patah sahaja dengan 5 biji peluru setahun untuk latihan.
- (e) Latihan Tahunan (Annual Camp) selama 4 hari itu akan dijalankan hanya untuk 50% daripada kekuatan dalam satu-satu pasukan.

Bahagian 'E' pula ialah untuk jawatan-jawatan sukarelawan yang telah dipanggil bertugas sama ada untuk menjaga sasaran penting dari dimusnahkan oleh musuh ataupun untuk membantu askar biasa. Askar yang terlibat dalam perkara ini ialah Askar Wataniah, Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan dan Askar Simpanan Tentera Udara. Kebanyakan dari anggota tentera biasa kita adalah terdapat di Malaysia Timur. Tempat mereka di Malaysia Barat ini adalah diisikan oleh pasukan sukarelawan ini. Dalam tahun ini jumlah sasaran penting yang masih dijagai oleh Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan telah dikurangkan dari 300 menjadi 23 tempat sahaja. Maka itulah sebabnya terdapat kekurangan dalam bahagian ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya jelaskan sedikit berkenaan dengan peruntukan kewangan yang terdapat di bawah lain-lain

Perbelanjaan Berulang Tiap-tiap Tahun. Peruntukan yang terdapat di bawah tajuk ini bagi tahun 1967 mempunyai kekurangan sebanyak \$4.6 juta dari angka yang telah diluluskan bagi tahun 1966.

Angkatan tentera kita masih mempunyai kekurangan anggota-anggota yang terlatih. Pada tahun ini kita memerlukan wang tambahan dari tahun sudah dalam Pecahan Kepala (9), (10) dan (11) supaya dapat menghantarkan lebih banyak lagi ahli tentera kita untuk dilatih sama ada di Pusat Latihan di negara kita ini ataupun di seberang laut.

Latihan Tentera Udara khasnya mempunyai tambahan sebanyak \$1.7 juta dari 1966. Pada masa yang akan datang ini Tentera Udara kita akan mempunyai lebih banyak lagi kapal terbang seperti yang telah saya katakan tadi; dan akan memainkan peranan yang lebih penting dari masa yang telah sudah. Oleh itu anggota Tentera Udara kita mestilah dilatih bagi tugas itu.

Anggota angkatan tentera kita adalah dihantar ke luar negeri seperti Kanada, United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, India dan United Kingdom untuk melanjutkan kursus dan pelajaran mereka setelah mendapat latihan di negara kita. Ada juga yang dihantar belajar di Universiti Malaya, Universiti Singapura dan Kolej Teknik untuk mendalami pelajaran mereka dalam ilmu perubatan, teknik seperti kejuruteraan dan sebagainya.

Pecahan Kepala (12) mempunyai tambahan peruntukan sebanyak \$1.7 juta. Tambahan ini adalah disebabkan oleh membeli dan membayar sewa alat percakapan. Juga wang itu adalah bagi perutusan yang dibuat menerusi Pejabat Pos.

Pecahan Kepala-kepala yang lain adalah mengandungi tambahan sedikit sebanyak disebabkan kita terpaksa menambah lagi bilangan tentera-tentera tetap, Tentera Darat, Udara dan Laut dan begitu juga disebabkan tentera kita telah bertambah berat tanggungan kerana tentera kita terpaksa mengambil-alih kuasa daripada tentera Komanwel di wilayah-wilayah Sabah dan Sarawak.

Di bawah Perbelanjaan Khas Kementerian Pertahanan adalah memerlukan tambahan sebanyak \$9.78 juta dari angka yang telah diluluskan bagi tahun 1966. Pada keseluruhannya tambahan itu adalah berkaitan dengan pembelian barang-barang baru yang digunakan oleh angkatan bersenjata kita.

Saya telah menyatakan bahawa dengan tamatnya konfrontasi pasukan tentera kita telah mengambil-alih tugas di Malaysia Timur daripada tentera Komanwel. Mereka itu sedang menjaga keselamatan negara kita di wilayah Sabah dan Sarawak. Keadaan di Malaysia Timur adalah memerlukan tentera kita menjalankan banyak kerja-kerja seperti membuat jalan dan mendirikan khemah-khemah sementara supaya tentera-tentera kita dapat menjalankan tugas

mereka dengan lebih sempurna. Oleh yang demikian maka peruntukan sebanyak S200 ribu dan S500 ribu adalah dikehendaki di Pecahan Kepala (51) dan (52).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah memberi penjelasan sedikit sebanyak berkenaan dengan peruntukan yang telah dimasukkan dalam Anggaran Tahun 1967 bagi Kementerian Pertahanan. Kita mustahaklah mempunyai tentera yang cukup untuk mempertahankan tanahair kita dan tentera-tentera kita itu mustahak diperalatkan dengan alat-alat yang moden. Begitu juga tentera kita mustahak diberi latihan dengan sempurna supaya mereka itu sentiasa mempunyai semangat dan kecergasan yang tinggi untuk menunaikan tanggungjawab mereka.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah kerap kali menyatakan bahawa kita sangat beruntung disebabkan kita mempunyai angkatan tentera yang taat setia dan mempunyai tatatertib yang baik, keberanian dan kecergasan yang tinggi. Mereka telah menjalankan tugas mereka bagi mempertahankan negara kita dengan amat cemerlangnya. Nama baik tentera kita sentiasa harum bukan sahaja di sisi rakyat negara ini bahkan di kalangan negara-negara asing di dunia. Begitu juga dalam menjalankan tugas, ada di antara ahli-ahli tentera kita yang telah terkorban; kepada mereka kita sentiasa mengenang jasa dan pengorbanan mereka itu. Jasa-jasa dan pengorbanan mereka itu adalah dijunjung tinggi oleh rakyat Malaysia seluruhnya.

Selain dari membuat perondaan dan sebagainya dengan menggunakan alat senjata, angkatan tentera kita telah juga memberi kesempatan menolong rakyat Malaysia dalam masa kecemasan bencana alam seperti menyelamatkan nyawa dan harta benda. Ini adalah terbukti tatkala air bah berlaku di Malaysia Barat baru-baru ini.

Sebelum mengakhiri ucapan ini saya suka juga mengucapkan berbanyak terima kasih kepada askar dan Kerajaan negara Komanwel terutama sekali United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand dan Kanada yang telah memberi pertolongan kepada kita. Di Sabah dan di Sarawak pada suatu masa dahulu telah banyak terdapat pasukan-pasukan tentera Komanwel seperti askar British, New Zealand, Gurkha dan Australia berkhidmat di samping askar kita untuk membantu mempertahankan negara kita. Selain dari askar berjalan kaki mereka juga terutama sekali tentera British telah mengadakan pasukan Tentera Udara dan Tentera Laut. Kapal terbang dan kapal laut mereka itu bukan sahaja digunakan oleh tentera mereka bahkan juga digunakan oleh tentera kita dalam menjalankan rondaan dan sebagainya. Askar-askar Komanwel itu telah juga menolong kita dengan membuat jalan, jambatan dan sebagainya di Malaysia Timur untuk kegunaan umum.

Askar-askar Komanwel yang telah berkhidmat di Malaysia Timur itu telah benar-benar menunjukkan semangat mereka dalam membantu kita. Pada masa ini mereka telahpun diundurkan dari wilayah itu. Sungguhpun begitu mereka sentiasa sanggup memberi pertolongan kepada kita. Mereka telah juga memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat Malaysia dalam menyelamatkan nyawa dan harta benda apabila terjadinya air bah baharu-baharu ini. Pihak tentera British telah menyediakan alat pengangkutan seperti kapalterbang, helikopter dan motorbot bagi penyelamatan itu. Kepada Kerajaan negara Komanwel dan askar mereka, Kerajaan Malaysia sekali lagi mengucapkan berbilang terima kasih.

Kepada pasukan tentera kita, saya berpesan dan berharap agar mereka tunjukkan semangat keperwiraan dan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi itu pada setiap masa. Mereka hendaklah berwaspada akan ancaman yang merosakkan ketenteraman dan kedaulatan negara. Mereka mestilah sentiasa bersiap sedia untuk mematahkan dan memusnahkan ancaman itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya pohon mencadangkan.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DAN MENTERI
PERTAHANAN MALAYSIA DI UPACARA PERBARISAN TAMAT
LATIHAN PEGAWAI-PEGAWAI KEDET JANGKA PENDEK
KURSUS NO. 10 PADA 15 FEBRUARI 1967**

Saya berasa sangat sukacita kerana dapat hadir bersama dengan tuan-tuan sekalian di Upacara Perbarisan Tamat Latihan pada hari ini. Ini adalah kali yang pertamanya saya mendapat peluang membalas tabek kehormatan di upacara yang cemerlang ini. Terlebih dahulu saya suka mengambil kesempatan untuk mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada tuan-tuan sekalian atas kejayaan tuan-tuan capai dalam menamatkan latihan tuan-tuan. Saya juga suka memberi pujian yang tinggi kepada jurulatih-jurulatih yang telah bekerja keras untuk menyempurnakan latihan tersebut pada tempoh-hari yang lampau.

Sebagaiman tuan-tuan sedia maklum kerajaan hari ini sentiasa memegang sepenuh keyakinan untuk mempunyai satu Angkatan Tentera yang kuat dan serba lengkap bagi mempertahankan nusa dan bangsa supaya jentera pertahanan kita sentiasa dalam keadaan bersiap sedia bagi menentang sebarang ancaman, baik ancaman dari dalam mahu pun dari luar. Ancaman-ancaman ini masih lagi terdapat di Malaysia Timur dan di sempadan Malaysia/Thailand yang berupa ancaman dari golongan komunis dan anasir-anasir jahat yang mesti dihapuskan sebelum ia dapat menimbulkan keadaan huru-hara dan kacau bilau dalam negara kita ini. Oleh itu tuan-tuan hendaklah memegang teguh kepada tugas yang mulia untuk berbakti dengan sepenuh kecekapan kepada negara ini.

Di sini saya juga suka memperingatkan tuan-tuan supaya sentiasa menjaga sifat-sifat penting bagi seseorang pegawai dalam menjalankan tugas sebagai ketua dalam sesuatu pasukan atau batalion. Sifat-sifat ini saya maksudkan meliputi juga sifat-sifat yang bolih menunjukkan contoh dan tauladan yang tinggi kepada orang-orang di bawah jagaan tuan-tuan dengan menunjukkan kelakuan dan tutur kata yang baik. Saya harap tauladan-auladan yang demikian hendaklah diamalkan pada setiap masa supaya disiplin atau tatatertib yang sempurna dan nama baik Angkatan Bersenjata kita dapat dijaga. Berkenaan dengan perkara ini, saya sangat sukacita menyatakan perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan yang telah diberi oleh ahli-ahli Angkatan Tentera kita semasa berlaku banjir di Pantai Timur baru-baru ini telah mendapat pujian dan penghargaan yang tinggi daripada beberapa orang Ahli Dewan Rakyat dan juga akhbar-akhbar yang

terkenal di negara kita. Pujian ini telah diberi atas keberanian dan kecekapan ahli-ahli Angkatan Tentera kita sewaktu menjalankan tugas yang penting bagi menyelamatkan nyawa dan harta benda mangsa-mangsa banjir itu yang kebanyakannya telah ditimpa bencana itu dengan tidak disedari mereka. Jasa-jasa yang telah diberikan oleh ahli-ahli Angkatan Tentera kita sebagaimana yang telah ditunjukkan dalam masa kecemasan itu, akan sentiasa dijunjung tinggi oleh rakyat Malaysia seluruhnya. Saya harap tuan-tuan akan dapat memelihara nama yang harum ini atau pun jika boleh meninggikan lagi nama baik yang telah diberi oleh Angkatan Tentera kita.

Tuan-tuan sekalian, akhirnya saya suka berpesan dan berharap semoga tuan-tuan dapat menunjukkan semangat keperwiraan dan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi pada setiap masa. Tuan-tuan hendaklah sentiasa berwaspada terhadap ancaman-ancaman yang hendak merosakkan ketenteraman dan kedaulatan negara. Di samping itu tuan-tuan juga hendaklah sentiasa bersiap sedia untuk mempertahankan negara dan memberi perkhidmatan pada masa-masa kecemasan apabila dikehendaki oleh negara kita. Akhirnya saya mengucapkan selamat bertugas dan mendapat sepenuh-penuh kejayaan dalam menjalankan tugas masing-masing.

Terima kasih.

SPEECH BY Y.A.B. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE RURAL
ROADS WITH THE STATE ENGINEERS/STATE DEVELOPMENT
OFFICERS IN THE NATIONAL OPERATIONS ROOM
ON 16TH FEBRUARY 1967

General

A part from discussing the Rural Road Programme this morning, this is a great opportunity with all State Engineers present (except Sarawak and Sabah) to say a few general things about Development, viz-a-viz, the P.W.D. :-

- (a) Owing to the shortage of funds for Development as compared to the amount of money we spent at the beginning of the last Five Year Plan - 1961, 1962, 1963, etc. - I am convinced that there is now a reserve of engineering capacity because Engineers in States and Districts are not working under the same pressure as they had to work in the days when we first launched our Development Programme. Therefore, I will accept no excuses for delays or slowness of work on the part of the PWD during this year, 1967.
- (b) Because of the shortage of funds on Development, we must obtain the maximum value out of every single cent in the Development Estimates and make the \$836 million votes this year for Development, stretch as far as possible; therefore, you as State Engineers have a first duty to perform to scrutineer in more detail both estimated cost of development projects and tender table documents to ensure that we get the greatest value from the funds which we have available.
- (c) I would like to see a greater co-ordination between our various Road Programmes:-
 - (i) the Federal Road Programme;
 - (ii) Rural Road Programme;
 - (iii) Access roads to Land Development Schemes;
- (d) Let me explain this in further detail; for example, the Access Road Programme for FLDA Schemes must not be treated in isolation to the Rural Road Programme because, the first thing that happens after an access FLDA road has been made is that there is a demand from settlers to have an economic and viable bus service. In some cases, it is not economic to run a MARA Bus Service *merely to serve an FLDA scheme*, but if our Rural Road Programme and Access Road Programme are properly co-ordinated, it is possible in many cases to push a road through to

older established kampongs in the vicinity of FLDA Schemes and then establish a MARA Bus Service on the overall network of these Kampong and FLDA roads. A bus service which is economic to run.

- (e) I would like to see much more co-ordination and co-operation between the FLDA, the PWD and State Development Committees, because it is only through meticulous co-ordination, both in planning and in the implementation, that we will achieve the maximum value from the funds which are available for road building in 1967.
- (f) Looking ahead to the development of the FLDA, with the implementation of the Jengka Triangle in the near future, there will have to be the closest liaison between the FLDA and PWD. I do not want the FLDA to build up a large engineering empire of their own, acting in opposition to the already established Department of Public Works; and perhaps the policy line which we should take to achieve the maximum co-ordination is to progress towards the setting up of a branch of the PWD specifically for the FLDA on similar lines to the Armed Forces Section which already exists in PWD Headquarters and which is doing good work in implementing all development projects connected with the Armed Forces expansion programme. This may eventually require the appointment of an Assistant Director P.W.D. for FLDA.
- (g) When I talk about co-ordination between FLDA and PWD, I refer not only to roads, but also to schools, clinics, water supplies, and all other physical projects for which the PWD are responsible for constructing in FLDA schemes.

There is a definite delay and slowing up in the *number of settlers at present being absorbed* into FLDA schemes, and it appears this delay is partly due to the slowness in providing the facilities in FLDA schemes *which must be completed* before settlers move in.

- (h) I stressed at the last general briefing of Heads of Departments that the representative of PWD on the FLDA Planning Committee must be a very senior officer who can, not only make decisions in that Committee, but also, can go back to ring up and shake up any State Engineer who is slow in implementing projects in FLDA schemes.
- (i) So, therefore, before we get down to the detailed Road Programme for 1967, I would like to clear these points and to receive an assurance from both the Director of Public Works and the Chairman of the FLDA that they will get a closer liaison link and achieve a higher standard of co-ordination.

- (j) Having discussed this, the next thing is to consider the Road Programme for 1967, and I would like to have a short brief from the State Engineers on the proposed programme, and when I say short, I mean a brief short and to the point.

UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI MENGENAI RANG UNDANG-UNDANG BAHASA KEBANGSAAN DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 3 MAC 1967

Tuan Yang di-Pertua¹:

Seperti yang telah diterangkan oleh Y.A.B. Perdana Menteri² semalam bahawa Rang Undang-undang Bahasa Kebangsaan ini ialah bertujuan hendak menjalankan kehendak-kehendak di dalam Perlembagaan kita, iaitu selepas 10 tahun daripada tarikh kemerdekaan Malaya, Parlimen adalah berhak membuat undang-undang bagi melucutkan taraf rasmi Bahasa Inggeris di tanahair kita dan mendaulatkan Bahasa Melayu sahaja sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di Malaysia Barat. Inilah tujuan yang utama Rang Undang-undang yang ada di hadapan kita ini. Fasal 2 dalam Rang Undang-undang ini menentukan perubahan ini dengan jelasnya.

Akan tetapi Perlembagaan kita juga menjamin walaupun Bahasa Melayu adalah Bahasa Kebangsaan dan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal, tetapi penggunaan dan pelajaran dalam bahasa-bahasa lain itu dibenarkan terus menerus.

Fasal 3 menentukan kuasa yang memang sudah ada di tangan Kerajaan Pusat dan Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri untuk membenarkan penggunaan terjemahan-terjemahan surat-surat dan perutusan-perutusan rasmi kepada bahasa-bahasa lain jika terjemahan-terjemahan itu difikirkan perlu dan mustahak untuk kepentingan awam. Fasal 3 ini tidak sekali-sekali memberi taraf atau status rasmi kepada bahasa-bahasa lain dan ia tidak sekali-kali memberi taraf separuh rasmi ataupun "separuh berbilang bahasa-bahasa" - atau apa yang dipanggil "semi-multi-lingualism". Ini tidak boleh dan tidak dapat diterima oleh rakyat negeri ini kerana ini adalah bertentangan dengan Perlembagaan kita yang jelas menentukan bahawa penggunaan bahasa-bahasa lain itu hanya dibenarkan dalam lapangan-lapangan lain dan tidak dalam urusan-urusan dan persuratan-persuratan rasmi.

Kerajaan dan saya sendiri amatlah sukacita mendengar akuan yang diberi oleh dua sahabat dan rakan saya, iaitu, Y.B. Menteri Kewangan³ dan Y.B. Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Telekom⁴, bahawa

¹ Dato' C.M. Yusuf bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman.

² Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

³ Tun Tan Siew Sin.

⁴ Tun V.T. Sambanthan.

rakyat Malaysia yang keturunan China dan India, tidak menuntut bahasa-bahasanya, iaitu Bahasa China dan Tamil dijadikan bahasa-bahasa rasmi. Bahkan, mereka itu menerima Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal. Mereka itu juga tidak menuntut taraf atau status "semi-multi-lingualism" atau "separuh berbilang bahasa". Nyatalah bahawa Fasal 3 ini hanya membenarkan penggunaan terjemahan-terjemahan kepada bahasa-bahasa lain seperti yang kita sedang jalankan pada hari ini. Tidak ada apa-apa makna lain di selindung olehnya. Fasal ini hanya mengesahkan apa yang telah dijalankan oleh Kerajaan seperti terjemahan-terjemahan kepada bahasa-bahasa lain daripada Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Inggeris berkenaan dengan tawaran menyerah diri pegganas-peggnas, maklumat-maklumat Kerajaan berkenaan dengan jenayah dan keselamatan, bahan-bahan penerangan masa Minggu Perpaduan dan lain-lain maklumat yang difikirkan mustahak oleh pihak Kerajaan.

Fasal 3 ini tidak menyekat dan ia tidak boleh menyekat perkembangan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang akan mendapat taraf rasmi yang tunggal dalam Perlembagaan kita setelah Rang Undang-undang ini menjadi Undang-undang Negara apabila ia diluluskan oleh Dewan ini nanti. Setelah Rang Undang-undang ini menjadi Undang-undang maka mustahaklah Kerajaan dan rakyat negeri ini memperkuatkan lagi usaha-usaha bagi mengkaya dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam pentadbiran Kerajaan sesuai dengan tarafnya sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal. Fasal 3 ini tidaklah memberi ataupun membenarkan penggunaan bahasa-bahasa lain lebih daripada yang dibenarkan oleh Perlembagaan sebagaimana yang sedang dijalankan pada masa ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Adalah menjadi keazaman Kerajaan Perikatan semenjak Kerajaan menentukan Bahasa Melayu menjadi Bahasa Kebangsaan dan rasmi di negeri ini untuk dan telahpun mengambil apa-apa jua langkah untuk memperkaya dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Langkah-langkah itu telahpun diambil semenjak beberapa tahun yang lalu dan dengan kelulusan Rang Undang-undang ini mustahaklah langkah-langkah itu diperkuat dan diperhebatkan lagi. Begitu juga, sebagai bahasa rasmi, mustahaklah Bahasa Kebangsaan kita itu diberi nilai ekonomi yang sempurna - sewajar dengan kedudukan dan tarafnya. Kesimpulannya, mustahaklah Bahasa Kebangsaan itu diberi taraf, kedudukan, nilai yang sempurna sebagai bahasa rasmi di negara kita dan ini Kerajaan akan laksanakan. Dengan huraian-huraian ini, pada fikiran saya, tidak ada sebab lagi bagi mana-mana pihak berasa bimbang yang penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan itu tidak akan dilancarkan dan dilaksanakan dengan secukupnya. Bahkan dengan adanya undang-

undang ini maka adalah menjadi kewajipan Kerajaan menerus dan mempercepatkan lagi usaha-usaha bagi membesar dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam semua lapangan.

Rakyat negeri ini daripada semua bangsa, telahpun menerima Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi; dan dengan penerimaan ini mereka hendaklah berusaha untuk menggunakan bahasa itu seluasnya. Saya dukacita ada pihak-pihak yang cuba hendak menggunakan masalah bahasa ini untuk memecahbelahkan perpaduan dan keharmonian penduduk-penduduk negeri ini. Saya harap, penduduk-penduduk negeri kita daripada semua bangsa, terutama sekali daripada orang-orang Melayu, faham betul-betul makna dan tujuan Rang Undang-undang Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Dalam meneliti dan membahas Rang Undang-undang ini, mustahaklah kita sama-sama menyemak, meneliti dan memahami kehendak-kehendak Fasal 152 dalam Perlembagaan kita.

Bahasa Kebangsaan adalah satu alat yang sangat penting bagi menyatu-padukan rakyat negeri ini yang terdiri daripada berbilang-bilang bangsa itu. Dengan sebab itulah Kerajaan berpendapat mustahak Rang Undang-undang ini diluluskan dengan segera supaya kehendak-kehendak perlembagaan Malaysia itu dapat dijalankan dan supaya usaha-usaha bagi membesar dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini dapat dipesat dan diperhebatkan lagi.

Fasal Yang ke-4 adalah membenarkan penggunaan Bahasa Inggeris untuk maksud-maksud yang tertentu dan itupun bagi sementara sahaja dan dalam lapangan-lapangan yang mustahak yang kita belum boleh menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Dalam lapangan ini usaha-usaha akan diteruskan bagi menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan seberapa segera yang boleh di bidang undang-undang terutama sekali. Kita belum mempunyai banyak pakar undang-undang yang boleh menggubal rang undang-undang dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan selain daripada undang-undang yang senang dan mudah. Kebanyakan undang-undang di negara kita ini masih lagi dalam Bahasa Inggeris. Akan tetapi Fasal 6 Rang Undang-undang ini menentukan iaitu Rang Undang-undang hendaklah diadakan dalam 2 bahasa - Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Inggeris. Yang di-Pertuan Agong mempunyai kuasa untuk menetapkan mana-mana jenis undang-undang dan ini adalah seperti saya katakan tadi semata-mata untuk membolehkan pekerjaan Kerajaan berjalan bagi sementara waktu. Perkara ini terpaksa kerana kita belum mempunyai banyak pakar-pakar yang boleh menggubal undang-undang dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Saya harap perkara ini pun akan dapat diatasi dalam masa yang singkat.

Fasal 8 ialah berkenaan dengan bahasa Mahkamah. Nyatalah oleh sebab kebanyakan undang-undang kita masih lagi dalam Bahasa

Inggeris, bahasa-bahasa di Mahkamah itu hendaklah dua-dua, iaitu Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Bahasa Inggeris.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Jelas yang Rang Undang-undang ini adalah memberi gambaran yang sebenarnya - iaitu Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan mesti digunakan seluas yang boleh di pejabat-pejabat, dalam urusan-urusan Kerajaan dan kita akan membesar dan meluaskan penggunaannya sehingga bahasa rasmi yang tunggal ini mempunyai tempat dan kedudukan yang sewajarnya. Oleh itu saya tidak fikir ada seorang pun rakyat yang realis yang masih mempunyai perasaan ragu-ragu atau tidak puas hati dengan Rang Undang-undang ini. Cita-cita kita hendak menjadikan Bahasa Kebangsaan bahasa rasmi di negara kita ini telah menjadi kenyataan dan termaktub dengan jelasnya dalam Perlembagaan. Maka terpulanglah kepada kita semua untuk mengisikan taraf dan mengukuhkan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang telah ditetapkan oleh Undang-undang.

Sementara Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal sesuai dengan kehendak Perlembagaan dan sesuai dengan hakikat masyarakat kita yang berbilang bangsa, Rang Undang-undang ini membenarkan penggunaan bahasa-bahasa lain, tetapi tidaklah lebih daripada apa yang dijalankan pada hari ini. Semenjak kita mencapai kemerdekaan, Kerajaan kita telah membenarkan penggunaan bahasa-bahasa lain lebih luas daripada Pemerintahan Penjajah British dahulu dan kita telah memberi banyak bantuan-bantuan ke sekolah-sekolah yang bahasa-bahasa pengantarnya Bahasa China dan Tamil. Penggunaan terjemahan-terjemahan ini tidak memberi bahasa-bahasa ini taraf rasmi ataupun taraf "separuh berbilang bangsa". Oleh itu saya berharap Rang Undang-undang ini dapat sambutan dan akan diterima dengan baik oleh semua pihak dan dengan kelulusan Undang-undang ini dapatlah kita menguatkan lagi perpaduan dan keutuhan negara kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Saya sedar yang kritik-kritik terhadap Rang Undang-undang Bahasa Kebangsaan ini menghadkan bahawa Rang Undang-undang yang dibentangkan dalam Dewan Rakyat hari ini akan mengurangkan hasrat orang ramai khasnya rakyat yang bukan Melayu daripada mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan kerana Rang Undang-undang ini membenarkan terjemahan-terjemahan ke dalam bahasa-bahasa lain serta juga Bahasa Inggeris boleh digunakan untuk urusan rasmi sekian masa lagi. Ada setengah-setengah kritik pula menuduhkan Rang Undang-undang ini telah menguburkan Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Saya suka memberi jaminan bagi pihak Kerajaan yang kegiatan dan hasrat Kerajaan Perikatan untuk menjadikan Bahasa Kebangsaan sebenar-benarnya bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di negeri ini tidak

akan kurang atau lemah. Bahkan hasrat Kerajaan dengan adanya Rang Undang-undang ini akan lebih kuat lagi untuk menjadikan Bahasa Melayu sebagai Bahasa Kebangsaan dan rasmi yang tunggal. Tidaklah benar seperti yang dituduh oleh kritik-kritik Kerajaan yang "momentum" pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam pentadbiran atau perjalanannya tidak pesat lagi bahkan kita berazam selepas 1.9.67 kegiatan Kerajaan melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan akan lebih pesat lagi. Untuk mencapaikan cita-cita ini semua mestilah bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan dan tiap-tiap rakyat yang taat setia hendaklah belajar Bahasa rasmi dan kebangsaannya dengan bersungguh-sungguh. Kaum cerdik pandai kita dari semua bangsa hendaklah berusaha menterjemahkan sebanyak-banyak buku pengetahuan dan buku-buku bacaan ke dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan dari Bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa-bahasa lain. Saya juga suka menyeru pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan, Peguam-peguam, ahli-ahli bijak pandai dan pakar-pakar bahasa dan undang-undang supaya memberi tenaga, fikiran dan kepandaian mereka seluas-luasnya untuk menterjemahkan undang-undang dari Bahasa Inggeris ke dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Kerajaan berazam untuk melaksanakan cita-cita kebangsaan ini dengan sepenuh-penuhnya dan dengan secepat mungkin. Dalam keadaan sekarang ini - Rang Undang-undang ini adalah adil serta patut kerana kita sama-sama mestilah sedar akan hakikat kedudukan negara kita yang mempunyai rakyat yang berbilang bangsa dan juga bagi menghormati keinginan kita hendak menjamin keamanan dan suka hidup rukun dan damai. Kita juga mestilah praktikal dan berani menghadapi kenyataan-kenyataan di Malaysia Barat ini.

Dalam keadaan sekarang kita tidak boleh melaksanakan 100% Bahasa Kebangsaan, tetapi kita akan berbuat demikian secepat yang boleh. Bahasa Inggeris dibenarkan digunakan di setengah-setengah cawangan pentadbiran khususnya di Mahkamah-mahkamah, tetapi inipun hanya untuk buat sementara waktu sahaja.

Sekali lagi saya suka memberi jaminan bagi pihak Kerajaan yang Kerajaan tidak akan lemah semangat dan keyakinannya terhadap Bahasa Kebangsaan. Sebaliknya pula dengan adanya Rang Undang-undang ini kita semua hendaklah bekerja lebih kuat dan cergas lagi untuk mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan. Seseorang itu tidak boleh hanya berharap kepada Bahasa Inggeris sahaja kerana penggunaan Bahasa Inggeris ini terhad kepada bidang-bidang khas saja. Kebanyakan urusan-urusan dengan Kerajaan mereka mestilah menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Terjemahan-terjemahan hanya akan digunakan jika Kerajaan berpendapat terjemahan-terjemahan itu penting, perlu serta amat mustahak. Dengan ini jelaslah, yang rakyat semua yang hendak bekerja dengan Kerajaan mesti mempunyai pengetahuan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Dengan ini kita telah

meletakkan nilai ekonomi kepada bahasa rasmi tunggal ini. Mereka yang hendak menguruskan kerja-kerja sehari-hari dengan Kerajaan hendaklah mengetahui Bahasa Kebangsaan. Dengan ini saya berharap tidak ada lagi seorangpun rakyat yang salah faham dan kerana itu tidak mengambil berat mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan disebabkan ada terjemahan-terjemahan yang dibenarkan oleh Rang Undang-undang ini.

Bagi faedah negara, bagi faedah mereka sendiri dan pekerjaan masing-masing, saya menyeru dan menasihatkan semua rakyat Malaysia supaya belajar Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan lebih tekun dan giat lagi. Janganlah kerana adanya Rang Undang-undang ini yang akan menjadi Undang-undang, mereka akan tawar hati atau kurang mahu mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan semata-mata disebabkan adanya terjemahan-terjemahan ke dalam bahasa-bahasa lain. Seperti saya katakan tadi, terjemahan-terjemahan itu hanya dibuat jika Kerajaan berpendapat terjemahan-terjemahan itu mustahak dan perlu dan ini tidak pula meliputi segala bidang kehidupan.

Selain daripada apa yang difikirkan mustahak dan penting, segala urusan rasmi Kerajaan akan hanya dijalankan dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Dengan ini jelaslah penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam jabatan-jabatan Kerajaan bukan kurang tetapi akan lebih pesat lagi. Kepada mereka yang hendak mencari perlindungan dari Fasal 3 dalam Rang Undang-undang ini dan tidak lagi mahu atau telah kurang minat hendak belajar Bahasa Kebangsaan kerana kononnya mereka tidak perlu lagi belajar disebabkan mereka boleh mendapat terjemahan-terjemahan, pendapat serupa ini adalah salah dan boleh mengecewakan.

Jadi, untuk faedah diri mereka sendiri, khasnya mereka yang tidak pandai bertutur dan menulis dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan, eloklah mereka lebih giat lagi mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan untuk menjamin masa hadapan mereka sendiri. Saya telah dengar ada orang-orang berkata bahawa sekarang ini tidaklah payah mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan giatnya kerana mereka telah mendapat perlindungan dari Fasal 3 Rang Undang-undang Bahasa Kebangsaan. Fasal 3 dalam Rang Undang-undang tidak berniat hendak mengurangkan perhatian rakyat kepada Bahasa Kebangsaan. Ia hanya bagi membolehkan Kerajaan menterjemahkan - dan ini pun jika difikirkan mustahak bagi setengah-setengah maklumat bagi kepentingan umum. Seperti kata Y.A.B. Perdana Menteri kuasa bagi mengadakan terjemahan-terjemahan ini ialah pada Kerajaan dan siapa pun tidak berhak menuntut supaya sesuatu perkara itu diterjemahkan. Urusan-urusan lain adalah dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan dan kerana itu semua rakyat hendaklah mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh⁵ dalam ucapannya yang panjang lebar itu telah mendatangkan tuduhan-tuduhan yang berat dan saya fikir boleh dikatakan telah terkeluar sedikit dari batasan yang patut - terhadap Kerajaan dan terhadap diri Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah mengatakan yang Tunku itu telah mengecewakan orang-orang Melayu dan mengecewakan hati mereka.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Adakah patut, munasabah dan adil penganjur negara dan Bapa Negara kita, menganjur yang telah membawakan kemerdekaan kepada tanahair kita dan memberi kedaulatan kepada bangsa dan negara kita, dituduh sebagai seorang yang telah mengecewakan hati rakyat-rakyat keturunan Melayu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat ini telah berkata juga kononnya keadaan perkara ini seperti seorang pencuri, melaungkan pencuri masuk tetapi sebenarnya, yang melaung itulah ialah pencuri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Ahli Yang Berhormat ini sentiasa memainkan sentimen dan perasaan orang. Ia seolah-oleh duduk di awan ataupun di langit - dan tidak di dunia. Yang Berhormat ini tidak menjejak bumi kerana itu ia tinggal berjauhan dari kenyataan- - keadaan yang sebenarnya berlaku di dunia ini dan di Malaysia khususnya. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu mengatakan bahawa Rang Undang-undang ini adalah "bendera putih", bendera tanda menyerah diri kalah bangsa Melayu dan Bahasa Kebangsaan kepada pihak yang lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Rang Undang-undang ini adalah menentukan bahawa mulai 1.9.67 Bahasa Kebangsaan akan dijadikan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan menggantikan tempat utama Bahasa Inggeris. Adakah ini boleh disifatkan satu kekalahan Bahasa Kebangsaan kepada Bahasa Inggeris? Kalau tidak dengan Rang Undang-undang Bahasa Inggeris akan terus digunakan dengan tiada hadnya sebagai bahasa rasmi di negara kita.

Ahli Yang Berhormat ini sebagai Ketua PAS, dan sebagai Ketua sebuah Kerajaan Negeri yang ditadbirkan oleh PAS, patut sedar bahawa Parti PAS ini sentiasa beragan-angan; bermimpi-mimpi dan PAS telah sangat mengecewakan rakyat, terutama sekali orang-orang Melayu di negeri Kelantan dan sekejap masa dahulu di Terengganu. PAS telah memerintah Negeri Kelantan hampir lapan tahun, tetapi apakah kemajuan yang telah dicapai oleh rakyat negeri Kelantan yang kebanyakannya orang-orang Melayu itu? Kalau tidak dengan

⁵ Dato' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda.

pertolongan Kerajaan Persekutuan, sedikitpun kemajuan tidak dapat dicapai di Negeri Kelantan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh juga telah berkata bahawa Menteri-menteri Perikatan terutamanya Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri, Menteri Pelajaran dan lain-lain Menteri kerap kali berjanji dan berkata bahawa kita tidak akan bertolak ansur dalam soal Bahasa Kebangsaan – Bahasa Kebangsaan akan tetap menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di negara kita mulai 1.9.67.

Tuan Yang di-Petua;

Kita dan UMNO sebenarnya memang tidak bertolak ansur di atas dasar dan cita-cita ini. Fasal 2 dalam Rang Undang-undang ini jelas menegaskan selain daripada yang ditentukan dalam Rang Undang-undang ini, bahasa kebangsaanlah yang akan digunakan dalam semua urusan-urusan rasmi. Rang Undang-undang ini telah menentukan bahawa Bahasa Kebangsaan kitalah yang akan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal bagi negara ini. Dasar ini adalah tegas, tegas, jelas, terang dan nyata.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Mustahaklah kita bersifat realis dan faham bahawa di dalam setengah-setengah bahagian pentadbiran terutama sekali dalam bahagian undang-undang di Mahkamah-mahkamah dan di Kementerian Luar Negeri kita tidak dapat menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan dengan sepenuh-penuhnya. Kerana itulah kita telah mengadakan FASAL 4 dan FASAL 5, 6, dan 8 dalam Rang Undang-undang ini, untuk membolehkan kita menggunakan Bahasa Inggeris kalau tidak Bahasa Inggeris tidak boleh digunakan langsung dalam sebarang urusan rasmi. Ini akan merumitkan pentadbiran negara. Kita belum lagi mempunyai pakar-pakar yang boleh menggubal undang-undang dalam bahasa kebangsaan dan kita belum mempunyai pakar-pakar yang boleh menulis buku-buku teknik, dengan menggunakan perkataan-perkataan teknik sepenuhnya. Kita berazam hendak menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan seberapa segera yang boleh dalam bidang undang-undang dan juga Mahkamah. Penggunaan Bahasa Inggeris di bawah Rang Undang-Undang ini adalah bagi sementara saja; untuk memberi peluang kepada kita hendak memperkayakan lagi Bahasa Kebangsaan supaya dapat digunakan sepenuhnya dalam lapangan yang Bahasa Kebangsaan yang belum digunakan sepenuhnya seperti Undang-undang dan Mahkamah-mahkamah.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh juga telah berkata bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan sentiasa bertolak ansur dan telah membuka pintu MCS atau (Perkhidmatan Awam Malaysia) kepada orang-orang bukan Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Ini adalah tidak benar kerana menurut peraturan yang sekarang ini kita hanya ada ratio saja iaitu jawatan-jawatan MCS itu adalah diuntukkan 4: 1; iaitu 4 kepada orang Melayu dan 1 kepada warganegara yang berasal dari keturunan bukan Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Sebenarnya, rekod yang dimainkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat ini adalah rekod lama - rekod sebelum merdeka dan tuduhan ini adalah tuduhan yang telahpun ditolak oleh orang-orang Melayu. Kita sekarang telah merdeka dan semenjak Tanah Melayu atau Malaya dan sekarang Malaysia, kita telah mempunyai warganegara-warganegara daripada penduduk-penduduk yang berbilang bangsa, bukan saja terdiri dari orang-orang Melayu sahaja. Ada rakyat-rakyat kita bumiputera yang lain seperti Iban, Dayak, Kadazan dan begitulah juga kita ada warganegara-warganegara daripada mereka yang keturunan China dan India. Kita telah berjaya mencapai kemerdekaan dengan sokongan mereka itu dan haruslah kita bertimbang rasa kepada mereka kerana mereka juga mempunyai hak-hak yang tertentu sebagai warganegara Malaysia. Bahkan kalau tidak dengan pertolongan Kerajaan Persekutuan, pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan pun pada hari ini tidak boleh mendapat gaji mereka kerana Negeri Kelantan sekarang tidak mempunyai wang. Inilah rupanya, seorang Ketua Kerajaan yang mempunyai kuasa tetapi tidak boleh menjalankan pentadbiran Kerajaan dengan cekap. Ia hanya pandai bercakap, menuduh, mengkritik dan menuturkan kata-kata yang besar walhal, dirinya sendiri dan partinya sedikit pun tidak menunjukkan jasa-jasa kepada rakyat. Inilah imej atau gambar ia cuma memberi rakyat, khasnya rakyat Melayu di Kelantan, makan dengan sentimen, menghina dan mengelirukan mereka dengan agama, dan dengan kata-kata. Adakah satu bangsa itu boleh maju dan kuat hanya dengan percakapan dan dengan permainan sentimen sahaja?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Kerajaan Perikatan dan Menteri-menteri Kerajaan Perikatan berani menghadapi sejarah, berani berdiri untuk dibicara dan dihakamkan oleh sejarah. Kerajaan Perikatan telah membawa rakyat negara ini kepada kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan dan telah mentadbirkan negara ini 12 tahun lamanya dengan aman, dengan sempurna, dengan maju, seperti kata Y.T.M. Tunku, telah mendapat nama yang harum di seluruh dunia ini. Penganjur-penganjur asing, penulis-penulis dan wartawan-wartawan akhbar di dunia benar-benar berasa hairan dan kagum memandangkan kemajuan-kemajuan yang telah dicapai di Malaysia; memandangkan keadaan saling mengerti dan persefahaman di antara penduduk-penduduk yang berbagai-bagai bangsa di sini.

Majalah "Reader's Digest" sebuah majalah yang termasyur di dunia dalam keluarannya bulan ini telah menulis sebuah rencana yang bertajuk "TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN MALAYSIAN MIRACLE" dan menyebut bahawa kemajuan-kemajuan yang dicapai oleh Malaysia ini adalah luar biasa – agak luar daripada akal fikiran. Kejayaan-kejayaan di Malaysia adalah luar biasa. Tidak ada sebuah negeri pun yang semacam kita yang mempunyai penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai-bagai bangsa, boleh duduk berbaik-baik seperti di Malaysia. Tidak ada satu Kerajaan seperti Kerajaan Perikatan yang bersifat adil – adil kepada semua pihak dan memberi pertolongan kepada semua pihak. Sungguhpun Bahasa Kebangsaan ialah Bahasa Melayu, tetapi Kerajaan memberi pertolongan bagi memajukan sekolah-sekolah yang bahasa pengantarnya bahasa-bahasa Cina dan Tamil. Kerana sifat yang adil dan timbang rasa inilah maka Malaysia telah menjadi sebuah negara yang ajaib atau "miracle", sebuah negara yang luar biasa dalam dunia yang penuh dengan kacau bilau ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh ini patut tahu dan sedar kerana kalau tidak dengan Perikatan, kalau tidak disebabkan Tengku Perdana Menteri, Malaya dan Malaysia harus tidak akan mendapat kemerdekaannya. Jika tidak kerana kemerdekaan, apakah halnya akan jadi di pihak rakyat negeri ini terutama orang-orang Melayu? Kita semua tahu dalam masa penjajahan British hampir satu ratus tahun, keadaan orang-orang Melayu terbiar, mundur, miskin dan daif. Tetapi sekarang, dengan kemerdekaan, negara kita mendapat tempat yang sempurna di dunia. Malaysia mempunyai kedudukan yang sempurna di kalangan bangsa-bangsa di dunia. Rakyat Malaysia, termasuklah Ahli Yang Berhormat ini, bila melawat keluar negeri dihormati orang sebagai seorang warganegara yang merdeka dan mempunyai sama taraf dengan warganegara-warganegara merdeka yang lain. Perkara ini tidak akan berlaku kalau tidak dengan kemerdekaan dan kalau tidak disebabkan jasa penganjur kita, Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman. Tetapi inilah orang yang dikatakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat orang yang telah mengecewakan negara dan hak-hak rakyat negara ini terutama orang-orang Melayu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat ini telah bertempik dan melaung menentang Rang Undang-undang ini kerana PAS dan Kerajaan PAS Kelantan tidak ada modal lain, lagi tidak ada perkara lain yang hendak digunakan untuk mendapatkan sokongan setengah-setengah rakyat atau hendak memecahbelahkan mereka. Kalau tidak bermain dengan sentimen, kalau tidak menggunakan perkara-perkara seperti perkara bahasa ini, PAS sekarang tidak ada satu modal pun hendak bercakap, berkempen dan hendak dilaung-laungkan di hadapan rakyat. Ahli Yang Berhormat ini telah mengatakan yang Rang

Undang-undang ini adalah satu dosa, satu jenayah politik UMNO yang akan diadili oleh sejarah. Dengan kemurahan Tuhan, UMNO terima cabaran ini, UMNO sedia untuk diadili oleh sejarah. Rakyat negeri ini tahu, orang-orang Melayu juga tahu, apakah jasa-jasa kepada orang Melayu yang telah dibuat oleh UMNO. Kalau tidak kerana UMNO, saya tidak tahu apa telah dan akan jadi kepada orang-orang Melayu. Juga diharapkan PAS, orang-orang Melayu akan jatuh, akan terus menerus mundur, tentu akan hanyut lebih jauh di belakang bangsa-bangsa asing. Akan tetapi dengan kekuatan UMNO dan Perikatan negara ini telah dapat mencapai kemerdekaan, telah mendapat hasil-hasil yang hebat dalam rancangan-rancangan kemajuan-kemajuan Malaysia bagi faedah rakyat, terutamanya orang-orang Melayu. UMNOlah yang menegakkan Agama Islam kita sehingga dijadikan agama rasmi negara ini. Kerajaan telah berdiri beribu-ribu masjid-masjid di bandar-bandar dan di kampung-kampung. Parti PAS tidak berjaya mendirikan sebuah masjid pun di negeri Kelantan. Masjid ibu kota Parti PAS di Kota Bahru, adalah sangat buruk. Orang-orang Islam di sana terpaksa bersembahyang di tepi-tepi tangga, tepi-tepi rumput dan di atas padang. Hal ini berlaku di hadapan mata Ahli Yang Berhormat Ahli Pasir Puteh sendiri sebagai sifatnya Menteri Besar Kelantan dan Ketua Parti PAS. Inilah dianya seorang yang sentiasa bercakap besar, melaung dengan suara yang kuat, akan tetapi tidak sedikitpun dapat menunjukkan jasa dan bukti kepada rakyat walaupun ia dan partinya berkuasa. Inilah orangnya yang telah dipercayai oleh orang-orang di Kelantan. Percayakah kepada orang yang semacam Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh ini tidak ubah seperti kata perumpamaan Melayu: "Harapkan sokong, sokong membawa rebah". Kalaulah, orang-orang Melayu duduk di bawah anjuran atau pimpinan Parti PAS, nescaya mereka tidak akan dapat tempat langsung di negara Malaysia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua:

Rakyat negeri ini, termasuk orang-orang Melayu, telah sedar dan dapat membezakan mana yang benar dan mana yang tidak benar, mana yang berisi dan mana yang kosong; mereka dapat membezakan percakapan dan janji-janji yang boleh ditunaikan dan percakapan-percakapan yang kosong. Kita tidak payah menanti sejarah untuk mengadili kita. Pada hari ini dan sekarang juga, rakyat negara ini, orang-orang Melayu boleh menghakimkan sama ada UMNO ataupun PAS yang boleh menyelamatkan orang-orang Melayu. Orang-orang Melayu di Kelantan telah menggelisah selama lapan tahun di bawah pemerintahan PAS, mereka tinggal menderita dan miskin – jauh di belakang rakyat negeri-negeri lain di Malaysia ini, jauh daripada rakyat negeri Terengganu yang dulunya dianggap mundur daripada

Kelantan, tetapi sekarang Terengganu telah maju, jauh di hadapan negeri Kelantan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Dengan penjelasan dan keterangan ini saya berharap semua Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat dan rakyat yang taat setia di serata Malaysia akan menyokong Rang Undang-undang ini.

Terima kasih.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
DI UPACARA MEMBUKA RASMI BANGUNAN BARU MARA
PADA 10 MAC 1967**

**Tuan Pengerusi,
Tuan-tuan yang hadir sekalian:**

Saya amatlah sukacita bagi pihak Kerajaan Perikatan dan bagi pihak MARA mengalu-alukan kedatangan tuan-tuan sekalian ke upacara yang besar maknanya pada petang ini.

Tujuan menjemput tuan-tuan sekalian hadir di sini dan juga berada selama beberapa hari di Ibu Kota ini, ialah supaya tuan-tuan dapat melihat sendiri akan usaha-usaha yang sedang dijalankan oleh Kerajaan untuk menolong rakyat yang miskin dan mundur, terutama sekali yang duduk di kampung-kampung supaya dapat memperbaiki taraf hidup mereka dan dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebih besar dan luas lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan.

Semenjak tuan-tuan sekalian sampai di Ibu Kota 2 hari yang lalu sehingga hari ini datang ke sini, tuan-tuan sekalian dapatlah melihat dan memperhatikan segala usaha yang sedang dijalankan oleh pihak Kerajaan dalam semua lapangan untuk hendak memajukan negara kita Malaysia, untuk hendak mengisikan Kemerdekaan yang telah kita capai, dan untuk hendak memberi tempat yang sempurna kepada tiap-tiap orang rakyat di negara kita ini. Usaha-usaha ini telah berjalan beberapa tahun yang lalu, 6 atau 7 tahun, semenjak Kerajaan melancarkan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar secara besar-besaran dan telah banyakkah perubahan-perubahan yang telah dapat dicapai di kampung-kampung dan juga di bandar-bandar. Boleh dikatakan tiap-tiap orang rakyat di negara kita ini telah dapat menerima sedikit sebanyak nikmat-nikmat daripada rancangan-rancangan kemajuan.

Sekarang, Kerajaan adalah berazam hendak meneruskan rancangan-rancangannya, hendak memperkuatkan lagi usaha-usahanya dalam lapangan yang penting ini supaya cita-cita dan hasrat rakyat yang berkehendakkan kepada taraf hidup yang lebih sempurna dan bahagia lagi, akan dapat dicapai dengan sempurna. Saya harap dalam masa tuan-tuan berada di Ibu Kota ini, tuan-tuan dapat sebenar-benarnya memahami dengan sedalam-dalamnya bahawa pihak Kerajaan menerusi berbagai pejabat-pejabat dan perbadanan-perbadanan hendak memperbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat adalah

berjalan dengan teratur dan dengan sempurna, dengan azam yang penuh.

Oleh sebab MARA ini adalah sebuah perbadanan bagi menjalankan kehendak dan hasrat rakyat bagi faedah rakyat sendiri, maka pada hari yang berbahagia dan bersejarah bagi MARA ini, wakil-wakil rakyat dari kampung-kampung iaitu tuan-tuan sekalian sebagai ketua-ketua di peringkat kampung telah dijemput hadir bersama-sama di sini di temasya ini, sebagai tetamu khas kepada MARA. Tuan-tuan sekalian pada hari ini mengambil tempat Menteri-menteri dan orang-orang kenamaan yang biasa dijemput hadir di temasya semacam ini. Ini adalah menunjukkan bahawa di dalam usaha-usaha Kerajaan dan MARA hendak meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat, hendak memberi peluang-peluang yang lebih luas kepada rakyat dalam lapangan iktisad, ketua-ketua di peringkat kampung seperti tuan-tuan sekalian, adalah mempunyai peranan yang sangat penting peranan yang sama-sama mustahaknya seperti peranan yang dijalankan oleh Menteri-menteri, wakil-wakil rakyat dan pegawai-pegawai kanan Kerajaan. Sama ada jaya atau tidaknya usaha-usaha untuk memberi peluang-peluang yang lebih luas kepada rakyat dalam lapangan iktisad bagi rakyat mendapatkan taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi dan lebih sempurna bergantunglah kepada usaha-usaha dan tenaga yang tuan-tuan sekalian dapat keluarkan dalam lapangan ini. Kesimpulannya: kejayaan dalam lapangan yang penting ini bergantunglah kepada usaha dan kerjasama tuan-tuan sekalian dan rakyat jelata seluruhnya yang berkehendakkan faedah-faedah dan nikmat-nikmat daripada rancangan kemajuan ini.

Inilah perubahan-perubahan yang sebenarnya saya kehendaki iaitu perubahan perasaan, perubahan semangat, perubahan cara menghadapi kehidupan hari-hari hendaklah tiap-tiap orang berfikir dan faham bahawa tanggungjawab mereka itu sendiri terutama sekali jabatan-jabatan Kerajaan, perbadanan-perbadanan seperti MARA, Bank Bumiputera, FAMA, Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah dan lain-lain hanya boleh memberi peluang dan pertolongan-pertolongan hanya dengan adanya kerjasama dan perkongsian sepenuh-penuhnya di antara rakyat dengan pihak kerajaan dapat kejayaan yang dicita-cita oleh rakyat itu dihasilkan dan dapat kemajuan yang dicita-cita itu dicapai dengan sempurna. Inilah perubahan fikiran dan pandangan yang sebenarnya yang dikehendaki. Inilah pesanan yang besar sekali yang saya harap akan dipanjangkan kepada tiap-tiap orang di kampung-kampung, saudara-saudara dan sahabat handai sekalian supaya dengan perasaan yang baru, dengan semangat dan keazaman yang baru itu, dapatlah sebenar-benarnya kita mencapai cita-cita yang kita kehendaki dalam lapangan memperbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat dan memperkuat iktisad rakyat.

Hari ini ialah "Hari MARA". MARA adalah mempunyai tugas-tugas yang penting dalam usaha-usaha Kerajaan hendak meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat di luar bandar. MARA adalah dikehendaki menjalankan usaha-usaha dalam lapangan ini selain daripada usaha-usaha yang telah pun dijalankan oleh Kerajaan dan yang sedang dijalankan di dalam rancangan pembangunan negara, seperti mengadakan sekolah-sekolah, kemudahan-kemudahan kesihatan, taliair, kemudahan-kemudahan masyarakat, jalanraya, rancangan-rancangan tanah dan beratus-ratus bahkan beribu-ribu rancangan-rancangan yang lain.

Tugas MARA yang penting ialah menjadi "agen" atau "pemegang amanah rakyat" untuk hendak menolong ahli-ahli bumiputera supaya dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebih besar dan lebih luas lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan; hendak mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan bagi memberi latihan kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera supaya mereka itu dapat menjalankan usaha-usaha dan mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perniagaan baik di bandar-bandar mahupun di luar bandar; mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan kenderaan dengan menjalankan perkhidmatan bas di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar; menolong dan memberi nasihat kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera termasuklah kontrektor-kontrektor dan pemborong-pemborong dan ahli-ahli perniagaan yang lain melalui Bahagian Perkhidmatan Nasihat dan lagi tugas MARA ialah hendak mengadakan bantuan wang kepada ahli-ahli perniagaan bumiputera supaya mereka dapat mempunyai modal untuk hendak menjalankan perniagaan masing-masing.

Untuk hendak menjalankan tugas ini, MARA adalah dibahagikan kepada beberapa bahagian:

- Bahagian Kenderaan;
- Bahagian Pinjaman;
- Bahagian Khidmat Penasihat;
- Bahagian Latihan;
- Bahagian Perdagangan & Perusahaan;
- Bahagian Kewangan dan Kira-kira, dan
- Bahagian Pentadbiran.

Saya amat sukacita iaitu semenjak MARA ini ditubuhkan setahun setengah dahulu, banyak kejayaan telah dicapai oleh MARA dalam menjalankan tugas-tugasnya.

Bahagian Kenderaan: MARA telah dapat mengadakan perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan bas kepada beberapa tempat di Rancangan Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Kerajaan dan di beberapa kawasan yang baru yang dahulunya tidak mempunyai jalanraya dan tidak mempunyai kenderaan. Pada masa ini MARA mempunyai tidak

kurang dari 375 buah bas yang sedang menjalankan perkhidmatan di luar bandar meliputi jalanraya sepanjang lebih dari 1,000 batu.

Bahagian Latihan: MARA telah mengadakan tidak kurang daripada 362 'scholarship' untuk bumiputera yang sekarang sedang mendapat faedah-faedah daripada 'scholarship-scholarship' ini untuk menerima pelajaran tinggi, baik di Malaysia ataupun di seberang laut. Tujuan latihan ini ialah supaya mereka itu dapat mengambil tempat yang sempurna dalam usaha-usaha kemajuan dan iktisad di negara kita. Bilangan 'scholarship' ini akan ditambah dari setahun ke setahun.

Dan lagi lapangan latihan di Maktab MARA, Petaling Jaya telah diperbesarkan. Pada tahun ini bilangan penuntut-penuntut telah meningkat kepada 556 orang. Sekarang persediaan sedang dijalankan untuk hendak melipatgandakan bilangan penuntut-penuntut pada tahun hadapan dan kemudian daripada itu bila bangunan Maktab yang baru dapat didirikan di Batu 3 Jalan Klang MARA berharap dapat memberi latihan kepada lebih kurang 3,000 orang penuntut. Kelas-kelas istimewa akan diadakan bagi H.S.C., terutama sekali dalam lapangan sains supaya ahli-ahli bumiputera dapat mengambil bahagian yang sempurna di dalam dunia yang moden dan yang telah mempunyai banyak kemajuan ini.

Selain daripada Maktab MARA, ada beberapa latihan-latihan perniagaan dan perusahaan (vocational training) yang sedang dijalankan, umpamanya, dalam bahagian motor mekanik, bahagian perusahaan hotel dan restoran bagi kontraktor-kontraktor dan juga lapangan-lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan yang lain.

Bahagian Pinjaman: Berkenaan dengan Bahagian Pinjaman Wang ini, bahagian ini telah mengeluarkan pinjaman lebih kurang RM34 juta di samping pinjaman ini MARA telah juga memberi nasihat dan bantuan teknik untuk menjamin usaha-usaha yang dijalankan oleh bumiputera itu akan mendapat kejayaan yang sepenuh-penuhnya. Bersama-sama dengan rancangan pinjaman wang ini, MARA telah juga memberi nasihat dalam lapangan mengelola dan menjalankan perniagaan 'book keeping', 'marketing' atau pasaran dan MARA sedang mengambil pegawai-pegawai yang mempunyai pengalaman dalam lapangan ini supaya dapat dihantar ke kawasan-kawasan di luar bandar untuk menjalankan tugas mereka itu.

Bahagian Perniagaan dan Perusahaan: Dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan, MARA adalah memberi tempat-tempat kepada Bumiputera supaya dapat menjalankan perniagaan di bandar-bandar dengan mengadakan kedai-kedai dan juga bazar-bazar supaya ahli-ahli bumiputera yang sebenar-benarnya mempunyai keazaman hendak menjalankan perniagaan dapat tempat yang

sempurna bagi menjalankan perniagaan-perniagaan mereka itu. Begitu juga MARA ada menjalankan perusahaan bersama atau "joint venture system", umpamanya, perusahaan hendak mengeluarkan kayu balak di kawasan Jengka; hendak mengadakan perusahaan kulit dan perusahaan membuat kertas. Perusahaan-perusahaan ini perusahaan besar dan rancangan ini ialah MARA sebagai mewakili bumiputera negara kita ini mengadakan kerjasama dengan badan-badan yang lain sama ada pemodal dari luar ataupun dalam negeri. Ini adalah satu jalan bagi membolehkan ahli-ahli bumiputera mengambil bahagian di dalam perusahaan-perusahaan yang besar di negara kita ini. Selain daripada itu MARA telah mengadakan satu rancangan menanam modal dengan mengadakan "Unit Trust" iaitu rancangan membeli saham daripada perusahaan-perusahaan besar di negara kita ini bagi pihak ahli-ahli bumiputera yang berkehendakkan saham-saham ini dan dengan adanya cara "Unit Trust" ini maka dapatlah ahli-ahli bumiputera itu menerima keuntungan-keuntungan dan saham-saham itu terselamat.

Tuan-tuan sekalian, nyatalah daripada contoh yang saya sebutkan ini, MARA adalah mengambil bahagian yang penting dan menjalankan apa juga usaha yang patut untuk hendak menolong bumiputera dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Akan tetapi, tuan-tuan sekalian, saya sukalah menegaskan di sini bahawa MARA tidak dapat hendak menolong ahli-ahli bumiputera yang hendak menjalankan perusahaan dalam lapangan perniagaan dan iktisad, melainkan mereka-mereka yang berkehendakkan bantuan itu dapat menjalankan usaha dan memikul dengan sepenuh-penuhnya tanggungjawab bagi menjalankan perusahaan-perusahaan itu. Ini adalah bermakna bahawa MARA mustahak mendapat kerjasama daripada ahli-ahli bumiputera dan tugas-tugas MARA ialah hendak mengadakan perkongsian dengan ahli-ahli bumiputera - perkongsian di antara tuan-tuan sebelah pihak dan MARA sebelah pihak lagi. Dengan adanya usaha-usaha yang tuan-tuan dan rakyat negeri ini berani curahkan dalam lapangan perusahaan masing-masing dan dengan nasihat dan pertolongan dari MARA maka kejayaan dapat dicapai dalam lapangan-lapangan yang kita kehendaki itu. Kita tidak boleh berharap kepada kejayaan dalam usaha-usaha kita, melainkan kita sendiri berani mencurahkan usaha dan tenaga kita sendiri. Nasihat dan pertolongan daripada MARA baik pertolongan wang mahupun pertolongan-pertolongan yang lain, tidak boleh menjamin kejayaan dalam perusahaan dan perniagaan seseorang itu, melainkan orang itu sendiri berani memberi kerjasama yang sewajarnya, mengeluarkan usaha dan tenaga dan menunjukkan keazaman hendak menjayakan perusahaannya.

Tuan-tuan sekalian, dalam beberapa tahun yang lalu, seperti saya katakan tadi, Kerajaan Perikatan telah melancarkan rancangan-rancangan pembangunannya dengan jaya dan telah mengadakan perubahan-perubahan dan kemajuan-kemajuan yang banyak di seluruh negara kita ini. Kerajaan Perikatan telah berjaya membawa kemudahan-kemudahan hidup dan kemajuan-kemajuan yang kita tidak dapat mimpikan dalam masa sebelum merdeka dahulu, seperti sekolah-sekolah, kemudahan-kemudahan kesihatan, jalanraya-jalanraya, bekalan-bekalan air, rancangan-rancangan tanah, Masjid-masjid, Surau-surau dan sebagainya. Semua rancangan-rancangan ini telah dijalankan dengan jayanya dan tuan-tuan dan rakyat negeri ini telah dapat menerima nikmat-nikmat daripada rancangan-rancangan ini.

Akan tetapi Rancangan ini tidak akan memberi faedah, melainkan kita semua - tuan-tuan dan rakyat negeri ini - berani menimbulkan semangat atau jiwa pembangunan iaitu semangat dan jiwa berani berusaha dan bertenaga, semangat yang Kerajaan kehendaki dalam Gerakan Maju yang sedang dilancarkan di negara kita ini. Kita sebagai satu bangsa merdeka tidak boleh mendapat kemajuan semata-mata dengan adanya jalanraya dan dengan adanya sekolah-sekolah. Kita hanya boleh mendapatkan kemajuan dengan usaha dan tenaga kita, dengan keazaman rakyat negeri ini semua. Inilah semangat yang dikehendaki dalam Gerakan Maju. Inilah pertukaran fikiran yang jauh iaitu tiap-tiap orang rakyat negeri ini melipat gandakan usaha-usaha mereka dalam menjalankan rancangan-rancangan kemajuan dan perusahaan yang mereka itu kehendaki.

Bangunan MARA yang besar dan indah ini ialah penuh dengan semangat Gerakan Maju, semangat gerakan MARA, semangat gerakan bumiputera. Dalam bangunan ini ada penuh dengan rancangan-rancangan, penuh dengan cita-cita yang baik, penuh dengan usaha-usaha yang jujur dan ikhlas untuk hendak menolong rakyat dan ahli-ahli bumiputera, untuk hendak memperbaiki keadaan hidup mereka itu. Akan tetapi bangunan ini bukanlah didirikan untuk ahli-ahli bumiputera datang kemari berlindung, berhenti rehat atau semata-mata hendak minum atau makan di restoran yang ada di sini dan memandang kepada kemajuan-kemajuan yang sedang berjalan di sekeliling bangunan ini. Bangunan MARA ini didirikan ialah dengan kehendak MARA yang telah ditubuhkan dengan satu tujuan sahaja iaitu membolehkan rakyat negeri ini dan ahli-ahli bumiputera berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri supaya mereka itu berbangga yang mereka itu telah menjalankan rancangan-rancangan untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup mereka itu dan mereka itu telah dapat mencapai cita-cita dan

hasrat mereka itu untuk hendak mempunyai satu taraf hidup yang sempurna dan yang sesuai dengan negara kita yang merdeka.

Dengan sebab itu pesan saya kepada tuan-tuan pada hari ini ialah bila tuan-tuan balik ke kampung masing-masing supaya memanjangkan kepada sahabat-sahabat dan saudara-saudara kita di kampung-kampung bahawa MARA ini ialah dipunyai oleh tuan-tuan sekalian, dipunyai oleh bumiputera sekalian. MARA ini sedia hendak memberi pertolongan dalam semua lapangan, lapangan latihan, lapangan latihan perniagaan, lapangan mendirikan perusahaan dan sebagainya yang dikehendaki oleh bumiputera. Akan tetapi saya harap tuan-tuan dan ahli-ahli bumiputera sekalian yang sentiasa ingat dan berfikir bahawa usaha dan kemudahan-kemudahan yang diberi oleh MARA itu tidak akan berguna kepada tuan-tuan sekalian, melainkan tuan-tuan sekalian menggunakan usaha-usaha dan tenaga sendiri, akal fikiran dan tulang urat sendiri dan menunjukkan keazaman yang penuh untuk hendak menjalankan perusahaan masing-masing. Hanyalah dengan adanya kerjasama di antara kedua pihak antara pihak rakyat dengan pihak MARA barulah kehasilan akan dapat tercapai. Kalau tidak ada semangat dan keazaman hendak berusaha hendak menjayakan perusahaan, bagaimana banyak pertolongan teknik diberi, bagaimana banyak bantuan pun diberi, bagaimana banyak wang diberi, bagaimana banyak nasihat diberi, tidak akan mendatangkan hasil dan tidak akan memberi faedah kepada rakyat sekalian. Dengan sebab itulah perkara yang penting bagi kita ialah menanam, menimbul dan menyalakan semangat Gerakan Maju, semangat pembangunan, semangat dan keazaman yang berani berusaha dan bertenaga untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup kita sekalian. Inilah dia seruan saya kepada tuan-tuan pada hari yang berbahagia ini.

Sekian sahaja, saya ucapkan tuan-tuan sekalian Selamat Balik ke kampung masing-masing dan Selamat Maju Jaya kepada MARA, mudah-mudahan Allah s.w.t. akan menyertai cita-cita kita yang murni - daripada pihak Kerajaan dan rakyat - untuk hendak memperbaiki keadaan hidup penduduk-penduduk negara kita ini dan menjadikan Malaysia ini sebuah negara yang maju, aman dan makmur.

Terima kasih.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
PADA UPACARA HARI MARA
PADA 10 MAC 1967**

**Dato' Pengerusi, MARA,
Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian,**

Saya sangatlah berasa sukacita bahawa tuan-tuan dan puan-puan telah dapat hadir pada hari ini untuk sama-sama menjayakan HARI MARA. Saya suka juga mengalu-alukan kedatangan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dan berharap, bahawa dalam lawatan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan ke ibu kota Malaysia ini, dan juga dalam acara-acara yang telah diaturkan oleh pihak MARA, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan dapat menggunakan peluang ini dengan sepenuh-penuhnya, bagi mendalami pengetahuan dan pengalaman-pengalaman tuan-tuan dan puan-puan berkenaan dengan rancangan-rancangan yang sedang diselenggarakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan.

Kelmarin tuan-tuan dan puan-puan membuat lawatan ke beberapa tempat di ibu kota Malaysia ini, dan pada hari ini tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan menyaksikan segala kerja yang sedang dilakukan oleh MARA. Sebagaimana yang telah saya katakan dahulu iaitu pada masa saya meletakkan batu asas bangunan ini, bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan dalam usahanya membentuk Badan ini akan memberi nafas yang baharu sesuai pula dengan tugas dan tanggungjawab yang akan dijalankan oleh Badan ini, untuk memperbaiki ekonomi Bumiputera di seluruh Malaysia ini. Dan saya sendiri telah tidak menentukan nama baharu itu, tetapi sebaliknya telah menyerahkan kepada Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang bersidang pada bulan Jun, 1965 untuk merangkakan nama yang tersebut itu. Sesuai dengan semangat dan kehendak politik dan ekonomi di tanahair kita pada hari ini, Kongres telah merangkakan satu nama, iaitulah Majlis Amanah Rakyat. Dari nama ini sendiri, maka tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan ketahui tentang bentuk dan cara perjalanannya, iaitulah sebagai sebuah Badan yang memegang amanah terhadap kepentingan-kepentingan ekonomi orang-orang yang berpendapatan rendah.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dijemput oleh MARA untuk datang ke sini bagi menyaksikan upacara HARI MARA ialah kerana Kerajaan Perikatan memandang bahawa selain daripada kita mengadakan Badan-badan yang khususnya menjalankan daya usaha bagi meninggikan taraf ekonomi rakyat di luar bandar, maka terpaksa pula juga digubalkan satu corak pemikiran yang baharu

terhadap pembangunan. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, sebagai wakil dari Daerah-daerah di seluruh Malaysia ini, akan dapat memberi kerjasama dalam perkara pembentukan satu aliran fikiran yang baharu.

Selepas tuan-tuan dan puan-puan melihat dari dekat segala kerja-kerja yang dilakukan oleh MARA, dan selepas mendengar keterangan-keterangan yang akan diberikan oleh Pegawai-pegawai MARA, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sendiri akan dapat menentukan apakah Badan ini telahpun diberi nafas baharu atau tidak. Tetapi saya percaya, bila tuan-tuan dan puan-puan melawat Bilik Pertunjukan, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan dapat melihat dengan nyata segala hasil yang telah tercapai pada ketika ini oleh MARA. Maka terpulanglah kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan untuk menilaikan segala hasil yang telah dipertunjukkan itu. Kita mestilah ingat iaitu MARA ini telah ditubuhkan hasil daripada cita-cita rakyat yang mana tuan-tuan dan puan-puan pada hari ini menjadi wakil-wakilnya.

Sebagai yang telah saya selalu katakan, iaitu pihak Kerajaan Perikatan sedia mengadakan apa-apa rancangan juga yang sehaluan dengan kehendak dan hasrat rakyat, tetapi faktor yang mustahak di sini ialah bagaimana segala rancangan dan daya usaha yang telah dilakukan oleh Kerajaan, dapat dipergunakan oleh rakyat dengan seluas-luasnya. Dalam perkara ini kejayaan mungkin tidak akan dapat dicapai seandainya corak pemikiran itu tidak diubah dan dalam masalah ini terpulanglah kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sebagai wakil dari Daerah-daerah menjalankan daya usaha bagi memperkembangkan semangat baharu guna mencapai kejayaan yang sepenuhnya.

Sebagai Menteri yang bertanggungjawab berkenaan dengan pembangunan di dalam negara ini, terutama sekali di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar, saya telah mengambil perhatian yang berat terhadap langkah-langkah yang sedang dilakukan oleh MARA. Dan sebagai yang telah saya jelaskan juga, selepas kita mengekebumikan RIDA, kita menubuhkan MARA ini dengan semangat dan nada yang baharu dan juga kita telah mengubah corak penyusunan kerja-kerja, supaya segala maksud yang ditujukan itu dapat dicapai dengan sepenuhnya. MARA tidak lagi akan menjalankan daya usaha yang bercorak kebajikan, tetapi sebaliknya akan menjalankan usaha-usaha yang bercorak bimbingan dengan diberi segala panduan yang bercorak nasihat, latihan, kewangan dan lain-lainnya yang boleh menentukan iaitu tiap-tiap gerak langkah yang dilakukan itu akan mencapai sepenuh-penuhnya kejayaan.

Selain daripada menjalankan usaha-usaha yang bercorak bimbingan, MARA juga adalah menjadi Badan Pemegang Amanah terhadap kepentingan-kepentingan rakyat jelata yang miskin. Dengan adanya dasar yang tersebut inilah maka MARA telah membeli saham-

saham dan menjalankan perusahaan-perusahaan supaya pada satu ketika kelak akan diserahkan usaha-usaha ini kepada rakyat yang miskin yang tidak ada kemampuan pada ketika ini untuk menjalankannya. Tetapi, sebelumnya segala amanah yang dipegangkan itu diserahkan balik kepada rakyat, latihan yang sempurna kenalah diberikan supaya ini dapat meyakinkan, bahawa tiap-tiap usaha yang telah diserahkan itu akan tidak tersimpang daripada tujuan dan hasrat politik dan ekonomi pada ketika ini.

Kerajaan Perikatan selama memegang pentadbiran negara ini telah membuktikan segala kejujuran kepada rakyat keseluruhannya. Kerajaan Perikatan juga telah menerima usul-usul yang dikemukakan oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang pertama kerana hendak menyesuaikan segala rancangan Kerajaan itu dengan hasrat dan cita-cita rakyat. Inilah bukti daripada kejujuran perjuangan Parti Perikatan. Walaupun ada pihak-pihak yang menyatakan Kerajaan Perikatan ini menjalankan dasar yang tidak seimbang, tetapi bukti-bukti daripada rancangan-rancangan yang telah dilakukan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan telah dapat meruntuhkan kenyataan-kenyataan palsu mereka itu.

Dalam rangka meninggikan taraf ekonomi rakyat, Kerajaan Perikatan telahpun menubuhkan beberapa badan dengan diberikan tugas-tugas yang tertentu kepada badan-badan tersebut supaya tiap-tiap badan ini dapat menjalankan peranannya dengan teratur. Di dalam bidang perusahaan Kerajaan telah mengadakan badan-badan seperti FIDA dan MIDFL. Badan-badan ini akan menyelenggarakan corak pembangunan di dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perindustrian. Kemudian di dalam bidang pembangunan ekonomi luar bandar pula, Kerajaan telah menubuhkan beberapa badan seperti MARA ini, FAMA, Bank Bumiputera dan FLDA.

Badan-badan ini menjalankan kerja-kerjanya tidaklah hanya menumpukan kepada sesuatu kaum ataupun kepada sesuatu golongan sahaja, tetapi sebaliknya menumpukan segala usaha bagi membaiki kehidupan rakyat jelata yang telah terbiar sebegitu lama pada masa penjajahan dahulu. Dan bagi mengelakkan pula kemungkinan kerja-kerja perlumbaan di antara badan-badan ini, Kerajaan telah menubuhkan satu Jawatankuasa Penyelarasan supaya dapat langkah-langkah yang dijalankan oleh badan-badan ini diatur dengan sempurna. Gerakan meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat di negeri ini adalah gerakan yang bercorak ketenteraan. Kita terpaksa menyediakan alat-alat yang lengkap supaya dapat kita memecahkan persoalan-persoalan yang dihadapi itu dengan jayanya. Maka dengan sebab itulah, di dalam rangka pembangunan negara pada ketika ini banyak wang yang kena diperuntukkan bagi mengadakan alat-alat

tadi dan dengan adanya alat-alat ini dapatlah Kerajaan Perikatan menghilangkan bidang-bidang yang dahulunya miskin dan terbiar.

Perbelanjaan yang telah diuntukkan bagi maksud pembangunan itu berlipat ganda dari semasa ke semasa, tetapi seandainya segala rancangan yang telah diperlakukan oleh pihak Kerajaan tidak pula mendapat sokongan dan kerjasama yang erat dari rakyat jelata, maka sudah tentu rancangan-rancangan itu tidak akan membuahkan hasil yang sebaik-baiknya.

Pembangunan adalah kaedahnya seperti seorang yang cuba menepuk tangan. Sebelah tangan sahaja tidaklah akan mengeluarkan apa-apa bunyi, tetapi jika sekiranya digunakan dua belah tangan sekali dan bila ditepuk sudah tentulah akan mengeluarkan bunyinya. Kerajaan boleh diumpamakan sebagai sebelah tangan dan rakyat jelata pula adalah menjadi sebelah tangan lagi. Kedua-dua ini mestilah dapat bergerak dengan serentak baharulah dapat mengeluarkan hasil dan kejayaan yang sempurna.

Semenjak Parti Perikatan mula memegang tampuk pemerintahan di negeri ini, tidak ada sebuah rancangan pun yang telah dilakukan dengan dilaksanakan rancangan itu kepada rakyat jelata. Tiap-tiap satu rancangan itu dilaksanakan dengan secara perundingan. Ini dapat dilihat daripada corak pelaksanaan pembangunan luar bandar. Hasrat untuk pembangunan ini dimulakan di peringkat Kampung dan kemudiannya kepada daerah dan seterusnya kepada negeri dan kemudiannya sekalilah baharu ke peringkat Persekutuan atau Nasional. Maka di peringkat nasional inilah akan dikaji keperluan-keperluan itu dan menjalankan tindakan terhadap keperluan-keperluan itu mengikut daya yang ada.

Ini juga dapat menunjukkan bahawa, Kerajaan Perikatan berpegang teguh kepada sistem demokrasi. Dan dengan ini juga menunjukkan bahawa falsafah perjuangan UMNO yang berdasarkan kepada demokratik nasionalisma telah dipraktikkan di dalam bidang pembangunan negara. Dan dalam inti falsafah ini, Kerajaan Perikatan selalunya memandang pada tiap-tiap satu rancangan itu dari segi praktikal dan dari segi kebangsaan. Dan cara dilaksanakan rancangan itu sebagai yang telah saya jelaskan adalah mempunyai unsur-unsur demokrasi. Dan ini juga menunjukkan di dalam negara kita yang berbilang bangsa ini Kerajaan Perikatan telah dapat menyesuaikan falsafah pembangunan ini supaya tiap-tiap seorang warganegara itu mempunyai hak untuk menikmati segala kejayaan yang telah dicapai.

Walaupun telah saya nyatakan di sini iaitu tiap-tiap pembangunan yang dilakukan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan ini mempunyai unsur-unsur di mana tiap-tiap seorang warganegara berhak menikmati segala kejayaannya yang telah dicapai, tetapi ini terpulanglah pula kepada rakyat sendiri. Jika sekiranya mereka tahu tentang perlunya

mereka bersama-sama mengambil bahagian, maka sudah tentu mereka akan dapat mengecap segala kejayaan yang telah dicapai.

Falsafah pembangunan Kerajaan Perikatan adalah satu falsafah yang luas dan juga satu falsafah yang terbuka yang tidak terkongkong oleh mana-mana teori-teori lapuk yang dimasukkan ke sini kerana kononnya didapati teori-teori itu berjaya di setengah-setengah tempat. Pada penganalisaan orang-orang ini, masyarakat itu adalah serupa sahaja keadaannya dengan tidak ada sama sekali perbezaan-perbezaan, maka dengan sebab itulah pada pendapat mereka jika dikenakan sesuatu teori yang berjaya di lain-lain tempat, maka di sini juga akan berjaya. Tetapi malangnya, orang-orang ini telah tidak dapat membuka pandangan mereka dengan lebih luas lagi dan melihat keadaan yang ada di sini dan juga di negara-negara tetangga.

Parti Komunis Indonesia telah gagal dalam perjuangannya untuk menegakkan satu sistem yang asing sekali dengan bentuk masyarakat di sana, walaupun mereka telah cuba hendak menyesuaikan ideologi asing ini dengan keadaan yang setempat. Tetapi disebabkan falsafah perjuangan mereka adalah satu falsafah yang tertutup dan beku keadaannya, maka masyarakat telah menolak falsafah itu dan dengan itu juga telah menghancurkan pergerakan mereka. Ini ialah satu pengajaran kepada pihak-pihak yang ada di dalam negeri ini yang masih lagi melaung-laungkan bahawa di dalam sesuatu perjuangan politik maka parti yang berjuang itu mesti mempunyai sesuatu falsafah perjuangan yang ketat bentuknya. Falsafah yang terkongkong seperti yang telah disebutkan itu akan membawa pejuang-pejuangnya kepada satu pandangan yang sempit dan mereka akan cuba menegakkan kebenaran falsafah itu dengan dijadikan masyarakat sebagai alat. Tujuan mereka bukanlah untuk membangunkan masyarakat, tetapi sebaliknya hanya untuk menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa ideologi perjuangan mereka itu dapat ditegakkan.

Bilamana secara demokrasi mereka gagal, maka mereka gunakanlah segala daya walaupun di luar garisan ketatanegaraan. Mereka tidak lagi menjadi sebagai pejuang terhadap negara, tetapi sebaliknya mereka inilah yang akan menjahanamkan negara dan menjadi petualang kepada cita-cita nasional. Mereka inilah juga akan cuba mempengaruhi orang-orang yang kurang faham tentang falsafah pembangunan Kerajaan Perikatan guna dijadikan sebagai alat bagi mengembangkan pergerakan mereka. Saya percaya tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang datang ke sini pada hari ini akan mengawasi pergerakan mereka ini supaya jangan negara ini dinodai oleh udara perselisihan.

Saya telah nyatakan beberapa kali iaitu Kerajaan Perikatan sedia menerima walau apa corak rancangan sekalipun, asalkan rancangan-

rancangan itu bercorak nasional dan mempunyai unsur-unsur demokrasi. Kita tidak kira adakah asas rancangan itu datangnya dari Timur ataupun dari Barat. Yang kita tujukan ialah tiap-tiap sesuatu yang kita lakukan itu akan memberi kebahagiaan kepada negara dan masyarakat.

Kerajaan Perikatan menjalankan usaha-usaha pembangunannya dengan tidak suka melaung-laungkan falsafah perjuangannya. Ini juga membuktikan iaitu pembangunan yang kita jalankan itu adalah secara jujur dan tidak mempunyai apa-apa maksud walau dari segi politik ataupun sebagainya. Tetapi ada juga pihak-pihak yang cuba menggunakan pembangunan bagi sesuatu kepentingan yang tertentu. Parti Perikatan sedia bertemu dengan rakyat untuk rakyat mengahkinkan atas bukti-bukti pelaksanaan rancangan, selama memegang tampuk pemerintahan. Walaupun macam-macam kata telah dikeluarkan oleh pihak-pihak pembangkang bagi merosakkan imej Kerajaan Perikatan, tetapi rakyat jelata di Malaysia sudah matang di dalam soal ini dan sudah tidak dapat lagi terpesona dengan kata-kata yang tersebut itu. Dengan sebab gagalnyanya cara yang demikian itu pihak-pihak yang menentang Parti Perikatan telah menjalankan daya usaha yang lebih dan di atas gerakan inilah yang telah saya nyatakan kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang harus tuan-tuan dan puan-puan awasi. Kita berjuang mempunyai sesuatu matlamat, dan matlamat Kerajaan Perikatan ialah untuk menghulurkan segala kebahagiaan kepada rakyat.

Berbalik kepada masalah pembangunan, sebagai yang telah saya jelaskan tadi, iaitu dua pihak mestilah dapat bekerja dengan erat jika sekiranya pembangunan betul-betul hendak berjaya. Dua pihak yang saya maksudkan di sini ialah pihak Kerajaan dan pihak rakyat jelata. Pihak Kerajaan telah menjalankan gerakan-gerakan untuk menerangkan kepada rakyat bagaimana mereka dapat bersama-sama dengan Kerajaan menolong membangunkan negara ini. Kalaulah selalunya kita mendengar kata-kata bahawa kemerdekaan mestilah diberi isi, maka sudah sewajarnya isi itu mesti datang bukan hanya daripada pihak Kerajaan semata-mata, tetapi juga mestilah datang daripada pihak rakyat bersama. Tanggungjawab pembangunan adalah tanggungjawab kesemua pihak.

Kalaulah kita lihat negeri-negeri yang maju di Asia ini seperti negeri Jepun, tiap-tiap seorang daripada warganegara di sana menjalankan daya usahanya yang tersendiri demi kepentingan nasional. Dan dengan sebab itulah juga negeri Jepun itu dapat mencapai kemajuan yang sebegitu cepat hingga dapat mengkagumkan dunia. Dan semangat inilah juga yang seharusnya ditanamkan di negeri kita pada masa ini dan dengan adanya semangat ini, InsyaAllah masa depan negara Malaysia tetap akan gemilang. Dan bagi maksud

ini, adalah terpulung kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan untuk menggerakkan semangat baharu dan pandangan yang baharu terhadap rancangan-rancangan pembangunan. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan adalah wakil-wakil yang dipilih khas oleh MARA dan juga Kerajaan dalam segi meninggikan taraf hidup orang-orang di luar bandar.

Saya suka menjelaskan di sini salah satu daripada tugas MARA di dalam bidang pembangunan, iaitu adalah menjadi kewajipan MARA bagi memajukan, menggalakkan, memudahkan dan menjalankan pembangunan ekonomi dan kemasyarakatan dalam Persekutuan dan khususnya dalam kawasan-kawasan luar bandar Persekutuan. Di sini menunjukkan iaitu selain daripada pembangunan ekonomi tugas MARA adalah juga untuk membangunkan bentuk-bentuk kemasyarakatan yang baharu di dalam negeri ini terutama di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar. Masyarakat bermakna manusia dan manusia jika hendak maju mestilah dapat bekerjasama di antara satu sama lain. Tetapi untuk bekerjasama bagi sesuatu maksud seperti pembangunan ini corak pemikiran itu mestilah diubah - diubah kepada satu pandangan yang lebih dinamik. Pada masa saya meletakkan batu asas dahulu saya telah menyatakan iaitu bahawa Majlis ini akan dijadikan satu badan yang dinamik yang boleh sebenar-benarnya menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dengan sepenuh-penuhnya. Maka adalah perlu juga bahawa pemikiran dari bumiputera sendiri berubah kepada pandangan yang dinamik juga dan cuma dengan cara yang demikian itu sahaja dapat kita menentukan kejayaan.

Saya harap bilamana tuan-tuan dan puan-puan balik kelak ke daerah masing-masing, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan dapat memberi penerangan yang sepenuh-penuhnya kepada penduduk-penduduk di kawasan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan tentang peranan yang sedang dilakukan oleh MARA dalam rangka pembangunan masyarakat luar bandar. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan mestilah juga menyatakan, iaitu rancangan-rancangan yang akan dilakukan oleh MARA akan berdasarkan kepada kejayaan yang akan dicapai kelak. Dan untuk menentukan kejayaan itu terpaksa pihak MARA menjalankan kajian-kajian yang betul-betul teliti.

Iniilah fahaman berkenaan MARA yang harus disebarakan dengan seluas-luasnya. Seandainya masyarakat di luar bandar tidak mengetahui dengan sepenuhnya kedudukan MARA dalam rangka perjalanannya, maka sudah tentulah kekeliruan-kekeliruan akan timbul.

Hari MARA ini diadakan ialah untuk memperkenalkan MARA kepada rakyat dengan lebih dekat lagi. Ini tidaklah pula bermakna bahawa MARA ini membukakan pintunya untuk rakyat jelata hanya

pada 10 haribulan ini sahaja. Pada bila-bila masa sahaja rakyat suka hendak mengetahui perjalanan MARA, maka MARA ini sedia menerima mereka. MARA dilahirkan atas cita-cita rakyat, maka rakyat adalah berhak untuk mengetahui MARA dengan sedekat-dekatnya. Kata pepatah Melayu, "Tak kenal maka tak cinta", dan kerana tak kenal juga telah timbul salah faham dan perselisihan. MARA akan cuba memperkenalkan dirinya kepada rakyat dan akan menyamakan diri dengan hasrat dan cita-cita nasional.

Sekianlah yang hendak saya cakapkan kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan pada petang ini dan saya berharap tuan-tuan dan puan-puan akan dapat menyebarkan pesanan saya ini bilamana tuan-tuan dan puan-puan balik kelak. Terima kasih.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
SEMPENA HARI RAYA AIDILFITRI
DI RUANGAN "PEMBANGUNAN DESA", RADIO MALAYSIA
PADA 18 MAC 1967**

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian:

Saya mengucapkan syukur ke hadrat Allah s.w.t. kerana dapat mengucapkan Selamat Hari Raya Aidilfitri kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, terutama sekali kepada peminat-peminat siaran Radio Malaysia dalam Ruangan Pembangunan Desa.

Dalam masa sebulan yang lalu, kita semua telah berpuasa - menahan diri daripada nafsu dan berlapar - untuk menunaikan salah satu daripada rukun Islam yang maha suci itu. Tamatnya berpuasa dan sampainya Hari Raya Aidilfitri, adalah membawa nikmat yang tidak dapat dinilai kepada kita. Pada kali ini kita dapat menyambut Hari Raya Aidilfitri ini dalam keadaan dan suasana yang amat baik dan tenteram. Semenjak 4 tahun yang lalu, inilah kali yang pertamanya kita dapat menyambut Hari Raya Aidilfitri ini dalam keadaan yang aman berikutan dengan tamatnya konfrantasi. Oleh itu sambil kita merayakan hari yang berbahagia ini, kita patut mengingati mereka yang telah terkorban ataupun tercedera dalam perjuangan untuk mempertahankan negara kita dan untuk menegakkan kebenaran dan keadilan.

Seperti tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sedia maklum, pada masa kita berpuasa kita terpaksa menghadapi berbagai kesukaran, lapar dan dahaga dan apabila kita sudah sempurna menunaikan kewajipan-kewajipan kita itu kita dapatlah menerima nikmat bersukaria pada Hari Raya. Oleh itu pengalaman kita berpuasa itu patutlah dijadikan panduan hidup kita pada setiap hari. Jika kita hendak menikmati kemajuan dan kemewahan negara, kita mestilah sanggup berkorban, berusaha dan bersusah payah dahulu; hanya dengan kita berjaya berkorban dan bersusah payah itu baharulah dapat kita mencapai hasil-hasil dan nikmat-nikmat yang kita kehendaki. Kita mustahak mengalamai berbagai rintangan dan halangan serta dugaan-dugaan dan hanya dengan kita menguatkan keazaman bagi mengatasi semua kesusahan-kesusahan itu baharulah dapat kita menerima dan mencapai kebahagiaan hidup yang kita kehendaki.

Bagi pihak Kerajaan adalah berazam hendak meneruskan usaha-usaha bagi memperbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat, terutama sekali yang duduk di luar bandar, seperti yang Kerajaan telah jalankan pada

beberapa tahun yang lalu. Tujuan Kerajaan ialah hendak menjadikan rakyat negeri ini rakyat yang bertanggungjawab yang boleh berdiri di atas kaki sendiri. Saya percaya dengan kerjasama daripada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, dengan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan menunjukkan semangat dan keazaman berani berusaha dan bertenaga untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup masing-masing, usaha-usaha dan cita-cita Kerajaan itu akan berhasil. Kemajuan sesuatu bangsa itu terletak di tangan rakyat negara itu sendiri. Dengan sebab itu saya berseru kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, kepada umat-umat Islam sekalian, iaitu sambil kita bersuka-suka merayakan hari yang berbahagia ini, marilah kita membaharui azam kita untuk berusaha dan bertenaga dengan lebih giat lagi bagi kemajuan dan kemakmuran kita semua.

Di mana sahaja tuan-tuan dan puan-puan berada, baik di pekan ataupun di kampung-kampung, sama ada yang bekerja dengan Kerajaan ataupun menjalankan perusahaan sendiri, kita semua boleh menambah kemewahan dan kemakmuran kita sendiri dan negara kita sekiranya kita menambah ikhtiar, usaha dan tenaga dalam apa juga lapangan pekerjaan yang kita jalankan pada tiap-tiap hari itu.

Saya sudahi dengan mengucapkan sekali lagi Selamat Hari Raya Aidilfitri kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dan berdo'a mudah-mudahan Tuhan akan membawa kita semua kepada keamanan dan kemajuan yang lebih besar dan lebih luas lagi seperti yang kita kehendaki.

Terima kasih.

**SUGGESTED BRIEF BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
FOR MEETING ON AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND VISIT
ON 20TH MARCH 1967**

I am most anxious that every action be taken to make this visit a success, and to do this, requires some ground work *now*.

Time is short, there are only two weeks left before I leave for Australia, and I do not want, as has happened on some of my previous trips abroad, there is a last minute rush of preparation and my receiving briefs from various departments *at the very last minute* before departure.

I am not so much concerned with the detailed itinerary of the programme, which is still being worked out between Kuala Lumpur, Canberra and Wellington. In fact, this juggling of the programme details is almost likely to continue until the very last moment of my departure.

What, however, I am concerned about, *and this is why I have called this meeting this morning*, is to obtain *full and comprehensive briefs*, and pre-prepared speeches from the Heads of Departments concerned with each subject on which I shall speak.

Let us take the Australian visit first. No matter what changes take place in the detailed programme, the following items are definite:-

- (a) On my arrival, there will be a pre-prepared *publicity hand-out* for the Australian Press and public;
- (b) I shall have to make the following major speeches:-
 - (i) an after dinner speech at a banquet at a Parliament House;
 - (ii) and address to the National Press Club;
 - (iii) an address to the Institute of International Affairs;
 - (iv) an address to the Veteran's Conference;
 - (v) a speech to a gathering of Malaysian Students;
 - (vi) a speech to the Committee of Economic Development of Australia.

These, as I have said, are the *major items*, the preparation of which will *require much hard work and close co-operation* between all of you.

The question also arises of the separate theme of each of these addresses, and in some cases, the theme will have to overlap depending on the audiences.

In addition to making speeches, I shall require a comprehensive brief on the following:-

- (a) details of Malaysian students in Australia, their problems and their aspirations;
- (b) details of all development aid already given by Australia to Malaysia and an out-line of future proposals at present under consideration;
- (c) details of Military aid and assistance given to Malaysia by Australia.

With regard to the New Zealand programme, *the three main items* which require preparation *now*, and *which must be ready well before my departure* are:-

- (a) a speech at the Government luncheon at the New Zealand Parliament;
- (b) a lecture at the University in Wellington;
- (c) a speech at a dinner to be given at Auckland to local personalities including representatives of business, the press and Malaysian students.

Now, as I have said, *time is short*, and with all my other commitments in Malaysia before I leave I cannot possibly *myself*, get down to drafting these speeches and what I require is *first drafts of all of them* to be ready by the 1st or 2nd of April, so that I will have time, *prior to my departure* from Kuala Lumpur, to give thought to them.

This is going to require a lot of hard work on your part. As time is short, *this work will have to take priority* over all other things at present in hand.

It will require a lot of hard team work to prepare these speeches because in some cases, they will include reference to Foreign Affairs, to relationship with Singapore, to regional co-operation, to Defence, to Development.

I, therefore, want to *set up a working party* here and now, which will have to give up all other work for several days and get down to *day-to-day continuous meetings and drafting sessions* so that I can be supplied by *1st of April*, with drafts for all these addresses and speeches.

I myself will want from time to time to have discussions with this working party so that I can fully familiarise myself with the programme because it is absolutely essential that I arrive in Australia *fully prepared and fully briefed*.

My visit is concerned *not only* with regard to the relationship with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, but is also closely concerned with Malaysia's image in *international affairs* as a whole because in addition to the Australian public and the Press, there will be representatives of the foreign Press present, and I have also got to

bear in mind the impression already made in Australia by both the *Prime Minister of Singapore and the Prime Minister of Vietnam.*

In addition to all these, I want to make it certain that our Press coverage will be the best that we can give and I want to know the details of the arrangements made for the flow of information back to Malaysia during my visit.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI MALAYSIA
DI UPACARA PEMBUKAAN RASMI JABATAN UKUR
NEGERI MELAKA DI MELAKA
PADA 3 APRIL 1967**

Saya sangat sukacita dapat hadir sekali lagi di Melaka dan saya ucapkan terima kasih kepada Y.A.B. Ketua Menteri Melaka dan kepada Kementerian Kerjaraya, Pos dan Talikom dan Kementerian Hal Ehwal Tanah dan Galian atas kesudiannya menjemput saya untuk membuka dengan rasminya Bangunan Jabatan Ukur ini.

Saya memang faham atas kedudukan Jabatan Ukur sebab tak berapa tahun dahulu Jabatan ini adalah di bawah jagaan Kementerian saya. Sungguh pun sekarang ini Jabatan Ukur dipindahkan ke Kementerian lain, saya memang sentiasa memerhatikan atas perjalanannya oleh sebab tugas-tugas jabatan ini adalah sangat penting di segi Pembangunan Negara dan Pertahanan.

Sungguh pun Negeri Melaka ini negeri yang kecil dan tidak begitu berpeluang hendak meluaskan pembangunan jika dibandingkan dengan negeri-negeri lain di Malaysia ini, saya selalu memandang tinggi atas gerakan-gerakan penduduknya yang progressive. Tambah pula di bawah panduan seorang Ketua Menteri yang bijak dan jujur tak payahlah saya datang melawat ke Negeri Melaka ini dengan sebegitu galak sungguh pun saya sentiasa ingin berbuat demikian.

Jabatan Ukur tidaklah begitu terkenal di kalangan orangramai seperti jabatan-jabatan lain, misalnya Jabatan Kerjaraya dan lain-lain Jabatan tetapi Jabatan ini adalah sentiasa memainkan peranan yang penting di segi Pembangunan Negara dan Pertahanan.

Di segi Pembangunan, peta-peta sangatlah mustahak bagi merancang apa-apa rancangan samada rancangan Tanah, jalanraya, hydro-elektrik dan lain-lainnya. Apabila sesuatu rancangan tanah hendak dimulakan, Jabatan-jabatan Ukur akan menyediakan peta rupabumi dan kemudian, bersama-sama dengan Jabatan-jabatan lain akan membuat penyiasatan di kawasan itu dengan teliti. Setelah itu baharulah Pejabat Perancang dapat menentukan di mana hendak diletakkan kawasan perumahan dan di mana kawasan tanaman. Pekerjaan mengukur akan terus dijalankan hingga geran-geran tanah tersebut dapat dikeluarkan.

Di segi Pertahanan, peta-peta sudah tentu menjadi keutamaan oleh sebab tiap-tiap gerakan bersenjata atau kawalan dalam negeri berkehendakkan peta yang baik.

Rancangan-rancangan tanah di Negeri Melaka ini nampaknya sangat berjaya dan mengikut jadual yang telah ditentukan dengan sebab kerjasama yang penuh yang telah diberi oleh Jabatan Ukur dan lain-lain Jabatan. Satu daripada Rancangan Tanah itu (Kemendore) sangatlah terkenal dan telah jadi satu bahan peraga kepada pelawat-pelawat bukan sahaja dari dalam negeri bahkan dari luar negeri jua.

Dengan ini saya dengan sukacitanya mengisytiharkan pembukaan Bangunan Jabatan Ukur Negeri Melaka.

NOTES FOR THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S
ADDRESS TO D.A.U. CONFERENCE OF STATE SECRETARIES
ON 3RD APRIL 1967

The first duty of States Secretaries is to provide *positive and continuous administrative leadership* to all units of State Governments, including State departments and District Offices (not merely to Secretariats).

- A. This leadership must cover—
1. *Work priorities* – what jobs Departments and District Offices are doing, their priorities, and how activities are coordinated.
 2. *Implementation* – how *effectively, efficiently, and honestly* they are doing their jobs.
- B. This leadership responsibility *cannot be delegated, nor can it be avoided*. Indeed State Secretaries must provide as example for District Officers and Department Heads, must reward them for exercising leadership by special letters of commendation and other methods and take them to task for failure to do so.
- II. Leadership must be *positive*—
- A. State Secretary must take the *initiative* to assure himself that programs of work are the right ones and are properly planned and coordinated; and
- B. That *organisation, work methods, procedures and staffing* efficiently meet present needs and are not the dusty inheritance of a remote past.
- C. Cannot rely on or be satisfied with precedents or with past experience; must meet new situations with new methods.
- D. State Secretaries can be assured of my personal support when they exercise positive leadership.
- III. Leadership must be *continuous*—
- A. State Secretary must be on top of his job so that he knows, and all his subordinates know that he knows what is going on.
- B. He must take prompt action to eliminate delays, correct deficiencies as they arise, and keep them from becoming serious. Indeed he should attempt to *anticipate* problem and solve them before they arise.
- C. If things go wrong, the State Secretary cannot claim that he did not know. It is his duty to see that he is continuously informed.

- IV. To exercise leadership State Secretaries must see that –
- A. *Policies* State Government and State departments are clearly enunciated.
 - B. *Programs of work for all Departments and District Offices* are carefully planned in detail.
 - C. *Organisation, procedures and staffing in State department and district office* are adequate to the job to be done, that staff are properly trained and that proper standards of performance are set for each staff member.
 - D. That he is currently informed of what is going on by—
 1. Requiring and analysing regular and special written reports giving him current facts and figures on performance.
 2. By frequent meetings and telephone conversations with District Officers and Department Heads individually and in groups.
 3. By personal inspections, by getting around personally to District and Land Offices, field stations and projects for spot checks.
 4. By mixing frequently with people from all walks of life. This applies to all officers.
 - E. Prompt action is taken on the basis of the information he has.
- V. To exercise leadership, State Secretaries have the following resources and instruments to assist them:
- A. *Their staff members*— Finance Officers, Commissioners of Land and Mines, Development Officers and Asst. State Secretaries must be required to help not only with routines, but especially with planning and co-ordinating work programs, improvement of administrative machinery, monitoring the performance of District Offices and Departments, and ferreting out inefficiency and corruption.
 - B. Confidential reports which they prepare for staff officers and District Officers, and annual written appraisals of the work of senior Federal officers working in State Departments.
 - C. Proposed transfer of powers of discipline and promotion to follow the example of the Federal Govt.
 - D. Federal Government willing to help with more complex and technical problems, especially those common to several States and districts, through D.A.U.
 - E. Federal Government asking for monthly reports from States Secretaries on field visits by them and senior staff.

VI. Most important of all are attitudes which senior officers bring to their jobs:-

- A. *Positive and continuing leadership*, making things happen instead of relying on precedents, avoiding decisions, or waiting for crises to develop.
- B. *Leadership requires* not only knowledge, eagerness to learn, and hard work but also "toughness" willingness to make hard and even unpopular decisions and to stand one's grounds against criticism and pressure.
- C. *"Toughness" applies to -*
 1. *Fellow officers*- persuading Treasury for funds or FEO for staff, or demanding good performance from subordinates, or exposing and punishing corrupt practices.
 2. *Politicians*- independent democratic nation, officers must cooperate with politicians:
 - a) Politicians have their job to do as spokesman for the people, though sometimes they do so unwisely and abuse their position.
 - b) Officers have the job of carrying out Government's programs and enforcing law efficiently, impartially, humanely, and with absolute integrity.
 - c) This relationship requires the use of persuasion, negotiation, diplomacy and give and take, all of which are part of the art or leadership.
 - d) *Where issues of principles arise on policy or on integrity officer has the duty to stand his ground. Senior officers, Menteri Besars and Federal Ministers have the duty to stand by and protect their juniors. This is how officers individually and the service itself gain and hold respect.*

VII Administrative leadership, Federal and State, are far more complex, sophisticated and demanding than before independence and will become increasing demanding. Leadership is both a duty which cannot be avoided and a superb opportunity for public service. Officers can exercise leadership only by demanding and securing high standards of performance from themselves and from the officers they supervise.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
TO MALAYSIAN STUDENTS IN AUSTRALIA
ON 6TH APRIL 1967**

Before I left home to come to Australia, Our Minister of Education, Encik Khir Johari, reminded me of an important engagement with one of the most important groups of people I would meet in this country. He meant you. Encik Khir Johari is a very good friend of mine and I have always been a great admirer of his tremendous energy and drive. You know, he has half a dozen children, and so he cannot really blame anyone else for the massive problem he faces in providing education for nearly two million children in Malaysia. Two million out of a total population of ten million. Not many people realise that one out of every five persons in Malaysia is in school today, and we spend over 350 million dollars or about 20 per cent of the national budget on their education. We do this because we realise, as Japan did a long time ago, that the greatest natural wealth of any country is its people. A well-educated people, imbued with dedication and a sense of national discipline, can make the poorest country a great nation. Trained and disciplined brain-power is capable of any achievement, and that is why I regard this function today as one of my most important in Australia. You represent here a big pool of that kind of brain-power which would be of tremendous value to your country.

There are about six thousand of you here in Australia, more than five thousand in Britain and several thousand more in the United States, New Zealand, Canada, India and Europe. You may be here on a Malaysian Government scholarship, or on a grant from the Australia government under the Colombo Plan, or on your own, but there is one point I would like to emphasise to all of you, and to all Malaysian students overseas. You are here largely because Malaysia has always encouraged her bright sons and daughters to go abroad in search of knowledge, and has helped them to do so in many ways. You can travel out of Malaysia without any trouble at all, take as much money as you can afford, and when you come to a country like Australia you can be sure a friendly reception because your agreement has prepared the groundwork for it. Whenever we are offered aid by a friendly country we place a very high priority on education because we believe that education is one of those rare good things of which you can never have too much.

We encourage our best sons and daughters to go abroad not merely to acquire a higher level of education but also to imbibe some of the spirit of the countries to which they go. Here in Australia, you find a terrific drive and energy and initiative, and a formidable spirit which has conquered the vast spaces of this continent, and created massive industries which have given the Australian people a high standard of living. Education alone is useless if a man is listless and timid and lacks the pioneering spirit which, more than anything else, helps to create new frontiers in all fields of human life. This, too, you can learn from Australia, for these men are pioneers. Bring back as much of this spirit as possible for we have great need of it in Malaysia today.

Dont' get me wrong. Don't imagine that we lack this spirit completely. If you go back today you will find it stirring in many places, and great things begun to happen out there.

We are carving new settlements out of the jungle and giving our landless farmers ten acres each of good rubber, oil palm and other crops from which they can earn 400 dollars a month within five or six years. Four hundred dollars as against 40 or 50 dollars they earned before. Soon we shall be opening up the biggest land development scheme in our part of the world— 150 thousand acres of rich jungle land in Pahang known as the Jengka Triangle, which will flourish before long with rubber, oil-palm, fruit orchards and timber industries. The project is so promising that it is difficult to see where the prospects end.

We are opening new roads at the rate two miles a day, shooting out in all directions. With the help of Australia we have just built one all the way from Kuching to Sibiu in Sarawak. Before long we shall have the first East-West road in Malaya, linking Penang directly with the East Coast. This road will open up thousands of acres of hinterland to farming, trade, industrialisation and general development, worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

I don't want to bore you with too many facts and figure, but perhaps you ought to know that we have doubled our output of electricity since independence, and research has produced a new rubber tree which gives us three thousand pounds an acre. Before the war we were doing well with three hundred pounds an acre. Research has also given us new strains of padi which will make us self-sufficient in rice within the next two or three years, and you can be sure that other wonderful things will soon be pulled out of the research bag.

I can see no end to the rich prospects ahead. Do you know, for instance, that in Sabah we have thousands of acres of untouched land where the timber in hundreds of feet tall and so massive that two men can hardly get their arms round a tree. This we do know, but we don't

know what other riches lie locked away in that state waiting to be discovered and developed by young men and women like you.

Do you know that they catch delicious lobsters off Sarawak and some of it— not much— is exported to Europe and the United States. The seas around Malaysia are teeming with fish waiting to be developed into a multi-million dollar export industry. But to achieve this, we need scientific and organisational ability of a high calibre such as you may have one day.

There are boundless opportunities waiting for people like you to come home and turn them into reality. Our education programme is turning out thousands of boys and girls with sufficient education to become skilled workers, technicians and juniors executives. But we need more scientists, engineers and top-level managers who can organise them and get the best out of them.

You may not find those opportunities if you decide to confine yourself in an air-conditioned office in some town or other, with a pretty secretary at your beck and call. You will find them only if you go and look for them in pioneering country, in the rural areas of Malaya, in the timber forests of Sabah and up the great rivers of Sarawak. And you find them in ways that will be doubly rewarding if you set out in a spirit of dedication to your country and service to your people. You must be prepared to learn from the examples of the young men and women in the Peace Corps and others like them.

Don't be worried about any gloomy tales you may hear about Malaysia. A few unfriendly critics may say we are in a tight economic position. You know, about once every six months or so, some Wall Street expert puts out a report that America is heading for economic trouble, and the share index dives ten per cent. I have no doubt you see the same sort of story here from time to time, suggesting that the Australian economy is about to collapse. The fact is that a good runner usually crouches before he sets off on a sprint, and some of those so-called experts don't seem to be able to recognise that posture. They often jump to the conclusion that the runner has either lost his balance or is tired.

Other more malicious types may tell you that Malaysia is heading for racial trouble. I have never been much of a believer in fortune-telling, and I am sure you don't go in for that sort of thing either, with your advanced education. Let's go by the facts. The situation we have in Malaysia today is the situation we have always had. Search your minds and your books and see if we have ever had any serious trouble of this sort in the past. If we have not had it before, why should we have it now or in the future. Go to the market place in Kuching, or the schools in Jesselton, or the beach in Port Dickson, or the eating stalls at Campbell Road in Kuala Lumpur— and you will find Malays,

Chinese, Indians and others eating, studying and playing together without a care in the world, without any anxiety about racial troubles. They have too much in common, and anyone know the danger of starting this kind of nonsenses.

And let me tell you the secret of our success so far. We had a little trouble some years ago in a small fishing island. It started in the afternoon, but before nightfall we had more policemen in that island than there were people. We kept all the villagers in-doors until they saw sense and patched up their quarrel. One or two chaps might have suffered a black-eye or some bruises, but no one was killed. That is our method. We nip this sort of trouble in the bud. So don't worry.

Some of these stargazers said we were going to have trouble over the National Language. We passed the bill earlier last month and a few hotheads made some noise. But that was all. There's been no trouble. In September Malay will become the official language, while the other languages of Malaysia will be taught and used much the same way as before. We are not mad, so we have not done away with English. It will continue to be used, even for official wherever it is necessary. So don't let this worry you.

My message to you, therefore, is a simple one. Finish your studies as soon as possible and come home. We need you and others like you to make our dream come true.

**UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
DI UPACARA PEMBUKAAN RASMI BANGUNAN BARU
KEMENTERIAN PERTAHANAN PADA 6 APRIL 1967**

**Y.T.M. Tengku Perdana Menteri,
Y.B. Tan Sri Sambanthan,
Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian:**

Terlebih dahulu saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Y.T.M. Tengku Perdana Menteri yang telah dapat meluangkan masa untuk hadir di upacara bagi merasmikan pembukaan bangunan baru Kementerian Pertahanan.

Semenjak 10 tahun yang lalu, Ibu Pejabat Angkatan Tentera dan juga Kementerian Pertahanan, telah berpindah-pindah dari satu tempat ke satu tempat. Pada tahun 1956, Markas Tentera Darat telah bertempat di Jalan Ampang dan kemudiannya, pada tahun 1957 selepas Malaya mencapai kemerdekaannya, Ibu Pejabat Angkatan Tentera Darat telah dipindahkan ke sini iaitu selepas Headquarters Malaya Command telah dimansuhkan dan dijadikan "Gurkha District" dan dipindahkan ke Seremban. Pada tahun itu juga Headquarters Tentera Laut, Darat dan Udara mula ditubuhkan. Pada tahun 1958 Bahagian Pertahanan dalam Kementerian Pertahanan dan Keselamatan Dalam Negeri telah dipindahkan dari bangunan di Jalan Dato' Onn ke sini. Pada tahun 1961, Kementerian Pertahanan yang berasingan dari Keselamatan Dalam Negeri telah ditubuhkan dan mulai dari tarikh itulah Kementerian Pertahanan dapat bersama-sama dengan Headquarters Angkatan Tentera-Tentera Darat, Laut dan Udara.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, adalah didapati bahawa kakitangan-kakitangan Kementerian ini dan juga ahli-ahli serta pegawai-pegawai Angkatan Tentera kita telah menjalankan perkhidmatan dalam keadaan yang tidak begitu sempurna dan bangunan yang ada hanyalah "pike hut" seperti yang kita lihat di hadapan kita ini. Pada tahun yang lalu, tahun 1966 pembinaan bangunan yang di hadapan kita ini telah dimulakan dan bangunan ini memakan belanja sebanyak \$2 juta. Sungguhpun bangunan ini belum dapat menempatkan semua kakitangan Kementerian ini, akan tetapi sebahagian besar dari pegawai-pegawai dapat mempunyai pejabat yang sempurna. Saya harap tidak berapa lama lagi ditambah bangunan yang lain dan diadakan sekurang-kurangnya satu bangunan seperti ini lagi.

Saya sukalah mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Kementerian Kerja Raya, Pos dan Telekom di atas usaha dan kerjasamanya untuk menjayakan pembinaan bangunan ini.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan Kementerian Pertahanan kita adalah berjalan dengan baik semenjak ia ditubuhkan kerana kita telah berjaya mengadakan satu "intergrated Ministry" iaitu pentadbiran bagi semua pasukan-pasukan dalam Angkatan Tentera negara kita dapat disatukan dan dengan itu pentadbirannya dapat dijalankan dengan licin dan sempurna. Setengah-setengah negeri, kita dapati ada beberapa Kementerian-kementerian iaitu Kementerian Tentera Darat, Kementerian Tentera Laut dan Udara dan Kementerian-Kemenceian ini terpaksa disatukan menjadi Kementerian Pertahanan dan ini menimbulkan berbagai-bagai kesulitan.

Akan tetapi di sini, disebabkan kita dapat menyatukan kesemua pentadbiran Angkatan Tentera kita dari awal lagi maka dengan itu masalah-masalah tidaklah timbul dan pekerjaan dapat dijalankan dengan baik hasil kerjasama yang baik di antara kesemua pasukan-pasukan tentera.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, pembesaran Angkatan Tentera kita adalah berjalan dengan baik. Tentera Darat kita sudah berumur 35 tahun; Tentera Laut dan Udara sungguhpun masih muda hanya berumur lebih kurang 10 tahun, tetapi telah berjaya menjalankan tugas bagi mempertahankan negara kita dengan sempurna. Tentera-tentera kita telah menghadapi 2 peperangan, iaitu darurat yang berada selama 12 tahun lamanya untuk menentang pegganas-peggnas komunis dan kemudiannya konfrantasi yang didatangkan oleh pemerintah Indonesia yang dahulu.

Kedua-dua peperangan ini tentera kita telah dapat diuji dan mereka itu telah menunjukkan perkhidmatan yang sangat gilang-gemilang. Tentera kita telah mempunyai nama yang baik bukan sahaja di kalangan rakyat di negara ini bahkan dipandang tinggi oleh negara-negara lain juga. Di mana-mana sahaja tentera kita menjalankan perkhidmatan, mereka itu telah menunjukkan kehandalan dan keberanian yang tinggi dan taat setia serta tatatertib yang terpuji. Dengan sebab itulah kita semua sentiasa berbangga kepada Angkatan Tentera kita. Sungguhpun bilangannya kecil, akan tetapi sedia menjalankan tugas mereka bagi mempertahankan tanahair kita. Pada penghujung tahun ini, Ketua Angkatan Laut dan Udara akan dipegang oleh pegawai anak negeri ini sendiri. Ini adalah satu perubahan yang besar dan saya yakin dan percaya akan memberi semangat dan keazaman yang kuat lagi kepada pegawai-pegawai dan ahli-ahli tentera kita untuk berkhidmat kepada negara kita. Begitu juga saya sukalah mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada pegawai-pegawai dari negara-negara sahabat - dari United Kingdom,

Australia dan New Zealand – yang telah menolong melatih pegawai-pegawai dan ahli-ahli tentera kita, terutama sekali Ketua Angkatan Laut, Commodore Dolard dan Ketua Angkatan Udara Air Commodore Steedman.

Sebagai sebuah negara yang kecil, kita tentulah tidak berupaya hendak mempunyai Angkatan Tentera yang besar. Akan tetapi kita bercadang hendak mempunyai Angkatan Tentera yang sederhana, cukup lengkap dengan alat-alat moden dan mempunyai latihan yang sempurna. Kita berharap akan menguatkan latihan-latihan tentera-tentera kita dan tidak lama lagi saya harap dapat diadakan "Staff Training" di negara kita ini kerana kita berkehendakkan pegawai-pegawai ramai lagi pegawai-pegawai yang mempunyai latihan "Staff Officer" dan latihan yang didapati di luar negeri tentulah tidak mencukupi.

Sungguhpun begitu kita berbesar hati dan mengucapkan terima kasih kepada negara sahabat yang telah memberi peluang kepada pegawai-pegawai kita untuk mendapat latihan-latihan di Maktab-maktab di negara-negara itu.

Oleh sebab Tentera-tentera kita telah menghadapi 2 peperangan yang saya sebutkan tadi dan Tentera Darat kita telah berumur 35 tahun, maka nyatalah bilangan bekas-bekas ahli-ahli tentera kita bertambah bilangannya dan dengan sebab itu mustahaklah kita mengambil langkah-langkah yang sempurna untuk memberi pertolongan kepada mereka itu supaya dapat mereka memulakan kehidupan dengan sempurna selepas tamat perkhidmatan mereka dalam tentera. Begitu juga setengah-setengah daripada ahli-ahli tentera kita telah terkorban jiwa mereka dalam mempertahankan negara kita. Oleh itu mustahaklah kita memberi pertolongan kepada anak isteri mereka itu dengan apa cara yang patut. Untuk melaksanakan tujuan ini, Kementerian Pertahanan telah menubuhkan satu Bahagian bagi mengelolakan hal-hal ahli-ahli bekas tentera dan Kerajaan telah membuat keputusan bahawa keutamaan akan diberi kepada bekas-bekas tentera dalam cawangan pekerjaan, dalam rancangan-rancangan tanah Kerajaan dan dalam apa juga pekerjaan bekas-bekas tentera akan diberi keutamaan sehingga 50% daripada jawatan-jawatan itu.

Saya berharap pihak bekas-bekas tentera sendiri dapat memberi kerjasama kepada Kementerian dan Kerajaan dalam lapangan ini supaya usaha-usaha daripada pihak Kerajaan akan sebenar-benarnya memberi faedah kepada mereka. Saya bolehlah memberi akuan bahawa Kerajaan sentiasa memandang tinggi kepada mereka yang telah berkhidmat kerana mempertahankan tanahair kita dan saya berharap pihak rakyat negeri inipun bersama-sama berbangga dengan ahli-ahli Angkatan Tentera kita sama ada yang telah bersara ataupun

yang ada sekarang ini disebabkan mereka itu telah mengorbankan diri untuk mempertahankan tanahair kita.

Dengan ini saya dengan amat sukacitanya mempersilakan Y.T.M. Tengku memberi sepatah dua kata dan kemudiannya mengisytiharkan pembukaan bangunan baru Kementerian Pertahanan ini.

Terima kasih.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE GRADUATION CEREMONY
OF MARA COLLEGE IN PETALING JAYA
ON 7TH APRIL 1967**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Gentlemen, Graduates and Students,

Each year when I come to this graduation ceremony I am happy to see more and more young people from our rural areas graduating from this College equipped to play their part in the private sector of our national economy in business, commerce and industry. This graduation ceremony today is different from others in the past because I have an added duty to perform in opening a second new wing in this College.

I hope that now this College has two wings the Principal and his staff will not get too many bright ideas and try and fly too high but keep the teaching and ideology of this College very much down to earth with a practical approach in all things.

I say this because in this present day world the sphere of business, commerce and industry is highly competitive and for any of you who graduate from this College to really succeed in business you must continually bear in mind that theory and high-flown ideas are not the ingredients of success in business. The only ingredient of success in business is hard work coupled with a dogged determination to succeed supported at all times by a practical matter-of-fact approach. But you must not leave this College thinking that having acquired professional diploma that success in business is automatic, and is your right.

I myself was trained professionally as a lawyer and any professionally trained man in the world will agree with me that the completion of one's training and the obtaining of a diploma or a degree is in no way the end of hard work. No, it is only the beginning of the beginning and to succeed, particularly as I say, in this competitive world of business, if, all of you have worked hard in this college to obtain your qualifications then I can tell you that, without a doubt, when you start working in the various business firms, to succeed you have to work twice as hard.

Both this graduation ceremony and the opening of this new wing is part and parcel of the main objective of our First Malaysia Plan. In the field of education our aim is to intensify and expand the development of human resources in our country. My government is

very much aware of the vital role of the human factor in our national economic development.

As you all know, there are three essential requirements in economic development. First funds, second the development of natural resources and third, the most important, the development of our human resources because without this human development, the first two cannot be utilised to the full.

In Pre-Independent days the government's education policy was generally geared merely to fulfill the needs of training sufficient people to staff the public service but nowadays, when times have changed, my government fully realises the necessity in all aspects of our Five Year Education Plan to afford facilities for training not only for the Public Sector but also for the Private Sector of business, commerce and industry.

Government has taken the initiative in this, as has been proved by each ceremony in this College, year by year, but I would still like to see the Private Sector itself, by which I mean, all business firms and industries in this country, getting together and playing their part in this very important aspect of development in order to utilise all human resources in the business world.

I remember word for word what I said at this College's graduation ceremony in 1965, and I will repeat the same words I used. "I would like to see more private firms, setting aside a little of their own initiative, so that, they too in the Private Sector, can play their own profits, and getting together to set up small business training institutions on their part in helping our country in this great aim in human investment and skill so necessary for the future economic advancement of Malaysia."

I cannot help but say that I am disappointed with the response to this suggestion so far. This is of vital importance in view of our national policy to Malaysianise the Private Sector as far as possible:

However, as you already know, it is the intention of my Government to backstop the National Development Planning Committee with a Private Sector Advisory Committee of which the membership will be drawn from the leaders of the main business and commercial interests in this Country. I can foresee that one of the first tasks of this newly established body will be to take action in the Private Sector with a view to providing more intensive opportunities for training Malaysians in keeping with our National Policy to Malaysianise the Private Sector.

Although committees are the bug-bear of twentieth century governments, nevertheless in this case, I do feel that there will be many advantages in back-stopping the National Planning Committee with an extra team with membership drawn from business, commerce and

industry. I think this would have a beneficial effect in further co-ordinating the development process, encourage the flow of new ideas which might otherwise remain dormant, and have added effect on making all concerned both in the Public and Private Sector acquire a sense of mutual participation in the progress of Malaysia.

I am aware that there has been some misunderstanding on the part of foreign investors regarding Malaysianisation in the Private Sector, and I do not think it will be out of place if I repeat my views and explanations on our policy.

My government is fully aware of the practical difficulties of implementing our policy of Malaysianisation in the Private Sector because this does not mean just a mechanical substitution of an expatriate face for that of a Malaysian.

In implementing this policy to Malaysianise the Private Sector there must be no lowering of standards, and if a Malaysian is to take the place of an expatriate in the Private Sector, he must be trained in his skills and profession well up to, and even above, the standard required.

There must be no lowering of standards and no drop in efficiency because no outside investor is going to put money into Malaysia if it is forced by immigration law to accept to lower standard of local employees.

So, therefore, we must all be rational and reasonable in our policy, and our people must train and prepare themselves, with hard work and study to maintain the highest standard possible in their individual tasks, and then and only then will our Malaysianisation programme for the Private Sector not only be *accepted* by external investors, but *will be welcomed* by them, because they too stand to gain by employing local people of a high standard, rather than having to bring in from afar, at greater expense skilled personnel from other countries.

Let me for a moment say a few words about what my government intends to do for our people through the agency of MARA.

I was so happy the other day during the opening of the new MARA Headquarters for which I changed the system of such official opening and, instead of inviting all VIPs in town, we invited a cross-section of the leaders at kampong level throughout the whole country to be our VIPs for three days.—450 rural leaders chosen for their ability in their own sphere. They were given intensive briefings on how they and all the other rural people could make the maximum use of the facilities offered by MARA to help them participate more fully in business, commerce and industry and thus by their own efforts raise their own standard of living. This three-day exercise which was so

successful and met with such enthusiastic response that it is my intention to repeat it every few months so that all rural leaders throughout the whole of Malaysia will be given the opportunity of seeing for themselves what use can be made of the facilities which the Alliance Government has to offer our rural people.

This College is not only part of the overall educational policy of my Government. It is also closely related to what Encik Mansor has said in his speech in reference to the Government's drive to implement the resolutions of the Kongress Ekonomi Bumiputera held in June, 1965. In line with the spirit of the Kongress the present enrolment of several hundreds of students will be quadrupled when the new Polytechnic at Batu Tiga is completed.

Now, let me mention a few of the other facilities. We have, under implementation a plan to establish bazaars in conjunction with our shop-house programme in towns where our Bumiputra businessmen require proper premises to carry on their trades.

Also under implementation is MARA's supervised Credit Finance Programmes which is backed up with technical and professional Advisory services, so that the maximum assistance can be obtained by those Bumiputra businessmen who are already in business as well as those who are launching themselves for the first time into business ventures.

Furthermore, from time to time, it is the intention that MARA will "adopt" selected Bumiputra businesses and guide them through the initial stages of their existence.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, my special message today is to you lucky young graduates— during your stay in this College neither the College nor MARA nor the Government has let you down. It is my fervent hope that as you take up your respective tasks in this competitive world of commerce, you will work hard, be diligent and be determined not to let the country down.

SPEECH BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
TO BANKERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS
IN MELBOURNE ON 7TH APRIL 1967

Gentlemen

I understand that the first man who came to this part of Australia, a man named John Batman, sailed up the River Yarra and wrote in his diary, "This will be the place for a village". What a magnificent village it had turned to be! I come from a land of thousand villages, and I hope I learn something here about making villages like this one.

Traditionally, our villages have been built in the spirit of what we call "gotong-royong" or "mutual help". Before the coming of money and banking, there was no other way and the system worked well enough. Even today it works, and it will continue to work as long as human beings remain civilised because there is no civilisation without mutual self-help and self-reliance. Now, this kind of co-operation is symbolised very neatly in your great bank bringing together the financial and economic resources of the two countries Australia and New Zealand. This "gotong-royong" spirit is something we in Malaysia lay great store by, and that is why we subscribe to such agencies of co-operation where we not only accept help but also provide whatever assistance we can that is required by our friends. The Association of Southeast Asia is a recent example and one which is very familiar to you is the Colombo Plan.

We in Malaysia have benefitted greatly by participating in the Colombo Plan and to a large extent our people associate the plan first and foremost with Australia. First because of the large numbers of Malaysian students we have here under the Colombo Plan and the consequent contact that is regular and continuous. Secondly, we are physically so close to you and Australia is in fact our closest developed neighbour. And thirdly, because aid from Australia has touched on so many aspects of life in Malaysia, so much so, that when our newspapers mention the Colombo Plan, it is invariably in connection with Australia.

You might in fact say that Australia is promoting international co-operation in a very real and dramatic sense as far as Malaysia is concerned. Australia's interest in the Colombo Plan too is very obvious. It was no accident, I think, that Australia is a founder member of the Plan. Nor was it a mere coincidence that your country

was the first to host the Conference after its inaugural meeting in Colombo.

Let us pause to consider the significance of an international plan of assistance such as the Colombo Plan. To most donor countries, the Plan has meant providing aid either in cash or in kind. To the public in the donor countries, aid plans have meant money and talents leaving the country in one form or other. To the ordinary man in the street in London, Ottawa, Christchurch or Melbourne, it has meant higher taxes. He may not readily understand either the politics or the economic of international aid. Understandably all he can say is that for the benefit of some unknown people in a distant country, he has to do with less of the good things of life.

I sympathise with this man in the street. I sympathise with the works of a very famous Australian poetess, Dame Mary Gilmore who said:

"All men at god's round table sit,
And all men must be fed;
But this loaf in my hand,
This load is my son's breed."

It is a primary responsibility of nations to consider its own sons first. Indeed, I would say it is immoral to feed your neighbour's son while your own son is hungry. We in Malaysia believe this but we also believe very strongly that "All men at God's round table sit, And all men must be fed".

This, of course, is the problem. As a developing country with hopes and plans to give her people the good things of life, Malaysia is indeed grateful for the aid given by her friends. You Australians have given us much. Since 1960 there have been nearly 40 separate capital assistance projects which cover such wide fields as diesel cars for our railways, medical equipment for our hospitals and, more recently, for our teaching hospital, equipment for our trade schools and equipment for our Faculty of Engineering. We have had 135 experts from Australia over the last 15 years and they have provided invaluable assistance in such varied fields as taxation, central banking, insurance, civil aviation and instructors for our schools and hospitals. These things and many more, we have received and we are very grateful. But we do not believe in holding our hands out for gifts. Like the Australians we believe in pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps. And this is why we believe in regional co-operation or self-reliance which is as important an ingredient as mutual assistance. This is why we believe in ASA—the Association of Southeast Asia—and this is why we believe in the Colombo Plan.

You will notice that when I mentioned the kind of assistance that we received, I mentioned mainly assistance in the public sector of our economy. The public sector is a very important one in a developing country. But in Malaysia we also place great significance on the private sector, for Malaysia is basically a free enterprise economy where the individual is given every encouragement to push ahead with his drive and talents. The government does not control or throttle the ambitions and energies of the individual. The individual, in fact, is the base of our democracy. The public sector, as far as we are concerned, will provide the infrastructure the base, the necessary framework for our people to build their lives and fortunes and hand in hand with the fortunes of the nation. It is in the private sector that the great things can happen.

You, Gentlemen, represent this sector, this section of the community that can sail up a river, cast its eyes on a barren landscape, and visualise a vast enterprise that will grow and flourish and can make this vision come true.

As I have said, in the past the assistance we have received has been largely in the public sector. You have helped us to build roads, dams, and hospitals; you have helped us to provide better social services for our people. But private sector has not received much attention. Of course, your educational institutions have produced for us accountants, economist and bankers. This has, indeed, helped us for it has strengthened the structure of our economy. But, now we have reached a new stage in our economic life. We are in earnest on industrialisation.

As you know, our economy is rested on two major industries—rubber and tin—but the prices of rubber have steadily been decreasing in recent years and the known reserves of tin are depleting. The price fluctuations in these and especially the downward trend calls problems which you can readily understand—because you, too, depended for a long time on a narrow-base economy, the base being the back of your famous marine sheep. In the same way as you decided to diversify, we are now in the process of diversifying our economy. We are, in fact, trying to find as many baskets as possible to separate our eggs in case of trouble.

How are we to do this? Once again, we find ourselves thinking of your example. In spite of much opposition from the prophets of doom you offered investment opportunities to another young and energetic nation, the US. The postwar era saw your economy and upward surge that has succeeded in large measure wiping out the memories of the terrible depression of the 1930's. Your vast hinterland with the untapped resources offered investors with new and vital opportunities

and your City now stand testimony to the soundness of your good judgement.

In Kuala Lumpur today we look at Australia in much the same way as you looked at US after the war. We are encouraged to do this for not only as Australia is a friendly and understanding neighbour but she is also an important trading partner of Malaysia. In fact, Australia was the first country with whom the Federation of Malaya entered into a trade agreement barely a year after we attained independence in 1957. As you are aware, Malaysian imports from your country have been increasing in recent years and the balance of trade has been increasing in recent years and has been in your favour. The fact that Australian goods find an increasing place in the Malaysian market, which is highly competitive is a tribute to the quality of your goods and salesmanship. It is with this thought in mind that we turn to Australia to train our new Trade Commissioners.

As a developed country Australia has shown great initiative in extending preferential treatment from July 1966 to less developed countries for a schedule of semi-manufactured and manufactured goods up to the levels of specified quotas. I understand that recently Australia has made known its intention to further extend the number of products from developing countries to be given preferential treatment. I hope this worthy lead taken by Australia will be followed by other developed countries.

A second field in which we can derive much mutual benefit is investment. I would like to see more Australian investment in my country. Malaysia is in a position to offer Australian investors opportunities in the country as good as, if not better than, those found in any other part of Southeast Asia. For some reason or other, Australians investors have not fully availed themselves of the opportunities that we offer. I suspect that the fault may have been partly ours. Perhaps, we have not made the picture clear to you. I hope the brochure now in your hands will convince you of the wonderful opportunities that are waiting the Australian investors. I will not repeat the facts and statistics that are to be found there. But allow me to give you one illustration to show why I feel that you could play a fortifiable as well as useful role in our efforts to industrialise the country.

It is likely that you have heard of our historic town of Malacca. It is a picturesque town, complete with the ancient forts and churches but just outside the town is a village that has endured hundreds of years of comparatively under developed existence. In fact, the pre-independence per capita income in this village been estimated at AS8/- a month, or about \$30, but in the last few years this village, just as many others, has witnessed a silent revolution. Each of the villagers

has been given 10 acres of high yielding rubber and the rubber trees are now almost ready for tapping. Later in the year, tapping will begin and the income to these villagers will rise to something like A\$100!!! Now, you might see that this is remarkable and undoubtedly it is. But something even more remarkable is happening. A few weeks ago I visited this village and I noted there were already two motor cars in that village. Mind you, they were not luxurious limousines but good sturdy vehicle used for taking some of the subsidiary crops to the market.

Gentlemen, you are businessmen and I don't have to tell you what this means. But I must tell you this; these cars are not Australian Holdens. They were vehicle that the new Malaysian consumers had heard about and convinced enough to buy.

This village I speak about is only one of the 61 land development schemes we have launched in the last seven years. We are about to open another scheme in my home state of Pahang, covering 300 square miles for 150,000 people. These people will, in a matter of four or five years, have a purchasing capacity that they cannot imagine today. For that matter even today, with a population of barely 10 million, Malaysia has already a purchasing power that is at least twice as high as some of other countries in Southeast Asia with far bigger population. I might say here that in this sense we are like Australia, a small population but with a relatively high standard of living and every likelihood of having higher purchasing power. So, if you hesitate to see the size of the market in Malaysia, the only thing you have to do is to look at your own country, one does not necessarily need large number of people to provide a healthy and growing market.

The investment climate, the growing market and the opportunities are already there. And we intend to provide even more incentives than those set out in the brochure to attract foreign investors to Malaysia. I am sure that Australia who has set the lead in so many fields will again rise to this call of mutual cooperation for mutual benefit in the field or investment.

Now, Gentlemen, I know only too well that bankers become wary when called upon to invest their money by some fast talking stranger who speaks in terms of golden opportunities and returns. And I am new to this country. You may not wish to take my word for it but, at least, I hope, I have convinced you to visit us, to look around and to meet our businessmen. This is important. My visit here also has been to learn something about you. And I have learned something. I have seen some of the spirit and dedication that brought such men as John Batman with magnificent dreams that had come true. We in Malaysia too have such pioneers and they would welcome the descendants of Batman and McAurther, Lonsdale and Lathrope to

participate in the great adventure that we are having today in my country in carving the jungle to make way for villages that will in time grow to be beautiful and magnificent as this city of yours is.

TEXT OF A BROADCAST BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
IN AUSTRALIA ON 8TH APRIL 1967

I am very happy to have this opportunity of speaking to you directly and simply in this way. I have come as your guest and I want to say first of all, how truly happy I am to be here in your great and lively country with its vast expanse of potentials. Let me say at once that those are not just polite words. I think we, Australians and Malaysians, are close enough together to be able to dispense with ceremony and protocol. And so I do not want to say again how truly happy I am to be here.

I am happy because this visit is the realization of a wish that I have long cherished. I wanted to come to Australia first of all to thank you for all your help to us in Malaysia— not only for your support, including the support of your soldiers, over the period of Indonesian Confrontation but also for your help over many years particularly in the field of technical assistance and in the facilities for training and education which you have provided for us. Your engineers, your technicians, your teachers, and other officials— and your soldiers during confrontation— have become familiar and welcomed figures in our society. In turn our students in Australia have become accepted as part of the ordinary life here. They now number over 5,000 and they are pursuing a wide variety of studies in your universities, in the arts, in science and medicine, in engineering and architecture, in law, in agriculture and other subjects, which will contribute directly to the progress of Malaysia. And so you see, Australia has become a part of our lives in Malaysia. And on behalf of the Malaysian people I want to tell you how much we appreciate the constructive contributions which you have made for the progress and welfare of our country.

Also, I have been anxious to come on a visit here because I want to see Australia for myself. Like many others I have read about Australia— of your history, of the beauty of your countryside, of your vast resources, of your energy and activity, and the richness and diversity of life in this country. I had formed the impression of a country which is young, lively, varied and existing— an since coming here my expectation has been confirmed. I have seen the bustle and activity of Sydney. I have seen the quite efficiency of Canberra, I have seen your wide, open land, your farms, your factories, your industrial projects, I have seen your beaches and your parks, your universities and your cultural centres— and most of all I have seen and been greatly

touched by the warmth of the people of Australia. Your energy and enterprise and enthusiasm, your sense of history, and of your responsibility as a prosperous nation in a region of poverty and under-development, have impressed me.

Certainly by any standards, and particularly in comparison with Asian conditions, this is a rich and prosperous land. You are rightly concerned with providing your people with the good things of life. So, too, we in Malaysia. Compared to you here, we poor; but in the region of Southeast Asia, we are such richer than our neighbours. However, it is a precarious prosperity as it is dependent mainly on the export of two primary commodities, rubber and tin, whose prices fluctuate on the world market with consequent uncertainty for our economy. A drop of one cent per pound in the price of rubber means an annual loss of 22 million dollars in export receipts to us, and the price of rubber, as you are aware, has been showing a market downward trend. We are therefore constantly battling with the problem of development, to raise the living standards of our people and in particular to close the gap between the urban and the rural areas, between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', and between the states of Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia and the states in West Malaysia.

We are determined to succeed—and to achieve that success within the framework of parliamentary democracy. That is of particular significance to you in Australia. Our failure would mean the failure of the parliamentary system which would only be to the advantage of the Communists in our midst who draw their inspiration and their support from outside the country. That is why in the present conditions of Malaysia, I prefer to regard the Communists not only as an enemy but also as competitor in the solution of the development problem. That is why if we solve the problems of development, we would largely solve the Communists problem. We in Malaysia believe that democracy is the best system of government ever devised. We believe in a free-enterprise economy as the most effective means of releasing the energy and ingenuity of men. We believe that a democratic, free-enterprise system will produce the best results—provided always that the people who operate the system are honest, efficient, tough and dedicated. But the Communists will always try to muddy the water, to distract our attention and dissipate our energies to non-productive enterprises so that we will fail to solve the development problem. They feed upon the remains of lost hopes and ideals. We are determined that the hopes and ideals of our people, for peace, for prosperity, and for progress, will never be disappointed, and that is why we are grateful to you for your assistance in that endeavour, the success or failure of which has so direct a bearing on your fortune and your future.

I would like to speak on one other aspect of the development problem: which is, that in a prosperous society, the edges of social conflicts are blunted. Malaysia is, as you know, a multiracial society composed of peoples of different races, languages, religions and cultures. For myself I find that this diversity of peoples is a great challenge and indeed I think you too know in Australia how much the contribution of the different ethnic groups has been to the rich variety of Australian life. But I would be less than frank if I say that we in Malaysia have completely solved the problem of welding together so many diverse people into one homogenous society. We have made enormous progress as evidence of the last ten years clearly shows – the national consciousness permeates over racial or sectional consciousness. But that success would be lost if we do not continue to make economic and social progress, if we do not ensure that the size of the national cake is sufficiently large so that it may be satisfactorily divided among all. So once again we come back to the development problem: solve that and you also solve the race problem. That is why we believe it is best solved not in loud debates and public confrontation but in tackling it at the roots through education and economic development.

I have taken a little of your time in talking about the problems and prospects of Malaysia. I do not think that I am being unduly boastful if I say that we have made good progress – the democratic system thrives in Malaysia, the economy and trobs with activity, the plans for rural development have had striking results, our people look to the future with confidence.

This, I know, is a matter of great satisfaction to you, as much as it is a matter of tremendous pride to us. For our future and our destiny are inevitably linked. We are united by the facts of geography and by the ties of history. We have a common faith in the democratic process and in a free-enterprise economy. Most of all we share a concern for and a pride in the individual, to overcome his fears and disabilities and to realise his hopes and dreams. We both believe profoundly that in the final analysis, it is the individual who counts. That is why I am so delighted at this opportunity to speak to you as one person to another. I have spoken directly and simply as I would if you were in my house. But instead I have come to yours and I do wish to thank you most warmly.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AS ADDRESS TO THE VETERANS CONFERENCE
ON 8TH APRIL 1967**

Gentlemen,

I am very happy indeed for having this opportunity to address you, the members of the Southeast Asia Veterans Conference. Many of you, who are present here today, have been to my country. Many of you fought side by side with Malaysian soldiers during the dark days of the Pacific War. Many of you come to my country and helped us to defeat militant communism after a long and bitter struggle. Many of you stood by our side when the Old Order in Indonesia tried to crush our new nation out of existence.

Today I have come to pay tribute to you; to thank you, on behalf of my country, for rallying to our defence we were sorely tried by powerful enemies.

But my tribute would not be complete if I did not mention all those gallant comrades-in-arms who have made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of Malaysia's freedom. We Malaysians salute them for their heroic self-sacrifice and we will always be indebted to them.

Today, therefore, we are renewing old ties forged in the heat of battle. Today we are renewing our dedication to the principles of freedom and justice. Today we look forward to the future of our region with new hope and new confidence.

Today there is a spirit abroad in Southeast Asia. It is the spirit of cooperation and friendship among the nations and peoples of Southeast Asia. It is a spirit born of the conviction that mutual isolation can never bring security, happiness and wellbeing to our region or to any country belonging to it.

On the contrary, mutual isolation will only encourage the common enemy to step up his efforts to divide, to disrupt and, eventually, to dominate.

I should like to tell you how we in Malaysia regard the new impulse towards growing regional cooperation.

Our standpoint is the standpoint of a small nation which has hardly known peace and tranquility since the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941.

The Pacific War had no sooner ended in 1945 than the Malayan Communist party began to prepare to seize power by force. The Communist insurrection, which began in 1948, and which the British

politely termed the "Emergency" dragged on for 12 years, exacting a heavy toll in men and money.

I cannot describe adequately the tremendous sense of relief that greeted the ending of the "Emergency". Malaysians in all walks of life put aside the cares and anxieties of the past. They renewed their determination to build up a prosperous and happy society for their children and for future generations in conditions of peace and stability.

But, unhappily, this nationwide sense of relief and optimism was soon to be shattered by the onset of disruptive forces from outside. The Indonesian Old Order, in collaboration with the PKI, the largest communist party in the non-communist world, and in virtual alliance with the Chinese People's Republic attacked our country in 1963.

Once more, we found ourselves in the throes of conflict and tension. Once more, we were forced to divert funds from our rural development programmes and from our economic development projects to the purchase of war materials and to the expansion of our armed forces.

You know the story of confrontation; how we stood firm and successfully resisted, with the staunch support of our Commonwealth friends. You know what fate overtook the Old Order in Indonesia; how it was swept aside, together with the Partai Komunis Indonesia, by the powerful forces of resurgent Indonesian nationalism. All this is recent history, including the resumption of our brotherly ties with Indonesia last year.

But few people realise how dangerous our position really was in early 1965, that is, only two years ago. Despite our successful defence against confrontation, our long term prospects were forbidding in the extreme.

Two years ago the situation in the North was very gloomy. It seemed as though nothing would prevent the North Vietnamese communists from achieving their ambition of seizing Saigon in 1965. But the massive united States and allied commitment to the cause of the Republic of Vietnam has dramatically transformed the scene. There is a new hope, a tangible hope for a new era to dawn throughout or region; an era in which every country will feel secure from external aggression; a new era in which the massive task of reconstructing our respective countries will be pursued in an atmosphere of growing trust, confidence and cooperation throughout the region.

It would be wrong to dismiss this new hope as a mere pipedream. The destruction of the Old Order in Indonesia is of great significance. Not only did it save Indonesia but it dealt the heaviest blow to China's disruptive policy in the region. It has also discredited communism

throughout the region, since Southeast Asian communism is, to all intents and purposes, an instrument of China's expansionism.

I believe it is of the highest importance that the rest of the world should appreciate our attitude to China. We in Malaysia, and we have no doubt that our view is shared by most of our neighbours – are convinced that China will persist as the major threat to our region. We are convinced that the threat is a long range one. But we are equally convinced that the prospects are excellent for the emergence of a Southeast Asia which will progressively consolidate its strength.

What perhaps has not been sufficiently realised outside our region is that the defeat of the Indonesian Communist Party represents a victory of the forces of Southeast Asian nationalism over the forces of an alien creed which is identified with China's expansionism. From Vietnam, too, where newspaper headlines unfortunately tend to misrepresent the struggle in terms of a primarily United States effort, there is heartening news. Steady progress towards effective Vietnamese self-government is being made. In Vietnam, the main problem in the long run is to create effective representative government and a collective will to survive..... by efficient administration. Without all these security and stability cannot be built up.

The next five years should, therefore, witness a sustained and combined effort by Southeast Asian countries, with the assistance of friendly powers, to strengthen the economic and political structures of every country in the region.

The importance of Indonesia in this regard cannot be over-emphasised. As a nation whose population represents more than half the combined population of the entire region; as a nation whose present leaders have done, and are continuing to do, a fine job despite enormous difficulties. In the long run, Southeast Asia will not succeed in standing on its own feet unless Indonesia effects her own recovery.

Let me now make a few brief comments on the role of my country in strengthening the security of our region.

Although the main function of the Malaysian Armed Forces is to defend Malaysia against external aggression, the Armed Forces and, in particular, the Army, are currently engaged in internal security operations because we have a communist problem today to deal with. There are 500 militant communists along our border with Thailand and for some time now we have worked together with Thailand to eliminate them.

The internal security situation in East Malaysia is also serious. The Sarawak Communist Organisation (SCO) with 1,000 active members is preparing for a protracted armed struggle. As these terrorists operate in pockets in our border with Indonesia, we have now reached an agreement with Indonesia for coordinated action

against them. This threat in Sarawak, coupled with the generally additional external defence responsibilities arising from the formation of the Malaysia, has necessitated the considerable expansion of our armed forces. Such expansion has to be accelerated in view of the phased withdrawal of the British forces from Malaysia.

But despite the expansion programme, Malaysia will continue to require the assistance of Commonwealth forces during the new few years. Stated quite simply, we still do not have nearly enough troops of our own for our defence and security needs.

As I have mentioned before, Australia has always rallied to Malaysia's defence in the field of military operations. But it must also be emphasised that in recent years Australia has also increased her contribution to my country in the form of material aid.

Beginning in 1964, the Australian Government agreed to contribute aid worth about \$6 million (Australian) in the form of military equipment, secondment of Australian service personnel and the training of Malaysian Armed Forces personnel in Australia. We have fully utilised this offer.

A further aid programme worth about A\$19 million was offered to us in 1965. This will enable us to obtain from Australia such items as engineering plants and equipment, arms and ammunition, vehicles and a variety of other ordinance materials.

All this military aid has been of considerable assistance to us in our Armed Forces expansion programme; and I wish once again to record my government deep appreciation of the Australian Government's generosity towards us.

In our common struggle against aggressive communism, it is imperative that the bonds of friendship and cooperation that exist between our two countries should continue to be strengthened. In the military sphere my Government looks forward to increasingly fruitful collaboration with the Australian Government in terms not only of assistance in the development of the Malaysian Armed Forces and of the Australian assistance in Malaysia's defence arrangements but also of closer consultations on other problems. One of these is the problem of providing for the welfare of our war veterans.

I am happy to inform you that the Malaysian Government is doing its best to assist the Malaysian ex-Services Association. My Government realise how much the country owes to our ex-servicemen. I am giving this my personal attention and I have appointed a special officer in the Ministry of Defence to liaise with the ex-Servicemens Assosiation and to assist it in every way possible.

I am informed that only a few months ago the Returned Servicemen's League of Australia (RSL) sent a senior official to my country to assist in the reorganisation of the Malayan Ex-Services

Association. I am most grateful to the Australian Ex-Services Association. I am most grateful to the Australian Ex-Servicemen for their generous, comradely gesture. I have since received a copy of the report of this official and I have read it with interest.

I am very pleased with some of the recommendations he made. For examples, there is a proposal for the Returned Servicemen's League to send one of its experienced officials to work and assist in the administration and the reorganisation of the Malaysian body. There is also a proposal from RSL to send a specialist to assist in the proposed establishment of rehabilitation training centres for our ex-Servicemen. Another proposal is for the RSL to award scholarships to children of Malaysian ex-Service Association to study in Australia and the intention is that when these children complete their studies they would be able to return to Malaysia and utilise the knowledge of some field of value in the rehabilitation of Ex-servicemen.

I sincerely hope that these proposals will materialise in the course of this year and I can assure the RSL that my Government will give our full cooperation to their organisation in carrying out their objective of assisting our Ex-Services Association.

Finally, I would like to wish your Conference every success in its deliberations. We owe an immense debt to you and to those who have made the supreme sacrifice for the defence of our region against the forces of tyranny and oppression. For without your sacrifices we would not be standing, as we are today, on the threshold of a new era of hope and progress, of happiness and peace, in this important part of the world to which we all belong.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER
OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE MEMBERS' DINING ROOM,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND
ON 11TH APRIL 1967**

Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen;

I would like, Mr. Prime Minister, to thank you and your Government for your kind invitation to me to visit your beautiful country and also, for the honour of entertaining me to this Luncheon today.

As you know, Mr. Prime Minister, this is my visit to your great country and I have been looking forward to this visit for some years. Indeed, since we achieved Independence almost 10 years ago, I have been wanting to visit both New Zealand and Australia but have not been able to spare the time until now.

When we achieved Independence in August, 1957, we had the communist war in our hand and, as Minister of Defence and Security, I could not find the time to leave the country. We had to devote our energy and resources towards bringing an end to this war. And thanks to the help given to us by your country, Australia and the United Kingdom, and with the solid support of your people, we were able to defeat the militant Communists in July, 1960, and bring an end to this war.

However, immediately after that, we had to embark on a gigantic development programme, in particular, rural development. We had to show to our people, particularly those who live in the rural areas, in the villages who stood by us during our fight against the Communists, that our democratic form of Government is the form of Government that could serve them and meet their expectations. I had to create a new Ministry of National and Rural Development under my personal charge and had to divert all our energy and resources and indeed, the whole machinery that fought the war against the Communists, towards development. We felt it was necessary that we should produce result quickly in order to prevent our people from being subverted and attracted to Communism.

After concentrating our efforts on development for about a year, we had to commence negotiations for establishment of Malaysia, and, as you know, Mr. Prime Minister, Malaysia was established in

September 1963 when the States of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak joined us to form this new nation.

However, on the very day that this new nation was born, the former Government of Indonesia launched their confrontation against us and we had to face another war. Again, our Independence and sovereignty was challenged by aggression from outside. However, with the full support of our people and again with the help of friends, such as New Zealand, we were able to stand and fight for our own freedom and survival; and the three year old confrontation ended in August last year when we signed the Peace Treaty with Indonesia.

Therefore, Mr. Prime Minister, the strength and the unity of our young nation had been tested in war twice during its short life of 10 years. We are happy and thankful to Providence for sparing us during these years of stress and strain.

This is why, Mr. Prime Minister, I am so happy to have this opportunity to visit New Zealand as it enables me to thank you, members of your Government, and the people of New Zealand, for the assistance that they have given us in so many ways – in the economic field, in the education of our young men and women, in the expansion of our Armed Forces, and most important of all, in the defence of our country. During the confrontation by the former regime of Indonesia, your soldiers stood side by side with our own and with our other friends from the Commonwealth in the defence of our country. Some of them have sacrificed their lives and for all these, we are ever grateful.

Mr. Prime Minister, our two countries have many things in common. We are both small nations – both multi-racial in character. We have similar problems and our people share the same ideals and aspirations. Over the years, through our students coming here in their hundreds to study and through your soldiers helping in the defence of our country, and through constant contact between leaders of our two Governments, we have built up close and warm relations between us.

As I have said, the last 10 years had been difficult and indeed turbulent years for us in Malaysia as well as for the whole of Southeast Asia. The Communists threat from the North loomed large on the whole of Southeast Asia. At one time in 1965, the situation appeared somewhat critical. Vietnam seemed almost lost, Indonesia appeared to be tottering on the brink and we in Malaysia were under great pressure from the Communists inspired confrontation by Indonesia. But as I have said, we stood firm and with the help of friends such as New Zealand, we were able to stop the tide of enemy aggression.

Now, the situation has considerably improved. The position in Vietnam appears brighter. Nationalist forces in Indonesia rose to the occasion and saved their country from being dominated by the

Communists. We can now look to the future with cautious optimism. I say "cautious", Mr. Prime Minister, because so long as militant Communism in Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia is not completely wiped out, it can spread again like cancer.

In our country the threat from Communist subversion and terrorism is still serious. On the Border between us and Thailand there are still about 500 Communists lurking in the jungle, waiting for a chance to strike again at us. In Sarawak and on the Border with Indonesia there are about 1000 hard-core, dedicated and determined Communist carrying out acts of subversion and terrorism. That is why we have to continue to be vigilant. Our soldiers and our Police Force are continually operating against them, searching them in their jungle hide-outs.

We in Malaysia are determined to stamp out this menace, and we believe that we are fighting not only for our own survival but for the common cause - for the survival of all those who believe in freedom and democracy and the principle that any nation, however small, has a right to be left alone to pursue its own way of life.

That is why, Mr. Prime Minister, we are doing all we can to fight our common enemies, the militant Communists, not only in the military field, but perhaps more important, in the economic field. We believe that the only sure way of fighting against the appeal of Communism is by giving our people the primose of a better life with freedom and democracy.

While doing everything possible internally ourselves, we are also endeavouring to bring the countries in Southeast Asia closer together to co-operate in economic, cultural and other fields for mutual benefit; for Mr. Prime Minister, in the present age, it is not possible for any country to live in a vacuum or be isolated, particularly, small countries. We can only survive if we stand together united in the defence of the common cause of democratic freedom and of the ways of life which we cherish and uphold.

Once again, Mr. Prime Minister, I think you very much indeed for your hospitality and for giving this opportunity to myself, my wife and members of my delegation to see your beautiful country and to meet your charming people. I can assure you we will go back to Malaysia carrying with us happy memories of our short stay and comfort from the thought that our two peoples will always stand together in the defence of the ideal which we both believe in. Though I do not wish and God forbids that we in Malaysia will again go through the ordeals that we have just passed, but if such a catastrophe does happen again, I am convinced your Government and your people will come readily to our aid. We wish you Mr. Prime Minister, your colleagues and the people of New Zealand, the best of luck and may

the close and warm friendship between our two countries be sustained, continually refreshed and strengthened in the years to come.

**SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB OF AUSTRALIA
ON 14TH APRIL 1967**

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am deeply honoured for this opportunity to speak to you today. It is always a slightly frightening experience to speak to the gentlemen of the press for you represent such a vast collection of knowledge and wisdom, and you always have the right to the last word, right or wrong!

Australians, I have been told, are no-nonsense, down-to-earth people, and since coming here I have discovered for myself. So in speaking to you today I am going to be frank and down-to-earth, for I have always believed that is the short-cut to truth and better understanding.

My first vivid impressions for Australia go back to the days just before the last war when some of your soldiers arrived in Malaya and created a terrific sensation. In those days there lots of rickshaws in Malaya, and it was the local custom for a passenger to sit in a rickshaw and be pulled from one point to another by the rickshaw for a fee. But your boys decided to change that. One afternoon we were all amazed to find many of them – brawny young fellows – charging through the streets of Singapore, each pulling a rickshaw behind him. Sitting in the passenger seats were the shocked rickshawman who, of course, were protesting very vigorously. We were astonished to find that these chaps from the land of the kangaroo were more than the kangaroo itself.

And then we discovered something else – the rich, beguiling and bewildering Australian accent. It was different to anything we had ever heard so different that it crept up on some people in such a devious way that before long they were talking a Malayan version of "Strine"... As you see I'm well aware of your latest invention and what a wonderful word it is but I haven't yet been able to master "Ow yer goin", mate, orright", even though I was at Lincoln's Inn.

But underneath these superficial differences, we soon discovered that the Australians were very much like us warm, friendly, informal people, and we got to like your soldiers. When they became prisoners-of-war, many Malaysians risked their lives to help and console them whenever they could. Bonds of friendship created in such situations, like those born on the battlefield, endure for a very long time. Many of

your boys, as you know, lie buried in Malayan soil, and if I may adopt the words of Rupert Brooke, those corners of the Malaysian field shall be forever Australian. We shall always honour them as symbols of the common ideals which we share of freedom and democracy.

I did a little homework before setting out on this trip and was surprised to learn that the ballot box was invented in Australia more than a hundred years ago. The ballot box has now become a part of our system as much as of yours, and in Malaysia we have made the ballot even more powerful than the bullet. For twelve years the Communist tried, by force of arms, to change our government and they failed, but in the last eight years the ballot box has done it twice. I must add that on each occasion, the people of Malaysia decided that they liked my party and kept us in power and asked us to form the government again. Our enemies may say all sort of things about us, but there is one thing no one can deny – our elections are absolutely fair and honest. Thanks to Soekarno, even the United States once sent a team to check up on us and they give us full marks.

But the ballot box alone is not a guarantee of democracy. After all, it is used all over the world today, even in countries where there is not the slightest trace of democratic freedom. To be really meaningful, the ballot box must go together with something else – with a reasonable standard of living, human dignity and a spirit of independence. We live in a world where there is much poverty and misery and it is these basic inequalities that breed discontent and despair. If such abject conditions are allowed to continue they will induce despair and persuade the people to Communism since a hungry man has nothing to lose. Poverty destroys the human spirit. It wrecks human dignity and faith. It makes people to harbour the feeling if not the conviction that the concept of democracy as you and I understand and subscribe is not the answer to their problems.

One day when they can bear it no longer, they rush out into the streets to burn government buildings, overturn cars and attack policemen, and then everything is lost. Then their country becomes a liability to the democratic way of life, for poverty and hunger are poor advertisements for democracy. On the contrary, they make people wonder if some form of totalitarian government is not superior to the democratic form.

I am told that here in Australia the average worker is a singularly independent character. He is friendly, but if you rub him the wrong way, he is likely to respond with language that is extremely colourful, highly democratic but also highly unparliamentary. I am told that the Australian worker who is pushed around will not give his boss a chance to sack him. He will sack the boss and go and look for something else to do, and he do this because he knows there is enough

work, enough food and enough security around to sustain his dignity and his pride. I have read somewhere that the average Australian eats 230 pounds of meat a year and drinks 22 gallons of beer. So obviously, if the beef does not beef him up, the beer will. Now this is an essential ingredient of real democracy – conditions which give a man freedom of choice in every day life and not merely at the polls once every five years. Without it, democracy is a hollow shell.

This is the kind of democracy we are building in Malaysia, and I can tell you that the Malaysian worker is becoming a pretty independent fellow himself. He is just as capable of sacking his boss, or his mother-in-law, because he knows there are other attractive opportunities around the corner. And when it comes to unparliamentary language, he has a distinct advantage over you, because he can also say it in Malay, Chinese or Tamil which sometimes is far more expressive than English. This sort of attitude can be annoying at times to the bosses, but if it goes hand in hand with education and a sense of national discipline, then it strengthens the fibre of a nation, and strengthens its defences against all forms of dictatorship.

We learned this lesson a long time ago when the Communists started their insurrection. Perhaps I ought to pause here for a moment to tell you what our Communists are like. In Australia he may be the man next door who speaks in a peculiar jargon, ignores logic unless it's the Marxist form, believes that the end always justifies the means, helps sabotage his own trade union, sows the seeds of trouble among his own workmates, and is the leading "democrat" – I put the word in italics – behind the protest march, even though in his Communist state he would not allow a protest march. In Malaysia the Communist is a deadly creature who slashes rubber trees, burns buses, attacks policemen, organises violent riots and murders innocent people. He is the killer who kidnaps an 11 year old boy who is out catching grasshoppers for his magpie, and beheads the child because its father refused to pay three Australian dollars to a Communist extortion gang. That is not fiction; it actually happened in my country. Earlier this year, the Communists lured small groups of young people into their jungle camps in North Malaya to train them in sabotage and terrorism.

As I was saying a moment ago, we learned our lesson a long time ago – that you cannot fight Communism with guns and ballets alone. You have to fight the conditions which the exploit, fear, ignorance and general economic backwardness. We fought them on their own ground and we beat them, and in order to secure our victory for future generations, we are continuing our war against poverty.

Our method is basically a very simple one. The only effective way to fight poverty is the way you fight Communism. You must use

the techniques of total war. You have to summon up and galvanise the entire resources of your country, the government, the people, the political leadership, everything, in a concerted attack on poverty and only then can you succeed. We have realised that playing at it like a part-time hobby will get you nowhere, and so we don't play such games any more.

For us this is a deadly serious business not merely for ourselves but for the region in which we live. We would like to demonstrate to some of our brothers in Southeast Asia who may be losing faith in democracy that there is nothing wrong with the system, that in fact, it is far superior to Communism because it can provide good living with individual freedom and dignity. We would like to demonstrate that democracy is not something that can only work in the West. In our own small way, we would like to show that it works even in Asia if you really give it a try, provided you choose good honest leaders to guide you.

We realise that we cannot survive as a small successful island of democracy in a region growing sour with discontent and despair. Neither can you. We have a duty not only to ourselves but also to our neighbours, to try to generate as much success as possible in our part of the world. In Malaysia, we have begun to do this in a very small way by offering to share our experiences with other developing countries. Anyone who wants to study our methods is free to come, not merely to learn from us but also to teach us. In this way, perhaps, we can avoid many costly mistakes and find the shortcuts to progress.

I would like to give you one small example of the methods we use. Many of our rural people are either landless or land hungry. They are tenant farmers who don't always get a fair return for the work they put in, and being poor and ignorant, they often fall into the clutches of a vicious parasite – the money-lender. This is not a problem peculiar to Malaysia; it exists in more extreme forms in other parts of Asia.

To leave such a man to his own resources, to give him ten acres of jungle and tell him to start a new life, simply does not work. He starts off without the reserves of money, knowledge or sheer human spirit to undertake such a formidable task. He may burn down the jungle, plant a few crops and make a few dollars. But before long, the jungle, the money-lender, his own ignorance and despair come creeping up on him and drag him down again.

Our method is different. First we send in the surveyors armed with a soil map to find a suitable patch of jungle where rubber or oil palm or some other crop can be grown successfully. Then the bulldozers move in to clear the jungle, and roads are laid on, with piped water and in some cases electricity as well. Good wooden houses are built according to a village plan, with a school, a community centre

and a place of worship. Then the settlers move in together with a village administrator and they begin to cultivate high quality rubber or oil palm under the supervision of experts. While the rubber is growing they receive a small monthly allowance from the government which they supplement with earnings from their vegetable plots. After six years, when the rubber is ready for tapping, the village becomes a thriving community. The rubber is collected and processed under expert guidance and marketed for the settlers at the best possible price so that the middlemen and the moneylender will not be able to come in again and wreck the whole scheme. By this time the settler begins to earn about 400 dollars a month, and he can well afford to repay the government for his house, his land and the other expenses in developing the settlement. He pays the money back in small instalments over ten or fifteen years so that he does not feel the pinch. And although he may not realise it at the time, he begins to come under the attention of our Finance Minister who is in charge of income tax. Every settler has ten acres which he cannot sell or subdivide, and anyone who does not make the best use of his opportunity is kicked out, and his place given to someone more deserving.

We already have more than sixty such schemes in West Malaysia for over ten thousand families, but this is not enough. We need to start many more not only in West Malaysia but also in Sarawak where, as you may have heard, we are having some trouble with Communists terrorists. If we can resettle Sarawak's landless people in such schemes, the problem of Communism will automatically disappear in time. Unfortunately these land schemes cost a tremendous amount of money. We have worked it out and the figure is something like four thousand Australian dollars a family. If rubber is doing well, we would have no difficulty, but unfortunately, we are having the same problems with rubber as you have with wool. The price has been falling over the years, thanks to large releases from the American stockpile and the over production of synthetic rubber. We have increased our rubber production by 20% in the last five years, but because of falling prices our earnings from rubber have fallen by nearly 20%. And the same thing has been happening to tin.

Unfortunately, the prices of our rubber and tin have been dropping just when we have found it necessary to spend more on economic development, on education and on defence. Not many people realise that we have nearly two million children in school today - the two million out of a population of ten million. As a result, education alone takes up about 20% of our national budget.

In addition to this, we have new defence commitments. Malaysia, with the new states of Sabah and Sarawak, have brought added

responsibilities. We are very grateful to Britain, Australia and New Zealand for helping in our defence, especially during confrontation, but the time has come when we must do more for ourselves. We have having to expand our military forces and this, believe me, is a tremendously expensive business.

So what do we do in a situation like this? Do we cut back on development, education and defence, or do we press ahead and try to find the money somewhere. We realise from our own past experience and looking at the map today that to cut back would be dangerous in the long run. We must push ahead somehow and hope that some of our friends will come to our aid in the present difficult period.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would now like to turn your attention to another challenge we face. In Malaysia, about half of our population consists of indigenous people and the other half is made up of immigrant races. We have Malays, Chinese and Indians, Kadazans, Dayaks, Eurasians, Arabs, Europeans, and many others. It is a rich variety which makes life extremely colourful, interesting and challenging for us.

When the British first came to Malaya over a century ago, they found the Malays quite satisfied with their rural existence as farmers and fishermen and left them alone. They brought in thousands of Chinese and Indians to work as organised labour in the rubber estates and tin mines and in other rapidly growing sectors of the Malayan economy. As a result, the Malays made little progress while the Chinese in particular went forward rapidly and became very strong in business. This had caused an unhealthy economic imbalance between the Malays and the Chinese which can easily be exploited by anyone who want to create trouble.

In order to correct this imbalance we have had to adopt special measures to help the Malaysia, for otherwise the gap between them and the Chinese would grow wider all the time. Just because we have done so, some unfriendly critics have accused us of adopting racial policies which endanger communal harmony. This is absolute nonsense, for we have always worked to maintain racial goodwill. Mark you, I use the words "to maintain", because we are and have always been a happy country. Go anywhere in Malaysia, to the playing fields, the beaches, the schools and restaurants and clubs, the offices and factories, and you will find people of all races working, playing, eating and studying together totally unconcerned about their different racial origins, without a care in the world.

In the ten years that we have been independent in West Malaysia we have lived together without any racial upset. Of course it is possible to start such trouble any time. All you have to do is to get a Chinese and a Malay to fight, and if you have prepared the ground sufficiently

well with your mischief, the trouble can spread rapidly. But the fact is that no one will find it easy to do so, for the people of Malaysia are fully aware of the danger of this sort of thing, and no one more so than the government. At the slightest hint of trouble – and there have been one or two such occasions – we rush all available policemen to the trouble spot, and we bring down a curfew and lock everyone in until they cool down and come to their senses. In this way we have always been able to prevent anything getting out of hand. This is our record, and we ask only that we be judged by our record rather than by the gloomy predictions of people who pretend to be experts.

Our method is to play down the racial issues and to sort out these problems in a cool, calm atmosphere, quietly in a committee room, avoiding all publicity until we have reached a solution. Questions concerning race are always explosive and if you try to argue them out on a political platform, using inflammatory language that can arouse strong emotion, then you are clearly asking for trouble. Our method is not so spectacular and it may not satisfy the Press for it does not provide sensational headlines. We have also been accused of operating a "closed society" but our method has worked for over a decade. Before we gained independence, there were experts who forecast that as soon as the British left, the Malays and the Chinese would tear each other apart. But we got together quietly and discussed our problems and were able to present a joint demand to the British. As a result we got our independence sooner than most people expected.

Everything we had worked for and achieved since independence was gravely threatened by friction between Malaysia and Singapore which began to arouse acute racial feeling. I don't wish to question the motives of Singapore but a very dangerous situation was created. If we had allowed this to go on there would have been dreadful race riots. Singapore's leaders realised this, just as well as we did, for they eventually agreed with us that there was no other way out. We did not throw Singapore out. We did not throw Singapore out. Leaders of both Governments agreed on separation. It was regrettable that separation had to come about for it meant the abandonment of an idea, the loss of a dream which we originally had striven to realise. But it was the only solution to a problem that was becoming intolerable to both.

We may be separated politically today, but we are still bound together by the strongest possible links. I promised to be frank, and so I must admit that we have been going through a difficult period of readjustment. I think this is inevitable when brothers separate for the agony of such a parting is so great that it takes time for them to adjust themselves to the new status. It is hoped they will realise that it is

wasteful to do and say hurtful things and then we will work closely together again.

We have another problem which you are familiar with in Australia. I am told that as recently as thirty years ago, West Australia began to feel neglected and wanted to break away. This, of course, is a problem you face in any federal system of government. If you leave a state alone to drift along in its own way, it may get to feel neglected like West Australia once did, and then you're in trouble. On the other hand, if you setp in and try to help it by preventing it from making mistakes, by guiding it along more profitable lines, it may begin to feel that you are interfering too much in its local affairs, and again you're in trouble. Here in Australia you have found that the answer to such problems is economic progress and prosperity. A state like West Australia today, which is becoming with new industries, with jobs for everyone and money flowing into the state treasury and a rising standard of living – such a state stops worrying about petty problems like secession. This is obviously the answer to some of the problems we face in our new states of Sabah and Sarawak which are inclined to be rather sensitive about state rights and resent being told what to do to improve themselves. But as I said earlier, this requires more money than we are able to provide from our own resources at the present time.

I have taken up quite a lot of your time, Ladies and Gentlemen, discussing my country. Our national budget has more than doubled since that time, while our gross national product has increased by nearly fifty per cent in the last six years. Everywhere you go, you will find progress in the form of new buildings, schools, hospitals, roads, power stations and irrigation works. We have been building roads at the rate of two miles a day and we have just finished one from Kuching to Sibü with the help of your government.

You, of course, have done much better than us. Malaysia's population is only about two million less than Australia's, but your gross national product is five or six times ours, and your standard of living is very much higher.

As I said earlier, countries like ours cannot ignore the area in which we live, in which there is so much poverty and suffering. If we don't help the others to raise their standards of living, they may pull us down with them one day. Thee battle for Southeast Asia cannot be won on the military battlefields, for the real war is not being fought there. It is being fought in the villages and rubber estates and rice fields, in the factories and slums of our cities, in our trade unions and political parties, which are all targets of Communist penetration. The real battle is the battle for economic and social progress, for a better life, and the young soldier who falls in military combat is often a

pitiful sacrifice to a futile cause. He would live to enjoy life if there were no poverty and misery for the Communists to exploit.

Those brave young soldiers being killed are doing no more than buying us time – time to provide our people with more rice and bread, more homes and factories and jobs, more education and better health, in short a better life. We should grab this opportunity. All of us, the countries of Southeast Asia, must get together in a common endeavour to improve ourselves. We in Malaysia are very conscious of the need to generate more economic well being in this region. We cannot afford much in the way of aid, but we are trying to make up for it by promoting regional cooperation. If we will only look to each other in a spirit of friendship and goodwill, in a spirit of give and take, there is so much we can do to help ourselves.

It has been very heartening to see that Australia has grown to realise that her destiny is bound up with this region, because there is much that you can contribute. We look forward to seeing you to play a greater role in the economic progress of Southeast Asia and we shall always be ready to join hands with you.

**SPEECH BY HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
TO THE AUSTRALIAN/MALAYSIAN ASSOCIATION IN SYDNEY,
AUSTRALIA ON 19TH APRIL 1967**

Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure to be here. Overwhelmed as I have been by the hospitality and kindness of your Government and people, I feel at a loss as to what to say. My visit to this great country has barely been a week and I cannot tell you anything about Malaysia about which you do not already know.

To speak about Malaysia I see that many of you have already been to my country. As for those who have not, you too can claim to have known some important facts about us.

You know what exists in Malaysia for which we are renowned. For example there is a lot of rubber, there is a lot of tin and plenty of timber. You know all about this by looking at the world stock market where you see the prices of rubber and tin fluctuating from day to day!

But there is one thing in my country, Malaysia, which is equally abundant as rubber and tin but not recorded in the world stock market. Even if it were recorded this commodity, if you can describe it as such, does not fluctuate from day to day but remains at a high level. That thing is the abundance of goodwill we have for Australia and you Australians.

Tin, as you know, is produced by diggers and rubber by planters.

The main producers of goodwill in Malaysia towards Australia are the thousands of students who have already graduated at your colleges and Universities and have returned to my country fully equipped to play their part.

The kindness and hospitality which they received not only on the campus but in the homes of honest to God, decent living and sincere Australians have left its mark on those who have had the opportunity of obtaining their higher education in this country.

In many cases they have brought back a bit of your country in the form of shapely Australian girls as their wives, and we have many young Malaysian female graduates who have been unable to resist the manliness of the Australian males and succumbed to their marriage proposals.

Another source of the production of mutual goodwill between our two countries is the many thousands of Australians living and working in Malaysia in all fields.

There are Australians on our rubber estates.

There are Australians in our tin and iron ore mines.

There are Australians in our business houses, Australians in our colleges, schools and university and there are Australians in our bars, breweries and drinking houses.

All of them honest to God Australians who both at work and leisure continue to strengthen from day to day the common bond which ties Malaysia and Australia together.

We, Malaysians, have a lot in common with you Australians.

We both have a Federal form of Government.

We are both determined to uphold the principles of Democracy.

We are both determined to develop the potential of our country towards the economic stability and prosperity for our people and we are both determined to defend that democracy against the threat of our individual sovereignty from the militant communist menace which overshadows the security of the region in which we live.

Let us take democracy.

Under our Parliamentary system which is practised both in Malaysia and Australia, the most important fact which faces the political leadership of both our countries is the sobering experience that, as democratic leaders, we have to hold our breath every 5 years and you every 3 years while our people decide to review the record of our action and make their own free decision whether or not to kick us out or give us another chance! True Parliamentary democracy therefore requires the party in power to translate into action sensible policies with tangible results on the ground.

We in Malaysia realise this fact – in fact this is the very basis of the common political philosophy both in your country and mine.

It is my belief, a belief strengthened in my experience of my dual portfolios of Defence and Development, that the strongest safeguard of a young nation's sovereignty and the greatest guarantee for progress lies not only in Defence and adequate military strength but very much more so in the attainment of development results and economic strength.

The technique of national development planning is now well advanced throughout the world and it is fairly easy for any developing nation to have a plan prepared, but the technician of implementation and putting push and punch into the translation of that plan from paper into factual results is a technique for which there is little international knowledge available at the present time from which developing countries can learn and apply.

So therefore we in Malaysia have evolved our own technique of development plan implementation. I can say with modesty that these techniques have been a success. We have been able to bring changes to

both rural and urban areas and our people are enjoying a measure of happiness and progress which they desire. However we are determined to do more. I can assure you that every ounce and cent of the development aid which Australia has already so generously given to my country has been absorbed into our implementation process and has been put to the fullest use for the benefit of our people. And I can further assure you the same will apply to any such aid in the future.

I do realise, however, above all, that there is no magic short-cut to success in national development but myself am confident that with mutual trust and co-operation, goodwill, hard work and determination on the part of all Malaysians, both Government and our people, and with the goodwill, financial and technical assistance from friendly nations, Malaysia will develop from strength to strength to play our part and make our full contribution towards the security and economic stability of this region.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me say a few words on the main problem of this region Southeast Asia. It is the constant threat of militant communist expansion and ultimate domination.

As you know, we in Malaysia have taken a firm stand against militant communism in our country. For 12 years we experienced active militant communist terrorism in our country.

They drained our resources, both manpower and financial, and delayed our development. We fought them and defeated them and we are now determined that this period of our national history will not repeat itself.

We still have subversive communist elements in our midst and we still have on our border with Thailand several hundred militant communists in the jungle and similarly on our border of Sarawak. There are no less than a thousand active militant communists.

The presence in our midst of hard core communists ever willing, given a chance, to resort to guerrilla tactics and armed terrorism demand constant vigilance on our part and the maintenance of sufficient militant deterrent to maintain law and order.

But the maintenance of a strong cordon of military security, as my people have realised, is not the final answer to militant communism. That military strength is needed is undeniable to prevent us from being swamped by force by our enemy. But equally necessary is the strength and ability to carry out social and economic development.

The mutual aim of the people of our region must not only the elimination of militant communism but also to sustain and preserve the democratic way of life. We must, therefore, build up democracy so that it becomes so deeply woven into the fabric of our national way of

life that it will never be allowed to be substituted by any other form of Government.

I would like to give you a formula for this region to stop the creeping paralysis of communism which, if not arrested, will mutilate the whole of Southeast Asia.

The formula is simple. I call it "4 D's":-

- Democracy is our base.
- Defence to protect our democracy.
- Development for the prosperity of our people.
- Determination by all free countries in the area to cooperate with each other through trade, commerce, industry and all other aspects of economic development.

Before I close my address I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, and members of your Association for the unflinching support and assistance that your Association rendered to us during the period of our trials and tribulations, that is the period of Indonesian confrontation, and more recently the funds that you raised for flood relief in Malaysia. Thank you.

**SPEECH BY HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT STATE LUNCHEON IN SYDNEY ON 19TH APRIL 1967**

Mr. Deputy Premier,

I am grateful to you, Mr. Deputy Premier, for your warm welcome to my wife and myself and members of my delegation to your beautiful city of Sydney and the State of New South Wales. As you know, we are here as guests of your Government, and I am indeed happy to have this opportunity of seeing of your great country with its energetic and lively people and with its vast expanse of potentials. Certainly during the last two days, you have put up a nice weather for us.

I have long wanted to visit Australia, and this in fact the realisation of a wish that I have long cherished. I wanted to visit Australia first of all to thank the Government and people of Australia for the help and assistance you have given us – not only for your support in the defence of our country when we faced confrontation by the old order of Indonesia, but also for your help in the field of technical assistance and in the facilities of training and education which you have provided for our young boys and girls. Your engineers, your technicians, your teachers and other officials and your soldiers have become familiar and welcome figures in our society. In turn there are over 5,000 of our students here and you have kindly accepted them as part of the ordinary life here. So you see our two countries have helped each other in a number of ways, have maintained very close and very friendly relations. That is why I have come here to tell you how much we appreciate the assistance and the contribution you have made for the progress and the welfare of our country.

Before I came here I have heard so much about your great country from the leaders of your people who from time to time have visited our country, and like many others I have read about Australia – of your city, of the beauty of your countryside, of your vast potentials, of your energy and drive, and the richness and diversity of life in this vast continent. Since I arrived I have seen your national capital, Canberra, with its quiet efficiency, the vast and varied state of Queensland with its beautiful beaches, park and farms. I have seen your Universities and political centres and met your people in all walks of life. I have been greatly impressed and touched by the warmth of the people of Australia. Everywhere I went I have been

given generous and warm welcome. For all this I am truly grateful. From the activities and progress that I have seen of your great country my expectation before coming here has been confirmed that Australia is a young, lively and exciting country.

Through energy and enterprise you have done much for your people. In comparison with conditions in Asian countries, Australia is a rich and prosperous land. You have achieved it by your efforts, your energy and your enterprise. We in Malaysia are also doing what we can to close the gap between the haves and the have-nots, between the urban and the rural areas, and also between the states of West Malaysia and the new states of East Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak, which have just joined us. We are determined to give our people better amenities of life and a better and higher standard of living, and we are determined to do this within the framework of Parliamentary democracy. We in Malaysia believe that democracy is the best system of Government ever devised. We believed in a free enterprise as the most effective means of releasing the energy and ingenuity of man. We believe in a democratic and free enterprise system to produce the best result, provided always that the people who operate the system are honest and efficient, tough and dedicated. But we have our enemies, the Communists, who are trying to muddy the water, to distract our attention and dissipate our energies to non-productive enterprise so that we fail to solve our development problems.

Communism feeds on the remains of lost hopes and ideals. We are determined that the hopes and ideals of our people will never be disappointed. That is why since we are now short of money to implement our development programme due to our heavy commitment for defence and to the low price of rubber, we have appealed to our friends from overseas, including you in Australia, to help us. We are grateful to you for your assistance in the past as well as your promise to assist in the future. Our success will have a direct bearing on you in Australia. Your future and your fortune are closely linked with ours.

Besides the threat of militant Communism we in Malaysia have other problems. The diversity of our people presents a great challenge to us. However for the last 10 years since we achieved Independence we have made great progress in bringing our people of various races closer together. But we cannot solve this challenging problem satisfactorily unless we are able to increase further the tempo of development and give our people of all races a real stake in our country, a rightful place in our land. Our achievement in the economic field so far has been satisfactory. Our democratic system is thriving, our plans for development have had striking results. This is a matter of great pride to us and I am sure it is also of great satisfaction to you, for

as I said, our future and fortune are inevitably linked together. We have common ideals and aspirations. Let us therefore hope that by a working together, by pooling all our efforts in the field of economic development, we will ensure a happy and prosperous future not only for our two peoples but for the whole region of Southeast Asia.

Mr. Deputy Premier, once again I thank you very much indeed for your kindness and hospitality and for the way you have welcomed us to your great city and to this beautiful and thriving States of New South Wales. I wish you and your people the best of luck and I hope to have the privilege of seeing you and your colleagues in our country soon.

**SPEECH BY HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT STATE LUNCHEON IN MELBOURNE, VICTORIA
ON 20TH APRIL 1967**

Mr. Deputy Premier, Mrs. Rylah, Ladies & Gentlemen,

On behalf of my wife and members of my delegation I would like to thank you and your Government and the people of this great State of Victoria for the welcome that you have extended to us and for your hospitality in giving this luncheon party today.

For my wife and myself this is our first visit to Australia, to this beautiful city of Melbourne and to your State of Victoria. We have heard so much of your great country of Australia, of its vast resources, of its rich and varied life. We have also heard much of this city of yours, Melbourne, where hundreds of our students studied here in your schools and in your Universities, and many of them have come back to our country and not a few are holding high posts in the Government of our country.

Mr. Deputy Premier, although our two countries Australia and Malaysia are thousands of miles apart there is a strong bond existing between us. This bond of friendship between our two peoples for the past many years in really born out of common similarities resulting from numerous experience and common aspirations.

Our two peoples of Australia and Malaysia have benefitted and have flourished under a Parliamentary system of democracy which we have cherished dearly. Like Australian we Malaysians are proud of our ways of life in which our individuals freedom and liberty are fully guaranteed. Both you and I firmly believe in the rule of law, the dignity of the individual and the common brotherhood of mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed. There is undoubtedly a very strong tie of friendship between our two peoples.

Mr. Deputy Premier I would be failing in my duty if I did not mention your contribution and that of your Government towards the educational advances of my people. Thousands of our young men and women are now in the various educational institutions in your country imbibing whatever knowledge and know-how you can offer. Our students enjoy their stay in your country. Many of you have been very kind to them, looking after them at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience.

Our country Malaysia is a young country and our Malaysian society is a young society, and more than 2 million of our population

of 10 million are still in the school going category. More than 20% of our annual budget is devoted to providing them with education. Still this is by no means sufficient to meet the educational needs of our growing population, and for this reason every parent in my country is sincerely grateful to you for your warm care and hospitality in looking after the growth and developing in the most formative years in the lives of our young children. Most of these young men and women return home zealous and determined to uphold the ideals and aspirations which they have come to respect and admire in the course of their stay here.

In these young men and women who become the fibre of my nation lies the future of my country and the continuous happy relations between Australia and Malaysia.

Mr. Deputy Premier, the bond of friendship between our two peoples is further strengthened by the fact that both your country and mine belong to the same turbulent region of the world of Southeast Asia. We are therefore bound by common ideals and confronted by common problems. Whether we are big or small, events in the neighbouring countries of ours are bound to effect us directly or indirectly. As you know our parts of the world is continuously confronted by threats from the north which could only be effectively eliminated or conyained by all of us, all our friends and neighbours acting in concert and in unity.

In the brief history of my country, and we are celebrating our 10th anniversary of our Independence this year, we have become victims of militant communist insurrection. The first was the twelve year emergency in which the communist elements took up arms to topple the national Government. The second was the Indonesian confrontation which was inspired directly by the Communist Party of Indonesian and Peking. On both occasions your country and New Zealand and a few other Commonwealth countries have made enormous military contributions in the defence of the right of small countries to lead their own ways of life, to protect and preserve their liberty and freedom from coercion and subversion by totalitarian forces. They had come together not only in the defence of my country but also in the defence of a principles that each country, however small, has the right to be left alone to pursue its own way of life.

During this period of stress and strain we in Malaysia have come to know your soldiers, your officers and your technicians and others. Besides defending our country you also helped in our economic development.

Mr. Deputy Premier, your country has therefore in the course of year gone a long way to prove the effectiveness of our co-operative endeavour to protect our common ideals and aspirations. Although

the battles against militant communism in Malaysia are by no means over and there are still remnants of communist terrorists on the border between us and Thailand and in Sarawak in Eastern Malaysia, I am confident that the close co-operation between our two countries and our readiness to fight for the common cause will in the end doom the militant communist activities to failure.

I am sure, Mr. Deputy Premier, you are interested to know we tackle this onslaught of communist propaganda and subversion in my country. Our efforts to counter this menace is based on the strong belief that the most effective way of fighting the appeal of communism is by ensuring the smooth and effective functioning of democracy and of fulfilling the expectations of our masses. The life of our people must be meaningful through realistic and effective rural and industrial development projects designed to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. We know from bitter experience that totalitarianism would only breed in chaos and poverty. Therefore the major task of my country is to fight in equally militant and determined manner poverty in all its form and manifestation and all those on which Communists thrive. In this respect we are grateful to you and your Government in providing us aid in various forms, in participating actively in our development programme. These positive contributions from your country and your people will go a long way in facing our common threat in making not only Malaysia but also the region in which we all live, a more prosperous and stable part of the world.

Mr. Deputy Premier, I am confident that the happy and friendly relations between your country and mine in the form and context which I have describe to you will grow in the years to come and that our two peoples will continue to work together for our co-operativw endeavour to determine our future in this part of the world.

Once again I thank very much for your kindness and for your hospitality, I would like to extend to you and your colleagues and the people of the State of Victoria the sincere thanks and good wishes of the people and Government of Malaysia.

**SPEECH BY HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BEFORE
BANKERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS AT LUNCHEON IN
MELBOURNE ON 21ST APRIL 1967**

Gentlemen,

I understand that the first man who came to this part of Australia, a man named John Batman, sailed up the river Yarra and wrote in his diary, "This will be the place for a village." What a magnificent village it has turned out to be! I come from a land of 1000 villages and I hope I learn something here about making villages grow like this one.

Traditionally, our villages have been built in the spirit of what we call, "Gotong Royong", or "Mutual Help". Before the coming of money and banks there was no other way and the system worked well enough. Even today it works, and it will continue to work as long as human beings remain civilised because there is and there could be no civilisation without mutual help and self reliance. Now this kind of co-operation is symbolised very neatly in your great bank, the Australian and New Zealand Bank Limited, bringing together the financial and economic resources of the two countries of Australia and New Zealand. This "Gotong Royong" spirit is something we in Malaysia lay great store by, and that is why we subscribe to such agencies of co-operation where we not only accept help but also provide whatever assistance we can that is required by our friends. The Association of South East Asia and the Asian Development Bank are recent examples, and one which is very familiar to you is the Colombo Plan.

We in Malaysia have benefitted greatly by participating in the Colombo Plan, and to a great extent our people associate the Plan first and foremost with Australia. This is so because of the large number of Malaysian students we have here under the Colombo Plan and the consequent contact that has been establishment which has been close and continuous. Secondly, because aid from Australia has had a tremendous impact on so many aspects of life in Malaysia, so much so that when our newspapers mention Colombo Plan, it is often in connection with Australia.

Australia is indeed promoting international co-operation in a very real and dramatic sense as far as Malaysia is concerned. As a developing country with hopes and plans to give her people the good things of life and the machinery to implement these plans, Malaysia is indeed grateful for the aid given by her friends. You Australians have given us much. Your capital assistance projects in my country ranges

from the supplying of medical equipment for our hospitals and more recently for our new teaching hospital, equipment for our trade and vocational schools and also for the Faculty of Engineering. We have had 135 experts from Australia over the last 15 years and they have provided their expertise in such varied fields as taxation, central banking, insurance, civil aviation and instructors for our schools and hospitals. You will notice that when I mentioned the kind of assistance that we have received under the Colombo Plan, I referred to mainly assistance in the public sector of our economy. As in other developing countries the public sector is a very important one. But in Malaysia we also attach great significance on the private sector, for Malaysia has basically a free enterprise economy where the individual is given every encouragement to push ahead with his drive and talents. The public sector, far as we are concerned, is to provide the infrastructure, the base, in other words the necessary framework for our people to build their lives and fortunes, and in the process hand in hand the future of the nation. It is therefore in the private sector that we can expect to accomplish the achievements that will bring real material progress. You gentlemen represent this vital sector, this section of the community that can sail up a river, cast its eyes on a barren landscape and visualize a vast enterprise that will grow and flourish, as indeed it has. You gentlemen represent the sector that can make this vision come true.

As you know, the Malaysian economy is heavily dependent on two major export commodities, rubber and tin. The price for our rubber however has been rapidly declining in recent years, and as for tin, although the price decline has not been as bad as for rubber, the known reserves of tin are depleting. The downward price trend for our two main exports poses problems to us which you can readily understand – because you too depended for a long time on a narrow based economy, the base being the back of your famous Merino sheep. In the same way as you decided to diversify years ago, we are now in the process of diversifying our economy. We are doing what we can to diversify the agricultural sector, but equally we are very earnest on industrialisation.

How are we to do this? Once again we find ourselves thinking and acting on your example. In spite of much opposition from various quarters you not only embarked on industrialisation on your own but offered great investment opportunities to another young and energetic nation, the United States. Thus the post-war era has witnessed a remarkable upward surge of your economy and you have gone a long way in diversifying and industrialising your economy. Your vast hinterland, with the untapped resources, offered investors both in your country and outside with new great profitable opportunities which

they responded, and your city today stands testimony to the soundness of your good system and the success of your policy.

Malaysia today looks at Australia in much the same way as you regarded the United States after the war, as a source of private investment. We are encouraged to do this for not only is Australia a friendly and understanding neighbour, but she is also an important trading partner of Malaysia. In fact Australia was the first country with whom the then Federation of Malaya entered into a trade agreement barely a year after we attained Independence in 1957. As you are aware, Malaysian imports from your country have been increasing in recent years and the balance of trade has largely been in your favour with more of your manufactured goods coming into our market and with the quality of your goods finding so ready acceptance in our market, I feel there is no dearth of investment opportunities for Australian industrialists.

We can derive much mutual benefit in investment. I would like to see more Australian investment in my country. Malaysia is in a position to offer Australian industrialists investment opportunities in the country as good as, if not better, than those found in any other part of Southeast Asia. For some reason or another, I understand that Australian investors have not fully availed themselves of the tremendous opportunities that we offer. Perhaps we have not made the picture clear to you. I hope the brochure now in your hands will convince you of the remarkable possibilities that await the Australian investor. I will not repeat the facts and statistics that are to be found there. But allow me to give you just one illustration to show why I feel so strongly that you could play a profitable as well as indeed a useful role in our efforts to industrialise the country.

It is likely that you have heard of our historic town - Malacca. It is a picturesque town, complete with an ancient fort and churches, but just outside the town is a village that has endured the hundreds of years of comparative under-developed existence. In fact the pre-Independence per capital income in this village has been estimated at Australian \$8 a month. But in the last few years there has been a great transformation. This village, just as many others, has witnessed a silent revolution. A land development scheme has got under way and each of the villagers has been given 10 acres of high yielding rubber land. The rubber trees are now almost ready for tapping. Later this year when tapping begins the income to each of these villagers will rise to something like Australian \$100. You might feel that this is remarkable; undoubtedly it is, but something even more remarkable is happening which should be of great interest to you as potential investors in my country. A few weeks ago I visited this village and I noted that there were already two motor cars in that village. Mind

you, they were not luxurious limousines but good sturdy vehicles used for taking some of the subsidiary trips to the market.

Gentlemen, you are bankers and industrialist and I do not have to spell out to you in detail what all this means. But I must tell you this: those cars were not Australian Holdens. This village I speak about is only one of the 62 land development schemes we have launched in the last 7 years, covering about 270,000 acres. Of this area more than 100,000 acres have been planted with rubber and nearly 30,000 with oil palm. My Government has now reached an advanced stage in its planning of another scheme in my own home state of Pahang - the Jengka Triangle, covering 150,000 acres of untouched forest. This, our biggest land settlement scheme, will provide farms for 12,000 families, and of course new captive markets for the goods turned out by our domestic manufacturers. These people will, in a matter of 4 or 5 years, have a purchasing capacity that they cannot imagine today. It is in these and other ways that even today Malaysia, with a population of barely 10 million, already commands a purchasing power that is a least twice as high as other countries in Southeast Asia with far bigger population. I need not add to you the importance that you attach as industrialists to this purchasing power and the fact that it is a growing one. I might say that in this sense we are like Australia having a small population but with relatively high standard of living and forging ahead for even higher standards of living. So do not hesitate to come and invest in Malaysia merely because of the small size of the population. The only thing you have to do is to learn from your own experience; one does not necessarily need a large population to provide a healthy and growing market.

The political stability, sound currency and extremely favourable investment climate and a growing market are already there to attract you. And we intend to provide even more fiscal incentives than those outlined in the brochure to attract both domestic and foreign investors to the manufacturing sector. I am sure that Australia which has set the lead in so many fields will again respond to this call for mutual co-operation for mutual benefit in the field of private investment.

Now gentlemen, I know only too well that you bankers and industrialists become cautious and wary when called upon to invest your funds by some fast talking stranger who speaks in terms of golden opportunities and return. I am new to your country, indeed this is my very first visit. You may therefore perhaps not wish to take my word for it but at least, I hope, I have convinced you to visit my country and to look around for yourselves the great opportunities that are there. This is important.

My visit here has been also to learn something about you, and I have learnt one thing of great significance to us. I have seen some of

the moving spirit and dedication that brought the magnificent dreams of such men as John Batman come true. We in Malaysia too have our pioneers, and they would welcome the descendants of Batman, Lonsdale and Lathrope to participate in the great adventure that we have embarked on in my country in carving the jungle to make way for the villages that will in time grow to be beautiful and magnificent as this your city of Melbourne is.

Thank you.

**MALAYSIA FACES THE FUTURE ADDRESS BY
Y.A.B. TUN ABDUL RAZAK AT THE INTERNATIONAL HOUSE,
MELBOURNE ON 21ST APRIL 1967**

It is now nearly ten years that Malaysia has been independent, for about half that time under the name of Malaya. Ten years is perhaps but a breath in the human scheme of things, but these turbulent and anxious times in which we live do not allow nations the comfort of a sheltered childhood of the luxury of an irresponsible adolescence.

The facts of survival are thrust on us from that first moment when our flags were hoisted as the midnight hour chimed. Malaysia has had its share – more than a fair share, I would say – of trials and excitements in its brief independent life in which our will has been tempered, our faith steeled, our energy and our unity to the test in the task of defending our sovereignty and of consolidating our independence.

In retrospect we may perhaps be grateful for the fact that having been through the fire of militant Communism, we have, like steel been tempered to high degree of tangible strength. We have learnt to steel our nation against intrusion by Communist because we now stand, four square and sure, facing the future.

Ten years ago, when we became independent, we were still in the midst of a grim and wasteful struggle against in Malayan Communist Party which chose to foist a war on our people. Then we were swept up by the excitement of the birth of Malaysia, to be accompanied unfortunately by the senseless and frustrating confrontation of Malaysia by the old order in Indonesia.

These were fateful tests. But through all the anxiety and the demands of those years, we in Malaysia never allowed ourselves to forget even for one moment, that freedom means the freedom to deliver the goods or it means nothing, at best a meaningless, futile gesture.

It is easy to talk of revolution. It is easy to mesmerise the people with the rhetoric of revolution. It is equally easy for foreign observers to misjudge the tempo and temper of a revolution because they listen to what is said than see what is performed.

We in Malaysia are not adapt practitioners of the oratorical art. We prefer to act. We believe that the winds of freedom must not only destroy the debris of the old order but also release the creative energies of our people to work our ploughs and our machines.

We must build school and hospitals and roads and bridges; we must open up the land; we must find sources of industrial power; we must diversify our economy; we must revitalise our literature and our music and our art – we must plan; we must act, we must produce results. If we merely talk, if we merely seek to enjoy the gilt and glamour of independence, if we merely attempt to divert the frustrations of our people instead of meeting their expectations, then when that inevitable moment of retribution comes, we shall deserve no sympathy and no help for we shall have forfeited the faith of our own people.

Malaysia, as you know, lies in the heart of Southeast Asia and has historically been the bridge of communication and occupies a strategic position on the trade and the military routes, between East and West Asia, between Europe and East Asia, Europe and the Malay Archipelago generally, Europe and this island-continent of Australia and the Pacific are beyond.

This fact of geography is reflected in the composition of our population, which numbers about 10 million, of whom about half are Malays, 40% are of Chinese origin, 10% of Indian and mixture of Kadazans, Dyaks, Ibans, Europeans, Eurasians, Arabs, – indeed, I suppose practically all the races of the world.

We find this diversity exciting and stimulating and I should be sorry indeed if the fabric of Malaysian life was not woven of this tremendous admixture of different civilizations and cultures and talents. It would nevertheless be futile to deny that however vibrant and exciting may be the vision of the future of Malaysian society and Malaysian civilizations, the immediate problem of bringing together peoples of different races, different languages, different religions, and different cultures, each rightly proud of their ancient history and heritage, poses challenges and opportunities which are potentially charged with emotions.

One of the central issues in Malaysia today is therefore to make our society safe from adversity and to ensure that each of the racial components of the society is allowed all the opportunity to make its contribution in enriching the quality and meaning of all our lives.

The issue of race touches very deep chords indeed. The political dialogue on this question, therefore, must be conducted with a scrupulous regard for the sensitivities of all concerned. It must be a rational dialogue, free from passion and prejudice, and away from the heat of the inter-party struggle in the political arena. It can only be carried on in a spirit of mutual trust and confidence without dramatic statements and challenges in the press and other organs of publicity.

Destroy that atmosphere of faith and you destroy also the political dialogue. What is more, you cannot then go back

immediately as if nothing has happened because you have dangerously aroused and influenced emotions and you have destroyed the painstaking labour of many years.

You do not solve the immensely complex and highly emotional question of race relations by angry declamation and accusations in the full glare of publicity.

You solve it by working patiently and quietly on the ground, by removing the cause of friction and conflict, by creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence, by working together without public pronouncements or consideration of party interest, in exploring, devising and implementing at all levels of the society, all possible ways of teaching the people and bringing them together.

An important element in ensuring that the society thinks in progressive and forward-looking terms is a healthy and expanding economy. As you know, among the developing countries of Asia and Africa, Malaysia has one of the highest standards of living, well ahead of a large majority of other states.

Unfortunately dependent on two major products, rubber and tin, which are subject to the fluctuation of demand in the international market. Malaysia is further faced with the problem of an increasing population and an unevenness of income-distribution, and therefore of the comparative need for development, between East and West Malaysia, and between the urban and the rural areas. To reduce the dependence on the export of a limited number of commodity product, the government has attempted to promote traditional and new export possibilities, stimulate domestic food production and exploit the excellent possibilities which exist for industrialization for the domestic market and, it is hoped, the regional market as well.

We have made good progress in these directions. The political and financial stability of the country, the availability of domestic capital and local business skill, and the tradition of good administration and of law and order are the economic strengths of Malaysia which have enabled us to make progress and to utilise, efficiently and productively, foreign private investment and governmental assistance.

We have been particularly successful in pushing development in the public sector in that we have evolved our own technique of development plan implementation which has proved a success. Over the last few years we have been able to bring real and dramatic changes to both rural and urban areas. Today I can say with modesty that we have gone some way in providing our people with a measure of happiness and progress which they desire. However we must do more and we are determined to do more.

The progress must be maintained.

Again with some pride I can assure you that aid which Australia and other donor countries have so generously given to my country has been put to good use. Further you can rest assured that any future aid would also be put to the best use for the benefit of our people.

The needs of an expanding population must be met in terms of employment opportunities and increased social services. We are a going and a growing concern. But I must confess that, that very fact appears sometimes to be prejudicial to us: the richer and industrialised countries seem to be more interested in emergency rescue operations than in ensuring that these operation do not ever become necessary.

Nevertheless we in Malaysia are fully determined that by our own efforts and with the assistance of our friends, we shall continue to make progress along the road which we have successfully travelled this far to ensure the dignity and prosperity of our people.

Politics after all is concerned with the ordinary wants of the ordinary man. His fears and his dreams are what the whole business of politics is about. He is the source and the end of the political process.

This is our understanding in Malaysia of the political process. Hence to ensure the survival and the success of the democratic process is of fundamental concern to us. We believe that democracy is the finest system.

This, then, is Malaysia: a small country, comparatively young, multi - racial, democratic with a federal structure, economically prosperous but with a precarious dependence on a few commodity products, determined to shun the rhetoric of revolution but instead to channel the emotion of our people into positive action.

Consider if you will our efforts to wield together the multi-racial, multi-religious, components of our populations into a United nation, to make the democratic process work meaningfully in our society, and bring economic and social betterments to the lives of our people. I think we can justly claim that these efforts have been successful and we are now well launched. But the difficulties ahead are many and complex. I know that our efforts are being watched with sympathy by our friends - and with cold-eyed calculation by militant communist elements in our midst and those beyond our boundaries who support them.

Any error which we make- if we stumble or lack stamina or lose our discipline and our determination - will be turned to their advantage.

However, considering this question in the perspective of the history of the militant communist movement in the countries of Asia and Africa over the last twenty years, I am confident that at all times in an open battle with disciplined and dedicated nationalists, the militant communists will invariably lose out. But if the nationalists

slack and become flabby with the fruits of office, then the communists will strike out again for victory. The last twenty years have shown that the communists are like vultures who feed on the disappointed hopes and the tarnished vision of a lost revolution. They are concerned with power and are prepared to shoot their way to power.

Having said that, I think it is important to remember that the basic problem is the development problem, the food, the clothes, the houses, the schools and the hospitals for which they rightly demand. Solve the development problem and you largely solve the communist problem. In the political struggle between communists and nationalists, in the Afro-Asian countries in the last twenty years, I think it is clear that, provided they show equal dedication and determination and discipline, the nationalists will win because in the final analysis they are the people.

But the question remains – what is the conviction and the courage of democratic nationalists? What is the quality of leadership they offer? What is their response to the overwhelming problem of poverty and ignorance and disease under which their people have laboured for so long? Do they have the capacity, the will and the stamina to govern? If they prove to be inadequate, if they are easily seduced by the comforts of office or if they delude themselves that good intentions and brave words alone will ensure progress, then they will fail and, let there be no mistake about it, they will have deserved to fail.

We in Malaysia are determined not to fail. We have a clear vision of the kind of society we want, where there is political democracy, economic development and social progress, with unlimited scope for the individual to use his talents in realising his full potential. It is easy to indulge in frantic and foolish boasts: that, I hope, I have avoided. But I do want you to share with me our hopes and dreams and to understand the silent revolution that is ours, which believes that it is results, not words, which count.

SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN NEW ZEALAND ON 24TH APRIL 1967

First of all, I wish to express my sincere thanks and those of my wife and other members of my delegation for the kind invitation of your Government for us to visit your beautiful country. I would like, at the outset, to extend to you warm greetings and good wishes from the Government of Malaysia and the people to the Government and people of New Zealand as a whole. As you know, we in Malaysia have heard and have seen a lot through pictures about your life, about your beautiful land and about your balmy climate. In fact, it has been my wish since my young days to see for myself all these and much more in your picturesque country.

Our two countries are thousands of miles apart but there is a strong bond existing between us. This bond of friendship which has interwined our two peoples for the past many years, is really born out of many similarities resulting from numerous common experiences and common ideals and aspirations.

Our peoples, New Zealanders and Malaysians, have benefitted and have flourished under a parliamentary system of democracy which we have cherished dearly. Like New Zealand, we in Malaysia are proud of our ways of life in which our individual freedom and liberty are fully guaranteed. Both you and I firmly believe in the rule of law, the dignity of the individual and the common brotherhood of mankind irrespective of colour, race and creed. We both believe in the freedom of religion and the right of anyone to worship God as befits his conscience and in the manner of his choosing. Like yours, our society is multi-racial which makes these principles and concepts of human relation, all the more significant and valuable.

I have always been impressed by examples of your race relations, how you attempt to solve them not by emotional dialogue, or theoretical analysis, but rather by examples and deeds, by making the life of every individual citizen of yours rich and meaningful regardless of his racial origin. I have come this time to see for myself and perhaps to benefit by the knowledge I have gained in this short visit. I always believe there is wealth in diversity with each racial component contributing all its best features towards creating a truly rich national identity. In this respect your nation is already far in advance and had already been well established. We in Malaysia are committed to follow this same path of evolution in solving our multi-racial problems.

I would be failing in my duty if I had not mentioned your contribution and that of your Government towards the educational advancement of my people. Hundreds of our young men and women are now in your various educational institutions imbibing whatever knowledge and technical know-how you can offer them. The Malaysia society, as you know, is a young society and more than fifty per cent of them are still in the school going category. More than a quarter of our annual budget is devoted to providing them with education. Still this is by no means sufficient to meet the educational need of our growing population; and for this reason every parent in my country is sincerely grateful to you all, for your warm care and hospitality in looking after the growth and development, in the most formative years in the life of our young children. Perhaps you little realise how much this contribution of yours meant to my people. Most of these young men and women return home zealous and determined to uphold the ideal and aspiration which they have come to respect and admire in the course of their stay here. In these young men and women who become the fibre of my nation lies the future of my country and the continuous happy relations between New Zealand and Malaysia.

As you all know this bond of friendship that exists between our two Governments and peoples is further strengthened by the fact that we belong to the same Commonwealth, that great family of nations which is bound together by an invincible tie which is singularly unique in the history of international relation. Equally significant, I think, is the fact that both your country and mine belong to this same turbulent region of the world, Southeast Asia. We, are, therefore, bound by common ideals and confronted by common problems. Whether we are big or small, events in neighbouring countries of ours are bound to affect us directly or indirectly. As you all know our parts of the world is continuously confronted by threats from the north which could only be effectively eliminated or contained by all of us, all our friends and neighbours action in concert.

Twice in the brief history of my country we have become victim of militant communist insurrection. The first was the twelve year emergency in which the communist elements took up arms to topple the national government. The second was the Indonesian confrontation which was inspired directly by the Communist Party of Indonesia and Peking. On both occasions your country and Australia and a few other Commonwealth countries have made enormous military contributions in the defence of the right of small country to lead their own ways of life, to protect and preserve their liberty and freedom from coercion and subversion by totalitarian forces. During this period my people have come to know your country very well through your soldiers whose tenacity in battle and prowess in game

especially rugby in famous. They are really worthy ambassadors of goodwill from your country.

Both your country and mine therefore in the course of years, have gone a long way to prove the effectiveness of our cooperative endeavour to protect our common ideals and aspirations. Although these battles in Malaysia are by no means over, and the fact that agitation and subversion have shown signs of growing into serious proportions especially along the Indonesian and Thai borders, I am confident that our growing cooperation and our readiness to fight for the common cause will in the end doom the militant communist activities to failure.

I am sure you are interested to know how we tackle this onslaught of militant communist propaganda and subversion in my country. Our efforts to counter this menace is based on the strong belief that the most effective way of fighting against the appeal of communism is by ensuring the smooth and effective functioning of democracy and of fulfilling the expectations of our masses. The life of our people must be meaningful through realistic and effective rural and industrial development projects designed to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. We know from bitter experience that totalitarianism would only breed chaos and poverty. The major task of my country is therefore to fight in equally militant and determined manner poverty in all its forms and manifestation and all those on which communist thrive. In this we are grateful to you and your Government in participating actively in our development programme not only in opening up new settlement such as the famous New Zealand village in Central Malaya but also in contributing to our educational institution such as the building of the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Malaya. These positive contributions from you and your country will go a long way in facing our common threat in making not only Malaysia but also the region in which we all are, a more prosperous and stable part of the world. I am confident that the happy relations existing between your country and mine in the form and context which I have described to you will grow in the years to come in our cooperative endeavour to determine our future in Southeast Asia. Once again, I wish to extend to you the sincere thanks and good wishes of the people and government of Malaysia.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE "RAZAK MANSION"
AT SUNGAI BESI ON 26TH APRIL 1967**

**Yang Berhormat Menteri Kerajaan Tempatan dan Perumahan,
Your Excellencies,
Pesuruhjaya Ibu Kota,
Ladies & Gentlemen,**

I am grateful to my colleague, the Minister of Local Government and Housing, in inviting me to declare open these Mansions which have just been completed as part of Government's large scale low-cost housing in the Federal Capital.

I am also grateful to him for the honour given to me by naming these Mansions after my own name. I trust that all those who occupy these mansions will be blessed with good luck and happiness.

I should like to congratulate the Minister of Local Government and Housing and officers of his Ministry and also the Commissioner of the Federal Capital and indeed all those connected with this low-cost housing scheme, for the good work that they have done. As the Minister has explained, it is the policy of the Government to provide housing for our people of all races, particularly those living in the towns and in the urban areas. Housing is an important item in our National Development Programme and we are determined to carry out the housing programme, in particular, low-cost housing, with energy and determination. I am so pleased that this programme has been accelerated in recent years and that the Minister and his officers have endeavoured to learn the best techniques in industrialised housing in advanced countries of the world in order to speed up our building.

The policy of our Government ever since we achieved Independence and since we have been able to end the war against the Communist terrorists has been to generate economic growth in our country to narrow the gap between the have and havenots to give our people of all races a better and higher standard of living and a rightful place in our country. We are celebrating the tenth year of the anniversary of our Independence this year and I think we all can look back with satisfaction and pride at the way in which our young Nation has moved forward despite difficulties, despite stress and strain. During these 10 years, we had to face two wars - wars against Communist insurrection and against Confrontation by the old order

of Indonesia. But despite all these, we were able to achieve progress. We were able to devote whatever energies and resources we could spare to the development of our country, to show to our people that freedom must mean freedom from poverty, from hunger and illiteracy, and ability to enjoy a decent standard of living. We want our people of all races to enjoy the same standard of living as is being enjoyed by the more advanced countries of the world. We want those who have no means of livelihood to have a proper means of livelihood and those who have no home to have a decent home to live in. We have done much in carrying out development in our country but we are determined to do much more in order to realize the hopes and aspirations of everyone of us in this country. These Mansions in from of you is an outstanding example of what we have achieved; but there are many othr mansions, many other buildings, roads, brige, schools, hospitals, health centre and others which provide clear evidence of what we have been able to do and of the progress that we have achieved. We have been able to achieve all these through parliamentary democracy which we believe in. We know that there are people who are only too ready to make criticisms to belittle what we have done; but you all the people of this country know what we have done and the facts I have mentioned speak for themselves.

The way in which we have achieved progress during the last 10 years is being watched with sympathy and admiration by our friends overseas. Our techniques of development implementation have become internationally known and many developing countries in the world asked to follow and to copy our methods and our techniques. But as I said, we will not sit on our laurels or on praises by our friends from overseas. We are determined to proceed ahead, to continue with the tempo of development throughout our country, particularly in the State of Eastern Malaysia until our object of making this beloved country of ours a happy, united and prosperous Nation is achieved.

As the Minister has said, my wife and I have just come back from our visit to Australia and New Zealand. I was extremely happy with the visit and we were showered with great kindness, hospitality and friendship wherever we went. There is a tremendous fund of goodwill by the peoples of these two countries towards us in Malaysia because we and they share the same ideals and aspirations. We believe in parliamentary democracy and we have been able to progress through this system of democracy.

Both Australia and New Zealand, though older than Malaysia, are comparatively young countries. The people who went to settle there have, through their energy, enterprise and pioneering spirit, made the two countries very happy and properous countries. They are enjoying a standard of living much higher than we do in Malaysia.

There is, therefore, much that we can emulate from the people of Australia and New Zealand and it is my wish that our people can generate the same enterprise and energy and show the same pioneering spirit so that all our people will be able to enjoy the same standard of living and the same measure of prosperity that the people of Australia and New Zealand are enjoying.

Ladies & Gentlemen:

Once again, I would like to say how happy and honoured I am to be here today to declare open these Mansion and, with a sense of pride and pleasure, I now declare these Mansions open.

YAB TUN ABDUL RAZAK'S SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL WELFARE ON 27TH APRIL 1967

My Cabinet Colleague, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel that it is an honour for me to be asked to address you this evening.

I also feel that this, your first meeting of this National Council of Social Welfare is a very correct step in the right direction in the development of our country.

As you know, I have just returned from my visit to both Australia and New Zealand, and over the past few years, fulfilling my duties as a Minister, I have visited almost every country in the world including most of the countries in Africa.

Everytime I return, and my plane touches down at Subang Airport, I become more and more convinced, comparing Malaysia with the other countries of the world, that the potential of *our* national development is tremendous provided we make the fullest use of our resources both natural and *human*.

I don't want to talk today of our economic development plan which is designed to make the maximum use of both the *physical* and *financial* potentials of our country.

But I do want to talk today about an equally important aspect of our national development which is the *development of the human resources* which exists here in our country, Malaysia.

This Conference, which I am about to open, is essentially *human*, the getting together of all you people here today who are concerned with the welfare of our people.

I see from your programme that the main object of your conference is to understand the concept of Social Welfare.

Let me give you my version of the concept of Social Welfare within the framework of Parliamentary Democracy.

My concept is a *dual contribution*, both by Government and by individual citizens; firstly, on the government side, included in our current Malaysia Development Plan, the area of social and community services and a variety of programme designed to promote the welfare of our rural and urban population by providing improved housing, community facilities, welfare and other services.

During the period 1961 to 1965, among the major projects completed were a rehabilitation centre for the physically handicapped, Old folks' home, Remand homes, Children's homes and Women and

Girls' Protection centres, together with the day to day work done by the Social Welfare Department and a considerable amount of funds expended from the Lotteries Board.

But, my real definition of Social Welfare is not so much what government does, but the contribution which can be made by voluntary organisation.

And what I mean by voluntary organisations is real, one hundred percent voluntary service.

There has been a tendency in the past for welfare organisations to become glorified "post offices", depending of government funds, and their function being merely to re-distribute government funds; but for a democratic country like ours to survive, we need our voluntary organisations to have functions more than that of a "post office". They must become dynamic and self-reliant.

Let me explain what we need. It is this.

We need economic progress; we need economic prosperity; we need material progress; we need cultural progress; we need educational progress, but even more important in addition to this, we need, each and every one of us from the University Professor, from the voluntary worker down to the unfortunate of our brethren; a psychological change of attitude which will accommodate the resultant changes, thought about by the dynamic implementation of development plans by our Government.

This does not mean that I and my government do not fully appreciate the great work which has already been done by a tremendous numbers of voluntary organisations and voluntary workers through our country.

A developing country like ours demands greater initiative and sacrifice in the fields of voluntary services.

Deep in the hearts of our people, both in the rural and urban areas, there is a *living* awareness of development; a new spirit born of the taste of progress and prosperity which we must capture and harness, this new awareness in our new nation. This is the chemistry of development.

You know, however, that in Chemistry, the role of the Catalytic agent is important. One can have all the necessary ingredients for a chemical reaction, but if the *catalyst* is not present, nothing will occur! With the presence of the catalyst, change and reaction take place. I visualize voluntary organisations playing the role of the catalyst, becoming the "boosting charge" for development.

To play this role will require a change from the concept of social welfare as narrow public assistance to constructive approach to community organisation in the solution of social problems.

Then, dynamic democratic behaviour as a social force will be unleadshd.

But I must warn you that this chemistry of development to which I am referring is *not* an experiment in a well *controlled laboratory*. We are not dealing with chemicals; we are dealing with *human-beings*; we are not dealing with anorganic agents; we are dealing with human-lives, and human aspirations; we are dealing with *vital life forces*!

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are not engaged in an academic exercise.

Let me put it simply.

I do not pretend to be a social scientist, but I know full well that in the last 20 years the sciences have made enormous progress, from launching missiles to understanding more about what makes human beings behave the way they do.

Given the fact that we know more about human beings, what can we, who are concerned with social welfare, do about developing healthier and more satisfying community, organisation, healthier and more satisfied human – being?

We have a community development programme.

What do our social welfare workers, both within Government and voluntary organisations have to offer these programme?

What can social welfare workers do in a constructive and positive way rather than in a remedial patching up of our social disorder when it occurs.

We in Malaysia are practised in the art of counteracting aggression.

We have shown our ability to ward off militant aggression during the emergency.

We have shown our ability to cope with it effectively during the period of Confrontation.

It seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, there is a parallel here.

Government fundamentally has positive plans with which to serve its citizens, but in the past we were forced, by circumstances, to take patch work action to meet a negative situation, instead of having a full opportunity to go ahead with positive social welfare development.

Social welfare traditionally has confined itself primarily to the narrow concept of public assistance.

We must go beyond this.

As in the case of our positive economic development, we have a positive programme and a definite direction in which we are moving.

So also in our social welfare programme we must be more creative and produce more positive plans.

It seems to me that social welfare must think creatively and constructively about a fresh positive role for itself.

This, I say, is the task for your Conference.

I regard our present national and human endeavour as vital, but only to bring about change for the sake of change, but to bring about change for the well-being and prosperity of our people.

So that the battle for Democracy which is being fought in every Malaysian home and in the hearts of all our citizens will be won!

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in declaring this Conference open.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE
AT UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA (ARTS FACULTY),
KUALA LUMPUR ON APRIL 27 - 30, 1967**

I am glad to be here today at this first Conference of your recently formed National Council of Social Welfare, Malaysia – an infant in years but showing a maturity of out-look worthy of many an intelligently functioning adult in that its very first activity is to achieve clear understanding of its role in society, so that it can make a worthy contribution to the welfare of the people in this rapidly developing nation.

As I looked through the programme that the Council has planned for the next few days, certain thoughts came to my mind which I should like to share with you.

Firstly, I am pleased to see that you are beginning right from the start, that is, getting right down to clear understanding of what is social welfare – is it the kind of work that starts only when things have gone wrong, is it only concerned with disadvantaged, under-privileged, maladjusted persons or is it very much more embracing, seeking the prevention as well as the amelioration of social ills? What then are the objectives of social welfare and now how can we achieve these objectives?

To my mind, we in Malaysia have learned to clearly define goals and objectives, our terms of reference, our scope, our areas of responsibility and against this we weigh our resources, existing and potential. We can no longer be satisfied with ad hoc piecemeal schemes that serve only as temporary expedients. Today's approach – the national planned approach – can be seen in our First and Second Five-Year Development Plans and the First Malaysia Plan. I am happy, therefore, that you are adopting it in your Conference and as a vital beginning to your deliberations, that you will attempt to define social welfare, its implications, areas of responsibility between Government and voluntary social work bodies, you will discuss better coordination and cooperation in existing services and finally, the contribution of social work to society as a whole. However, in this respect, I think it is relevant to repeat what I have often said to my officers in Government, that is, that the technique of national development planning, especially of national economic planning, is now well advanced throughout the world and it is fairly easy for any developing country to have a planned approach but the technique of

implementation and putting some push and punch into translation of the plan from paper into factual results is a technique for which there is little inter-national knowledge available at the present from which developing countries can learn and apply. We, therefore, have to evolve our own technique and we have done so, especially in our economic planning. We had to evolve a technique because, as you know, we do not have unlimited time. We, therefore, must feel a necessary sense of urgency to achieve maximum results within the time at our disposal to convince our people and the free world that democracy can work in this country. I hope that your Council, now that it is grappling with reality, trying to find a concerted overall national approach to social work in this country, will feel the same sense of urgency and will, therefore, courageously and honestly discuss problems of implementation, using ingenuity, imagination, creativeness to plan and implement services that will meet the real needs of the people.

I have often said in referring to our Development Operations Room that its purpose is not to keep one's finger on the pulse of the programme where the pulse is beating but rather to be able to put one's finger in the pulse where the pulse of development has stopped beating, so that an accurate diagnosis of difficulties and delays can be carried out and defects rectified with speed. I hope, therefore, that your Conference will be one where discussion does not centre on achievements but one which will probe, however painfully, into inadequacies, lacks and failures, so that constructive results are obtained.

My second thought when I read the Programme was that we all have a common aim and a shared commitment. We are not just seeking an advanced and prosperous nation, we are seeking an advanced and prosperous nation with happy, well-adjusted citizens. We are all launched therefore, on the quest for a strategy to balance material and human development because we are committed to the belief that individual initiative towards self and community improvement should be encouraged within the overall National aims. And so, you and I seek in different ways to improve and increase human potential. Our Government's rural and national development policies, the Gerakan Maju programme, are designed to give full recognition to the universal principle that no nation anywhere in the world can hope to progress to any real extent without the full-hearted cooperation and energetic efforts of each and everyone of its citizens. Therefore, we seek the intelligent and whole-hearted participation of the people in all programmes for their betterment. You, in your work, help the underprivileged, the socially disadvantaged, the handicapped, and others in similar circumstances, to develop to their maximum potential. Public

assistance measures, rehabilitation programmes, help to keep people within the main stream of development. Government's economic programmes build up a solid basic economic infra-structure. Social Welfare and Social Services help to make a healthy viable social infra-structure and both together make up a prosperous nation of happy, well-adjusted individuals. Therefore it is unrealistic, if not impossible, to divorce on part of development from the other, to say that economic development must necessarily precede social development or vice-versa. Economic development achieves maximum results only with the participation of the people and social work with its insights into the complexities of human behaviour can help to secure that participation of the people that is vital to economic progress.

And this leads me to another thought. So far, if I may say so, social work has been conceived as primarily a remedial services coming in to solve problems of the individual in need. Your very examination of the definition of social welfare, its scope and responsibility will, I hope, lead you to a broader outlook and concept, so that you will attempt to think and operate on a much wider canvas.

During the last two decades, growth and maturity of social services have produced new insights into the functioning of societies and groups, and into the complexity of human behaviour and the nature of processes of change in them. If your practitioners of the social work profession have kept abreast with these new insights, I would venture to say that you have a vital role to play in our developing country in using these insights to obtain the effective participation of the people in all programmes for their betterment. Community development work, community organisation services are but two spheres in which you can help to bring about what we all want – a sense of belongingness to the Kaum, to be the community, to the nation. I know that the Department of Social Welfare has felt that it can make a contribution in this area and is at present organising crash training programmes for its staff, so that they can find their particular contribution in community development work within Gerakan Maju.

Finally, I note that you are giving thought to the processes of institution building; for example, you are interested in the role of a National Council of Social Welfare and, therefore, you will be looking into the nature of councils most conducive to the development of social work in this country. I should, therefore, like to share with you a United Nations opinion on the subject:-

“Substantial spade work must be done and good technical support provided over a sufficient length of time. Hastily set up councils or other institutions are not only self-defeating but disastrous to the

whole programme. More often than not, they end up as magnified examples of vested interests, power politics, dishonesty, arbitrariness, inefficiency and other negative qualities which the Council set out to overcome in the first instance. Equal caution must be exercised to avoid over organisation. To sustain dynamism and development orientation in the new institutions, they should be continually exposed to new educational influences. Training programmes for the members should not be random and sporadic but systematic and spread over long periods of time."

With these final words, I will leave you to begin your deliberations, "saya dengan sukacita dan bangganya mengisytiharkan Konferensi ini dimulakan."

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S
AT THE MALAYSIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT DINNER
ON 3RD MAY 1967

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy to be here with you to-night and I sincerely hope that you do not expect from me a long dissertation on management because it is such a vast subject!

At one extreme you have the case of management of the girl in the *bikini bathing costume* on the beach and her backstrap was broken; so all the men rushed up to her and tried to help her to repair her bikini. But she replied with confidence and determination, "No, Thank you very much. I can manage myself".

The other extreme, you have the management of Government and the management of large industrial organisations.

Management is a vast and varied subject, too detailed for an after-dinner speech because to go back to the bikini, I understand that the ideal of after-dinner speech is *like a lady's dress*.

It should be *long enough* to cover the subject, but at the same time, *short enough* to be stimulating and interesting. But sometimes nowadays boy's dress like the mini-skirt and the bikini, they cover the subject in parts.

There is no activity in modern times which does not call for good management; in factories, in firma, in business and in banks, including Bank Negara, in hospitals and in homes, although I give you a word of warning on home management.

A home is probably the only place which can suffer from *over-management*, and I hope that the female members of your Institute will not acquire an excessive knowledge of management and give their poor husbands bell when they get home and over-manage them!

I was most interested to read the Constitution of your Institute, and I must say that the objects that you have set out to achieve are very near in my heart.

In fact they are the same objects which I have been trying to apply to the machinery for development, and to the machinery of government as a whole.

In the old days, when life was less complex, management was also less complex. As a result, there has been a tendency of inherit and apply traditional system of management instead of applying the very best of modern techniques, and, as I see it, the main contribution of

your Institute to our country is to act as a tremendous stimulus in this search for, and application of, modern methods in all business and government organisations in Malaysia.

Combines with this, you could also help stimulate a continual vigilance and review of organisational methods, to ensure that we build up within our country, organisations based *on the quality* of man-power, rather than *on the quantity* of manpower.

Let me tell you a story I heard the other day when I was involved in Defence talks.

The 25-pounder gun which was invented many many years ago, used to be drawn into battle by a team of horses, but in these modern days of mechanisation, horses were substituted by jeeps.

However, in spite of this change, it was discovered that the *crew* of each gun remained the same in number; one man to pass the shells, one man to open the breech, one man to fire the gun, and one man to direct the fire on a compass-bearing; and yet, on analysis, it was found that there were still *two extra men* sitting around doing nothing during the time the guns were in action.

Two extra men doing nothing on *many thousand* gun is many thousand redundant men and no one could find out what their job really was.

Therefore, a systematic analysis was made to find out why these men existed and remained on the pay-roll.

What had happened was, on the old days, guns were drawn up by horses, these extra men had a specific job of *holding the horses* from running away when the guns blasted off, and yet on the transition to modern methods, no one *had ever thought* of cancelling their posts or giving them new jobs.

And I think, so it is, in both government and business organisations, we tend to multiply and multiply our posts and position, a tendency for quantity and *not* quality, and the only way that we can ensure efficiency is continual review of our organisational structure so that we do not have a lot of redundant people holding invisible horses!

Another aspect which I would like to touch on; and that is, to achieve good and efficient management, we have got to depart from the *traditional method* of *automatic promotion* on a time basis; we have got to do a bit of blood-letting bringing some fresh air into our organisations, both government and business, to ensure that the man of best ability and leadership has a chance of coming up to the surface and does not stagnate in a pool of frustration, thus causing an efficiency blockage which, in turn causes an unnecessary brain-drain because his talent and potential are not being used to the full.

Let me give you another example from my experience as Minister of Defence;

I understand that during the last war, most infantry battalions fighting in the jungle had, apart from their Colonels, Majors, Captains and men, had also 41 mules which were used as pack animals, and by the time the war ended some of these mules has been in and out of the jungle on *several campaigns*; they had probably much more jungle experience and much more military *experience* than the men commanding them, but they *were not* promoted as Colonels, Majors or Captains because, in spite of their long term service, they had never progressed beyond being a "mule".

I leave it to you to interpret the moral of that story!

The message I am trying to convey to you which is an important aspect of management, and that is, that we have to evolve both in government and in the private sector, *new more realistic, scientific and sophisticated methods of promotional incentives* to harness the maximum of our human resources available, and to ensure that there is no brain-drain or outflow of ability due to frustration caused by applying out of date methods of management. Today, we are striving to achieve growth in all aspects of our national life.

In order to achieve this growth, we need strong and enlightened leadership; we need to stop any brain-drain which may take place; we need to harmonise the various interests – business interests, trade union interests – political interests – government interests, so that we man and age and co-ordinate these interest for the sound growth of our country.

We will only achieve this co-ordination of these interests provided that we place national interests high above the separate interests of the separate organisations which comprise the mosaic of our nation. Let me explain this. The English language has seldom been enriched by American words, but I believe, in America they have an expression known as "*passing the buck*", of which perhaps the equivalent is "to pass the baby".

I understand that Truman when he was President of America had a large sign on his desk in the White House which read: "This is where the buck stops!

This has a double lesson for us; the first one in management, that if very responsible officer at all levels in all organisations shoulders his responsibility and does not "pass the buck," then we will be well on the way to being an efficient and modern nation with up-to-date dynamic management.

The second lesson at national level; if *each component part of our national economy*, the private sector, the trade union movement, State governments and the Federal Government maintains a high national

aim and we do not "pass the buck", to each *but get together* more often to integrate our aims and aspirations into one determined direction for progress. Then we will achieve the national growth which we all so ardently desire.

An institute like yours can do a tremendous contribution to the sound growth of our nation in these modern times.

We need more and more managerial skills, more and more understanding between government and the private sector, and we need to *breed a new class of Malaysians with a highly developed sense of leadership, efficiency and managerial sense of responsibility.*

These needs are not always in the curriculee of academic disciplines in Universities, and it is too late now for the Economist, the Architect or the Engineer who is already doing his job, to go back to school and learn to be a good manager, in addition to being a good professional exponent of his own discipline.

If our economist, our engineers and all our other professionally trained Malaysians cannot go bak to University to learn managerial skill, they can still go forward with your Institute to acquire these essential managerial skills.

This is where your Institute can fill a tremendous need and has a very proper and important place in the economy and development of our country.

I sincerely hope that your Institute will develop from strength to strength, and I can honestly say, on the part of my government, that we will give you every support and encouragement necessary, because the role that this Malaysian Institute of Management can play in the future of our country, by creating a highly efficient managerial class of Malaysians, is vital and could be one of the greatest deciding factors in the progress of our Nation - whether we are going to become a modern progressive and prosperous Nation or not.

I wish you the best of luck in your endeavour and hope that you will become one of the most dynamic institutes in our country.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
DI PEMBUKAAN MESYUARAT UMNO KOTA BHARU HULU
DAN DI TEMPAT-TEMPAT LAIN PADA 12 MEI 1967**

Saya amat sukacita dapat hadir di Kadok hari ini untuk merasmikan Persidangan Perwakilan UMNO Bahagian Kota Bharu Hulu. Saya ucapkan berbanyak terima kasih di atas jemputan ini.

Hari ini adalah hari yang bersejarah bagi diri saya dan juga bagi UMNO Bahagian ini khasnya dan UMNO Kelantan amnya kerana hari ini adalah kali yang pertama saya membuka persidangan sebuah Bahagian UMNO di Kelantan semenjak saya mengambil alih jawatan Ketua Perhubungan UMNO awal tahun ini dan kehormatan ini dapat kepada Bahagian Kota Bharu Hulu. Besuk saya akan membuka Mesyuarat Perwakilan UMNO Tanah Merah.

Sepertimana bahagian tuan-tuan dan puan-puan ini, kebanyakan dari cawangan-cawangan dalam bahagian ini adalah di luar bandar Kota Bharu. Tetapi Ibu Pejabat Bahagian ini adalah di Kota Bharu. Saya sukacita perubahan dibuat tahun ini. Pada masa-masa yang lepas mesyuarat-mesyuarat Agung sentiasa diadakan di Kota Bharu tetapi kali ini diadakan di Kadok dan saya berharap tiap-tiap tahun pertukaran akan dibuat. Berilah peluang kepada cawangan yang sanggup menjadi 'tuan rumah'. Cara ini sangat baik kerana ini memberi peluang dan melatih cawangan-cawangan untuk menyelenggarakan mesyuarat-mesyuarat besar dan juga cara ini 'membawa UMNO masuk ke kampung-kampung'. Jangan hanya masa pilihanraya sahaja UMNO masuk di kampung-kampung. Kalau kampung itu tidak ada kemudahan-kemudahan dirikan bangsal-bangsal atau khemah. Di India oleh kerana sesuatu parti itu, apa lagi, parti Kongres, sangat besar dan tiap-tiap kali mesyuarat perwakilan yang hadir lebih satu ratus ribu orang dan tiada Dewan yang besar yang boleh memuatkan semua wakil-wakil itu maka mereka bersidang di tengah-tengah padang di bawah khemah dan bergilir-gilir tempatnya. Seperti UMNO sebelum merdeka dan lepas merdeka dahulu, di Melaka, di Seberang Perai, di Kangar, Johor Bahru dan lain-lain lagi. Saya suka melihat UMNO Kelantan khasnya berbuat demikian, janganlah semuanya *berpusat di Kota Bharu dan Pasir Mas* sahaja. Pemimpin-pemimpin UMNO tempatan janganlah hanya berduyun-duyun ke Kota Bharu sahaja tiap-tiap hari, tiap-tiap malam. Saya suka melihat mereka masuk ke kampung-kampung di sepanjang kiri dan kanan tebing sungai Kelantan, bukan hanya melawat ke

kampung-kampung yang di tepi jalanraya-jalanraya sahaja. Masuklah ke daerah pedalaman juga jika kita mahu UMNO dan perjuangan kita difahami oleh rakyat. Baliklah kita difahami oleh rakyat. Baliklah kita kepada perjuangan dan ketekunan kita seperti zaman belum merdeka dahulu.

UMNO Kelantan bukan seperti UMNO negeri-negeri lain. UMNO Kelantan menghadapi lawan yang besar dan bijak dan kerana itu UMNO di sini mestilah berjuang cara yang berlainan dengan cara UMNO negeri-negeri lain.

UMNO Kelantan menghadapi 'darurat politik' dan kalau hendak menang, kita mestilah juga berlawan secara darurat. Dan dalam darurat tiap-tiap orang mesti kerja kuat, tekun berani dan amanah dengan perjuangannya jika tidak, kita tidak akan mengatasi 'darurat politik' ini. Sudah 8 tahun kita mengalami 'darurat politik' ini, semenjak tahun 1959. Kita telah mengambil masa 12 tahun untuk mengalah darurat penjajah komunis atau 'Emergency' dahulu. Pada tahun 1969, kita menghadapi satu pilihanraya UMUM lagi dan waktu itu parti lawan kita, PAS akan memerintah negeri Kelantan ini selama 10 tahun. Kita mesti menang kali ini jika tidak PAS akan memerintah Kelantan selama 5 tahun lagi menjadi semuanya 15 tahun – lebih lama dari darurat penjajah dahulu, dan negeri Kelantan akan terus menerus mundur dan rakyat susah. Sementara itu negeri-negeri dan orang-orang Melayu di lain berlumba-lumba mencari kemajuan; taraf hidup dan pelajaran sesuai dengan keadaan zaman teknologi ini.

Segala ikhtiar dari atas dijalankan untuk memenangi 'darurat politik' ini tetapi tiap-tiap ahli biasa UMNO pun ada peranannya. Peranan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan ialah untuk menguatkan lagi UMNO dan memberitahu orang-orang kampung akan dasar-dasar perjuangan kita yang sebenar, sehingga mereka faham dan menyokong kita dalam daerah dan negeri ini.

Dalam menjalankan kewajipan kita, buatlah kerja betul-betul – banyak bekerja dari bercakap, lebih berterus terang dari berbohong, lebih lurus dari belok dan jangan mengacau kerja-kerja orang lain. Jika setiap orang menjalankan tugas masing-masing, dan semua mengamalkan pesanan saya ini, insya' Allah UMNO Kelantan akan selamat dan berjaya.

Saya diperintah oleh Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman memimpin UMNO Kelantan seperti juga saya disuruhnya memimpin UMNO Perak. Dengan berkat Tuhan dan kerjasaman dan taat setia semua ahli-ahli UMNO Perak, dari semua peringkat, UMNO Perak sekarang berjalan dengan baik. Bahkan, kerajaan Perak pun berjalan dengan baik dan sempurna. Dan saya berdoa dengan berkat Tuhan, jika nasib saya baik, dan jika semua Ahli-ahli UMNO negeri Kelantan bekerja kuat dan amanah dengan perjuangan UMNO dan dengan diri

sendiri, saya yakin, saya akan dapat membetulkan UMNO Kelantan sehingga layak ia memerintah negeri ini sekali lagi.

Saya suka menarik perhatian tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian iaitu, sekadar perubahan di peringkat perhubungan dan saya menjadi Ketua sahaja tidak akan menguatkan UMNO dengan sendirinya. Seorang General yang bijak dengan tidak ada bantuan askar-askar di bawahnya yang tekun dan rajin tidak dapat menang satu-satu peperangan. General Douglas Mac Arthur seorang General yang paling bijak dalam dunia waktu ia hidup tidak boleh memenangi peperangan di Korea jika tidak kerana askar-askarnya yang perwira dan berani, General Yamashita; General Jepun yang menakluk Malaya dari orang putih – satu kuasa Asia mengalahkan pemerintahan Inggeris. Ia berjaya kerana ia bijak dan disokong pula oleh askar-askar yang baik dan yang taat setia kepada perintah-perintah dan tidak bercakar sama-sama sendiri.

Contoh-contoh ini sangatlah kena dengan UMNO Kelantan. Saya bukanlah nak kata saya pandai sangat tetapi jika saya dapat 'General-general' yang baik di peringkat Bahagian dan Cawangan-cawangan, saya juga boleh jadi seorang General yang boleh kalahkan orang-orang PAS ini. Selain dari 'General-general' di peringkat bahagian dan cawangan-cawangan saya juga mestilah ada askar-askar yang baik. Saya sedar UMNO Kelantan mempunyai askar-askar yang baik tetapi saya dengan segala ikhlas dan jujur mengatakan banyak 'General-general', 'Kapten-kapten', 'Sarjan-sarjan' dan 'Koperal-koperal' dalam UMNO Kelantan ini sudah patut bersara tetapi masih lagi juga hendak berkhidmat. Sepatutnya mereka dengan sendiri mengundurkan diri dan berilah peluang kepada orang-orang lain. Dan diam-diam menyokong dari belakang; diam-diam sebagai orang-orang biasa sahaja. Inilah sebesar sumbangan yang mereka itu boleh memberikan kepada UMNO Kelantan. Bersara dan menggalakkan orang-orang muda yang dinamis atau mereka yang baru untuk memberi 'nafas baru' kepada UMNO Kelantan. Kebanyakan mereka ini telah memberi khidmat yang lama dan baik kepada UMNO di masa yang lepas. Satu ukuran seorang itu bijak, dewasa atau baligh dalam politik dan taat setia kepada parti, satu tanda mereka pentingkan parti dari diri sendiri ialah untuk mereka mengundurkan diri dari perjuangan setelah dirasanya adanya masing-masing dalam pucuk pimpinan lebih merugikan daripada memberi untuk kepada parti.

Perubahan pucuk pimpinan di peringkat negeri kurang faedahnya jika tidak ada juga perubahan-perubahan seperti – itu di semua peringkat. Selain daripada perubahan-perubahan pemimpin-pemimpin, UMNO Kelantan dan ahli-ahlinya mestilah turut menukar coraknya, sikap dan fikiran, pekerjaan dan cara bertindak supaya

sesuai dengan perubahan-perubahan di atas. Mereka mesti mempunyai azam yang baru dan berani melaksanakannya.

Saya suka menarik perhatian tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang kekuatan UMNO tidaklah bersandarkan kepada perhubungan tetapi – adalah di peringkat-peringkat bahagian dan cawangan. Perlembagaan UMNO jelas menyatakan kuasa-kuasa ini. Perhubungan hanya boleh menasihatkan sahaja dan menjadi badan perantaraan di antara tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dengan Majlis Kerja Tertinggi UMNO. Jadi, perubahan di peringkat perhubungan tidak semestinya membawa kemajuan yang besar dan berkesan jika tidak ada perubahan-perubahan di peringkat Bahagian dan cawangan-cawangan untuk menyesuaikan dengan perubahan-perubahan di peringkat perhubungan ini.

Adalah menjadi adat dunia, setelah sekian lama seorang itu berkhidmat ia mestilah bersara. Ada orang-orang bersara kerana setelah membuat kejayaan yang tinggi, ada yang terpaksa bersara kerana kurang cekap atau kerana kesihatan yang tidak baik. Tetapi mereka mestilah bersara pada suatu hari. Yang enggan bersara selalunya diberhentikan ataupun kuasanya dikesil-kecilkan dan mereka tidak lagi dibawa kira bicara sesungguhnya. Tetapi pari kita ialah parti yang mengamalkan demokrasi, kita tidak boleh berhenti dan buang orang senang-senang tetapi 'orang-orang yang sedar yang mustahaknya mudah hilang' atau sedang hilang patutlah mengundur diri dengan sendiri dengan 'good senses' masing-masing. Adalah kewajiban kita untuk membawa perubahan-perubahan; janganlah main sentimen dan kasihan belas. Dalam politik, *kepentingan umum, kepentingan orang ramai lebih mustahak dari kepentingan dan perasaan perseorangan*. Politik juga seperti barang dagangan – kita jangan jual apa yang kita tahu tidak laku dan kadang-kadang barang itu laku orang-orang suka kepadanya, tetapi mereka tidak mahu beli kerana penjual-penjual kurang menarik atau daya penariknya tidak ada langsung. Kalau sebuah syarikat itu hendak maju maka syarikat itu mestilah tukar 'Salesmen dan Salegirls-nya' dan kalau syarikat itu enggan maka ahli-ahli sahamnya mestilah bertindak. Dalam UMNO ahli-ahli sahamnya ialah tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian.

Setelah lama saya memikirkan, hasil dari pengalaman dalam parti di beberapa peringkat semenjak 17 tahun yang lalu, saya dapati sifat-sifat yang dikehendaki sangat-sangat oleh UMNO daripada pemimpin-pemimpin dan ahli-ahlinya adalah '5 sifat'. Sifat-sifat itu ialah:

“Sifat-sifat UMNO yang mulia”

Orang-orang UMNO mestilah sentiasa bekerja kuat untuk kemajuan negara dan diri masing-masing – mereka mestilah, kata orang putih “Undertake self – cultivation” – iaitu secara ringkas, tiap-tiap makhluk itu bukan malaikat – kerana itu ia tidak ‘perfect’ dan kerana ia tidak ‘perfect’, ia mesti berubah dan boleh ditukar corak dan perangnya. Jika seseorang makhluk itu tidak dapat memperbaiki dirinya sendiri bagaimana ia hendak memperbaiki diri orang lain dan membawa kemajuan dan menukarkan corak sebuah masyarakat?

Untuk menjadi seorang ahli UMNO yang baik ia mestilah pandai ‘menyesuaikan dirinya’ dengan keadaan, perjuangan, kemajuan dan darjah pelajaran pada masa itu. *Sama ada seorang itu baru atau lama dalam UMNO, ia hanya patut diadil dan kegunaannya dinilai semata-mata di atas sumbangannya yang ia – boleh beri kepada kemenangan perjuangan parti kita dan betapa dewasa dan baligh ia dalam menyesuaikan dirinya dengan perjuangan dan falsafah UMNO.*

“Sifat yang kedua”

Merendahkan diri – mereka mestilah contohi tingkah laku yang di-Pertua kita Y.T.M. Tengku Abdul Rahman – *peramah, tidak sombong, adil, lurus serta amanah.*

Dalam usaha ‘memperbaiki diri kita’ dan tidak secara langsung UMNO, kita bukan hanya bertingkah laku demikian dalam masa menghadapi kesusahan-kesusahan dan semasa parti kita menjadi parti pembangkang, tetapi hendaklah setiap masa. Ukuran atau ‘the test’ ialah sama dalam kemenangan dan masa kebesaran parti kita, kita juga boleh ‘merendah diri’.

Ada banyak ahli-ahli parti kita tidak boleh tahan senang dan kejayaan-kejayaan membuat mereka cepat ‘naik angin’, sombong, tidak amanah, berperangai jahat dan buat pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang hina: Dalam kemewahan dan kemenangan banyak ahli-ahli kita lupa daratan, ada yang lupa kepada Tuhan dan kerana dosa-dosa mereka inilah orang-orang di belakang terpaksa mempusakainya dan susah. Untuk membasmikan kelemahan-kelemahan inilah maka ahli-ahli UMNO mesti ‘undertake self – cultivation’ atau memeriksa diri sendiri.

“Sifat yang ketiga”

Taat setia dan betul-betul yakin dengan falsafah perjuangan UMNO dan kejujuran pemimpin-pemimpinnya. Falsafah perjuangan siasah seperti juga dengan agama mestilah diyakini betul-betul oleh anggota-

anggotanya kalau tidak seseorang itu tidak akan dapat menjadi seorang ahli UMNO yang baik. Falsafah perjuangan kita adalah ditafsirkan dalam Fasal 4 dalam Perlembagaan UMNO: Asas-asas dan tujuan UMNO.

Dengan ringkasnya: ia adalah 'Democratic nationalism' – dan di dalam ini termasuklah mempertahankan dan mempertingkatkan taraf dan kedaulatan Agama Islam, bahasa Kebangsaan, Kebudayaan Melayu, dan hak-hak istimewa orang-orang Melayu dan Bumiputera dan berikhtiar meninggikan ekonomi rakyat Melayu dan Bumiputera. Dalam memperbaiki diri dan mencari kedewasaan dalam politik UMNO – tiap-tiap ahli hendaklah faham dengan *teori UMNO*, cara melaksanakan teori atau falsafah siasah UMNO, cara-cara memecah masalah-masalah parti, dasar dan strateginya; menjaga dan mengawasi moral yang baik, memelihara nama baik parti, memelihara keteguhan dan perpaduan dalam parti. Kita mestilah mengecamkan atau kritik diri sendiri, peranan dan sumbangan sendiri, jangan jaga tepi kain orang lain, awasi dan junjung tinggi parti disiplin atau tatatertib parti – orang-orang yang sembahyang ada tertib dan susunannya begitulah juga parti. Kita hendaklah sentiasa bergaul dengan rakyat jelata untuk mengatasi dan mengetahui masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh mereka, berunding cara-cara hendak mengatasinya dan salurkan mana dalam Kerajaan yang bertanggungjawabnya. Kritik terhadap diri sendiri ini mestilah dilakukan oleh semua ahli-ahli dan pemimpin-pemimpin UMNO jika kita semua mahu UMNO subur dan menjadi sebuah parti yang baik, teguh dan benar-benar demokratik.

“Sifat yang keempat”

Kepentingan-kepentingan parti mendahului segala-segalanya. Kepentingan-kepentingan parti dan orang-orang ramai mesti mengatasi kepentingan-kepentingan perseorangan dan golongan-golongan yang kecil. Jika tiap ahli-ahli mementingkan dirinya kawannya dan peluangnya maka parti itu tidak akan kuat dan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sendiri sedar akan kebenaran ini. Kita tidak payah pergi jauh untuk melihat kebenaran ini. Kekuatan parti-parti seperti Parti-parti Komunis, Parti Buruh British, Parti Liberal Demokrat, di Jepun, Liberal Party di Australia dan Parti Demokratik di Amerika, PAP di Singapura semuanya bersandarkan kepada masing-masing anggotanya mementingkan *parti dan perjuangan parti bukan diri sendiri*.

Pada umumnya, ini bermakna – kepentingan diri tidak ada dalam parti; jika seorang itu masuk parti kerana semata-mata hendak mencari kesempatan, baik, tak usahlah, kerana ia hanya akan merosakkan dan melemahkan parti itu dan anggota-anggota yang lain. Ini adalah dasar parti yang tinggi dan tiap-tiap seorang mestilah

mematuhinya. Kepentingan-kepentingan daerah mesti beralah kepada negeri dan kepentingan-kepentingan negeri mesti-beralah kepada kepentingan-kepentingan negara. Tiap-tiap ahli mesti faham ini jika tidak lambat laun UMNO akan rosak – akan menjadi seperti Kelantan hari ini.

UMNO adalah sebuah parti yang dipunyai oleh rakyat yang bekerja untuk rakyat. UMNO tidak ada kewajipan lain selain daripada memperjuangkan cita-cita rakyat. Segala kerja, fikiran dan tindakan ahli-ahli UMNO mestilah berpandu kepada dasar parti yang amat penting ini.

Seseorang ahli UMNO yang baik tidak patut mempunyai 'cita-cita yang bersendirian', di luar dari cita-cita dan asas parti. Cita-cita mereka mestilah serupa dengan cita-cita parti. Kalau ahli masing-masing mempunyai cita-citanya sendiri dan hanya buat UMNO tempat mencari rezeki dan mencari pangkat parti kita akan penuh dengan orang-orang yang 'opportunist' dan mereka yang hanya bekerja kerana mendapat pangkat dan gaji, iaitu orang-orang 'Careerists' dalam parti.

Kita mahu melihat ahli-ahli UMNO taat setia – mereka yang tidak gila dan tidak boleh dipujuk-pujuk oleh pangkat, kedudukan dan bintang-bintang dan kekayaan. Seorang itu betul-betul ahli UMNO yang sejati jika ia dalam kemiskinan dan kesusahan pun tetap yakin dengan perjuangan partinya.

Jangan jadi tukang cucuk dan batu api, jangan berpuak-puak – kita semua ahli UMNO yang tidak mempunyai cita-cita yang lain daripada cita-cita UMNO sendiri maka sebab itulah kita semua masuk UMNO. Kalau kita mempunyai berlainan cita-cita kita tak patutlah menjadi ahli-ahli dalam satu parti kerana sudah tentu parti itu akan bercakar sesama sendiri. Tolonglah kurangkan pertengkaran sesama sendiri, jika tidak, selama itulah kita akan berpecah belah dan selama itulah pula UMNO akan menjadi parti pembangkang di negeri Kelantan.

Pertengkaran-pertengkaran mesti ada – ini adalah adat dunia dan juga mesti timbul dan subur dalam mana-mana masyarakat yang demokratik dan dalam sebuah parti seperti UMNO ini. Kalau perselisihan ada, kita mestilah mencari jalan menyelesaikannya, jangan sekali-kali membesar-besarkannya. Tugas tiap-tiap ahli, ialah menolong menyelesaikan keruncingan tiap-tiap ahli, bukan melagagakan, mengapi-api hingga tembuk menjadi bukit, bukit menjadi gunung. Kita mestilah bersama membetulkan hal ini sehingga yang bertanggungjawab itu berhenti sendiri atau diberhentikan. Parti kita mestilah dibersihkan dari satu masa ke satu masa jika tidak ia akan penuh dengan kekotoran. Sebuah parti adalah seperti sekeluarga dan rumahtangga juga.

Saya dapati dalam UMNO, kita ada mempunyai beberapa golongan yang sentiasa *menggolakkan UMNO dan kerajaan*. Puak-puak ini hendaklah diawasi jangan sampai mereka merosak dan melemahkan parti kita. Mereka berada di samping kita di peringkat-peringkat negeri dan Bahagian dan cawangan-cawangan. Awasilah mereka untuk kebaikan parti kita.

Anasir-anasir ini ialah:

- 1) "Careecrists" dalam parti, mereka menggalak dan membesarkan kesalahan-kesalahan parti dan menggunakan hal ini untuk mengukuhkan jawatan masing-masing bertahun-tahun lamanya.
- 2) Satu puak yang sedar tentang banyak kesalahan-kesalahan, rasuah dan pengkhianatan-pengkhianatan dalam parti oleh anggota-anggota dan pemimpin-pemimpin parti itu sendiri tetapi berdiam diri kerana takut, tak mahu ambil endah atau sengaja dibiarkan untuk digunakan kesalahan-kesalahan ini pada suatu masa kelak. Mereka ini tidak mahu menyakiti orang-orang – mereka ini sama ada terlampau "liberalistic" ataupun "bureaucratic".
- 3) Dan mereka yang 'opportunist' – golongan yang lebih dasyat dari yang "liberalistic" atau "careerists" tadi.

Orang-orang yang 'lurus dan amanah dengan perjuangan parti' mestilah mengambil alih daripada mereka ini dan jangan diberi peluang kepada golongan-golongan yang tidak betul-betul cintakan kepada parti. Orang-orang yang sayangkan parti ialah mereka yang 'lurus', taat dan amanah dengan dirinya sendiri dan parti". Mereka inilah yang ahli-ahli UMNO mesti – sentiasa memilih dan meletakkan kepercayaan.

UMNO sekarang berada di ambang kemenangan di Kelantan – sambutan daripada rakyat agak bertambah baik dari satu hari ke satu hari dan telah banyak rakyat yang sedar bahawa Kelantan tidak akan maju di bawah kerajaan PAS. Peranan besar pemimpin-pemimpin UMNO sekarang ialah untuk memperhehatikan lagi sokongan kepada parti kita akan menyakinkan mereka – masa hadapan mereka hanya cemerlang di bawah pimpinan Perikatan.

Janganlah di saat yang harapan kita baik ini kita lalai dan tidak bekerja kuat. Sebaliknya harapan baik ini patut menjadi penawar atau tonik bagi orang-orang kita untuk bekerja lebih rajin lagi. Dan janganlah sekali-kali mulai takbur, sombong atau "agas" kata orang Kelantan. Bekerja dan bekerja dan cubalah seberapa yang boleh "menawan hati" seramai-ramai orang yang boleh – ini adalah masanya untuk *mencari* "persahabatan dan kawan" dan kerana masa berada disebelah kita, kita seringlah melawat ke kampung-kampung untuk memberi penerangan-penerangan dan mencari

sahabat dan penyokong – jangan hanya nanti hampir dengan musim pilihanraya sahaja baru hendak turun ke kampung-kampung.

Kerajaan Kelantan sekarang dalam keadaan yang susah, mereka tidak ada wang. Tak lama lagi mereka mesti *bangkrap* kerana hendak “gadai tanah”, tanah pun sudah habis digadaikan kepada kompeni-kompeni Cina ataupun dibahagi-bahagi sama sendiri antara pembesar-pembesar PAS.

Di jangka, pada akhir bulan Jun ini kerajaan PAS tidak akan ada wang untuk membayar gaji-gaji pegawai-pegawai kerajaan yang jumlahnya lebih RM700,000 satu bulan. Hutang-hutang lain, hutang-hutang kepada kontrektor-kontrektor hampir sampai ke tengkuk dan tidak lama lagi akan mencekek leher mereka. Janganlah kita berbuat apa-apa – PAS dan kerajaannya sekarang sedang mengikat tali ke lehernya sendiri.

Sepatutnya ketajaan Kelantan ini telah lama bangkrap, tetapi dahulu tiap-tiap kali Kelantan hendak bangkrap, Kerajaan Pusat tolong kerana kita mahu tunjukkan keadilan kita. Tetapi balasan mereka kepada keadilan kita ialah keji, fitnah dan cerca. Kita beri madu, PAS hulur hempedu yang pahit. Kerana perbuatan-perbuatannya yang keji inilah kita tidak akan memberi bantuan dan pertolongan lagi.

PAS dan kerajaan PAS membangkang Rang Undang-Undang Bahasa dalam Parlimen dan sekarang berkempen di kampung-kampung. Tetapi dua tiga hari yang leaps, Menteri Besar PAS telah berkata kerajaan PAS tidak akan membawa perkara Undang-Undang Bahasa itu ke mahkamah. Mereka tidak ada asas mendakwa kita, seperti juga mendakwa penubuhan Malaysia dahulu. Inilah caranya kerajaan PAS menghabiskan wang rakyat dan membuang masa. Sekarang kita pun kurang faham – kerajaan PAS sekarang mengikut Dato’ Asri menyokong Rang Undang-undang Bahasa, tetapi PAS membantahnya.

Jikalau ini hanya silap mata kerana hendak pinjam wang dengan Kerajaan Pusat, saya suka menyatakan secara terus terang, sokong atau tidak Kerajaan Pusat tidak akan meminjamkan wangnya kepada kerajaan PAS Kelantan lagi.

Kerajaan Kelantan semenjak beberapa tahun ini sentiasa berhutang dan ini sangat memalukan – sebuah kerajaan berhutang dengan bank-bank kecil di Kota Bharu ini.

Mengikut jawapan Dato’ Asri sendiri kepada satu jawapan dalam Majlis Mesyuarat Undang Negeri Kelantan minggu lepas, Kerajaan Kelantan sekarang berhutang sebanyak RM5 juta di bank-bank dengan bunga sebanyak $7\frac{1}{2}$ peratus tiap-tiap tahun dan kebanyakan wang ini belum dibayar lagi dan bunga telah dibayar RM500,000. Tanah hutan yang kaya raya di Hulu Kelantan yang

hampir 400,000 ekar itu digadaikan sangat murah dan semenjak digadaikan beberapa tahun – hampir 4 tahun – sekarang baru mendapat hasil kurang dari RM1 juta.

Kerajaan Kelantan berjanji hendak membantu murid-murid sekolah mangsa banjir dengan buku-buku, tetapi sampai sekarang – sudah 5 bulan selepas banjir, budak-budak masih menantikan bantuan itu. Mereka lewat kerana kerajaan Kelantan tidak ada wang.

Di negeri Perak kerja-kerja pemulihan mangsa-mangsa banjir dan bantuan buku-buku berjalan dengan baik kerana kerajaan mempunyai wang dan kerajaannya cekap.

Pada hari ini saya sukacita menghulurkan bantuan sebanyak RM5,000/- kepada UMNO Perhubungan untuk membeli buku-buku sekolah untuk diberi kepada kanak-kanak di daerah miskin, yang betul-betul teruk kerana banjir dan anak-anak yang betul-betul miskin.

Di merata-rata tempat di Kelantan, tanah sekarang sedang dikeluarkan secara sulit – pembahagian dijalankan dengan tidak terlebih dahulu meminta nasihat Pesuruhjaya Tanah Negeri dan apabila Pesuruhjaya itu membantah tentang perbuatan yang tidak tertib ini, kerajaan negeri kata “diam”. Dalam keadaan begini banyaklah tanah-tanah yang patut diberi kepada orang-orang miskin telah diberi kepada orang-orang lain. Beribu-ribu orang di Pasir Puteh, dalam kawasan Menteri Besar sendiri, yang telah membayar deposit tanah sekarang yang sedang dikembalikan dan tanah-tanah itu ditawarkan kepada orang-orang yang ‘berada’ kerana kerajaan sekarang sedang mencari wang sebanyak-banyak yang boleh. Inilah dia apa yang dipanggil oleh PAS keadilan. Tetapi begini pun dasyat kerajaan PAS melakukan kerja-kerja yang tak baiknya di Pasir Puteh, di Tanah Merah dan tempat-tempat lain-lain lagi, menghalau orang-orang dari tanah dan tempat hidup mereka bertahun-tahun, *masih* ada juga lagi orang-orang yang menyokong PAS ini.

Kalau pembahagian tanah-tanah ini hendak dilakukan dengan secara adil, orang-orang Kelantan hendaklah menyokong Perikatan.

Merdeka!

**ADDRESS BY Y.A.B. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT
THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE FAO FARM BROADCASTING
SEMINAR AT THE MARA AUDITORIUM
ON 15TH MAY 1967**

**Yang Berhormat Menteri-menteri,
Mr. Chairman,
Ladies & Gentlemen:**

I am very happy to be with you here this morning to declare this Seminar open.

We are living in a modern era of great development and progress, a modern era of mini-cars, mini-skirts and seminars and I should like to congratulate the sponsor of this Seminar not only for organising it, but also for focussing our attention and the attention of the nation on this subject of farm education which is of vital importance to the welfare and prosperity of our nation.

During the last 10 years since we achieved independence, we in Malaysia had progressed considerably, both in the industrial and agricultural sectors of our national economy. Therefore, in order to maintain this progress, it is necessary that we concentrate our efforts of stepping up the rate of development in both these fields.

In my view, successful dynamic industrial development must go hand in hand with the progressive agricultural industry. They must go together and they cannot be considered in isolation. Without a thriving rural population, and without the necessary increase in the demand for products and manufactured goods, the scope of industrial development must necessarily be restricted.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us look at the facts of our country. At present, approximately 30 per cent of our goods domestic products comes from agriculture and about 55 per cent of our working population are engaged in producing this gross domestic product. The majority of our agricultural workers are in fact small holders operating under conditions which still require considerable improvement. The Government is, therefore, determined to do everything possible to achieve this improvement.

Another important fact which I must stress today is, agricultural development must not consist of merely establishing the physical environment but it is also dependent upon the creation of a progressive and dynamic farming community. As we know, the problems associated with developing physical environments in the

rural area are being tackled systematically and therefore form an integral part of our First Malaysia Plan. Indeed, implementation of this aspect of our development has achieved great success and the changes in physical environments through-out the villages something which we all can be well proud of.

However, we must ensure that the development of human environment proceed at the same rate as physical development if we are to achieve our people, particularly our farmers and rural dwellers, a higher and a better standard of living. Economic studies have shown that investment in human beings will be more profitable than investment in physical structures. Therefore, with the increasing tempo of development, the need for evolving new methods and new techniques and of getting them transmitted to the people at the point of implementation is of major importance. Now, where is the point of implementation - it is the producer and the farmer who makes the decision at the farm level. Many of our farmers today have had limited opportunities for proper education and as they are who the people make the decision in the way in which they carry out their daily work, it is important that we provide them with facts relating to more advanced techniques in the way that can be readily understood and absorbed by them. Now, as most of you know, the lack of a proper education among the farmers has resulted in many cases in the low level of illiteracy. However, the lack of literacy does not necessarily reflect an absence of intelligence; and hence our objective must be to convey to them the advice they need in the way that can be readily understood and assimilated by them.

It is necessary also for us to instill in the minds of these farmers a new spirit - a desire for improvement and for a better higher standard of living. Our development plan which, so far, has been successfully implemented, has opened their eyes to the fact opportunities for advancement if only they are prepared to put in the equivalent efforts in their daily work and are prepared to learn and to adopt new techniques and new methods. They must be made to realize that in this age of scientific advancement, they cannot achieve the progress they desire without changing their old ways and adopting new ideas, new methods and new techniques.

It is also the policy of this Government to provide our farmers with land of economic size to enable them to earn sufficient income. Now, if to these holdings could be brought new methods and ideas and if these holdings could be linked together by sound marketing organisation as we are planning to do, then we will have rural homestead and rural economy based on very real and sound foundation.

In our efforts to instill new spirit in our farmers and to educate them with new methods and techniques, the spoken word can provide a more effective medium of communication than the written word. And, as my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives, has already pointed out, Radio and Television have a major role to play in the field of farmers' education. Now only have these media a role to play in adult education related to the farmers of today but they have also a role to play in our formal educational institutions which are producing the farmers of tomorrow. A start in this direction has already been made in the introduction of School Broadcast Programmes and it is the intention of the Government to intensify its efforts in this direction.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, one of the main limiting factors in achieving our educational targets both in respect of farmers and rural youths, is the scarcity of manpower for agricultural expansion work and formal teaching. Every effort is being made by the Government to compensate for this scarcity of manpower. That is why the introduction of radio programmes and close-circuit television has improved and it will effectively supplement our present efforts in this important aspect of our national development.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I hope therefore as the result of the deliberations in your Seminar, you will be able to produce new ideas suggesting ways and means as to how we may make the most effective use of these two important media, Radio and Television, for the benefit of our farmers, both young and old.

As we in Malaysia develop and progress, our farmers will continue to play an increasingly important role in our march to prosperity. This march to progress and prosperity will necessitate the widening of the base agricultural industry, both in terms of producing a wider range of high quality foodstuffs and also in increasing foreign exchange earnings. In order to increase our export foreign exchange earnings, we must reduce the amount of import of high valued foodstuff and also increase our earning through export of our farm products.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I know in order to achieve this target, we have a difficult and complex task to undertake; but however difficult and complex the task may be, it must not deter us and we must use all resources in our disposal to ensure that our farmers, both present and future, are equipped to play an important role as is required of them in the development of our economy and in the progress of our Nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to declare this Seminar open.

UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI KETIKA
MEMBENTANGKAN USUL BAGI MEMINDA PARLIMEN
(MEMBERS' REMUNERATION) ACT, 1960
PADA BULAN JUN 1967

Tuan Yang Di-Pertua,

Tujuan usul ini ialah untuk hendak membenarkan bayaran elaun perjalanan sebanyak \$150.00 sebulan kepada Ahli-ahli Parlimen, kecuali Menteri-menteri, Menteri-menteri Muda, Setiausaha-setiausaha Parlimen dan Setiausaha-setiausaha Politik, bagi menggantikan pas-pas keretapi yang diberi kepada mereka itu. Tujuan memberi pas-pas keretapi; ada 2 pas - 1 kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dan 1 kepada isteri atau orang yang berjalan di bawah arahan Ahli Yang Berhormat, ialah supaya membolehkan Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat, Ahli-ahli Parlimen menjalankan tugas-tugas mereka itu sebagai Ahli Parlimen.

Akan tetapi saya dapati bahawa Ahli-ahli Parlimen tidak begitu menggunakan pas-pas ini dan kebanyakan urusan-urusan sebagai Ahli Parlimen seperti menghadiri mesyuarat Pembangunan Luar Bandar dan majlis pembukaan rancangan-rancangan adalah dilaksanakan dengan menggunakan kenderaan, terutamanya motokar. Pada masa ini Ahli-ahli Parlimen tidak dibayar perbelanjaan akan perjalanan itu kerana Undang-undang Parlimen (Members' Remuneration) Act, 1960 hanya membolehkan Ahli-ahli Parlimen menuntut perbelanjaan kerana menghadiri mesyuarat Parlimen.

Oleh hal yang demikian adalah difikirkan munasabah jika pas-pas keretapi ini digantikan dengan elaun perjalanan sebanyak \$150/-sebulan. Adalah didapati bahawa perbelanjaan bagi kedua-duanya - pas keretapi dan perbelanjaan yang akan dikenakan bagi bayaran elaun perjalanan \$150/- sebulan - itu tidaklah begitu banyak bezanya. Jumlah elaun perjalanan yang akan dibayar ialah \$320,000 setahun dan 'saving' kerana menarik balik pas keretapi \$240,000. Tambahan hanya sebanyak \$80,000 setahun.

Elaun perjalanan tidaklah dibayar kepada Menteri-menteri, Menteri-menteri Muda, Setiausaha-setiausaha Parlimen dan Ahli-ahli Parlimen yang dilantik sebagai Setiausaha Parlimen. Oleh kerana itu mereka terus berhak mendapat 2 pas keretapi. Akan tetapi penggunaan pas keretapi ini adalah dihadkan bagi kegunaannya sendiri dan isterinya ataupun seseorang yang mengiringi Menteri atau Menteri Muda itu. Pas ini tidak boleh digunakan untuk seseorang

yang berjalan di bawah kebenaran Ahli Yang Berhormat seperti yang ada pada hari ini.

Berkenaan dengan soal perjalanan laut ataupun udara tidaklah ada pindaan.

Saya dengan sukacitanya mengemukakan usul ini.

Ada Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat yang telah membuat tuduhan bahawa ada sebahagian kecil pegawai-pegawai kerajaan yang tidak menyesuaikan diri dengan keadaan negara kita yang merdeka ini.

Saya suka menerangkan bahawa pegawai-pegawai perkhidmatan am kita telah menjalankan tugas-tugas mereka itu dengan sangat memuaskan hati seperti yang saya selalu sebutkan dalam 10 tahun kita mencapai Kemerdekaan. Sungguhpun demikian kita sedang mengambil langkah-langkah untuk hendak memperbaiki lagi kedudukan perkhidmatan am kita. Oleh itu jikalau ada satu atau dua orang pegawai yang tidak menjalankan tugasnya dengan memuaskan hati, janganlah dibabitkan semua perkhidmatan am. Saya harap jika ada perkara-perkara yang tidak diingini dilakukan oleh mana-mana pihak pegawai Kerajaan, saya harap dapat diberitahu kepada saya supaya kerajaan dapat mengambil tindakan.

Lawatan yang dibuat oleh pelancong-pelancong dan pembesar-pembesar negeri ke Masjid Negara: Ini satu perkara yang patut kita megahkan kerana masjid yang terbesar sekali adalah menunjukkan bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan sebenar-benarnya menjalankan usaha bagi meninggikan taraf mutu agama Islam kita yang maha suci.

Cadangan Jawapan untuk menjawab ucapan Y.B. Dato' Asri (Pasir Puteh)

Tuan Yang Di-Pertua, Ahli yang terhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah bercakap seperti biasa dengan panjang lebar tetapi agak luar biasa sedikit kerana ucapannya kali ini penuh sesak dengan perasaan. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu kali ini sangat emosional dan biasanya seseorang yang dalam keadaan begitu lupa pada kenyataan atau realiti.

Dalam ucapannya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah mendakwa bahawa kerjasama antara Kerajaan Pusat dengan Kerajaan Pas Negeri Kelantan yang dipimpinya adalah baik. Tetapi dalam nafas yang lain pula Ahli Yang Berhormat ini telah menuduh Kerajaan Pusat tidak bekerjasama dan mengakui pula Kerajaannya tidak bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat dalam masalah pelajaran Kelas Dewasa.

Apa sebenarnya berlaku ialah Kerajaan Kelantan di bawah pentadbiran Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh ini telah tidak bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat sungguhpun telah dibuat perjanjian di antara saya dengannya yang Kerajaan Pusat dan

Kerajaan Kelantan akan bekerjasama untuk menjayakan Rancangan-rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar di negeri Kelantan.

Selain daripada kelas-kelas Dewasa dan sungguhpun perundingan-perundingan telah dijalankan beberapa tahun yang lepas di antara Kerajaan Kelantan dengan pihak FLDA untuk membolehkan FLDA mengadakan rancangan-rancangan tanah di Kelantan tetapi hingga hari ini Kerajaan Pas telah mencari dalih-dalih untuk mengelakkan kerjasama dengan Lembaga kemajuan Tanah Persekutuan ini, sungguhpun Kerajaan Pas sedar dan Ahli Y.B. ini sendiri insaf yang rakyat Kelantan sangat dahagakan kepada tanah sehingga kebanyakan daripada mereka telah merantau ke negeri Pahang untuk mendapatkan tanah-tanah. Ini adalah kerana tanah-tanah yang subur di negeri Kelantan telahpun diberi kepada pengusaha-pengusaha yang besar dan dagang.

Banyak lagi contoh-contohnya yang Kerajaan Kelantan tidak memberikan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Pusat. Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat itu sendiri mengakui yang Kerajaan Kelantan tidak bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat dalam masalah Kelas Dewasa. Kerajaan Pas Kelantan tidak sama sekali memberikan kerjasamanya sungguhpun kelas-kelas dewasa ini bertujuan hendak memastikan buta huruf di kalangan orang-orang kampung. Kelas-kelas dewasa Agama Islam juga kita hendak adakan tetapi telah tidak dapat kerjasama Kerajaan Pas dan perbuatan ini adalah semata-mata kerana sentimen politik kalau tidak kerana politik kenapa kerjasama tidak boleh diberikan. Dalam perjanjian saya dengan Kerajaan lebih setahun yang lalu telah dipersetujui bahawa semua rancangan-rancangan di bawah Kementerian Luar Bandar yang diadakan di Kelantan Kerajaan Kelantan telah mengakui yang ia akan memberitahu rakyat yang rancangan-rancangan ini adalah hasil daripada wang yang datangnya dari Kerajaan Pusat, tetapi ini telah tidak ditunaikan oleh Kerajaan Pas Negeri Kelantan atas desakan partinya. Percubaan-percubaan telah dibuat oleh Kerajaan Pas untuk menahan pembinaan-pembinaan masjid-masjid di setengah-setengah tempat sungguhpun mereka berjanji perkara ini tidak akan dilakukan. Percubaan mengubah tempat-tempat pembinaan masjid-masjid telah juga dibuat. Perbelanjaan masjid yang telah diluluskan untuk kawasan yang telah cuba hendak dipindahkan ke kampung-kampung di mana diketahui banyak penyokong-penyokong Pas.

(Contoh: dari Pasir Tumboh ke Bachok – tetapi telah ditahan oleh Kementerian saya).

Perbuatan-perbuatan ini tidak menjamin kerjasama yang baik dan itulah sebabnya sekarang saya terpaksa mengubah dasar. Tetapi saya bersyukur kepada Tuhan dan menjunjung kasih kepada D.Y.M.M. Sultan Kelantan¹ kerana baginda telah bersetuju bagi

mengelakkan perkara-perkara yang tidak baik ini supaya rancangan-rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar di Kelantan, iaitu pembinaan sekolah-sekolah agama, masjid-masjid, surau-surau dan madrasah-madrasah dari pemberian wang Kerajaan Pusat akan disalurkan melalui Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan.

Hakikat ini dan persetujuan D.Y.M.M. Sultan Kelantan untuk menerima saluran bantuan pembinaan masjid-masjid dan sekolah-sekolah agama negeri Kelantan melalui Majlis Agama Islam *membuktikan* dengan jelasnya bahawa Kerajaan Kelantan telah gagal bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat, kalau tidak takkanlah pula, D.Y.M.M. Sultan Kelantan akan bersetuju saluran yang baru ini kalau sebenar-benarnya D.Y.M.M. Sultan yakin yang Kerajaan negeri memberikan kerjasama penuh mengenai rancangan-rancangan Pembangunan kepada Kerajaan Pusat. Satu contoh lagi ialah pemimpin-pemimpin tinggi Pas dalam Kerajaan Pas telah mengugut Guru-guru Agama Pondok dengan beberapa cara-cara – hendak meyeruh anak-anak murid-muridnya lari, dan cara-cara kotor yang lain jika setengah Guru-guru Pondok dan imam berani menerima bantuan-bantuan dari Kerajaan Pusat.

Ada Tok-tok Guru Pondok yang sanggup menerima bantuan tetapi terpaksa menarik balik kerana ugutan itu. Seorang Imam yang telah bersetuju menerima bantuan dari Kerajaan Pusat telah diganggu oleh Pemimpin Pas tetapi Imam yang telah sedar ini sangat berani dan tidak peduli.

Inilah setengah-setengahnya cara kotor Pas untuk mengagalkan usaha-usaha Kerajaan Pusat yang ia telahpun persetujuan! Mereka menahan kehendak-kehendak rakyat kerana kepentingan-kepentingan politik yang sempit.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah juga menuduh Kerajaan Pusat telah 'membekukan' rancangan jalanraya dari Pantai Barat ke Pantai Timur atau jalanraya yang lebih terkenal dengan nama East and West Highway, ini tidaklah benar kerana Kerajaan tidak membekukan rancangan itu. Yang sebenarnya rancangan itu masih ada tetapi pelaksanaannya tidak dapat dijalankan kerana Kerajaan Pusat sedang mencari wang untuk menjalankan projek ini.

Tetapi saya sukacita hendak mengembalikan ingatan Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat bahawa Kerajaan Kelantan telah menggadaikan hampir 400,00 ekar tanah yang paling subur yang paling kaya dan yang paling baik sekali di negeri Kelantan kepada sebuah syarikat cina asing iaitu Syarikat Timbermine Corporation, dan sebuah syarikat 'private'. Kerajaan Pas telah berbuat demikian semasa rakyat Kelantan laparkan tanah. Tetapi Kerajaan Kelantan di bawah pimpinan Ahli Yang Berhormat ini telah menggadaikan tanah-tanah

yang subur ini di Jajahan Ulu Kelantan di mana rancangan East-West Highway ini dijangkakan akan dibina!

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah menyatakan bahawa keengganan Kerajaan Pusat untuk memberi persetujuan kepada Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan untuk berhutang wang kepada bank-bank tempatan bagi menolong Kerajaan itu menghadapi kesulitan kewangan mungkin akan melibatkan krisis Perlembagaan yang baharu di antara Kerajaan Kelantan dengan Kerajaan Pusat. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah mengingatkan bahawa Kerajaan Kelantan masih mendakwa Kerajaan Pusat kerana pembentukan Malaysia. Ahli Yang Berhormat ini seolah-olahnya memberi amaran yang Kerajaan Kelantan akan mendakwa Kerajaan Pusat mengenai keengganan ini. Keengganan Kerajaan Pusat memberi jaminan kepada bank-bank bukanlah kerana sentimen politik seperti yang dituduh oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh itu, kalaulah betul kerana sentimen-sentimen politik takkanlah pula Kerajaan Pusat telah dua kali bersetuju memberi jaminan itu pada masa-masa yang sudah. Pada masa itu, dengan pertolongan Kerajaan Pusat, saya berharap Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan akan membaiki pentadbirannya dan pemimpin-pemimpinnya akan bersikap bertanggungjawab dan mencari usaha-usaha untuk mengatasi kesulitan kewangan ini. Tetapi nampaknya, harapan itu salah. Oleh kerana mereka telah mentadbirkan Negeri Kelantan dengan kurang tanggungjawab dan kurang cermat maka Kerajaan Pusat tidak mahu lagi menjaminkan Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan berhutang wang daripada bank-bank tempatan.

Saya berharap Kerajaan Pas akan menggunakan segala kebijaksanaannya untuk membetulkan pentadbiran negerinya supaya Kelantan tidak sentiasa menempuhi kesulitan-kesulitan wang; kesulitan yang sedang ditempuhinya sekarang ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu juga telah merayu supaya kerjasama di antara Kerajaan Kelantan dengan Kerajaan Pusat akan dapat dipulihkan semula. Rayuan bagi pemulihan ini memberi dalil yang Kerajaan Pusat telahpun dan sentiasa memberikan kerjasamanya kepada Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan, barangkali, hanya akhir-akhir ini Kerajaan Pusat enggan sedikit, itupun adalah kerana yang *memulakan memburuk-burukkan kerjasama* di antara Kerajaan Pusat dengan Kerajaan Negeri ialah Kerajaan Pas Kelantan sendiri disebabkan takut ataupun kerana tamak kepada faedah-faedah politik dan sebab itu segala usaha mesti dijalankan untuk mematahkan kerja-kerja dan usaha-usaha Kementerian Luar Bandar untuk mendirikan masjid-masjid, surau-surau, pondok-pondok dan madrasah-madrasah di negeri Kelantan. Kerajaan Pas takut kepada Kelas Dewasa dan pembinaan-pembinaan masjid-masjid akan merosakkan pengaruhnya.

Inilah sebenarnya sebab mereka tidak mahu kerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat.

Dengan kesulitan-kesulitan yang dihadapi oleh Kerajaan Kelantan sekarang ini maka saya berharaplah rakyat negeri Kelantan akan sedar yang kesulitan-kesulitan ini adalah akibat permainan politik Pas yang sempit dan buas yang tidak bertanggungjawab itu sendiri dan kerana kurang pengalaman Kerajaan Pas menjalankan urusan-urusan pemerintahan dan pentadbiran.

Kerajaan Pusat sedia bekerjasama dengan syarat orang yang hendak ditolong dan bekerjasama itu hendak menunjukkan sikap yang ikhlas dan jujur. Kita telahpun menolong dan menghulurkan tangan persahabatan kita kepada Kerajaan Pas tetapi Kerajaan Pas tidak memberi kerjasamanya dan tangan persahabatan itu telahpun digigit. Kita tidak mahu tangan kita digigit dua kali.

SUGGESTED SPEECH FOR Y.A.B DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
TO DISTRICT OFFICERS, HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS,
MEMBERS OF STATE ASSEMBLY, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,
JOHORE, AT STATE OPERATIONS ROOM,
JOHORE ON 3RD JUNE 1967

Yang Berhormat Dato' Menteri Besar, Yang Berhormat Wakil-wakil Rakyat, Dato'-Dato', Tuan-tuan sekalian.

I am very happy to be here with you today in Johore, and I am grateful for this opportunity to talk to all of you gathered in this Dewan, because you are in fact the *main spring* of the Johore Government.

We have here, the Executive Council of the State, Members of the elected Government, and also the officers of government who are responsible for implementing the policy of the elected government, the Alliance government of Johore.

A arrived half an hour ago at Tengah Airstrip.

I never, if I can help it, travel in a plane with only *one* engine; I don't feel secure. The *more* engines the aeroplane has, the safer and more secure I feel, because the *more* the engines, the more the *thrust*, the *drive* and the power!

This principle should also apply to a country like ours which is a *Federation*, and if you compare it to an aeroplane, we have not just *one* engine to propel the policies of the government, policies of development and *policies* for *progress*; we have 14 engines, if you regard Federal Government as one engine and every State Government as a separate *boosting charge* with 14 engines helping us on the way to *progress*.

Even although an aeroplane may have several engines, that in itself does not guarantee that it can rise to great heights.

The important thing to achieve speed and power is that each and every engine must be perfectly tuned in unison, because if one engine is out of step with another, the chances are that the aeroplane may crash.

So it is, with this Federal form of government which we have adopted and practice in Malaysia.

As Malaysia flies on its way to progress and prosperity, we have got to make sure that all *our engines*, in other words, all our State governments are perfectly in tune with each other and the central engine, the Federal Government, and the purpose at his present time of my visits to each State is to first and foremost adjust the timing and

tuning so that with speed and efficiency and with dynamic power, we can get Malaysia into orbit, and reach the altitude of success higher even than our hopes.

If, therefore, Malaysia is *really going to progress*, we must not only streamline the Central Government, but also, ensure that each component part of our Federation, *each State Government* is also streamlined and *up-dated* to shoulder the task of tackling the problems which face us on the path of progress, and be able to give our people the best service within our ability.

After the ending of the emergency in 1960, when we had got rid of the threat of militant terrorist Communism in our country, I launched our Development Programme, you will remember that the first Directive on Development which is clearly stated in the first page of the Red Book, and I quote –

“From Plans – One Aim – One Policy –
One Plan – One Team – One Heart –
To Results”.

Now, I will be frank with you; I feel that in some States this policy of One Aim, One Team and One Heart is not really being correctly applied and I feel very strongly that unless each component part of government, whether it be Federal or State, does not work together as a team toward *our common cause*, we will fail!

Are we going fail?

I am determined that we in Malaysia *will* succeed in all our aims; but the first *secret of success* lies in you, both elected members of the Johore Government and members of the civil service.

That secret is, closer co-operation, closer loyalty to each other, closer loyalty to our policies, to our plans, and a concerted *determination* to work together in the common cause of implementing what we have set out to achieve.

In other words, to raise the standard of our *individual actions* above personality, above personal gain, and apply ourselves and our energies to the *unselfish* task of producing results and a progressive Malaysia.

To achieve results; to achieve the aim of development we have set ourselves; to reach the standard of progress and prosperity which we so dearly desire; Malaysia, will *not advance*, unless and until, both the elected members of government, and government's own officers, learn the lesson of *working together* towards the *common aim* and putting that aim *above* personal gain, *above* personality and *above* petty difficulties and differences which beset us from time to time!

This, Gentlemen, is my message today.

This is not only a message to Johore; it is a message to every State in the Federation, including my own State of Pahang, that the time has

come in our stage of National development where we have to focus *all our time* and *all our energy*, both mental and physical, on the "key principle" of greater productivity!

We have got to produce more; we have got to produce results and every unspent ounce of energy must go into this *common cause* and must not be wasted on efforts to achieve personal position or personal gain; our energies must be concentrated into team-works, each one of us, whatever our position in the strata of government, whether we be elected by the people or whether we be appointed by the Public Service Commission, must realise that we here, here and now, with *one task*, and one task only, or working together to achieve our national aims and to do the utmost for our people and for our country.

I do not want to define the defects in detail that exist in the running of any State Government because you already know what I am talking about.

But, let this be *a day of resolve*, and let us determine, to go back to my aeroplane, not only must the engine of the Federal Government run smoothly, but *also* the engine of every State Government must get into tune and *run in harmony* so that we can pick up speed and power to raise Malaysia to the standard of living and the standard of development which we have set out to achieve in our First Malaysia Development Plan.

Let me remind all of you, each individual person here today. "We are not rivals in power – we are *"partners in progress"*, and if we do not develop this partnership to the full – there will be *no* progress.

Our progress depends on the successful implementation of our present First Malaysia Development Plan.

This year, the ration of funds in Development is in the region of \$796 million. Out of this, we have a committed expenditure of \$110 million for Defence, Which may rise to \$130 million.

Let me explain first our Defence expenditure.

It is a necessary expenditure, rather like taking out an Insurance Policy which we trust will never be needed, but it is an "insurance" which we can never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of a catastrophe! It is an insurance for "security because without national security we have no hope of development.

The remaining fund available in our national budget this year are sufficient to implement the projects set out in the year 1967 part of our Five Year Plan.

Let me, however, for a moment go back to 1966.

As you know, in our main Development Plan, we have many *long term*, large projects such as *land schemes* like the Jengka Triangle; a massive \$200 million Project like the Kuala Muda Irrigation

Scheme and many other massive projects which, in the long term, will eventually bring economic prosperity to our people.

But the philosophy of Development Planning of the Alliance Government includes *not only* viable economic projects on a *large* scale, but also includes bringing to the door of every Kampong house, the *minor* but *necessary* needs to help improve the standard of living, and way of life, of every ordinary man in every kampong.

These needs are both economic, social and cultural, it may be a mosque, it may be a temple, it may be a road, bridge or well!

This means, that the philosophy of the Alliance Government is not only to have a Malaysia Development Plan, but *to have a Plan with a Plan*, and this is spelt out in the philosophy of our RED Book.

People ask me why the book is Red. Red stands not only for the colour Red, but is also means Rural Economic Development.

So, therefore, the Alliance Government does not only have a large basic plan, but also, in parallel with sound economic planning on a broad base, a plan for smaller and immediate projects in every kampong to fulfil the immediate needs of the rural people.

This brings me back to 1966!

Last year, on my visits to Johore, I approved no less than \$1.4 million to satisfy these minor important needs, and I am most sorry to say that although I approved this money on the spot without delay, something has gone wrong with the machinery of development administration in your State, because these projects were not implemented in 1966, and the money had been lying idle, unspent, and the people, our people, who were supposed to gain some prosperity from these minor projects have not done so because of some form of *blockage* in the system of administration of your State.

I hope that this will never happen again, and I hope that when I approve money, you, both members of the elected government and officers of the administration, will so galvanise the machinery of the development process, that plans for future development, both minor and major, will be put into action without *even one day's delay!*

The time has come in our present phase of development that the Alliance Government is determined, as it has always been, to produce immediate and quick results in all field of development.

As an elected government, we depend for the application of our policies, on officers who are already serving in either State or Federal government service, but if these officers cannot respond to the *call of action*, cannot act quickly to implement our plans, and the policy of our elected government, then *the time has come* for us to take more drastic measures and replace them with others who are more dynamic, and more active, and who will be able *to serve our people with more dedication and drive!*

Our future progress and future prosperity depend on the *continued abundant use of our natural resources*, and our greatest resources, apart from tin, iron ore and rubber, lies in the *development of our land*, and yet, the slowest and the most out-dated machine in our way of government, is the machinery of *land administration* which is still tainted with colonial methods.

Let me tell you a story.

The other day I visited a Land Office, and the flag on the flag staff was flying at half mast. I wondered who had died, and then I realised after I had inspected the Land Office, why, so appropriately the flag was flying at half mast. No particular V.I.P. had died, but everyone inside the Land Office was *half dead*, and it was a very apt symbol of flag outside a Land Office flying at half mast!

We have got to do something to speed up, to up-date, and to bring into line, in keeping with a progressive nation, the tempo and efficiency of work in our Land Officers, not only in the State of Johore, but in every State and in every District in the whole of Malaysia.

We have a tremendous amount of untapped natural resources in our land, but unless and until we speed up the tempo of Land administration, these resources are going to lie dormant and the progress of our country will be retarded.

Sometimes I get the impression that the Civil service, whether it be State or Federal, is regarded as a charitable organisation merely to supply the Pay and Pension to the officers serving in it.

This is not the spirit of the new Malaysia.

We have no time, neither can we afford it, to carry "passengers" on our path to progress.

The time has come to shed any out-dated colonial methods which persist in any part of our government structure, in any individual officer, who is not pulling his weight to implement the policies of our elected government; he must be removed from his post if he is found *unfit, and unable* to serve our people and to implement our development plans with the speed of action which we must *achieve, to survive*.

In the development of any country, development goes by phase, and we have passed through the Merdeka phase, and we have passed through the Emergency phase, have passed through the Confrontation phase, and at this very moment we are in the phase of stock-taking, and we have got to take *stock of ourselves* and every aspect of our development.

We have finished our "Merdeka Honeymoon" and we have got to face facts.

Expenditure on Defence has gone up and the price of rubber has gone down!

So, therefore, if we are to continue with a dynamic development programme, the key-note of development from today onwards, must have the main emphasis on *productivity*.

When I talk of productivity, I talk not only productivity in pioneer industries, in tin mines, in rubber estates, but I also talk of every single area of government administration, in government departments *everywhere*.

I have got a reputation everytime I open my mouth, I scold people, but this is *necessary if we are to progress*.

Although we are a modern and progressive nation, Land administration is still at what I call "Colonial stand-still".

Our new Land Code and our system of Land administration, the Torrens system, is as good as any other system that can be evolved by modern methods.

So, therefore, I continually ask what is wrong with our Land Administration System?

As I have just said, it is certainly not our system which is outdated, it is as modern as any system of Land administration can be.

It is the officers who are administering the system who are outdated, and we, as a progressive nation *cannot* tolerate any more *out-dated officers*, sitting with *out-dated* thoughts and *out-dated* attitudes.

I have given considerable thought to the inefficiency of our land administration and I have made a diagnosis on its defects.

Why are the public complaining all the time.

Why do I get inundated with petitions from land applicants waiting outside my house saying that they cannot get land? What is the reason that they cannot get even a reply to their land application?

As I have said, I am convinced that the system of land alienation is correct, and, in any case, one does not change horses in mid-stream, and we will not change the system, but, *what must be changed is the attitude of mind* of officers at all levels, who are responsible for land administration.

It breaks my heart to visit land offices, as I have recently been doing, and feel the death hand of colonialism still lurking in the desks, cup-boards and files of our land administration.

To see Collectors and Assistant Collectors sitting there with the same attitude, with the same old colonial Civil Service style, which I thought that we have already thrown overboard, and shed since Merdeka!

Sitting patiently outside the land officers are our people to whom the granting of a few acres of land is vital for their life and their livelihood, *and yet* to see these applications dealt with no sense of

urgency, no sense of human feeling and no attitude of dynamic efficiency, really breaks my heart.

Land administration is a State matter! As a Federal Minister I have no direct control!

But, what is the defect in our land administration today?

The defect, according to my diagnosis, is a lack of leadership.

Leadership, is not something confined to Cabinet, to the State Executive Council.

Leadership must permeate right down from Division I officers to the lowest Division of our civil service, and I would like to see, particularly in the case of State Secretaries, State Development Officers and District Officers, the ability, not so much to work themselves, but to make other people work; the ability to move around and find out what is *slowing up the machinery of government*.

More contact with the public; more sense of urgency in serving the common, ordinary man.

How often in any State, does the District Officer walk out from his office and talk to the applicants sitting outside on the benches at the Land Office and ask him his problem, and then push his requests with a definite sense of urgency, unless the Collector of Land Revenue shows a sense of urgency, neither the Assistant Collectors, Settlement Officer, or tracers will feel any urgency in approving land quickly.

Our people must be given a fair chance for a fair living, and land which they wish to have approved must be dealt with quickly; it is in most cases, a matter of life and death to them.

I want to see some new *life*, new *blood* and new energy infused into our land administration. This is a State responsibility.

This can only be achieved by leadership!

All Menteri-menteri Besar, State Secretaries, Commissioner of Lands and District Officers must so adjust themselves to a new attitude of leadership.

I have talked to you for quite a long time.

Talk, in itself, will not make Malaysia progress.

But, I sincerely hope, Gentlemen, that the message that I have tried to convey in my speech today, will give you a formula for action towards greater progress in the development administration of our country; we have got to develop to survive.

And now we must adjourn to the next item of my programme, which to me is the most important aspect of my visit to Johore, a briefing in the development Operations Room.

SPEECH BY THE Y.A.B. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE
TWENTIETH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE TECHNICAL
ASSOCIATION OF MALAYSIA ON 10TH JUNE 1967

Mr. President, Hon'ble Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy to be here with you tonight.

As you Mr. President have said, this is the fifth time, during the past ten years that I have been a guest at your annual dinner; however, there is a big difference tonight!

At the last four annual dinners I have attended, you only gave me food to eat, but tonight, with the advance of technology in your Association, you have gone very much further.

Not only have you given me food to eat, but also, in your very kind presentation of these bound volumes of your journals, you have also given me food for thought!

To read these volumes from time to time will for me be a pleasant change and relief from my usual *diet of reading* which at the moment seems to be a monotonous diet of Cabinet's papers, minutes on files and petitions.

I see that your Menu tonight is written in French, and, as usual in a French Menu, the best and sweetest food always comes last.

Let me, therefore, on the lines of your Menu, tell you what will be my daily reading Menu in the office.

These volumes you have given me tonight are my "Eclairs"!

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to say how pleasant it is to see your technical association thriving in Malaysia, and it is significant tonight that we here in Malaysia can celebrate in *peace and happiness* the advance of our technicians, whereas in other parts of the world, countries are *misusing their technical skill and knowledge* to fight each other, and to disturb the peace of the Universe.

Technical advance and technical knowledge is of little value to us unless we have the *atmosphere*, the *conditions* and the ingredients of peace within our own country, so that we can advance and use those skills for their own *rightful purpose*.

Last weekend, on my tour of Johore, I visited many new established factories in the industrial site at Tampoi, and this industrial site, combined with Petaling Jaya, the new industrial complex at Batu Tiga, and many other industrial sites included in our First Malaysia Plan, mark the advance of our country towards a

modern type of development which, hand in hand with development in our agricultural sector is what all of us so ardently desire.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, such development is not automatic.

The ingredients of industrial development lie in the *first essential* of political stability, the *second essential* of good government, and the *third essential* of producing enough technicians to enable our country to advance *technically*.

With unrest in so many other parts of the world, investors both foreign and local are looking towards Malaysia because of its *political stability* and its ideal conditions, for setting up factories and industries, and yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to say that, *still within our midst*, exist a certain element of people who, for selfish gains, are trying to do everything in their way to *retard our progress!*

The proof of this is the fact that in the last ten days, our efficient Police Riot Squads have had to be called out to deal with a hooligan-headed organisation that wish to disrupt the peace and prosperity of our nation.

There will be no advance in technology; there will be no advance in peaceful prosperity if action, and strong action, is not taken to suppress such destructive activities.

We will not have our development successes subverted by a *mischievous* minority, and I feel that it is the duty of every citizen; it is the duty of the Press and the duty of public opinion to so isolate these mischief makers, that their deeds will stand out clearly, as an act of *dishonour* and disloyalty to such a degree, that eventually there will be no such place in Malaysia for such people.

In other words, it is not entirely the duty of the Police and Riot Squads to suppress such anti-social activities; public opinion and the attitude of contempt by each and every loyal citizen towards them is an equally important weapon, and insecticide to kill these anti-social insects who molest the peace of Malaysia.

The foundation and prime purpose of our Malaysian Constitution is to safeguard ourselves against falling under the rule of dictators and hooligans, so that everything that we do, and achieve, will be done by constitutional and peaceful methods.

Malaysia, our country, already has a reputation throughout the world for being one of the most stable and progressive nation in this present restless and war-stricken world.

Anyone, therefore, who, by illegal and non-constitutional means tries to create civil disturbance, thus disrupting the peace and stability of our country, is guilty as a "traitor" to our prosperity, because, by their irresponsible actions, they are really stabbing Malaysia in the back; they are turning away from our shores, potential prosperity,

potential progress and potential investment in the industrial sector of our economy.

I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, are we going to allow an irresponsible minority to spoil future prospects and prosperity?

I am sure that all of you here tonight and all other loyal citizens of Malaysia, will support any strong measures that the Government take to teach these disloyal elements that in Malaysia, "*un-constitutional*" and irresponsible methods do not, and will never pay democratic or development dividends.

Talking of development dividends, as you know, on the 31st of August, we will not only celebrate Malaysia Day, but we will also celebrate *ten* years of independence, which have been in fact the "*greatest development decade*" in the history of our country, and I would like to take this opportunity of congratulating all of you tonight who represent the technical skills of our country, for the great contribution that you have made to our development both in the rural and urban sectors of our economy.

The part played by the Technical College, of which most of you are graduates, has been a very *large* part, and a very *important part*, in the development *success* Malaysia has so far achieved.

Most of our Engineers at present working throughout the country who made a major contribution towards the construction of new roads, new drainage schemes, new water supplies, new bridges and the opening up of new land and new factories, and many other projects, are *former* graduates of our Technical College who after graduation, obtained further education and *higher* qualifications.

This brings me back, Mr. President, to my "Reading Menu", "Mint-Tea" or the "Per-min-tea-an" A' la President".

The request in your speech "that Government should urgently consider the recognition of the *standard* obtained by students completing professional courses at the Technical College."

I have *received* and *registered* your message. It will be included in our Cabinet Cocktail in the near future, and although tonight is not the correct time and place to make any formal statement, I can assure you that I and my Cabinet colleagues are fully aware of the changes you wish to be made including the *transition* of the present Technical College into an "*Institute of Technology*."

This, and many other matters affecting Technical Education is at present receiving our active consideration, and I hope that in the near future, my Government will produce the correct formula, which will not only *satisfy* the aspirations of *already qualified technicians*, but will also *satisfy*, all aspects of technical education, in order to supply *future development needs* of our country.

Our national needs in the field of technical education go further than an Institute of Technology. The University, in the faculty of Engineering, has already increased its intake from 70 to 100 engineering students per year.

But engineers in themselves are not enough. For every single qualifield engineer, we must have ready to work under him 4 to 5 technicians, and 20 to 25 trained craftsmen. Otherwise, we will be producing an *engineering* army of Generals with no troops for them to lead into the battle for development!

So, therefore, we have to produce more and more technically trained people at all levels from engineer to craftsman, and I am glad to say that under our new system of education already being implemented with our present secondary school programme, much greater emphasis than ever before, is being put on technical education.

As a modern aeroplane, fast gaining speed, breaks through the "sound barrier," I am glad to say tonight that Malaysia, our country, in this present decade of development, is gaining speed and fast breaking the "*technical barrier*" which retarded our progress in the past.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to thank you for the food you gave me to eat, and also these fine books, my *food for thought*, which will always remain in my office as a reminder of the good work that you, the technicians of our country, have contributed, and I know, will continue to contribute, to our development progress.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE
OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE FIRST SEMINAR OF RIDA & MARA
GRADUATES AT MAKTAB MARA, PETALING JAYA,
ON 14TH JUNE 1967**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy to be here this morning to officially declare open this first Seminar for RIDA and MARA graduates. During the last 9 months, I have been to this Maktab MARA 3 times. In September last year, I laid the foundation stone on the extension of this building, and then in April this year, I officially declares open this building and gave away prizes at the Graduation Ceremony. So you can see I have personally taken a great and keen interest in the progress of this Maktab MARA.

This Seminar that you are having this evening is the first of its kind to be held and I would like to congratulate the Chairman and members of the Organizing Committee for their far-sightedness in initiating this Seminar. This Seminar will give most valuable opportunities to graduates of RIDA and MARA College to evaluate the usefulness of their education and training received in the College and also to take stock of the progress that they have made – each and everyone of them has made in their varied experience in the wide and challenging field of commerce and industry. There is no doubt that this Seminar is of the utmost importance, and if you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, participants of this Seminar, do really make use of this opportunity of assessing the vocation and the training you had in this Maktab, and of exchanging your experience and knowledge in the field of commerce and industry, I have no doubt you will gain the greatest benefit in the time that you have spent at the Seminar.

I have always stated and I repeat it now, it is the Government's policy to provide the bumiputeras with greater opportunities in the field of commerce and industry. The problem, as in every field of endeavour, is human. The opportunities are there open to all citizens of this country, including the bumiputeras, to play their part in the commercial and industrial life of our country. But what the bumiputeras need is the spirit and the determination to go into commerce and industry and the knowledge and techniques in order to succeed in the very competitive and challenging world of commerce and industry. As I said, the opportunities are there, wide and open, and the Government will be prepared to give whatever assistance necessary to

bumiputeras to have their share in the economic life of the country. However, unless the bumiputeras have the determination and the knowledge and know-how, no amount of encouragement or assistance by the Government would be of any use. Therefore, we in the Government, look to you all, graduates of this Maktab, past, present and the future, to be the nucleus out of which will grow Malaysia directors and business executives for the bumiputeras. That is why I said in the implementation of this policy of giving greater opportunities for bumiputeras in the economic life of this country, this Maktab MARA has an important and vital part to play.

After all, what the Government can do in tackling the human problems of giving a greater share in the business life in the country for the bumiputeras is to give them the necessary training. Once the bumiputeras have been trained, they must be expected to stand on their own feet to meet the challenges and the competition in this field of commerce and industry. That is why it is of vital importance that you all who are pioneers in this respect, should from time to time take stock of the progress that you have made, come together to exchange your experiences, to learn from your past mistakes so that you can move forward with greater vigour, greater determination and with better knowledge and experience. There will be hundreds and thousands of others who will graduate from this College who will be looking towards you all for guidance, for example and for leadership and you will be expected to provide all these.

I have always stated, our country Malaysia, compared to many other developing countries, is rich in natural resources and rich in manpower. Both these must be fully exploited if we are to become a developed and progressive Nation. We must be prepared to adopt new methods, new techniques, and to follow up the advances in science and technology so that we will be able to adopt most up-to-date and techniques in the many fields of endeavour in our country. During the last ten years since we achieve independence, we have progressed much. Indeed, the last ten years will be regarded as a development decade which has no parallel in the history of our country. Our people of all races, particularly the have-nots, are enjoying a higher and better standard of living than they had ever enjoyed. We have expanded our social services and provided amenities in life throughout the country. In order to maintain the progress that we have achieved, and the services that are provided, it is necessary for us to increase productivity not only of our natural resources, but of individual – each one of use, whether we are civil servants, politicians, businessmen and ordinary villagers, must be prepared to work harder and produce more. Only by this way can we generate greater economic growth in our country. We have still vast resources of land which could be

developed; we have still vast resources of manpower which need training in the various skills, methods and techniques of achieving progress. In order to do all these, we need leadership. That is why we look forward to young men and women like you, who had the good fortune of being given necessary training, to provide that leadership. You must be prepared to show by your example, and by your character, the real and the right path of progress so that the many hundreds and thousands of our people who desire progress can look towards you all for that leadership and the guidance which they so badly needed.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE INSTITUTION
OF SURVEYORS AT THE LAKE CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR
ON 17TH JUNE 1967**

Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen;

I am indeed happy to be with you tonight and I would like to thank the President and the Committee very much indeed for their kind invitation for me to be present at this, your Institution's Sixth Annual Dinner.

Although tonight I have a concurrent engagement, I decided to be with you here because the interests and welfare of surveyors throughout the country and of your Institution have a special place in my heart, for no one knows more than I do the great part that the surveyors have played in the development of our country. When I launched the Rural Development Plan in 1961, it was the surveyors that I first made the appeal to re-double their efforts to clear the areas of land alienation and to speed up the Government Land Development Schemes throughout the country. You had responded to my call with devotion and complete loyalty. After a few years, it was found that the surveyors throughout the country were able to put their work up-to-date. It was a great achievement and this fact was not much known in the country. That is why, I take this opportunity tonight to make a special mention.

Your President was right when he said despite the fact that your profession is the second oldest profession in the world, you are not enjoying the social prestige and the glamour that members of some other professions enjoy. However, I will advise you not to worry very much about the glamour or publicity. I belong to a profession that is always in the glare of publicity, and I spend half of my time in trying to run from Office and the other half running for cover, i.e., to defend one's actions and activities. What is most important in life is not whether people know what you do but the knowledge and the satisfaction that you obtain in doing your best in your job.

I do not wish to contradict your statement that your profession is the second oldest in the world. However, I certainly know what is the oldest profession in the world and I know you all know also. So in a way, you are lucky to be the second oldest and not the oldest profession in the world. You are also lucky for not being one of the youngest professions in the world, certainly the newest in Malaysia to-

day. Some of you may not read the Utusan Melayu, but I will tell you what I read in the newspaper a week or so ago. There is today a group of educated Malay housewives in Kuala Lumpur who have banded themselves together to form an Association called 'The Taming of the Husbands Action Group' or 'Kumpulan Bertindak Mengawal Suami'. The name of the Association itself clearly indicates its objective. While I agree that some husbands need to be tamed, but a good husband like myself would certainly exclude my wife from being a member of this Group. Looking you all tonight, I have no doubt that your wives will also have no need to join this Association as you all seem to me to be a rather tamed group. If the wives belong to this action group, then clearly the husband will have to spend their time washing dishes while the wives visit the hair-dressers.

As I said, members of your profession – the land surveyors, the quantity surveyors and the general practice surveyors – have made a great contribution to the progress of our country and have played an important part in the implementation of our Development Plans. There is hardly any Development project in which you surveyors have no part to play. I am sure some of you here who had during the last 5 or 6 years spent your time on the ground and have now been promoted to senior posts in the Headquarters, can look back with satisfaction the part you had to play in the progress of our people and the development of our country.

The last ten years since we achieved independence have really been great and eventful years – a decade of solid progress and development. In two months' time, we shall be celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of our Merdeka. A decade is not a long time in the life of a nation, but during this decade, Malaya and now Malaysia, had achieved great progress in all fields – in economic development, agricultural production, education, health and social services and indeed in all fields of human activities. All these have been possible because of political stability which is the product of good government under the Alliance, and dedication and devotion shown by the members of the public service.

Everywhere we go in our country, whether in the town or village, or in the remotest hamlet, we can see changes. We can see the spirit and the wind of change. Our people of all races are responding to this change and are beginning to play their part in improving their own standard of living. Indeed, we have laid the foundation and the infrastructure of sound economic and social progress. Whatever the future may bring, we can look forward with confidence as we can look with back with satisfaction to our past achievements.

However, the next decade in the history of our young nation will certainly bring with it many problems and difficulties which must be

overcome. During the last two days, Parliament has been debating His Majesty's speech from the Throne. The gracious speech had made it clear that during the last ten years, we were able to achieve great economic and social progress while at the same time maintaining economic and financial stability. Now, due to many factors, the government and the country are facing financial difficulties. It is therefore necessary for us to exercise financial discipline to reduce unnecessary expenditure, to see that we do carry out projects which can bring greater revenue and larger income. In the implementation of this policy, the Government must look to the public service for full and complete co-operation. It is clear that if we want to maintain the progress that we have achieved and to enjoy the standard of living that we are now enjoying, we must not only tighten our belts but also exert greater efforts – efforts not only by industrialists, scientists, agriculturists and other, to increase productivity, but also by all of us, whatever our position in life may be. It is only by each and everyone of us to show our determination to work ever harder to increase output, can we expect to generate economic growth and income.

As I said, there have been great changes in the country and in the lives of our people since we achieved independence. These changes indicate quite clearly to all of us that in an independent country, the bounds of progress that we can achieve are limitless and the only limit is our personal efforts and energy to achieve this progress. Also, these changes provide a challenge to all of us that if we are to maintain these changes and progress that we have achieved, we must be prepared to work harder.

The aim of the Alliance Government which I always ask you all to support is to create opportunities for all our people of various races to bring them together. It is therefore necessary for us to help the less fortunate of our people so that they will have a proper place in our country. It is only when these inequalities and imbalances are remedied, can we have a happy and united people.

I have always stated that our country Malaysia is a rich country, rich in natural resources and rich in manpower. It is therefore our duty to make the best use of all these resources to train our people in new methods and techniques and to make the best use of the knowledge that science has provided. It is only by this way can we make the best use of our physical as well as human resources, to bring our people forward to greater development and greater prosperity.

These are the challenges facing all of us today – to improve public facilities and to create new and additional economic opportunities so that each Malaysian family can have a decent standard of living. We have the opportunity to assess the functions of Government in the task

before us. While I personally believe that the Government must take a leading part, which it is doing, in National and Rural Development, but to make the plans more successful, we also require capital investment and the help of private sector, of commerce and industry and greater resources of State Governments. Even with all these, complete success can only be guaranteed if there is initiative and good leadership of the local people. Let us commit our skills, thoughts, imaginations and powers to the fulfillment of these goals. Let us therefore seek task to fit our talents rather than pray our talents fit the duties entrusted to us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, once agains I thank you all very much for your attention and for inviting my wife and myself to this Dinner.

**UCAPAN Y.A.B. TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI
DI UPACARA PELANCARAN KEMPEN KESELAMATAN
JALANRAYA NEGARA DI STADIUM NEGARA,
KUALA LUMPUR PADA 21 JUN 1967**

Tuan Pengerusi,
Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama,
Yang-yang Terhormat,
Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian:

Saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Tuan Pengerusi Majlis Keselamatan Jalanraya Malaysia kerana sudi menjemput saya untuk merasmikan pelancaran kempen Keselamatan Jalanraya Negara pada hari ini.

Terlebih dahulu saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada Jawatankuasa Kempen Keselamatan Jalanraya Negara yang telah berusaha memberi tenaga masing-masing untuk melancarkan kempen ini. Dalam hal ini saya juga tidak ketinggalan memberi kepujian saya kepada Jawatankuasa Kecil yang menjalankan beberapa urusan untuk menjayakan kempen tersebut ini. Saya harap kempen ini akan disambut baik oleh orang-orang ramai sekalian terutama orang-orang yang menggunakan jalanraya iaitu pengguna-pengguna kereta dan orang-orang biasa yang lalu lintas jalanraya-jalanraya kita di semua tempat di Malaysia Barat.

Sebagaimana yang telah dimaklumkan oleh Tuan Pengerusi sebentar tadi, tujuan kempen ini ialah mengingatkan dan memberikan kesedaran kepada rakyat sekalian supaya sentiasa berwaspada untuk mengelakkan segala bahaya dan kemalangan dan selanjutnya juga supaya kita semua mematuhi peraturan-peraturan lalu lintas jalanraya. Untuk menjayakan tujuan ini, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian hendaklah memberikan kerjasama kepada pihak-pihak yang berkuasa sebagai menunjukkan teladan-teladan yang betul dan cara-cara yang baik apabila memandu kereta masing-masing atau apabila menggunakan jalanraya.

Semenjak negara kita Merdeka 10 tahun dahulu, Kerajaan telah memberi banyak kemudahan-kemudahan seperti membina sekolah-sekolah, rumah-rumah sakit, balai-balai raya dan rumah-rumah ibadat. Tidak ketinggalan juga Kerajaan telah membinakan beratus-ratus batu jalanraya-jalanraya di beberapa tempat sama ada di bandar mahupun di luar bandar. Ini adalah termasuk dalam rancangan pembangunan negara kita. Dengan pembinaan jalanraya-jalanraya ini

kita telah menyaksikan yang bilangan kereta-kereta makin bertambah dengan berlipat ganda dan perkara yang tidak kita ingini iaitu kemalangan jalanraya telah juga menjadi-jadi. Saya harap kebahagiaan hidup yang telah kita dicapai melalui kemerdekaan tidak membawa akibat yang buruk seperti kemalangan-kemalangan jalanraya kerana sesuatu kemalangan itu selalunya memberi penderitaan dan kesusahan kepada keluarga yang kehilangan penjaganya atau seseorang ahli keluarga yang dikasihi. Saya fikir kemalangan ini tidak akan berlaku jika kita menurut dan memerhati segala peraturan-peraturan lalu lintas yang disediakan oleh pihak-pihak yang bertanggungjawab.

Oleh yang demikian saya suka menyeru kepada orang ramai sekalian supaya selagi zaman pembangunan negara kita memberi faedah-faedah kemajuan, faedah-faedah ini hendaklah diamalkan dengan lebih memberi lebih kebahagiaan dan kegembiraan lagi kepada rakyat sekalian dan bukanlah supaya membinasakan kita sama sendiri yang terjadi dalam kemalangan-kemalangan jalanraya akibat kegunaan kereta-kereta tanpa menimbang rasa ataupun menghiraukan peraturan-peraturan lalu lintas.

Dalam kempen ini saya sukacita juga melihat bahawa pihak Kerajaan telah mendapat kerjasama yang baik daripada pihak badan-badan di luar Kerajaan yang memberi sumbangan tenaga dan wang ringgit untuk bersama-sama menjayakan kempen ini. Dengan pakatan ini maka terbukti juga bahawa badan-badan perniagaan dan sukarela di luar daripada Jabatan Kerajaan boleh memainkan peranan yang penting untuk kebahagiaan masyarakat. Saya berharap banyak lagi badan-badan sebagai yang saya dapati dalam kempen ini akan memberi sumbangan-sumbangan mereka untuk menjayakan kempen-kempen yang bercorak kebahagiaan dan keselamatan kepada masyarakat di negara ini.

Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan, saya tidak suka mengambil masa yang panjang lagi dalam ucapan ini. Sebagai menyudahi ucapan pembukaan saya ini eloklah saya ingatkan sekali lagi dengan cogan kata kempen ini iaitu "Keselamatan Jalan raya Terletak di Tangan Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan Sekalian". Saya juga suka menyeru kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian bahawa cogan kata ini patut menjadi panduan kepada pemandu-pemandu dan pengguna-pengguna jalanraya sekalian setiap masa.

Dengan sukacitanya saya merasmikan pelancaran kempen Keselamatan Jalanraya Negara bagi tahun ini.

OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE OIL PALM PROCESSING MILL AT JERANGAU, TRENGGANU ON 23 JUNE 1967

Yang Amat Berhormat Menteri Besar, Timbalan Pengerusi Lembaga Kemajuan, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan,

I am happy to be here today to open this, the very first oil palm mill that the F.L.D.A. has brought into operation.

This event marks, yet another milestone reached in the phased development and settlement of oil palm areas, and also a further step forward in our development programme.

As the Deputy Chairman has pointed out, this mill is the forerunner of many such mills that the F.L.D.A. is building, in order to provide the most efficient processing facilities for handling the crop of the small oil palm producers.

The oil that flows from the machinery of these mills will provide the economic life-blood of the small producers being settled on our land development schemes.

Just as the mills "press out" the oil from the fruit bunches, so my government is determined to "press on" with a vigorous programme of rural development of land settlement.

The integration of up-to-date husbandry techniques in planting with the latest processing techniques in the factory, will ensure that, not only is the maximum quantity of the crop produced, but also, that the quality of the final product is of the highest standard.

This reflects the fundamental change of approach that is taking place in the small producers' sector of the agricultural industry of our country.

The development of a dynamic rural sector must be based on progressive production, processing and marketing systems.

The Alliance government, through our agencies such as F.L.D.A. and M.A.R.A., will spare no effort in providing such systems so that our farmers of the future are able to avail themselves of the most modern of techniques.

However, to ensure success, the contribution by government must be matched by similar efforts on the part of the settlers involved.

In other words, the success or failure of any such land venture which is, in fact, a *joint venture* between the government and the farmers, depends on *both partners playing their full role*.

This mill is designed to reach an ultimate through-put of 28 tons of fresh fruit bunch per hour, and by 1976, 23,000 tons of oil will be produced by this factory each year. The extent to which these targets

are achieved will depend, to a large extent, *on the efficiency* with which the agricultural area is operated – this, in turn will be dependent on the combined efforts of the F.L.D.A. staff and you settlers.

The site work on the mill you see before you today, was commenced 18 months ago.

The planning and organisation required to reach this stage involved close team-work by a number of experts both from the public and private sectors of Malaysia and foreign countries.

Recent developments in the field of oil palm engineering indicate that in the near future an increasing proportion of the machinery components required in oil palm factories will be manufactured locally at lower cost than those that are currently imported.

Such development will both reduce capital expenditure and facilitate saving in foreign exchange.

Furthermore, they will provide a stimulus to the engineering interests of the industrial sector of our nation.

I wish to emphasise that this is but *another example* where progress in the agricultural sector can lead to development in the industrial sector.

I am pleased to find that this mill is being operated *entirely* by trained Malaysian engineers and technicians, and that settlers' sons are already being given practical training in a number of factory operations which will ultimately equip them for employment in a wide range of skilled occupations.

As you are aware, the development of the Jengka Triangle in Pahang is already under way, and within the next 10 years, approximately 100,000 acres will have been brought into agricultural production.

Five oil palm mills of even larger capacity than the one you see here today, will be required to process the fruit from the palm oil areas of Jengka, and approximately 10,000 settlers will be provided with a source of employment and income generating capacity far beyond that on which they currently exist.

The F.L.D.A. programme of development and settlement extends to all States in Western Malaysia that are willing to avail themselves of the opportunity for rural development that the Alliance government offers.

Indeed, you may think that the Jengka Triangle project is large, but, in fact, it accounts for approximately 1/3rd of the scheduled programme that the F.L.D.A. has as its provisional target during the next 10 years. The benefit from this form of rural development accrues to all levels of the nation.

The settlers concerned have their living standards raised to levels far above those that they were able to attain in the past.

The States in which this development takes place benefit considerably as a result of the increased level of economic activity generated through the provision of supplies and services required by these developed areas.

The nation as a whole benefits not only through *the revenue derived* from the exports of the agricultural produce of these areas, but through the "multiplier effect" that such an investment policy creates both at local and national level.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the mill I am opening today is yet another *symbol* of the progressive approach that the Alliance Government had taken towards effective rural development during the 10 years since Merdeka.

The State of Trengganu has availed itself of the opportunities offered by the Alliance Government, and my one regret today, is that your neighbouring State of Kelantan appears to be reluctant to follow suit and derive the benefits that evolve from this form of rural development.

The F.L.D.A. will continue to open up new areas throughout Malaysia, and by doing so, provide the solid framework from which a progressive and knowledgeable agricultural community will evolve.

This is a joint venture between the Government and the people who elected it; let us march on together, confident in the knowledge that as a result of our combined efforts, we shall achieve even higher levels of prosperity than those we enjoy today.

**SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE
ANNUAL INSTALLATION DINNER OF ROTARY CLUB,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 27TH JUNE 1967**

**Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan dan Tengku Ampuan Selangor,
Mr. Past President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
and Fellow Rotarians:**

I am indeed happy to be with you here tonight at this your Annual Installation Dinner and to have this privilege of replying on behalf of your so many distinguished guests. As your past President said, I was many years ago a Rotarian of this Kuala Lumpur Club and that you kindly promoted me to be an Honorary Rotarian. Since then, you had on several occasions up-graded me to be your 'honoured' guest.

The last time I was at your Annual Dinner was in 1962 when the past President was then Rotarian Vic Hutson, whom I described as a lonely bachelor, and the President-Elect was my good friend, Tan Sri Abdul Jamil, whom I described as a young old man and had enjoyed many years of married life. There was, therefore, a contrast between the past President and the President-Elect at that time. Although I did not have the courage of making comparisons between the merits of married and bachelorhood, and I do not wish to do so tonight for fear that I would suffer when I get home later this evening. However, Ladies and Gentlemen, your past President is a member of the medical profession and so is your new President. I am wondering why this Rotary Club should deem it necessary to have elected two doctors successively to make charge of its affairs. I see from your record and from what your past President has said, this Club had continued to make great progress and is certainly far from being sick. Perhaps you agree with the definition that 'a doctor is one who suffers from good health'.

Mr. President, you have so many distinguished guests here tonight, including ladies too, and I am not sure whether I am qualified to speak on their behalf. Certainly as a Federal Minister, I am under constitutional difficulties to speak on behalf of Their Royal Highnesses the Sultan and Tengku Ampuan. Although as Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, National & Rural Development, and Home Affairs, I have a lot to answer for, but it is not very often I have to answer to my wife. What is more tonight? I have to speak on behalf of all the ladies present. However, Mr. President, whatever

difficulties I may have in the discharge of my duty, I can assure you that all your guests tonight are most grateful to you and to the members of your Club for inviting us to this delightful dinner and this enjoyable evening.

I am very pleased to see that Rotary Clubs in Malaysia are really thriving and expanding and are rendering great services to our community and to our country. I am also pleased to see that your Club here have undertaken a number of projects in the service of the community in the Federal Capital and that you intend to enlarge the scope of your activities.

When I last spoke to you in 1962, I did make point that the spirit of Rotary, the aims and ideals in which it strives for, can make a tremendous contribution to our national development. I did say also that if the aims of Rotary could permeate through each and every aspect of the private sector of our national economy, they would do much towards producing the right spirit, the right attitude of mind and the right contribution to our task of national development and nation building. We need the aims and ideals of Rotary in every single industry, business house and indeed in every home in our country. When I said this, we had just launched our National and Rural Development Plan. Although that Plan was launched into orbit, it had not yet gone through the sound-barrier nor had it gathered enough momentum for speed. However, today we know that the Government's Development Plan has been a success and has produced results beyond the expectation of most of us. At that time, there were critics and doubters who thought that this Plan would, like Development Plans in some other countries, merely go into orbit and would not come to earth again and achieve its aims. But since that time, indeed the last 10 years since we achieved Independence, we have seen our country, Malaya, now Malaysia, moving forward steadily and progressively towards the attainment of the aims we set ourselves on ourselves on our first Merdeka Day. Merdeka to all of us has meant the beginning of bigger and better things, the foundation of further stability and security within our shores, the steady progress for a better way of life in both the urban and rural areas, the release of energy, enthusiasm and concentrated efforts on the task of nation building in which we have all joined in with unselfish and untiring efforts. All these things have amazed and brough praises from every free nation of the world today. We did not ask for praises. We only prayed for progress, but nevertheless, the praises that had been poured upon us are proof that we are steadily achieving, particularly in our Development Programme, the aim we set ourselves when we achieved Independence. A journey through our towns and through our villages is abundant with tangible results and proof of the progress we have

been achieving from day to day. We have been regarded as a model to other nations not only in the field of development, but for tolerance and for inter-racial harmony. We have proved to the world that people of different racial origin and of different beliefs, could live together in peace and harmony and we have proved, and in fact have progressed, that inter-mixture and co-operation of races gives us our strength and that therefore is an asset and not a liability. During these 10 years of independence, we have shown a spirit of national pride, determination and perseverance to move forward as a happy and progressive nation.

Nevertheless, what I said in 1962 to you is equally true today. The desirability of having the spirit, the aims and ideals of Rotary, permeating through the life of our community is far more urgent today than it has ever been before. During the last 10 years, as I said, we have achieved great progress; we have expanded our social services, education, health and other services, to a point where the Government can no longer continue to maintain these services, let alone increase them without increase of productivity. That is why I was impressed with what your new President had said that he had no plan for your Club. He felt that the time has come for stock-taking and self examination and consolidation. This is the same for our country. Soon we still be celebrating the tenth year of our Independence. Clearly the time has come for us to take stock of our position and to measure the progress we have so far achieved. By doing so, you will be able to plan for the future and meet the challenges that the next 10 years in the life of our nation may bring.

Clearly, the problem we have to meet for the next few years is the desirability of increasing productivity – both of our resources and manpower. I have always said that compared with some other countries, our country Malaysia is rich both in natural resources and in manpower. We have, therefore, to make use of these to the full in order to generate enough energy, wealth and skill to enable us to continue the momentum of challenge before us during the next 10 years as it was the challenge on the day we achieved Merdeka 10 years ago.

Before Independence 10 years ago, critics and doubters said we were not yet ready to govern ourselves and that independence probably would mean the beginning of the end of prosperity and stability in Malaya. But Ladies and Gentlemen, men are born to succeed, not to fail. It is seldom that we find how great our energy and resources until we are thrown upon them. Today, on the Tenth Anniversary of our Independence, we are again faced with the challenge; but I am confident that all of us, the Government and the people, are prepared to do our duty, to follow the spirit of Rotary – "Service above Self", and the leaders of our people, leaders in the

professions, captains of our commerce and industry, can get together with one theme and one heart, to harness the best brains and the best thinkers we have in our country. Clearly all these efforts will crystallize into a definite boosting charge for our economy and our economic development and will push our nation, whatever the problems may be in front of us, further on the road to progress and prosperity.

If, as I said, the principles of Rotary could be applied in this way towards harnessing the energy and the resources of our country into greater efforts and greater efficiency, then I feel that the Rotary movement will be rendering the greatest service to our nation.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, having enjoyed hospitality and having had such an excellent dinner, I would not wish to spoil the joy of the evening by standing too long before you. I was merely asked to reply on behalf of the guests, and once again, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, we your guest, thank you very much indeed for this delightful and enjoyable evening. I will now ask my fellow guest to be up standing and I would like to give Your Royal Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, a toast to the Kuala Lumpur Rotary Club.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT
THE OPENING OF MIC CONFERENCE AT SUNGAI SIPUT
ON 29TH JUNE 1967**

Like your President, who was recently conferred the title "Tun" by the King, Malaysians of Indian origin, have rendered great services to Malaysia. I would like to congratulate Tun Sambanthan and the Indian community he leads for their patriotism, services and contributions towards political stability, racial harmony and economic progress of this country. In true Alliance spirit, together with Tun Sambanthan, another top Alliance leader, Tan Siew Sin, was also made a Tun by the King. This means that the position of each Alliance partner has not been overlooked. And today, again, leaders of the UMNO, MCA and MIC are being honoured by MIC.

This manifests the understanding, mutual respect and trust that each partner/each race has for each other. The Alliance of UMNO, MCA and MIC, must remain for all time because it is obviously the wishes of the people of this country that the Bumiputra, Chinese and Indians should and must always remain together to safeguard our sovereignty and independence and to maintain and strengthen racial tolerance, peace and prosperity.

The MIC and in fact the Indians as a whole (except those in militant Trade Unions) have never caused the Government much trouble for which the Government is always thankful. I would like, on behalf of the Government, to publicly thank the Indians for their undivided support to the National Language Bill. There is not a single other major community which has given the Bill its undivided support. While the majority of Malays support it, there exists opposition to the Bill from one section of the Community. The same is true with the Chinese. Some support the Bill while others strongly oppose it. This is one distinction the Indians or the MIC can justly be proud of.

Malaysian will continue to be a "good place to live in" for everyone or even become a "better place" for all if the Indians will keep the MIC going; I know the Malays will always keep the UMNO going, and the MCA can hold the Chinese together. This is the only way ... the Alliance way. Only the Alliance can keep Malaysia going for the good of all Malaysian irrespective of race, creed, caste and colour.

Under the Alliance, Malaya and now Malaysia, had achieved great progress in all fields - in economic development, agriculture production, education, health, social services and in all fields of

human activities. All these have been made possible because of political stability which is the product of good government under the UMNO, MCA – MIC Alliance; the unfailing co-operation and patriotism of the people and the dedication and devotion shown by the members of the public services.

Everywhere we go in Malaysia, whether in the town or kampong, we can see changes affecting and benefitting all races. They are responding to the progress the Government has been able to give them and this material as well as mental change is providing them impetus for greater progress.

After almost ten years of Merdeka, we can feel and look back with satisfaction of our past achievements and with the sound economic and political foundation that we have laid, we can look forward to the next decade with confidence.. that we will even do better than during the departing decade – a decade of solid progress and development.

But what is our future going to be like? Let us not *recall* what we had done for all that we had done is done and appreciated! I would not like to bore you with the past which will soon be in the pages of history. Everyone has spoken about our achievements – ability to maintain parliamentary democracy, maintenance of racial harmony and understanding; political and financial stability; steady economic and social growth and progress; growth in literacy rate, better health and better food, etc.

Now that we have all these ... what must we strive to achieve now and in the next decade?

We must continue to attain and strengthen political stability and continue to gain economic growth. But how and what must be done to ensure the objectives are attained?

(More than 50% of our population today is under the age 21. We are a young nations of 10 years and young because more than half of its people are under 21. The future survival of Malaysia depends on its youths.)

Can we meet the rising expectations of the youth? They want rapid changes. Youth are not contented with full stomachs, they also need intellectual stimulus and satisfaction. Yes, we can! Give them ideals and vision.

That the Alliance wants a nation .. it is in the process of creating it .. where there will be freedom, equality, peace, justice and prosperity for all. That no one single race must try to dominate the others in any field. We want a society where the less fortunate of them are to be given help, the strong must help the weak, the clever must teach the less clever without regard to race or religion.

This is nation building, the first prerequisite of which in the cultivation of a common outlook, a Malaysian consciousness.

This is a gradual process. We cannot rush the various people who were brought up in separate compartments during the Colonial days towards integration. We must abide with time. But are we moving fast enough from the communal to national or common outlook? Are the major races in Malaysia gradually coming closer together?

Are the Chinese responding to the call to feel, think and become Malaysians? Are the Indians being Malaysianised and are the Malays really becoming less Malay in their outlook?

The Government is doing its part to bring the races together through the national education policy and other Government policies all of which are designed to diminish if not altogether abolish, the feeling of racial separateness. But are the people themselves doing anything to help bring this gradual change? I hope all the people are doing their bit to be consistent with the Government's efforts; otherwise, we will always have "nations" within this great nations of ours.

The nation we want and which we all are helping to create is 'this Malaysia which we can be justly and truly proud of - a country which all can live and share our happiness in brotherhood, a kingdom we can really be loyal to. We want a kingdom and a democracy of many races and creeds living in peace as a united family of Malaysian people. This nation cannot emerge and even if it does, it cannot become a really strong nation until all inequalities and imbalances are remedied and adjustments made. The Government must and will continue to create opportunities for all the people of various races to bring them together as Malaysians.

The process for a united nationhood would be faster if each community appreciates and understands each other's legitimate aspirations.

Just as Merdeka would mean almost nothing to the Malays if they could not share in the economic affluence and growth of the Nation. The non-Bumiputra must help them if they want the Bumiputra to understand their aspirations.

I call upon all races in this country to have an urgent sense of purpose, of great vigour and determination to meet the shifts and demands of a nationhood. They must now decide once and for all with moral and political courage whether they want to remain as Malaysian citizens or not, and as I am sure they all want to belong to Malaysia, they must inculcate a sense of belonging, a sense of ownership, a sense of national identity and a sense of pride to the King and Malaysia. By acquiring citizenship, it will not make one a good Malaysian when he is not prepared to carry out the duties and responsibility of a national

guarantees us, we must strive to safeguard these very same freedoms for posterity – so that our children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren can enjoy them too.

Many foreign visitors as well as Malaysians have asked me how is that the Alliance is so successful; how the Alliance could have lasted 12 years and now that even the Opposition has already said that we would easily win the next General Election?

What is the secret of the Alliance success?

A lot of people expect us to fail and some even wish us to break-up because of the strenuous competition and the complexity of a multi-racial society such as ours. But we did not, whereas many new developing countries with homogeneous societies have failed or are failing.

Our secret lies ... in the commonsense, pragmatism and humane qualities of all top leaders of the Alliance ... the Tunku, Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tun Sambanthan, myself and others. But above all, the real reason is that neither in Government now in the Party we ever take vote on any issue. We always strive for consensus among the Ministers and Party leaders. We don't even vote in the Cabinet. Once we start ruling this country, at our level by simple majority rules, then that is the day troubles will start. If we allow it, there will obviously be scramble for the number of Cabinet seats on racial line. As it is, even if the Malays are in the majority, one need not fear it because the Government does not work at the highest level by simple majority rules. And this is the real secret of Alliance success – hence complete agreement in Singapore Separation and the Language Bill.

SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
FOR THE SECOND SEMINAR ON DEVELOPMENT
FROM 22ND JUNE TO 30TH JUNE 1967

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first extend a very warm welcome to you, our distinguished guest who have come no less than 13 countries, from Africa, from the Middle East, and from Asia.

In fact, this gathering today looks like a *meeting in miniature* of the United Nations, and, although here today, we are not a meeting of the U.N. Security Council, we are, nevertheless, an international meeting, *concerned with security*, because the subject which you are going to deal with in this Seminar, *Development*, is in fact, the very *foundation of security*.

By getting together and exchanging views and ideas, and discussing how we can implement sound development planning, is a step forward towards greater *security*, because development, in its *true sense*, gives our people security for the future, security from poverty, security in relation to better health, education and a better way of life, and hence a higher standard of living.

These really are the aims of any nation's development!

Perhaps, I should explain why my government set up a centre for development studies, and decided to hold, from time to time, seminars on development, to which are invited distinguished participants from all countries, not only in this region of South-East Asia, but also from Africa and the Middle East.

Malaysia has been independent from colonial rule for the last 10 years, and during these 10 years, my government has tried its best, within its own capabilities, to use all our energies, both mental and physical, and to use all our resources, both natural and financial, towards developing Malaysia to the highest possible standard that we can achieve, so that our people will live a happy and contented life, with a higher standard of living than ever before, in a happier and more secure home, than they enjoyed in the past.

And we believe, that this strengthening of our economy, this increase in output of our energies, this raising of our standard of living is, apart from all the other benefits, is also an *investment* towards the security of our sovereignty as an independent nation; because the seeds of subversion *do not easily germinate* and *take root* in a nation which is going forward on the path of progress; the seeds of subversion,

particularly, when sown by Communists, *thrive on more barren ground* in a nation which is going backwards.

Therefore, having evolved our own planned development in Malaysia; having evolved our philosophy which motivated these plans; and having evolved our own techniques as to how we can translate our plans from paper into action, and from action into worthwhile economic projects, we thought that you, our friends, whether you come from Africa, or from Asia, would like, from time to time, to come here to Kuala Lumpur, and spend a few days discussing our mutual aims in the field of national economic development; exchange ideas and state clearly our problems, so that we here in Malaysia, can learn from your experience, and that, you, on the other hand, can see for yourselves, what we are trying to do; what we have done; and what we intend to do.

Therefore, by this very healthy, free and frank discussion in this Seminar on Development, our minds will be renewed, and refreshed, and the net result will be, *we hope*, that the 'soul' of development which lies deeply in all our hearts, will be stimulated and encouraged to more agile thought and greater effort towards the task we all have in common, that of developing our own country and pushing it along the path of progress.

Let us discuss and define this word 'progress', and how we are going to achieve it.

As I see, in my own mind, the whole process of progressing as a nation, falls into very clear categories.

Firstly, one must have a Plan, and the methods of making a sound national economic plan are well established, and there is, throughout the world, a tremendous amount of expertise available on economic planning. So, therefore, it is not difficult to devise a 5 Year or 6 Year Development Plan for a country, but, having made a Plan, based on facts, figures and economic projections, the *three questions* must be *asked and must be answered*.

Firstly, *funds* must be raised to finance projects; secondly, *techniques* must be evolved to ensure the day-to-day implementation of the development plan, and thirdly, perhaps, more important than funds, *emotions* must be *aroused and concentrated* to ensure that the maximum effort on everyone's part is so stimulated and channelled into one unanimous national effort in the direction of development.

How do we do this?

The answer to this question, I hope will be the focal point of this international forum on Development.

Let me put it this way; let us take the working of the human-body.

For a human-being to achieve results, whether it be the physical effort of winning a gold medal at the Olympics or the mental effort of obtaining an academic doctrate.

Such effort requires, the secretion of 'Adrenaline' from the adrenal glands which give both mind and body a boosting charge which supplied the fuel, the fire and the power necessary for a perfect performance.

This is the law of nature, which no one can change or dispute.

Let us, therefore, examine this fundamental law of nature in relation to development, 'What is the adrenaline of development'.

This is a question, a stimulating question to which I think and hope that your Seminar could after ten days, perhaps, give a stimulating answer!

Let us be frank about this.

Our first speaker this morning, my dear friend Tan Sri Jamil, is a civil servant and the Head of our Civil Service in Malaysia.

I myself am a politician, but I only regard myself as a politician once in every five years when I stand on a platform making speeches to get votes under the democratic system in between elections.

I regard myself as a Statesman rather than a Politician.

My responsibility, and the responsibility of all my Cabinet colleagues, as a Statesman is to guide the state of the Nation on the shortest possible route to progress!

Leaders of any properly governed nation in the world, particularly, what we call the developing nations, are quite rightly, as I am, *impatient* for progress.

We have got to get things done and get them done *quickly*; and yet, the elected leaders of any country are not the real instrument of progress; the instrument of progress is really the Civil Service which is responsible for implementing our policies and directives.

In other words, in this democratic way of life, the politicians can be compared to surgeons operating in a hospital operating theatre. You can have the qualified surgeon in the world with the best degrees and best skills, but, nevertheless, he can make a complete hash and failure of an operation if his *scalpel* is rusty and blunt.

In the process of national development, the *scalpel* or the knife which cuts the path of progress is the Civil Service which must support and carry out the policy of an elected government.

How, therefore, – *and this is the question before your Seminar* – can we devise new ideas, new thinking, and new methods to ensure that the machinery for development becomes an incisive, sharp stainless steel instrument to *cut through* differences, difficulties and delays?

Our development and progress cannot be cheaply purchased; and their price must be found in what we *all forego* as well as what we all must pay!

This means that not only must we evolve and maintain a sound system of development implementation; we must also find ways and means of shedding old-fashioned, out-dated attitudes, and substitute an entirely new approach to tackle this great task of development implementation.

During the course of your stay here, I am glad to see from your programme, that you will witness three "briefings" in Development Operations Rooms at Federal, State and District levels.

We in Malaysia have evolved a system of using operation rooms in order to ensure that implementation of our development projects is kept up to schedule.

This system allows myself and my Cabinet colleagues to be kept fully informed of progress, and thus be in a position to pin-point and eradicate delays in projects.

At the same time, these "briefings" in Operations Rooms help continually to ensure that Heads of Departments are on top of their job, and also to ensure a higher standard of co-ordination between each department concerned with development.

However, the best system in the world can *fail* if it is not propelled by the right people with the right *attitudes* at all levels, and I am glad to see from your Seminar Schedule that emphasis has been laid on *Leadership!*

Leadership at the top layer of a development implementation machine is not enough; there must be leadership *right down the line* from Cabinet room to village hall, because as we develop, as more and more we use modern methods, modern knowledge and apply more technical, professional and scientific skills, our organisation for development will become larger and larger, and therefore, *more complex*.

Let me quote, therefore, the theory of Professor Parkinson, who has written more *laws* in the world than any serious-minded *lawyer*.

Parkinson's "*third law*" stated simply, is this: "Expansion means complexity, and complexity leads to decay."

His argument is that in the old days, going back to the 1900s, any business or organisation anywhere in the world was *so small* and compact that it was easy to manage and control, but now in this modern day and age, organisations tend to expand to such an extent, that they become so unmanageable and vast that control is lost, *decay sets in* and they begin to decline.

There is a message here for all of us who are concerned with the implementation of dynamic development, routine competence, the

day-to-day dealings with files, is not enough, if we are to develop to the maximum within the shortest space of time.

We have to infuse into the whole structure of our Civil Service concerned with development, a new attitude of innovation.

I will come later to the suggested remedy, but before I do so, let me quote further from Parkinson's law, because he says something which is very near my own heart. He suggests:-

"Visit the most remote outpost of the stupendic Empire, the experimental farm in Iceland or the research unit in Tasmania. Discover what the scientists are doing and then ask them the crucial question:

When were you last visited by a director of the firm?

If the answer is 'Last year' the situation is *bad*. If the answer is 'In 1958' the situation is worse. If the answer is 'Never' the situation is almost *beyond remedy*.

For while decay at the centre may take the form of fussy interference, this is consistent with a *neglect* of things more distant.

The running down of the central machine will be manifest first in the peripheral areas, the places to which central authority can barely extend".

It is at the farthest end of our development programme that the breakdown is most likely to occur.

So, therefore, these must be a do-centralisation from the centre, less concentration on paper and the office desk, and more concentration on tangible results on the ground, no matter how far remote that ground is from the central authority of development.

Leadership is the art of so-indicating a distant and inspiring goal as to make all else *seem trivial*; for example, to go back in history.

When the natural leadership has finished describing the Holy City, the External City, or the Glory of France or the Glory of the *Regiment*, all immediate privations, perils are to the great leaders 'followers', are thought irrelevant, and they were led forward to the *main aim* as inspired by the words of their leadership.

And so it is, in my view, in the implementation of development.

Compare Leadership in industry, and leadership in the field of battle, to leadership in the field of development.

There is no difference. The *ingredients* are the same.

Take, for example, the head of a large motor industry on the eve of a merger with other companies.

He calls all his workers together and says:

"My boys, we must think big; if this deal goes through, we will be the biggest industry in the country".

Who, in the light of his enthusiasm, could have asked for a salary rise?

Who, on the assembly floor of his factory could have begun discussing a 30-hour week?

Who could complain, for that matter, if kept at the office all night?

This is the mood in which throughout the great battles in the history, men fought!

It is under an inspired leader that the soldier comes to regard his possible death as a mere incident. So it is with development. Development is a drama, is an exciting task which means more to a man's emotions, than it does to this pay packet, provided he is properly led and correctly orientated to realise the tremendous emotional satisfaction in taking part in this drama of development.

But you do not reach this high standard of enthusiastic leadership merely by routine competence. More is required.

What is required is that all down the line throughout the structure of our development machinery, we must throw up leaders at all levels who can inspire their followers to focus on the main aim of producing *real* results, thinking all the time, of the end in view.

Then we will be able to kill the trivialities, the petty battles on files, and all these other silly little difficulties which are the *death of development*, and which only arise by allowing wrong attitudes of mind to persist within the structure of any *government machine*.

Therefore, it is my view that to achieve dynamic development in the *shortest possible time*, this concept of leadership must permeate the whole structure, so that the eyes of all of us never lose sight of the main target we have set out to achieve, and do not wander and become side-tracked by petty *small-minded issues* which are bound to arise from day-to-day as we move forward in the direction of development; but if our purpose is strong, then we can all work with the same aim, and achieve results.

Finally, Gentlemen, to go back to the question I asked earlier in my speech, "What is the *Adrenaline of Development?*"

I personally think that it is leadership at all levels.

I understand that on the drug market, you can buy synthetic substitutes for human adrenaline from the Chemist's shop. Unfortunately, you cannot produce the "Adrenaline of Development" from test-tubes, but, perhaps, if your Seminar here in Kuala Lumpur can give enough thought to the matter, and after all, of you here, distinguished leaders on development from your own countries have come to Malaysia to put together your efforts in our human

laboratory, our development laboratory. Perhaps, after ten days discussion, you may be able to produce a formula that I myself and most other leaders of developing countries have been seeking, a formula to form and to inject a serum of development – the adrenaline of development leadership.

Thank you.