



UCAPAN-UCAPAN  
TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN  
1963

*Diterbitkan oleh*  
Arkib Negara Malaysia  
*dengan kerjasama*  
Jabatan Perdana Menteri

DICETAK DI JABATAN PERCETAKAN NEGARA OLEH  
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*"Bagaimana yang telah berulang-ulang kali saya sebutkan di mana-mana saya berucap berkenaan dengan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar, maka jikalau segala rancangan-rancangan itu hendak mendapat kejayaan yang penuh dan faedah yang besar mustahaklah bagi kedua-dua pihak rakyat bersama-sama berikhtiar dan berusaha melaksanakannya. Rakyat, khasnya penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar mestilah mengubah falsafah hidup, cara berfikir dan cara-cara perusahaan sendiri sekira-kira boleh sesuai dengan peredaran zaman dan keadaan zaman pembangunan ini".*

Tun Abdul Razak

*Di pembukaan Kursus Latihan Ugama yang pertama bagi Rancangan Pelajaran Ugama dalam Rancangan Pelajaran Dewasa di Bilik Gerakan Negara pada 31hb Mac, 1963.*



## PENDAHULUAN

Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak sentiasa dalam kenangan rakyat Malaysia. Sebagai mengenang jasanya yang besar terhadap negara, Arkib Negara Malaysia telah mengambil inisiatif untuk menerbitkan ucapan-ucapan beliau secara bersiri, di samping menyimpan kekal ucapan-ucapan yang asal. Jilid ini menerbitkan ucapan-ucapan Allahyarham Tun dalam tahun 1963 semasa beliau memegang jawatan Timbalan Perdana Menteri merangkap Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar dan juga Menteri Pertahanan.

Selaku Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar matlamat utama Allahyarham Tun ialah untuk memberi imbalan ekonomi yang sewajarnya kepada penduduk-penduduk luar bandar. Ini dapat dilihat dalam pelancaran kedua Rancangan Lima Tahun Pembangunan Negara dalam tahun 1963. Dalam rancangan ini projek utama ialah pembinaan jalanraya ke kawasan-kawasan luar bandar. Allahyarham Tun sering menyatakan dalam ucapan-ucapannya bahawa jalanraya merupakan nadi penggerak ekonomi kawasan luar bandar. Di samping itu juga kerajaan telah menjalankan sebanyak lima puluh sekim rancangan tanah yang berjumlah 4,000 ekar tiap-tiap satu sekim untuk menampung empat ratus keluarga. Seluas 200,000 ekar kawasan baru di Pahang telah dibuka untuk rakyat yang tidak mempunyai tanah. Cita-cita Allahyarham Tun ialah hendak melihat penduduk luar bandar menikmati apa yang dinikmati oleh penduduk di bandar. Rancangan ini disempurnakan lagi oleh rancangan pelajaran dewasa bagi orang-orang dewasa yang buta huruf untuk meninggikan taraf pemikiran mereka.

Tahun 1963 merupakan tahun terbentuknya Malaysia yang digabungkan oleh Semenanjung Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak. Walaupun Singapura menggabungkan Malaysia dalam jangka masa yang singkat Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak sering menekankan peri pentingnya ujud kerjasama dari segi politik, ekonomi dan sosial. Sebagai Timbalan Perdana Menteri beliau amat mengharapkan agar adanya persefahaman antara negara-negara di Asia Tenggara supaya ianya menjadi kawasan aman. Persidangan

Menteri-menteri Luar di Manila pada bulan Jun tahun 1963 disifatkan oleh Allahyarham Tun sebagai "momentous and historic event" bagi Asia Tenggara di mana termetrinya Perjanjian Kerjasama antara negara-negara anggota.

Pelancaran Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan buat kali keempat telah juga dirasmikan oleh Allahyarham Tun dalam tahun 1963 sebagai langkah memesatkan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan di negara ini. Matlamat penting ialah untuk mencipta suatu bahasa yang kuat dan dapat mencerminkan taat setia rakyat terhadap negara. Hasrat ini sedang giat dilancarkan hingga hari ini sama ada di sekolah-sekolah atau di Institusi pelajaran tinggi di Malaysia.

Sepanjang tahun 1963 Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak telah banyak menabur bakti terhadap rakyat. Seringkali dalam ucapan-ucapan beliau mengingatkan rakyat supaya bekerja keras untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan kemajuan yang dijalankan oleh kerajaan. Beliau menyatakan walaupun berjuta-juta wang dibelanjakan, tanpa sokongan rakyat ia tidak akan menghasilkan apa-apa. Beliau percaya bahawa:

"The tangible results in this world are only achieved by those who have the energy and the determination to convert emotion into motion".

*21hb Ogos, 1979.*

## **PENJELASAN**

### **Indeks**

Ucapan-ucapan yang terdapat di dalam penerbitan ini adalah diterbitkan di dalam bahasa asalnya. Indeks untuk ucapan-ucapan ini disediakan mengikut bahasa ucapan asalnya, iaitu indeks di dalam Bahasa Malaysia untuk ucapan dalam Bahasa Malaysia dan indeks dalam Bahasa Inggeris untuk ucapan dalam Bahasa Inggeris.

### **Nombor Klasifikasi**

Di tiap-tiap ucapan diberikan satu nombor klasifikasi misalnya, TR 1:1:63. 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.
CICT .. ..	Commission on International Commodity Trade
ECAFE .. ..	Economic Commission of Asia and Far East.
EEC .. ..	European Economic Community.
EPF .. ..	Employees' Provident Fund.
GNP .. ..	Gross National Product.
JMN .. ..	Johan Mangku Negara.
JP .. ..	Jaksa Pendamai.
PKI .. ..	Parti Komunis Indonesia.
PWD .. ..	Public Works Department.
RIDA .. ..	Rural Industrial Development Authority.
RMAF .. ..	Royal Malayan Air Force.
SMS .. ..	Setia Mahkota Selangor.
UK .. ..	United Kingdom.
UN .. ..	United Nations.
USA .. ..	United States of America.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
MERANGKAP MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN  
LUAR BANDAR TATKALA MERASMIKAN  
MESYUARAT MAJLIS PUSAT PERKUMPU-  
LAN PEREMPUAN PERSEKUTUAN TANAH  
MELAYU KALI YANG KETIGA DI IBU  
PEJABAT PERKUMPULAN PEREMPUAN  
PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU, PETA-  
LING JAYA, SELANGOR PADA 11HB  
JANUARI, 1963

Puan Yang Di Pertua Y.B. Datin Fatimah binti Haji Hashim, P.M.N.  
dan puan-puan yang hadir,

Saya ucapkan banyak terima kasih di atas kehormatan yang telah  
diberi oleh Puan Yang Di Pertua dan Jawatankuasa Perkumpulan  
Perempuan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kerana menjemput saya  
hadir untuk membuka Persidangan pada pagi ini.

Apabila saya menerima jemputan ini sungguh pun saya merasa  
amat sukacita oleh sebab dapat peluang berjumpa dengan wakil-  
wakil Persidangan Perkumpulan Perempuan seluruh Persekutuan  
Tanah Melayu, akan tetapi saya berasa kluatir sedikit sama ada  
saya ada mempunyai cukup semangat dan keberanian berdiri di  
hadapan Perkumpulan puan-puan yang ramai pada pagi ini.

Saya berani berterus terang berkata bahawa saya terpaksa  
menegohkan semangat saya berdiri di sini pada pagi ini, kerana saya  
hanyalah biasa menghadapi seorang perempuan sahaja iaitu isteri  
saya sendiri. Sungguh pun begitu saya tidak pernah menang dalam  
apa perbahasan mereka, oleh itu saya percaya puan-puan sekalian  
bersetuju bahawa seseorang berkehendakkan semangat dan ke-  
beranian yang sepenuhnya jika hendak menghadapi perkumpulan  
daripada pihak kaum Ibu yang ramai semacam ini terutama sekali  
jika difikirkan yang puan-puan ada beribu-ribu lagi kaum wanita  
di seluruh Tanah Melayu ini.

Seperti puan-puan sekalian maklum, kita di Tanah Melayu sekarang ini berada dalam zaman pembangunan negara iaitu zaman mengisi kemerdekaan yang telah dicapai semenjak enam tahun lamanya. Pihak Kerajaan Perikatan sentiasa menjunjung tinggi kepada pekerjaan-pekerjaan dan bahagian-bahagian yang boleh diambil oleh pihak kaum wanita di dalam pekerjaan membina negara kita ini. Oleh itu saya suka mengambil peluang mengucapkan setinggi terima kasih dan tahniah kepada puan-puan sekalian seterusnya pada semua kaum wanita di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di atas kerjasama pertolongan yang telah diberi untuk melaksanakan Rancangan Kemajuan Kebangsaan kita. Puan-puan sekalian, saya merasa faham bahawa kuasa yang ada di dalam tangan puan-puan sangatlah besar kuasanya jika dibandingkan dengan kuasa tentera-tentera negara kita dan jikalau puan-puan gunakan kuasa yang ada di dalam tangan puan-puan itu untuk kemajuan dan kebahagiaan negara kita, nescaya banyak faedah-faedah yang didapati oleh bangsa negara kita. Di dalam negara kita yang muda ini yang sedang menumpu sepenuh tenaganya menuju ke arah kemajuan dan kemakmuran mustahaklah kaum wanita dan kaum lelaki itu mara kehadapan bersama-sama. Oleh itu saya berseru dan berharap kepada puan-puan sekalian melalui Persekutuan Perkumpulan Perempuan ini dapat mengambil bahagian yang penting di dalam Rancangan Kemajuan kita bagi memperbaiki iktisad dan masyarakat bangsa kita.

Di dalam Rancangan Kemajuan Negara Kerajaan Persekutuan adalah berazam hendak memberi kemudahan-kemudahan kepada rakyat negeri ini terutama mereka-mereka yang duduk di luar bandar di kampung-kampung baik kampung baharu atau pun kampung yang lama supaya dapat keadaan di kampung-kampung itu menjadi sempurna seperti keadaan di bandar-bandar. Kerajaan juga berazam hendak menolong rakyat di kampung-kampung membesar dan meluas mata pencarian masing-masing, supaya tiap-tiap orang itu mempunyai kehidupan yang sempurna dan mempunyai kehidupan yang sesuai dengan keadaan kita sebagai negara yang merdeka. Semenjak tahun 1960 dalam Rancangan Kemajuan Luar Bandar, Kerajaan telah dapat membawa kemudahan-kemudahan seperti jalan-jalan raya, tempat-tempat berubat, bekalan air, masjid, surau-surau, balai-raya, sekolah-sekolah dan

sebagainya. Kerajaan akan meneruskan rancangan ini supaya segala kehendak dan hasrat rakyat itu dapat dilaksanakan dan lagi Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah melalui beberapa pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan mengadakan rancangan-rancangan untuk menolong rakyat di kampung-kampung bagi mendapat pengajaran lebih luas dan lebih sempurna daripada sekarang ini. Rancangan ini dinamakan Tingkatan Yang Kedua Rancangan Luar Bandar, iaitu sambil Kerajaan mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan yang saya sebutkan tadi. Saya berseru kepada rakyat supaya bersama-sama mengambil bahagian di dalam Rancangan Kemajuan untuk faedah mereka sendiri dan saya berseru kepada rakyat supaya mempunyai satu semangat baharu, semangat merdeka, semangat berani berjuang untuk kemajuan diri, bangsa dan negara dalam lapangan ini. Oleh itu dalam Tingkatan Yang Kedua Rancangan Luar Bandar inilah puan-puan sekalian ada mempunyai peranan yang penting bukan sahaja bagi memajukan dan mendesak suami-suami dan anak masing-masing untuk bekerja dengan lebih kuat, bahkan puan-puan sendiri mempunyai tanggungjawab bagi menolong kaum sejenis supaya dapat kita mengambil bahagian yang sepenuhnya Rancangan Kemajuan Negara kita ini.

Rancangan Kemajuan Negara ini tidak akan mendapat kejayaan yang sepenuhnya melainkan bersama-sama dapat diadakan di kampung-kampung cara kediaman yang lebih sempurna lebih bersih daripada hari ini di dalam kebersihan rumahtangga kaum wanitalah mempunyai peranan yang pertama sekali. Kerajaan berazam bersama-sama dengan Rancangan Pelajaran Dewasa hendak mengadakan pelajaran rumahtangga pada masa ini. Adalah lebih daripada 1,000 kaum wanita mempunyai dan mempelajari kelas-kelas dewasa baik di peringkat rendah atau pun di peringkat menengah dan dalam bulan Mac tahun ini bilangan akan bertambah lebih separuh lagi kepada mereka-mereka ini, saya berharap dapat diberi latihan dalam hal rumahtangga cara membersihkan rumahtangga, cara memasak barang-barang makanan yang lebih berzat dan sebagainya. Saya berharap dan saya berseru kepada Persatuan Perkumpulan Perempuan supaya dapat memberi pertolongan dalam hal ini dan jikalau dipersetujui, saya suka menyerahkan tanggungjawab kepada Perkumpulan Perempuan bagi menjalankannya.

Dengan menjalankan kelas-kelas ini dapatlah puan-puan sekalian bukan sahaja ajaran kepada kaum wanita kita di kampung, bahkan saya berharap dapat menanam di hati mereka semangat kemajuan, semangat kerjasama dan tenaga supaya kaum ibu semua yang ada kuasa yang sangat besar dapat berdiri di samping kaum lelaki dengan tegap di dalam pembangunan negara kita. Sukacita saya memberitahu bahawa pegawai-pegawai Kementerian saya bersama-sama pegawai-pegawai Persatuan puan telah berunding di atas hal ini dan saya harap satu aturan kerja dapat dipersetujui dan dijalankan dengan seberapa segera yang boleh. Tujuan pelajaran rumahtangga ini ialah pertama menggalakkan kaum wanita menunjukkan dan memelihara rumahtangga dalam keadaan yang bersih dan tenang. Yang kedua mengajar kaum wanita cara memasak yang lebih baik dan cara memasak makanan yang mempunyai zat yang tertentu. Yang ketiga mengajar kaum wanita kampung caranya membuat kain baju dan pakaian dan mempunyai semangat jimat cermat bukan sahaja jimat cermat dalam perbelanjaan bahkan juga jimat cermat dalam menggunakan masa yang keemasan yang memberi faedah kepada kaum wanita supaya dapat mereka itu menjadi teratur serta warganegara yang berguna. Di sini saya tak menyebutkan cara hendak menjaga dan mendidik suami masing-masing kerana saya fikir dalam lapangan ini puan-puan sekalian adalah mempunyai pengalaman yang tak payah saya sebut untuk menambahkan pengetahuan puan-puan.

Jika didapatkan persetujuan Persatuan mengambil bahagian dalam latihan rumahtangga ini, saya menunggu pihak Rancangan Kemajuan Pembangunan Luar Bandar dan pihak Kerajaan akan memberi sepenuh pertolongan di atas hal ini. Akan tetapi, saya berharap pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang diperbaiki dapat dijalankan dengan cara sukarela dan perbelanjaan bagi menjalan peranan-peranan untuk kelas-kelas itu dan mengadakan buku-buku jika mustahak. Persatuan yang akan mengambil bahagian dalam hal ini, begitu juga bagi orang-orang yang menjalankan latihan ini, sungguhpun tidak mendapat gaji, tetapi perbelanjaan berjalan kerana menunaikan kewajipan masing-masing akan ditimbang oleh pihak Kerajaan.

Pada fikiran saya, inilah lapangan yang baik sekali bagi Persatuan puan dan ahli-ahli mengambil bahagian yang sepenuhnya dan saya berharap pekerjaan-pekerjaan dapat diaturkan dengan sempurna,



supaya tiap-tiap suatu itu diperbuat dengan tertib dan mendapat kejayaan dengan sepenuhnya.

Di dalam Rancangan Kemajuan Luar Bandar kita telah ditubuh di kampung-kampung, Jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung. Jawatankuasa ini adalah dikehendaki menjalankan usaha-usaha dan tenaga untuk memperbaiki kampung sendiri dan untuk menjalankan perusahaan-perusahaan bagi faedah penduduk-penduduk kampung di peringkat ini. Saya berharap kepada kaum wanita dapat mengambil bahagian mereka itu yang sempurna, iaitu mengadakan usah-usaha dengan cara bersukarela bagi menjalankan apa juga pekerjaan ataupun perusahaan yang boleh memberi faedah kepada mereka sekalian, kepada rumahtangga dan kampung mereka itu. Penduduk di kampung-kampung baik kaum lelaki ataupun kaum wanita berkehendakkan didikan dan pimpinan yang jujur dan ikhlas dan di sinilah saya berharap kepada puan-puan sekalian akan memberi anjuran dan didikan yang saya sebutkan itu. Tujuan kita ialah satu sahaja untuk memperbaiki iktisad dan masyarakat rakyat di kampung-kampung. Kita hendak memperbaiki masyarakat bangsa kita bukan hendak mengadakan masyarakat. Tiap-tiap satu bangsa di dunia ini sudah ada mempunyai masyarakat masing-masing dan masyarakat yang ada pada kita hari ini, kita hendak memperbaiki supaya bersesuaian dengan keadaan zaman dan sesuai dengan kemajuan yang kita kehendaki dalam negeri yang merdeka ini. Kita berazam hendak menanamkan semangat atau jiwa merdeka kepada tiap-tiap orang penduduk negeri ini baik lelaki ataupun perempuan dengan semangat dan jiwa baharu. Saya percaya dan Kerajaan Perikatan percaya kita akan dapat membina di negara Asia ini satu bangsa dan satu negara yang aman makmor.

Saya ucapkan kepada puan-puan sekalian selamat bersidang dan berjaya di dalam semua pekerjaan yang akan dijalankan.



Tun Abdul Razak, nombor dua dari kiri, turut sama menyanyi dengan ahli-ahli Majlis Perkumpulan Perempuan sebelum merasmikan pembukaan Mesyuarat Perkumpulan tersebut di Ibu Pejabat Majlis Perkumpulan Perempuan di Petaling Jaya pada 11hb Januari, 1963.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE END OF BRIEFING ON GOVERNMENT SERVICE AT THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT OPERATION ROOM, JOHOR BAHRU,  
JOHORE ON 13TH JANUARY, 1963

Our task, whether we be Ministers, Elected Members of the Government, or Government Officers, is to strive, from day to day, to give the public and the people we serve the best Government and the best Service within our ability.

However, as we progress and advance in Development the aspects of Government become more varied, more technical, and more complex and it would be impossible for each one of us to become experts in every single function of Government.

In fact one could compare the science of Government nowadays to the science of medicine. The science of medicine has advanced so much in recent years that no Doctor can be a specialist in every disease and an expert in every cure but the Doctor's efficiency is dependent to a great extent in his basic and sound knowledge of the overall functioning of the human body. And it is because of his basic knowledge of anatomy and how the whole body works that he is able when we as patients go to a surgery to make a correct diagnosis of whatever our pain or disease may be.

And so it is with the duties of a District Officer, a Technical Officer or an Elected Member of the State or Federal Government. The more you know about every aspect of Government and Government Policy, the more general and basic knowledge you have of the overall system, machinery and policy of Government then the more easy it will be for you to carry out your duties efficiently and well.

You will remember when the National Development Programme was launched in Directive No. 1 we said:

"The complete machinery of Government will be geared into a singularity of purpose and action to achieve our aims."

This was no idle promise or a mere platitude on paper and in order to achieve this, in order to achieve complete co-ordination of every Government function, we set up a National Development Planning Committee, State Development Committees and District Development Committees.

This administrative machinery for Development throughout the country has worked very well and we must ensure that it continues to work efficiently and well. But like any other machine it needs constant overhaul and constant maintenance.

What we meant by this was that each and every Technical Officer, each and every Elected Member of the Government and each and every Administrative Officer must, in fact, work together and know what each other's Department and function is so that we do not waste time and energy on misunderstandings on departmental differences and on unnecessary paper arguments; so that at District level, at State level and at Federal level, we can from day to day, advance forward as a well co-ordinated Development Team, ensuring in our day-to-day task that the people in every Kampung and every village are getting our very best possible service and the best Development that we within our resources can in fact give them.

I have said it before and I repeat it again that the attitude that we must establish throughout every Government Department in the whole Country is the attitude that it does not matter who we are, it does not matter what we are, it does not matter where we are but, as part of this Government, the only thing that matters to the people of this Country is what we are doing and that we are doing it correctly and efficiently for the greatest benefit of the Rakyat.

From time to time, our National Development Programme has been criticised. It has been criticised in Parliament, criticised in the Press, criticised in the Campus of our University and criticised by those who are jealous of its success. We all know that there are always many paths leading to the same destination and there are many ways of achieving any aim.

In 1960 we have laid down our Policy and our Programme; set out Air and the way we would achieve it. We welcome criticism, and we are strong enough to take it but one thing for which I would appeal is that those who wish to be critical might attempt to be constructive and not make vague theoretical statements without the backing of fact and constructive suggestions.

Let me take a specific example. Rural Roads. For twelve years during the Emergency little or no Development took place in the rural areas and no roads were made except a few Emergency roads which were built specifically for the use of the Armed Forces.

Therefore, when our Rural Development Programme started, the greatest demand in every single District in every single Kampung was the demand for the construction of the roads which had been denied the people during the period we were fighting active communism. A Rural Road Plan was then worked out and the Public Works Department, with tremendous energy and devotion to duty went ahead and constructed these roads transforming the dreams of the people of many, many remote Kampung into actual realities.

And now, throughout the Country, in Kampung where before Merdeka, it was impossible for the essential government services such as Doctors, midwives, veterinary officers, agriculture officers, information services, etc., etc. to reach these inaccessible Kampung without considerable difficulty and delay, now thanks to the success of our Rural Development Programme many, many Kampung have now been given suitable access and are enjoying the services of a modern Government.

Our critics say that all these roads had done is to open up the way for the middleman to come in and rob the Kampung of its economic gains and thus make it poorer. I strongly refute such criticism because I am firmly convinced that Rural Roads are in fact the bloodstream of the Rural Economy. Again to give you an analogy from medical science. If in fact the blood cannot flow to any particular part of the body then that part of the body ceases to function and eventually becomes diseased, decayed and dead. So it is with Kampung, in this modern world, which are completely cut off and have no access to and from the economic bloodstream

of our Nation. Admittedly, that when the blood flows to any part of the body there is every chance of the bloodstream being polluted by a virus but the danger of such virus does not deny the fact that a bloodstream is essential to health.

So it is with Roads. We make roads and plenty of them. We make them with our eyes open knowing that they may be polluted, from time to time, by the virus of the middlemen but the cure is not to stop making roads. The cure is to devise ways and means to eliminate the virus so that the economy of the Kampung is strong enough to stand on its own and to resist exploitation by the middlemen. If an Economist looks at our Development Programme purely from the economic point of view, he may be critical and says that such projects as community centres, mosques, suraus and electric and other social projects are not economic.

The point in fact is that our Programme is a combined economic and social programme designed not only to increase the standard of living in the rural areas but also to ensure that life in rural villages and Kampung is worthwhile and that our traditional way of life in these Kampung can be strengthened so that life in the rural areas is as equally enjoyable as life in the urban areas.

I understand that in Communist China in order to stop the rush to the towns legislation has been produced and no one from the rural areas can enter a town without filling in forms and approving by paper certificates that he has a job or work to go to. The reason for such drastic legislation, I understand, is to stop the unplanned development of towns and prevent the excessive growing up of slum areas.

Our Policy is designed to give the rural people a worthwhile way of life in the rural areas with a combination of economic, social and other amenities.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI  
UPACARA MEMBUKA MESYUARAT BULAN  
BAHASA KEBANGSAAN DI DEWAN BAHASA  
DAN PUSTAKA, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 15HB  
JANUARI, 1963

Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Pusat Bulan Bahasa  
Kebangsaan dan tuan-tuan sekalian yang hadir,

Terlebih dahulu saya mengucapkan syukur ke hadrat Tuhan yang Maha Kuasa yang memperkenankan pertemuan kita pada hari ini untuk bermuafakat bagi meneruskan usaha-usaha kita yang sangat penting dan mustahak berhubung dengan rancangan memperkembangkan dan meluaskan pemakaian Bahasa Kebangsaan kita.

Tuan-tuan sekalian mengetahui bahawa tanggungjawab dan usaha-usaha kita dalam lapangan ini adalah berat dan jika kita berkehendakkan kejayaan yang sepenuhnya mustahaklah kita memikul beban ini bersama-sama. Akan tetapi, saya yakin dan percaya dengan adanya tuan-tuan bersama, perundingan di atas perkara ini pada hari ini, dapat kita meneruskan pergerakan kita sehingga tercapai tujuan yang matlamat. Perjuangan menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini adalah satu cadangan yang besar dalam perjuangan kebangsaan kita dan di dalam cita-cita kita hendaklah menubuh suatu bahasa yang kuat dan mempunyai taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara ini. Saya yakin dan percaya pergerakan kebangsaan yang semacam ini, yang benar halal akan dihargakan oleh Allah Subhanahuwataala.

Usaha mengadakan Gerakan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini sudah tiga kali diadakan dan sekarang masuklah kepada kali yang keempat. Sepatutnya hal ini sudah menjadi kelaziman dan setiap golongan dan peringkat rakyat akan melaksanakannya dengan tidak perlu menerima sebarang arahan lagi. Tetapi oleh kerana—dari segi

amalan—apa yang kita dapati sekarang pada keseluruhannya belum begitu memuaskan, maka usaha ini terpaksa kita teruskan lagi.

Bagaimana pun setakat ini, saya merasa puas hati melihat kemajuan telah dicapai dengan setengah-setengah pejabat kerajaan dan sudah ada pun pejabat-pejabat yang menggunakan steno yang boleh mengambil rencana dalam bahasa Melayu. Kepada pegawai-pegawai dan kakitangan kerajaan, khususnya kepada yang bukan Melayu, yang telah berusaha menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam urusannya sehari-hari, saya berasa besar hati menyampaikan ucapan tahniah, semuga langkah yang baik dan bersemangat ini akan menjadi ikutan ramai.

Tetapi sebaliknya saya merasa kurang senang sedikit kerana ada lagi pegawai Melayu sendiri yang masih menggunakan bahasa Inggeris dalam surat menyurat dan urusan kerajaan yang boleh diperbuat dan dijalankan di dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Demikianlah juga dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan kita belum mencapai kejayaan yang memuaskan hati. Oleh itu kepada mereka ini, saya berharap dan saya berseru supaya memperkuat usahanya bagi menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan iaitu bahasanya sendiri dan supaya dapat kita bersama-sama sebagai warga negara Persekutuan melaksanakan rancangan Bahasa kita dengan mendapat kehasilan yang sepenuhnya.

Saya berharap dalam Majlis hari ini, bukan sahaja sebagai Timbalan Perdana Menteri, tetapi juga sebagai Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang telah ditubuhkan dalam akhir tahun yang lalu. Saya bercadang menjalankan gerakan mengembangkan dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini dengan semangat dan kecepatan yang tidak kurang dari yang telah saya kerjakan untuk menjayakan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar. Saya bercadang hendak mengadakan suatu Bilik Gerakan bagi Bahasa Kebangsaan kita. Di Bilik Gerakan inilah akan tercatat kemajuan-kemajuan yang telah kita capai dari masa ke semasa dalam lapangan dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan kita ini. Di Bilik Gerakan ini saya berharap daripada masa ke semasa bahasa pegawai-pegawai yang bertanggungjawab



bagi melaksanakan pekerjaan ini dapat memberi keterangan dan mengukur kejayaan-kejayaan yang telah dicapai dari semasa ke semasa. Hanyalah dengan mengadakan Bilik Gerakan semacam ini dan dengan kita mengukur kejayaan-kejayaan kita dari semasa ke semasa dapat kita berjalan dengan semangat dan kecepatan yang kita kehendaki dalam melaksanakan rancangan kebangsaan kita ini.

Saya juga berharap kepada Kerajaan Negeri akan menjalankan gerakan seperti itu. Pada masa ini hampir semua negeri dalam Persekutuan telah menubuhkan Jawatankuasa Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan peringkat negeri. Kepada satu dua buah negeri yang belum lagi menubuhkan Jawatankuasanya, saya berharap supaya menyegerakan penubuhannya, supaya dengan itu nanti gerakan kita akan dapat berjalan dengan lincin dan teratur.

Tuan-tuan sekalian yang hadir,

Pada keseluruhannya ketiga-tiga gerakan Minggu dan Bulan Bahasa yang lalu telah dapat mencapai kejayaan yang memuaskan, hampir seluruh peringkat dan golongan rakyat negeri ini telah memberikan sokongan dan sumbangan menurut kesanggupan masing-masing. Saya mengambil peluang pada hari ini mengucapkan terimakasih kepada segala pihak yang telah berkorban masa dan tenaga bagi menjayakan ketiga-tiga gerakan itu. Demikian juga terimakasih saya kepada pihak akhbar yang sentiasa memberikan kerjasama serta perhatian yang berat terhadap usaha ini. Tetapi satu hal yang perlu diingat, bahawa yang menjadi matlamat kita bukanlah semata-mata kejayaan dalam masa gerakan itu dijalankan sahaja. Apa yang kita kehendaki ialah amalan penggunaan bahasa itu pada sepanjang masa dan waktu. Kejayaan dalam masa bulan bahasa sahaja tidaklah memberikan apa-apa erti, kiranya selepas Bulan Bahasa itu keadaan kembali seperti lama juga.

Sekali lagi saya tegaskan, bahawa usaha mengadakan Bulan Bahasa ini bukanlah satu usaha untuk menunjuk-nunjuk atau merupakan satu peraduan semata-mata, tetapi adalah dimaksudkan

untuk menjadi tenaga penyedar dan tenaga pendorong yang sihat, untuk mengukuhkan semangat dan menghebatkan daya usaha kita menuju ke matlamat yang sudah kita tetapkan.

Pihak kerajaan telah mengadakan banyak kemudahan dan memberikan banyak pertolongan untuk memudahkan usaha mempelajari dan melaksanakan pemakaian Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Untuk pegawai-pegawai kerajaan yang bukan Melayu kerajaan telah mengadakan satu kursus khas dengan percuma, sedangkan dalam kelas-kelas lanjutan, pelajaran Bahasa Kebangsaan telah lama diberikan dengan percuma juga.

Untuk orang-orang dewasa kita telah mengadakan kelas-kelas pelajaran dewasa dan untuk sekolah-sekolah, kerajaan telah berusaha dengan giat melengkapkan buku-buku dan guru-guru yang boleh mengajar dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan

Dalam aliran pelajaran kebangsaan, untuk pertama kalinya peperiksaan Tingkatan V telah pun dijalankan seluruhnya dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan pada akhir tahun yang lalu; dan pada tahun ini bahasa pengantar Melayu untuk Tingkatan VI akan dimulakan.

Kelemahan-kelemahan yang masih terdapat dalam sekolah-sekolah aliran Kebangsaan sedang diatasi dengan bersungguhsungguh. Dan pada umumnya nilai Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam usaha mencari mata pencarian sehari-hari semakin meningkat apabila kerajaan—dalam mengambil pegawai-pegawai serta kakitangannya yang baharu—menetapkan kebolehan Bahasa Kebangsaan sebagai salah satu syarat yang utama. Dan kita amat berharap juga, supaya pihak yang berkuasa di lapangan perdagangan dan perusahaan akan mengikut jejak langkah kerajaan ini, ketika hendak mengambil pegawai-pegawai serta kakitangannya yang baharu.

Jadi sekarang, terpulanglah kepada kita semua, rakyat yang telah mengaku taat setia kepada negeri ini untuk melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam kehidupan dan tugas kita sehari-hari

Bahasa Melayu sekarang, bukanlah lagi bahasa kepunyaan orang Melayu sahaja. Bahasa ini ialah untuk semua rakyat negeri ini daripada semua bangsa. Oleh itu saya berharap, kita semua

akan bersungguh-sungguh melaksanakan usaha-usaha untuk memperkembangkan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang kita telah akui dalam Perlembagaan.

Kepada seluruh pegawai-pegawai dan kakitangan-kakitangan kerajaan sukalah saya menegaskan, bahawa sesungguhnya, lapangan pentadbiran, adalah merupakan salah satu lapangan yang penting kedudukan dan peranannya dalam usaha mengembang dan meluaskan penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan kita. Kepada kejayaan pemakaian bahasa di lapangan pentadbiran inilah terletaknya salah satu faktor yang akan menentukan, samada rancangan kita hendak mendaulkan Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan sepenuhnya pada tahun 1967 itu berjaya atau tidak. Sebab itu hendaknya seluruh kakitangan kerajaan, terutama sekali orang-orang Melayu sendiri hendaklah menjadikan dirinya sebagai contoh tauladan dan pemimpin serta petunjuk dalam usaha melaksanakan pemakaian Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Janganlah kita mengharapkan orang lain akan menghormati dan menggunakan bahasa kita kalau kita sendiri tidak mengamalkannya dengan jujur dan bersungguh-sungguh.

Oleh kerana lapangan pentadbiran ini adalah satu lapangan yang penting maka saya berharap dan berseru kepada pegawai-pegawai tinggi kerajaan untuk memimpin pegawai-pegawai serta kakitangan di bawah tadbirnya supaya menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam urusan mereka sehari-hari dengan seberapa yang boleh. Pada akhirnya, saya berharap persidangan hari ini dapatlah tuan-tuan bincangkan acara-acara yang patut dijalankan dalam Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan tahun ini supaya benar-benar memberi kesan kepada keseluruhan hidup rakyat negeri ini. Sekali lagi saya berseru, dalam gerakan melaksanakan dan mengembangkan Bahasa Kebangsaan, hendaklah kita gunakan semangat dan kecepatan yang sepenuh-penuhnya dan hanya dengan cara demikian, dapatlah kita melaksanakan cita-cita kita itu dengan sempurna.

Sekarang ini dengan sukacitanya saya mengisytiharkan persidangan ini dimulakan.



Tun Abdul Razak sedang berucap kepada Wakil-wakil Negeri, Setiausaha-setiausaha kepada Kementerian dan Ketua-ketua Jabatan di Mesyuarat Kempen Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan di Balai Budaya, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur pada 15hb Januari, 1963.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE CEREMONY OF THE LAYING OF  
THE FOUNDATION STONE OF MASJID  
NEGARA, KUALA LUMPUR ON 27TH  
FEBRUARY, 1963

Their Majesties the Yang Di Pertuan Agong<sup>1</sup> and the Raja Permaisuri Agong<sup>2</sup>, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei<sup>3</sup>, the Hon'ble the Prime Minister<sup>4</sup>, Their Excellencies, the Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank God, the Most High, who has allowed us today to assemble here on this blessed day and month to bring to fruition on historical event, that is the laying of the foundation stone of Masjid Negara which has been planned these past few years.

As Chairman of the Central Building Committee of Masjid Negara, I am happy to convey our thanks to Their Majesties the Yang Di Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong for their gracious presence here this afternoon, and to His Majesty the Yang Di Pertuan Agong for his consent to lay the foundation stone of Masjid Negara. I also express our thanks to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei who has taken so much trouble to come here to attend this ceremony. We also thank the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, Their Excellencies and all those who are present here.

It is not necessary for me to give a long explanation as to how important Masjid Negara, when completed, will be to the nation and to the country. This mosque will become a symbol of our struggle, our national unity and national society. This mosque will give content to our Federation constitution which has made

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1 D.Y.M.M. Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Almarhom Syed Hassan Jamalullail.

2 D.Y.M.M. Tengku Budriah binti Almarhom Tengku Ismail.

3 Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin.

4 Tuanku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj.

Islam the official religion of our country. Masjid Negara also expresses the blessings and the proff of close co-operation between the Federal Government, the State Governments and all the people of this country, and shows that the inhabitants of this country of all races and religions have a close tie and understanding between each other. Truly, this building depicts the symbol of unity that exists among all races of various religious faiths. Many non-Muslims of this country have liberally donated to the mosque fund.

I am happy to mention in brief the history of the plan to build this Masjid Negara. At the time nearing the independence day of the Federation of Malaya before August 1957, the Alliance Government have taken the decision to create a symbol of ever-lasting memory of the achievement of the independence of our country on August 31, 1957. It was proposed that the symbol should be in the form of a mosque erected in the Capital, Kuala Lumpur. To achieve this great aim, the subject was discussed with the State Governments, the Mentris Besar and Chief Ministers and at a Conference of Rulers. As a result it was agreed to build a mosque and name it Masjid Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra as a tribute from the people of this country to the services rendered by the Tunku in leading the people of this country to independence status, the sovereignty of our nation in our country. But, after the decision was taken, the Tunku himself suggested that the mosque should be named Masjid Negara, to become the symbol of the unity of our people and country.

Various sites have been proposed for the mosques, but on the wise guidance of the Tunku the present site has been chosen because it is in the centre of the Capital, easy for the people to come to congregate. Also this site is near the main road and the railway station. Our intention in building this mosque is that it should be a place of worship and it should be beautiful and spacious enough for use from time to time. Further more, its style should be in harmony with the spirit and aspiration of the people of the present time so that this building will really be not only a place of worship, but also a place for the ever-lasting memory of the independence of our country.

The cost of building this mosque was at first estimated to be not more than \$6 million. But this estimate is sufficient only if we have no extraordinary expenditure, such as expenditure on the preparation of site. As we have now to meet the cost of the inevitable works of filling and piling the site, the estimate of \$6 million is found insufficient. It is now estimated the cost will reach a figure of \$10 million. The work that makes the cost exceed the original estimate is the cost of filling the site of the mosque as you all know that this site was originally a low ground. It has been filled up and now has become a high ground as you can see it now.

As you all are aware, the cost of building this mosque is borne by the Federation Government, the State Governments as well as the people. The Central Committee has recommended that the Federation Government should contribute \$4½ million, each of the State Governments in the Federation \$2 million and the balance to come from donations by the people of this country. Money which has been collected amounts to about \$5 million, now being spent, and a large portion of it came from the contributions of the Federation and the State Governments and donations from commercial firms. I take this opportunity to thank all the people, commercial firms, non-Muslims and others who have liberally contributed to the building of this mosque. Therefore, I take this opportunity to appeal to all the Muslims of this country and also to all non-Muslims to contribute generously to the building of this Masjid Negara so that this significant scheme will materialise successfully. Ladies and gentlemen you all know the benefit and the blessing of pious deeds such as giving donations to mosque for God, the Most High says:

“Whatever is spent by the people who perform good deeds in the way which pleases God is like a seed which grows into seven ears and each ear bears a hundred seeds; God the Most High will double His blessings on whomever He pleases, God the Most High is the Most Beneficent and Knowing;”.

This is a guarantee by God which one should not forget. God the Most High will bestow beneficence to people who do good in building the Masjid Negara. Apart from this, we have sacrificed

together in order to have a building to commemorate our country's independence which will be witnessed and remembered by our descendants in future as a building constructed for ever-lasting memory at a historical period in our country's history. Here, I take the opportunity to thank all those who have taken part in this scheme. I am unable to mention the individual names of those who have donated to the mosque building fund and to all those officers who have given their time and efforts to the scheme, for they are so many. To His Highness the Sultan of Brunei and the Government of Brunei, I express sincere thanks on their gift of money of \$25,000, which will be allotted to the mosque building fund. This money is part of a gift given by the Sultan of Brunei to this country in commemoration of the attainment of our country's independence. I express a special thanks to the Government of the State of Selangor for their generous gift of a large portion of valuable land for the site of the mosque, to the Railway Administration which has also given land, to the Police and several other Government departments which have given their co-operation and their consent for the demolition of buildings on the ground site so that the scheme could be carried out. I also express my thanks, especially to the PWD., in particular to the Architect's Division which has prepared the mosque building plan, attractive and satisfactorily to all, and also thanks to those officers who undertake to supervise the work which will be carried out by the contractors.

I am happy to invite Their Majesties the Yang Di Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong and all the guests to have a look at the models and plans of the mosque. We are all sure to express our satisfaction and our congratulations to the PWD architect concerned, who has carried out his task and able to draw a very sensible and satisfactory plan. The shape of the mosque is very attractive and embodies all the requirements of a place of worship which is satisfactory as well as modern in form and in conformity without national culture. At the outset it was planned to hold an architectural competition open to all architects, both local and foreign. The subject was considered very carefully and at the end it was decided to leave it to the skill and inspiration of our architects in the PWD. Now we are grateful that our own architects in the PWD have worked very hard in drawing and creating a plan which is very satisfactory to us all.



The Muslims, who have experienced difficulty because the mosques in the Capital of Kuala Lumpur are very small for congregation, will surely feel grateful that this mosque will accommodate about 10,000 people in one congregation. The dome of the mosque has an inspiring shape in the centre, 100 feet high, and has a minaret, 240 feet high, which makes it the highest structure in the city of Kuala Lumpur, and it symbolises the letter "alif", the first letter in the name of Allah. Also, I like to mention here that apart from a place of worship this building will have other facilities, a hall which can accommodate 500 persons for religious congress and discussions, as well as an open space for Quran reading competition. There will also be a rest-place for travellers, which is very convenient as it is near the railway station. Nearby but separate from the mosque building will be erected a National Heroes' mausoleum. There will be another special hall for library and Islamic religious research. In truth, the Masjid Negara building will be truly a centre of worship and Islamic culture in our country. I take this opportunity also to express thanks to the members of the Central Committee and the State Committees who have looked after all the works in connection with the building of the mosque and also with the collection of donations, and I appeal to them to continue to do so to make this big task a success. I am sure that each effort given in building this mosque will earn praise and manifold blessings from God the Most High.

Lastly, let us pray to God the Most High to bestow permanent peace, prosperity and harmony in our country, and thus our pure and sincere aspirations will be achieved for the progress of our people in all spheres so that our country will permanently exist and prosperous and all the people of our country will have a proper place in the community of nations in the world. Since we have achieved independence, we in Malaya have marched forward with a pure heart and sincere intention to fulfil the wishes and the desires of the people in all aspects of their life. We stand firm on the policy of living in peace among the inhabitants, not only in this country but also in foreign lands. God the Most High only knows our aspirations and intentions, clean and pure. By the permission and the blessings of God, we shall march forward in our journey and in our fulfilment of our aspirations. By the blessings and His assistance

we have succeeded to some extent in giving facilities and progress to the people of this country in all places, in towns, in kampungs as well as in the nooks and corners of this country. The people of this country have been able to receive, in small or large measure, the benefits from the prosperity and the independence of our country. Let us be determined to continue in our journey and in our fulfilment of our aspirations, and let us pray to God the Most High that He protects us from all dangers and evil intentions from whatever direction they may come towards us in Malaya. We stand on truth and sincerity and we have for our guidance the teachings of God the Most High and to Him we submit all.

On this historical day and time when we are all gathered together to attend the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of this Mosque, may God the Most High bestow His blessings on us all in Malaya and may God perpetuate the peace, harmony and prosperity of our country. Now, with all respects, I humbly request the pleasure of His Majesty to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of Masjid Negara.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE MEETING OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL  
COMMITTEE ON MERGER BETWEEN SINGA-  
PORE AND THE FEDERATION IN KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 28TH FEBRUARY, 1963

I would like, on behalf of the Federation Government, to welcome the Prime Minister of Singapore<sup>1</sup>, his colleague and members of the Singapore delegation to this First Plenary Session of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Merger between Singapore and the Federation. Strictly speaking, we should have had a meeting of this Committee when it was first established; but due to many reasons, and most important of all due to my pre-occupation with the Inter-Governmental Committee on Sabah and Sarawak, it has not been possible to arrange a meeting of this Committee until today.

However, the Working Party has been meeting and has resolved a number of issues. I should like, therefore, on behalf of this Committee, to congratulate the Working Party, particularly the Chairman, Encik Ghazali, for the good work that they have done. They have reached agreement on a number of points and it is left for us today to consider and resolve the remaining few issues. Although these are important and controversial, and, if I may say so, delicate, I am sure given the goodwill, understanding and spirit of co-operative between our two Governments, which have always existed over the years, we can come to complete agreement on these issues. I am sure all of us around this table appreciate that if the Malaysia that we intend to create is to be a reality and to have any meaning at all, there must be complete understanding and co-operation among all the territories that comprise this unit. Indeed, we cannot build a united and happy Malaysia otherwise.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
ON ST. DAVID'S DAY BANQUET AND DANCE  
IN KUALA LUMPUR ON 1st MARCH, 1963

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Firstly, I should like to congratulate your President on his speech which, considering that he delivered it in a language which was foreign to him—English—I think he spoke extremely well! Also, I think he spoke with considerable self-control because I have always understood when Welshmen make speeches, and get warmed up to their subject, they have the greatest difficulty in not bursting into song.

While talking of your President, I would like to congratulate Members of your Society in electing a President who resembles both in physical appearance and in many other ways a famous Welshman who, by the application of his particularly Welsh talent, became not only the prime figure of Walse but also the Prime Minister of England.

Both your President and Mr. Lloyd George seem to have one noticeable physical feature in common which you will understand when I remind you of how Historians love to group everything into an era of time. For example, we hear about the—Edwardian Era of English History and so I think with regard to Welsh History the Historians of the future will group both Lloyd George and your President in the same Era because of their particular Welsh hairstyle, they could be grouped into what might be called the PRE-BYRLCREAM ERA!

It is fortunate, however, that an unruly mop of hair does not signify an unruly speaker and that although your National Aim is eventually Independence for WALES, I am sure that your method of achieving Welsh Merdeka will be by extremely peaceful means; with your country's cultural and musical background, it may be that you will be the first country in the World to sing your way to

Independence. In fact it appears to me that all Welsh National characteristics are peaceful ones. But I cannot, here tonight, praise these Welsh qualities too strongly because to do so I would have to draw National comparisons, and this might be dangerous in the presence of the Chieftain of Saint Andrew's Society, the President of the Saint George's Society and the Representative of the Saint Patrick's Society.

However, I will say this much that before coming here this evening I tried to find out or tried to remember a few stories about Welsh characteristics and although I could remember many, many stories about the Scots, the Irish and the English, written, no doubt, by Welshmen; I found that very few of your National neighbours had been able to write any derogatory stories about Wales. This is very much to your National credit and might even mean that history will eventually judge Wales as the superior of the four Nations which comprise the British Isles. There is at least one Welshman who has already endorsed this feeling of superiority. I understand he was born in Cardiff; I have forgotten his name, but he followed a successful career as a Psychiatrist in Harley Street. A Patient came to his surgery and asked to be psychoanalysed; this Patient was an Englishman, a Member of Parliament, who had recently suffered considerable defeat in debate, defeat at the lashings of the tongue of Lloyd George.

As he lay on the Psychiatrist's couch he poured out his heart while the Psychiatrist took notes of his origin of birth and background. It transpired that this Englishman came from a long generation of Englishman and half way through the interview he suddenly sat up and confessed to the Psychiatrist saying, "Doctor, I think I know what is wrong with me, I have an inferiority complex".

The Psychiatrist, being a true Welshman got carried away with National emotion and forgot, for a moment, his professional ethics and replied, "My dear Chap, you are an Englishman; your father was English; your Grandfather was English—you have no inferiority complex—you are just inferior."

I have no wish to stir up racial feeling but in case any of you try to find out who this famous Welsh Psychiatrist was you may have difficulty.

The story has it that he adopted the same attitude of Welsh National superiority on a visit to Scotland, and as he was a distinguished name in his own profession, he was invited as the Guest of Honour at a St. Andrew's Dinner, where he had to listen to long speeches on the historical background of Scotland, and being as he was of superior Welsh intellect, he too had studied the history of Scotland.

In his speech he proved conclusively that the invention of the Kilt was originally a necessity because the brawny Scots had feet which were much too large to get into trouser legs! I believe he now rests in some graveyard near Edinburgh.

I feel it would be very nice if I were able to say a few words to you in Welsh, you National Language, but I really haven't the courage to try to do so because I remember the story of an American who was touring Wales and had taken considerable trouble to learn a few words of Welsh and he arrived at a hotel and was shown his room by the Manager with courtesy, kindness and typical Welsh hospitality. He saw, on the floor, a small carpet on which was written, in large letters, the words "TAM HTAB". He studied these words and then turned round to his host with a smile and said, "Ah, "TAM HTAB" how very nice of you to have, in my room, a Carpet with the word "Welcome" written in Welsh". The Hotel Manager was slightly embarrassed and said, "No, Sir, I am sorry. That is not Welsh writing; it is merely the "BATH MAT" turned upside down."

Mr. President,

I was very pleased to be told that the rules of your Society are so drafted that full membership may be enjoyed even by persons who can make no claim to Welsh blood. This is particularly desirable when I observe Malaysians joining your Society because of their

close association with the "PRINCIPALITY" during their student years. Many of them who are now holding responsible positions in our Government Service look back with affection to their stay in such well known Welsh kampongs as ABERYSTWYTH (ABER—IST—WITH).

And, finally, Mr. President, I should like to wish your new Society the very best for the future and hope that all your future annual dinners on St. David's Day are as full of such good people and such goodwill as we have here to-night. Before I ask your Honoured Guests to be up standing and drink a toast, you will forgive me, Mr. President, if I address the Guests separately, for a moment, and educate them in the correct words they should say when they toast such an occasion.

Fellow Guests, throughout the World the Word "MERDEKA" has many interpretations in many languages. I think the correct words for the toast this evening are "KUMREE AM BITH".

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
CUM LEADER OF THE FEDERATION OF  
MALAYA DELEGATION TO THE NINETEENTH  
SESSION OF ECAFE ON ECONOMIC SITUATION  
IN ASIA, MANILA, PHILIPPINES ON 6TH  
MARCH, 1963

I wish to express on behalf of myself and my fellow delegates from the Federation of Malaya Delegation our heartiest congratulation on your election as Chairman of this Session. We are most grateful for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to us by your Government and for the excellent administrative arrangements made to ensure that we shall have fruitful meetings and an enjoyable stay here. I would also like to congratulate our two Vice-Chairman on their election and to welcome Western Samoa as a new full member of the ECAFE.

About five years ago, I had the privilege of participating in an ECAFE session held in Malaya and today I am indeed very happy at this nineteenth Session to have the opportunity to meet once again this very distinguished gathering of friends and fellow delegates in the beautiful capital city of the Philippines, a country for which we have very warm affection and high regard.

During recent years we have witnessed continued progress and expansion of ECAFE activities under the able guidance of its Executive Secretary. The Commission has proved to be a valuable forum for the exchange of views and mutual experience in economic and social development and an enormous interest has been engendered among member countries working closely together to raise the standard of living of the people in the area. The ECAFE family ties which draw us together will, I am sure, be further strengthened by the proposed extension of the ECAFE geographical scope to include New Zealand and Australia. These countries, by their close geographic proximity, not only share a community of



interest with us as developing countries but are also already playing an important role to resolve the many complex problems of economic growth which confront the countries of the ECAFE region. My delegation whole-heartedly endorse this proposal to extend the geographic scope of ECAFE.

This year's draft ECAFE Annual Survey is indeed significant. It not only directs our attention to Asia's trade with Western Europe with reference to the European Economic Community but also reviews in some details the region's economic activities and developments during 1962. I would like to express my personal appreciation to the ECAFE Secretariat for making available this excellent study as a basis for our deliberations. I do not propose to deal at length with the problem of Asia's trade with the EEC as it has been thoroughly covered in the Survey before us. However, I would like to make some observations to its possible effects on Malaya's trade and economic development.

Mr. Chairman, like most of the developing countries in the region, trade with non-Asian countries constitutes a higher proportion of total trade than does intra-Asian trade. Being producers of primary commodities we have to depend on trade with the developed countries in the West. For this reason the Federation of Malaya has followed with great interest the developments in economic groupings in Europe especially that of the European Economic Community. We share in the common hope that such groupings should pursue outward looking and trade creating policies and not raise barriers to imports from outside.

It would not appear that the main exports of the Federation to the EEC would be seriously affected for some time to come. Over 80% of Malaya's exports to Europe are rubber and tin for which the tariffs are not to exceed 3%, and at present no duty is imposed on them. There is reason, however, to believe that the Six may decide to impose duty on these principal exports of ours when the Overseas Associated Territories are able to produce them in sufficient quantities, as it would be necessary to give preference to their associated territories. In the short run, Malaya's main exports to

the EEC would not be greatly affected but the establishment of common tariffs which accord substantial preference to the products of the associated overseas territories will in the long run adversely affect Malaya's exports to the Common Market. The tariff barrier also limits the prospects of developing markets for our products within the European Economic Community.

The future of our rubber and tin exports is closely tied up with the future prosperity of Europe. Although the rapidly rising living standards in Europe will mean more consumption of rubber and tin for tyres and tinned foods, the threat remains since as a result of co-ordinated industrial policies within the EEC there might be an expansion in the production and consumption of synthetic rubber as a substitute for natural rubber.

The disturbing trend of the slow growth in export earnings of developing areas has already resulted in most of these countries being unable to finance the necessary imports to support their development. It would be necessary in the circumstances for Western tariffs to be kept to the lowest possible level to encourage local industrialisation for export or to help compensate the loss in earnings by means of generous aid in the form of grants or loans and world-wide commodity agreements.

In past meetings of this Commission, developing countries have appealed to the developed countries to assist in their industrialisation programme by concentrating on the production of the more complex manufactured goods and leaving the production of the simple goods to the developing countries so that serious duplication of production and competition for markets could be avoided. The seriousness of this problem has become more acute as countries in the region become industrialised. This is a vast and complex problem and it would need the sympathy of the developed countries as well as planned and concerted action on the part of everyone to resolve it.

The problem of reducing violent fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities and also measures to offset short-term fluctuations in the export earnings of primary producing countries were

considered by the Commission on International Commodity Trade at its meeting in Rome in May 1962. We are interested in the findings of the Commission with regard to the possibilities of compensatory financing to mitigate the effects of short-term fluctuations in export earnings. Such measures as this might help to stabilise world commodity prices at reasonable levels and contribute greatly to economic stability and progress. We must all re-affirm our determination to secure reasonably stable price levels for our primary commodities either through commodity agreements or through such other measures as the C I C T. (Commission on International Commodity Trade) has under consideration.

As explained in the Survey the year 1962 was on the whole a very satisfactory year for the Federation from the economic and financial point of view. We are among the few countries which were free from financial difficulties. Since 1955 GNP has increased at an annual rate of about 4 to 5% and it is expected there was a further increase of 4.5% in 1962 but this was to some extent offset by the high rate of population growth and the adverse terms of trade so that there was no significant change in per capita real income since 1955 while living costs remained relatively stable.

Development expenditure in the public sector achieved a remarkable increase of about 50 per cent over the performance of the previous year. The response to the Government's policy of encouraging private investments in industries continued to be favourable and modest increase in new employment opportunities was recorded in the manufacturing sector. Private investment, estimated at M\$490 million in 1962 was greater than in 1961, although fell short of the annual average target of M\$590 million envisaged in the Second Five Year Development Plan. Our export earnings from rubber were lower while the value of imports was higher than in 1961, the balance of trade remained favourable but was insufficient to prevent the balance of payments from showing a large deficit on current account. Nevertheless, total foreign exchange reserves of the country at the end of the year were estimated to be adequate to cover one full year's import requirements at the current rate.

Comparisons indicate that the Federation of Malaya was second only to Japan in prosperity among the countries of Asia. Our present state of progress and prosperity can be largely attributed to the multi-racial harmony, economic and political stability obtained in the country and our determined efforts to promote economic and social development. We have geared the whole government machinery at all levels and mobilised the efforts and resources of our people towards the implementation of our national rural development programmes which form the "core" of Second Five Year Plan. This Plan has as its main objective the narrowing of the gap between the haves and the havenots and the levelling up of the incomes of the less fortunate ones of the population. In short, our strategy for development aims at meeting the needs, aspirations and the desires of our people particularly those in the rural areas. As Minister of Rural Development, I am happy that the people throughout the country have responded in spirit and in action to our National call and pressed ahead towards the realisation of our goals.

The Federation of Malaya, however faces the prospect of lower prices for natural rubber which would affect not only the country's foreign exchange earnings but also the Government's revenue and available financial resources for development. Although finance did not present a problem during the first two years of the Plan, it is unlikely that this favourable situation will continue in the immediate and foreseeable future. The financing of our Second Five-Year Development Plan was based on the assumption that the average price of rubber would be 80 Malayan cents per pound but with the downward trend in the longterm market prospects for natural rubber it will be necessary to mobilise all available resources. The deficiencies may have to be made up by an expansion of exports and increased trade among the ECAFE countries supplemented by foreign economic assistance if the present rate of development is to be sustained.

We are deeply conscious of the need for greater exports and of the importance of developing new exports to overcome the so-called sluggish markets for traditional exports.

In this connection the Federation Government is laying greater stress in the development plan on increased agricultural production and diversification and industrial development. The plan is now under review but measures have already been taken to encourage the planting of those alternative crops such as oil palm, coconut, rice and other crops which have been studied sufficiently to justify an increase in capital investment. Efforts are also being made to undertake a comprehensive economic land use survey for the exploitation of the potential resources of the country. These measures reflect the Government's realisation that the country's economic stability and prosperity cannot depend on the varying fortunes of rubber alone as it has been in the past.

With regard to industrialisation, the Government is giving incentives to induce rapid industrial development in the private sector to supplement public investment. We adhere to the principle of individual initiative and of private enterprise tempered with social and civic responsibility and plan towards the attainment of our targets so that the nation at large may derive the fullest benefit from these programmes. The Federation Government strongly believe that the private sector has an important role to play in the economic development of the country and the Government is confident that private enterprise will play its proper role in this process. As industrialisation is an essential ingredient of accelerated economic development, the Government will increasingly assume a more positive role in shaping the scope and rate of industrial development in the country and providing greater incentives. A more rapid industrialisation, especially in light industries, could well provide, within a reasonably short period of time, increased employment opportunities for the expanding work force. But our efforts alone will not be sufficient to take the economy into a stage of self-sustaining growth. We members of this region have to play a much more important role in assisting one another in our common goal of economic development than what has been done so far. There is need for bold thinking and concrete action to realise close regional or sub-regional co-operation. As the Survey rightly suggests, the member countries should expand trade among themselves and ensure closer co-operation in our plans for agricultural and industrial development so as to avoid competitive and wasteful duplication of efforts.

A beginning in this direction has been made. The Survey has correctly noted that the Federation of Malaya, the Philippines and Thailand have under the auspices of ASA entered into treaty arrangement to co-operate in liberalising trade and foreign exchange regulations and to work jointly for stabilising prices of primary export commodities and other related matters which will increase trade within the region. Regional co-operation along these lines, I admit, make a real contribution to the economic development of the countries and we should re-dedicate our efforts and determination to demonstrate the sincerity of our common desire in raising the standard of living of the people in member countries.

We wish nothing more than to help quickly realise the aspiration of the people for independence, for social advancement and for better conditions of life. I would therefore urge that we continue steadfastly to do our share in promoting greater understanding and co-operation among members of ECAFE so that the scarce and urgently needed resources will not be diverted for purpose other than to promote economic development and closer regional co-operation in peace. All member countries will, I am sure, agree that without peace and stability in the world our concerted efforts at economic development and the vast amount of material aid channelled into this region will make no difference at all because then we and our children will not be around to enjoy the fruits of our labours.

But there is reason to expect further economic progress in this region if we continue with determination and confidence, as, I am convinced, we surely will do, to maintain peace and stability and meet the challenge of our times. And, God willing, we shall all move forward in peace, happiness and prosperity.

Thank you.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE SECOND READING OF THE NATIONAL  
LANGUAGE BILL AT THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON  
11TH MARCH, 1963

Mr. Speaker,<sup>1</sup> Sir,

I beg to move that a Bill intituled "An Act to provide for the script of the national language and for the form of numerals of the national language and for purposes incidental thereto" be read a second time.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang-undang ini adalah terbitnya daripada satu usul Dewan ini iaitu pada 14 haribulan Disember, 1959 yang berbunyi seperti berikut:

Pertama, tulisan Bahasa Kebangsaan hendaklah tulisan Latin yang biasa dipanggil tulisan rumi yang dipakai bersama-sama dengan tulisan Melayu yang biasa dipanggil dengan tulisan jawi.

Kedua, supaya jenis angka Bahasa Kebangsaan ini hendaklah menurut angka antarabangsa yang biasa terpakai di seluruh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada masa ini.

Ketiga, supaya Undang-undang digubal dikemukakan kepada Dewan ini dengan seberapa segeranya sebagai menghasilkan tujuan yang pertama dan yang kedua yang tersebut sebagaimana yang dikehendaki menurut Fasal 152 (1) Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidaklah hendak bercakap dengan panjang lebar berkenaan dengan Rang Undang-undang ini, kerana ini sudah pun dibahaskan dengan sepenuh-penuhnya apabila usul di atas tadi telah dikemukakan dalam Dewan ini pada 14 haribulan Disember, 1959 tetapi ada dua tiga fasal yang berkenaan dengan Rang Undang-undang ini yang patut saya terangkan iaitu Fasal Dua dan Tiga. Dalam Fasal Dua dan Tiga ada disebutkan, sungguhpun di bawah undang-undang ini, tulisan rumi diakui sebagai tulisan

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<sup>1</sup> Dato Haji Mohd. Noah bin Omar.

rasmi, tetapi ini tidak pula menghalang tulisan jawi itu untuk digunakan bagi urusan Kerajaan. Saya percaya ini adalah memenuhi maksud usul yang pertama Dewan ini yang berkehendakkan supaya tulisan-tulisan itu diakui sebagai tulisan Bahasa Kebangsaan dipakai bersama dengan tulisan jawi.

Bagi pihak Kerajaan, Kerajaan memang sentiasa hendak menggunakan tulisan rumi dengan tidak meninggalkan tulisan jawi. Tulisan rumi ialah sebagai tulisan international atau tulisan antara-bangsa dan bagi menggalakkan saudara-saudara kita daripada bangsa asing dalam negeri ini bagi mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan, maka patut sangatlah kita menggalakkan penggunaan tulisan rumi ini. Begitu juga dengan orang-orang bangsa asing iaitu negeri-negeri yang berjiran dengan kita seperti negeri Thailand, Australia, New Zealand dan negeri-negeri lain, harus akan mempelajari Bahasa Kebangsaan kita, jika kita menggunakan tulisan rumi, dan begitu juga tulisan rumi ini dipakai oleh negeri-negeri lain seperti Indonesia dan juga Filipina dan buku-buku yang ada sekarang ini dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan seperti dalam perkara-perkara science, technology, kesusasteraan yang digunakan dalam tulisan rumi. Maka inilah sebabnya Kerajaan berkehendakkan tulisan rumi itu digunakan.

Berkenaan dengan tulisan jawi, Kerajaan tidak menghalangnya, kerana Kerajaan sedar bahawa dalam negeri-negeri Tanah Melayu ini seperti negeri Perlis, Kedah, Johor, Kelantan, tulisan jawi digunakan dengan luasnya dalam undang-undang Kerajaan itu. Dengan sebab itu dimasukkan satu syarat dalam Fasal Dua ini bagi membolehkan tulisan jawi itu digunakan bersama dengan tulisan rumi.

Berkenaan dengan Fasal Tiga dalam Rang Undang-undang ini ada disebutkan di situ bahawa jenis angka Bahasa Kebangsaan yang dicadangkan ialah jenis angka Arab atau Arabic form of numerals. Ini ialah nama angka yang biasa dipakai dalam bahasa Inggeris dan bukanlah disebabkan Kerajaan hendak menggunakan angka Arab ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir itulah sahaja perkara yang mustahak dalam Rang Undang-undang ini, dan saya suka mengesyorkan supaya Rang Undang-undang ini diterima oleh Dewan ini.



SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE SECOND READING OF THE MERDEKA  
STADIUM CORPORATION BILL AT THE DEWAN  
RAKYAT ON 11TH MARCH, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

I back to move that a Bill intituled "an Act to establish the Merdeka Stadium Corporation and to provide for purposes incidental thereto" be read a second time. As Honourable Members are aware, both the Merdeka Stadium and the Stadium Negara are at present managed as interim measure by a Working Committee appointed by the Government under my chairmanship. This is only a temporary arrangement because we have always intended to establish a corporation independent of Government, and it will have legal status to manage and administer these two Stadiums.

Now, Sir, this Bill provided for the establishment of a corporation and it shall be run by sixteen members appointed by the Minister responsible, including persons nominated by the Mentri Besar of Selangor<sup>1</sup>, and persons representing sporting organisations. The State Government of Selangor has interests in these Stadiums, because it provides the land, and so we thought it proper that the State Government should be represented on the Corporation; also as the two Stadiums are of great interest to the sporting organisations of this country, they also should be represented.

Clause 3 of the Bill sets out the powers of the Corporation which include the power to manage any other stadium for use in connection with sports, games and other similar activities.

Clauses 8 and 9 provide for a National Stadium Corporation Fund and for the Government to make grants to it from time to time as it deems fit.

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<sup>1</sup> Dato Abu Bakar bin Baginda.

Clause 11 provides for the submission of an annual report to the Minister responsible and copies of such report will be laid before each House of Parliament. I should explain that the Minister charged with responsibility for the Merdeka Stadium Corporation is the Prime Minister.

Sir, I should like before concluding to take this opportunity to express my highest appreciation on the great deal of voluntary work which has been done by members of the present Merdeka Stadium and the Stadium Negara Committee for running the two Stadiums for a number of years. Most of these members have done their work voluntarily and have spent their valuable time in the interest of the public. I should, therefore, like to say that we, the Government, greatly appreciate the work that they have done. Sir, this is a non-controversial Bill and it only provides for the general management of our sports stadiums, and I do hope that it will receive the support of this House.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE SECOND READING OF THE ELECTION  
BILL IN THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON 12TH  
MARCH, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

I beg to move that a Bill intituled "an Act to provide that, in respect of a polling district or an election ward or division, the Election Commission may assign a distinguishing number or a distinguishing number and letter, instead of a distinguishing letter or distinguishing letters" be read a second time.

Sir, in the years 1958 and 1959 the electoral rolls for each State in the Federation were prepared by each State Supervisor of Elections by having the names of electors typed out on ordinary typewriters. These names, over two million in number for the whole country, had had to be retyped annually during the revision. The process of typing the rolls and re-typing them was not only slow and cumbersome but expensive. These rolls, prepared under the Elections (Registration of Electors) Regulations, 1958, and its amending regulations, were then applicable only to Parliamentary and State elections.

With the passing of the Local Government Elections Act, 1960, and the Local Government Elections (Amendment) Act, 1961, the Election Commission took over the responsibility of conducting elections to Local Authorities and Local Councils throughout the country. Various regulations for the purpose of registration of electors were also passed. Thus, the Election Commission was committed, not only in respect of the conduct of all elections in the country but also in respect of the registration of electors and the preparation of rolls to be used for all such elections.

Under the provisions of sub-section (1) (b) of section 7 of the Elections Ordinance, 1958, the Election Commission shall, in respect of Parliament and the State Legislative Assemblies, after

the delimitation of a constituency and thereafter when any constituency is altered or a new constituency is created, assign to each polling district a distinguishing letter or letters, and under the provisions of sub-section (1) (b) of section 16 of the Local Government Elections Act, 1960, the Election Commission shall, in respect of Local Authorities and Local Councils, specify the names of the wards and other divisions of the local area and assign a distinguishing letter or letters to each such ward and division.

The assigning of letters to polling districts was originally necessitated by the fact that polling districts did not have names. However, all polling districts are now named and it is not necessary to assign distinguishing letters in order that all the political parties and the public may easily recognise the polling districts.

Since the year 1960, the system of typing and re-typing the names of electors in the State Elections Offices was abolished and the Election Commission introduced a new system of producing the electoral rolls. This consisted of using a punched-card system centrally. In their functions of sorting, collating and merging, the punched-card machines use numerals and as such it is necessary to employ a set of code numbers to enable one polling district to be distinguished from another. Incidentally, the use of such code numbers is not confined to polling districts. Code numbers are also assigned to Parliamentary constituencies and localities in each polling district.

As the code numbers are now a permanent feature in the electoral rolls, it is possible that in the near future the use of code letters (distinguishing letters) may be dispensed with altogether. It is therefore desirable that code numbers be legally assigned to the electoral rolls, whether they be the electoral rolls to be certified annually or whether they are the merged rolls after certification. It is not contemplated at this stage to abolish by law the use of code letters. Discretion, however, is left to the Election Commission to use either code letters or code numbers but it can be foreseen that code numbers will replace code letters in the not too distant future.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
MERANGKAP MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN  
LUAR BANDAR DI PEMBUKAAN PERSIDAN-  
GAN PERTAMA AHLI-AHLI PERBADANAN  
WANG SIMPANAN BAKAL-BAKAL HAJI DI BA-  
NGUNAN KEMENTERIAN KESELAMATAN  
DALAM NEGERI, JALAN BROCKMAN, KUALA  
LUMPUR PADA 21hb MAC, 1963

Saya berasa amat sukacita pada pagi ini kerana mendapat kesempatan berjumpa dengan sekalian Ahli-ahli Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal-bakal Haji<sup>1</sup> yang akan bersidang pada kali pertamanya.

Sebagaimana tuan-tuan sedia maklum bahawa undang-undang menubuhkan Perbadanan ini telah pun diluluskan oleh Dewan Rakyat dalam bulan Ogos tahun 1962 dan undang-undang tersebut telah pun dikuatkuasakan pada 1hb November tahun itu juga. Tetapi Perbadanan ini sendiri baharu sahaja ditubuhkan pada 1hb Mac tahun ini berikutan dengan perlantikan Ahli-ahli pada tarikh yang tersebut itu juga.

Saya suka nyatakan di sini iaitu wujudnya Perbadanan ini adalah hasil daripada laporan-laporan jawatankuasa di bawah pimpinan Menteri Muda Tuan Haji Khalid bin Awang Osman<sup>2</sup>.

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CATTITAN:

<sup>1</sup> Ahli-ahli Pengurus Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal-bakal Haji yang telah dilantik oleh Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Di Pertuan Agung adalah seperti berikut:

Yang Mulia Tunku Mohammed bin Tunku Besar Burhanuddin (Pengerusi);

Gabnor Bank Negara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu atau wakilnya;

Setiausaha Perbendaharaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu atau wakilnya;

Tuan Haji Ali Rouse, Pegawai Pengawal Jemaah Haji P.T.M.;

Tuan Haji Ali bin Haji Ismail, J.M.N., J.P. (Kedah), sebagai wakil penyimpanan wang; dan

Seorang lagi bagi wakil penyimpanan-penyimpanan wang yang akan dilantik tidak berapa lama lagi.

<sup>2</sup> Menteri Muda Perdagangan dan Perindustrian.

Sesungguhnya soal menyempurnakan Rukun Islam yang kelima itu adalah suatu soal yang sangat besar yang mendapat perhatian yang sangat berat di kalangan sekalian orang-orang Muslimin dan Muslimat di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Pada tiap-tiap tahun lebih daripada 5,000 orang pergi menyempurnakan Rukun Haji yang memakan belanja tiada kurang dari tujuh juta ringgit.

Wang perbelanjaan ini adalah hasil dari kemahuan dan kezamaman tiap-tiap bakal haji yang menyimpan wang itu dengan cermatnya dari setahun ke setahun dengan cara yang difikirkan elok dan selamat oleh penyimpan-penyimpan itu masing-masing. Oleh itu maka timbullah satu hasrat untuk menyatukan cara bakal-bakal haji ini menyimpan wang mereka dengan satu jalan yang lebih mudah dan lebih selamat lagi.

Dengan tertubuhnya Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal-bakal Haji ini, maka tentulah lebih senang dan teratur lagi bagi tiap-tiap orang Islam di Tanah Melayu ini yang berhajat menunaikan fardu Haji ke Maktul Musharrafah untuk menyimpan wang mereka dengan cara beransur-ansur dan halal di sisi Ugama. Wang simpanan mereka itu dijamin selamat oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan dan akan dikembalikan dengan sepenuhnya apabila wang simpanan itu hendak digunakan untuk keperluan Haji.

Maka tertanggunglah di atas Ahli-ahli Pengurus Besar dan sekalian Pegawai-pegawai Perbadanan suatu kewajipan yang besar lagi berat untuk memaju dan mengembangkan peranan Perbadanan ini sampai Perbadanan ini boleh menjadi suatu alat yang penting dalam usaha mengumpulkan wang berjuta-juta ringgit yang sampai sekarang masih lagi terpendam dengan begitu sahaja.

Selain daripada berkat dan pahala yang akan kita dapati bersama-sama dalam usaha kita membantu orang-orang Muslimin dan Muslimat sekalian menunaikan fardu haji itu, banyaklah lagi

munafaat yang akan kita perolehi. Terutama sekali, dengan adanya Perbadanan ini, orang-orang Muslimin dan Muslimat sekalian, lebih-lebih lagi mereka yang tinggal di kampung-kampung akan dapat mendidikkan diri mereka untuk berjimat cermat dalam perbelanjaan hari-hari. Wang-wang simpanan yang akan dikumpulkan itu akan memberi faedah bukan sahaja kepada diri penyimpan-penyimpan itu sendiri, tetapi juga kepada negara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu amnya.

Akhirnya, saya suka mengambil kesempatan di sini untuk mengucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih kepada kesemua Kerajaan Negeri atas sokongan penuh yang mereka telah berikan dan yang akan mereka berikan kepada Perbadanan ini baik dengan secara moral atau pun wang. Maka dengan adanya sokongan dan kerjasama ini, terlebih lagi dari kalangan alim ulama sekalian, tentu sekali Perbadanan ini akan mendapat kemajuan yang baik dan yang boleh dibanggakan. Di sini saya suka juga berseru kepada sekalian orang-orang Muslimin dan Muslimat sekalian supaya memberikan sokongan yang penuh dengan menyimpan kadar mana yang mampu dan boleh, kepada Perbadanan ini, yang wang simpanannya adalah dijamin selamat oleh Kerajaan dan akan dikembalikan sepenuhnya apabila dikehendaki untuk kegunaan haji, dengan cara-cara yang halal di sisi ugama.

Saya suka juga mengambil kesempatan ini untuk mengucapkan berbilang terimakasih kepada Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Haji dan sekalian pegawai-pegawai dan Jabatan-jabatan Kerajaan, termasuk juga pakar-pakar lain yang tiada dapat saya sebutkan namanya di sini satu persatunya di atas usaha mereka sampai tertubuhnya Perbadanan ini.

Bagi pihak saya pula, saya akan mengikuti perjalanan Perbadanan ini dengan rapatnya dan saya menyeru kepada pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan sekalian supaya memberikan kerjasama mereka yang penuh kepada Perbadanan ini di dalam usahanya yang suci dan terpuji ini.

Kepada Ahli-ahli Perbadanan sekalian, saya ucapkan selamat bersidang pan selamat bermesyuarat.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI  
PEMBUKAAN KURSUS LATIHAN UGAMA  
YANG PERTAMA BAGI RANCANGAN PELAJARAN  
UGAMA DALAM RANCANGAN PELAJARAN  
DEWASA DI BILIK GERAKAN NEGARA,  
KUALA LUMPUR PADA 31HB MAC, 1963

Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Kerja Pelajaran Ugama, Peserta-peserta Kursus dan tuan-tuan yang hadir,

Syukur saya ke hadrat Allah Subhanahu Wataala kerana dapat hadir di sini pagi ini untuk membuka Kursus Latihan Pelajaran Ugama dalam Rancangan Pelajaran Dewasa yang dilaksanakan oleh Kementerian ini.

Saya berasa sukacita dan gembira kerana dengan adanya Kursus Latihan ini maka sudah nyatalah ada tanda-tanda yang menunjukkan bahawa rancangan pelajaran ugama ini akan dapat dilaksanakan dengan licin dan baik. Saya telah diberitahu bahawa tuan-tuan yang hadir menyertai Kursus ini dipilih khas oleh Negeri-negeri dan selepas Kursus ini tuan-tuan akan balik ke Negeri masing-masing untuk mengadakan Kursus-kursus Peringkat Negeri pula, bagi guru-guru Ugama yang akan mengajar di dalam Kelas-kelas Pelajaran Dewasa.

Tuan-tuan sudah mengetahui bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan pada hari ini sedang berikhtiar dengan seberapa daya upayanya hendak memberi satu jaminan hidup yang sepatutnya kepada tiap-tiap rakyat khususnya mereka yang tinggal di kawasan luar bandar.

Maka dalam Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar yang dilaksanakan oleh Kerajaan sekarang ini pihak Kerajaan mengadakan beberapa kemudahan-kemudahan dan kesenangan-kesenangan di kampung-kampung supaya dapatlah mereka di kampung-kampung itu hidup dalam keadaan yang lebih sempurna dan lebih



senang daripada yang ada sekarang ini. Banyak kemudahan-kemudahan yang sudah disampaikan ke kampung-kampung seperti jalan-jalan raya, sekolah-sekolah, balai-balai raya, bekalan air, bekalan elektrik dan sebagainya dan banyak lagi akan disampaikan kepada mereka. Maka kesemuanya ini ialah bagi faedah penduduk-penduduk itu sendiri. Akan tetapi segala kemudahan-kemudahan dan kesenangan-kesenangan itu tidak akan dapat memberi faedah yang sepenuhnya kepada rakyat sekalian melainkan rakyat sendiri berusaha dan bertenaga untuk kebaikan mereka sendiri. Mereka mestilah ada semangat hendak berusaha, bekerja bersungguh-sungguh, bergotong-royong—berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup mereka.

Saya percaya satu jalan yang baik untuk mencapai maksud itu ialah dengan mengikuti saluran ajaran Ugama Islam kita yang maha suci. Kerana Tuhan menuntut kita supaya mengubah akan nasib kita sendiri jika kita mahukan perubahan; tidak kurang pula ajaran-ajaran Ugama kita menyuruh umat Islam menggunakan akal dengan sepenuhnya serta berusaha bersungguh-sungguh untuk hidup lebih berbahagia dan mulia di dunia dan juga di akhirat.

Bagaimana yang telah berulang-ulang kali saya sebutkan di mana-mana saya berucap berkenaan dengan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar, maka jikalau segala rancangan-rancangan itu hendak mendapat kejayaan yang penuh dan faedah yang besar mustahaklah bagi kedua-dua pihak, iaitu pihak Kerajaan dan juga pihak rakyat bersama-sama berikhtiar dan berusaha melaksanakannya. Rakyat, khususnya penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar mestilah mengubah falsafah hidup, cara berfikir dan cara-cara perusahaan sendiri sekira-kira boleh sesuai dengan peredaran zaman dan keadaan zaman Pembangunan ini.

Kursus yang kita akan adakan ini adalah satu Kursus Ugama yang bertujuan menitik-beratkan akan perkara-perkara mengenai bagaimana manusia boleh hidup berbahagia dan mulia dalam masyarakat. Dan diharapkan dengan Kursus ini juga dapat kita tanamkan kepada rakyat kita di kampung-kampung akan semangat ingin maju, sanggup bekerja dan hidup berbaik-baik di antara mereka dalam keadaan yang aman, damai dan makmur.

Patut juga saya menerangkan kepada tuan-tuan di sini iaitu Kursus Ugama yang Kementerian saya laksanakan ini adalah hasil desakan dari berbagai-bagai pihak dan dari pelajar-pelajar pelajaran dewasa yang beragama Islam sendiri. Oleh yang demikian menjadi kewajipan kepada Kementerian ini menunaikan permintaan rakyat itu dan ini adalah juga sebagai menyempurnakan hasrat Kerajaan dengan mengikut Perlembagaan iaitu Ugama Islam menjadi Ugama rasmi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Alhamdulillah dalam penyusunan pelajaran Ugama dalam Kelas-kelas Dewasa ini maka dengan usaha dan kerjasama yang rapi dari ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Kerja yang dilantik oleh Kementerian ini dan khasnya dari ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Kecil, telahpun dapat digubal satu sukatan Pelajaran Ugama yang sesuai dengan keadaan perubahan masa dan sukatan Pelajaran Ugama itu telah diperkenankan oleh Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-raja Melayu serta dipersetujui oleh semua Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri kecuali Negeri Kelantan. Maka Sukatan Pelajaran Ugama inilah diharapkan supaya dapat dijadikan panduan di dalam Kursus ini dan dalam kursus-kursus yang akan dijalankan di tiap-tiap Negeri kelak.

Di atas perkhidmatan yang berharga yang telah disumbangkan oleh ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa tersebut itu saya bagi pihak Kementerian mengucapkan berbilang-bilang terima kasih khasnya kepada ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Kecil yang telah menggubal sukatan pelajaran itu.

Saya yakin dan percaya Kursus Ugama ini akan berjaya sebab saya mengetahui Pensyarah-pensyarahnya adalah terdiri daripada mereka yang betul-betul mahir dalam sesuatu maudhuk yang ditugaskan kepadanya. Tambahan pula mereka itulah yang telah menggubal Sukatan Pelajaran Ugama itu.

Maka saya berharap supaya tuan-tuan semua mengambil peluang ini serta cuba bersungguh-sungguh mengikuti Kursus ini supaya dapatlah dilanjutkan pula ilmu-ilmu itu dengan baiknya kepada

guru-guru yang akan mengajar Ugama di kelas-kelas pelajaran dewasa di Negeri masing-masing dan seterusnya kepada pelajar-pelajar kita yang beragama Islam itu.

Dalam hal penyelenggaraan kursus Ugama ini sukaiah juga saya bagi pihak Kementerian ini mengucapkan berbanyak terima kasih kepada Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri yang telah bersama-sama mengambil berat dan mengambil tanggungjawab pada menjayakan rancangan Ugama ini. Oleh sebab Ugama adalah tanggungjawab Kerajaan Negeri, iaitu mengikut Perlembagaan Negeri ini maka rancangan Pelajaran Ugama dalam Kelas-kelas Dewasa ini adalah diselenggarakan oleh Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri dengan kerjasama dan bantuan daripada pihak Kementerian. Tetapi dengan sebab hendak mendapatkan persamaan di dalam ajaran-ajaran Ugama dan cara penyampaiannya mengikut keadaan perubahan masa, maka Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri telah bersetuju supaya satu Sukatan Pelajaran sahaja digunakan dan Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandarlah yang bertanggungjawab pada memberi latihan kepada guru-guru yang telah dipilih oleh Negeri masing-masing itu.

Tuan-tuan sekarang telah pun termasuk menjadi keluarga Pembangunan Luar Bandar ataupun keluarga Pembangunan Negara. Bersama-samalah kita menumpukan segala usaha dan tenaga untuk menjayakan rancangan Kerajaan hendak meninggikan taraf hidup penduduk-penduduk di Negeri ini terutama sekali di luar-luar bandar.

Saya adalah menaruh harapan yang penuh apakala tuan-tuan semua balik ke Negeri masing-masing kelak tuan-tuan akan dapat memberi perkhidmatan yang lebih kepada kaum tuan-tuan sendiri sehingga kita dapat melihat keseluruhan orang-orang kampung kita yang beragama Islam hidup dalam satu keadaan yang lebih berbahagia di dunia dan di akhirat.

Saya harap dan berseru kepada tuan-tuan dan guru-guru Ugama yang akan mengajar di kelas-kelas dewasa itu supaya sebagai pemimpin-pemimpin di kampung-kampung berusaha memberi panduan serta memimpin penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar itu khasnya pelajar-pelajar di kelas-kelas dewasa supaya mereka itu

sedar dan faham di atas peri mustahaknya rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar ini dilaksanakan bagi faedah mereka itu sendiri dan untuk kemajuan Negara.

Kesedaran ini bolehlah diberikan kepada mereka itu dengan jalan memahami kesucian dan kebersihan Ugama Islam yang berkehendakkan supaya penganut-penganutnya dapat hidup dengan berbaik-baik di antara satu sama lain, tolong menolong dan bersefahaman di dalam keadaan yang aman tenteram serta makmor.

Maka dengan ini saya dengan sukacitanya mengisytiharkan kursus latihan Ugama ini dibuka.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON  
DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA  
AT THE GRAND ALLIANCE CONVENTION,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 31st MARCH, 1963

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I greatly welcome the opportunity of addressing this Conference of Alliance Leaders from all the territories which will come together by the Grace of God on 31st August as a new independent and sovereign Nation of Malaysia. I would like personally to extend my personal and very warm welcome to the delegates from Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore. We are very happy indeed that they have come to the national capital to join hands with us here to form a Grand Alliance so that when Malaysia comes into being we all shall be able to work together as members of one Party with common belief and objective to serve our new Nation and our new country.

It would be the duty of all of us here and those who subscribe to our ideals and objectives and who generally believe in freedom and democracy to exert their utmost efforts not only to bring Malaysia into being but also to see that it is a reality and to succeed in becoming a strong, united and happy country. We live in a difficult and divided world and for Malaysia in the next few years will be a challenging time. There will be problems, there will be difficulties for us to overcome, but I have no doubt that if we are united and if we stand together to defend the ideals and the principle which we subscribe, we shall overcome all these difficulties. Let us remember that, if there are no difficulties in this world, there will be no triumphs.

I am so pleased that the leaders of Sabah and Sarawak have been able to accept the Inter-Governmental Committee's recommendations with a spirit of compromise and goodwill. It is true that the recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Committee

represent the maximum agreement possible in the circumstances but they provide the basis for constitutional and administrative arrangements which would enable these two territories, Sabah and Sarawak, to join Malaysia as full and equal members to play their full part in national as well as international affairs of our new Nation. All these arrangements are not intended to be permanent. They should be reviewed from time to time to see whether they meet with our needs and requirements and whether they serve our paramount objective of building a united and happy Nation. We, from the Federation of Malaya, welcome our brothers and sisters in the new territories as equals and we extend to them the hands of friendship and I hope they in their turn will appreciate that we have nothing but goodwill and understanding towards them and our sole desire is to work together as members of one United Nation. I hope that in the course of time, it would be possible for the people of these new territories to regard Kuala Lumpur as their capital and not merely as a distant city and to regard the Central Government here, of which they will be full members, as their own Government which is designed to serve not only one part of the territory or one section of the community, but the whole of Malaysia and all the citizens of whatever race, colour, or creed.

That is why I consider it very opportune indeed that all of us here from all sections of our community, that before the birth of this new Nation is to be formed, we should rededicate ourselves to the great and inspiring task that lie ahead of us of building a united, stable and happy nation of Malaysia.

I have been asked, Ladies and Gentlemen, to speak on two subjects of which I am particularly responsible, i.e. development and defence. These two subjects, are of vital importance to our new Nation. Indeed, they are vitally important to any nation, because if we compare a country to a river, the two banks must be, on one side, economic development and on the other, defence and security. If these two banks can be kept solid and strong, then as the water of the river flows steadily, the country marches forward and prospers. Now, let us first take development. Naturally as a new and young Nation our people in all walks of life, towns, villages, kampongs and the long-houses, all expect to get development with a change in

the status; they expect changes in their ways of life; they expect improvements to their standard of living; they expect better amenities of life. Indeed, these are all the rising expectations of a new, independent and developing Nation. It would be our duty to meet these needs to satisfy these rising expectations to the best of our ability and resources.

Now, before I talk about development, we have got to get our thinking on the subject quite clear and start on a framework free from fear and doubt. Fears have existed both in the ranks of our various parties and also in several sections of the community that the formation of Malaysia would be an economic drain on the resources of Malaya and would affect the impetus of both our development programme here in Malaya and each of the three territories. I think that these doubts have arisen in the minds of those who have not got a clear picture of the concept of Malaysia.

The real concept is this: that Malaya itself is a country with considerable development potential in the form of natural resources, both material and human. Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore are four territories each with their considerable economic resources and development potential. Therefore, it is logical and it is an undeniable fact that the coming together of these five territories, their harnessing into one viable whole, their economic resources, and the combination of concentrated efforts towards progress and development of Malaysia will result in definite gains to each territory concerned and will give a greater impetus to our present development programmes which are already well underway.

There is no need for me here to prove this point at length. I am sure that history would prove it and our children and descendants will realise that we, in establishing Malaysia, have taken the right step for the interest of all our territories and of ourselves. If you remember, before the formation of the present Federation of Malaya, the same fears and doubts existed. Before Merdeka, each State felt that they were giving up too much to the Federation without receiving sufficient in return. I know this fact because at that particular time I was the Menteri Besar of a State and was as equally isolated and sceptical in my thinking as anyone else, full of

ideas and anxieties to protect the individual interests of my State. A matter of days later, after the first National Elections, I was on the other side of the fence as a Federal Minister. Now, looking back on these days and remembering the similar doubts and fears which existed before Merdeka, it is incredible to see how soon they were forgotten and events have proved, in the form of tangible progress, that the concept of Malaya under our present Constitution was correct, that our system of Federation with a strong Central Government was correct, and that it worked well in practice. So with Malaysia, the concept is logical and the same principles and practice will prove right and correct. In other words, the teething troubles which we already experienced before and after the birth of an independent Malaya are no different to the teething troubles which we can expect in the first few years after the birth of Malaysia.

Therefore, it seems to me now the most important task for all of us and indeed our first task is to help everyone to fully understand the correct concept of Malaysia. It is essential that in doing so, we can go ahead together on the economic development of the new Nation based on a framework for the future which spells hope of progress and prosperity. I think that we should regard that the coming together of these territories for Malaysia is the coming together of people each with their own assets to join a Co-operative Society, the correct operation of that Society must, will, and can be of benefit to the individual members of the Society. But it should also be remembered that for a Co-operative Society to be a success, to get an advantage from the Society, members must be prepared to give, it is to be a "giving and getting"; there must be give and take, that is the spirit which will make Malaysia and development within Malaysia a success.

In thinking of Malaysia prior to its actual establishment, some people tend to forget what tremendous national energies will be released which, at present, are either suppressed or non-existent before Independence. Independence will act as a vitamin for the rejuvenation of the whole Nation. We in Malaya have experienced this already and it is the harnessing of this new found vitality which, in my opinion, has helped us to make such strides already since achieving Independence. In five years as an independent and free



nation, we have achieved more and developed more than could be attained in 50 years of rule by a Custodian Government. Those who talk of neo-colonialism are talking neo-nonsense. The vitality of our development plan is proof of this vitamin of Independence. This is one of the greatest hidden potentials in the future development of Malaysia which cannot be accounted for in rates, revenues or tariffs. In fact, it is the main-spring of an independent and free Nation, and it will be the main-spring of a future and free Malaysia provided that main-spring takes off from a firm foundation of faith, goodwill and mutual understanding.

Futhermore, in drawing comparisons between a free and independent Malaysia to that of a set of territories under Colonial rule, it should be remembered that it is the traditional policy and practice of such Colonial Governments to advocate and exercise under caution in the expenditure of public funds. On the other hand, in the case of Malaya, on achieving Independence, financial caution was not thrown to the winds nor was it allowed to impede the National Development. With financial caution and sensible expenditure, and motivated by the energies released by Independence, these have enabled us to achieve results and to carry out development which we can justly say are beyond the expectations of many of us.

#### DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AFTER MALAYSIA

Now with regard to the future development planning and the implementation of such plans within Malaysia, we have requested the World Bank to set up conditions to recommend concrete steps which should be taken in the field of economic policy to effect such economic co-ordination to the maximum advantage of all the territories. You can see that we have already taken action to start sound economic planning. This Mission is now at work and it is hoped that it will be possible to produce a working outline blueprint as a guide for the future economic development of Malaysia. However, I hope it is remembered that plans in themselves do not produce development results. In this modern world, the art of good government is the ability to close the gap between theory and practice; the ability to translate plans into action; action into results.

## FACTORS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

In the world today events are usually discussed under the various headings; political, economic and social, and these classifications are frequently treated separately by political scientists, economists, sociologists and administrators.

I do not believe that social, economic and political factors in development planning, can be treated in such close water-tight compartments, because if this is done it tends to create, in development implementation, a lag between theory and practice which is reflected in wasteful frictions and antagonisms between the Government, Business, Trade Unions, Education and other Institutions and sections of the community.

To allow such a lag to exist between theory and practice is a luxury which no new Nation can afford.

If Malaysia is to succeed, if Malaysia is to develop, if we are to achieve progress and prosperity for our people in every town and in every Kampong, then we need, at our disposal, every ounce of energy that we can possibly put into development; every ounce of energy wasted of friction, misunderstanding and selfishness is a deterrent to development, and a loss to progress.

## ECONOMIC ASPECTS

On the economic aspect of our future development I think we must be cautious in accepting theories and practices which apply in other countries; and although our main aim is greater economic growth and greater prosperity, let us remember that prosperity in both the rural and urban areas should not always be judged by the same material gains which are the yardstick of progress in the more advanced Nations of the World.

Economic growth is a necessary goal for Malaysia, but it must not be considered to outweigh all others, nor should it be assumed that every action that increases wealth is necessarily right.

The increase of wealth, the raising of our overall standard of living, is an essential factor in our future economic development. But such economic development will only be satisfactory if it acts to preserve the meaning of life, not destroy it.

So therefore our development should have a focus not entirely on material gain, but a focus also on the human, social, cultural and religious aspects of our lives, so that we can build up a Malaysia which is not only economically stable, but which is also a Nation of people who are happy within themselves, self-reliant, and secure within their own sincerity of purpose.

### POLITICS—THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

On the political aspect of our future development let us remember the real and original meaning of the word politics, which means "the science or art of government". And I do feel that in order to implement a sound development plan the first thing to be done is to close the gap between the sometimes vague and irresponsible political thinking on the one hand, and sound development planning, administration and implementation on the other. Unselfish politicians can do this!

To do this one has to attract into the field of politics people who are sincere in themselves, ambitious for the good of the Nation and not their own gains; honest with themselves; honest with those whom they represent; and who have above all a sense of unselfish service.

It has been said many times that the difference between a politician and a statesman is that—

A politician thinks of the next election and

A statesman thinks of the next generation

In this context let it always be said of Alliance politicians that, not only do they think of the next generation, but they think, from day to day, of the next opportunity, which they can give unselfish service to Malaysia.

The main role of a politician in implementing a Development Programme is not really to make speeches for his own glory but rather to close the gap between the government and the governed so that the implementation of a Development Plan is a partnership between the people and the government, each playing an equally important part with the elected politician in between as liaison link, liaison leader, persuader for good, and promoter of progress; not for his own gains, but, for the gains of the Nation as a whole.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT

With regard to Rural Development in Malaysia I feel confident that if the principles which have been applied so successfully by the Alliance Government in implementing our Rural Development Programme in Malaya are applied in the same way to the greater concept of Malaysia then there is every hope of development in Malaysia being a success.

Let me remind you what these principles were.

The foundation for positive action on Rural Development was based on the principle of partnership between the government and the rural people themselves.

If we look at a map of Malaya and on it compare the distance separating the Federal Capital from the more remote Kampongs in our rural areas, we remember that many Kampongs are far away and that a journey to them by road, by rail or by river would take many, many hours.

However, in keeping with the tempo of modern travel the Alliance Government made it possible to make a journey into the heart and soul of the development needs of any Kampong in record time; this journey takes less than one minute: it is a mental journey made possible by the use of "Red Books".

The Red Book was conceived, designed and put to use by the Alliance Government, for the purpose of ensuring that, no matter how far away any Kampong may be, nevertheless, the hopes and needs of its people are forever near to the heart of Government.

The Red Book is in fact, therefore, tangible proof of the fulfilment of that trust the people of the rural areas placed in the present Government when they themselves chose it to take charge of the affairs of their country.

Similarly, let us look at a map of Malaysia and I feel with confidence, in the future, that what the Alliance Government had already done in Malaya, not only can they do in the development of Malaysia but can do so, even better, from the experience in practice which we have already gained.

### DETAILED ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Time does not permit me to go into detail with each and every aspect of future development of the Nation, but I would like to touch on one subject which applies to both Rural Development and overall National Development and this is the subject of roads. In the development of our country, it is clear from experience in Malaya that development follows roads and not the other way round. Some people think that it is necessary to make an economic survey of development potential before roads are built. Although this is desirable, in actual practice you can only get development after roads have been constructed. I am firmly convinced that roads are the bloodstreams of economy; rural roads are the bloodstreams to our rural economy and major roads are the bloodstreams to our national economy.

Let me give you an analogy from medical science. If in fact the blood cannot flow to any particular part of the body then that part of the body ceases to function and eventually becomes diseased, decayed and dead.

So it is with Kampongs, in this modern world, which are completely cut off and have no access to and from the economic bloodstream of our nation.

Roads in the rural areas do not only contribute to the economic development of the area but also they open up access for better education, better medical health services, better information services, better agriculture and veterinary extension services.

It is argued, however, that such roads into the rural areas merely open up the way for the bad effects of modern civilisation.

I refute this; admittedly, that when the blood flows to any part of the body there is every chance of the bloodstream being polluted by a virus but the danger of such virus does not deny the fact that a bloodstream is essential to health.

So it is with Roads. We make roads and plenty of them with our eyes open knowing that they may be polluted, from time to time, by the virus of the middlemen but the cure is not to stop making roads. The cure is to devise ways and means to eliminate the virus so that the economy of the Kampong is strong enough to stand on its own and to resist exploitation.

The point I am trying to make is that one of the greatest development needs in the new Malaysia will be roads.

From Sibü to Sandakan!

From Kuching to Kuala Belait!

From Kuala Kangsar to Kuala Trengganu!

Roads will have to be the bloodstream of our new Nation. But they are expensive to make and we will need them at a time when our financial resources are already being strained.

There are, however, throughout the World, many programmes of technical and development aid and I sincerely hope that those friendly nations who fully support Malaysia and wish to show their support, not only in words, but in some form of tangible token, the best contribution they could make would be to give assistance in developing the road network of the new Malaysia.

It would be a tremendous monument to international co-operation on development if we could so be assisted in developing a network of roads; each highway, be it large or small, to be named after the donor Nation.

This is not a request; it is only a suggestion. But I would like to remind those free nations which are willing to help Malaysia with tangible aid that there need be no fear of such aid being misinterpreted. The formation of Malaysia is really an "international marriage" of five countries and it is an established practice throughout the World to give wedding presents so that the marriage can start properly equipped, and have a chance of success; any friendly Nation which wishes to give a few miles of new roads as a wedding gift need have no fear of being accused of neo-colonialism. They could only be accused of neo-matrimonialism.

## THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT

I think the great thing that we must remember in the future development of Malaysia is that in the Inter-Governmental negotiations and in the drafting of the new Constitution a lot has been done by Legal Draftsmen and a lot has been said of Constitutional Law.

But in development there is also a law which we can apply, a law which has not been drafted or made by mankind, it is a law of nature of what we can call the law of "cause and effect".

The law of cause and effect is roughly this—in the World nothing really happens automatically, even crops don't grow automatically; if a farmer wants to grow a crop he has got to clear the land, so the seed and work hard in tending the crop, to get results.

And so it is with Development. Just talking about development, just making development plans, just hoping for development will never in fact result in development.

This is where the law of Nature, the law of cause and effect, applies.

To achieve development, to achieve economic growth, to achieve a happy and highly developed Malaysia, means hard work, harnessing of all our energies and the ability of political leaders to convert emotion into motion towards sound economic development of a happy and stable MALAYSIA!

## DEFENCE

I would now like to talk briefly about the defence problems and policy for Malaysia. I am sure, Ladies and Gentlemen, you all fully appreciate that with Malaysia our defence commitments will increase. We will have a much bigger coastline to guard and bigger areas to defend. Furthermore, with the present confrontation attitude of Indonesia, it would be necessary for us to have sufficient Armed Forces to guard our country in the event of any outbreak or trouble.

As Minister of Defence, I have now put up my proposals for the increase of our Armed Forces, the Army, the Navy and Air Force, to meet our increased responsibilities. Expansion of our Armed Forces will take some years to carry out, but a start has already been made. We have now placed orders for new aircraft, new patrol boats and machinery and equipment. We have also started recruiting men for the expansion of all the three Services.

The principal task of our Armed Forces will be for assisting the internal security and for close defence of our territories. The Federation of Malaya has a Defence Agreement with the United Kingdom and that Defence Agreement will be applied to the new territories of Malaysia.

However, as I have said, we have to increase the size of our Armed Forces considerably. Our total expenditure will have to double itself in the next few years. We have made no provision for this increase in our budget and we hope that we shall be able to obtain external aid from our friends, in particular, from Britain. We hope to give opportunities to the citizens of all the territories to take part in the defence of our country. Singapore has now two battalions of infantry regiment and Brunei, on her own accord, has established one battalion, which is now being brought to full strength. We have asked the British Government, in conjunction with the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak, to start recruiting a battalion for each of the territories so that when Malaysia comes into being we shall have at least one battalion for each of the territories which will be brought to full strength in due course and



which will be trained fully to take part in the defence of the territories. I am sure it will be appreciated that the people of Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei—the Malays, the Dyaks, the Ibans, the Kadazan, the Chinese and all who are known for their warlike spirit will be able to play their full part in the defence of our country.

Our policy, as is well known, is to be friendly with all countries, particularly, with our neighbours and indeed the main object of establishing Malaysia is to bring peace and stability to this area and we hope that we shall be able to maintain friendly relations with all our neighbours. However, we have always to be on guard and we must have sufficient forces for internal security as well as to meet any eventuality that may arise. Therefore, our defence expenditure will rise in the course of years and the burden will have to be borne by all citizens of Malaysia. I have already said that with Malaysia, we shall share equally, whatever the resources that we have. Our various territories have enormous potentialities and I have no doubt that in the course of years we shall be able to meet increasing burdens not only in defence, but also in development.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
DURING THE TALKS ON FINANCIAL AID  
WITH MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH TEAM,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 5TH APRIL, 1963**

Your Excellency, Hon'ble Ministers, Sir Henry Lintott and Gentlemen,

First, I should like on behalf of the Federation Government to extend our very warm welcome to Sir Henry Lintott and members of his team who have come all the way from London to Kuala Lumpur. We are very grateful to them and to the United Kingdom Government for having agreed to send a team to begin the talks on the financial aid Britain proposes to give to Malaysia.

As Minister of Defence, I need not emphasise how vitally important I regard these talks are. With Malaysia about to be established in a few months' time, we have now to take steps to expand our Armed Forces, our Army, Navy and Air Force. Indeed, we have already taken steps to do so. We have ordered some aircraft, ships and equipment and have recruited some men. For all these, we have made no provision in our budget.

With Malaysia, we shall have a bigger area and a much longer coastline to defend. Therefore, our present Armed Forces which are only adequate to undertake close defence of our present territories of the Federation of Malaya will not be able to undertake the close defence of the territories of Malaysia. Since Independence, we in the Federation of Malaya, had been able to keep our defence expenditure to a minimum. Indeed at present our total defence expenditure is just over 8 per cent of our budget. As a small nation, we feel that it would be best to spend our money on development, on food, rather than on bullets. For political as well as economic reasons, since Independence, we have to step up our development programme because our people of all races, particularly those who

live in the rural areas who had suffered greatly during the twelve years of Emergency expected an improvement in their way of life and to their standard of living. It is necessary for us to meet these expectations or what is commonly known as rising expectations of a newly independent nation. Indeed, we must meet these expectations if we want to prevent our people from being attracted to communism. Therefore, it is essential that we do maintain the tempo of our development programme. Our *Second Five Year Development Plan* has now reached its third year of implementation and we feel strongly that the programme must be proceeded if we, as an elected Government, are to hold the country and if *democracy* in this part of the world is to be saved. Now, with Malaysia, these new territories, Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei and Singapore, require as much development as the present Federation. The people in these territories supported Malaysia because they expected Malaysia would bring a change in their standard of living. We, therefore, must increase the tempo of development in these territories after Malaysia in order to make the people feel that Malaysia, as the British Government and ourselves here have said, offers us the best solution for their future. Therefore, in the next few years, development expenditure cannot be reduced but rather it has to be increased.

Therefore, Gentlemen, I am sure you appreciate as much as we do that it is not possible for the Federation Government or the future Malaysian Government to meet an increase in expenditure in development as well as in defence and security. That is why we have turned to you for help to tide us over during the next few years until our development programme can give us good results and will be able to obtain more revenue from our own sources. We shall need help not only in arms, equipment, planes and ships and materials but also aid in money. We need money not only for capital expenditure but also for recurrent. I know and I realise fully well that there is a considerable reluctance on any Government to help another Government with recurrent expenditure, but the relation between us and the United Kingdom is different, and I hope Malaya and Malaysia have a special place in the hearts of the people of Great Britain. When we achieved Independence in Malaya in 1957, we had the Emergency in our hands and you very

kindly gave us financial assistance to carry on with the Emergency until it was over at the end of 1960. Now we are faced with the same situation with Malaysia. The confrontation policy of Indonesia means that we will have to station troops in the Borneo territories and to have extra ships and planes to guard our coast and our borders. We, therefore, need assistance to do this. I know we have a Defence Treaty with UK which should be extended to cover the Borneo Territories but as far as internal security is concerned, it is politically desirable that we must be able to defend ourselves with our own men and equipment. From the point of UK and us it would not be politically advisable for British troops to be used for purely internal security operations.

In Brunei and in certain parts of the borders of Sarawak and Sabah, we still have the remnants of the rebels and from information that we gathered, these rebels will continue to harass us for some time to come. Also with the present attitude of Indonesia at the moment, we have no reason to anticipate any change. Activition on the border may increase after Malaysia. Therefore, on military point, it is desirable to retain such troops as we can spare in these territories to show to the Indonesians that once Malaysia is established we mean to defend it against any act of aggression offered or otherwise.

Therefore, I wish to make a formal request to the United Kingdom Government that the British troops now in the Borneo Territories should remain there for some time after Malaysia and I hope also that it would be possible to have arrangements with UK that we could use, as in the case of Emergency here in 1957, British troops to help in internal operations should the need arises. As far as external defence is concerned, of course it will be the sole responsibility of Britain. With our small force, we can only help with close defence.

Therefore, Gentlemen, what we are asking you is really to assist us to expand our Forces, structurally merely to maintain law and order in our new territories of Malaysia. As a sovereign independent nation, we must be able to maintain law and order with our territories. We have the resources in men but we are short of money.

Therefore, it is the money that we are asking from you. I do not wish to talk in detail in terms of dollars and cents. That would be a matter for my colleague the Minister of Finance<sup>1</sup>. What I have tried to do is merely to show to you our requirements from political as well as the defence point. We have put up our plan for the expansion of the Armed Forces and we feel that it is the minimum requirement of our needs to enable us to establish Malaysia and making it a success. We hope UK will be able to give us all the help we require in the plan; but if it is not possible for you to give all the help we need, then I hope you will help us to get the help from any other Commonwealth country or countries in the Western World. Well, thank you very much gentlemen, perhaps I would now ask my colleague the Minister of Finance to enlarge further on our requirements and on our financial position.

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<sup>1</sup> Encik Tan Siew Sin, J.P.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
TO THE ASIAN-AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON  
CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL  
UNDERSTANDING AT UNIVERSITY OF  
MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR ON 9TH APRIL, 1963

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Writson, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers,  
Delegates to the Asian-American Assembly, Ladies and Gentlemen.

When I received an invitation from the University of Malaya to give the opening address at this unique Asian-American Assembly I felt not only honoured, but also hesitant—in fact, a little like Daniel being challenged to enter the lions' den. I hope I can emerge unscathed.

You have come together, men of intellect from the United States and free Asia, to discuss "cultural affairs and international understanding". The theme is noble and of universal significance. It is your hope that through the give-and-take of ideas and views, information and experience you may be able to contribute constructively to the betterment of co-operation and understanding through out the world.

Being a politician first and foremost, I am naturally very deeply interested in any effort to improve understanding between nations and people, but I am also conscious of the fact that your specialised approach is outside my normal field. But as a politician, however, I could take comfort in Shakespeare's observation that "Each man in his life plays many parts". Therefore, I accepted the invitation, at the same time asking permission to range freely in my own way. So let me assure you that even if I feel like Daniel in the lions' den, there is no need to worry that I am also a Daniel come to judgement.

First, let me say that no man of intelligence and goodwill will deny that in this world today there is a great need to promote international understanding in every possible way, and not through

he medium of culture alone. It is also evident that cultural affairs are an excellent means for bringing men and women of different countries into closer touch with one another. Therefore, I presume I am right in saying that a prime aim of this assembly is to arrive at a practical appreciation of the problems and needs involved, especially from an Asian point of view.

These problems and needs are clearly not as simple as they may at first appear, nor on the other hand are they formidable and forbidding; hence the reason for this assembly. It is plain to me that you disagree with Kipling's dictum on East and West, "That never the twain shall meet".

I have mentioned Kipling on purpose to illustrate one aspect of the question of international understanding. It is often stated that the world we live in is very confusing. We have been subjected to so much dialectic that even simple words change their meaning, and semantics, or the meaning of meaning, has become a major study. The words East and West now have such overtones and undertones of conflicting ideology that if Kipling were writing today he might have been restricted to using other terms.

In this Assembly, I am sure, however, that you will be thinking not of East and West in the context of cold war, but in the more historical perspective of Orient and Occident. Fortunately, we do not have to be concerned about the meaning of some phrases which are still unchanged, still standard, still valid. Delegates here will understand as some of you may hail from either the Far East or the Middle West. Whether from the Orient or the Occident there is no misunderstanding your mutual purpose, which is to survey and scan wider horizons for human relations through culture.

In some fields of inter-change of culture, little difficulty exists. For instance, the expansion and development of telecommunications in all forms, bridging time and space with ease, can make nations on opposite sides of the world seem like next-door neighbours. Already radio and television stations have developed, or are developing, extensive facilities for exchange of programmes. With

the Telstar already hanging in the sky the future possibilities in this field seem limitless. In fact, the day when a television film can be shown simultaneously all round the world is rapidly drawing near.

When that time comes, quite obviously wealthy and powerful nations with all the apparatus of science and technology at their swift command, will have a tremendous advantage. How this advantage will be exploited is of great importance to all developing nations. At first sight, it would appear that for years to come small, newly independent countries will literally be on the receiving end.

George Orwell in his prophetic novel, "1984", has already foreseen one frightening possibility of a world in which all men are aware that "Big Brother is watching you". I am sure that this is a prospect that will have very little appeal to either men or nations who want simply to live their lives and in peace and happiness.

The urge to escape from the range of the all-seeing eye or the pressure of an all-pervading will surely will become irresistible. In such a world there will be no freedom of expression of any kind, creative or otherwise; in such a world, there will be no inter-change of co-operation in cultural affairs.

If we are to avoid the possibility of such a world where individuality of thought and action will be non-existent, where there will not even be lone voices crying in the wilderness, then surely it is incumbent on all men of goodwill to consider not only the problems of the world we live in now, but also the kind of world we want to live.

It seems to me that these questions are inter-related. If efforts for the betterment of international understanding are charted on the right course, then surely it can be possible not only to resolve difficulties and problems of today, but at the same time to set the compass towards an even better and brighter future tomorrow.



Looking around the world today, I am reminded vividly of the opening paragraph of "A Tale of Two Cities". As you will remember, Dickens wrote:

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way".

Dickens was writing about the year of 1775 which he reported was like his own time of 1859, eighty-four years later. Now in 1963, just 104 years later, I think we can take what cold comfort there is in knowing that our day is fundamentally little different to the time of Dickens or the era of his novel.

There are differences, however, both in nature and degree, and of course we do not have the advantage of having a Charles Dickens writing today. If he were alive and penning the opening chapter of, shall we say, "A Tale of One World", he would have to note that we are living in a time of nationalism and internationalism, of independence and inter-dependence, of regional association and continental thinking; in a world joined by the United Nations and divided by conflicting ideologies, a world of hot peace and cold war, a world where men of goodwill strive still for stability and peace among all these pressures and developments that envelop or overlap—in short, a world of simultaneous fusion and transition.

And what would he make of this world of over-population where millions go hungry amid fantastic productivity; of a world where science and technology have annihilated time and distance so that nations are only hours apart by air or in contact by minutes through radio-telephone, and even remote villages are becoming familiar with outer space; of a world where men of religion are finding new hope of unity and communion yet artists and writers take refuge in anger or despair; a world where old traditions and

cultures survive and mingle with a flood of new fashions and ideas; a world where opportunities for leisure multiply yet speed is worshipped for itself—in short, a world of rapid and constant change and flux where men live in either fear or faith under the looming menace of the Bomb.

I think Dickens would probably decide that he had wandered into the worlds of Jules Verne or H.G. Wells by mistake, and as far as he was concerned the world was still going to the Dickens. Whatever he might think, it is still the world in which we have to live, facing the problems of the present and the difficulties of the future with what serenity we can.

If greater international understanding in all spheres of life is the solution to the complexity and confusion of modern times, then it is necessary to ask what kind of world we want. No electronic marvel of computing can perform this task, which would mean probing into the minds of ordinary men and women everywhere simultaneously and at one moment.

However, such a computer is not necessary, because deep in our hearts we know the answers already, and I think any man or woman here could put these in one sentence. Let me try. "The world I want is a world where I can live in health and security, in justice and order, in happiness and peace, free to worship my own way and to speak my mind and conscious always of my duty towards my fellowmen as brothers in a true spirit of tolerance and understanding".

There are, I admit, many possible variations of this theme but these do not matter, because in the end they all add up to the same tune. In relation to family, community or nation, they express the point of view of man as an individual.

Therefore, to my mind the first major aim of all those who wish to attach greater international understanding, especially through culture, must be to ensure that neither personality nor identity is lost or submerged in a world of uniformity. Men and nations must

have freedom to express their own ways of life, to assess and to achieve the all-round development essential for their own material and spiritual needs.

I am not suggesting that any nation or people should live in isolation, as this is neither desirable nor possible in the modern age. Once upon a time only a sophisticated man could be described as a citizen of the world. Today, however, this attitude has changed. All people, whether simple or sophisticated, are and must be citizens of the world.

I am stressing, however, that the first duty of any nation is to its own people, to their security, welfare and happiness and that by carrying out this duty in the best possible way suited to their own circumstances and environment a nation is performing its obligations to the peace and stability of the world at large.

Whatever idealists may desire, a plain fact of modern life is that the internal problems of all countries differ. There may be many similarities, but they can never be exactly the same. For instance, if you consider the qualities of patriotism and loyalty these are ideals everywhere, but in practice people have their own ways and customs in expressing their feelings of loyalty and love for their country. In other words, each country has its own national pride, its own feeling of personality and identity.

In considering the question of international understanding, therefore, especially in the realm of culture, the cultivation of mutual interest among the company of nations must rest basically on the fact of mutual respect for one another.

I speak with some knowledge and experience of this question of national identity. Here in the Federation of Malaya we are engaged in a unique task, the moulding of a nation in unity from peoples of many races and creeds. We are very young as free countries go. It is only five and a half years since we won our independence, but I think I can rightly and fairly say that in that short time, all the people working together, we are truly conscious of being Malayan, and we take great pride in the prestige and reputation our nation has won in the eyes of the world.

In the making and moulding of the nation of ours, we have not lost sight of our duty as a nation in the community of nations. We were among the first to offer our services to the United Nations in the Congo, and you will remember that at one fateful time when some nations were withdrawing and that operation seemed in jeopardy, we were the first to assure the United Nations that, far from withdrawing, it was our intention to reinforce.

As Malaysians we have played a leading role in condemning Communist China for its ruthless suppression of Tibet and South Africa for its obnoxious policy of apartheid. We were the founder-sponsors of the new Association of South-East Asia, and the initiators of the Federation of Malaysia, shortly to emerge as a new nation on the world scene.

If anyone should express surprise that it has been possible for us to do so much in such a short time not only in the creation of our beloved Malaya but in carrying out our bounden duty as a member of the United Nations, then I think I can refer him to Madame Pandit. She visited us when she was President of the United Nations General Assembly, and declared, "Why—Malaya is a little United Nations in herself!".

All these are reasons why I have taken the opportunity in this Assembly to dwell on the importance of national identity, and I am sure that every delegate here, whether from the United States or from any nation of free Asia, will understand what impels me to do so, because each in his own way and speaking for his own country would express a similar point of view.

There is one other aspect of national development which seems to me most relevant in the context of your discussion, and that is the question of relationships and attitudes between larger and more powerful countries and smaller and newer nations, between what we may call the developed nations and the developing ones.

I think the first fact to bear in mind is that developing countries, such as Malaya, are working to the limits of their present capacity. There is so much to be done to remedy the omissions of the past,

there is so much to be done to provide for the needs of the present, and there is so much to be done to build for future progress that we must tackle every task in strict priority, and at the same time within the material limits of money and manpower.

Let me instance in Malaya the fields of education and culture, to which we devote more than one-third of our revenue. We have been able to provide for the first time in our history a place in a primary school for every child of primary age, and this year we have made primary education free. Our population is growing at a very rapid rate, so we are building hundreds of new schools and classrooms for the future. We are now tackling our insufficiency in secondary schools and technical schools of all kinds, and we aim to provide secondary or technical education for every boy or girl or young man or woman who is capable of taking a course.

We have built and staffed three Teachers' Training Colleges so far, as well as Training Colleges for Language Teachers and Specialists, and we are beginning construction of a Technical Training Institute for Teachers. And we have plans for at least two more major institutions for teacher training.

This very University which you see growing up all round you is less than five years old, and what you see now is only the beginning, for under our expansion plan this University will double itself inside five years and treble itself within ten.

We are nearing completion of a great National Museum. We have already established a temporary home for our National Art Gallery, and we plan to build a permanent one. In time to come we will have a National Library, a National School of Music, a National Art School and a National Theatre.

Yet all these developments and all these plans in the field of education and culture must take their place in the list of priorities in the creation of all-round national development in every sphere of life.

We in this country have embarked on a gigantic national development programme, particularly in the field of rural development. We have geared the whole Government machinery to this task because we feel strongly that our people of all races who live in the rural areas, in the villages and out of the way places, should be given the amenities of life compatible with modern needs and the dignity of a civilised nation.

Therefore, at the end of 1960, we launched our National Rural Development Plan to provide our country folk with amenities considered desirable so as to help them increase their incomes. This Plan is now in its third year of implementation and we are very pleased indeed that it has been carried out with a great measure of success. Today every village, however small it may be, has received some benefits under this Plan. But, much as we desire to carry out such development as we can, and although we have the administrative machinery to do so, there is a limit to our resources. Therefore, it is impossible for us to do everything at once.

I have given you this picture of the various fields of our National Development in Malaya, so that when you are considering ways and means of bettering international cultural exchange, it is important to remember that our facilities must not be overtaxed. Much of our achievement in cultural fields depends still on the faithful enthusiasm of many part-time voluntary workers. Older and wealthier countries have many cultural institutions and foundations of long-standing, staffed with experts in every field of culture and well-financed either by Government or by private philanthropy. It will be years before we in Malaya can catch up to such standards of achievement, because we simply do not have either the money or the time to build everything at once.

Our volunteer enthusiasts spend a great deal of time, talent and energy in producing and finding funds for cultural events. In Kuala Lumpur alone this year they have already presented five art exhibitions, three concerts, one ballet and three plays, and before the year is out they will have organised ten more art exhibitions, five concerts, one ballet and ten plays.

This is typical of the outburst of cultural activity taking place in our country in the past few years and it is growing all the time. Independence has surely produced a great release of spirit among our people. When one considers that all creative activity is going on with remarkable spontaneity and yet without benefit of many of the basic facilities taken for granted in older and wealthier nations—for instance, a National Art School—it is quite surprising what splendid results are being achieved.

It can safely be said that at the present time Malaya has the capability of presenting exhibitions of art or photography overseas which could arouse attention and keen interest anywhere. We have already begun to make our entrance on the international arena, as an exhibition of works by Malayan artists is at present touring India, and I am aware that plans are being made for a similar exhibition to be held in Australia. A recent colourful example of cultural enterprise was a tour organised throughout Malaya of national dancers from Thailand, the Philippines and our own country. In these ways Malaya is beginning to contribute to international understanding through the medium of culture. How much more we are able to do in the future will depend on growth and development of cultural affairs here, and of course this must take their priority. In the meantime, we are doing all we can.

One interesting manner of contributing to closer understanding between nations is the organisation of study tours, a field in which Malaya has taken the initiative in Asia. Each year, beginning last year, a sum of one million dollars is set aside to sponsor study tours of neighbouring countries in Asia for various kinds of groups, such as youth or culture, teachers, or women or farmers, who spend a few weeks touring other lands. For instance, a dance group has visited the Philippines and also Thailand. Quite apart from Government sponsored tours, our teachers also are extremely active in this field, arranging trips to Japan or India or other countries during their vacations and at their own expense. In these ways, Malaya and Malaysians are getting to know their neighbours in a personal manner, and our neighbours are coming to know us. We consider such tours are an excellent means of making and keeping

contacts with friendly lands. It will be seen, therefore, that Malaya is already making constructive efforts to bring about closer understanding.

I have not mentioned the question of sport, because strictly speaking it does not come within the scope of this Assembly, but in order to present a balanced picture, I think I should record the fact that Malaya has done and is doing, a very great deal in this field to promote international understanding. In a few weeks we will be hosts to football teams of youth from twelve countries in Asia at a festival in Penang. Every year the Federation of Malaya is host, paying all expenses, for what is known as the Merdeka Football Tournament. In fact, I believe ours is the only country in the world which sponsors every year an international football meeting. These efforts are another demonstration of our willingness to enhance friendly ties and understanding.

Then there is the question of scholarships. Many Malaysians are studying abroad under scholarships provided by ourselves, and many more through scholarships, awards or fellowships granted either under the Colombo Plan or directly by foreign Governments. The natural tendency is to award scholarships in the more technical field, and only modest attention has been given to scholarships in cultural field. It would seem to me that this could be an excellent method of extending cultural understanding, because it also helps to answer our problem of training the experts we will need in future years if we are to establish many and varied cultural facilities comparable with those in other lands.

If a small country such as Malaya finds itself hampered in providing outlets for expression overseas, because of the great demands being made on our resources of personnel and finance, then naturally, we welcome any gesture which enables us to reciprocate. For instance recently the Government of India invited a cultural delegation from Malaya to visit India for four weeks, and a representative mission of twenty found the tour a most refreshing and enlightening experience. In fact, one of the Malayan artists held a one-man show of his impressions of India within four weeks of returning to our country. I might say that foreign nations have



been taking a very great interest in Malaya in a cultural way, making it possible for talented musicians to come here or for art exhibitions to be held here, with rewarding results, I feel, on both sides.

This is exactly as it should be, because the inter-change of culture through the many possible media available today must, in my view, flow two ways if it is to be of fruitful and lasting value. Both large countries and small must have freedom to operate. The projection of culture must spring from a genuine desire not only to know and to be understood, but it must also be reciprocal, as the cultivation of mutual interest is essential to the encouragement of friendship and understanding.

Fortunately, this is the spirit which prevails in the free world already, and, speaking from a Malayan point of view, the extension of this spirit of co-operation and trust offers the best hope for the future. Tolerance, and respect, interest and welcome, these are the keys to friendship and fraternity. With these keys we can unlock not only individual doors of opportunity but also fling wide the gates of goodwill, thus opening the way to wider horizons of understanding in our rapidly narrowing world. It is my hope that the nations of free Asia and our friends in America will travel both ways happily together on this highway of amity and accord.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all success in your discussions and deliberations at the Conference.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON  
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TALKS,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 15TH APRIL, 1963

As Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya, I have kept quiet for the last two days because it has been the agreed practice that at the end of a Conference we issue a joint statement agreed by both parties and neither side makes any further statement to the Press.

However, since the Prime Minister of Singapore has made a number of statements to the Press which were not quite accurate, I feel it is my duty to put things right in order to avoid any wrong impression of what took place at the Inter-Governmental Committee talks.

It is correct to say, as has been pointed by the Minister of Finance of the Federation, that when it was clear on the afternoon of Thursday, 11th April, that the talks were on the verge of breaking down it was the intention of the Federation Government to issue a full statement on the current negotiations for Merger between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, so that the public might know the position reached so far.

It was at the personal plea of the Prime Minister of Singapore to me that we agreed to resume the talks that afternoon, and at the end of that discussion to issue only a bare statement announcing the resumption of the talks this week in an effort to find a solution.

I should make it clear that the proposals put forward in the Inter-Governmental Committee are the proposals of the Federation Government, which works on the principle of collective responsibility. It is, therefore, not right for the Prime Minister of Singapore and for the Singapore Government to single out the Federation

Minister of Finance for attack as if these were his personal proposals, as he has put them forward on behalf of and with the full support of the Government.

The Singapore Government, in an official statement, has now practically accused the Federation Minister of Finance, which means in effect the Federation Government, of trying to go back on the Singapore White Paper. This is completely untrue and it is not the practice of the Federation Government to go back on its word, written or unwritten.

It is, perhaps, inappropriate at this juncture for the Federation Government to explain its stand, which has been consistent and which will be fair to the needs of both Singapore and the future Central Government of Malaysia, bearing in mind the vital need to have a strong Central Government.

This principle has been accepted in the exchange of letters between the two Prime Ministers. One of the essential prerequisites of a strong Central Government is that it should have adequate financial powers and resources.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO  
THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB OF USA IN  
UNITED STATES ON 18TH APRIL, 1963

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

I am very grateful to you for inviting me to this lunch and for giving me the opportunity in speaking to you to-day.

I think it was Mark Twain who advised Journalists in these words:

"Get your facts first and twist them afterwards".

I would like to congratulate you, Gentlemen, because I can see signs that journalism in your country has developed considerably from the day when Mark Twain was alive. I understand that the main item of the programme of this lunch is the questions that you will ask me after I have finished speaking. Therefore I can see now that your journalistic method can be summed up in these words:

"Get your victim first, feed him well, and twist him afterwards"

Therefore, Gentlemen, your method has altered considerably the text of my speech because it appears to me that you are now going to have the last words. Now in order to enable you to have all the facts first, I have circulated to you the speech I originally intended to give so that you have more time to look at it and be in a better position to put questions to me. Also, it saves me reading that long speech and then you can twist me as much as you like.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and all Journalists from America for the interest, and understanding that you have shown in my country and in our part of the world. You seem to have understood the problems that we are facing there.

Judging by some of the more recent articles written in papers and magazines, many of you here seem to be as well informed of Malaya and Malaysia as I am. Therefore, really after my talk, it should be for me to ask you questions and not for you to ask me questions. However, I would like to make it quite clear that you are quite free to ask me any question you like and don't regard me as something fragile that must be handled with care.

I should also like to say that the purpose of my visit to this vast and beautiful country of yours, at the invitation of your Government, is to meet and explain to leaders of your Government, Congressmen, business and banking community, political, economic and security problems of Malaya and Malaysia. I had personal talks with your President, with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defence and other senior Ministers, Senators and Congressmen and they received me most courteously and listened with great understanding and interest. I am very grateful to them all not only for the hospitality and kindness they have shown to me but also for the understanding and the support for Malaya and Malaysia and for what we stand for.

My Government and I deeply appreciate the support given by your President, and the State Department, for the formation of Malaysia and for the regarded friendship, and Members of both Houses of Congress and indeed the whole people of the United States have shown for my small country and for my people. These interests and understanding and support would certainly give us great encouragement in the task of forming Malaysia and also in facing whatever difficulties that may lie ahead of us.

As you know we in Malaya achieved Independence in 1957. We achieved it by constitutional means, by power of arguments, power of the pen and by commonsense of constitutional concurrence. The result of this method which we adopted and which we sincerely believed to be correct is that we never really had a battle with, what the Communist called, the British Colonialist or Imperialist. Because of this we had been accused of falling prey to what is termed as neo-colonialism.

I would like to say, Gentlemen, that these slogans and terminologies are now completely out of date. Goodwill, understanding and decent relationship between nations are being completely misinterpreted by using such words as neo-colonialism. I would like to say here, categorically, that people who talk about neo-colonialism are talking neo-nonsense.

Now, Gentlemen, with regard to Malaya and Malaysia there is a great similarity between the concept of Malaysia and the concept of your Country, the United States of America. In Malaya and in Malaysia we are endeavouring to build a united nation of the various racial and cultural groups that are in our midst. We are endeavouring to absorb these various racial and cultural differences into a cohesive unity. Some people may think that in this multi-racial society may lie our weakness. But we ourselves are convinced that in this blend of races the real strength of Malaya and Malaysia can be found.

As you know, Gentlemen, even the best whisky or the best cigarettes on the market depends for their quality on the strength of their blend. Also, the strongest structures of the World are not made of one material but of a blend of cement and steel to form reinforced concrete. Therefore, it is the coming together of Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ibans, Kadazan and many other races of our territories, with the spirit of understanding of free will and determine to work together in the task of building a united and a democratic nationhood, that has given us the real strength. And this also has given us untapped human resources and provided we are given the fullest support from democratic nations of the free world, we feel confident that Malaysia will be a success.

I myself am confident that, in time to come, Malaysia will be regarded as the second Cape Canaveral not because we will launch any rocket or missiles to the moon, or any spaceship to Venus, but because we will be able to claim that we are the real launching pad putting democracy in orbit in South East Asia.

Now, Gentlemen, it is almost certain that some of you will ask me questions about Communism in Malaya. I would therefore like to say a few words on this subject.

As you know, we in Malaya have taken a firm stand against communism in our Country. We have a lot of experience about Communism in Malaya and we have sampled it in practice. For twelve years we experienced active Communist Terrorism in our Country. They drained our resources 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 Communist subversive elements in our midst and we will continue to be at our guard against them and will continue to fight. Our experience in the war against the Communists or Emergency<sup>1</sup>, might be regarded as an inoculation with the serum of subversive and overt Communist which has done some good as other inoculation in the medical field towards immunisation of disease. However, we will not sit back in immunity but must be forever on the look out to fight such a contagious disease.

Medical experts say that the greatest prevention of disease is to build up resistance as germs have little hope of surviving in a healthy body.

Now the same principle applies to new and developing nations. Therefore the greatest safeguard against Communism is sound economic development and that is what we are doing in Malaya. Our National Development and particularly our Rural Development has made considerable strides towards our goal of achieving higher standard of living both in the rural and urban areas in South East Asia and towards building a self-reliant and stable nation.

We intend to continue the Development Programme in Malaysia. Indeed the object of Malaysia is to free these territories from Colonialism and also to prevent them from being subverted by the Communists, by safeguarding their interests and by giving them the amenities of life and by carrying out Development Programme to improve their standard of living.

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<sup>1</sup> From 1948 to 1960.

We have now established an administrative machinery to undertake this development. Indeed, we, in Malaya, have the administrative machinery which is capable of carrying out development far in excess of what we can afford to finance. With Malaysia we shall need more money for development and also more money for the expansion of our defence forces for the protection of our country.

Now, Gentlemen, I have explained to you in the statement that I have circulated to you, facts and figures of our country about the economic and political situation in Malaya and Malaysia. I do not think that there is any need for me to add any more to that. As I have said I had given you the correct facts and I will leave you now to twist me as much as you like.



SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN  
REPLYING TO THE DEBATE ON THE ROYAL  
ADDRESS REGARDING THE SECOND FIVE  
YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN AT THE DEWAN  
RAKYAT ON 27TH MAY, 1963

A number of Hon'ble Members spoke on our Second Five Year Development Plan and alleged that the Plan is a failure and that it has neither improved the national income of the people, particularly in the rural areas, nor has it given increased employment. We understand the feeling of despondency and frustration of the Member for Kuala Langat<sup>1</sup> because he was given nearly six years to prove his worth to show that he could put into action what he so lively and loudly spoke in words. He was the Minister for Agriculture whose six years was also responsible for the co-operative movement. He always regarded himself as he said in his speech as the champion of the commonmen of the rakyat. But what did he do? Has any of his schemes proved a success? Because of this failure to plan properly and to approach the problems in the true prospective and to implement development programme continuously and with a real comes of determination, he was asked to leave the Cabinet. He talked about the great type of resentment built up by the rakyat who had been defrauded. If at all there is any such resentment, then it should be directed to him for his failure to carry out the various schemes of improvement of the lot of the people when he had all the opportunity to do so. And if the people were defrauded, it was he who defrauded them by making them believe that he could do a lot of things for their own interest when in actual fact he did very little. The ordinary men and women in this country, including those who live in the rural areas, are not stupid nor are they blind to facts. They always know where the truth lies and where sincerity exists. We, the present members of the Alliance Government, are always ready to be judged by the people for what we

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<sup>1</sup> Encik Abdul Aziz bin Ishak.

have done and what we intend to do. By our rural development programme during the last two and a half years, we have to some extent succeeded in changing the face of the rural areas. In areas where there are no roads before, we have built roads. We have brought medical facilities, water-supplies, mosques, cumulative homes and such other social amenities which we consider are desirable for a civilized life. Of course, these are not all the things that we want to do for them. There are many more amenities which we intend to bring to the rural areas to make rural life as pleasant and as amenable as life in the cities. Also, to those who have no means of employment, we had given them land of economic size. We have so far established fifty land schemes of 4,000 acres each. That is to say, each scheme can accommodate 400 families. Therefore, on the existing schemes alone, when they are completed, we shall have been able to find employment, a decent home, a decent place to live in with all the necessary amenities of life to about 20,000 families. This is not all, we intend to continue this programme. I recently announced that, with the agreement of the Pahang Government, we propose to open up about 200,000 acres in the centre of Pahang to cater for all the landless peoples from all over Malaya.

The first fact regarding our standard of living of which every Member of this House is well aware that our heritage from colonial rule resulted in our economy being dependent on two primary products, namely rubber and tin and the rise and fall of our National standard of living must, for some years to come, be inseparable from the rise and fall in the price of these two products.

The Alliance Government have always been well aware of this fact and that is why in our Five Year Plan we have given the greatest emphasis and taken active and positive steps towards the implementation of an agricultural diversification programme so that in the years to come our economic stability and the standard of living in both our urban and rural areas will not be entirely dependent on World market prices of these two products.

With regard to the effect of the National Five Year Plan, which includes the National Rural Development Plan, it has been proved by our assessment of the result of the first two years of the Plan that the physical output of our National economy has increased by 10% between 1960-62.

The assessment made not only by the Alliance Government but corroborated by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. There is proof that the general standard of living throughout the country has increased and continues to increase as a result of the implementation of our Plan.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to be more specific on this, the Federal Land Development Authority have already developed an acreage of approximately 197,000 acres of new land giving a new way of life and a better standard of living to approximately 16,000 families even the most irresponsible Member of Parliament cannot argue against facts; and the fact is that this new development of land is in fact raising the standard of living in the rural areas.

In parallel to this the various State Governments have, under Fringe Alienation Schemes, opened up an acreage of over 186,000 acres of land; the opening up and giving of land to cultivation by the rural people in itself is proof of a general raising of our National Output and our National standard of living.

Also on the field of RIDA, thirteen rubber processing factories have been set up; sixty small rubber processing factories; twelve Bus Companies; well over 100 markets have been opened up; \$20 million worth of loans have been given up to the rural areas of which over \$15 million has already been paid back; even the rural bus service in Kelantan, more commonly known as NETS has been put in order from being in debt to the extent of \$800,000 to being put in credit and making a profit last year of over \$67,000.

All these facts and figures a tangible proof that these vague accusations are false. Accusations that the Alliance Government is not in fact raising the standard of living are not based on facts and figures but are based on wishful thinking on the part of the opposition because it is obvious from the speeches in this House today that the wishful thoughts, the hopes and aspirations of the opposition is that our National Five Year Plan will fail and will in no way help the people whom they represent in the rural areas. They hope and pray for this failure for purely selfish reasons that they themselves will be able to take over the Government and I will say this, Mr. Speaker, that one of the greatest guarantees that the standard of living of our people will not only be maintained but will be increased; the greatest guarantee for this is that the Alliance Government continue to govern and continue the implementation of our National Five Year Plan as at present, because there is no doubt from the irresponsible speeches from the other side of the House that if, by a stroke of bad luck this country was being governed from the other side of the House then by their vague thinking, by their vague speaking and by their muddled meddling then the standard of living, in our country, which on this day, the 27th of May, 1963, would drop lower, lower and lower.

I am surprised that the members of the Opposition, the Hon'ble Member for Ipoh and member for Tanjong<sup>2</sup>, made some assertions about unemployment when there are no reliable statistics prior to 1962. As I have indicated unemployment in selected manufacturing industries has also increased by 10% from 1960 to 1961.

I would like to assure the House that the Government is not unmindful of the needs of reliable information of employment and unemployment in the country. We are making every effort to obtain this information through comprehensive employment and unemployment surveys. This is being undertaken by the Department of Statistics and the first comprehensive survey has been completed for the year 1962.

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<sup>2</sup> Encik Tan Phock Kin.

The result of this survey indicated an average of about six per cent in the labour force in 1962 were unemployed. This is approximately the same as unemployment rates in the United States and Canada, two of the countries where unemployment exists on a scientific basis.

As stated in His Majesty's speech "the implementation of our Second Five Year Development Plan, particularly our Rural Development Plan, has been a great success". The proof of this is clear for everyone to see in the rural areas themselves. The Government's action and the Government's deeds speak louder than empty words of the Members of the Opposition. It is true that although we have done much, there is still much to be done. But if we are given the privilege by the people to do it, we shall continue to tackle this problem of poverty and depression in the rural areas, with all the energy and earnest sense of determination, as we have done during the last two and a half years. There is no doubt that we have tackled this problem in the right way and with the right approach. The problem of improving the standard of living of the rural people is certainly a complex one, but we cannot solve it by merely talking or by propounding theories. I am prepared to say categorically to this House and to the country at large that our Plan, and our method of approach to overcome this immensely complex problem, are basically right. I am prepared to meet any Professor or any theorist on this case. Our method and our way have shown results and have succeeded. I have just come back from a long tour of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom and had met many great leaders of Governments as well as leaders of International Agencies. All of them paid great tribute not only for the way in which the Alliance Government has administered the country but for the way in which we are implementing our development plan. We had been regarded as a model for newly independent countries because of the stability of our Government and because of the success of our development plan. We had been given the respect in great capitals of the world far out of proportion of our size and of our population. I heard all these in glowing terms personally, and I say all these out of tribute to the Alliance Government. Of course,

we do not expect to get such tributes from members of the Opposition. But if they are honest in themselves and responsible as they should be, then they should give credit where credit is due.

I know certain quotations have been read out from reports put up by a Professor who is supposed to be conversant in economic theories. But I say, we in the Alliance Government, do not merely talk of theories. We believe in action, in deeds and in results. The people in the rural areas, in the kampongs and in the villages, do not understand theories but they understand results and I will say this to any Professor who wish to propound on theory of rural development, I wish you show results first before you can talk. We do not dwell on theories.

The Hon'ble Member for Tanjong spoke about collective ownership in order to create efficiency and patriotism. I say this idea of collective ownership is unacceptable to the kampong people. They want to own land; they want to own houses; but they are prepared to development their land co-operatively or collectively and this, as far as possible, is being done. That is why one of the main things that we encourage in rural development is the spirit of "Gotong Royong". Here again, I say to the Hon'ble Member for Tanjong, don't work on theories. We have got to devise a system of economic development which is suited to the conditions of our country, suited to the mentality of our people. After all, in economic development, as in any other field of progress, human factor plays an important part. Whatever we want to do, whatever method we devise, we must have the acquiescence of the people. They must agree that it is right so that they can adopt it and use it continuously to get results. That is why, I say we, in the Alliance Government, are convinced that we are doing the right thing in the right way. Given a few more years, with the present stable conditions of the country, we are confident that we can effect that evolution in the life of the rural people so that all of them will be able to live a better, healthier and happier life and that we shall have a real economy, based on a strong and sound foundation.

The Hon'ble Member for Seremban Timor<sup>3</sup> alleged that in the implementation of the Development Plan, we are not treating the new villages in the same footing as the other villages. I have made so many statements on this subject that it is almost worthless to repeat. But because of the Opposition Members talks and who always play the same record, we also have to repeat the answer. I said our aim in the rural development is to carry out development throughout the country in accordance with the needs of a particular area and our plan is national in spirit and in character. We have now a special leaf in the Red Book for the development of the new villages and the requests from people of the new villages are being attended and given the same attention as those of the other areas in the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, next I wish to mention a little bit about loans. The Hon'ble Member for Tanjong accused Government for borrowing too much money from overseas. I would like to explain that we are in a young and developing country. We cannot carry out development plan without money. The Hon'ble Member also said our taxes are too high. Well, if we cannot get money internally, we must get money from loans overseas to finance our development plan. This is a usual thing done by any country in the world, including the United States of America before she became the most prosperous country in the world. Like any business undertaking, if you want to expand your business, you go to increase your capital. You borrow money in the hope that your business will expand and your profits will increase and you will pay the loan from your profits. In the same way, in a country, if we want to development and expand our economy, naturally we have to borrow money for the purpose. When our economy had expanded and our national income increases, we shall be able to draw more from the country to pay our loans. This is the only rule to prosperity; a rule which had been followed by every developing and wealthy country in the world. There is no other way. If we are not prepared to borrow money to expand our economy, then we must remain static and we cannot expand and improve in our way of life.

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<sup>3</sup> Encik Chin See Yin.

I should like to explain to the House a little bit about our financial position. With the advent of Malaysia, as has been explained on a number of occasions, with Malaysia it will mean we shall have to increase our defence forces and our police forces for the protection of a much bigger area than we have now. It has been estimated that we shall have to increase our defence forces and our police forces for the protection of a much bigger area than we have now. It has been estimated that we shall have to increase our defence and our internal security with the current expenditure extent to the tune of about \$200 million a year on account of Malaysia. In addition to that we have to incur considerable capital expenditure. Also, the new territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, which are much less developed than we are, will need assistance for their development plans to a tune of about \$100 million a year. We cannot find this money from internal sources, we shall have to obtain assistance from abroad. That is why my colleague the Minister of Finance and myself were in London recently to talk to the British Government on financial assistance for defence as well as development. We feel that Britain has a special responsibility to give assistance for the expansion of our defence forces as well as for development in the new territories. We have had these talks, but as I have indicated on my return, the talks did not end successfully as the offer made by the British Government fell far short of our requirements. As this matter is still under negotiation between the two countries, I regret that I am not able to give the figures of the amount of assistance offered by the British Government but we hope we shall be able to get the British Government to agree to give assistance to what we consider reasonable because it will be difficult for us to carry out our development programme which we promised to do and at the same time expand our armed forces without assistance from outside.



SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE OPENING SESSION OF MINISTERIAL  
CONFERENCE IN MANILA, PHILIPPINES ON  
7TH JUNE, 1963

Your Excellency Mr. Vice-President Pelaez<sup>1</sup>; Your Excellency Dr. Subandrio<sup>2</sup>; Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me first of all to take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our profound gratitude and appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Vice-President Pelaez, and through him to the Government and people of the Philippines for the very warm welcome and hospitality which they have extended to us.

We deem it a rare privilege to be in Manila as guests of the Philippine Government whose distinguished leader, His Excellency President Macapagal<sup>3</sup>, one of the most illustrious sons of Asia, is held in high esteem and deep admiration by the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya. It was the charm, friendship, vision and above all the inspiration of President Macapagal which has made this historic meeting possible. It is therefore my fondest wish and indeed the earnest hope of the people of Malaya that this warm and friendly spirit which President Macapagal has generated would conduce this conference towards a fruitful discussion with salutary and far reaching effects on the destinies of South East Asia.

I would like to take this opportunity to mention also the very great pleasure which has been given all of us over the very cordial and fruitful meeting that had taken place between our Prime Minister and the President of the Republic of Indonesia<sup>4</sup> in Tokyo recently.

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<sup>1</sup> Vice President of the Philippines.

<sup>2</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup> President of the Philippines.

<sup>4</sup> President Sukarno.

This meeting has created an enormous fund of goodwill and understanding between the two leaders. I am sure its fruitful outcome was warmly received by the people of Malaya and Indonesia and no doubt by the peoples of Philippines too. This "little summit" undoubtedly has greatly contributed in clearing the way towards the realization of this very conference for which we are all gathered here today, and later on towards the convening of a summit meeting of the three leaders of our countries. Of immense gratification is the agreement that has been reached at that meeting to the effect that any outstanding differences on matters directly and exclusively affecting Malaya and Indonesia should be settled by them in a spirit of neighbourliness and goodwill through every available channel as envisaged in the Treaty of Friendship. Malaya and Indonesia should look forward to a very bright future.

This Ministerial Conference is a momentous and historic events in the history of our peoples and of South East Asia as a whole. For the first time in the history of our three countries our Foreign Ministers are sitting together to discuss freely and frankly matters of common concern to our three countries and of our region with a view to promoting friendly relations for the preservation of the security, peace and stability of our region.

I am confident that with goodwill, sincerity of purpose and courage the leaders of our three countries echoing the spirit of Malotos, Matavam and Malacca where the fires of independence were rekindled in the hearts of our people, we shall be able to overcome all problems and difficulties that we face in common.

The millions of our people whom we represent have so many common ties of history, culture, race and language, although for centuries in the recent past we have been unfortunately separated by colonial domination. Now that we are forging ahead in our independence the way is wide open for us to establish once again the so many ties that we have in common and to come together. The people in Malaya are following this Conference with the keenest anticipation and hope that it will pave the way towards a greater understanding and harmony among our three countries: so

that instead of division we shall have unity, instead of hostility, we shall have co-operation and friendship for the benefit and well-being of all our peoples.

Malaya has always stood for peace with honour and justice. Consistent with the purposes of the United Nations, Malaya has all along striven for the preservation of peace in the world, for the promotion of international co-operation towards higher living standards, and for the establishment of a world order based on the rule of law, and on respect for the principle of equality, non-interference and mutual respect among nations.

We firmly believe that in their conduct of international relations all nations should refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. That is why we have come in the most forthright manner in condemning the recent Communist Chinese aggression on India. The Malayan people will always condemn aggression and deplore any policy of achieving its objectives by the threat or use of force. Militant attitude has been proved time and again by history not only to be counter productive, but also highly injurious to the peace and security of mankind. We believe in the equality of peoples and in their inalienable right to pursue their destiny in freedom and self-respect.

To the Malayan people as to all peoples in Africa and Asia which have only recently freed themselves from the shackles of colonial rule, the injustice and humiliation of colonial domination are bitter experiences still fresh in our minds. But it is not for this alone that we are resolutely opposed to colonialism. Colonialism as a system of relations between peoples is not only outmoded, but also constitutes a definite barrier to the promotion of economic and social progress and hence to the promotion of world peace.

We have shown by our action in the United Nations our dislike and our distaste for colonialism in all its guises for all forms of denial of fundamental human rights and freedom. In the United Nations the Federation delegation has been second to none among the Afro-Asian delegations in championing the cause of liberating

subject peoples from colonial and imperialist domination. We supported the anti-colonialist struggle in Algeria, Angola, South West Africa, West Irian, Southern Rhodesia, to mention only a few instances, and this constitutes a clear proof of our attitude and our policy in this matter.

As regards the racist policies of Apartheid in South Africa, the Federation was in the forefront in opposing it not only in the United Nations but also in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. Indeed, if I may refresh memories on this subject, it was largely the firm stand taken by our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, at that Conference in condemning the iniquitous policy of apartheid which ultimately resulted in the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

The Federation of Malaya is dedicated to the continuation of the struggle until Apartheid practice and policy in South Africa has ceased. At this very moment the Federation Delegation at the United Nations has been given the honour of serving on the Committee which is keeping South Africa's Apartheid policy under constant review.

Our opposition to all forms of colonialism makes no distinction between the colonial domination by the West, and the imperialist domination by the Communist powers. We stand for the freedom of the individual and firmly believe that domination of man by man in whatever form must be brought to an end. Thus the Federation of Malaya has not hesitated to make her voice heard at the United Nations and elsewhere in calling for the restoration of liberty and freedom in Hungary and Tibet.

The liquidation of colonialism in our midst does not by itself bring about the happiness and prosperity to which our peoples aspire. Independence is only the first step—the most important step though it undoubtedly is—the next most important step must be the progressive attainment of economic and social advancement of all our people in freedom and self-respect.

There are numerous problems confronting each and every one of us—problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy and undernourishment/malnutrition—in short problems of economic and social injustice—which we have inherited as a legacy of colonialism. These problems, if allowed to deteriorate will no doubt pose a threat to the peace, security and stability of each of our country and of our region as a whole. The fostering of healthy economic and social growth is therefore a gigantic task facing our countries individually and collectively. It is the moral responsibility of governments to provide the basic economic and social progress. These objectives are indeed a pre-requisite to the healthy development of democracy, and their attainment constitutes a bulwark against communism.

We in Malaya know too well from bitter experience that Communism poses a great threat to the territorial integrity of our country and to the happiness and prosperity of our people. The Communist threat is real; and it must be vigourously encountered. Communism acts like a cancer in the human body and it must be totally eliminated before the human body can grow in health. If we want to give our people all the opportunities to advance economically and socially as is their aspiration then this Communist cancer must be removed from our region.

We in Malaya have seen Communism in practice and we firmly believe that Communism is contrary to our national aspirations and to our ideas of freedom and democracy. In keeping with this belief for democratic ideals and individual freedom we have embarked on a gigantic development programme to give our country the high level of productivity employment and prosperity and indeed all our energy and resources are devoted to this programme of National development, in particular, Rural Development Programme.

With her free market economy and stability Malaya has successfully attracted investment from all over the world for the development of new and much needed industries. Malaya's vast Rural Development Programme is bringing to our people in the rural areas much of the amenities, comforts and prosperity which have hitherto

existed only in the town. There are now more schools in the countryside, more health clinics, more roads, more bridges and water-supplies to meet the economic, social, educational and cultural requirements of our rural population. Under our Land Development Programme thousands of families who have no homes before and no means of livelihood have been given new homes and adequate means of livelihood in properly planned surroundings with the necessary amenities of life.

Much as we have done and achieved in our own country in these fields, we are convinced that much more can be achieved if there is closer co-operation among our three nations in attacking our common problems. There can be no better way of achieving our universal objective of happiness and prosperity for our people in freedom and justice than for us to work together, to plan together, to pool our resources for the economic and social betterment of our respective peoples, and for the region as a whole.

That is why we are keenly participating in the Association of South East Asia together with the Philippines and Thailand. That is why also we place our great hopes in this Ministerial Conference among the countries of Indonesia, Philippines and Malaya.

This Ministerial Conference, and the summit meeting which we hope will follow, offer us exceptional opportunity to find ways and means of achieving effective co-operation among our three countries in this region in wider and expanding fields.

Let us not miss this opportunity. The problems confronting us are many and difficult and the challenge is therefore great. But it is a challenge we must face resolutely. The stakes are high because on us will depend the future security, peace, stability and prosperity of this region of South East Asia.

We in the Federation of Malaya pledge ourselves to give all the co-operation necessary to remove any barrier which may stand in the way to bring our three countries closer together in all fields of activity.

In the past, we in the three countries in this region, have taken a number of concrete measures to promote closer economic, cultural and educational co-operation. Malaya and Indonesia are bound together by a Treaty of Friendship while with the Philippines, Malaya are founder members and partners in the Association of South East Asia. Let us, therefore, build up on the measures we have already taken, much greater and closer co-operation in all spheres of activities. Our three countries have so many ties in common—ties of history, race, language and culture. Indeed, we are like brothers belonging to one family which have been separated for generations by the forces of colonialism. Now that we are all three fully independent sovereign nations, let us re-discover ourselves and revive the old ties which bound our forefathers together. For countries which have so many things in common, such as ours, there is no limit to the area of activities in which we can co-operate and work together for the benefit of our people.

We, in the South East Asia, will not be able to join in the race for the building up of stockpile of nuclear armament nor can we join in the race for journey to the moon, but here in this region we have an abundant stockpile of tolerance, understanding and goodwill. We have an abundance of wealth and natural resources which can be used for the benefit of our people. Let us, therefore, bring to the surface all those potentials of wealth, tolerance and goodwill and let us be the launching pad not of missiles or of spaceships but rather the launching pad of goodwill, understanding and friendship among nations. Let us show to the world, to all nations, big and small, that co-operation, friendship and respect of one another are the only means of achieving peace, progress and happiness. Let us also show to them that force or aggression are counter productive. Let us show by example and by positive measures the means by which the people in the present world in which we are living, a world so fraught with dangers and difficulties and so disturbed and so divided, can look forward to an era of peace, progress and enlightenment. Let us, therefore, here dedicate ourselves to this task of working out positive and constructive measures by which our three countries can work together for the progress and happiness of our people and for the peace and enlightenment of the whole world.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE TRIPARTITE  
FOREIGN MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MANILA,  
PHILIPPINES ON 11TH JUNE, 1963**

We have now come to a close of this historic Foreign Minister's Conference. The happy and fruitful conclusion of the Conference is an occasion for rejoicing to all of us, certainly to me and my delegation.

The Conference has achieved the purpose for which it was convened. It has helped to clarify matters on issues of common concern to all our three countries and to our region, brought about a convergence of views on subjects of mutual interest to us, and helped our three countries to find common ground towards solving current problems confronting us. In short, this Ministerial Conference marks a beginning of a new era in our relationship, an era of the rediscovery of our common origin and heritage. This rediscovery and the resultant meeting of minds as well as the reassertion of our common ties will, I am confident, open for us new vistas of effective and fruitful co-operation and collaboration for the peace, stability and prosperity of our region.

This is no mean achievement if we recall the tension which unhappily had strained our relationship in recent past. This achievement could not have been possible but for the conscious realization of all taking part in the Conference on the imperative necessity of reducing tension in our region, as well as their firm and common determination to reach real understanding and closer co-operation among the three countries.

The success of the Conference is furthermore an eloquent tribute to the inspired statesmanship of my eminent colleagues, Vice President Pelaez and Dr. Subandrio. Their friendship and charm



contributed in large measure to the cordial atmosphere which prevailed throughout the Conference. Their sense of dedication to the common cause of peace in our region and of co-operation among our three countries, as well as their patience and perseverance in dealing with delicate and difficult problems, facilitated a great deal the frank and constructive exchange of views which had resulted in bringing about among our three countries a common ground and unity of purpose in solving common problems and in sharing our common destiny. Throughout the series of intimate discussions I had with Vice President Pelaez and Dr. Subandrio, I was most impressed by their high quality of statesmanship and leadership.

The agreement reached at this Conference on the establishment of a consultative machinery as a first step towards achieving a form of close association of the countries of our region, in particular of the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya, is a positive manifestation of the common desire of the peoples of the region to re-assert their historical and brotherly ties. This will be a firm basis for the re-union of our peoples, for the revival of the old ties which bound our forefathers together. I have said at my opening address last Friday, and I say it again now, that for countries such as ours, which have so many things in common, there is no limit to the area of activities in which we can cooperate and work together for the material as well as the spiritual benefits of our peoples.

Let us now, in the same spirit of friendship and goodwill that has brought about the sense of common understanding and co-operation among our leaders in Tokyo and here in Manila, dedicate ourselves forthwith in a determined effort to translate this agreed measure into a formidable vehicle for the progressive attainment of economic and social progress of the peoples of our region.

I can say without any hesitation that the people of Malaya who aspire to nothing but peace and prosperity in justice and freedom wholeheartedly welcome the establishment of this system of tripartite consultations. They look forward with eagerness and hope to the increasing co-operation and collaboration at all levels among

our three countries. The Malayan Government therefore pledge itself to give its utmost to our joint endeavour to make this tripartite consultative conference a living and growing reality.

We are particularly gratified that the frank discussions during the last few days have brought about an understanding and agreement on how to solve the problem arising out of the proposal to establish a Federation of Malaysia and also on how to resolve the Philippines claim to North Borneo. Malaysia in itself is a manifestation of the desire of the peoples in the territories to re-establish common ties and to forge their own destiny together as one family.

Malaysia is conceived to ensure that the subject peoples of the Borneo territories and Singapore would achieve independence in the quickest and most orderly manner by becoming members equal in status with the other existing eleven members in the independent Federation of Malaya. When it comes into being, Malaysia will be a keen partner in our common endeavour to bring about wider unity and harmony among the countries of South-East Asia in conformity with its desire for peaceful and brotherly relations among the countries of the region.

In closing my address, Your Excellencies, allow me once again to pay our highest tribute to His Excellency President Macapagal for the statesmanship he has shown, his far reaching vision and the inspiration he has generated which not only made this meeting possible, but also contributed largely to its success.

I would also like to recall here the spirit of friendship and goodwill as well as the high degree of statesmanship among the three leaders of our countries.

All these, as well as the fruitful conclusion of our Conference, are indeed happy auguries for the success of the forthcoming meeting of the leaders of our three countries.

Finally may I again take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to His Excellency Vice President Pelaez and through him to the government and the people of the Philippines

for the warmth of their welcome and hospitality which has made our stay in Manila most pleasant and memorable. I would also like to pay a warm tribute to you, Mr. Vice President, for the extremely able manner in which you had acted as Chairman of our Conference. In spite of the fact that you are yourself an active participant you have not allowed your own position to interfere with your impartial duties as Chairman. Your charm, your wit and your patience had certainly enabled us to resolve difficult matters and conclude our business according to schedule, while at the same time affording us the opportunity to enjoy ourselves.

In conclusion, I would like also to express my warm appreciation to the officials of the three delegations as well as to all members of the Secretariat staff for the extremely efficient and able manner they served our Conference, and in meeting our exacting demands with cheerfulness and enthusiasm. To you, Mr. Chairman,—and to all who have contributed to the success of this Conference—I wish to say Selamat Po.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
SELAKU Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Pelak-  
sanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan Menerusi  
Radio Malaya Pada 30<sup>HB</sup> JUN, 1963

Sebagai Pengerusi Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan, saya sangat-sangatlah merasa syukur ke hadrat Allah Subhanahu Wataala kerana dalam kesibukan menghadapi masalah-masalah menubuhkan Persekutuan Malaysia dan lain-lain masalah besar yang dihadapi oleh Kerajaan kita hari ini, dapat juga saya waktu seperti ini untuk bercakap kepada tuan-tuan sekalian.

Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan sebagai langkah yang cermat ke arah penggunaan bahasa itu menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam masa yang tidak lama lagi, iaitu tahun 1967 yang akan datang, adalah satu langkah yang menghendaki tenaga, fikiran dan juga keikhlasan yang amat besar. Usaha pelaksanaan menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan di pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan dan lain-lain penggunaan secara rasmi adalah pada masa ini dijalankan dengan cara sukarela kerana Perlembagaan kita masih lagi membenarkan bahasa Inggeris digunakan di samping Bahasa Kebangsaan. Tetapi usaha sukarela dalam hal Bahasa Kebangsaan ini tidaklah sama dengan usaha-usaha sukarela dalam lapangan-lapangan kebajikan dan sebagainya. Usaha sukarela menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan adalah usaha sukarela kebangsaan, sama sifatnya dengan sukarela seorang ahli politik dalam usaha-usahnya memimpin rakyat, sama seperti sukarela orang awam memikul senjata kerana mempertahankan kedaulatan negara dan sebagainya.

Oleh sebab itulah dalam usaha menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan sebagai bahasa rasmi di pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan dan pejabat-pejabat orang ramai pada masa ini berkehendakkan tenaga yang besar untuk belajar dan memahirkan diri masing-masing; berkehendakkan fikiran yang tenang dan sabar menghadapi berbagai-bagai kesukaran dan juga yang terutama sekali berkehendakkan semangat keinsafan dan keikhlasan yang besar di dalam dada masing-masing.

Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal bagi negeri ini adalah sebahagian daripada pelaksanaan rancangan pembangunan negara. Seluruh pembangunan negara kita mempunyai tujuan yang satu, iaitu kemakmuran dan keamanan. Kemakmuran dan keamanan dalam negeri yang didiami oleh berbagai-bagai kaum dari berbagai-bagai kepentingan dan berbagai-bagai kepercayaan ini tidaklah dapat ditegakkan hanya dengan kemajuan ekonomi dan kemajuan-kemajuan teknik yang lahir sahaja. Di samping kemajuan lahir itu kita berkehendakkan kemajuan batin juga, kemajuan semangat kebangsaan dan semangat perpaduan.

Kita tidak hanya berkehendakkan kesenangan-kesenangan hidup lahir tetapi lebih penting lagi kita berkehendakkan ketenteraman hati dan jiwa. Kita berkehendakkan persefahaman dan perpaduan antara kita sama kita yang terdiri dari berbagai-bagai kaum di negeri ini. Kita berkehendakkan sesuatu yang bukan merupakan wang dan harta sahaja untuk ketenteraman hidup kita; sesuatu yang boleh menambah kemesraan, menambah saling pengertian antara kita. Ini ialah semangat kebangsaan, semangat cintakan tanah air, semangat merasa terhormat dan megah dengan lambang-lambang kebangsaan kita.

Bahasa Kebangsaan ialah salah satu daripada unsur-unsur yang akan menimbulkan persamaan semangat itu di dalam diri tiap-tiap kita dengan tidak mengira apa asal keturunan kita.

Masalah ini telah banyak kali diperkatakan oleh cerdik pandai dan ahli-ahli kebudayaan kita dan memanglah telah diakui di seluruh dunia bahawa tiap-tiap bangsa itu mestilah ada dasar-dasar perpaduan kebangsaannya untuk dapat hidup aman, makmur dan dihormati oleh lain-lain bangsa.

Tetapi bahasa sebagai lambang perpaduan tidaklah akan memberi kesan kalau lambang itu hanya tinggal menjadi lambang yang tertulis di dalam perlembagaan sahaja, sebab bahasa adalah sesuatu yang tidak mempunyai pengaruh sama sekali kalau tidak digunakan. Bahasa baharu berpengaruh kalau ia hidup dan digunakan.

Tidaklah ada gunanya kita mengakui mempunyai Bahasa Kebangsaan untuk asas perpaduan kita kalau bahasa itu tidak kita gunakan dalam segala lapangan penghidupan. Kalau bahasa kebangsaan negeri ini benar-benar akan kita jadikan asas perpaduan semangat kebangsaan kita maka tidaklah ada jalan lain lagi daripada menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan itu sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal, di samping menggunakannya sebagai bahasa perantaraan umum dan bahasa pengantar ilmu pengetahuan di sekolah-sekolah.

Itulah sebabnya pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan saya anggap sebagai salah satu dari pelaksanaan dasar pembangunan negara. Tiap-tiap orang yang mengaku taat setia kepada negeri ini mestilah bergerak sama, mestilah terlibat sama dalam gerakan pembangunan yang besar itu.

Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan telah diadakan tiap-tiap tahun untuk menyedarkan orangramai kepada cita-cita pembangunan itu. Setelah gerakan Bulan Bahasa berjalan dengan baik dan rancak dalam beberapa tahun yang lalu maka Jawatankuasa Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan pun ditubuhkan dengan tugas memerhati dan menentukan sejauh mana kesan-kesan dari gerakan Bulan-bulan Bahasa itu berlaku di dalam kehidupan orangramai dan pentadbiran kerajaan.

Kerajaan tidaklah bercakap-cakap kosong sahaja dalam langkah yang besar ini. Segala kemudahan sudah diadakan untuk orangramai dan untuk pegawai-pegawai kerajaan belajar Bahasa Kebangsaan. Syarat-syarat Bahasa Kebangsaan bagi pengakuan sijil-sijil persekolahan telah diadakan dan demikian juga syarat kelulusan Bahasa Kebangsaan bagi memegang jawatan-jawatan kerajaan pun telah sedia ada. Ini semua adalah langkah-langkah pelaksanaan yang dijalankan dengan cara beransur-ansur. Kerajaan tidak sekali-kali menyusahkan barang sesiapa pun dalam soal pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Tetapi kalau langkah-langkah yang telah dijalankan itu tidak disambut dengan baik oleh orangramai dan oleh pegawai-pegawai kerajaan maka jika tiba masanya pelaksanaan itu dijalankan dengan undang-undang kelak sudah tentulah banyak orang yang akan mendapati kedudukannya menjadi susah dan serba salah. Hal yang seperti itu tidaklah dikehendakki oleh Kerajaan.

Baik juga saya tegaskan di sini bahawa Jawatankuasa Pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan tidaklah hanya mengawasi pemakaian bahasa itu di Pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan sahaja tetapi juga mengawasi dan memerhatikan langkah-langkah perusahaan dan perniagaan yang selalunya berhubung dengan Kerajaan dan orangramai.

Setakat ini saya dapati kemajuan yang dicapai adalah memuaskan. Tetapi sukalah saya mengingatkan kepada Ketua-ketua Pejabat, baik Kerajaan mahu pun orangramai, bahawa dalam beberapa perkara kita masih lagi jauh daripada matalamat yang dituju. Ketua-ketua Pejabat dan juga Ketua-ketua Perusahaan dan Perniagaan patutlah lebih giat lagi berusaha supaya pelaksanaan menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam urusan pentadbiran, surat menyurat, penerangan-penerangan, iklan-iklan dan papan-papan nama patutlah diperhebat dan diperluas.

Pada masa ini, seperti saya katakan tadi, usaha-usaha pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan adalah masih sukarela, tetapi sukarela itu bukannya sukarela kebajikan, melainkan sukarela kebangsaan. Sejauh mana orang melakukan sukarela kebangsaan, dapat dijadikan ukuran sejauh mana ia mementingkan kepentingan-kepentingan kebangsaan dan negara. Sebanyak mana ia mengelakkan sukarela kebangsaan itu, dapat pula dijadikan ukuran sebanyak mana ia mengelakkan kepentingan-kepentingan kebangsaan dan mengutamakan kepentingan-kepentingan diri sendiri.

Saya suka mengingatkan, semangat mementingkan diri dan kaum dalam zaman pembangunan ini tidaklah akan menguntungkan sesiapa pun. Jika akhirnya kelak parlimen telah menetapkan Bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal maka waktu itu tentulah pelaksanaan tidak lagi sukarela melainkan mengikut aturan-aturan perundangan. Kerajaan tidaklah suka ada orang-orang yang akan merasa susah dan serba salah pada waktu itu. Oleh sebab itu bergeraklah dan bersertalah dalam segala usaha menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dari sekarang juga.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE CONFERENCE OF STATE ENGINEERS  
AT THE NATIONAL OPERATIONS ROOM,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 19TH JULY, 1963

Mr. Owen<sup>1</sup>, Gentlemen,

I am very pleased to have the opportunity of meeting all of you Senior Officers of the Public Works Department throughout the country.

As you said Mr. Owen during the last few months I have been pre-occupied with matters of national and international commitments and have not devoted as much time as I wanted to Rural Development and, as a result, some people think that there has been a lull and a slowing up of development progress but, as you explained just now and I am sure you all agree, facts and figures disprove this. What in fact has happened is like the launching of our present Five Year Plan reminds me of the take off an aeroplane. Starting off the ground the engine of an aeroplane roars at a very high pitch but once it is in the air and travelling at speed the engine then settles down to a much quieter pitch. Our National Development Plan was rather like that.

The first two years there was a tremendous lot of publicity and a lot of talking and we got up to a high speed of implementation which has not only been maintained but is now taken as normal routine in our lives. Facts and figures can prove this and can also prove that your Department has developed a tempo and a capacity which is several hundred percent higher than any achievement reached during previous years. For example, I have recently compared the figures on road-making.

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<sup>1</sup> The Chairman of the Conference of State Engineers.



During the years 1956-1960 the Public Works Department increased the total road mileage of 6,538 miles by an addition of 546 miles of road during these five years whereas during the years 1961-1963 your Department will have increased the road mileage by approximately 1,600 miles. That, in my opinion, is a record of which you as Engineers may well be proud. To take another example-water supplies.

During the years 1956-1960 the increase of water supplied totalled sixteen million gallons whereas the increase during 1960-1965 will be no less than fifty two million gallons. Your Department will have increased output by 200 per cent at least. Similarly, with regard to buildings. Your output of work in such Government sectors as Health, Education, Police, Labour Lines, Armed Forces, is much too complex a record for me to quote facts and figures but I know, from my own visits throughout the Country, that your achievement has been comparable.

Therefore, Gentlemen, it is not a matter of idle flattery that I offer you my congratulations but my words of praise to you are based on the record of positive action and achievement which is proved by tangible results on the ground. There has been a considerable amount of rumour that this year funds for development were cut back. I do not know who started this rumour but it is quite untrue because when we launched the Second National Five Year Development Plan the total expenditure planned for the five years was \$2,100 million. This means that our annual ration of expenditure for development according to plan is approximately \$450-\$500 million per year and if you look at the Development Estimates for 1963 you will see that the total expenditure for the year was approximately \$493 million which means that the Government is providing money according to the plan and that any rumour about cutting back on expenditure for development is quite unfounded. As I said the implementation of our Development Plan has been a great success and I think the reasons for this success is that all Government Officers in each and every Ministry and Department have learnt to work together as a team and have applied the dictum that "It doesn't matter who we are, it doesn't matter what we are, it doesn't matter where we are" within the structure of Government, "what

really does matter is the job that we are doing and that we do it with all our heart putting service before self" in making our contribution to the development of our country.

And you, Gentlemen, as Engineers of the Public Works Department have shown, throughout the last three years in the implementation of our plan that you can work hard and efficiently and unselfishly. I thank you all very much indeed. And now, Gentlemen, having praised and thanked you, I should like to ask you to renew your energies and efforts on development for the future. We have many tasks ahead and we are beginning to enter a bigger and better phase in the implementation of our National Five Year Development Plan. At the end of this month we expect the arrival of a team of World Bank Experts to examine a major project on Land Development which is the Temerloh/Maran/Jerantut Triangle with a potential of some 150,000-200,000 acres which will become one of the greatest adventures in Land Development, for smallholders, not only in Malaya but perhaps will be judged on world standards.

A Canadian Survey Team has recently completed groundwork on a reconnaissance survey for a 120-mile road stretching from roughly Sungei Siput on the West to Kuala Berang on the East. It is hoped that their findings and their report will be available by October this year and the implementation of this East-West Highway will be a project of true and ambitious development opening up considerable economic, agricultural, and timber resources of our Country. In just about a months' time three new States will be added to the Federation namely, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. Singapore perhaps may present no problem as far as Rural Development is concerned but the people of Sarawak and Sabah expect progress and development and also obtain the amenities of life that people in this country have enjoyed. Therefore it is our duty to do all we can to help them to obtain these amenities.

This will mean added responsibilities and more work to you. So, therefore, Gentlemen, in the immediate years which lie ahead there is more and more to be done. And one of the greatest ingredients of our future success in development is to ensure that you, all Government Officers, not only those who are present here but

also those who are still at their various tasks throughout the Country, give of your best as you have already proved by action that you can give.

I wish you all success not only in the deliberations of your Conference to-day but also in your work when you return to your various stations throughout Malaya.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE EX-  
SERVICES ASSOCIATION OF MALAYA AT THE  
SELANGOR CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR ON 28TH  
JULY, 1963

Mr. President, The Director for Asia and The Far East of the World,  
Veterans Federation, The Federation Armed Forces Adviser,  
Gentlemen,

I am very pleased to be with you today to open this Annual  
Conference.

I have read through your Annual Report and have been impressed  
with the work which your Association has been doing during 1962.  
It is indeed very gratifying to know that there is such an organisation  
which is mindful of the needs of men and women who have served,  
their country in times of war and emergency and who were not  
behind in responding to the call to eliminate the terrorist from our  
presence, and also not only the needs of these persons but those of  
the widows and children of the less fortunate ones who made the  
supreme sacrifice.

It is a matter of great interest to learn that the Association has  
provided assistance for nearly one thousand cases of children, for  
relief for buying school books and paying school fees. Such assis-  
tance coupled with relief to unemployed and unemployable ex-  
servicemen and women; relief for the sick, provision of housing  
and other benefits must involve the Association in a considerable  
sum of money as witness the grants which have been made to your  
Branches to meet such expenditure.

This calls for the utmost response to your Hari Bunga Poppy  
Appeal and it is my sincere hope that the public will not only  
readily support the appeal this year but will also endeavour to

make it a greater success than in past years thereby enabling the Association to extend the good work it is doing. During the transition period between removal and re-erection of the Cenotaph it was not possible for you to hold a full-scale Armistice parade last year. I am happy to say that it is confidently expected that the new parade ground will be ready in good time this year for you to resume your annual parades. At your last Annual Conference The Hon'ble Ag. Minister for Defence referred to the question of hospital concessional charges in respect of ex-servicemen. I would like to assure your Association that this matter has been receiving the attention of Government and if there appears to be any delay regarding a decision this only because the matter is being closely studied with a view of introducing benefits comparable with what is being given by other Governments to Ex-Servicemen.

We are on the eve of a very big event which is about to take place in our history and I refer to the inauguration of Malaysia. With the expansion of our territory your responsibilities will increase. Your field of service will be greater and it will call for more of your time if the Association is to achieve its objects and continue the invaluable service it is giving to this country. Your achievements of the past augurs well for the future.

It is great pleasure that I declare your Conference open and wish your Association continued success in the excellent work it is doing.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT  
THE OPENING OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL  
DELEGATES' CONFERENCE OF THE FEDERATION  
ARMED FORCES CIVILIAN STAFF UNION  
IN KUALA LUMPUR ON 4TH AUGUST, 1963

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am most grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the Executive Council of your Union for having invited me to address this Fourth Annual Delegates' Conference particularly because it gives me the opportunity of meeting the civilian personnel in my Ministry and to express on behalf of the Government, my colleagues and myself, our gratitude to them for the magnificent work they have put in during the past year. It may perhaps be true that to the general public, mention of defence will, more often than not, conjure primarily images of armed troops. As Minister of Defence, however, I am deeply conscious of the contributions made by the silent civilian employees in the running of the Ministry and I am sure that the military members of the Armed Forces appreciate these contributions just as well.

Our country is entering into a new and challenging phase. God willing, Malaysia will be formed on the 31st of this month and the formation of this new Nation demands sacrifice and hard work from every loyal citizen. On your part, the expansion of the Armed Forces which must inevitably follow the formation of the new Nation, means added responsibilities. I am glad to have received recently a resolution unanimously passed by the Executive Council of your Union pledging your Union's full support to the formation of this new Nation and calling upon the civilian staff of the Ministry to prepare themselves to accept the added responsibilities and to play their part as loyal citizens in helping to build the Nation into a happy and prosperous one. I am most appreciative of this expression of loyalty and support for it helps to make the task of the

Government considerably easier. I am touched that your Union, whose prime duty is to look after the welfare of its members, is also alive to its responsibilities towards the Nation.

Coming to the matter of your Union, I am glad that it has grown from year to year not only in strength but also in maturity. I have been informed that the manner in which your Union approaches problems has been very responsible, stressing on cooperation rather than confrontation. For this reason, your relationship with the official side in the Departmental Whitley Council and its General Purposes Committee has been cordial and much has been achieved as a result of this laudable spirit and correct use of the joint consultative machinery. I hope that this spirit of understanding and cooperation between your Union and the official side will continue for the good of the Department and the country as a whole.

I am sure there are still several matters about which you are not completely happy. This, I feel, is very human and very natural. To be contented and satisfied with things as they are is not expected of anyone who is alive and thinking, least of all a Trade Union. Without the desire to improve oneself, there is no growth and no development. Given the spirit of cooperation and understanding, and providing the requests are fair and reasonable, I have no doubt that all problems can be solved.

You will no doubt be discussing these matters at this Delegates' Conference. As a responsible Trade Union, you will, I am sure, discuss them rationally, mindful of the welfare of the department as well. I wish you success in your deliberations.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
DAN MENTERI PERTAHANAN DI UPACARA  
PENYERAHAN SAYAP KEPADA PASUKAN  
TENTERA UDARA DI RAJA DI PENGKALAN  
TENTERA UDARA, SUNGAI BESI PADA 10<sup>H</sup>B  
OGOS, 1963

Tuan Chief of Air Staff, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan,

Saya amatlah sukacita oleh sebab dapat hadir di upacara ini pada pagi ini dan saya suka mengambil peluang ini mengucapkan tahniah kepada Ketua Pasukan dan semua orang-orang yang mengambil bahagian di barisan di sini kerana sikap itu. Pada fikiran saya inilah kali yang ketiga saya berpeluang menghadiahkan "Wings" atau Sayap kepada pemandu-pemandu kapal terbang Tentera Udara Di Raja, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang telah tamat latihannya. Saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada Pegawai-pegawai ini yang telah berjaya menamatkan latihan memandu kapal terbang. Saya juga mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan tahniah kepada guru-guru yang telah bekerja dengan bersungguh-sungguhnya bagi menolong Pegawai-pegawai ini menyempurnakan latihan itu. Saya percaya Pegawai-pegawai ini hanyalah boleh menjadi pandai dan layak membuat pekerjaan sebagai pemandu-pemandu kapal terbang disebabkan guru-guru dan juga pelatih-pelatih adalah bekerja dengan giatnya.

Kepada Pegawai-pegawai yang muda dan pemandu-pemandu yang baru tamat latihan, upacara pada pagi ini bukanlah bermakna latihan tuan-tuan telah tamat. Daripada sekarang ini mustahaklah tuan-tuan sekalian mempelajari bagaimana hendak menggunakan pengetahuan dan kepandaian yang telah didapati itu dalam keadaan pemandu-pemandu kapal terbang dengan sebenar-benarnya. Saya percaya tuan-tuan akan dapati keadaan-keadaan ini ialah lebih susah dan lebih berat lagi daripada yang tuan-tuan telah dapati pada masa menerima latihan memandu kapal terbang akan



tetapi saya tidak syak lagi bahawa tuan-tuan tidak akan menghadapi kesusahan bagi mengatasi cara memandu kapal terbang yang lebih besar dan susah. Begitu juga saya harap bahawa seseorang pemandu kapal terbang yang sempurna itu ialah orang yang menjaga tata tertib dirinya sama ada semasa terbang di udara atau tidak. Tuan-tuan sekalian, sekarang ini ialah berdiri di pintu jalan bagi memulai perkhidmatan di dalam Tentera Udara Di Raja kita dan perkhidmatan bagi Negara kita, Bangsa dan Rakyat Negeri ini bangga yang tuan-tuan akan menjalankan tugas masing-masing dengan sempurna.

Saya percaya tuan-tuan sekalian bersetuju dengan saya apabila saya katakan bahawa tuan-tuan sekalian adalah yang bernasib baik oleh sebab telah tamat latihan dalam masa ketika Negara kita ini akan membuka satu lipatan sejarah yang baru iaitu penubuhan Malaysia. Dengan adanya penubuhan Malaysia ini Ahli-ahli Tentera Udara Di Raja kita akan mempunyai tanggungjawab yang lebih besar dan lebih luas dan Tentera Udara kita akan diperbesarkan dan diperluaskan lagi. Tanggungjawab ini tuan-tuan semua terpaksa memikulnya bersama-sama. Seperti tuan-tuan mengetahui tidak beberapa lama lagi kapal-kapal terbang yang baharu akan sampai. Tiap-tiap orang akan mempunyai pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang bertambah banyak dan kapal-kapal terbang ini terpaksa dijaga dan diperbaiki daripada satu masa ke satu masa. Akan tetapi saya yakin dan percaya bahawa Pegawai-pegawai yang berkhidmat di dalam Tentera Udara Di Raja kita yang menunjukkan kelayakan dan taat setia mereka itu pada masa yang telah lalu akan dapat memikul bebanan yang baru ini dengan sempurna.

Saya ucapkan pada sekalian yang di dalam latihan baru ini selamat dan berjaya dalam perkhidmatan bagi Bangsa dan Negara kita. Sebagai Menteri Pertahanan saya akan memperhatikan pekerjaan-pekerjaan tuan-tuan semua pada masa dua tiga tahun yang akan datang iaitu masa yang sangat penting bukan sahaja dalam sejarah Bangsa kita bahkan sejarah Tentera Udara.

Saya berdoa tuan-tuan semua dipelihara Allah Subhanahu-wataala dan saya ucapkan selamat kepada semua.



Tun Abdul Razak sedang menyampaikan trofi kepada salah seorang Pegawai Udara di Upacara Tamat Latihan dan Penerimaan Sayap di Pengkalan Tentera Udara Diraja, Kuala Lumpur pada 10hb Ogos, 1963.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON  
THE SECOND READING OF THE CONSTITU-  
TION (AMENDMENT) BILL AT THE DEWAN  
RAKYAT ON 15TH AUGUST, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

I beg to move that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill be read a second time. Although this is a short Bill to amend our Constitution, the amendments proposed are important and it is necessary that these should be effected before Malaysia. Some of the amendments are minor and non-controversial, and it is hoped that the House will be able to accept them without debate. The main amendments are to Article 12 of the Constitution and to Article 50 (3), and also to repeal provisions of the Constitution which are found to be no longer necessary.

Now, Sir, Clause 2 of the Bill is to amend Article 12 of the Constitution so that not only the Federal Legislature but also the State Legislatures shall have the power to enact laws enabling the States to give financial assistance to Muslim religious institutions and for the purpose of giving instruction in the Muslim religion.

Clause 3 (1) repeals Article 50 (3). Article 50 (3) provides that a person's nomination for election to Parliament is void if his election would or might be void. Honourable Members will appreciate that this provision would result in a situation whereby an unsuccessful candidate, who obtains the next largest number of votes will be elected instead of there being a fresh election. Besides, there are also objections to the use of the words "might be void", because the meaning is not quite clear. It is, therefore, proposed to repeal Article 50 (3).

Clause 3 (2) removes a conflict between Article 118 and Section 5 of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. Article 118 provides that disputed elections to the Senate shall be decided by an election petition, whereas Section 5 of the Seventh Schedule provides that they shall be decided by the Senate.

Clause 4 introduces a new Clause, Clause 6A, to Article 144. The new Clause will empower the Public Services Commission to delegate minor disciplinary powers to officers of the Armed Forces, or the Police, where a member of the general public services is employed by them. This amendment is, of course, of practical value in order to assist the Public Services Commission in work connected with minor disciplinary matters.

Clause 5 replaces the present definitions of "federal purposes" and "state purposes" in Article 160 (2) with new definitions. The present definition of "federal purposes" is such that all purposes connected with a matter in the Concurrent List are federal purposes, even though the matter is one about which a State has legislated and Parliament has not. The new definition of "federal purposes" is more precise. The same applies to the new definition of "state purposes".

Clause 6 amends the Legislative Lists in the Ninth Schedule to ensure that, where Parliament or a State Legislature legislates on matters in the Concurrent List, it can also legislate on certain incidental matters such as offences and fees.

Clause 7 amends Section 2 (a) of the Tenth Schedule to clarify that in calculating State road grant the cost of, for instance, equipment provided by the Federal Government is not brought into account.

Sir, as I have explained, Clause 8 proposes to repeal a number of provisions which have already out-lived their purposes. This Clause provides for the repeal of a number of provisions in the Constitution which are now spent. These are as follows:

Article 16—

The words "except" where the application is made within one year after Merdeka Day in paragraph (d) of Article 16 can no longer have effect, as the period specified has already expired.

#### Article 18—

Clause (4) of Article 18, presumption of good character, can now be repealed, because since 21 June, 1962, it is only applied for the determination of applications made before that date, and all such applications have now been dealt with under the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1962, Schedule, section 1 (c) in force on the 21 June, 1962.

#### Article 71—

Clause (4) of Article 71 conferred powers on Parliament, if at any time after the 30th June, 1959, it appeared that the Constitution of any State did not contain the provisions set out in Part I of the Eighth Schedule. As that date has since passed, these powers can be exercised, and the words, "after the thirtieth day of June, 1959" as superfluous.

#### Article 109—

In Clause (2) of Article 109, the provision in paragraph (a) relating to the first financial year after the commencement of Part VII is now spent and can be deleted with the consequential deletion of the word "succeeding" in paragraph (b).

#### Article 131—

Clause (2) of Article 131 makes provision for appeals to the Privy Council until Parliament otherwise provides. The Parliament has now made such provision under Appeals from Supreme Court Ordinance, 1958; and consequently Article 131 (2) is spent and can be repealed together with the cross reference to it in Article 131 (1).

#### Article 139—

The relevant date laid down in Clause (3) of Article 139 has now passed, and the Clause can, therefore, be repealed together with the words "after the relevant date" in Clause (2). The powers conferred by Clause (2) can now be exercised without qualification as to time.

Article 159—

Clause (2) of this Article makes provision regarding amendment to the Constitution before Parliament was constituted in accordance with Part IV of the Constitution. As Parliament has now been constituted, this provision is spent and can be repealed.

Article 160—

The definition of "Legislative Council" is spent and can be repealed.

Article 161—

This Article brought the Constitution except as otherwise specifically provided into operation on Merdeka Day. It operated on Merdeka Day and has no further use. It is, therefore, repealed.

Article 162—

Clause (4) of the Article conferred certain powers on His Majesty the Yang Di Pertuan Agong within a period of two years beginning with Merdeka Day. The period having now expired, the powers can no longer be exercised, and the Clause can be repealed as spent.

Articles 163, 164 and 165—

All these three Articles contain temporary provision in respect of periods which have now ended. The Articles are consequently spent and can be repealed.

Article 166—

With the exception of Clauses (3) and (8) of the Articles which contain continuing provision, this Article operated on Merdeka Day to vest property or to reserve land, property and land, to which it relates became vested or reserved on Merdeka Day. The Article has, therefore, operated and can be repealed with the exception of Clauses (3) and (8).

#### Article 167—

Except for Clauses (6) and (7) which are of continuing effect, the whole of this Article operated on the transfer of rights, liabilities and obligations on Merdeka Day. It is now, therefore, spent and can be repealed.

#### Articles 168 and 170 to 173—

Article 168 provides for the continuance of legal proceedings pending immediately before Merdeka Day and is now spent and can be repealed.

Article 170 made temporary provisions regarding the registration of citizens during a period of one year after Merdeka Day and is therefore, consequently now spent.

Article 171 made provision for the constituencies for the first elections after Merdeka Day and is now spent. It can, therefore, be repealed but without prejudice to the operation of any law referring to the number of constituencies specified in Article 171 (2), that is State constituencies.

Article 172—With the establishment of the new Federal Courts and High Court, the continuance of the Supreme Court existing immediately before Merdeka Day will no longer be necessary, and the Article can be repealed without prejudice to the continuance of the Supreme Court up to Malaysia Day.

#### Third Schedule—

Section 9 of this Schedule which relates to the election of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong which took place prior to Merdeka Day is spent and can be repealed.

#### Seventh Schedule—

Section 1 (1) provides for the first election of Senator after the dissolution of the Legislative Council of the State and is now spent.

Sections 6 and 7 relating to the terms of office of Senators elected at the first election are also spent.

#### Tenth Schedule—

Sections 1 and 2 provide Capitation Grant in respect of the financial years beginning 1st January, 1959, and this is now spent.

#### Eleventh Schedule—

Section 21 and section 25 of the Interpretation and General Clauses Ordinance, 1948, were applied in relation to the coming into operation of the Constitution on the 31st August, 1957, and these are also spent.

#### Twelfth Schedule—

This applied certain provisions of the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948, to the last Federal Legislative Council until that Council was dissolved. That Council was dissolved on the 27th June, 1959, and the provisions of the Schedule are therefore spent.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are the provisions with which it is proposed to amend the Constitution. As I said, some of them are minor and non-controversial, and it is hoped that the House will be able to accept them without debate. Sir, I beg to second the motion.



SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON  
THE SECOND READING OF THE MALAYSIA  
BILL AT THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON  
15TH AUGUST, 1963

The purpose of this Bill is to give effect to the constitutional arrangements made for the Federation of the Colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak and the State of Singapore with the existing States of the Federation of Malaya so as to form the Federation which will be known as "Malaysia".

It will be of interest to recount briefly the events which preceded the final agreement for the establishment of Malaysia entered into by the Federation of Malaya, the United Kingdom, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore in London on the 8th July, 1963.

On 27th May, 1961, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman at a press luncheon in Singapore first publicly introduced the subject of Malaysia. The idea caught the imagination of the public in all the territories concerned though, from the outset, it was opposed by certain interests.

Malaysia was first jointly discussed by the leaders of the Borneo territories, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Regional Meeting held in Singapore in July, 1961. As a result of a preliminary examination, delegations from North Borneo and Sarawak took the initiative in proposing the formation of a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee with the object of collecting and collating views and opinions concerning the creation of Malaysia and of initiating and encouraging discussions on Malaysia. The Committee met in Jesselton, Kuching, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore on various dates between August, 1961 and February, 1962. Taking into account the expressed wishes of the Borneo people that their

territories should have certain local safeguards, the Committee recommended the establishment of Malaysia with a strong Central Government in which should be vested full control of such matters as external affairs, defence and security. They recommended acceptance of the principle that Malaysia should have a constitutional Head of State and recommended the continuance of the present system of the appointment of His Majesty the Yang Di Pertuan Agong<sup>1</sup>. The sovereignty of the Rulers of the existing States would be guaranteed and the new States would each have its own Head of State and its own Constitution. Islam would be the official religion of Malaysia but, in accordance with the existing provisions of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya other religions could be practised in peace and harmony in any part of Malaysia. Special safeguards were recommended for the Borneo territories in respect of immigration into those territories subject to the right of the Central Government to ensure the admission of persons whose presence in the State was necessary in order to enable the Central Government to carry out its responsibility and the right of any citizen to enter for the purpose of exercising his rights in connection with the functioning of parliamentary democracy. The Committee accepted the view that Malaysia should have a national language and that it should be the national language of the existing Federation. Various recommendations were made by the Committee in regard to representation in the Federal Parliament, elections, citizenship, finance and the special position of the indigenous peoples of the Borneo territories. I shall refer to these matters in greater detail shortly.

Whilst the deliberations of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee were proceeding, negotiations were taking place between the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore for the entry of Singapore into Malaysia and broad agreement was reached in August, 1961. A memorandum setting out the Heads of Agreement between the two Governments was published as Singapore White Paper Command No. 33 of 1961. These Heads of Agreement were subsequently endorsed in a referendum by an overwhelming majority of the people of Singapore.

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<sup>1</sup> D.Y.M.M. Tuanku Syed Putra Ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail.

Tunku Abdul Rahman's proposals for Malaysia were welcomed by the British Government and the Prime Minister accepted an invitation by the British Government to visit London in November, 1961, for discussions with the object of reaching an understanding on the broad issues and to prepare the way for consultation with the Borneo territories regarding Malaysia. In a series of meetings in London, British and Malayan Ministers examined the proposal to create Malaysia and concluded that it was a desirable aim but decide that, before coming to any final decision it was necessary to ascertain the views of the people of the territories concerned. It was accordingly decided to set up a Commission to carry out this task and to make recommendation. A Commission, which has become known as the Cobbold Commission, was set up consisting of nominees of the two Governments, and arrived in Kuching on 19th February, 1962.

The Commission toured North Borneo and Sarawak extensively. The itinerary of the Commission was so planned that representatives from every district in each territory had an opportunity to meet the Commission which held fifty hearings at thirty-five different centres. All persons who wished to submit written memoranda were invited to do so. In response to this invitation the Commission received some 2,200 letters and memoranda. An open invitation to appear before the Commission was extended to all persons who wished to give oral evidence and full advantage was taken of this invitation and the Commission was able to meet and talk with large numbers of individuals and bodies. Over 4,000 persons appeared before the Commission as individuals or representatives of groups.

The report of the Cobbold Commission was published in June, 1962, and, in addition to certain detailed recommendations, the Commission recommended that a decision of principle about the future of the Borneo territories should be taken by the Governments as soon as possible. The Commission unanimously agreed that the formation of Malaysia was in the best interests of North Borneo and Sarawak.

The Cobbold Report was considered in detail by Malayan and British Ministers in a series of meetings in July, 1962, and, in light of the report and the agreement reached between the Governments

of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, the British and Malayan Governments agreed in principle to the establishment of Malaysia and decided to establish an Inter-Government Committee on which the British, Malayan, North Borneo and Sarawak Governments would be represented. The task of the Commission was to work out the detailed constitutional arrangements, including the safeguards for the special interests of North Borneo and Sarawak covering such matters as religious freedom, education, representation in the Federal Parliament, the position of the indigenous races, control of immigration, citizenship and the State Constitutions. The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Lord Lansdowne, the Chairman of the Committee, and myself (the Deputy Prime Minister of Federation of Malaya), the Deputy Chairman, visited North Borneo and Sarawak in August, 1962, and the first meeting of the Committee was held in Jesselton on 30th August, 1962.

On 12th September, 1962, a motion was unanimously adopted by the Legislative Council, North Borneo, welcoming the decision in principle to establish Malaysia and a similar motion was adopted without dissent by the Council Negeri of Sarawak.

Meetings of the Inter-Governmental Committee and its five—sub-committees took place between September and December, 1962, and the recommendations of the Committee were published in February, 1963. These recommendations form the basis of the constitutional arrangements for Sabah and Sarawak set out in the Malaysia Bill. The report of the Inter-Governmental Committee was adopted by resolutions of the legislatures of North Borneo and Sarawak.

On the 8th July, a formal agreement for the establishment of Malaysia was entered into between the Federation of Malaya, the United Kingdom, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore. This agreement has been published as a White Paper and annexed to it is the Malaysia Bill substantially in the form in which it is now presented to this House.

I come now to the general provisions of the Bill.

## PART I—PRELIMINARY

This part of the Bill deals with its coming into operation and with the mechanics of the Bill.

Honourable Members will note a corrigendum to Clause 2 enabling the Bill to be brought into operation on a day subsequent to 31st August, 1963. This has been rendered necessary by the necessity of giving the Secretary General of the United Nations an opportunity to assess the views of the people of the Borneo territories in accordance with the agreement recently reached at the Manila Meeting. (This corrigendum is made after consultation with the other Governments who were parties to the Malaysia Agreement).

Clause 3 provides that certain sections of the Act are to be inserted as article of the Constitution. These are listed in order in the First Schedule to the Bill and sections which are to be inserted in the Constitution are distinguished in the text of the Act by a marginal note giving their numbers as articles.

## PART II—THE STATES OF THE FEDERATION

Clause 4 provides that the name of the Federation shall be "Malaysia" and that the State of the Federation shall be the nine States of the existing Federation individually and the States of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore.

## PART III—GENERAL CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

### TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS AS TO FEDERAL AND STATE INSTITUTIONS

#### Chapter I—Preliminary

This chapter provides the necessary interpretation of constitutional terms.

## **Chapter II—Heads of State**

This chapter provides for the Heads of State of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore to be members of the Conference of Rulers except for purposes connected with the Muslim religion. Honourable Members will note that the expression "Governor" is defined in Clause 5 as meaning a Head of State, by whatever title he is known, in a State not having a Ruler.

## **Chapter III—Parliament, Legislative Assemblies and State Constitution.**

Clause 8 provides for the number of appointed members of the Senate to be increased from 16 to 22 and Clause 9 provides that the House of Representatives shall consist of 159 elected members being—

- (a) 104 members from the States of Malaya, that is to say the States comprised in the existing Federation;
- (b) 16 members from Sabah;
- (c) 24 members from Sarawak; and
- (d) 15 members from Singapore.

Clause 10 increases the number of members of the Election Commission from 2 to 3 and provides for separate reviews of constituencies by the Election Commission under Article 113 (2) in respect of the States of Malaya, the Borneo States and the State of Singapore. The latter provision is necessary because a specified number of seats in the House of Representatives will be allocated to the States of Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore respectively. The position of the States of the existing Federation in regard to the review of constituencies will not be disturbed.

Clause 12 provides—

- (a) in relation to a Borneo State, until the end of August, 1975, or earlier with the concurrence of the Head of State, the State Constitutions as in force on Malaysia Day will be permitted to continue in operation notwithstanding their inconsistency with the provisions of Part I of the Eighth Schedule to the Federal Constitution;

- (b) in relation to Singapore, the provisions of Part I of the Eighth Schedule to the Federal Constitution will not be applied but the Constitution of the State as in force on Malaysia Day may not be amended in respect of any matter dealt with by those provisions unless the effect of the amendment is to bring the provisions of the State Constitution closer to those of Part I of the Eighth Schedule or the amending enactment is approved by act of the Federal Parliament.

The effect of Clause 12 (2) is to ensure, as recommended in paragraph 20 (2) of the Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee, that the question whether a provision of a State Constitution is inconsistent with the provisions of Part I of the Eighth Schedule to the Federal Constitution should ultimately be determinable by the Courts.

#### **Chapter IV—The Judiciary**

This chapter provides for the establishment of a Federal Court and three High Courts. The High Courts will be—

- (a) one in the States of Malaya;
- (b) one in North Borneo and Sarawak; and
- (c) one in the State of Singapore.

The Federal Court, which will have its principal registry in Kuala Lumpur, will have the following jurisdiction—

- (a) exclusive jurisdiction to determine appeals from decisions of a High Court or a judge thereof (except decisions of a High Court given by a registrar or other officer of the court and appealable under federal law to a judge of the court); and
- (b) such original or consultative jurisdiction as is specified in Articles 128 and 130.

Honourable Members will note that the existing Articles 128 and 129 are repealed by section 3 and the First Schedule to the Bill and that the new Article 128 set out in Clause 14 of the Bill is substituted

for them. The new Article 128 confers on the Federal Court jurisdiction to determine—

- (a) whether a law is invalid because it makes provision with respect to a matter with respect to which the legislature making the law has no power to legislate; and
- (b) any disputes between States or between the Federation and a State.

Jurisdiction to determine constitutional questions is also conferred on the Federal Court by Clause 14 (2).

The jurisdiction other than that conferred on the Federal Court is vested in the High Courts and such inferior courts as may be provided by federal law.

Clause 15 to 22 provide for the constitution of the Federal Court and High Courts, the appointment and transfer of judges and their qualifications and various ancillary matters.

## TITLE II—CITIZENSHIP

Clauses 23 to 34 of the Bill deal with the subject of citizenship.

The provisions of the Bill do not affect the existing rules as to citizenship in relation to the States at present comprised in the Federation of Malaya, though the form of the Constitution will be altered by putting the rules relating to citizenship by operation of law into the Second Schedule to the Constitution as Parts I and II of that Schedule (Clause 23 (1) (a) and (b)). These provisions, as at present, will only be able to be amended by a two-third majority under Article 159 (3). The existing Second Schedule to the Constitution (Supplementary provisions relating to Citizenship) is amended by the inclusion of the three sections set out in Part III of the Third Schedule to the Bill and by the miscellaneous amendments set out in Part IV of that Schedule. The existing Second Schedule to the Constitution, as so amended, will become Part III of the Second Schedule to the Constitution but will remain amendable by a simple majority under Article 159 (4) (a), (Clause 24 (2) and Clause 33 (3)).



There are special provisions of a transitional nature under which persons connected with the Borneo States will become Federal citizens (Third Schedule, Part I, section 2) or will be entitled to registration as citizens (Clause 26). In general, outside Singapore, birth or residence anywhere in Malaysia will make a person a Federal citizen or qualify him for registration or naturalisation under the same conditions as at present. Equally, birth or residence in Singapore will, under corresponding conditions, make a person or qualify him to be a Federal citizen but as a citizen of Singapore. Except as regards naturalisation, the right to citizenship of Singapore will depend on provisions contained in the Federal Constitution of Singapore which correspond to those contained in the Federal Constitution in relation to Federal citizenship and these provisions of the Singapore Constitution will be amendable only with approval given by act of the Federal Parliament (Clause 23 (2)). Clause 23 also provides that every citizen of Singapore will be a Federal citizen by operation of law and that citizenship of Singapore shall not be severable from citizenship of the Federation. However, a Singapore citizen who loses his citizenship of Singapore or of the Federation loses the other also (Clause 23 (3)).

Naturalisation of Singapore citizens, as of others, will be a matter for the Federal Government (Clause 27), whose existing powers to deprive persons of citizenship will also extend to Singapore citizens (Clause 30). It will be possible, under Clause 28 and corresponding provision in the Singapore Constitution, for a Federal citizen who is not a Singapore citizen to become one, and vice versa, under conditions corresponding to those for acquisition of Federal citizenship by a foreigner.

The effect of the citizenship provisions of the Bill in relation to citizens of Singapore may be summarised as follows—

- (a) a citizen of Singapore will, by virtue of such citizenship, be a citizen of Malaysia;
- (b) birth or residence in Singapore will only count for the purpose of acquiring citizenship of Malaysia through citizenship of Singapore, but the Federal Government may treat such residence as residence in the Federation outside Singapore for the purpose of naturalisation as a citizen other than a citizen of Singapore;

- (c) the Federal Government will have exclusive authority to grant citizenship by naturalisation but, in the case of a person to be naturalised as a citizen of Singapore, only with the concurrence of the Singapore Government;
- (d) the Federal Government will have authority to register a citizen of Singapore as a citizen of Malaysia (other than by virtue of citizenship of Singapore) if he satisfies all the requirements of Article 15 or 15A for citizenship by registration of wives or minor children of citizens or of Article 19 for citizenship by naturalisation;
- (e) the Federal Government will have authority to deprive persons of Malaysian citizenship on all grounds;
- (f) after Malaysia Day a person who was a citizen of Singapore prior to Malaysia Day will be liable to be deprived of his citizenship on any ground arising before Malaysia Day upon which he could have been deprived under the law in force prior to Malaysia Day provided proceedings are commenced before or within two years after Malaysia Day;
- (g) in respect of deprivations pending on Malaysia Day the Federal Minister will delegate his functions to a State authority and, in respect of proceedings commenced on or after Malaysia Day he will be empowered to do so;
- (h) deprivation or renunciation of Malaysian citizenship of a citizen of Singapore would involve loss of Singapore citizenship;
- (i) a citizen of Singapore who is deprived of, or renounces, his citizenship of Singapore (except on acquiring citizenship of Malaysia by registration), will cease to be a citizen of Malaysia and shall not, except with the approval of the Federal Government, be eligible for registration as a citizen of Malaysia or of Singapore; and
- (j) a person who has renounced or been deprived of his Malaysian citizenship would not be eligible to be registered as a citizen of Singapore except with the approval of the Federal Government.

The difference in the position and rights of a Federal citizen according as he is or is not a Singapore citizen will depend on Clause 31 of the Bill under which clause the right to stand or vote at elections to Parliament or to a State Legislative Assembly in or out of Singapore will depend on a person being or not being a Singapore citizen. For international purposes all Federal citizens will have the same status and, except as provided in Clause 31 (Franchise) and Clause 60 (Power to limit freedom of movement), Singapore citizens will have the same civil rights under the Constitution as other citizens.

### TITLE III—LEGISLATIVE POWERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

The conditions peculiar to the new States require that the legislative and executive powers conferred on them should be different from those laid down in the Ninth Schedule to the existing Constitution as applicable to the States of the existing Federation. Clause 35 and the Fourth Schedule to the Bill set out the matters in respect of which the new States are to have exclusive or concurrent legislative competence. In the case of Singapore, which for a number of years had complete internal self-government, education and labour will be on the State List and a number of commercial or industrial subjects will be on the Concurrent List. It is to be observed that, under Article 74 of the Federal Constitution which is not amended, the Federal Parliament may make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the Concurrent List and, under Article 75, any State Law which is inconsistent with the federal law will be void to the extent of the inconsistency.

It is also provided (Clause 35 (3)) that the legislature of a Borneo State may make laws for, imposing sales taxes and any sales tax so imposed shall be deemed to be among the matters enumerated in the State List but no such State sales tax shall be discriminatory between goods of the same description according to the place in which they originate and the charge for any federal sales tax has priority over a State sales tax.

Clause 37 empowers Parliament by law to delegate legislative authority in respect of a matter enumerated in the Federal List to the legislature of a State subject to such conditions or restrictions (if any) as Parliament may impose and Clause 38 enables such legislative authority and also executive authority for a State to administer specified provisions of any federal law to be delegated by order. Any such order is required to be laid before each House of Parliament (Clause 38 (5)).

Clause 39 amends Article 150 of the Constitution to enable the special powers of legislation under the article to be exercised in the event of His Majesty the Yang Di Pertuan Agong being satisfied of the existence of a grave emergency whereby the security or economic life of the Federation or any part thereof is threatened whether by war, external aggression, internal disturbance or otherwise. A proclamation of emergency, however, will not extend the powers of Parliament with respect to any matter of Muslim law or the custom of the Malays or with respect to any matter of native law or custom in a Borneo State nor will any provision of an emergency law which is inconsistent or relating to religion, citizenship or language be valid.

Under Article 4 of the existing Constitution the power to question the validity of any law made by Parliament or the legislature of a State on the ground that it makes provision with respect to a matter with respect to which the legislature had no power to make laws, is confined to proceedings between the Federation and a State. Clause 40 amends Article 4 to enable a law to be questioned on this ground by an individual person in proceedings commenced with the leave of a judge but the Federation and any State concerned will be entitled to be a party to any such proceedings.

Clause 42 excludes the Borneo States and Singapore from Parliament's power to pass uniform laws in relation to land or local government and Clause 43 modifies Article 91 (National Land Council), Article 92 (National development plan), Article 94 (Federal powers in respect of research) and Article 95A (National Council for Local Government) in the following manner:

- (i) The National Land Council (Article 91) and the National Council for Local Government (Article 95A).

The new States will be represented in these Councils but the State government will not be required to follow the policy formulated by them until—

- (a) As regards the National Land Council, in the case of Singapore, Parliament with the Concurrence of the State government so provides; and
- (b) as regards the National Council for Local Government, in the case of any new State, until Parliament with the concurrence of the State Legislative Assembly so provides.

(ii) National Development Plan (Article 92)—

No area in the new States shall be proclaimed a development area under Article 92 without the concurrence of the State Government.

- (iii) The agricultural and forestry officers of the Borneo States shall not be required to accept professional advice given under Article 94 (1) (under which the Federation may conduct research, give advice and technical assistance, etc., in respect of matters in the State List) but are required to consider such advice.

So long as a new State is not required to follow the policy formulated by the National Land Council or the National Council for Local Government, the representative of the State on the Council will not be entitled to vote on questions before the Council. But, where a State becomes obliged to follow the policy so formulated, its representative will become entitled to vote and, therefore, the number of Federal representatives in the council will be increased by one so as to preserve the existing balance (Clause 43 (2) and (4)).

#### TITLE IV—FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

##### Chapter 1—Borneo States

The financial arrangements between the Federation and the Borneo States are embodied in Clauses 45 and 46 and the Fifth Schedule to the Bill but are, under Clause 47, subject to review by

agreement between the Governments (or, in matters of disagreement, on the arbitration of an independent assessor). Reviews are to be made initially at the end of five years or ten years and thereafter if required by either Government at intervals of not less than five years.

## **Chapter 2—Singapore**

Under Clause 48, the financial arrangements between the Federation and Singapore will depend upon an agreement between the two Governments. This agreement is set out as Annex J to the Malaysia Agreement and includes the arrangements for a common market. Under Clause 8 of the Agreement the arrangements for the division of revenue between Singapore and the Federation will remain in operation until 31st December, 1964, and shall then be subject to review. Subsequently there will be a similar review in respect of each period of two years. In default of agreement between the two Governments any issue in dispute will be referred to an independent assessor appointed jointly by the two Governments. In default of agreement between the two Governments on the choice of an assessor the Lord President of the Federal Court, after considering the views of both Governments, will appoint an assessor from among persons recommended by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as being persons enjoying an international reputation in finance. The recommendations of the assessor will be binding on both Governments.

## **Chapter 3—General**

This chapter contains provisions relating to the borrowing powers of, and State audits in, the Borneo States and Singapore.

Clause 51 provides that the rules for determining the rate at which a State road grant is payable by the Federation to the States of the existing Federation shall be the same as if the Malaysia Act had not been passed.

## TITLE V—PUBLIC SERVICES

Clauses 52 and 53 provide for the re-establishment of a Federal Judicial and Legal Service Commission under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Federal Public Services Commission. The members will be the Attorney-General and one or more other members appointed by H.M. the Yang Di Pertuan Agong, after consultation with the Lord President of the Federal Court, from among persons who are or have been Judges. The Commission will have jurisdiction over all members of the Judicial and Legal Service but this does not include Judges of the High Courts of the Federal Court.

Clause 54 provides for the establishment in the Borneo States and Singapore respectively of branches of the Judicial and Legal Service Commission. The clause will have effect until the end of August, 1968, and thereafter until the Federal Government determines to the contrary or, in relation to Singapore, until Parliament otherwise provides by an Act passed with the concurrence of the Governor.

Clause 55 establishes in the Borneo States and Singapore branches of the Federal Public Services Commission with jurisdiction in respect of members of the General Public Service of the Federation employed in a federal department in a Borneo State or in Singapore. The clause will have effect for the same period as Clause 54.

Clause 57 extends the jurisdiction of the Police Force Commission (except as regards disciplinary control) to members of the public service of a Borneo State seconded to the Police Force and authorises the Police Force Commission to exercise disciplinary control over such persons unless there is established in the State a board for this purpose consisting of:

- (a) The Chairman of the State Public Service Commission;
- (b) the State Legal Adviser;
- (c) the Senior Officer of Police in the State; and
- (d) a representative of the Officer of Police in general command of the Police Force.

Clause 58 amends Article 132 of the Constitution by substituting new Clauses (3) and (4) for the existing Clauses. The principal effects of the substitution are:

- (a) to exclude from the public service, not only Ministers or Assistant Ministers, Chief Ministers or any other member of the Executive Council of a State, but also any political officer by whatever name he may be known; and
- (b) to exclude Judges of the Federal Court or a High Court from the public service.

Clause 59 increases the maximum number of members of the Public Services Commission from eight to ten.

## TITLE VI—PROTECTION OF SPECIAL INTERESTS

### Chapter 1—General

Clause 60 amends Article 9 of the Constitution so as to enable Parliament by law, so long as a State is in a special position as compared with the States of the existing Federation, to impose restrictions, as between that State and other States, on the rights of movement and residence conferred by Clause 2 of Article 9. This power of Parliament is, however, subject to the limitation that no restriction on the right of movement between the State of Singapore and the States of the existing Federation shall be imposed except by a law relating to labour or education or to any matter in respect of which, because of the special position of Singapore, it appears to Parliament to be desirable to prevent the enjoyment of rights both in the State of Singapore and in the States of the existing Federation.

Clause 60 (2) enables a law passed under Clause 3 of Article 9 to be passed before Malaysia Day. The purpose of this is to enable the Immigration Act, restricting immigration into the Borneo States, to be passed before Malaysia Day in accordance with the recommendation of the Inter-Governmental Committee.



Clause 60 (4) provides that restrictions on the right to form associations conferred by Article 10 (1) (c) may be imposed by any law relating to labour or education as well as by law passed in the interest of security, public order or morality. This amendment is necessary because the State of Singapore will have legislative and executive power in relation to labour and education.

## Chapter 2—Borneo States

Clause 61 makes special provision for the use of the English language in the Borneo States. It provides that no Act of Parliament terminating or restricting the use of the English language for any of purposes mentioned in Clauses (2) to (5) of Article 152 of the Constitution shall come into operation as regards the use of the English language until ten years after Malaysia Day in any of the following cases:

- (a) the use of the English language in either House of Parliament by a member for or from Sabah or Sarawak;
- (b) the use of the English language for proceedings in the High Court in Borneo or in a subordinate court in Sabah or Sarawak, or for such proceedings in the Federal Court as are mentioned in Clause (4); and
- (c) the use of the English language in Sabah or Sarawak in the Legislative Assembly or for other official purposes (including the official purposes of the Federal Government).

It is also provided by this Clause that no such Act of Parliament as is mentioned in Clause (1) thereof shall come into operation as regards the use of English in the High Court in Borneo or for proceedings in the Federal Court on appeal from the High Court in Borneo or arising from proceedings before that Court until the Act has been approved by the legislatures of the Borneo States.

Finally it is provided in Clause 61 (5) that, notwithstanding anything in Article 152, a native language in current use in a Borneo State may be used in native courts or native law and, in the case of Sarawak until otherwise provided by enactment by the State legislature, by a member addressing the State Legislative Assembly.

Clause 62 provides that the provisions of Clauses (2) to (5) of Article 153, so far as they relate to the reservation of positions in the public service, shall apply in relation to natives of the Borneo States as they apply in relation to Malays. It also provides that in a Borneo State Article 153 shall have effect with the substitution of references to natives of the State for references to Malays and that no reservation of a fixed proportion of scholarships or other educational privileges shall be reserved for natives.

Clause 62 (5) authorises a State law in a Borneo State to make provision for the reservation of land for natives of the State or for alienation to them, or for giving them preferential treatment as regards the alienation of land by the State.

Under Clause 64 no Act of Parliament providing special financial aid for the establishment or maintenance of Muslim institutions or the instruction in the Muslim religion of persons professing that religion shall apply to a Borneo State without the consent of the Head of that State.

Under Clause 64 (2) where a Federal law provides aid for the establishment or maintenance of Muslim institutions or instruction in the Muslim religion by way of grant out of public funds in States other than Sabah and Sarawak, there shall be paid by the Federation to the Government of Sabah or Sarawak and applied for social welfare purposes in the State amounts which bear to the revenue derived by the Federation from the State in the year the same proportion as the grant bears to the revenue derived by the Federation from other States in that year.

Clause 65 authorises the inclusion in the Constitutions of Sabah and Sarawak of provision that an enactment of the State legislature under Article 11 (4) controlling or restructuring the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the Muslim religion shall not be passed except by a specified majority not exceeding  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total number of members of the State Legislative Assembly.

Clause 66 lays down constitutional safeguards in respect of the Borneo States. Clause 66 (1) provides that no amendment of the Federal Constitution modifying its application to a Borneo State shall be made by a simple majority of the Federal Parliament under Article 159 (4) (bb) unless the modification is such as to equate or assimilate the position of that State under the Constitution to the position of the States of the existing Federation. Furthermore, no amendment to the Federal Constitution shall be made without the concurrence of the Head of a Borneo State if the amendment relates to any of the following matters:

- (a) citizenship;
- (b) the constitution and jurisdiction of the High Court of the State;
- (c) the distribution of legislative and executive functions and the financial arrangements related thereto;
- (d) religion, language and the special position of natives of the State; and
- (e) the quota of members of the House of Representatives allocated to the State in proportion to the total allocated to other States on Malaysia Day.

Clause 66 (4) extends this protection to any rights and powers conferred by Federal law on the Government of a Borneo State as regards immigration into the State.

### Chapter 3—Singapore

Under Clause 67, until otherwise provided by enactment of the Singapore Legislative Assembly, the English, Mandarin and Tamil languages may be used in the Legislative Assembly and the English language may be used for the texts of all bills and enactments of that legislature.

Clause 68 provides that nothing in the Federal Constitution shall prohibit or invalidate any provision of State law in Singapore for the advancement of Malays but there shall be no reservation for

Malays of positions in the public service to be filled by recruitment in Singapore, or of permits or licences for the operation of any trade or business in Singapore.

Clause 69 lays down constitutional safeguards for Singapore by providing that no amendment shall be made to the Federal Constitution without the concurrence of the Governor of Singapore if the amendment affects the operation of the Constitution in relation to Singapore as regards any of the matters specified.

## TITLE VII—SUPPLEMENTARY

This part of the Bill contains minor and consequential and transitional provisions and repeals.

### PART IV—TRANSITIONAL AND TEMPORARY

#### Chapter 1—General

This chapter contains provisions for the continuation and modification of present laws, succession to property, rights, liabilities and obligations, the continuation of criminal and civil proceedings and succession on future transfers of responsibilities.

Clause 79 makes provision for the vesting of defence lands in Singapore and Clause 80 makes temporary financial provisions for Sabah and Sarawak in respect of the period up to 31st December, 1963.

#### Chapter 2—State Officers

This chapter contains the customary provisions for the preservation and protection of pensions of serving officers.

Clause 85 provides for the transfer to the Police Force of the Federation of all persons who immediately before Malaysia Day were members of the Police Force in Singapore. Such a person:

- (a) shall be employed on terms and conditions not less favourable than those applicable to him immediately before Malaysia Day;

(b) unless and until he elects to the country,—

- (i) shall not be liable to be transferred without his consent to a post outside Singapore; but
- (ii) shall not be eligible for promotion to such a post.

### **Chapter 3—The Courts and the Judiciary**

This chapter contains transitional and temporary provisions relating to the courts and judges.

### **Chapter 4—Parliament and Legislative Assemblies**

Clause 93 provides for the first elections and appointments of senators from the Borneo States and Singapore.

Clause 94 provides for the election of the members of the Federal House of Representatives and the State Legislative Assemblies in the Borneo States.

There will be a period of indirect elections which shall be, for elections to the House of Representatives the period up to the first dissolution of Parliament occurring after the end of August, 1968, and for elections to the Legislative Assembly, the first dissolution of that Assembly so occurring. However, H.M. the Yang Di Pertuan Agong with the concurrence of the Head of a Borneo State may by order reduce the period of indirect elections.

During the period of indirect elections the members of the House of Representatives from the State shall be elected by the State Legislative Assembly in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by order of the Head of State made with the concurrence of H.M. the Yang Di Pertuan Agong. Such order may either require elections to be made from among members of the Assembly or permit others to be elected. During the period of indirect elections in a State elected members of the State Legislative Assembly shall be elected as may be provided by Federal or State law.

Clause 95 makes provision for the election in Singapore of members of the Federal House of Representatives and the State Legislative Assembly.

## (a) ELECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Until the second general election after Malaysia Day, elections in Singapore to the House of Representatives will be conducted in accordance with State law passed with the concurrence of H.M. the Yang Di Pertuan Agong. However, after the first elections, these elections will also be subject to Federal law (Clause 95 (1)). As Federal law prevails over State law in accordance with Article 75, the subject of elections in Singapore to the House of Representatives will, after the first elections, in effect be concurrent.

For the purposes of the first elections in Singapore to the House of Representatives, the electoral rolls in force immediately prior to Malaysia Day may be used and consequently, in respect of these elections only, Article 119 (Qualifications of Electors) and 30A (Franchise of Singapore and other Citizens) will not apply (Clause 95 (2)).

## (b) ELECTION TO SINGAPORE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The subject of elections to the Singapore Legislative Assembly will be concurrent for five years after Malaysia Day and thereafter until Parliament with the concurrence of the State Government provides otherwise (Clause 95 (3) and (4) and the Fourth Schedule to the Bill Part II—List III (b)—Item 20).

Until the first revision of the electoral rolls after Malaysia Day, Article 119 and Article 30A will not apply in respect of elections to the Singapore Legislative Assembly (Clause 95 (5)).

Clause 96 provides for the delimitation of constituencies in the Borneo States for the first direct elections and for the first elections in Singapore to the House of Representatives to which (Clause 95 (1)) does not apply, i.e. the second general election held after Malaysia Day and subsequent elections.

The constituencies will be delimited by order of H.M. the Yang Di Pertuan Agong giving effect, with or without modifications, to the recommendations of the Federal Election Commission (Clause 96 (1) and (6)). The report of the Election Commission and the draft order are required to be (Clause 96 (5) and (9)).

In making its recommendations, the Election Commission is required to take into account the principles' set out in Section 2 of the Thirteenth Schedule to the Constitution (Clause 96 (2) (a)).

#### **First Schedule**

This schedule indicates which sections of the Act are to be inserted as articles of the Constitution and the manner in which they are to be inserted.

#### **Second Schedule**

The Schedule provides for the application to Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore of Part I of the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution (final provisions) in the same manner as it applies to the States of Penang and Malacca, except for the modification enabling the Speaker to be a person who is not a member of the State Legislative Assembly provided that he is qualified to a member.

#### **Third Schedule**

This Schedule contains the provisions regarding citizenship related to Title II (Clause 23 to 34) of the Bill.

#### **Fourth Schedule**

This Schedule contains the special legislative lists for the Borneo States and Singapore.

#### **Fifth Schedule**

This Schedule, which is related to Title IV—Chapter 1 (Clauses 45 to 47) (Financial provisions in respect of the Borneo States), specifies the special grants to the Borneo States and the additional sources of revenue assigned to them.

#### **Sixth Schedule**

This Schedule contains minor and consequential amendments to the Constitution.

Sir, I beg to move.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
ON THE SECOND READING OF THE IMMI-  
GRATION BILL AT THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON  
21ST AUGUST, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

I beg to move that the Bill intituled "An Act to extend and adapt the Immigration Ordinance, 1959, for Malaysia, and to make additional provision with respect to entry to the States of Sabah and Sarawak", be read a second time.

As Honourable Members are aware, since the day that this idea of Malaysia was conceived, the representatives of the Borneo States had made it clear that although they accepted the concept of Malaysia in principle, they consider it essential that in view of the small size of their population and the undeveloped nature of their territories, they should be protected against unrestricted movement of people into their territories.

They made their position clear in the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, 1961, and that Committee explained and discussed this question at length. That Committee came to the conclusion that, while recognising the need for these territories to achieve rapid progress and development which made it necessary to attract labour and technicians from outside, they considered that the territories themselves should be in a position to determine the rate and the scope of their development, taking into account the population problems which such development might create as well as the desirability of keeping in step with the general trend of development of Malaysia as a whole. The people of Borneo territories were anxious and nervous that by federating with the more advanced States in the present federation of Malaya and Singapore, their future position in their own States should not in anyway be prejudiced. The Prime Minister, at one of the meetings of the Solidarity Consultative Committee, gave an assurance that there would be no



unimpeded migration into the Borneo territories and that when Malaysia is established constitutional provisions whereby control of such movement would be effected, would be devised by constitutional experts. This assurance was very much welcomed in the Borneo territories and went a long way to calm their fears and anxieties.

When the Cobbold Commission went to ascertain the views of the Borneo territories on Malaysia, they also considered this matter very carefully. Representations were made by all sections of the community in the Borneo territories to the Cobbold Commission that they would not agree, under any circumstances, to all unrestricted migration to their territories. Therefore, the Cobbold Commission in paragraph 140 (g) of its Report unanimously recommended that control over immigration into any part of Malaysia from outside should rest with the Central Government, subject to the proviso that such entry into Sabah and Sarawak should also require the approval of the State Government concerned, but that the Federal Government should guarantee unrestricted entry for purposes of employment of persons recruited by the State Government, except on grounds of security. In relation to the question of entry from any other Malaysian territory into Sabah and Sarawak, the Commission recommended that this should be subject to the control of the State concerned provided that the free movement of persons in the service of the Central Government was guaranteed.

When the Inter-Governmental Committee was appointed by the Governments of UK, Federation of Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak, representatives of this Committee went round to various parts of the country and met leaders of the people at various levels. In all these meetings, immigration was the subject which they invariably raised with the Committee. The people asked that they should have control of immigration.

The Inter-Governmental Committee discussed and considered this matter very carefully and made the following specific recommendations on this matter—

- (a) immigration into Malaysia should remain on the Federal List, but legislation should be enacted by the Federal Parliament to ensure that entry into Sabah or Sarawak would require the approval of the State Government except in the cases mentioned below;

- (b) the Federal Constitution should be amended to enable the Federal Parliament to legislate to control the movement of persons between the existing Federation and a new State or between new States on any ground i.e. not merely by laws relating to security, public order, public health or the punishment of offenders;
- (c) the Federal Government should undertake to pass before Malaysia Day a law giving effect to these arrangements relating to immigration and coming into operation on Malaysia Day, the draft of which would be agreed by the Governments of the Borneo States and scheduled to the formal agreement for the establishment of Malaysia;
- (d) the Federal Constitution should be amended to provide that this law may not be amended or repealed in its application to a Borneo State without the concurrence of the Government of the State concerned;
- (e) the Federal Constitution should be amended to provide that the provisions referred to in sub-paragraphs (b) and (d) may not be amended or repealed in their application to either of the Borneo States without the concurrence of the Government of the State concerned; and
- (f) the law referred to in sub-paragraph (c) should contain provisions to secure that—
  - (i) any persons from outside Malaysia whose entry into a Borneo State the Government of that State considers is necessary for State purposes shall be given entry except in cases where the Federal Government, which will be consulted for this purpose, considers that it is desirable in the national interest that entry should be refused;
  - (ii) subject to Article 9 (1) and to sub-paragraph (iv) below, admission to a Borneo State will not be granted to any other person or class of persons, whether from inside or outside Malaysia, without the approval of the Government of the State concerned;

- (iii) subject to Article 9 (1) and to sub-paragraph (iv) below, any person who is present in a Borneo State contrary to the provisions of sub-paragraph (ii) above or whose presence is otherwise unlawful, whom the Government of the State wishes to be removed from the State, shall be so removed;
- (iv) the provisions outlined in sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) above do not apply to members or officers of the Federal Government or any person or class of persons whose temporary presence in the State the Federal Government, after consultation with the State Government, considers is necessary in order to enable the Federal Government to carry out its constitutional and administrative responsibilities or any citizen who enters for the purpose of exercising his rights in connection with the functioning of parliamentary democracy in Malaysia or any part thereof, or any person who belongs to the State, i.e. who is a permanent resident of the State or who is a citizen of Malaysia on account of connection with the State; and
- (v) no person who resides temporarily in the State in accordance with sub-paragraph (iv) shall by reason of such residence be deemed to belong to the State or to be a citizen of Malaysia on account of connection with the State for the purposes of that sub-paragraph.

This Bill before the House is in the form of the draft agreed by the Governments of the Borneo States and scheduled to the formal agreement and gives effect to the recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Committee.

We have therefore accepted two principles in this Bill, as a result of prolonged negotiations between representatives of the two territories, i.e. Sabah and Sarawak, and as I have said, in order to allay their fears and anxieties. First we accepted the principle that as the two territories have a small population in relation to their

size, it is essential to provide them protection against unrestricted movement of people from other parts of the Federation. Under Section 6 of the Bill, the right to enter a Borneo State is therefore limited to particular classes of citizens. First, of course, there are those who belong to the State and they are defined in Section 11. The second category consists of people, i.e. members of Federal or State Governments, judges, Federal officers, etc. and those people whose presence in the Borneo territories is necessary for the discharge of constitutional and administrative responsibilities of the Federal Government. Also, under Section 7, those persons who are engaging in legitimate political activities also are entitled to enter the Borneo State. In the interest of parliamentary democracy and in order to see that immigration control is not used to stifle political opposition, this section is inserted in the Bill.

Now under section 8, the Federal Government has the right, after consultation with the State authority, to override State power to veto a citizen's entry into the State where his entry is required to enable the Federal Government to carry out its responsibilities and this power is exercisable in relation to either individuals or in relation or to classes of persons.

The other principle which we have also accepted is that the question of entry from outside the Federation into any of the Borneo States should rest with the Central Government and these powers are exercisable by the Controller in accordance with the directions given to him by the Minister. However, while the Central Government should have power over all entries from outside the Federation, we consider it is legitimate that we should assure the Borneo States that if they require people from outside for their own State purpose then we should not unduly restrict their requirements. The Borneo States are undeveloped and they will in future require, as we do here, assistance of experts and technicians from outside to carry out their development but the Central Government will have the power to refuse entry from outside the Federation for purposes of State Government if the Central Government considers desirable in the national interest that such entry should be refused. In other words, if the Central Government considers that the persons required by the Borneo State to assist them in the development can

be found in other parts of Malaysia, then these persons should not be brought from outside, for example, if there was an application for entry of labour from outside Malaysia and if it is found that no efforts had been made to recruit labour from other parts of Malaysia, the Central Government would then be in a position to say that such an entry from outside Malaysia would be against the national interest. Again, if there was an application for entry into the Borneo State for State purpose for a person who is considered a security risk, then it is open to the Central Government to refuse his entry. I consider these safeguards are reasonable and these are the safeguards which the State Government have asked because, as I have said, they have their fears and their anxieties in these initial years until they feel that they are one with us and the Central Government here in Kuala Lumpur is their Government.

The other parts of the Bill are of somewhat lesser significance. Part I is merely formal and deals with the extension of the present immigration laws of the Federation to Malaysia as a whole instead of the Federation of Malaya only as it now stands. The present laws of the new States are accordingly repealed. This change produces no significant effect since the present laws of the new States are very like and in some respects identical with the Federation law which is now being extended.

Part II of the Bill deals with the administration of immigration in the Borneo States. The special immigration control in the Borneo States will be administered by the same Federal officers as administering the overall control for Malaysia and is a matter for the Federal authority subject to special rights conferred on State authorities.

SECTION 5. This section is the core of Part II. It gives the State authorities in a Borneo State (although immigration remains a Federal subject and is administered by Federal officers) the power to say that a person shall not be admitted to the State except on conditions acceptable to the State authorities and that persons not acceptable shall not be admitted, or if already present subject to removal shall be removed. These powers are purely negative, and do not replace or cut down the powers of the federal authorities.

The result is that a person's presence in a Borneo State (unless he has a right to be there) has to be acceptable to both the State and the Federal Authorities. This is subject to certain exceptions in sections 8 and 8, which I have already referred to.

Accordingly the Controller in a Borneo State will have to work to instructions from the State authorities as well as from the federal Minister. In order to make this effective, sub-section (2) provides that the Minister shall not allow an appeal from a decision of the Controller without the concurrence of the State authority, in any case where directions to the Controller from the State are in point; sub-section (3) provides that the Minister shall not grant exemptions from the immigration control without the concurrence of the State authority. There is a similar provision in sub-section (2) of section 4 to prevent regulations being used to defeat the powers of the State authorities—e.g. by not allowing to be attached to Passes etc. for entry to the State the kind of conditions which the State authority may want to require under section 5. This section is, of course, subject to certain exceptions in sections 8 and 9.

SECTION 10 is a temporary provision to give certain potential citizens in a Borneo State the same rights.

SECTION 11 defines those citizens who are to have a free right of entry into a Borneo State on the ground that they belong there. They are of two classes—first those who are at any time permanently resident there (or have been to a date two years or less previously) and secondly those whose right to citizenship depends on a connection with the State. The second class will consist of persons born in the Borneo State when the parents or one of them is permanently resident there; but it includes also those who are ordinarily resident in the State on Malaysia Day and who become citizens automatically on that day or register as citizens under the special provision in the Malaysia Bill.

Part III of the Bill deals with a number of matters, such as carrying of a passport or similar travel document and section 16 of that Part enables the Minister, by an order made before Malaysia Day, to make supplementary provision of a transitional nature.

It will be seen from the above recommendations that while it is agreed that immigration should be a Federal matter, the Borneo territories are allowed certain safeguards. Of course, there is no restriction to persons in the employment of the Federal Government to go to the Borneo territories and there is no restriction to the Federal Government to sending officers and others to the territories in the discharge of the Federal Government's constitutional and administrative responsibilities. There is also no objection to persons going to the Borneo territories to carry out legitimate political activities. But persons outside these categories will not be allowed to enter the Borneo territories without the consent of the Government of the State concerned, except the Federal Government has the final say in that the Federal Government could refuse the entry of any person to a Borneo State if it considers it is the national interest to do so. It is agreed that it is not very desirable to have these restrictions of movement in what is virtually one sovereign independent State, but it should be appreciated that Malaysia is a Federation of States and that the new States of the Borneo territories decided to enter the Federation out of their own free will and we here to some extent must respect their wishes and must understand their fears and anxieties. Although the Borneo territories have had many common ties with us for generations, they have been separated constitutionally and administratively from the States of Malaya. They were under different administration and they were separated from us by many hundreds of miles of sea. It will take some time for them to realise after Malaysia that they belong to one country and one nation. It will take them some time to realise that Kuala Lumpur, which will be the national Capital, is their national Capital. It will take them some time to realise that the Central Government in a Federation is a Government established by all the constituent States and that they have a say in carrying on the Government. It is in fact their Government as much as it is ours. In the same way in Malaya in 1948 when the present Federation started some of the former unfederated Malay States, e.g. Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu found it difficult to reconcile to the fact that they are under one Central Government and that to all intents and purposes they belong to one country with other States. It is difficult for a man from such out of the way place as Alor Star to accept Kuala Lumpur as his National Capital. But times have changed all this. Now

everyone of us in Malaya wherever we come from regard ourselves as members of one Nation. In the same way in the Borneo territories, it is hoped that in the course of time when their representatives have sat with us in this House and their officers have worked with us in the Central Government and in the Federal Departments and they are represented in the highest body of Governmental hierarchy, their fears and anxieties will fade away, but we have to give them time to do this. Therefore, it is necessary for us to have this legislation to allay their fears and anxieties and we hope that time may not be far distant they themselves will agree to do away with some of the provisions of this legislation.

Sir, I beg to move.



SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
ON THE SECOND READING OF THE SERVICE  
LANDS BILL AT THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON  
22ND AUGUST, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill intituled, "an Act to make provision for the ejection of persons unlawfully occupying any land used or to be used for the purposes of any Federation forces and to incorporate the United Kingdom Services' Lands Board" be read a second time.

Sir, Clause 2 of the Bill sets out the procedure for the removal of unlawful occupants of lands used or to be used for the purpose of any Federation forces. This provision is desirable in the interests of defence and security, as the ordinary civil process for the eviction of unlawful occupants of land, other than State land, is too lengthy and cumbersome for dealing with squatters on lands required for use by the Armed Forces.

Briefly, the procedure proposed in this Bill is that it gives authority to a magistrates' court to require, by warrant, any Police officer to dispossess and remove from such land any unlawful occupant and to take possession of the land together with all crops growing thereon and all building and other immovable property upon and affixed to the land. But the Magistrate must be satisfied with the truth of the information received by the Court from the Federal Commissioner of Lands.

Now, Clause 3 merely implements Section 6 of Annex IV of the Defence Treaty where we have given an undertaking to enact legislation which will permit the United Kingdom Services authorities through their representative here to hold interest in land, and with that object will also provide for the incorporation of the representative of the Services authority.

It is a very short Bill and I hope the House will approve this without much amendment.

Sir, I beg to move.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
OVER RADIO MALAYA'S MERDEKA DAY  
FEATURE "A MOMENT IN HISTORY" ON  
31ST AUGUST, 1963

The underlying principle behind our Development Planning and the implementation of our Development Programme is based on a well-known international principle, that is that no Government however good or however efficient it may be, no matter how many hundreds or thousands of Government Officers it may have, no matter how many plans and policies it may have, no Government in the world can hope to succeed with a Development Programme unless it has the full support of the people themselves.

Such support cannot just be lip-service; it must be support in thought, in words, and more important in action.

And I should like to take this opportunity of thanking every Malayan whether he be near to the Federal Capital or whether he be living in the most remote kampong, in the most remote ulu.

I should like to say thank you and thank you very much indeed for the response which has been given by all of you during the years since we achieved Independence.

Thank you for playing your part in contributing to the success of our National Development Plan so far.

I am satisfied that we have achieved a considerable measure of success but, at the same time, it would be quite wrong of me not to admit that we have had difficulties and, looking to the future, we still have difficulties.

But let us go forward together and regard difficulties and problems, when they arise, not as blockages in our path of progress but rather let us regard them as challenges which, if used correctly, can be an inspiration towards renewing our energy and doubling our determination.

Time does not permit me to quote in detail the facts and figures of our achievements but I would like to take a few comparative examples to show you exactly what can happen when we the Government and you the people go forward together with one heart.

Pre-Independence our Road Programme consisted of a few miles of new roads per year but now by gearing the machinery of Government towards greater co-ordination, greater drive, and greater energy, I am glad to say that between the years 1960-63 alone we increased the road mileage throughout the country by no less than 1,600 miles; a figure which before Independence would have been regarded as something absolutely impossible.

Similarly, to give you another example—the increase of water supplies. Pre-independence the potential of development on water supplies could be more easily assessed not in gallons but in pints whereas the achievements of our National Development Programme so far, we have increased the output to something like 60 to 70 million extra gallons.

And we will go on increasing water supplies and many other things such as better schools, better health services, better communications, better opportunities, both in the rural and in the urban areas.

Another example of progress I may mention, The Federal Land Development Authority alone have succeeded in opening up 50 new Land Development Schemes giving a total potential of approximately 200,000 acres of new land under cultivation and eventual provision for no less than 16,500 new settlers.

In addition to the Federal Land Development Schemes, each State Government have gone ahead with their own land schemes opening up a considerable acreage of new land.

However, you will forgive me if, in talking to you today, I make an appeal to your good sense and your good judgment.

It is said in history books that "Rome was not built in one day" and neither can the aims or hopes of our development planning be achieved in one day.

There are many hundreds of projects in progress at present and there are plans for even more in the future, and we must move forward with sound planning and careful thought to ensure that what we do, and the funds we spent, are used to the greatest advantage for the greatest number of our people.

Looking to the future preliminary work of investigation such as soil survey and detailed planning is already well underway for the implementation of a large land development scheme such as has never been envisaged anywhere in the world.

It is a scheme of approximately 150,000 to 200,000 acres of land to be opened up and made available for those who have no land who are willing to start a new life in the true Malayan pioneering style by becoming settlers within this scheme.

Also, a survey has recently been completed by a team of experts generously supplied under the Colombo Plan by Canada.

This survey has laid the foundation plans for a new highway which will stretch roughly from Sungei Siput in the west to Kuala Berang in the East.

Not only will it provide a road of good access connecting east and west coast but also it will open up a new vista of our National Development, a new step forward in the development of Malaya with the great potential of mineral, agricultural, hydro-electric and other resources.

But all these new projects will mean nothing and will make no contribution to the development of our nation unless we, each and everyone of us, no matter where we are, no matter what we are, no matter what our daily task is, resolve to play our own part in the development of the nation by working harder and being more and more determined that our country will progress and progress at speed.

Therefore, I feel that Merdeka day should be celebrated not with a looking backwards, not with a historical memory of the past but rather with a determined looking forwards, with a renewed spirit and a renewed determination to carry our nation across the forward frontiers of the future towards an even more prosperous and happier Malaya.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE APEX ZONE FOURTH CONVENTION  
AT SHELLEY ROAD, KUALA LUMPUR ON  
1ST SEPTEMBER, 1963

Mr. Chairman, Members of Apex from overseas, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When I was asked whether I would give the opening address at this Apex Zone Fourth Convention in Kuala Lumpur, I most willingly agreed to do so, because Apex has in a very short space of time won itself a high reputation in Malaya and Singapore, and is rapidly gaining ground elsewhere in Asia.

First, may I give the warmest possible welcome to the 150 members of Apex who have come all the way from Australia to attend this Convention and to see Apex actively at work in Malaya. For ceremony young Australians to take the time and trouble, not to mention the financial aspect, and to come to this Convention is not only a great tribute to the enthusiasm and self-denial of Apex in Australia, where the organisation was founded, but also a very great compliment to Apexians in Malaya.

The first overseas Club formed by Apex was in Singapore in 1956, only seven years ago. Since then five more Clubs have been established and are flourishing in Katong, Johore Baru, Malacca, Seremban and here in Kuala Lumpur. I understand that representatives of all these Clubs are here this morning, and I am sure they will join with me most heartily in a welcome to their brother Apexians from Australia.

I am also very happy to see that Apexians are here as observers from India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Japan. Their presence is another tribute to the response the ideals of Apex—fellowship through service and service through fellowship—have aroused in other Asian countries. There is no doubt that the opportunity Apex

affords for young men to serve their fellow men has great appeal. To Apexians here from elsewhere in Asia I extend on behalf of Malaya a most warm and cordial welcome.

To all Apexians who have visited Malaya before I hope you will have another happy sojourn here, and to all those who are visiting Malaya for the first time I hope you will take the opportunity to see as much of our country as possible and to understand the dynamic sense of change that is taking place in Malaya.

As Minister of Rural Development, I am primarily responsible for the healthy progress of our Second Five-Year Plan, and I may say that there is hardly a single aspect of our economic, social, commercial and educational life that has not felt the impact of the Plan. For a small country like ours to set out on a vast programme costing 5000 million dollars is a very ambitious task, and I am happy to say that having passed the half-way mark we are up to schedule, and in many aspects of the Plan ahead of schedule. This simple statement expresses in a nut shell what I mean by the remarkable changes taking place in Malaya.

All this constant activity and impetus would not be possible without the full co-operation of the people in every sphere of life. I am glad to say that the Five-Year Plan has stimulated many voluntary organisations to even greater efforts than they have achieved before. Our people, particularly those in the rural areas where the need is greatest, have learned that there is a great personal satisfaction to be gained by doing something for the Plan. For voluntary bodies, this often means pitching in during spare time and days off, either in practical construction on the ground, or by raising funds in various ways to see that special projects are carried out.

I am very happy to say that Apex is a splendid example of what is possible through voluntary service. I am particularly pleased to know that one of the highlights of this Convention will be the official opening of the Apex-Loo Goat Farm at Sungei Buloh Leprosarium in a few days time. This goat farm, designed to provide an economic livelihood for cured lepers, is not only an imaginative

idea but also a very practical one. It will not only be a great asset to the Leprosarium as a source of earning money but it will also provide training in animal husbandry for the patients there. I am sure there is not a single Apexian who has helped to build this Farm, either by raising money or by personal toil, who will not feel a genuine thrill of pride on seeing this project completed and operating as a going concern. I offer to all Apexians my warmest congratulation on this splendid achievement.

It is with the greatest pleasure, therefore, that I declare open this Apex Zone Fourth Convention, and in doing so to offer not only the thanks of the nation but also the good wishes of all Malaysians for greater prosperity and success to Apex everywhere.



ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE  
ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION  
PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU AT THE  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, SHELLEY ROAD,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1963

Datuk Chairman, State Representatives, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me very great pleasure once again as your National President to welcome you all this evening to the Annual General Meeting 1963 of our National Association. In fact, I must first of all apologise to you for having postponed this meeting twice as I had to be away from the country on State duties—the first time being away in USA and UK and on the second occasion I had to go to Manila. I must thank you all for your patience and to be here today to conduct this meeting.

I am also very delighted to see you all here from places far and near and your presence clearly indicates the keen interest that you are all taking in this movement for the benefit of our youths to be better citizens of tomorrow.

I am very proud to say that our Association is progressing and this clearly shows that everyone along the line is doing his or her part. It is gratifying to note from the Annual Report that each year the number of classes have increased and above all the number of recipients of certificates too has also increased. In fact, within five years—between 1958 and 1962 our number of recipients has nearly trebled including the Cadet Proficiency Certificates. This is a very encouraging sign. The more citizens that we train the more useful they will be to our country.

In this connection, I wish to thank all State Associations, Doctors, Lay Lecturers and Examiners for their excellent work that they are doing. I am proud to state that the number of

Lay Lecturers has also greatly increased in most States. It is needless for me to say at this point how useful are these Lay Lecturers to us since they reduce most of the burden for our Doctors who are so busy. I earnestly hope that there will be an increase in the number of Lay Lecturers next year.

I am indeed very happy to read from the Annual Report that we now have our Association functioning in all the States. In fact, when I took over the Presidency of this Association in 1957 when there were three States not represented on the main Committee. But today they are here as our equal partners doing the good work of the Order of St. John.

I take this opportunity in extending our heartiest congratulations to the Perak Association for celebrating their Silver Jubilee Anniversary and I hope that I will be still with you all to enjoy their Diamond Jubilee. In fact, I visited their Headquarters and I was greatly impressed by their building and the good work that they are doing there.

I hope to visit more of our State Associations during the course of my duty and to see the good work they are doing there.

I am also glad to note that in most States very good work has been done in Kampong and villages in giving lectures and demonstrations in First Aid and Home Nursing.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate our Brigade Officers and members for their devotion to duty and in keeping the St. John Flag flying. I have seen the Brigade members in their white uniform at all official functions, at various national meetings, at indoor and outdoor gatherings doing their duty earnestly and faithfully. I am sure with the coming Malaysia celebrations a lot of burden will fall on our willing members to perform first aid duties and I am confident that they will be there to do their "Service to Mankind".

With the coming of Malaysia, I hope that the States will join and form one Malaysian St. John Co-ordinating Committee to further the interests of the Order in this part of the world. I am sure that when ideas from these States are pooled by both the Association and Brigade then our advancement will be rapid.

Finally, I take this Opportunity to thank the Central, Executive, Flag Day and Management Headquarters Building Committees and the various other Sub-Committees of our Association for the valuable work that they have done for the past year and wish the new incoming Committee will work with vigour and keep up the excellent name of the Association. However, I feel that I should thank the trio once again—our capable Chairman, Datuk S. M. Yong for his excellent manner he had been running the affairs of the Association and incidentally, I take this opportunity in extending to the Datuk our heartiest congratulations for being awarded the s.m.s. by H.H. the Sultan of Selangor. Then I wish to thank our conscientious Secretary, Mr. Paramasivam for keeping the administrative side of the Association up and to our careful Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Azariah for the safe keeping of the accounts.

Well, I shall not keep you long as I know we have a heavy programme before us, including the Dinner and Dance tonight.

Once again Ladies and Gentlemen, before I take my seat and before we proceed with the business of the day, my earnest appeal to each and everyone is to give your continued support to the Association and Brigade.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE NEW  
SURVEY OFFICE, TAIPING, PERAK ON 7TH  
SEPTEMBER, 1963

I am very pleased indeed to be able to declare open this very excellent building which cost the Federal Government approximately half a million dollars.

I should like to congratulate the Public Works Department, not only for the high standard of construction, but also for being able to complete the building according to schedule in spite of their many other commitments and in spite of the pressure that I have been putting on the Public Works Department to build more roads and other Rural Development projects.

I should like also to congratulate the Survey Department, both State and Federal, for the great contribution their officers have made in the implementation of our National Development Programme and also for the way that they have by year expanded into a more and more efficient Department.

In proof of my praise of their efficiency, I should like to quote the comparative figures showing the increase of capacity and output of work over the last ten years. In 1952 records show that the Survey Department surveyed a total of 22,384 lots throughout the country whereas by 1962 they had succeeded in achieving an increase of over 100% capacity by completing the survey of 52,539 lots. I am sure that figures for the current year, 1963, will be even more complimentary to the hard work and steady output which the Survey Department is contributing towards our National Development.

I have much pleasure in declaring open this new office of the Survey Department Headquarters in Perak.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE OPENING OF THE MALAYSIA SPORTS  
FESTIVAL TRACK AND FIELD MEET AT THE  
STADIUM MERDEKA, KUALA LUMPUR ON  
12TH SEPTEMBER, 1963

Dato' Chairman, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Athletes of Malaysia,

As President of the Federation of Malaya Olympic Council I am very pleased indeed to be present here today to declare open the Federation of Malaya Amateur Athletic Union's Track and Field Meet which is their contribution to the Sports Festival celebrating the birth of Malaysia.

Everywhere in Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah the people are looking forward eagerly to honour in every way they can the establishment of Malaysia. This Sports Meeting is the gesture of all the athletes of Malaysia for this great national occasion. I would like to say at once that all the arrangements made are most appropriate for the Malaysia festivities, as this is the first time men and women athletes of all the component parts of Malaysia are taking part in a sports competition of their own.

The Federation of Malaya is very happy to be the host, and on behalf of all Malayan sportsmen, and indeed of all Malaysians, I extend a very warm and friendly welcome to all the men and women competitors from Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. I am told that the response to the invitations to take part is very good indeed as we can see from the splendid march past we have just witnessed. This shows that the athletes of Malaysia are themselves very keen to compete with one another in track and field events as fellow Malaysians.

The fact that you are so eager to do so is of particular interest to me, as this athletic meet indicates the pattern of things to come. When Malaysia is established, the amateur athletic

unions will be taking action to come together in one body, so that instead of participating in international events in future as separate entities, they will compete, not for Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah, but all together as one for Malaysia. Quite obviously the wider range of talents and skill available in Malaysia should give the selectors every opportunity to choose a strong team for the Olympic Games in Tokyo next year.

I do not doubt that every Malaysian athlete, particularly the star performers, will be going all out from now on for the honour of being chosen in the Malaysian team at Tokyo. Although the Olympic Games are more than a year away. Much hard training will be necessary, and the athletic meets to be held in various parts of Malaysia during the next nine months or so will be very interesting to watch.

In these two days you will be striving hard to run faster, leap higher and further, and throw greater distances than before. I have every confidence that the athletes of Malaysia will make this meeting a record-breaker. I hope that while you are in Kuala Lumpur you will enjoy yourselves to the full both on and off the field, renewing old friendships and making new ones as you do so.

Wishing the competitors from all over Malaysia the best of success, I take very great pleasure now in declaring open this Track and Field Meet in honour of Malaysia.

**Merdeka Malaysia!**

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE OPENING CERMONY OF THE STAFF  
TRAINING CENTRE, KUALA LUMPUR ON  
19TH SEPTEMBER, 1963

The Hon'ble Mr. Seath, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Minister,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

For the last two days we have witnessed various forms of celebrations being held at various towns and villages stretching from Kangar in Perlis to Jesselton in Sabah (North Borneo) to mark the birth of our new nation, Malaysia. And today we are gathered here again to witness yet another celebration, the opening of our 1st Malaysia Staff Training Centre by the Hon'ble Mr. Seath, the Associate Finance Minister of New Zealand, who is here today with us as the special representative of his dynamic country, New Zealand to our Malaysia celebration.

On this occasion it is fitting for me, on behalf of the Malaysian Government, to thank the New Zealand Government most sincerely for her kindness and generosity in donating to us a sum of NZ£60,000 (MS510,000) towards the cost of this beautiful and modern building. I need hardly stress the importance of a Training Centre such as this to any country especially to a country like Malaya and Malaysia which is embarking on an extensive development programme of various kinds to give our people a higher and better standard of living and a rightful and dignified place in our country. In the old Federation of Malaya we launched our Second Five Year Development Plan early 1961 and we passed the half way mark in the implementation of that Plan. We can say with modest satisfaction that we have been able to implement that Plan most satisfactorily and in many cases the projects have been completed ahead of schedule. This very satisfying state of affairs is due to the respond by the civil servants of all grades to the call to action by Government to do their utmost in carrying out the Plan. I like to say here that we are very grateful to our civil servants of all grades

for the way in which they have served our young nation. We have now a machinery of Government which is capable of carrying out development far more than we can afford to finance or to find the money.

However much we have done, there is still plenty to do before our people of all races, particularly those living in the villages, are able to receive those amenities in life required of a modern and civilised society. There is, therefore, need for us to continue to train our officers at all levels so that our Government machinery will not only be maintained in its present level of efficiency but will be able to stand the strain of further and greater programme of development, particularly with the needs of our new nation, Malaysia. Among other things, it is sound and efficient administration that will ensure the future peaceful and steady development of our new nation Malaysia. That is why we are so grateful to the New Zealand Government for this very generous gift given at such an opportune time in the development of our nation.

I should like to add, as far back as 1950 there was already the realization in this country for the need of such a training centre. This need was even more urgently felt when we achieved our independence in 1957. But owing to lack of funds and other factors we were not able to establish one until this generous gesture was made to us by the New Zealand Government. In the meantime courses were held for our Government staff at various places. Courses for the administrative officers were held at Port Dickson while courses for clerical staff were held here in Kuala Lumpur itself. And now with the establishment of this Centre all these courses would in future be satisfactorily carried out at this Centre.

In order to carry out the function of this Centre satisfactorily, a number of the officers of this Centre has already been sent overseas to study the new and modern techniques of training. One has been sent on a training course to the United Kingdom, one to New Zealand on a scholarship provided by the New Zealand Government itself, and another to Australia. The Principal of this Centre has been on a training course to Canada on a scholarship provided by the Canadian Government. Before the establishment



of this Centre, we have been fortunate to have for three months in 1961 the services of an expert on Staff Training from New Zealand. All these have gone a long way in making this Centre what it is today. I should also like to make a special mention of the generosity of the Ford Foundation in making its fund available on many occasions to meet the Centre's various expenses, such as for furniture and books since 1959.

I would also like to congratulate our Public Works Department for the planning and finally the building of this beautiful Centre. To the Principal of this Centre, as well as other staff members, I wish them every success. I have no doubt that all Government departments will give their support and co-operation to this Centre in order to ensure the desired success.

Finally, I now have much pleasure in inviting the Hon'ble Mr. Seath in declaring the Centre open.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE OPENING OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL  
GENERAL MEETING OF THE EMPLOYEES'  
PROVIDENT FUND STAFF UNION, KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1963

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Stanley, Distinguished Guests, Members of the Employees' Provident Fund Staff Union, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I would like to thank you very much indeed both for your invitation to open the Fifth Annual General Meeting of the Employees' Provident Fund Staff Union and for the warm welcome you have given me today.

May I say at once that I am very glad to have the opportunity to do so. The Employees' Provident Fund comes within the purview of the Minister of Finance, for whom I am acting at present while he is abroad in the United Kingdom and the United States. As Deputy Prime Minister and being at the centre of the nation's economic affairs, I am naturally very familiar with the operations of the EPF and the important role it takes in national finance and investment.

Oddly enough, this happens to be the very first time I have had a chance to visit the splendid and well equipped premises of the Fund, and I am pleased that your invitation gives me a personal reason for being here.

As members of the staff of the Employees' Provident Fund, you are part and parcel of one of the most important organisations in the whole nation. Not only is the EPF a special kind of treasury responsible for vast sums of money accumulated, and still growing, behalf of over two million contributors, but it is also one of the basic sources for financing our vast programme of national development.

Your responsibility, therefore, as officers and servants of the Fund is very great indeed. The management of the Fund's affairs and its steady growth are a great source of satisfaction to the Government, and reflect great credit on the efficiency and devotion of all concerned. There is no doubt at all that much merit for this happy state of affairs is due to the harmonious relations and understanding existing between the Union and the management. I have every confidence that this climate of concord and goodwill will happily continue not only for your own benefit but in the national interests.

It is extremely important that such good relations should exist, as the EPF, like many other institutions and organisations in Malaya, must now begin to take into account the wider horizons of Malaysia. The operations of the Fund have been confined to the eleven States of Malaya in the past and now consideration will need to be given to extending the authority and responsibility of the EPF throughout Malaysia.

Bearing in mind the success of the Fund to-date, I am confident that when this new development occurs the Fund and all its staff will tackle the increased responsibilities involved with the same good record and high reputation they have already earned.

So far I have referred to the Fund and the staff in national terms, but as employees of the EPF, combined together in a staff Union of your own, you naturally have questions of domestic interest which are important and intimate for you.

I am very glad to hear that a scheme has been successfully negotiated recently to provide loans for housing for the staff of the EPF. This is a very welcome development, as it fits in with Government's overall policy of encouraging home-ownership for all citizens.

To give you some idea of the Government's plans for home-ownership, our Second Five-Year Plan provides a sum of \$45,000,000 for the purpose. Of this amount it is expected that \$20,000,000 will have been spent by the end of this year in providing low cost houses for the lower income groups. Since the Second Five-Year Plan began in 1961, 3,600 low cost houses including flats have been built. Another 3,000 are now under construction and are scheduled for

completion this year or early next year. In addition, the Municipality of Kuala Lumpur has bought a considerable area of land to help fulfil for its municipal staff Government's policy of home-ownership. The Central Government is actively considering purchase of an extensive area of land in the vicinity of Kuala Lumpur for the same purpose, homes for the Government servants.

I am informed that you have encountered some difficulty in finding suitable sites for homes, and naturally you want to be living as close to your work as possible. I can assure you that the Government is giving consideration to this problem and everything possible will be done to find a satisfactory solution.

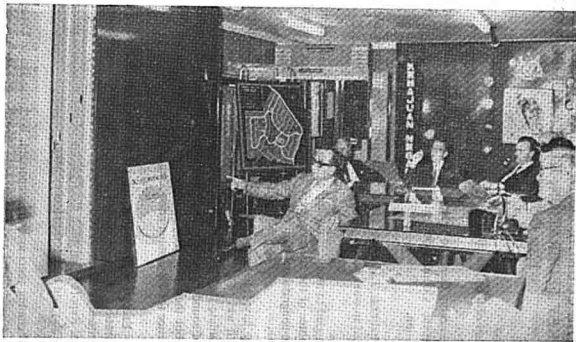
I also understand that your Union has put forward certain claims for revision of pay in view of the increasing responsibilities of these EPF. Knowing the spirit of co-operation and goodwill which has animated the close and cordial relations between management and staff in the past, I have no doubt at all that these negotiations will be conducted and settled in both an amicable satisfactory way.

On behalf of the Government I would like to declare my warm appreciation of the support and loyalty expressed by the Union and its members this morning at this time when national unity in the face of external pressure is so vitally necessary.

Whatever our racial origin may be, we are all Malaysians together, proud of our country for its past achievements and confident of greater progress and prosperity in future if we can live in peace in our own way, so it is our honest duty to rally to the support of Malaysia in a time of stress and strain. Our strength lies in unity and your support is another golden link in the chain of unity.

May I conclude by offering my very best wishes to the members of your Union for happy and successful future both in internal relations and in maintaining the remarkable prestige of the Employees' Provident Fund, to which each and everyone of you has contributed in building a great institution of which the whole nation is proud.

I take much pleasure now in declaring open the Fifth Annual General Meeting of the Employees' Provident Fund Staff Union.



Tun Abdul Razak sedang memberi penerangan tentang Pembangunan Luar Bandar kepada Ahli-ahli Konggres Amerika Syarikat di Bilik Gerakan Negara, Kuala Lumpur pada 10hb Oktober, 1963.

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
TO THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES MALAYAN  
HOCKEY FEDERATION, KUALA LUMPUR ON  
12TH OCTOBER, 1963

Members of the Council of Delegates,

It was more than two years ago that I had the pleasure of addressing the Council Delegates, Federation of Malaya Hockey Federation.

At that time, I asked you to elect the right officials who would be prepared to work hard and with sincerity.

I am glad to note that my appeal was not in vain. Your Executive Committee of the last two years have done an excellent job, and I wish to congratulate them on a good and honest effort.

They have raised the Malayan Hockey team from mediocrity, where it was in 1961, to a good world ranking position today. It is fortunate that the Executive Committee members were mature men of sound judgement, and most of all acted with one mind to carry out their objectives. I hope you will be able to get such a committee for the coming years ahead.

The Executive Committee have been assisted greatly by the co-operation, and goodwill of the State Officials without whom the Committee could not have achieved the success they have. The Annual Report gives you a clear picture of our successful fight, to put Malaya on the World Hockey Map.

The coming years are very important. With the Tokyo Olympic Game a year ahead and standards in Hockey all over the world levelled up, the tournament at Tokyo will be a greater challenge than ever before.

It is therefore necessary that you should get into active and serious training without a moment to lose.

You have experienced officials and selectors of the past year. With now States added, and co-operation and support forthcoming for the parent body, an executive and selection committees consisting of past experienced Officials and new blood should lose no time to keep the Malaysian preparation at top gear, right up to the Olympic Games.

It is essential that a spirit of friendly co-operation exist, between the affiliates and the parent body. I am not happy when affiliates rush to the Press and make a mountain out of a mole hill. Nor are the Press slow to take advantage of cheap sensationalism. Though the parent body has power to take disciplinary action against such conduct, we have refrained from doing so. However, I must say that in future, both discipline of the affiliates as well as the players should need closer attention of the Executive Committee.

At the last Malaysia Carnival finals, I was shocked at the unsporting and rowdy behaviour of some Officials, encouraging players to leave the field. Every association should see that the right Officials are elected, otherwise the conduct and behaviour of poor Officials is going to harm the fair name of the State Association, as well as the Malaysian Hockey Federation.

The Officials should set an example to the younger players and not mislead them.

Your Selection Committee has drawn up a vigorous programme of training and tours. I understand that Mr. Durairatnam is negotiating with India and Pakistan for games, when our teams are selected in May 1964. He has also asked me to approach Australian and New Zealand High Commissioners for inviting these teams to Malaya.

All this means finance. We have had no support from affiliates during the last biennial years.

With a big programme ahead, I want you to work hard and improve the financial position.

This will be the last meeting of the Malayan Hockey Federation. It has a proud record of achievements. We have several distinguished persons who have given all their best for the Malayan Hockey Federation. I am sure their services will be available to the stronger and bigger Malaysian Hockey Federation.

There is a big agenda ahead, and I hope you will get through this quickly in a spirit of goodwill and sportsmanship, and bring the birth of the Malaysian Hockey Federation. When this is done, we can go take up the question of a new constitution, by appointing a sub-committee among yourselves to go into it thoroughly and make your recommendations. If we approve a constitution in a haste it is going to be the cause of endless trouble in future. Therefore, give it all your thought. Most affiliates have not elected the Officials for the coming year. When this is done, they should each set up a committee in their own State and send in their recommendations to the sub-committee appointed, who will study it in detail before drawing the constitution.

I thank you all for coming from all over Malaysia to attend the meeting.



ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AT THE JOINT SESSION OF THE NATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING COMMITTEE AND  
THE SARAWAK STATE DEVELOPMENT PLAN-  
NING COMMITTEE, KUCHING, SARAWAK ON  
17TH OCTOBER, 1963

Mr. Chief Minister<sup>1</sup> and Gentlemen,

My colleague, the Minister of Transport<sup>2</sup>, and I are indeed very happy to visit Sarawak for the first time since Sarawak achieved independence through Malaysia. I would therefore like, on behalf of the Government and the people of the old Federation of Malaya, to congratulate you, the Chief Minister, your colleagues and members of your Government and the people of Sarawak on having so successfully achieved independence through Malaysia. Now after almost two years of consultation and negotiations, we are able to reach complete agreement on the terms of Sarawak's entry into Malaysia.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those leaders of the various communities here and members of the Civil Service who took part in the negotiations and who had shown such understanding that we are able to reach such complete agreement. Now indeed these negotiations and consultations have enabled the Ministers and officers of the Federal Government to come to know the leaders of the communities here, as well as members of the Civil Service here. And I have no doubt that this contact, this association that has been made, has enabled us to know each other more intimately and to maintain an understanding and goodwill which will be of great value to us all in facing our tasks ahead of us of governing Malaysia.

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<sup>1</sup> Datuk Stephen Kalong Ningkan.

<sup>2</sup> Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir.

Now that Malaysia is a reality, we are faced with the task of maintaining peace, maintaining law and order, and of carrying out administration of the State. Now, gentlemen, I would like to explain that although Malaysia is a federation, government to all intents and purposes is one. Ordinary People in the villages, in the longhouses, would not know what are the responsibilities of the Federal Government and what are the responsibilities of the State Government. They only know there is one government. Both Federal and State Governments are equally responsible for the welfare of the people and they are part of one governmental machinery. Therefore there must be co-ordination between Federal and State Governments in functions and responsibilities so that the whole governmental machinery can work as one cohesive mechanism. Every effort must be made to smooth out any differences of view, any overlapping of functions between State and Federal so that both Governments can serve the people to their complete satisfaction. That is why I am most happy to see that several State officers have been seconded to work in the Federal Secretary's Office and I do hope some of the State officers here would in due course be seconded to Federal Departments in Kuala Lumpur. In the same way, I hope some Federal officers from Kuala Lumpur would be seconded to work in the State Departments. By this way, officers would be able to understand and realise that government, although divided between Federal and State, is one and must appear to the people as such.

I am pleased that some of you expatriate officers have decided to remain to help the people of Sarawak in these early years of its independence. It will be the duty, the intention and the policy of the Central Government as well as the State Government to train local officers as quickly as possible to enable them to shoulder greater responsibilities in administration. I look forward to the expatriate officers who are still here to do all they can to help to train these local officers so that when they leave, these local officers would be ready to take their places. We in the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur always regard efficient, loyal and incorruptible civil service as vital to any country, in particular to a developing country like Malaysia. We must therefore maintain a higher standard of efficiency in our administration and I look

forward to local officers, when they shoulder greater and greater responsibilities, to maintain the high tradition of the civil service. To the local officers, I would like to say that the country needs you, and you must be prepared to place your services for the nation.

It is, gentlemen, a matter of deep regret to all of us that so soon after Sarawak achieved independence through Malaysia, Sarawak has to face a state of emergency, has to meet the challenge posed by our neighbour Indonesia. This state of tension was brought about not by our own doing. We in our part, the Central Government, the former Federation of Malaya, and now of Malaysia, have done all we can to maintain close and friendly relation with our neighbours and to keep peace in this region of South East Asia. We have gone a long way towards endeavouring to achieve this objective. We have had several meetings with leaders of the Philippines and Indonesia, and eventually we signed an agreement in Manila between our Prime Minister and the Heads of States of the Philippines and Indonesia.

In that agreement, it was clearly stated that if the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as an independent authority, could confirm that the people of Sabah and Sarawak support Malaysia then Indonesia and Philippines would welcome Malaysia. That agreement was clear and unequivocal and has no condition attached to it at all. As you know, gentlemen, as you are just as much aware as I am now, the UN<sup>3</sup> Secretary-General has put up his report and has confirmed that a great majority of the people of Sarawak and Sabah are in support of Malaysia and despite they have not kept their part of the bargain. They have not carried out the agreement which they so solemnly agreed in Manila. As a result of this our diplomatic relation both with the Philippines and Indonesia were broken off.

As you know we also had to postpone the date of declaration of Malaysia at great inconvenience to all of us in Malaya, and in particular to you here. We have to put off the date for sixteen days in order to enable the Secretary-General of the UN to complete his report and to provide opportunity for our

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<sup>3</sup> Mr. V. Ramani.

neighbours to join us in welcoming Malaysia. In spite of all this, they have not carried out their part of the bargain with the result that we now have to face this period of tension and Sarawak is now, or has been, subject to raids across the border by terrorists inspired and directed from outside.

Now, gentlemen, we have therefore to face this challenge to the sovereignty, dignity and honour of our country. The Central Government is determined to meet the challenge with all the resources at our command. I therefore look forward to all of you to play your full part in facing this state of preparedness, this state of emergency. I look forward to you, Mr. Chief Minister, and to your colleagues to bring the people around—to rally them around—to stand solidly behind the Government to meet this confrontation. This battle must be fought on all fronts, by the military, by the police, as well as on the economic and social front. Therefore, all organs of Government must be geared towards meeting this challenge. Defence and internal security, economic and social development and normal administration are all intimately connected. There is no question of them being put in separate watertight compartments. They form part of the whole Government machinery and they, therefore, all of them, must be geared to deal with this emergency.

That is why I am happy that there should be here at this meeting with you all, members of the National Development Planning Committee who have come all the way from Kuala Lumpur to help Sarawak finalising their Development Plan for the period 1964-68. It is significant, and I am sure you will agree with me, that so soon after achieving independence and in the face of this challenge from outside, Sarawak has been able to complete the formulation of the new and, as your Chief Minister has said, ambitious and bold programme of economic and social development to meet the needs of the people and to meet their aspiration for a better and higher standard of living. As I said, despite the state of emergency at present, we are determined not only to meet this challenge but also to build up a strong and viable economy through a process of economic and social development.

The very presence here of the whole National Development Planning Committee in Kuching and the visit of Federal Ministers is, I am sure, a testimony of the desire of the Central Government to accelerate development in these new territories of Malaysia. We in Malaya, the old Malaya, have successfully overcome militant communism and we have achieved success in our rural development programme in recent years. And I am sure that if the whole machinery of Government here in Sarawak is fully and properly geared and with dedicated officials and the support of the people we will be equally successful in Sarawak.

I should like here to pay my compliments to the members of the civil service of Sarawak and also to the elected members of the Supreme Council for the hardwork they have given in preparing the Development Plan. I am sure you will agree with me that the rewards of your efforts are not measured in terms of dollars and cents, but they will be measured in the satisfaction that you will get in the knowledge that the work has been well done and that the people whom we are serving will enjoy a higher level of income and better amenities of life with additional social and economic facilities, such as medical facilities, educational facilities, water supply, electricity and such other things.

Now I would like to say here that the ultimate objective of Malaysia must be peace, to achieve peace, freedom and happiness. We want peace and freedom to develop our country so that our people can enjoy a measure of peace and prosperity. That is why I consider the meeting here this afternoon with you all of great significance. It marks the beginning in Sarawak of an era of intensive programme for social and economic development as made out in the draft Development Plan which I am told will shortly be debated and I hope adopted by the Sarawak Council Negeri.

The draft Development Plan will provide the base for promoting prosperous and democratic society giving the people the necessary amenities and developing the potential of the country, but I am sure you will agree with me that the drafting of a plan alone or its adoption by the Council Negeri will not mean that this objective

will be achieved. The plan must be implemented. Now implementation requires hard work, requires the support of the people at grass root levels and also perseverance and efforts to achieve the objective of the plan. One must therefore expect that Ministers and officials will continuously check on the progress made and will evaluate that the programme is being carried out properly. As I have said, you have a bold and ambitious programme, a public investment in the order of about \$300 million spread over a five year period, but I am confident that with the necessary capacity, man and material, you will be able to achieve this target.

Now to ensure that the necessary targets are achieved perhaps some of the experience that we have gained in Malaya might be adopted here in this State. Ministers and officials will not only make frequent visits to districts and divisions to see for themselves the progress made but that there should also be established organisation operations room—at state and divisional levels where this progress could be cheked and re-checked from time to time.

Also apart from this operational and technical evaluation of progress, I do hope that members of the Sarawak Development Planning Committee would direct their whole attention and energy to see that the plan is satisfactorily carried out from time to time, and that there is a high degree of consistency in the implementation of the Plan within the General framework of the Plan as adopted.

By this I mean that there should not be undue rigidities, and account from time to time, from year to year, should be taken of prevailing circumstances and conditions and necessary changes may have to be made. I am also advised that the National Development Planning Committee, in consultation with the State Development Planning Committee, will reconsider the order of priorities of the Plan from year to year as they are being brought up for approval by Council Negeri. In addition, when the Central Government prepares the third five-year plan, or what will be known as the First Malaysian Development Plan, for the period

1966-70, proposals for revision and changes will, I hope, be considered so that your Plan can in some way be integrated into the Malaysian Development Plan as a whole.

You have a bold Development Plan costing \$300 million in five years. In any Development Plan, one has to take account of technical capacity and financial limitation, but as you have agreed this is the objective which you would like to aim at. We in the Central Government will do our best to try to help you to achieve this objective. But I am confident that this new and bold Plan of yours will succeed whatever difficulties may lie ahead. Our progress in Malaya since we achieved independence has been satisfactory. Our democratic system of Government has shown that with the public support and with effective leadership, a democratic government can raise the living standard of the people and can overcome difficulties in any form that they may arise. It has shown that a democratic form of government is a government that can serve the people, that can deliver them the goods they require. Here, I am sure that, in due course, the people in Sarawak—particularly those who live in the rural areas—will be able to feel the impact and see the feasible evidence of the progress from your effort in the implementation of your Plan. Therefore, Mr. Chief Minister and gentlemen, I wish you all good luck and let us all look forward ahead with confidence and determination and may God give us His blessing so that we would be able to establish a united, strong and happy Malaysia not only for us all here today, but for our children and our grandchildren in the years to come.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
MERANGKAP MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN  
LUAR BANDAR DI UPACARA MERASMI-  
KAN PEMBUKAAN MASJID MUHAMMA-  
DIAH PADANG TENGGU, PAHANG PADA  
18HB OKTOBER, 1963

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Baginda Sultan Pahang<sup>1</sup>,

Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun, sembah patik harap diampun. Oleh kerana urusan negara yang patik tidak dapat hendak clakan, maka tidaklah dapat patik mengiringi Tuanku untuk menyaksi upacara-upacara merasmikan pembukaan Masjid Muhamadiyah Padang Tengku dan Balai Raya Gua Thai.

Sebagai Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar, patik mengucapkan ribuan terima kasih atas kesudian Tuanku mencemarkan Duli berangkat menghadiri dan merasmikan pembukaan dua buah projek Pembangunan Luar Bandar, iaitu sebuah masjid di Padang Tengku ini, yang berharga \$27,000 dan sebuah balai raya di Gua yang berharga \$6,000.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian.

Syukurlah kita kehadiran Allah Subhanahu-Wataala bahawa sudah terbinalah sebuah bangunan yang suci dan indah di kampung ini, suatu kemudahan yang diberi kepada kaum Muslimin di daerah ini untuk beramal ibadah dan juga untuk membuat amalan saleh terhadap masyarakat. Ini adalah hasil daripada Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar Kerajaan Perikatan.

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<sup>1</sup> D.Y.M.M. Sultan Abu Bakar Ri'ayud'din Almutasin Shah Ibni Almarhom Almutasim Billah Sultan Abdullah.



Negara kita Malaysia sekarang sedang menghadapi suatu keadaan yang tidak diinginkan disebabkan oleh sikap konfrontasi dari Kerajaan Indonesia. Kerajaan-kerajaan Indonesia dan Filipina adalah tidak bersetuju atas pembentukan negara Malaysia meskipun rombongan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu yang dikirimkan oleh Setiausaha Agungnya U Thant telah menentukan bahawa bilangan yang besar daripada rakyat kedua-dua negeri Sabah dan Sarawak bersetuju hendak masuk Malaysia. Seluruh dunia bebas menyedari kejujuran kita untuk hendak menolong dan bekerjasama dengan kedua-dua negeri itu supaya mereka juga akan menikmati keamanan dan kemakmuran yang telah dan sedang kita rasai semenjak Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mencapai kemerdekaan enam tahun yang lalu.

Dalam hal ini kita tidak bersalah dan telah menjalankan segala-gala ikhtiar untuk mengatasi masalah ini supaya kembalinya keadaan persahabatan, saling mengerti dan berbaik-baik sangka di antara ketiga-tiga buah negara itu. Tetapi apa yang kita dapati ialah sebaliknya, iaitu sikap permusuhan atau konfrontasi dari Kerajaan Indonesia, yang sekali-sekali tidak mengendahkan penyata yang tertinggi, iaitu Pertubuhan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu, yang mana kejujurannya tidaklah dapat dipersoalkan. Walau bagaimanapun kita berserah kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Berkuasa, yang mengetahui segala-galanya dan kita yakin bahawa Allah Subhanahu Wataalah akan menyebelahi kepada pihak yang benar. Dalam pada itu, saya menyeru kepada seluruh rakyat di negeri ini agar bertenang dan berdiri di belakang Kerajaan Malaysia dalam menghadapi kegentingan ini. Dalam keadaan masa ini sangatlah mustahak semua rakyat bersiap sedia menghadapi sebarang kemungkinan.

Berbalik saya kepada Rancangan Luar Bandar, sungguh pun banyak fikiran dan tenaga harus ditumpukan kepada masalah-masalah timbulnya daripada konfrontasi, saya patut menegaskan di sini bahawa Kerajaan tetap bertekad untuk meneruskan tujuan asalnya dalam Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar. Dalam rancangan raksasa ini adalah hasrat Kerajaan hendak menyediakan berbagai kemudahan-kemudahan seperti membuka tanah-tanah baharu untuk petani-petani yang tak memiliki tanah, membena

jalan-jalan raya, -sekolah-sekolah, klinik-klinik kesihatan, klinik-klinik bidan, balai-balai raya, bekalan-bekalan air dan letrik dan lain-lain lagi—adalah semata-mata untuk menolong rakyat jelata mempertingkatkan taraf hidup mereka, khasnya rakyat-rakyat Melayu di Luar Bandar.

Patutlah dinyatakan di sini bahawa Kerajaan telah memperuntukkan wang sejumlah \$2,150 juta untuk Pembangunan Negara dalam Rancangan Lima-Tahun yang Kedua ini. Dengan wang ini kerajaan sanggup menyediakan kemudahan-kemudahan yang perlu untuk orang-orang kampung supaya mereka juga dapat menikmati kemudahan-kemudahan yang boleh didapati di bandar-bandar. Tetapi, kemudahan-kemudahan ini tidaklah akan mendatangkan munafaat, atau dengan lebih tepatnya bahawa Rancangan Luar Bandar tidak akan mencapai matalamatnya, jika sekiranya rakyat jelata sendiri tidak mengambil peranan yang cergas dalam pelaksanaannya. Dengan ringkasnya, bahawa rakyat sendiri hendaklah menggunakan kemudahan-kemudahan yang disediakan itu dengan sepenuhnya.

Menepati ajaran bahawa Tuhan tidak mengubah nasib sesuatu bangsa melainkan bangsa itu mengubahnya sendiri. Oleh itu rakyat mestilah menanam serta memupuk semangat dan kesanggupan berusaha menolong diri sendiri, lebih mempercayai tenaga dan daya sendiri daripada mengharapkan bantuan orang lain, dan sedia bergotong-royong menuju ke arah kemakmuran dengan sama-sama menjinjing yang ringan dan sama-sama memikul yang berat.

Merdeka Malaysia. Terima kasih.



Tun Abdul Razak berucap di hadapan Pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan dan Ahli-ahli Dewan Negeri di Bilik Gerakan Pembangunan Rancangan Luar Bandar, Kuala Lumpur pada 20hb Oktober, 1963.



Tun Abdul Razak sedang melihat Peta Daerah Jerantut yang mana tempat-tempat telah dibina dan dibaiki pada 7hb November, 1963.



Tun Abdul Razak, bersongkok dan memegang tongkat, menyaksikan projek membuat jalan baru dari Kuala Kurau ke Jalan Jerantut pada 8hb November, 1963.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN  
PROPOSING THE TOAST OF THE COMMON-  
WEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION OF  
THE PRIME MINISTER'S DINNER AT DEWAN  
TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, KUALA LUMPUR  
ON 9TH NOVEMBER, 1963

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, the Chairman and Delegates of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the very pleasant duty of proposing the toast of "The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association" and I am very happy to do so.

In the past few weeks, and particularly during the seven days preceding this Dinner, the whole Malaysia has become very familiar with the widespread interests of the Commonwealth through the speeches and activities of all the delegates. In fact we have heard so much about the Commonwealth that when I was considering what I should speak about tonight it seemed to me that there was nothing new that I could contribute.

However, in thinking it over it occurred to me that no one has drawn attention to the fact that all the delegates to this conference are professional politicians. This is a personal link we have in common, and we all know that it is a natural characteristic of politicians to be ready and able—and in lot of cases only too willing and eager—to stand up and make speeches. This is true all over the free world, and I don't think that anyone has ever noticed any deviations from this norm even on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Our unpredictable neighbours on the other side of the Batik Curtain certainly betray neither difficulty nor diffidence in this regard, as we in Malaysia know only too well. It does'nt matter where politicians come from, whether their countries are allied, non-aligned or neutral,

they all have the gift of the gab. It has often been said that silence is golden. That may be all right for philosophers but for politicians it will not do at all, otherwise we would all be out of business.

Next it occurred to me that by some extraordinary stroke of good fortune I seem to be the only professional politician at present during this conference who has had nothing at all to say. Before anyone begins to accuse me of unprofessional conduct, let me freely admit that tonight I am caught at last. Whether this is due to envy on the part of the organisers or a quiet determination that the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia should not be allowed to get away with it, I don't know.

However, let me assure them that I am glad to be trapped, because it gives me a chance to pay a personal tribute to the all-round success of this Ninth Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I am told that in the foyer of the State Legislature in Victoria the following words are inscribed in mosaic on the floor—"In a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom". I think these words are very appropriate indeed for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

The Conference just concluded was truly a remarkable and representative assembly of political leaders from all parts of the Commonwealth, not only from those member nations that are fully independent but also from territories or areas that are either drawing near to full independence and from States with internal self-government or Colonies, as well as from many internal States or Provinces, in short all phases of achievement or transition.

Among you are men old and hale, with the wisdom of long political experience and men who are young, commencing their careers with the zest, initiative and ambition of youth; men who have been Prime Ministers or held high offices of Cabinet rank; men who are State Premiers or Leaders of the Opposition; and men and women of all political parties and of nearly every race and creed. All of us are politicians, all of us are devoted to the service and interests of our respective nations or States, and all of us are united in belief in the ideals and lasting value of the Commonwealth. It is because

of the ties that link us together that this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association came into being. Like the Commonwealth itself this Association is a natural and necessary growth because it springs from genuine feelings of goodwill and friendship and the will for peace and happiness. By personal contacts with one another through this Association, we learn to appreciate and understand problems and difficulties and to profit from each nation's experience, and as each conference comes to an end reality and value of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is demonstrated and stressed once again.

We in Malaysia, happy to have been your hosts, look forward eagerly to the next Tenth Conference of this great Association in luxuriant Jamaica, and we have every confidence that this Association will continue to show to all the world the living and abiding spirit of the Commonwealth.

It is my great pleasure and privilege now to ask all present to rise and to drink with me a toast of long life, good fortune and success to "The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association".



UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
MERANGKAP MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN  
LUAR BANDAR DI UPACARA MENYAMPAI-  
KAN SIJIL-SIJIL KEPADA GURU-GURU  
PELAJARAN DEWASA DI TAMAN ASOHAN  
RIDA, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 27HB  
NOVEMBER, 1963

Puan Pengetua, Guru-guru, Tuan-tuan dan Penuntut-penuntut  
ekalian,

Saya berasa sangat sukacita dapat peluang hadir di Majlis ini pada petang ini untuk menyampaikan sijil-sijil kepada penuntut-penuntut sekalian. Yang sebenarnya isteri saya<sup>1</sup> yang sepatutnya menyampaikan sijil-sijil ini tetapi dia tidak dapat datang kerana dikehendaki berada bersama-sama dengan Yang Amat Mulia, Princess Margrethe, daripada Denmark di Istana Negara.

Saya suka juga mengambil peluang mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada penuntut-penuntut yang telah berjaya menerima sijil kerana tamat berlatih di Taman Asohan ini selama tiga bulan. Saya percaya dalam masa tiga bulan menuntut di sini penuntut-penuntut telah dapat banyak memetik ilmu pengetahuan yang sangat mustahak mengenai dengan pendidikan dan urusan rumah-tangga.

Saya tidak lupa juga mengucapkan tahniah dan terima kasih kepada pihak Taman Asohan RIDA ini yang telah memberi sumbangan yang besar dan kerjasama melatih penuntut-penuntut ini. Setahu saya ini adalah kali yang kedua penuntut-penuntut seumpama ini dilatih di sini dengan kerjasama dari Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar. Saya harap Taman Asohan ini dapat memberi kerjasamanya lagi di masa hadapan dalam menjayakan usaha yang seumpama ini.

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<sup>1</sup> Toh Puan Rahah binti Dato' Haji Mohd. Noh.

Saya mendapat tahu penuntut-penuntut sekalian akan diberi tugas mengajar Kaum Ibu di kelas-kelas dewasa yang sedang berjalan di serata cerok kampung di kawasan luar bandar. Walaupun tugas ini berat tetapi sesudah tamat berlatih di sini saya percaya puan-puan akan dapat memimpin dan mengajar pelajar-pelajar kelas dewasa ini dengan berjaya. Sifatkanlah tugas ini sebagai suatu tanggungjawab Kebangsaan.

Pelajaran urusan dan ekonomi rumahtangga adalah satu perkara yang sangat mustahak kepada rakyat terutama kaum ibu. Bagi Negara Malaysia yang baharu merdeka sangat-sangat berkehendakan tenaga kaum ibu dalam segala lapangan terutama di dalam pelajaran urusan rumahtangga, kerana asas ekonomi dan kebahagiaan hidup satu-satu keluarga adalah datangnya dari rumahtangga. Rumahtangga yang bahagia dapat didirikan dengan sebab pandai dan bijaknya ibu-ibu yang menguruskannya.

Seperti kita semua tahu di dalam pelaksanaan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar peringkat yang kedua, sesuatu daripada peranan rakyat di Luar Bandar ialah menggunakan dengan sepenuhnya segala kemudahan bagi pelajaran dewasa untuk membasmi buta huruf dan menambahkan pengetahuan. Dengan adanya puan-puan ditugaskan mengajar ilmu urusan rumahtangga kepada rakyat di kawasan-kawasan Luar Bandar, maka dapatlah satu cara di mana pengetahuan itu dapat diberikan kepada penduduk-penduduk Luar Bandar ini supaya moga-moga mereka itu dapat memperbaiki keadaan mereka hari-hari dan meninggikan taraf hidupnya.

Saya mengerti bahawa puan-puan semua akan bertugas dengan cara sukarela di bawah anjuran Persatuan Perkumpulan Perempuan dan dengan sebab itu saya mengucapkan banyak-banyak terima kasih kepada puan-puan semua yang telah bersedia mengorbankan masa dan tenaga puan-puan semua untuk faedah rakyat-rakyat di Luar Bandar, khasnya kaum ibu, yang pada masa ini berkehendakkan sangat tunjuk ajar dan panduan di dalam cara-cara mengatur ekonomi dan urusan rumahtangga yang baik. Oleh itu saya berharap puan-puan sebagai guru apabila pulang ke kampung kelak dapat memberi sumbangan yang besar dalam perkara ini.

Sekianlah, terima kasih.



Tun Abdul Razak sedang menyampaikan sijil kepada salah seorang penuntut di Majlis Penyampaian Sijil Tamat Latihan kepada Guru-guru Pelajaran Dewasa di Taman Asohan RIDA, Kuala Lumpur pada 28hb November, 1963.



Tun Abdul Razak merasmikan Pembukaan Balai Raya Kampong Kuala Pahang, Endau pada 5hb  
Disember, 1963.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
ON THE DEVELOPMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY)  
(No. 3) ESTIMATES 1963 IN THE DEWAN RAK-  
YAT ON 11TH DECEMBER, 1963**

Mr. Speaker, 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.

The amount sought in this Motion is required to supplement certain Heads and Sub-heads of expenditure under the Second Five-Year Plan to ensure that the implementation of the projects can be continued in 1963 without interruption owing to shortage of provision under the respective Heads and Sub-heads.

Supplementary provision approved to date amounts to \$52,782,240. With the addition of the Development (Supplementary) (No. 3) Estimates, 1963 totalling \$56,246,744 which are now required, the total appropriation in respect of expenditure from the Development Fund for the year 1963 will come to \$602,216,749. Actual expenditure, however, is expected to be in the region of \$450 million. This shows, Sir, as I will explain when moving the Development Estimates for 1964, that the implementation of our Development Plan in 1963, as in the two years previous to that, has been very successful indeed.

The supplementary provision now asked for includes two items of expenditure in respect of the Federation Armed Forces and the Broadcasting Service, which owing to their urgency, had to be met in the first instance from the ordinary Recurrent Estimates but which should properly be charged against the Development Fund. The opportunity is now taken to transfer these two items of expenditure to the Development Estimates. A number of new commitments which became necessary after the August meeting of the

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
ON THE SECOND READING OF THE SUPPLE-  
MENTARY SUPPLY (No. 4) BILL AT THE  
DEWAN RAKYAT ON 12TH DECEMBER, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill intituled "An Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund for additional expenditure for the service of the year 1963 and to appropriate such sum for certain purposes" be read a second time.

Clause 2 of the Bill seeks authority for additional expenditure of \$182,891,803 for the service of the year 1963 and this is shown in the Schedule to the Bill and also in the Supply Expenditure Section of the Fourth Supplementary Estimates, 1963, tabled as Command Paper No. 43 of 1963.

The original Estimates approved by Parliament for 1963 amounted to \$1,087.8 million. Taking into account the three Supplementary Estimates already approved by Parliament and the Fourth Supplement now required, the total appropriation for 1963 will now come to \$1,393.3 million. Of the supplement of nearly \$183 million now required, a sum of \$16,477,929 has already been advanced from the contingencies Fund to meet urgent expenditures, and this has now to be recouped.

Although the present supplement appears to be very large, \$150 million of the \$183 million sought for is required for transfer to the Development Fund. This sum compares with \$70 million similarly transferred at the end of last year, and represents the use of our reserve balances for development expenditure as envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan. Apart from this, the other big items of expenditure required involve nine Heads of Expenditure. Head S. 1—Parliament requires a supplement of \$497,536 as a result of the need to provide funds to meet expenses connected with the recent Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in

Kuala Lumpur. The Prime Minister's Department needs \$3,757,192. Of that sum, \$201,014 is required to establish the offices of the Federal Secretary in Kuching and Jesselton, \$2,853,625 is required to meet the expenditure in connection with the Malaysia celebrations and \$536,538 is required for the purchase of Rumah Persekutuan in Singapore. The Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives seeks a supplement of \$650,040 of which \$400,000 will provide financial assistance to padi planters affected by the prolonged drought in Kedah, Perlis and Perak. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry seeks \$1,070,000 to meet the payment on work done on the Malaysian stand at the New York World Fair. A very large supplement, as Hon'ble Members will observe, amounting to \$14 million, is sought for the Ministry of Education to meet the payment of grants-in-aid to primary and secondary schools. The likelihood of such a supplement being required, in view of the difficulty of forecasting school enrolments with accuracy, was mentioned in the Budget speech last year. A sum of \$1,195,248 is required by the Ministry of External Affairs from the establishment of a new Embassy in Vietnam and for certain other purposes.

There are also a number of contributions to various statutory funds and one or two other items which are described in the Treasury memorandum tabled as Command Paper No. 44 of 1963. The various Ministers concerned will give further explanation if required during the Committee stage.

Sir, I beg to move.

Dewan Rakyat have been met by the issue of advances from the Contingencies Reserve. These advances require to be recouped. For these reasons it is necessary to present the Development (Supplementary) (No. 3) Estimates, 1963.

The largest amount required is \$45,716,000 in respect of Head 114—Federation Armed Forces. As I have already stated, this has been met from the ordinary Recurrent Estimates and has now to be transferred to the Development Fund. No additional money is therefore involved. In the same way, out of the sum of \$528,307 required for Head 103—Broadcasting, to provide for studios and equipment in Penang and the necessary expansion of the Overseas Broadcasting Service, \$390,500 has been met out of the ordinary Recurrent Estimates and is now to be transferred to the Development Fund.

One of the larger supplements needed is in respect of Head 122—Education, amounting to \$4,732,800, to provide additional funds for the primary and secondary school programmes and the secondary continuation school programme, for teacher training and for the building of more hostels as a result of the increase in school enrolments.

Of the smaller supplementary items, a sum of \$476,566 is required for Head 118—Royal Federation of Malaya Police, to meet the cost of land required for building accommodation for the Federal Reserve Units which have recently been sent to Singapore.

Honourable Members will observe that a sum of \$4,285,714 has been entered to create a new Head 154—Development Projects in Sarawak and Sabah. This money is required to make provision for the period 16th September to 31st December, 1963, so as to continue schemes which were previously financed by British Colonial Development and Welfare Grants and, secondly, to provide for the extension of the runway at Jesselton Airport. Against this expenditure items, we shall be receiving from the British Government before the end of the year a corresponding instalment of £500,000 of the grant for the development of the Borneo territories as promised in the Malaysia Agreement.



There is only one other item of loan expenditure amounting to \$380,000 which is required to provide additional funds under Head 138 for the Malacca Municipal Water Extension Scheme.

The rest of the items requiring supplements are relatively small. In the case of three items, Head 120—Customs and Excise, Head 144—Telecommunications and Head 147—Civil Aviation, only token votes are required for the purpose of obtaining the approval of the House for changes in the total estimated cost of the projects concerned.

Further details of the expenditure required will be given by the Ministers concerned in the Committee stage, and it is therefore not necessary for me to elaborate further on these matters.

Sir, I beg to move.

That pursuant to Standing Order 67c the following Motion be referred to a Committee of the whole House.

That this House resolves that an additional sum not exceeding \$56,246,744 be expended out of the Development Fund in respect of the financial year 1963, and that, to meet the purpose of the Heads and Sub-heads set out in the second column of the Statement laid on the Table as Command Paper No. 45 of 1963, there be appropriated the sums specified opposite such Heads and Sub-heads in the eighth and ninth columns thereof.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
DALAM SIRI CERAMAH OLEH MENTERI-  
MENTERI MELALUI SUARA MALAYSIA  
PADA 14HB DISEMBER, 1963

Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara percantuman di antara Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak telah selamat dilahirkan pada 16hb September, 1963. Malaysia telah ditubuhkan dengan tujuan hendak melepaskan Negara-negara Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak daripada genggaman penjajahan supaya Negara-negara itu dapat menjadi merdeka. Penubuhan Malaysia ini dijalankan menurut hasrat dan kehendak-kehendak rakyat Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak untuk bersama-sama menikmati kebahagiaan, kesejahteraan, kemerdekaan dan demokrasi seperti yang sedang dirasakan oleh saudara-saudara mereka di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu semenjak Tanah Melayu mendapat kemerdekaannya tujuh tahun yang lalu.

Rakyat Malaysia tidak mengerti apakah sebabnya penubuhan Malaysia ini telah ditentang dengan hebatnya oleh Indonesia sehingga Indonesia telah melancarkan Konfrontasi terhadap Malaysia dalam lapangan politik, ekonomi dan military. Kita tidak faham apakah sebab-sebabnya yang sebenar yang telah mendorong Indonesia menunjukkan sikap permusuhan dan mengambil tindakan yang begitu khianat terhadap Malaysia. Hampir semua negara-negara dunia ini termasuklah Negara-negara Komunis telah mengalu-alukan kelahiran Malaysia, kerana dunia faham bahawa Negara Malaysia telah ditubuhkan menurut kehendak dan hasrat rakyat dan menurut dasar antara bangsa.

Malaysia sungguh suka hendak duduk dalam keadaan aman, damai dan berbaik-baik dengan semua negeri di dunia ini, terutama sekali negeri-negeri yang berjiran dengannya. Rakyat Malaysia mensifatkan rakyat Indonesia sebagai saudara-saudara mereka sendiri kerana rakyat kedua-dua negeri ini adalah mempunyai satu asal, satu bahasa dan satu kebudayaan. Semenjak Persekutuan

Tanah Melayu mencapai kemerdekaannya, Kerajaan Tanah Melayu telah mengambil beberapa langkah untuk mengeratkan tali persahabatan dan persaudaraan dengan Indonesia. Mula-mulanya telah dicadangkan iaitu patutlah diadakan satu badan di antara dua negara ini untuk menyatukan Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Indonesia, yang asalnya satu itu supaya dapat diadakan suatu ejaan sahaja dan akhirnya dapat dua Bahasa itu dijadikan satu Bahasa. Pihak Tanah Melayu telah menubuhkan Jawatankuasanya, akan tetapi Indonesia tidak mengambil apa-apa langkah. Begitu juga pada tahun 1959 telah ditandatangani satu perjanjian persahabatan oleh Perdana Menteri Tanah Melayu dan Perdana Menteri Indonesia, pada masa itu ialah Allah Yarham Dr. Tun Djaunda. Semenjak diadakan perjanjian persahabatan itu pihak Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah mengambil langkah-langkah untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak perjanjian itu bagi mengeratkan perhubungan iktisad dan kebudayaan di antara Tanah Melayu dengan Indonesia, akan tetapi balasan kepada semua langkah-langkah ini ialah Konfrontasi daripada Indonesia.

Berkenaan dengan penubuhan Malaysia telah dipersetujui di Persidangan Menteri-menteri Luar Filipina, Indonesia dan Tanah Melayu di Manila dan persetujuan ini disahkan oleh Persidangan Ketua-ketua Kerajaan, iaitu Presiden Soekarno, Presiden Macapagal dan Perdana Menteri Tanah Melayu Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra, iaitu jikalau Setiausaha Agung Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu atau wakilnya sebagai orang tengah dapat mengesahkan yang rakyat Sabah dan Sarawak itu berkehendakkan Malaysia, Indonesia dan Filipina akan menyambut dan menerima Malaysia. Pihak Malaysia telah menunaikan janji ini dengan sepenuh-penuhnya dan telah bersetuju menjemput Setiausaha Agung Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu menghantarkan wakil-wakilnya menyiasat kehendak-kehendak rakyat Sabah dan Sarawak. Untuk memberi kesempatan yang penuh bagi wakil-wakil U Thant menjalankan tugasnya, pihak Malaysia telah bersetuju menangguhkan penubuhan Negara baharu itu dari 31hb Ogos, tarikh yang telah ditetapkan itu kepada 16hb September dengan beberapa kesukaran. Akan tetapi apabila sahaja pihak utusan U Thant telah menyatakan pendapat-pendapatnya dan menentukan yang rakyat Sabah dan Sarawak itu berkehendakkan Malaysia, pihak Indonesia dan Filipina tidak menunaikan janji yang diperbuat di Manila dan tidak menyambut dan menerima Malaysia. Rakyat Malaysia hairan mengapa Presiden Soekarno dan rakan-rakannya tidak menunaikan janji yang dibuat

oleh mereka itu, dan yang telah ditandatangani di Persidangan Kemuncak di Manila. Dengan sebab itu perhubungan diplomatik di antara Malaysia dengan Indonesia telah putus.

Begitu juga Presiden Soekarno dan pemimpin-pemimpin Indonesia telah menuduh bahawa Malaysia ini ialah neo-kolonialisem ataupun penjajahan bentuk baharu. Ini adalah tuduhan yang dibuat semata-mata untuk mengelirukan rakyat Indonesia supaya memandang serong dan bermusuhan dengan rakyat dan saudara-saudara mereka di Malaysia. Akan tetapi apa yang sebenarnya ialah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang telah mencapai kemerdekaan selama tujuh tahun itu telah menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa negara ini adalah berjalan dengan majunya dan dapat menjaga keselamatan dan ketenteraman serta berhubung baik di antara penduduk-penduduknya daripada berbagai-bagai bangsa dan ugama. Dengan sebab Tanah Melayu berasa bertanggungjawab bagi memperjuangkan nasib saudara-saudaranya di Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak, Tanah Melayu telah menganjurkan penubuhan Malaysia supaya rakyat di negeri-negeri itu dapat dilepaskan daripada tekanan dan genggaman penjajahan British. Dengan terbentuknya Malaysia dapatlah dihapuskan penjajahan di Tenggara Asia ini. Begitu juga Presiden Soekarno dan pembesar-pembesar Indonesia mengatakan bahawa Malaysia ini mengancam akan keselamatan dan kedudukan Indonesia. Tuduhan ini pun tidak dapat diterima oleh orang-orang yang mempunyai fikiran yang siuman, kerana bagaimanakah sebuah negara yang mempunyai rakyat sepuluh juta ramainya boleh mengancam dan merupakan suatu bahaya kepada negara yang lebih besar seperti Indonesia, yang mempunyai rakyat seramai satu ratus juta orang, iaitu sepuluh kali ganda banyaknya daripada rakyat Malaysia. Tentulah sekali perkara ini mustahil. Begitu juga pada masa Sabah dan Sarawak di bawah pemerintah penjajahan British tuduhan semacam ini tidak dikeluarkan. Sekarang Sabah dan Sarawak telah menjadi sebahagian daripada negara yang merdeka iaitu Malaysia, berbagai-bagai tuduhan dan tentangan telah dihadapkan kepada Sabah dan Sarawak dan juga Malaysia.

Malaysia adalah ditadbirkan dengan cara demokrasi dan rakyat mempunyai kebebasan yang penuh. Di Malaysia rakyat memilih Kerajaannya sendiri dan kerana itu Kerajaan Malaysia sentiasa

memikirkan kepentingan rakyat dan sentiasa menjaga kesejahteraan dan kemakmuran rakyat. Kerajaan Pusat Malaysia adalah mengutamakan Rancangan Pembangunan Negara, terutama sekali Rancangan-rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar, supaya dapat memberi rakyat di seluruh Malaysia baik di bandar-bandar mahupun di kampung-kampung perubahan-perubahan nasib dan kebahagiaan hidup. Dalam masa yang singkat, iaitu tiga tahun semenjak Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar dilancarkan, Kerajaan Malaysia telah berjaya membuka tanah-tanah baharu seluas 400,000 ekar dan beribu-ribu orang famili yang dulunya tidak mempunyai pekerjaan telah diberi pekerjaan dan tempat kediaman yang sempurna dan teratur. Jalan-jalan raya yang baharu telah dibina di kampung-kampung, beratus sekolah-sekolah rendah, menengah dan tinggi, klinik-klinik, balai-balai raya, masjid-masjid dan madrasah-madrasah dan berbagai-bagai kemudahan lagi telah dapat disampaikan kepada rakyat untuk kebaikan dan kesenangan mereka itu. Rakyat di Sabah dan Sarawak juga akan dapat menikmati kemudahan-kemudahan ini tidak berapa lama lagi apabila Rancangan Pembangunan Lima Tahun di wilayah-wilayah itu yang baharu sahaja dipersetujui dapat dijalankan. Rakyat Malaysia suka hendak bersama-sama maju dengan rakyat Indonesia bagi menerima kesenangan dan kebahagiaan hidup. Rakyat Malaysia tidak hendak bermusuhan dengan rakyat Indonesia, bahkan mensifatkan mereka itu sebagai saudara dan suka hendak mempunyai perhubungan yang rapat. Akan tetapi dasar pemerintah Indonesia yang ada sekarang yang mensifatkan Malaysia sebagai musuh tidak dapat diterima dan adalah menentang persaudaraan dan persahabatan rakyat Malaysia dan rakyat Indonesia.

Kita di Malaysia mengetahui bahawa tentangan yang keras terhadap penubuhan Malaysia adalah datangnya daripada Parti Komunis Indonesia. Tentangan ini tidak hairan kerana kita di Malaysia telah menentang keganasan dan kezaliman Komunis di Tanah Melayu selama dua belas tahun dan kita telah berjaya mengalahkan ancaman Komunis itu. Komunis memang tidak suka kepada keamanan dan ketenteraman—tidak suka rakyat hidup senang dan mewah seperti di Malaysia ini kerana dalam keadaan yang semacam ini Komunis tidak dapat berpengaruh. Komunisem

hanyalah dapat hidup subur di mana ada penderitaan dan kemiskinan. Oleh sebab itu Komunis mensifatkan penubuhan Malaysia ini sebagai satu tikaman kepadanya dan jikalau Malaysia maju jaya Komunis tidak berharap dapat berkuku di Tenggara Asia ini. Inilah sebab-sebabnya mengapa PKI yang dipimpin oleh Aidit menentang keras pembentukan Malaysia. Sebab itu saya harap rakyat Indonesia tidak dipengaruhi oleh tuduhan yang tidak berasas dan dakyah daripada Parti Komunis, yang suka rakyat Indonesia bermusuh dengan rakyat Malaysia.

Rakyat Malaysia tidak mahu bermusuh dengan siapa-siapa dan suka hendak bersahabat dan berhubung rapat, terutama sekali dengan rakyat Indonesia yang disifatkan sebagai saudara-saudara sebangsa dan sedarah daging dengan mereka itu. Malaysia suka kepada keamanan dan ketenteraman supaya Kerajaan dapat menumpu sepenuh tenaganya kepada pembangunan negara untuk kepentingan dan kemajuan rakyat. Konfrantasi iktisad yang dihadapkan oleh pemerintahan Indonesia kepada Malaysia tidak mendatangkan bencana kepada rakyat Malaysia, kerana keadaan politik, ekonomi dan sosial Malaysia sangatlah kukuh dan kuat. Sebaliknya konfrontasi, saya percaya, akan menikam rakyat Indonesia dengan hebatnya kerana kita tahu bahawa ekonomi Indonesia pada masa ini dalam keadaan yang amat menyedihkan. Konfrantasi akan membawa penderitaan yang lebih dahsyat lagi kepada rakyat Indonesia yang sekarang mengalami kesukaran. Rakyat Malaysia sangat sedih mendengarkan keadaan rakyat Indonesia yang menderita itu dan rakyat Malaysia berharap dan berdoa mudah-mudahan rakyat Indonesia dapat hidup dengan senang dan gembira seperti saudara-saudara mereka di seberang Selat Melaka.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI  
KEPADA PERSIDANGAN PELAJARAN MALAY-  
SIA YANG PERTAMA YANG DIADAKAN DI  
MAKTAB PERGURUAN LEMBAH PANTAI,  
KUALA LUMPUR, PADA 19HB DISEMBER, 1963

Saya amatlah sukacitanya mengalu-alukan Persidangan Pelajaran Malaysia yang pertama ini dan mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada Kesatuan Kebangsaan Guru-guru Sekolah Kebangsaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang telah mencurahkan usaha dan tenaganya kerana menjayakan persidangan ini. Persidangan ini adalah merupakan satu lanjutan yang cepat dan tepat bagi menyertai perubahan politik yang dibawa oleh kelahiran Negara Malaysia pada 16hb September, 1963.

Saya amatlah sukacita mendengarkan bahawa persidangan ini adalah bertujuan hendak mencari jalan dan ikhtiar untuk memajukan pelajaran bagi Negara Malaysia. Di dalam Negara kita yang muda ini, yang mengandungi penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai bangsa, pelajaran adalah satu perkara yang sangat penting dan mustahak. Dasar pelajaran yang diperbuat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan pada tahun 1956 adalah menjadi asas dasar pelajaran kebangsaan kita untuk menyatu-padukan penduduk-penduduk negara ini daripada semua bangsa supaya mereka itu sepenuhnya mempunyai semangat taat setia yang tiada berbelah bahagi kepada negara kita dan supaya mereka itu sebenar-benarnya menjadi warganegara yang berguna. Dasar pelajaran ini menunjukkan mustahaknya kita mempunyai satu sistem Pelajaran Kebangsaan: kanak-kanak mempelajari mata pelajaran yang sama. Semenjak tahun 1956 Kerajaan Perikatan telah berjuang membentuk satu sistem pelajaran kebangsaan dan diharap negeri-negeri yang baru masuk Malaysia dapat bersama-sama menerima sistem Pelajaran Kebangsaan ini.

Sungguhpun kita telah mencapai kejayaan yang besar dalam lapangan pelajaran di Tanah Melayu ini, akan tetapi banyak lagi perkara-perkara yang dapat dijalankan. Mutu pelajaran di

sekolah-sekolah, baik di peringkat rendah mahu pun menengah amatlah mustahaknya diperbaiki dan ditinggikan lagi. Perkara-perkara ini bergantunglah kepada usaha dan tenaga guru-guru yang bertanggungjawab di atas hal ini. Oleh itu saya berharap dalam persidangan ini, guru-guru yang mengambil bahagian dapat menyatukan usaha dan tenaga mereka itu bagi meninggikan taraf mutu Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita.

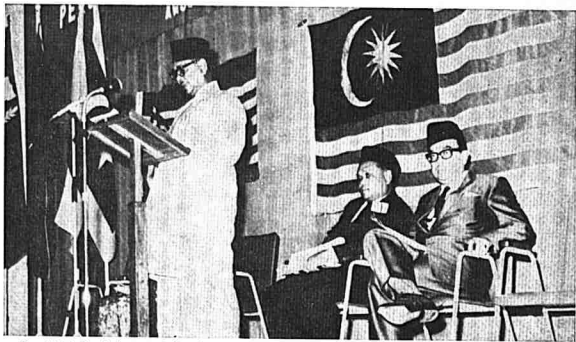
Saya ucapkan kepada semua yang mengambil bahagian di dalam persidangan ini selamat berjaya. Usaha dan tenaga yang tuan-tuan akan curahkan untuk kepentingan bangsa dan negara kita, saya yakin, akan mendapat sambutan yang baik daripada segenap peringkat rakyat Malaysia yang insaf akan kepentingan pelajaran dan yang mempunyai tanggungjawab bagi kemajuan pelajaran dan pendidikan anak-anak bangsanya.

Saya suka menegaskan di sini bahawa guru-guru dan ahli-ahli pendidikan mempunyai tanggungjawab yang amat penting dan berat untuk membentuk dan mendidik kanak-kanak hari ini supaya mereka menjadi rakyat dan ibu bapa yang berguna dan berbakti kepada tanah air pada masa hadapan. Saya berseru kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian supaya bersungguh-sungguh menanam benih dalam hati murid-murid dengan semangat kebangsaan, akhlak yang mulia, cintakan kemerdekaan dan demokrasi.

Saya diberitahu bahawa persidangan hari ini disertai oleh wakil-wakil lebih daripada tiga puluh buah pertubuhan pendidik-pendidik dan juga turut hadir pemerhati-pemerhati dari negara-negara tetangga kita, iaitu Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan dan Jepun. Kepada tetamu-tetamu kita yang dihormati saya dengan sukacitanya mengalu-ngalukan kedatangan mereka itu ke negara kita dan ke Ibu Kota kita, Kuala Lumpur. Saya berharap mereka akan melapangkan masa selain daripada menghadiri persidangan ini untuk melawat dan meninjau ke merata-rata tempat dalam negara kita untuk melihat pembangunan-pembangunan dan perubahan yang kita telah dapat capai semenjak tujuh tahun yang lalu. Rakyat di negeri ini sedia menerima lawatan mereka itu dengan penuh kesukaan.



Saya sekali lagi mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada Kesatuan Kebangsaan Guru-guru Sekolah Kebangsaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kerana mengurus dan menjayakan Persidangan Pelajaran Malaysia yang bersejarah ini. Saya berdoa mudah-mudahan persidangan ini akan mendapat sepenuhnya kejayaan.



Tun Abdul Razak, kanan sekali, sedang mendengar ucapan Perdana Menteri, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, yang merasmikan Pembukaan Persidangan Pelajaran Malaysia di Maktab Latihan Guru-guru Malaya di Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur pada 19hb Disember, 1963.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
CUM MINISTER OF DEFENCE TO MOVE THE  
HEAD ON DEFENCE IN THE 1964 ESTIMATES  
IN THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON 28TH DECEMBER,  
1963

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

As has been the practice since 1962, the estimates for the Ministry of Defence, the Armed Forces and the Civil Defence appear under one Head of the Federal Estimates, namely, Head 14. For the year 1964, however, the estimates are shown under two Parts, Part A and Part B. Part A covers the basic estimates, that is excluding the additions required consequent upon the formation of Malaysia and Part B covers the Malaysia increment.

Honourable Members will note that the total estimated expenditure under Part A which covers the pre-Malaysia expenditure amounts to \$92.8 million which is in fact less than the sum approved for the year 1963 which was \$94.5 million. This does not, however, mean that there has been a reduction in our basic force; on the other hand there has been some natural growth but the reduced expenditure has been caused by our having to pay less for personnel loaned to us from the British Armed Forces. I shall dwell on this point at some length later in my speech. The estimated cost of the Malaysia addition amounts to \$65.5 million, making a total of \$158,392,544 for the year 1964.

Sir, I feel that I must warn this House that the expansion of the Armed Forces is by no means complete and that the estimated expenditure of \$158.3 million is not the final ceiling. This covers only a part of the planned expansion, and I shall therefore be coming to this House from time to time for additional funds. This expansion as I have mentioned before is necessary for two reasons: firstly, to assist the civil power in maintaining law and order in the States that have now linked their destiny with ours, and secondly to meet the threat posed by the unfriendly attitude of Indonesia.

Now Sir, before coming to the past progress and future plans for the three Services I wish to say a few words about our personnel in the Armed Forces. Next year, for the first time in the history of our Armed Forces, the senior military appointment, that of Chief of the Armed Forces Staff, will be filled by a Malaysian officer. This post will carry the rank of Lieutenant-General and Major-General Tunku Osman bin Tunku Mohd. Jewa, J.M.N., will be promoted to fill it. His place will be taken over by Major-General Abdul Hamid now in command of the Second Brigade. Malaysianisation is progressing very steadily in the Army, so that early next year almost all the top posts in the Army will be Malayanized. All our Brigade Commanders will be Malaysian officers. In the Navy and the Air Force, however, progress in this direction is less rapid because of the comparatively longer period of training required and the more technical nature of the duties in these services. We are, however, endeavouring to speed up the progress of Malaysianisation in these two services without impairing their efficiency. In the meantime we have to resort to the loan of personnel not only from the United Kingdom but also from other Commonwealth countries.

I now come to the special secondment scheme which we have recently negotiated with the United Kingdom for the loan of British personnel to the Malaysian Armed Forces. Under this arrangement we are required to pay to the British Government only the basic pay, the marriage allowance and the ration allowance for these personnel, all other emoluments being paid by the British Government. Other overhead charges such as passages and passage costs, pensions contributions and other non-effective charges are met by the British Government. An officer seconded from the British Armed Forces does not now cost us much more than a local officer and the saving as a result of the introduction of this scheme is reflected in Personal Emoluments and certain items under Other Charges Annually Recurrent.

I will now deal with the organisation of the Army. Honourable Members will recall that last year I referred to the setting up of a Brigade Headquarters, temporarily at Bentong, for the purpose

of providing a balanced command structure in the Federation. Up to the present moment this Brigade Headquarters together with the other two situated on the mainland of Malaya have to a large extent been limited in their mobility and effectiveness in war by their reliance on static supply depots and workshops. This will be corrected next year by the raising of new mobile supply platoons, ordnance parks, transport platoons, and repair units. This specially applies to the Third Brigade on the East Coast. The First Regiment of the Artillery has now become fully operational and the second Regiment will be formed next year to increase the striking power of the Army. This Regiment together with the first which is already fully operational and the old established volunteer Regiment in Singapore will provide us, in war, with three Regiments for the close and intimate support of three of our infantry brigades.

Our commitments along our border with Thailand will remain and will continue to make troops available—may well be on a slightly reduced scale—for border operations alongside the Royal Malaysian Police and Thai forces.

Our medical resources, above unit level, have of necessity up to now been of a static nature and barely adequate to meet our needs. A start will be made next year to provide the Army with a small mobile field medical team to handle casualties behind battalions and in transit back to our base civilian hospitals.

The estimates contain provision for some \$9 million for ammunition both Naval and Army (including Artillery) ammunition. These increased stocks are beyond our present ability to store and it will therefore be necessary to form an ammunition depot next year to hold ammunition of all types.

In the equipment sphere I would like to inform this House that we are reequipping the forces with better and more modern guns and mortars which will have greater firing and striking power. The old British three inch mortar has been replaced.

In Singapore, we will have to fully finance in 1964 the former Singapore Military Forces. We have already grafted on to these well-formed forces, additional men, units and equipment to expand them into our Fourth Infantry Brigade. Some further expansion will be necessary next year, mainly in the Brigade's logistics units, in order to make the Brigade an effective viable formation both for its public Order role with the Police, and also to enable it to be in a position to defend the State from any external threat.

In Sabah and Sarawak we are building up a properly constituted Brigade of infantry battalions, engineer and reconnaissance squadrons together with the necessary logistics units to support them, and of course a Headquarters and signals units to exercise command and control. This formation of units will be known as the Fifth Brigade. This major undertaking has been forced upon us by the policy of Indonesia and its hostile attitude both active and threatening along our borders.

Some of the units being stationed in East Malaysia were already in existence in the Peninsula but several others are being formed specially for these territories. The cost of them plus the expense of moving them and providing them with accommodation, will be a considerable extra burden which is reflected in these estimates.

Although our regular Army's preparedness in Sabah and Sarawak is considerable, I would like to remind the House that the United Kingdom Government is assisting us to a large degree in these territories. It is providing and financing its own units, ships and aircrafts in accordance with our defence agreement and is also giving us certain logistical support. Government has also agreed to finance two Battalions to be known as 1st and 2nd B, Malaysian Rangers, up to 31-12-65. Hope to take over a fully operation Unit on 1st Jan, '66. It is possible that we have not yet seen the limit of our requirement of troops in these States. Should additional men and material be required, it will no doubt be necessary for me to come to this House for supplementary funds next year.

Honourable Members will no doubt appreciate that the strength of our Army will by 1964 have almost doubled since 1960.

I will now, Sir, turn to the Territorial Army. The Territorial Army is being gradually expanded in strength until it reaches its target figure of 10,000 volunteers. As part of the effort to meet the effectiveness of the Army, the following measures will be taken in relation to the Territorial Army in 1964:

- (a) Equipment will be provided for all units up to 30 per cent of the scales applicable to the equivalent regular Army units;
- (b) The number of hours of total training will be increased by 120 hours per annum for each individual volunteer so as to give a maximum of 360 hours training to each volunteer as exposed to the present ceiling of 240 hours;
- (c) The build-up of two Engineer Squadrons is being brought forward from 1865 to 1964;
- (d) The raising of four Engineer Specialist teams is being undertaken. These teams will have the task of assisting the various civic authorities, in a time of national crisis, in operating posts, power stations, water supply and railways.

On Malaysia Day, the Singapore Volunteers became a part of the Territorial Army and we have to provide for them next year. All units of the Singapore volunteers joined on their existing establishments and terms and conditions of service. Such changes as are necessary will be carried out in 1965 and the estimates for that year will be prepared accordingly. During 1964, however, it is proposed to plan the necessary changes to bring these units into line with their counterparts in the Peninsula. It is also planned to form an additional Territorial Army infantry battalion in Singapore.

The Government has also decided that the Local Defence Corps of the Territorial Army should be expanded from a strength of 1,500 to approximately 24,000 all ranks. The object is to have platoons in all towns and major kampongs. Owing to its existing commitments the regular army will be unable to assist in training the Local Defence Corps and we hope that ex-servicemen and other qualified persons will come forward to assist in this matter. We also

plan to form Local Defence Corps units in the Borneo States with a total strength of some 1,500 men. This planned expansion of the Local Defence Corps is not reflected in the estimates now before the House and I will therefore be coming to this House early in the New Year for additional funds for this task.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I now turn to the Royal Malaysian Navy. In mid 1962 there were 53 officers and 788 ratings in the Navy. By the end of 1964 we expect to have over 200 officers and nearly 1,500 ratings. This is the expansion which has become necessary to provide the officers and men for the new ships which we are acquiring to protect our vastly increased coastlines and our sea communications with Sabah and Sarawak.

The increased expenditure in the Estimates for 1964 for the Navy stems directly from the increase in ships and the consequent increase in the officers and men. As Honourable Members no doubt appreciate, ships require fuel, ammunition, stores and maintenance whilst their crew require uniforms, food and pay.

The accelerated expansion of the Navy and the acquisition of modern ships fitted with equipment and machinery has necessitated a major training programme. This will continue throughout 1964. Many of the officers and ratings sent to the United Kingdom to commission the new ships undergo specialist training at British Naval ships, particularly training relating to the operation and maintenance of the equipment which they will find in the ship which they are to join and bring to Malaysia.

During the year 1963, some new fast patrol crafts and coastal minesweepers have joined our Navy. They are already on operational patrol duties protecting our territorial waters in the Straits of Malacca and off the coasts of Sabah and Sarawak.

In addition, we will acquire in 1964 many more ships for our Navy, including one large landing craft for transporting troops and equipment.



To support the increased fleet, we intend to develop the base maintenance and logistics facilities at Singapore and Labuan. The main Naval Base will, however, continue to be at Singapore and we have taken over, from the British, an area of land on the Johore Straits immediately adjacent to the existing Naval Barracks at Woodlands. Here we plan to construct a jetty in 1964. It will also be necessary to expand the existing base to provide additional accommodation, workshop and training facilities.

At Labuan we plan to begin construction of a small permanent Naval Base to provide the necessary maintenance and logistic support for our ships operating in that area. The cost of these ships and buildings is reflected in the Development Estimates for 1964 but the cost of men and other attendant services is included in the Ordinary Estimates.

We have also taken over the Singapore Division of the Naval Reserve and we hope to integrate this Reserve into the Royal Malaysian Naval Volunteer Reserve. However, for 1964, the personnel serving with the Singapore Division of the Naval Reserve are shown separately in Personal Emoluments under the heading "Jawatan Singapura".

I now come to the third Service, the Royal Malaysian Air Force. During 1963, our Air Force has been expanded by the acquisition of new aircraft including Alouette helicopters, Herons and Herald transport and communication aircraft. Some more of these aircraft are expected to arrive before the end of 1963. The aircrew required to operate these aircraft are already available and recruiting of ground staff and the training is well advanced.

Additional aircraft will be received during 1964, including training aircraft.

This expansion of the Air Force has resulted in the need for a second airfield for the Flying Training School and to meet this requirement, Alor Star airfield is being developed and is expected to be operational by July, 1964. The development of the Royal Malaysian Air Force Station at Kuala Lumpur will continue

during 1964. The building of a new aircraft hanger to provide servicing facilities for the increased number of aircraft will be completed and the equipment depot which is required for holding increased aircraft spares and equipment will be partially completed and operating during 1964.

A detachment of the Royal Malaysian Air Force is now operating from Labuan in support of the ground forces there and the number of aircraft there will progressively increase during 1964. Labuan airfield will be developed for use as a permanent base. This will undoubtedly result in considerable expenditure on the purchase of existing facilities and the construction of domestic accommodation.

The air supply to troops engaged in the Malaya/Thai border operations which was previously carried out in conjunction with the Royal Air Force is now the sole responsibility of our Air Force.

During 1963, eight Malaysian pilots completed their flying training: two pilots qualified as flying instructors at the Royal Air Force Central Flying School and are now employed as flying instructors in the Royal Malaysian Air Force. A further seventeen pilots are now under training. The need to increase the output of pilots is urgent and to meet this requirement the Provost Training Aircraft have been ordered for delivery in 1964.

The technical training of ground personnel has progressed satisfactorily. During 1963, 95 Malaysian airmen completed basic technical courses, 46 airmen completed advanced technical courses and a total of 136 airmen are now undergoing advanced and basic training at the Royal Malaysian Air Force Technical Training School. This training output must be contained during 1964 if we are to meet the planned expansion.

Sir, I have just outlined the plan for the Royal Malaysian Air Force during 1964 and the expenditure required for this plan is included in the 1964 estimates; the cost of aircraft and buildings are, however, reflected in the Development Estimates.

The Royal Malaysian Air Force Volunteer Reserve is continuing its training to enable it to play its part alongside the Royal Malaysian Air Force when the need arises.

Before concluding my speech I would like to explain for the benefit of Honourable Members some of the significant increases under Other Charges Annually Recurrent and Other Charges Special Expenditure. Honourable Members will note that the estimate for Ammunition, that is, under Subhead 28 and Subhead 65 of Other Charges Annually Recurrent, has increased from \$3,126,000 to \$9,944,430. The reasons for this increase are: firstly, the introduction of new weapons into the Armed Forces with the consequent need to buy adequate stocks of ammunition for them; secondly, the increase in size of the Armed Forces with the resulting increase in the usage of ammunition to train personnel; thirdly, the need to establish an adequate reserve of ammunition in the country from which the Armed Forces can draw in an emergency. Honourable Members will no doubt realise how dangerous it is if we have to depend on reserve stocks of ammunition which are not located in this country and are not readily available to our Armed Forces.

Honourable Members will also note that the estimates for Air Supply Equipment (Subheads 13 and 50) of Other Charges Annually Recurrent have risen from \$520,000 in 1963 to \$1,392,000 for 1964. The reasons for this increase are twofold. We have in the past received considerable assistance from the (British) Royal Air Force in the delivery of supplies to units of the Malaysian Armed Forces operating in the jungles along the northern border of Malaya. The charges raised by the British's Government for these services were very moderate. The Royal Malaysian Air Force has now assumed responsibility for the aerial delivery of supplies and this Government has, in consequence, to bear the full cost of these operations. In addition, there has been arisen a requirement to maintain units in Sabah and Sarawak by means of air supply, a commitment that we did not have in 1963, and financial provision has had to be made to meet the costs therefor.

The financial provision for Common Technical Stores (Sub-head 79 of Other Charges Special Expenditure) has increased from \$263,750 in 1963 to \$780,000 for 1964. This large increase arises from the need to continue to equip the units of the Armed Forces existing prior to Malaysia with the modern technical equipment which has been planned for them. This includes a number of items which had to be deferred from previous years because the equipment to meet our requirements was not at that time available. This is particularly so in the case of Signals equipment where there is continual progress in development of new and better equipment. The provision of \$780,000 is made up of \$277,618 for Signals equipment, \$102,100 for Engineer equipment, \$119,000 for equipment required by the Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, \$126,900 for equipment required by the Royal Malaysian Navy and \$55,000 for specialist equipment required by the Royal Malaysian Air Force.

Sir, I beg to move that the amount of \$158,392,544 shown under Head 14 stands part of the Bill.

UCAPAN TAHUN BARU DARIPADA TIM-  
BALAN PERDANA MENTERI MELALUI  
RADIO MALAYSIA PADA 30<sup>HB</sup> DISEMBER,  
1963

Tahun 1964 akan merupakan suatu tahun yang amat penting di dalam sejarah kita sebagai sebuah negara yang Merdeka dan menentu hak sendiri.

Pada suatu masa di dalam Tahun Baharu ini Kerajaan sekarang, iaitu Kerajaan Perikatan, akan meminta kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan supaya diberikan lagi mandat atau kuasa untuk memandu Malaysia lebih maju ke hadapan dalam bidang-bidang Pembangunan, keadaan Ekonomi yang kukuh dan kemajuan.

Kemajuan mengembangkan kemajuan; keyakinan menimbulkan keyakinan dan kejayaan mengulangi kejayaan.

Bumi negara kita melambangkan suatu pandangan kejayaan; ini adalah terbukti dengan adanya kerjasama yang diberikan oleh rakyat yang terdiri daripada berbilang bangsa, dan terbukti juga di seluruh cerok dan rantau kemajuan yang diperolehi daripada rancangan Pembangunan yang baharu dijalankan.

Kita bolehlah berasa bangga atas kemajuan yang telah dicapai oleh Negara kita semenjak Merdeka dan kemajuan ini telah menunjukkan kepada Dunia apa yang dapat diperolehi daripada suatu perkongsian di antara rakyat negeri ini dengan Kerajaan Perikatan.

Dengan adanya terus-menerus perkongsian seperti ini dalam tahun 1964 dan seterusnya, maka akan terjaminlah kemajuan di dalam negara kita ini.

Kemajuan Negara kita di dalam beberapa tahun yang singkat ini adalah hanya merupakan suatu titik permulaan dari langkah permulaan, banyak lagi akan dapat dilaksanakan jika sekiranya usaha dan tenaga hasil daripada mandat yang telah diberikan kepada Kerajaan Perikatan dalam tahun 1959 itu tidak diganggu.

Oleh yang demikian adalah terletak kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian untuk memikirkan samada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan gemar bahawa kejayaan-kejayaan yang telah diperolehi ini tidak terputus dan harus diperkembangkan supaya dijadikan sebagai suatu batu asas yang kukuh, dari mana dapat kita bergerak lebih maju di masa-masa hadapan.

Semua rakyat-rakyat, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang tinggal di negeri-negeri Tanah Melayu, barangkali kecuali Kelantan, telah dapat melihat dengan mata sendiri betapa banyaknya faedah-faedah dan nikmat-nikmat yang telah diberi oleh Kerajaan Perikatan.

Malangnya, Kerajaan Perikatan telah dapat hanya sedikit peluang sahaja untuk memberikan semua yang dicita-citanya kepada mereka yang tinggal di Kelantan, tetapi kekurangan ini dengan mudahnya rakyat-rakyat di Kelantan sendiri dapat memperbaiki dalam tahun 1964 apabila tiba masanya.

Kepada saudara-saudara kita di Sabah dan Sarawak Kerajaan kita akan memberi, dengan usaha dan tekad yang sama, kemudahan-kemudahan yang memadai dari Rancangan Pembangunan untuk mengubahkan cara penghidupan di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar.

Kepada saudara-saudara kita di Singapura pula, dengan merapatkan lagi perkongsian di dalam bidang pembangunan perusahaan dan kemajuan di daerah perbandaran, maka kita akan dapat melancarkan dengan lebih pesat dan tekad yang penuh untuk maju sebagai sebuah negara Malaysia yang makmur berkekalan.

Kerajaan Perikatan telah diberi suatu mandat untuk berusaha mendapatkan Kemerdekaan bagi Negara ini, ini telah berjaya; kita telah diberi mandat untuk memandu negeri ini daripada kecil hingga dewasa, mandat ini telah berhasil menubuhkan sebuah Negara yang sekarang dapat kita berasa bangga di dalam hati sanubari kita; dan sekarang dengan pengalaman-pengalaman yang telah diperolehi, pentadbiran Kerajaan yang terbukti baik itu, dan pelancaran Rancangan Pembangunan dengan cara yang dinamis, dasar-dasar Kerajaan yang saksama yang membawa kepada keadaan ekonomi yang kukuh; berilah kami mandat dan kami akan memberi jaminan bukan sahaja untuk memandu negara Malaysia kepada peringkat dewasa tetapi juga untuk memenuhi cita-cita Perdana Menteri kita untuk memastikan bahawa negara kita adalah sebenar-benarnya sebuah negara "MALAYSIA BAHGIA".

Saya mengucapkan kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan Selamat Tahun Baru.

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