



UCAPAN-UCAPAN
TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA
1957

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DICETAK DI JABATAN PERCETAKAN NEGARA
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"But while we think of the past, we look forward in faith and hope to the future; from henceforth we are masters of our destiny, and the welfare of this beloved land is our own responsibility. Let no one think we have reached the end of the road: independence is indeed a milestone, but it is only the threshold to high endeavour—the creation of a new and sovereign state. At this solemn moment therefore I call upon you to dedicate yourselves to the service of the new Malaya: to work and strive with hand and brain to create a new nation, inspired by the ideals of justice and liberty—a beacon of light in a disturbed and distracted world".

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA

Speech at the proclamation of Independence at Merdeka Stadium,
Kuala Lumpur on 31st August, 1957.

PENDAHULUAN

Tahun 1957 adalah merupakan tahun yang bersejarah bagi tanah air kita. Dalam tahun ini usaha gigih pejuang-pejuang kemerdekaan tanah air menampakkan hasilnya apabila tarikh 31 haribulan Ogos, 1957 ditetapkan sebagai tarikh kemerdekaan. Dengan pencapaian ini bermakna bermulalah satu era baru dalam sejarah tanah air dan berakhirnya sejarah pemerintahan penjajah. Bersama-sama negara-negara di rantau Asia yang lain muncullah negara muda, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang bebas, merdeka dan berdaulat.

Arkib Negara sekali lagi berasa bangga kerana dapat menerbitkan jilid kedua dalam siri ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj. Jilid pertama yang diterbitkan pada tahun 1979 merangkumi ucapan-ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku dalam tahun 1955 dan 1956. Untuk jilid kedua ini ucapan-ucapan yang diterbitkan ialah ucapan-ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku di sepanjang tahun 1957 sahaja, iaitu sewaktu Y.T.M. Tunku menjadi Ketua Menteri dan kemudian selepas Merdeka, dilantik menjadi Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang pertama.

Ucapan-ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku di sepanjang tahun 1957 banyak menyentuh mengenai pentingnya mengamalkan sikap perpaduan, harmoni dan saling bantu membantu antara kaum yang ujud di negara ini dan di samping menegaskan pentingnya keselamatan dan keamanan dalam negeri terutamanya ancaman dari komunis.

Sebagai tahun persediaan untuk menyambut kemerdekaan, berbagai-bagai rancangan diadakan supaya pada tarikh 31 haribulan Ogos, 1957 semua rakyat tidak kira tua atau muda, miskin maupun kaya akan merasai perubahan pada tanah airnya. Projek-projek seperti pembinaan Stadium Merdeka, bangunan-bangunan kerajaan dan hotel-hotel disiapkan sebelum hari Merdeka yang bertujuan supaya tempat-tempat ini dapat digunakan untuk perayaan tersebut.

Dari segi pertahanan pula, sebagai sebuah negara yang baru merdeka, Y.T.M. Tunku telah memasuki persetujuan pertahanan bersama dengan United Kingdom memandangkan negara ini kekurangan tenaga dan alat kelegkapan bukan sahaja untuk menentang musuh dari luar malah untuk menentang ancaman komunis dalam negeri.

Akhir sekali dengan lahirnya jilid kedua dalam siri ucapan-ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman, Arkib Negara berharap akan dapat membantu para penyelidik dalam dan luar negeri yang berminat dengan sejarah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, kerana melalui ucapan-ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku, kita dapat menyingkap perkembangan sejarah negara ini.

Di dalam menyediakan penerbitan ini Arkib Negara telah mendapat bahan-bahan dan kerjasama yang erat daripada Jabatan-jabatan kerajaan. Dengan ini Arkib Negara ingin merakamkan penghargaan yang tinggi kepada semua Jabatan khasnya Jabatan Perdana Menteri, Jabatan Penerangan dan Jabatan Percetakan Negara. Kerjasama dan bantuan yang diberi sangat-sangatlah menggalakkan dan memberikan inisiatif kepada Jabatan ini.

ZAKIAH HANUM,
Ketua Pengarah
Arkib Negara Malaysia

18hb Julai, 1980.

PENJELASAN

Indeks

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

Nombor Klasifikasi

Di atas tiap-tiap ucapan diberikan satu nombor klasifikasi, misalnya TAR 2:5:57. Ini adalah nombor klasifikasi arkib untuk tiap-tiap ucapan asal di dalam siri ini yang disimpan di Arkib Negara.

SINGKATAN

FMATC	...	Federation of Malaya Air Training Corps
FMS	...	Federated Malay States
MAAF	...	Malayan Auxiliary Air Force
MCA	...	Malayan Chinese Association
MIC	...	Malayan Indian Congress
PWD	...	Public Works Department
RAF	...	Royal Air Force
SEATO	...	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
UK	...	United Kingdom
UMNO	...	United Malayan National Organisation
UNESCO	...	United Nation Educational Scientific Organisation

SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER FOR
FUNDS IN CONNECTION WITH THE
MERDEKA CELEBRATIONS OVER RADIO
MALAYA ON 9TH FEBRUARY, 1957

August 31st, 1957, will be a day which all Malaysians will regard as the greatest day in the history of their country as it is on that occasion that Malaya will emerge into the world as an Independent Nation. It is natural, therefore, that we should wish to celebrate the occasion fittingly and on a scale hitherto unknown in this country. In the past, we have had important events such as the installations of Crowned Heads of States or their Jubilees which we celebrated with pomp and grandeur, but on the occasion of Independence Day the celebrations should be of greater magnitude as befitting such an auspicious and unique event.

Many suggestions have come forth from all over the country as to what form these celebrations should take. In so far as Government is concerned it is not its intention in this matter to impose its will on the people, but rather to accord with their wishes, and to allow them to acclaim the day in the manner they think best. It is to be a day of public rejoicing and a day that will be remembered, and it is only when the people feel that the festivities are of their own planning and choice, that the celebrations will be spontaneous and genuine.

The Government will be making certain financial provision for these celebrations, but how much this provision will be is a question which concerns us all. I would like to tell you now that the total amount which the Government might possibly afford for the whole celebration will be in the region of a million dollars. A certain portion of this sum will be required by Government itself for the entertainment of foreign guests who will be invited to our celebrations. The Government would also need part of the money to decorate its public buildings and roads. It is also proposed that part of the money will be spent to feed the poor at mosques, churches, temples and at the homes of the old and destitute. A certain amount will also be spent in

organising a PESTA and various sporting events. Apart from this, money will be allotted to the States and Settlements to be spent by them on similar lines.

It is obvious that with the commitments I have outlined, this financial provision is unlikely to be sufficient to meet all the expenses of the celebration. It is therefore necessary that members of the public should contribute to swell this fund. Indeed, I appeal to all of you to be generous in your donations as it is only with your contributions that we can ever hope to celebrate the occasion on the scale we would wish. Moreover, I would like to emphasize that donations however small will be gratefully received by the Committee.

I have given you an indication of what the Government proposes regarding these celebrations. The public will no doubt have its own ideas on how to celebrate the event. It is customary for them to put up shows for public entertainments. But on this great day the public might also like to erect memorials to commemorate the occasion. My suggestion to you, therefore, is that such memorials instead of being of a temporary nature should take the form of something practical and permanent.

In speaking to you of Independence Day, I must emphasize that we have become a free nation solely through the efforts and support of the public themselves. You will recall that the Alliance took the political field on the paramount issue of Independence, and in the National Election the fact that Alliance candidates swept the board with a majority hitherto unknown in any country in the world indicates that the public decided in no uncertain terms that they want Independence. When the Delegation went to England in 1956, we made known to the British Government the wishes of the people. The British Government accepted these wishes with good grace. They agreed to the date proposed by us for the granting of Independence. But while the achievement of our Independence is a matter of which we can be justly proud, the greatest source of our pride has been the manner in which it has been achieved. It has been won by the spontaneous support of all communities in this country—Malays, Chinese, Indians and others who regard Malaya as their home. Throughout our campaign not one outbreak of violence occurred and, true to the pledge I gave, not one drop of blood was spilt in our

constitutional struggle for Independence. The Independence of Malaya has therefore been won by the measure of goodwill which exists among the various peoples of this country as much as by their united efforts and patriotism and love for this land. Finally, the good understanding between Great Britain and Malaya has enabled Great Britain to appreciate fully our national aspirations.

All of us should remember our Independence Day with a feeling of thankfulness and gratitude. We must thank God for our achievement and at the same time I would like to thank all of you for your support. The occasion we are to celebrate is the birth of a New Nation. Let us make this event unforgettable. At the same time, it is my hope that while all of you will not forget that just as our Independence is made possible by your loyalty and support, so our ability to carry out the full programme of our celebrations must depend on the same support in the form of generous contributions towards our funds.

CATTAN:

Donations to State or Settlement Merdeka Celebrations Funds should be sent to the Chairman of the State or Settlement Celebrations Committee, c/o the State or Settlement Secretariat. Donations to the Federal Capital Celebrations Fund should be sent to the Honourable Mr. C. Thornton, C.B.E., c/o Guthrie & Co. Ltd., Mountbatten Road, Kuala Lumpur.

All contributions whether large or small will be welcomed and gratefully acknowledged. Contributions to the funds are subject to remission of Income Tax. Give generously to make the Independence Celebrations a success.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
FOUNDATION-STONE-LAYING CEREMONY
OF THE MERDEKA STADIUM, KUALA LUM-
PUR ON 15TH FEBRUARY, 1957**

In laying this foundation stone, I am happy to feel that the long cherished hope and dream of all sportsmen in this country is being realised. A Sports Stadium in this country has been a long felt need. It has been stressed time and again by all the past Presidents of the Football Association of Malaya. Every sportsman has been clamouring for it and the demand was so great that I plucked up sufficient courage to pose a question at the meeting of the Federal Legislative Council on 18th March, 1953. My question was greeted with laughter of derision from all over the house. I knew it was no use going ahead with it. My dream and that of all sportsmen appeared to be shattered and doomed never to be realised. However, by the grace of God, the Alliance was returned to power. The first thing I did was to consult Mr. McDonald¹ and with him we examined all the possibilities of getting a suitable site for a stadium, and finally we hit upon the spot which, in my view, is the most ideal one. It is sited in the very heart of the town and is accessible to people rich and poor alike, for to reach it those who cannot afford a transport can walk to it. This indeed is a most fitting memorial to Merdeka, the spirit of which is to give happiness to all. As I talk to you, I still hear the laughter, but it is not one of derision which I heard in the Council but one of joy and gladness welcoming the attainment of the object of one's dream.

We have to thank the State Government and the President and Committee Members of the Selangor Playing Fields Association who have co-operated in making the site available to us. The foundation is being laid now because it is my desire to pay tribute to a person who has devoted so much of his time and energy to the construction of it. I refer to Mr. Nankivell² who

¹ President of Malayan Amateur Athletic Association.

² Director of Public Works, Malaya.

has been a great patron of sports in this country and who is unfortunately leaving Malaya on retirement at the end of this month. He will not see the completion of the work he started. Therefore it is only right that he should see the completion of at least the first phase of his work.

The stadium itself, though small by international standards, will be one of the largest in South East Asia. It will certainly be one of the finest in the world, both for the facilities which it provides for sports and celebrations and for its imaginative design which makes such good use of the natural setting of the site. We have to thank Mr. Jewkes for the design of it. It is constructed as an amphitheatre on the lines of ancient Roman and Greek stadiums. It has been possible to provide, economically, terraced seating accommodation for some thirty thousands spectators which will be of great permanence and require little maintenance. The use of modern earth moving equipment has been fully exploited.

The thin shell roof of the covered stand, cantilevered for sixty feet over the terraces and the slender flood lighting towers are further example of the ingenuity of our Engineers. These and other numerous features of the stadium add to its attractiveness and will, without doubt, be admired by the people of Malaya and by visitors. On my direction, and with the advice of the Stadium Committee, the arena has been designed to modern Olympic games' standards, with a four hundred metres running track and provision for playing soccer, rugby and hockey. Full flood lighting is being provided for night games and ample provision is being made for the stadium to be a venue for events and spectacles of national importance.

You have heard, from the Minister for Works, Posts and Telecommunications³ of the various details concerning the project, of the difficulties encountered and the importance of the time factor. We must give credit to the personnel of the Public Works Department, Architects, Civil and Mechanical Engineers, Surveyors and Labour Staff and to the contractors whose names are mentioned in the programme for the long hours of work being expended, outside the normal line of duty and devotion to their tasks so

³ Encik Sardon bin Haji Jubir.

that this stadium may be completed in time for Merdeka. The foundation stone, which I am about to lay, contains documents and objects presenting life in the present day Malaya. They should form interesting archives to a generation which may eventually exhume them from the dust of centuries.

In the stadium, which stands as an impressive memorial to Merdeka, many entertainments, sports meet and possibly the declaration of Independence will be held here. When completed, it will be a source of great pride to sportsmen. Within it, it is hoped that sportsmen throughout the world—particularly the Asian world—will from time to time forgather to exchange greetings and to foster goodwill and friendship through sports and games. Much work therefore will be done to bring about peace within our shores and which by the grace of God might extend beyond it. People of Malaya love sports, they love life and they love good living. They can now have all these. I now have much pleasure in laying the Foundation Stone of the Merdeka Stadium.

UCAPAN KETUA MENTERI MENGENAI
KEHARMONIAN ANTARA KAUM DI
MELAKA PADA 16HB FEBRUARI, 1957

Encik-encik dan Tuan-tuan.

Pada malam ini saya mengucapkan berbanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada Mr. Tee yang telah mengadakan jamuan dan telah menjemput pada malam ini orang-orang daripada bangsa China, bangsa Melayu, India dan lain-lainnya. Maka inilah yang dikehendaki perhubungan rapat antara bangsa-bangsa kerana tidak berapa lama lagi kita akan Merdeka, apa kira pun kita kena duduk antara satu dengan lain. Di dalam negeri, macam negeri kita ini bukan satu bangsa sahaja boleh duduk dalam negeri ini dengan tidak ada dengan bangsa lain. Kalau ada, maka negeri ini tentu jadi, bagaimana yang kita katakan tempat hantu beranak.

Negeri ini telah diduduki oleh berbagai bangsa sejak berapa zaman dahulu, iaitu sejak daripada pihak British datang ke sini, kita sekalian telah duduk dengan baik. Jadi sekarang ini apabila kita hendak mencapai kemerdekaan ramai orang naik bimbang, naik takut. Orang-orang Melayu takut hilang haknya, orang China dan orang India takut mendapat susah apabila negeri ini merdeka. Jadi memang ini satu perasaan yang memang akan ada tiap-tiap kali hendak ada perubahan adalah datangnya berbagai-bagai fikiran, berbagai-bagai syak wasangka. Hapuskanlah syak wasangka itu, kerana negeri ini dalam fikiran saya apabila merdeka ia akan jadi satu negeri yang selamat, negeri yang aman dan makmur dan saya tidak was-was lagi di atas keadaan negeri ini apabila merdeka.

Memang saya mimpi dan angan-angan saya yang tinggi bahawa negeri ini akan jadi satu negeri dalam Asia Timur yang tidak ada bandingannya. Maka saya angan-angan dan saya mimpi bahawa negeri ini akan jadi satu pasar yang besar di mana sahaja bangsa-bangsa yang duduk berjiran atau berdekatan dengan kita akan datang buat perniagaan yang besar asalkan masing-masing kenalah tolong bekerjasama supaya selamat negeri ini. Saya nampak jikalau kita tidak bekerjasama, jikalau kita ada syak wasangka antara

satu dengan lain maka selama-lamanya negeri ini tak boleh senang. Sekarang orang-orang Melayu yang mula-mulanya menjerit dan berkeriau kehendak kepada merdeka dan berani untuk menghadap segala-galanya, tiba-tiba apabila hendak sampai merdeka masing-masing sudah naik takut, takut itu, takut ini, takut hak Melayu hilang itu, hilang ini. Kalau kita berani untuk merdeka apa benda yang kita nak takut. Kalau takut hendak hilang itu dan ini macam mana kita berani hendak menuntut merdeka, itu saya beritahu di mana-mana sahaja kepada bangsa saya.

Orang-orang China pula takut kalau negeri ini Kerajaan British tidak di sini barangkali orang Melayu hendak mengamuk, orang Melayu hendak itu dan ini, nak bermaharajalela dan sebagainya. Saya kata dahulu pada Kerajaan British ada di sini orang-orang Melayu dan orang-orang China telahpun duduk sama sekali. Dahulu daripada Kerajaan British ada di sini kita biasa juga senang dan biasa jumpa kaya cara masa zaman itu. Kepada orang China yang takut saya nak tanya nak takut apa. Kalau ada perubahan besar, Administration atau Pentadbiran negeri ini pun akan jalan sebagaimana yang biasa kerana kita tidak ada orang, kita kata kita minta pertolongan pegawai-pegawai British duduk sini selama kita belum sedia mengambil tempat itu supaya kita boleh biasa, boleh belajar buat kerja itu bukan kita hendak adakan perubahan dengan terkejut, tidak.

Orang-orang China yang takut Melayu nak mengamuk, nak mengamuk apa. Kalau kita hendak mengamuk apakah kita hendak askar-askar British duduk di sini lagi, apakah kita hendak askar British ditempatkan di sini kalau Melayu cadang hendak mengamuk, kalau Melayu cadang hendak bunuh bangsa lain, adakah kita hendak buat satu perjanjian dengan Kerajaan British mengadakan askar-askar British di sini. Fikirlah. Masing-masing yang keluarkan cakap yang bukan-bukan itu, bukan kerana apa, bukan kerana ada sebab, semuanya adalah kerana takut, bimbang dan tak percaya. Inilah tiga perkara yang menjadi racun yang besar kepada mana-mana negeri pun, kepada mana-mana bangsa pun. Jikalau kita berani merdeka, kita berani hadapi apa yang datang.

Raid Commission sekarang inilah satu perkara yang kita sekarang sedang menimbang. Kepada orang-orang Melayu, orang-orang China dan orang India segala-galanya saya kata usahlah takut, pihak Perikatan duduk berunding mengambil usaha untuk

memperbetulkan tentang yang nampak tidak elok kerana memang tuan-tuan mesti tahu Raid Commission ini dijemput oleh kita sekalian datang ke sini meminta tolong sediakan satu perlembagaan atau constitution yang boleh kita rasa dapat memberi kesenangan kepada orang-orang kita yang duduk di sini. Jadi mereka datang ke sini dan buat satu cadangan bagaimana yang mereka sendiri rasa yang semua orang-orang yang duduk di sini boleh suka, boleh duduk dengan baik, sama rata dan sebagainya. Tetapi kita yang ada di sini tahulah yang mana yang kita hendak perbetulkan, tentang mana di atas cadangannya yang tidak sesuai dengan kehendak kita itu. Bukan kita hendak terima dengan merintah-mentah, tidak. Janganlah takut, kita tidak lama lagi hendak merdeka, Insya Allah apabila kita merdeka kita akan berjumpa kesenangan, jumpa kemuliaan, jumpa kemakmuran sebagaimana yang bangsa kita dan orang-orang yang duduk di sini belum biasa jumpa lagi. Jikalau kita hendak merdeka bukanlah masa yang kita hendak hak kita ini lebih banyak, orang itu mahu hak yang lebih banyak. Perasaan yang demikian itu masa kita ini duduk bawah pemerintahan orang, kalau kita perintah sendiri kenalah kita timbang setakat mana orang itu dapat, setakat mana orang ini dapat, setakat mana yang kita dapat dengan timbangan yang adil. Ini bukan perkara hendak samun menyamun lagi, bukan perkara hendak merebut-rebut lagi, sekarang ini kita hendak perbetulkan sampai pada suatu masa yang semua orang yang duduk di sini boleh berasakan dirinya Malayan atau penduduk anak-anak Tanah Melayu.

Pada hari ini tak usahlah kita hendak ingat diri kita sahaja, kita tidak mahu menipu diri kita dan tidak hendak berbohong. Seperti yang kita tahu Kerajaan British memerintah dengan cara dibuatkannya kota, kota itu dibuat dengan kuat dalam masa mereka itu memerintah di negeri itu. Jikalau kita hendak meroboh atau nak meruntuh kota itu dengan sekali gus tidak sekali-kali kita boleh buat. Kita kena mengambil masa, masa itu kita kena ambil dengan mengadakan cara-cara yang membolehkan perkakas-perkakas yang boleh merobohkan atau meruntuhkan kota itu. Perkakas-perkakas itu ialah education pelajaran, kenalah semua penduduk-penduduk di sini mengadakan satu polisi pelajaran bagi semua orang tidak kira apa bahasa mereka belajar, apa bahasa mereka cakap, pun boleh beri mereka ini berasa pelajaran itu menjadikan mereka itu Malayan. Inilah yang dikehendaki sangat-sangat dan kita kehendaki pertubuhan yang boleh merapatkan

bangsa-bangsa. Dengan adanya perasaan kasih mesra di antara satu dengan lain kita boleh mengadakan pertubuhan-pertubuhan yang akan bekerja dengan kuat supaya boleh menanamkan perasaan dan semangat bahawa kita hidup dan tenggelam dengan kerana Malaya ini yang kita kehendaki dengan sungguh-sungguhnya maka dengan pertolongan Tuan-tuan daripada orang-orang segala bangsa, Insya Allah, kita akan dapat perasaan itu. Maka inilah saya berdoa siang dan malam minta Tuan-tuan bekerja dengan sungguh-sungguh hati supaya perasaan itu timbul dengan cepat.

Maka saya katakan tadi ini saya merasa seronok mendengar suara kawan saya yang lama Dato' Sir Cheng Loke Tan.¹ Dulu saya mendengar suaranya di dalam hospital di atas katil, katil orang sakit memanglah suara orang sakit itu suara yang lemah, suara susah. Malam ini saya dengar balik suara dia yang nampak cergas, kuat bagaimana Dato' Sir Cheng Loke dulu itu yang bekerja dengan saya pergi sana dan ke sini bersyarah, berseru kepada orang-orang supaya menolong pihak Perikatan. Pendeknya saya haraplah Dato' Sir Cheng Loke Tan ini sihat selama-lamanya dan kalau dia tak boleh buat kerja dengan cergas kuat pun kita kehendak dia ada di dalam majlis kita. Dengan adanya dia dalam majlis kita adalah perasaan orang tua di sini dengan kita. Orang tua kalau dia bercakap dia nasihat sepatah dua jadi untung yang baik kepada kita semua. Kepada Tuan-tuan sekalian saya berterima kasih banyak-banyak. Kepada Mr. Tee yang telah mengadakan jamuan yang telah menjemput semua orang segala bangsa berhimpun di sini maka perbuatan dan tujuan yang baik serta Mr. Tee saya ucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih. Maka dengan itu saya tamatkan ucapan saya dengan seruan kebangsaan kita, seruan perjuangan kita. Merdeka!

¹ Presiden Persatuan China Malaya.

CATITAN: Ucapan ini telah diedit dari teks asalnya.

UCAPAN KETUA MENTERI DI PERSIDANGAN
AGONG UMNO MENGENAI PENYATA RAID
DI KUALA LUMPUR PADA 23HB FEBRUARI,
1957

Merdeka.

Tuan-tuan, Yang Berhormat Menteri-menteri dan Ahli-ahli
Council,

Saya akan bercakap dengan bahasa Melayu mulanya dan lepas daripada itu saya akan bercakap dengan bahasa Inggeris. Pertamanya saya mengambil peluang semasa tuan-tuan berhimpun di sini memberi keterangan kenapa saya genggam tangan apabila saya berseru Merdeka. Di Indonesia saya telah beri keterangan itu tetapi di Tanah Melayu belum memberikan keterangan. Jadi telah berbangkit silap faham antara orang-orang kita. Seumpamanya saya telah pun ditegur. Katanya genggam penumbuk seumpama ini ialah syarat daripada parti komunis dan bukan syarat parti-parti yang lain daripada parti komunis. Jadi di sini saya beri keterangan cogan itu. Kita belum lagi dapat Merdeka sungguhpun kita pakai cogan Merdeka. Jadi dengan genggam penumbuk ini bermaknalah kita tetap hati dan dalam tangan kita ini menunjukkan semangat genggam kita bahawa kita akan mencapai kemerdekaan. Jadi ini satu sumpahan bahawa selagi kita tidak Merdeka maka syarat kita mesti genggam penumbuk apabila kita berseru Merdeka. Lagi sekali saya minta tuan-tuan menyeru Merdeka dengan suara yang kuat. Merdeka! tak kuat, tak kuat. Ini bukan bererti hendak Merdeka. Lagi sekali, Merdeka! tak kuat. Cukup dengan genggam penumbuk, Merdeka! baik sikit, baik sikit.

Pertamanya saya suka hendak memberitahu kepada tuan-tuan saya berasa bangga dan sombong bahawa saya nampak tuan-tuan sekalian daripada semua bangsa telah pun berhimpun di Majlis ini dengan sangat ramainya. Perhimpunan yang seumpamanya ini kita biasa lihat di Indonesia dan di India, tetapi jarang barangkali kita lihat seumpamanya itu ada di Tanah Melayu ini. Inilah menunjukkan bahawa orang-orang di sini telah pun bersatu hati untuk Merdeka dan kerana itu kita berhimpun. Saya berasa

sombong dan suka hati di atas sokongan yang tuan-tuan beri selama Perikatan memegang teraju pemerintahan negeri ini. Sokongan yang kita lihat pada hari ini ialah satu sokongan yang menambah semangat dan hati kepada ketua-ketua Perikatan yang telah menjalankan kerjanya. Amanah yang tuan-tuan telah letakkan atas bahu dan kepada saya sekalian, Insya-Allah, saya akan junjung dengan junjungan yang berat.

Saya harap amnesty ataupun pengampunan beramai-ramai yang kita telah keluarkan kepada komunis akan diterima oleh komunis. Dengan bantuan yang tuan-tuan beri itu maka komunis patut tahu dan patut ingat amnesty itu dikeluarkan ialah dengan kehendak tuan-tuan sekalian, kerana kita ini berdasarkan kepada kerajaan yang aman, berdasarkan kepada perdamaian antara satu dengan lain, antara penduduk-penduduk di sini. Dengan itu kita tak mahu lagi ada pergaduhan sebagaimana yang telah ada pada hari ini. Kita tidak mahu orang-orang buang nyawa dengan tak ada satu faedah, dengan tidak ada satu tujuan yang baik kerana jikalau orang-orang mahu merdeka, merdeka itu boleh tercapai dengan jalan yang lain, bukan dengan jalan tembak menembak dan berbunuh. Komunis telah tembak menembak, telah bergaduh begini lama tetapi dalam pandangan kita makin jauh tujuannya makin jauh kehendaknya. Jadi tidak ada faedah yang kita hendak bergaduh lagi. Jadi dengan kerana itu kita hendak berdamai dan kita harap mereka itu tentulah ingat dan akan menerima pengampunan beramai-ramai. Kita keluarkan tawaran itu ialah kerana memandangkan bahawa tawaran itu ialah tawaran yang sangat baik, tawaran yang berpatutan kerana di dalam tawaran itu kita hendak mengampunkan komunis-komunis di atas segala kesalahan yang mereka telah lakukan selama ini. Jikalau dalam hal itu mereka hendak tawaran yang lebih baik lagi mereka boleh sebutkan kepada saya apabila saya berjumpa dengan Chin Peng. Jadi inilah yang kita hendak berjumpa dengan Chin Peng itu kerana jikalau Chin Peng serahkan nasibnya di dalam tangan orang-orang ramai bahawa saya percaya orang ramai akan bertimbang rasa, kalau orang ramai hendak semua manusia tinggal dengan baik antara satu dengan lain bukan dengan cara bermusuhan-musuhan itu.

Di dalam perhimpunan ini kita lihat orang-orang daripada segala bangsa, segala umur, sama ada yang tua, muda, besar dan kecil. Orang-orang ini semua berkehendakkan saya menyeru kepada

komunis supaya mereka menyerah diri. Saya harap di dalam perjumpaan antara saya dengan Chin Peng itu bolehlah kita selesaikan hal ini. Dengan selesainya perkara ini dapatlah negeri kita kembali semula kepada keamanan dan wang ringgit yang kita keluarkan selama ini untuk berperang dengan mereka itu bolehlah digunakan untuk membaiki rumah orang-orang miskin, membaiki keadaan orang ramai, membesarkan sekolah-sekolah dan lain-lainnya kerana kita telah berbelanja bermilion-milion ringgit di dalam pergaduhan ini. Dengan ini wang itu dapatlah disimpan untuk faedah orang ramai, sekiranya peperangan ini dapat ditamatkan. Semua orang mahu merdeka, semua orang cuba hendak bekerja untuk mencapai kemerdekaan dan saya harap jika komunis sebenarnya mahu kemerdekaan untuk Malaya maka mereka mahu lah menyerah diri. Jikalau mereka tidak mahu menyerah diri dengan Kerajaan yang ditubuhkan oleh rakyat sendiri maka bermaknalah komunis ini bukan mahu kemerdekaan bagi Malaya cuma Merdeka untuk komunis dan itu akan menunjukkan bahawa komunis hendakkan permusuhan dengan kerajaan dan rakyat di negara ini.

Saya suka hendak mengucapkan terima kasih kepada tuan-tuan yang dengan susah payahnya telah meninggalkan rumah tangga masing-masing datang dari jauh kerana hendak mengambil bahagian di dalam perarakan yang akan kita adakan pada hari Ahad ini, hari yang lazimnya tuan-tuan dapat duduk dengan senang di rumah, hari yang tuan-tuan bercuti, hari yang tuan-tuan berehat, tiba-tiba tuan-tuan datang kesini kerana hendak bersama dengan kita semua berseru kepada komunis supaya menyerah diri. Kepada tuan-tuan semua saya mengucapkan banyak-banyak terima kasih.

Sedikit masa lagi perjalanan kita untuk Merdeka akan sampai pada tangga yang ketiga iaitu apabila delegation ini atau rombongan ini pergi ke London. Kita berunding dengan Kerajaan British untuk bekerja sendiri, dan juga kita berunding supaya diserahkan kuasa negeri ini kepada kita. Sekiranya dapat kepada tangan kita akan bermakna bahawa Kerajaan Melayu akan memerintah sendiri atau Self-Government telah pun sampai. Jadi saya harapkan kepada tuan-tuan sekalian tolonglah berdoa supaya maksud kita itu, cita-cita kita itu dapatlah disempurnakan.

dapatlah tercapai dengan baiknya. Saya percaya dengan sokongan yang tuan-tuan berikan seumpamanya yang dilihat pada hari ini Insyaallah apa yang kita inginkan, apa yang kita cita-citakan itu Insyaallah akan tercapai. Selepas kita balik daripada England saya harap dapatlah diberitahu kepada tuan-tuan. Sudah pun tuan-tuan tahu haribulan, jam kita hendak merdeka itu barulah tuan-tuan akan berasa tetap di dalam hati tuan-tuan bahawa merdeka yang dituntut, merdeka yang kita jerit, berteriak dan bertempok itu akan dapat di tangan kita.

CATITAN: Ucapan ini telah diedit dari teks asalnya.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF
THE ASSOCIATION OF YOUTH CLUBS AT
THE BRITISH COUNCIL, KUALA LUMPUR ON
3RD MARCH, 1957**

I am glad to be able to meet in this Conference Room young men from all parts of the Federation. On looking around I observe that membership of this Association consists of all the communities in this country. I am extremely happy that this is so because it shows the good co-operation that exists among the youth of all races who have made this country their home. This augurs well for the future of our country as it is only with this co-operation among our complex community that we can hope to bring peace and prosperity to our land.

Your work towards this Association and the clubs you represent deserves public commendation as you have been willing to devote so much of your time and energy for the cause of the public without remuneration to yourselves. This spirit of voluntary service is public spiritedness of the highest order deserving of great praise.

You must be aware that there are many social welfare service which are badly needed by the people but which are beyond the help of Government, for example the organisation of games, the organisation of educational tours for the remote kampong. These will have to be undertaken by organisations such as the youth clubs. The Government will give a helping hand where it can. We have at the moment funds raised by the Social Welfare Lotteries to help the poor, the sick, the needy and the social development of kampong life. Unfortunately very little demand is made on this fund from Malay organisations. The reason for it is obvious: there are no organisations to look to the needs of these people. We have political organisations like UMNO that penetrates the heart of the kampong but their work is confined to political education of the people. The other side of the work, that is the social side, has been overlooked by many of the UMNO branches. I have myself continually advised them in the course of their political work to look into the social side of the kampongs. A certain



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra selepas Pembukaan Mesyuarat Agung Tahunan Persatuan Kelab Pemuda Malaya di Kuala Lumpur pada 3hb Mac, 1957

measure of help has been given by Government in this direction but it is not enough. Therefore organisations such as youth clubs could easily give help which will bring many benefits to the kampong people.

As we advance to nationhood, we will need more and more of these social services as these are the factors that will help to equip the people for the role they are to play as responsible members of a raising new nation. At this state in our advancement many dangers lurk on the path. These dangers are highly injurious to the people and to the country. They aim to cause trouble, to cause upheaval in this happy land of ours and to cause bad feeling among the various races who live in this country. The harm that they will cause can be very serious and therefore their activities must be checked. The only way to do so is to encourage the growth of patriotic organisations such as yours whose duty would be to promote goodwill and understanding among the people and to do good to those who are in need of your help. We are living in a most critical period and the help and co-operation of everybody is needed to see us through to Merdeka and then after Merdeka to see us happily settled as a proud and peaceful citizen of this country.

One of the things in which your help is very much needed is to exhort people to be tolerant. There are people for instance who misunderstand the Reid Commission Recommendation and as a result of that they work themselves up unduly. We have got to explain to the people that the Reid Report is a recommendation by an Independent Commission who have been invited to this country to propose a form of constitution most acceptable to the Malayan people. It may be that some sections of the community feel themselves hit by it but the Reid Report will not be accepted until everything is done to remove any anomaly where such anomalies exist. You can rest assured that nobody will suffer under the new Malayan Constitution. It is a difficult constitution however to draft because of the different communities that live in this country but we are determined to find one that will be suitable and acceptable to all the people who want to make a home of this country.

The clubs you represent are operating in areas spread in different parts of the Federation, with different background and therefore you can do a lot to allay the fears and suspicions that exists among some people. The Annual Meeting you have today and the Conferences you periodically hold should give you the opportunity to discuss the problems in free discussion, I do not propose to take up more of your time but I must thank all of you, particularly the Chairman and the Secretary, for enabling me to meet you at this meeting. I wish the Conference every success.

SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 6TH MARCH, 1957

Mr. Speaker,¹

I rise to move the motion standing in my name as follows:
That this Council:

- (a) Welcomes the decision of the Government to accept with appreciation the financial help offered by the United Kingdom Government as a result of the London Financial Talks held from December the 21st 1956, to January the 10th 1957, as set out in paragraphs 21 and 23 of Council Paper No. 14 of 1957;
- (b) endorses the intention of the Government to proceed with the Development Plan on the general lines set out in Council Paper No. 14 of 1957.

This motion is one to which the Government attaches great importance. The object of the White Paper which we have placed before the House today is to report on the work which the Government has been doing in the field of economic planning since we came back from the first London Conference on Constitutional matters just over a year ago; to give Members a general picture of the problems which the Government has to face in this field; and last but not least to show how the planning of the individual ministries must be interlocked if a balanced national plan is to be produced for the whole country. But the sinews of any development plan are men and money; for this reason the White Paper devotes special attention to the financing of the Plan and the help in this direction which we sought and obtained from the United Kingdom Government.

However, I appreciate that some Honourable Members may have difficulty in understanding all the terms used in the White Paper. I have therefore translated the major part of my speech in

¹ Dato' Abdul Malik bin Yusuf.

Malay in order to explain certain aspects more clearly to Members who may have had difficulty in understanding the White Paper itself and have circulated them to the Malay members.

The outline plan of Development which the Government has put before the House today represents a part of our programme which we regard as being an essential accessory of Independence. I have often said that I and my colleagues have not sought Independence merely as an end in itself, but also as a means to another and even greater end: the fulfilment of our dream of a Malaya in which all our people will enjoy in full measure, peace, prosperity and happiness—and shall enjoy all these things as the fruit of their own efforts as a free and sovereign nation. We recognise the many good things that have been done by previous administrations but it is our conviction that the time has come when these can only be developed and brought to bear full fruit by the united efforts of the people themselves as an independent nation led by a fully Independent Government of their own choosing. The outline Development Plan which the Government has put before the House today represents, so to speak, the economic and social aspects of our Merdeka programme as a whole. It is meant to be the first sketch plan of that happy and prosperous Malaya which is our aim.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when my colleagues and I returned from the London Constitutional Talks a year ago we realised that we had secured Independence for our country, God willing, on August 31st 1957. We therefore turned our minds immediately to the second task before us, that of preparing this outline plan of Development. We established an Economic Committee of Executive Council and this called for every Minister to draw up draft plans covering the most important schemes and projects which he felt should be undertaken in the next years. This task was not approached in any negative spirit, or in any desire to break with the past or to undermine or destroy any of the good things which had been done before. On the contrary, we accepted from the outset a large number of projects and policies approved by the previous Government and Legislative Council and we have incorporated these in our own plans.

But when the plans of all the individual ministries were added up it was clear that in the aggregate it represented far more than any department in this country could hope to carry out in a period of five years. We have set these out in the White Paper itself so that Honourable Members may be able to get an idea of the magnitude of the problem for themselves. These initial Plans to which I am referring are set out in the second broad column of Appendix I to the White Paper under the heading "Plans as proposed by individual departments early 1956 for the period 1956/60". Honourable Members will see that to do everything which Ministers felt to be important would have required Capital Expenditure of no less than \$1,560 millions. This figure included no less than \$180 millions for the Armed Forces which is what the Armed Forces Council thought we ought to spend immediately on raising our own Army, Navy and Air Force to the size necessary to support the dignity and sovereignty of an independent country. In addition to this, there would be an increase in Annually Recurrent Expenditure of no less than \$142 millions a year of which \$55 millions would have been for the Armed Forces. These figures are far beyond anything which the Government could hope to raise in five years or so, either by loans or any other way. Indeed, as shown in paragraph 14 and Appendix II the figure of \$1,560 millions would not have represented the whole picture, for there are certain other items of Capital Expenditure which we have to meet over and above our needs for the Development Plan. But even if we could have raised the money needed for such a Plan, it would have been beyond our physical capacity to carry out. This is illustrated by the column called "PWD Share" in Appendix I which shows that to carry out this Plan no less than \$690 millions of work would have to be done by the Public Works Department. This is roughly double the rate of work which that department could carry out as things stood in the middle of last year before we were faced with the problem of losing large numbers of experienced engineering officers under the Malayanisation Scheme, under the column headed "PWD Share" of the table which shows how much of this proposed plan will have to be carried out by the Public Works Department. Allowing for a small Unallocated Reserve to meet unforeseen needs the total Capital programme has thus been reduced from \$1,560 millions to \$1,138 millions including \$140 millions for the Armed Forces. The additional Recurrent Expenditure programme has been

reduced from \$142 millions a year to \$90 millions a year. Of this \$25 millions a year is for the Armed Forces. The share of the programme falling on the PWD has been reduced even more drastically, from \$690 millions to \$370 millions.

It is important that Honourable Members, and indeed every voter in the country, should understand what this means. It means that the Government cannot attempt to carry out in the first five years or so of the present Plan everything which it judges necessary. Much less can it attempt everything which it considers desirable. This remark applies to almost every field, but principally perhaps to social services and the Armed Forces. This fact is that financial and physical limitations—in plain words shortages of men and money—compel us to defer for a few years many items which we want to do. The question is one of priorities: of doing first things first and of limiting our aspirations to the fulfilment of our most urgent needs.

This does not mean that we are going backwards or anything like that. All that was necessary was for the plan to be recast and reduced to more practical dimensions. On the contrary the Plan which we are now proposing would involve an increase of roughly, 50% in the Government's rate of Capital Expenditure compare either with what the International Bank Mission recommended or with what has been actually achieved in the past. If our plan does not involve going ahead as fast as we would like, it does mean nonetheless that we intend to go ahead faster than any government before us. I know of course that many members of this House will see directions in which they would like the government to undertake more ambitious scheme than those now contained in the Provisional Plan attached to this White Paper. I would like to assure such Members that they are not alone in these feelings. I and every other Minister, could easily propose a much larger plan and many more schemes in almost every direction than those which we now put before the house. We do not so because we wish to be practical. We must limit our targets and our plans to something which we have a reasonable chance of carrying out in five years or even longer.

The revised Plan as reduced and reshaped is now set out on the right side of Appendix I in the columns headed "Provisional Plan now proposed for 1956/60". It takes the form of provisional

allocations of Capital money to the various Ministers and departments for the period 1956-60. It shows how much of this proposed expenditure has already been voted in 1956 and how much new Capital Expenditure is envisaged in and after 1957. The column headed "Increase in Annually Recurrent" shows the amount of additional Annually Recurrent Expenditure which the Government contemplates by 1960 on the extension of existing services and the introduction of new services.

I would ask any Honourable Member who proposes to criticise the Plan and in particular any member who wishes to press for more to be done in this or that direction to bear this truth in mind.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, having said this I propose to leave to other Members of the Government bench the further discussion of the economic and financial aspect of the Plan.

I will now turn to the London Talks.

When we had drawn this general plan up towards the end of last year and approved the provisional allocations of Capital and Recurrent Expenditure to the individual Ministers, it was clear (as Honourable Members can see at a glance from Appendix 11 to the White Paper) that we should need external help to carry it out. I therefore sent the Plan to the Secretary of State together with a covering letter in which I asked that the Financial Talks which had been foreseen at the London Constitutional Conference the previous January should examine this Plan with a view to our discussing how we might obtain the financial help which we thought we should require to carry it out. These Talks in fact started in the Colonial Office on the 21st December under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State and continued under his Chairmanship of that of the Minister of State until the 11th January. On our side we asked that in order to finance this Plan we should receive help towards the Capital Expenditure involved in our Plan for the expansion of our Armed Forces; some assistance towards the recurrent cost of the Emergency and in the third place some help mainly by way of a direct government-to-government loan towards the cost of our Development Plan itself. In the course of these Talks and a thorough examination of our Plans which took place it soon became clear that Her Majesty's Government in the

United Kingdom would be both willing and able to give us substantial help both with the Armed Forces and with the cost of the Emergency. And if the House accepts this motion which I have put down today we shall indeed receive as free outright grants in cash or kind from the United Kingdom Government—and without any strings of any kind attached to them—no less than \$114 millions towards the \$140 millions which we require to establish our own Armed Forces on a satisfactory basis. The rest and all the additional annually recurrent cost of \$25 millions a year we shall have to pay for ourselves. This is as it should be. But I draw the attention of Honourable Members to the high cost of maintaining an Army and other Forces in keeping with our status as an Independent nation. Indeed as members will recall from the figures which I quoted earlier in this speech we are not even now going as far in this as the Armed Forces Council considered necessary. The choice of course—as Honourable Members can see for themselves from the White Paper—is one of the priorities. We could have a larger Army if we were to decide to employ fewer teachers and doctors, build less schools, fewer hospitals, fewer rural health centres and less pay for the soldiers. We have decided against that sort of solution.

But having decided against it and in favour of a smaller Army, Navy and Air Force it means that we must be ready to seek the military help of our friends and allies in the Commonwealth when necessary. And of course this will be necessary immediately in carrying on our struggle against militant Communism.

This consideration also reinforces the argument for our proposed Treaty of Mutual Defence and Assistance with the United Kingdom Government itself. Another feature of the high cost of the Armed Forces derives from the necessity to raise the pay of the men who serve in them to a just and proper level by comparison with what is earned in other Forces and occupations. This has been long overdue; but we have just done this and I am sure Honourable Members will agree with me in this decision despite its cost.

To return to the question of the help offered by the British Government: they have also promised us some help with the Emergency. We shall get—again as a free grant and without any strings attached—\$25 millions a year for the three years beginning

in 1957. In 1959 the position will be reviewed if we can satisfy them of the need for it, Her Majesty's Government has promised to be prepared to give us further help up to a maximum of \$94 millions, that is nearly \$120 millions in all. This will be a most valuable help to us at a critical time when our recurrent expenditure on the Development Plan will be expanding rapidly.

For the Development Plan Her Majesty's Government have agreed to support us in seeking to raise up to \$85 millions of loan money on the London money market: the Colonial Development Corporation will also be able to complete certain very important investments which it has in mind in the Land Development Authority, the Industrial Development Corporation. It is of course a matter for regret to us that the Corporation will not be able to embark on any new ventures in Malaya but I should like to take this opportunity of saying how much we appreciate what it has done to help the country's development in recent years. We hope indeed that as a result of the review of British Government policy which is now taking place on this subject a way may be found to permit the Corporation to continue to give us help in carrying out our Development Plan after Independence. In the meantime we are very pleased to welcome to Malaya already two representatives of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company. Although the functions of this Company are rather different from those of the Colonial Development Corporation we hope that they will be able and willing to help us in a number of directions in the Capital projects which would otherwise be beyond our own unaided resources. I have particularly in mind our hydro electric, port and railway schemes and our plans now in preparation for encouraging industrial development.

But as Honourable Members are aware the United Kingdom Government felt unable to accede to our request for a direct government-to-government loan. This was despite the fact that some English newspapers supported our request. But in all fairness I think I must explain this attitude to Honourable Members. What the Minister of State said was in effect that to give such help to Malaya would not merely mark a complete departure from all established policy but would also establish a precedent which would result in burdens which it would be beyond the capacity of the country to carry out. If the United Kingdom Government gave a direct development loan to an Independent Malaya in 1957 then

it would be morally bound to give one to the Gold Coast.—or Ghana as it is now called—too; then there would be one for Independent Nigeria soon and then the West Indian Federation. Singapore presumably would qualify for one too some time and so would every other Colonial territory. The British people are already the highest taxed in the world and they accept without grumbling taxes far higher than those which we imposed last November and which so many people complained about. In fairness to the British Government which is giving us much generous help with the cost of our Armed Forces and the Emergency we must appreciate their difficulties at the present time too. I feel sure Honourable Members will join with me in thanking them cordially for the help which they have felt able to offer to us on the eve of our Independence.

And now Mr. Speaker we must look to the future and get on with the work of developing this country and making a place where we shall all be proud and happy to live. That is what the Development Plan is for. The task will not be an easy one. We shall have to control our expenditure carefully and maintain a sound financial position. We shall have to overcome serious shortages in manpower particularly in engineering and we must be prepared for set-backs and disappointments. But all this will be a great time of opportunity and challenge to our young men coming back from the Universities to join the Government service. It will be up to them to make good the gaps left in the service and to learn fast and well. They must work harder now than ever before in their lives. The welfare and prosperity of the whole nation depends on this. I know they will not let us down. They will have beside them the many British Officers who are staying on to help us and to train our young men to take their full share in the Government of this country. I should like to assure these officers who remain how much we appreciate their loyalty and help in staying with us. They will not find Malaya ungrateful.

To Honourable Members I will conclude by saying that even though with staff and money difficulties this great Plan may take longer than five years to carry out—six years may be or even seven—one thing is certain: it will be carried out. And with it we shall have laid the foundation of that happy and prosperous Malaya which is our ideal.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF HEADQUARTERS OF THE
RESEARCH DIVISION, MINES DEPART-
MENT, IPOH ON 4TH MAY, 1957**

The Honourable Minister for Natural Resources and Local Government¹, the Honourable the Acting Menteri Besar, Perak², Honourable Ministers and Councillors and Ladies and Gentlemen. I thank you for your words of welcome and for the honour you have done me in inviting me today to perform the ceremony of opening the Headquarters of the Research Division here.

The Minister for Natural Resources and Local Government has emphasised the importance of this Research Division and I am glad to be able to open what I consider to be a most important section of the Department of Mines. The building itself is elegant in its design and looks the part which it is to play. Apart from developing the technique of mining, it will also attend to have question of rehabilitating mined out land. This matter has been before the Government for some time and we have at last found a way of dealing with it, that is through the Research Division.

This Research Division is the newest part of the Department of Mines and its importance would be very great indeed in Independent Malaya. It is vital the industry as a whole will develop in its efficiency so that it may continue to make its important contribution to the nation's wealth.

The continuance of mining as a flourishing industry is of the greatest importance to Malaya, and the Alliance Government will do all it can to help it flourish. In this connection a word of compliment to the miners of this country for the co-operation they have given the Government would not be out of place and on behalf of Government I would like to thank them. They have been an important force in the prosperity and development of this country and I hope that this harmonious and friendly spirit between them and the Government will continue in the

¹ Encik Bahaman bin Shamsudin.

² Encik Mohamed Ghazali bin Jawi.



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, dengan menggunakan kunci yang diperbuat daripada emas, sedang membuka pintu besar bangunan Ibu Pejabat dan Makmal Bahagian Penyelidikan, Jabatan Galian di Ipoh pada 4hb Mei, 1957

future. I would like to stress here that foreign company and capital should not be afraid as to their future as the primary concern of the Government is the well-being of the industry: so whatever people, be they foreigners or Malayans, who aim to make mining their interest will be helped along by the Government.

I do not intend to make any pronouncement as to the question of taxation or export duty on mineral neither would I or any other Minister make any categorical statement which might bind Government in the future, but I should like to assure the leaders of the mining industry here that they should have no fear as to their future or the future well-being of the industry.

Lastly, before I declare the building open, I should like to say how pleased I am that the key with which I shall unlock the doors to what I hope will be a source of new and valuable knowledge is of gold from a Malayan mine. If I may say so I consider this a happy omen.

PERUTUSAN DARI KETUA MENTERI DI KEDIAMANNYA SEBELUM BERLEPAS KE LONDON PADA 9HB MEI, 1957

Rombongan daripada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu termasuk wakil Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan-sultan dan wakil pihak Perikatan pada hari ini akan berlepas dari Kuala Lumpur kerana mengambil bahagian di dalam perbincangan yang akhir sekali berkenaan dengan Kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu. Kemerdekaan ini boleh dikatakan tertumpu kepada perundingan yang telah lepas antara kita dengan wakil Duli Yang Maha Mulia Baginda Queen yang telah mengadakan fahaman yang baik dan selama ini fahaman yang baik itu telahpun bertambah-tambah baik lagi.

Saya tidak syak lagi bahawa perundingan yang kita akan adakan pada kali ini akan dijalankan dengan perasaan muhibah antara satu dengan lain. Dahulu, lepas daripada sini ada berbagai-bagai permintaan dari parti-parti hendak masuk campur sama dan hendak mengambil bahagian di dalam perundingan yang akhir ini. Saudara-saudara tentulah ketahui daripada 12 haribulan Februari sampai bulan Mei ini kita telah mengadakan perundingan antara wakil-wakil Raja dengan High Commissioner dan pihak Perikatan dan baru sahaja kita mendapat fahaman yang baik dan dapat menyelesaikan perkara-perkara yang berselisih. Kalau kita masukkan parti-parti yang baru ini dalam perundingan yang akan diadakan maka telah tentu perundingan ini bukan dijadikan perundingan yang akhir sekali tetapi sebaliknya akan dimulakan perundingan bagi membukakan semula perkara-perkara yang sudah pun selesai dan kerana itu Kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu akan dilambatkan dan harus juga akan berbangkit kacau-bilau dan huru-hara dan kerana itu terpaksa kita mencegah mereka daripada masuk campur di dalam perkara ini dalam masa yang sangat lambat.

Kita ini telah diamanahkan oleh rakyat negeri ini menuntut Kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu dan menyediakan Tanah Melayu bagi menjadi satu negeri yang aman dan makmur dan menyatukan rakyat-rakyat Tanah Melayu menjadikan satu orang yang taat setia kepada Tanah Melayu.



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra dan ahli-ahli Rombongan Malaya ke London melambai-lambai kepada kumpulan besar orang ramai yang berada di Lapangan Terbang Kuala Lumpur untuk mengucapkan selamat jalan kepada mereka pada 9hb Mei, 1957

Dengan takdir Allah Subhanahu Wataala dan pertolongan dan petunjuk Tuhan telahpun kita jalankan dengan sempurna sekalian amanah-amanah yang kita tanggung itu dan pada kali ini saya suka hendak memberitahu kepada Tuan-tuan sekalian bahawa kami yang taat dan setia di atas segala tanggungan-tanggungan yang kami telah terima dan terpulang kepada Allah Subhanahu Wataala supaya Malaya ini akan menjadi satu negeri yang makmur dan senang dan rakyat-rakyat Tanah Melayu ini boleh mengadakan satu fahaman dan terima kasih di atas rakyat-rakyat di sini yang telah memberi pertolongan di masa yang lepas kepada kami sekalian. Merdeka!

CATTAN: Ucapan ini telah diedit dari teks asalnya.

UCAPAN OLEH KETUA MENTERI SEKEMBALI-
NYA DARI LONDON DI LAPANGAN TERBANG
SUNGAI BESI, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 3HB JUN,
1957

Tuan Pengerusi, tuan-tuan sekalian yang hadir.

Dengan doa tuan-tuan sekalian, selamatlah rombongan kami yang pergi ke England baru-baru ini kembali ke tanahair. Di atas pekerjaan rombongan itu tuan-tuan sekalian tentu telah terbaca sedikit sebanyak daripada akhbar-akhbar apa yang telah dicapai. Memang tidak dapat kita mencapai seratus peratus sebagaimana kehendak kita sekalian tetapi jikalau sekiranya dapat setakat lapan puluh peratus pun dalam fikiran saya sudah memadai. Jadi setakat itulah yang dapat kita bawa dengan itu dapatlah kita membina kemerdekaan yang baru ini. Jadi apa-apa yang ternampak di hari hadapan yang tidak sesuai dengan kehendak kita bolehlah kita meminda, menambah atau memperbaikinya lagi. Tiap-tiap perlembagaan yang telahpun disediakan sekarang ini bukanlah tidak boleh dipinda, diubahsuai atau diperbaiki lagi, semuanya dapat dibuat mengikut kehendak rakyat. Jadi setakat yang kita ada ini bolehlah kita mulakan kerja. Bagi memulakan kerja, kita memerlukan pengorbanan, kepercayaan dan keyakinan rakyat jelata dengan sepenuhnya. Kerana dengan sokongan seumpama itulah dapat kita sekalian bekerja bersungguh-sungguh untuk membangunkan negara yang baru.

Tentu kita terfikir bahawa kita ini belum biasa merdeka. Pada fikiran kita dan juga datuk nenek kita, kita ini akan dijajah selama-lamanya dari satu penjajah kepada yang lain. Oleh sebab itu bagi membangunkan sebuah negara yang merdeka timbullah perasaan was-was, curiga, takut dan bimbang. Saya berharap rakyat sekalian, janganlah kita berperasaan begitu. Percayalah kepada Allah Subhanahu Wataala, kerana tiap-tiap yang dibenarkan dan diizinkan tentulah dapat diperbaiki. Orang-orang Melayu, Cina, India dan lain-lain kaum yang hendak menumpukan taat setia dan tinggal bersama serta menumpu dan menumpahkan darah serta bekerja membanting tulang di negeri ini tinggal

lah dengan baik antara satu dengan lain, kerana negeri ini keadaannya adalah berlainan daripada mana-mana negeri yang ada di dalam dunia ini. Jadi dengan keadaan yang demikian tidaklah boleh satu bangsa hendak mengatasi dengan mendapat seratus peratus faedah untuk dirinya. Untuk membentuk sebuah kerajaan yang merdeka kita mestilah bertolak ansur, dan sanggup berkorban. Dengan pengorbanan inilah dapat kita membentuk satu negara yang menjadi satu contoh dan tauladan kepada dunia, sebagaimana semua bangsa boleh tinggal dan berbaik-baik antara satu dengan lain.

Kemerdekaan Malaya yang akan di istiharkan pada 31 haribulan ini akan menjadi satu negara yang paling baru sekali pada dunia. Mata dunia pada hari ini memandang kepada kita. Dunia tertanyanya sahaja bagaimanakah orang-orang Tanah Melayu akan mengorak langkah di negaranya yang baru ini. Apakah rupa gerak-geri orang-orang di Tanah Melayu ini, jadi di situ patutlah tuan-tuan sekalian menunjukkan gerak-geri dan langkah yang tertib dan baik supaya dunia boleh memuji keadaan ini. Saya sendiri percaya dan yakin bahawa Tanah Melayu ini akan menjadi satu negeri yang makmur, aman dan yang senang mendapatkan pertolongan, sokongan perkhidmatan dari segala bangsa yang mengaku taat setia kepada negara ini.

Di masa saya di England baru-baru ini, satu daripada persoalan yang besar yang telah dibincangkan ialah berkenaan dengan "dual citizenship" ataupun kerakyatan bercorak dua. Ini tidak dapatlah kita hendak memutuskannya tetapi satu sahaja yang dapat kita harapkan iaitu taat setia tidak boleh dibelahbagi. Barang siapa pun hendak menjadi rakyat Tanah Melayu mereka mesti menumpukan taat setia kepada Tanah Melayu sahaja, dan mereka kenalah bersumpah menolak sebarang taat setia kepada mana-mana negeri asal mereka. Bagi pihak rombongan atau ketua rombongan saya mengucapkan tahniah dan mengucapkan terima kasih kepada rombongan D.Y.M.M. Sultan yang termasuk sekali dengan rombongan kita ini yang telah bekerjasama dengan baik dan telah menolong kita supaya dapat kita membantu segala persoalan yang kita bawa dan yang kita hadapi di England. Di dalam mencari persetujuan perlembagaan yang baru sudah tentulah ada pertengkaran terjadi. Tetapi semasa di England tidak ada sesiapa pun yang tahu bahawa kita ini adalah daripada rombongan

yang mewakili Sultan ataupun rombongan yang mewakili orang-orang India, orang-orang China dan orang-orang Melayu. Kita bercakap dengan satu suara dan tumpuan kita hanyalah kepada Tanah Melayu sahaja, dengan harapan orang-orang di Tanah Melayu akan dapat bekerjasama pada masa hadapan, dapat tinggal bersama dengan baik dan percaya dengan pertolongan Allah Subhanahu Wataala Tanah Melayu boleh menjadi satu tauladan yang besar kepada dunia.

Dengan ini saya sekali lagi mengucapkan berbilang-bilang terima kasih kepada tuan-tuan sekalian yang telah berhimpun sama ada lelaki, perempuan dan kanak-kanak dengan bersusah-payah menyambut kedatangan saya dan rakan-rakan saya ini. Di atas doa tuan-tuan sekalian yang saya sebutkan tadi saya mengucapkan terima kasih dan segala pujian-pujian kepada Allah Subhanahu Wataalah serta bersyukur kepada Allah Subhanahu Wataalah kerana kami sekalian telah dapat menamatkan perundingan dengan Kerajaan British, perundingan yang telah bermula daripada tahun 1956 telah ditamatkan pada tahun 1957 bulan Mei ini, dan ini tidaklah ada lagi rombongan yang pergi untuk berunding mengenai perkara ini lagi. Lain-lain perkara terpujalah kepada rakyat negara ini sendiri memperbaiki kehidupan masing-masing. Terserahlah kepada Tuhan sahaja memberikan petunjuk kepada kita serta memelihara negara kita yang baru ini. Dengan itu saya tamatkan ucapan saya dengan memberikan salam kebangsaan kita tiga kali. Merdeka! Merdeka! Merdeka!

CATITAN: Ucapan ini telah diedit dari teks asalnya.

SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE NEW FEDERATION
ARMY BARRACKS AT SUNGEI UDANG,
MALACCA ON 8TH JUNE, 1957

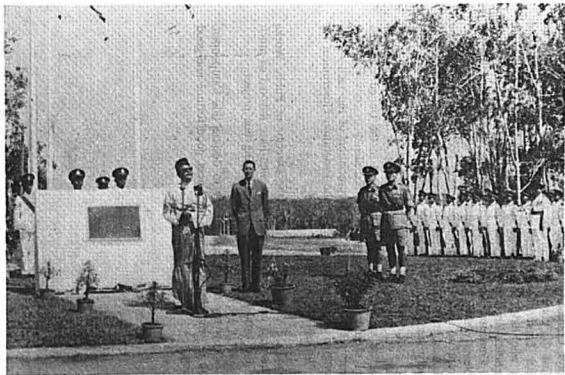
Your Excellency, Col. Law,¹ Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was very pleased to receive the invitation of the Commanding Officer of the First Battalion of the Federation Regiment to open these Barracks today. These buildings will provide a real home for the Federation Regiment and it is hoped that the officers and men of the Federation Regiment will regard Sungei Udang in the same way as the officers and men of the Malay Regiment regard Port Dickson.

Until now the Federation Regiment, which was raised during the height of the Emergency, has moved through a succession of temporary camps and has not, therefore, been able to form a particular attachment with any one part of Malaya. But they will now have this fine new camp. They and their wives and families will enjoy here the amenities of a settled life. By this I do not, of course, imply that the Battalion will not continue as at present to be employed in the Emergency Operations in which it is playing so distinguished a part. It will, however, be a source of great satisfaction to the soldiers of the Federation Regiment while they are engaged in fighting the war in the jungle to know that their wives and families are safe and well cared for and that when the time for leave comes, they will be able to return to Sungei Udang to see them.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the excellent progress made by the Federation Regiment. Since the Regiment became operational in 1955, they have achieved a fine record of kills and captures. I am confident that this record of success will be maintained until the time comes for the last round to be fired in this struggle against Communism. As the first Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, I also see the

¹ Commanding Officer, First Battalion of the Federation Regiment.



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra sedang berucap merasmikan pembukaan Kem Rejimen Persekutuan di Sungai Udang, Melaka pada 8hb Jun, 1957

Federation Regiment as a symbol of the unity of the various races which make up the people of Malaya. In this battalion Malays, Chinese, Indians and Eurasians are fighting side by side against the common enemy of their heritage. There can be no greater bond of comradeship than that which exists between men who have faced danger together and I am sure that the Federation Regiment will continue to play a great part in dispelling that Communalism which constitutes one of the most difficult problems which the new Malayan nation has to face. It is also appropriate that this Camp should have been constructed in the Settlement of Malacca where there exists so long a tradition of friendly association between the various Malayan peoples.

You will be aware that the entire cost of these Barracks has been met by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and I should like to request Your Excellency to convey to Her Majesty's Government the deep appreciation of the men of the Federation Regiment and also of the Federation Government for this most generous gift.

Finally, I should like to thank the Director of Public Works and his staff and also the contractors who have devoted so much time and trouble to planning and executing this project.

It is now my most pleasant duty to declare this Camp open. I wish all who shall serve here happiness, good fortune and good hunting.

SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER ON THE
OCCASION OF THE SCREENING OF THE OUT-
WARD BOUND FILM "BLUE PETER" AT THE
REX THEATRE, KUALA LUMPUR ON
21ST JUNE, 1957

Three years ago the foundation stone of the first Outward Bound School in South-East Asia was laid in Lumut. The inspiration behind the idea came from General Templer who was then High Commissioner. He had the vision to see that a country like ours, which was making rapid strides towards independent Nationhood, would require to train its young men for new responsibilities in leadership and service.

It has for long been felt that the traditional academic education, under modern conditions, was insufficient to ensure the full development of youth and that the character training which boys receive through adventure, physical endeavour and the co-operative challenge to nature is essential to their well-being. To meet this need the Outward Bound Schools were first introduced into the United Kingdom with their motto "To Serve to Strive and not to Yield". To meet a similar need in the Federation of Malaya, the Outward Bound at Lumut was founded.

Many organisations and individuals have contributed to the School numerous leading commercial firms, the RGA, the Lotteries Board, the Government itself, to mention but a few. The School was most fortunate in being able to obtain the services of an outstanding man as its first Warden, Mr. Fuller. It was a coincidence that we travelled in the same plane when he first came to start the School. At present he is on leave in the United Kingdom and his place is being taken by a well-known mountaineer, Mr. Tucker. These two men, and their team of Instructors, have opened up new horizons for more than seven hundreds and fifty boys and young men in this country—the horizons of those who are Outward Bound.

With the country standing on the threshold of independence, the Outward Bound School is now firmly established to help our youth face the great adventures which lie ahead. An Old

Boys' Association has been formed to carry on the traditions of Outward Bound into the daily life of our society, but the challenge must go out year by year to the school children of this country to take the road to Lumut and find out that the Outward Bound is all about for themselves. The film the "Blue Peter", which you are going to see shortly, will give you an indication what to expect. My son was among the first batch to enter the Outward Bound School and the training received there has fitted him for the hard military life which he is now undergoing in India.

I hope that many of you here tonight will accept the call of Outward Bound and I trust that your parents, or the organisation which you work for, will help you to go to Lumut. The School has become an essential part of our educational institutions. Our country needs young men who are Outward Bound, and now let us see on the screen some of the training they get there.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER IN THE
FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 10TH JULY, 1957**

I beg to move that this Council welcomes the constitutional proposals contained in Legislative Council Paper No. 42 of 1957 and the annexes there to and declares that it will fully support all the steps necessary to give effect to these proposals and to establish the Federation of Malaya as an independent sovereign State on 31st August, 1957.

Sir, it falls to me as Leader of the Party in the Government to introduce this resolution. Never perhaps in the history of this Council has anything so important been brought up for discussion. I do so with pride and much pleasure and with a feeling of confidence that not only my Party but I hope other non-members of the Alliance will give it their support out of regard for the country as a whole. Few parties have the privilege of leading a country to independence and I count myself as extremely fortunate to be the Leader of that party at this great moment in our history. Our country is about to take its place as an independent sovereign State within the Commonwealth of Nations, and in looking back over the events of the last few years, I marvel that our progress towards independence has been so swift and smooth. I cannot recall any other dependent country which has achieved independence in such a cordial and friendly atmosphere. We have been able to make progress in such a remarkable fashion in spite of the fact that ours is a plural community. The characteristics, beliefs and cultures of our people very greatly, and I believe that we are only now able to stand on the threshold of independence because of their tolerant and friendly attitude towards one another and their acceptance of Malaya as the object of their absolute loyalty. Before I deal with the matter contained in the White Paper let us look back at the picture of Malaya as it existed before and as it exists today in order that one can truly appreciate the type of Constitution which we require for this country.

At varying periods of our country's history, the Sultans of the Malay States entered into treaties with Great Britain. The Treaties provided, on the one hand, certain rights and concessions

for Great Britain in return for protection to be accorded to Their Highnesses and protection for the interests and rights of the Malays. This protection was entered in the various State Constitutions and Enactments and in the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948. The position which the Malays enjoyed under this Treaty has never been contested by any person or class of persons or communities for it has not interfered or obstructed other communities in the enjoyment of their possessions or the right to live their lives. The affluence of others has not helped the Malays but on the other hand it has caused them so much economic set back that they were driven out of the main towns and villages of this country. The sum total of the Malay plight was that they have suffered in the field of economy as well as education. The suffering has brought a new lease of life to the Malays. It has brought political awakening to the Malays never experienced before in our long history.

Before the war the Malays accepted the intrusion of hundreds of thousands of men and women of other races because they realised that they were powerless to prevent it. But in those days few people were brave enough to interest themselves in politics and our complicated Treaties with Britain had given the Protector absolute right to do as they liked in this country. The Malays had the assurance that the British Government would protect their interests and that they would be given time to learn the art of administration and time to develop a business sense and so they believed in the British.

The early Chinese settlers have been in this country for many hundreds of years. In the early days they came here to trade and later to like this country and decided to settle down, and they were absorbed by the country and followed local customs and spoke the Malay language, while at the same time retaining some of their own culture and traditions. Later, after the first world war, large numbers of Chinese came into the Federation to further its development. Economically, these people made a great contribution, and I am glad to acknowledge the magnitude of that contribution in this Council. But it was perhaps natural that many of these Chinese should at that time look towards China rather than towards this country as their permanent home. A Chinese Nationalist Movement gained momentum before the second World War so much so that the settlers or Malayan Chinese were relegated to

the background, and when the Communists came to power in China, some in this country became Communists or sympathised with them, and the Malayan Chinese were sandwiched or hemmed in between the two political forces.

The Indians also came to the Federation to seek wealth in the country and they found employment in the Government service or in estates. They too have made their contribution for which we are all grateful. Men and women of many other races have also come to Malaya, though in smaller numbers, and I should like to make particular mention of the part played by the British people. They have admittedly devoted their lives to the advancement and development of our country. Whatever may have been their fault, they have made Malaya a prosperous and happy place it is today. It must also be said that they found Malaya a rich country with friendly people inhabiting it. They intended naturally to establish their rule firmly and permanently here and with that in mind they had built up barriers between the various nationalities who chose to make a home of Malaya. The recent years found the Malay's political awakening taken up by the other races - the Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and Ceylonese started to take an interest in politics. The Chinese and Indian then decided to make a common cause with the Malays and thus the National Movement was formed. As a result of this in a few weeks' time we shall come to the end of that chapter in our history which bound us to Britain. The preparatory work has been done, and those of us who look upon this country as our home will shortly be responsible for controlling our own affairs.

I referred a moment ago to the desire by all races for Independence. That desire, as has been mentioned, brought UMNO and the MCA together, and our success in the First Elections to the Municipality of Kuala Lumpur encouraged us to strengthen the Alliance. Soon, other Municipalities and local authorities throughout the country came under our control. The Indians led by MIC then joined the Alliance and for the first time in the history of Malaya, a majority of the people were united politically with one aim in view—the achievement of Merdeka. Finally, the Alliance Party won fifty one out of the fifty two seats for which candidates stood in the First Elections to the Federal Legislative Council. From that moment although there was still much hard work to

be done, it was clear that it could only be a question of time before our country would become independent. Time was needed to enable all the detailed arrangements to be made, but Her Majesty's Government were most sympathetic and they agreed to hold a Conference in London to discuss the next steps to be taken as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made.

You all know the outcome of the London Conference of 1956. In this Council sixteen months ago I said that the Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference marked the end of the old relationship between the United Kingdom and the Federation. But I also said that the ties which had bound us so closely with the United Kingdom in the past had not been broken; rather they had been strengthened and Great Britain would find in the people of Malaya her best friends. I say now that the relations between the independent Federation and the United Kingdom will remain after August 31st as cordial and helpful as they are today.

The London Talks of January 1956 paved the way for the appointment of the Independent Constitutional Commission. The members of the Commission arrived in the Federation in Jun last year. They then spent four months touring the country and talking to people from all walks of life and they received representations from all communities representing a wide variety of interests. The Report of the Commission shows that the members gained a very full knowledge of the conditions in our country today and of the problems which we shall have to solve. They approached their difficult task in a most business-like manner and I am glad to have this opportunity to pay tribute to them. I am personally most grateful to Lord Reid and his colleagues for what they have done for our country.

We spent many long hours in the Working Party discussing every aspect of the future constitutional arrangements for our country. I freely admit that on a number of occasions we came up against problems to which for a time there seemed to be no solutions. A formula was agreed upon by which it was decided that in considering the rights of the various peoples no attempt must be made to reduce such rights which they have enjoyed in the past. As a result you find written into this constitution rights of the various peoples they have enjoyed in the

past and new rights accorded to new people whom it was the intention to win over into the fold of the Malayan Nation. I refer to the Citizenship rights. It is a right which has of their desire to put Malaya on the pedestal as an Independent Nation, they are prepared to give that right to the new people. The Working Party was fortunate however in having as its Chairman His Excellency the High Commissioner. With his long experience of administration and of the problems of our own Federation, he was able to see how compromises could be effected between apparently irreconcilable points of view; and his wise guidance of our discussions was invaluable. The Working Party also had the benefit of the great knowledge and experience of Malaya which Sir David Watherston¹ has accumulated over a period of nearly thirty years; and for the many legal problems we had the ready assistance of our hard working and legal minded Attorney-General, Mr. Brodie. We had as our Secretary, Mr. Laird, whose help to the Commission cannot be measured in words. He served as Secretary to the Reid Commission and when that Commission completed its work, he gave his services willingly to us. His contribution is recorded in the pages of this White Paper as well as the pages of our Constitution.

At all times, the representatives of Their Highnesses and the representatives of the Federation Government spoke out frankly and without holding back any considerations which, if they were not discussed and settled before Merdeka Day, might later lead to difficulties in implementing the new Constitution. Nevertheless, we were able to reach agreement in the Working Party on all points concerning the future relationship between the States and the Federation. This was possible because each member of the Working Party was determined to reach agreement and was prepared to compromise. The representatives of Their Highnesses and the Working Party as a whole received much help from Mr Lawson, the Legal Adviser of Their Highness, and we are all grateful to him for the many constructive and useful suggestions he put forwards for discussion in the Working Party.

Throughout its discussions, the Working Party kept in close touch with the Conference of Rulers and the views of Their Highnesses were sought on all points at issue. Members of the

¹ Chief Secretary to the Federation of Malaya 1952-1957.

Working Party also kept in touch with each individual Party of the Alliance; and within UMNO itself each division of the Party was consulted. The same applies to MCA and MIC. Similarly, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were kept fully informed of the progress of the discussions, and their views on many matters were communicated to His Excellency the High Commissioner who raised them on behalf of Her Majesty's Government at our meetings. It will thus be seen that the Constitutions now before this council are the result of prolonged and detailed discussions and the product of many minds. Each clause has been most thoroughly examined, and when it is remembered that the recommendations of the Reid Commission on which the new Constitutions are based were in their turn based on representations received from hundreds of organisations and individuals on the personal views and experience of the members of the Commission, there can, I consider, be no doubt whatsoever that these Constitutions will provide the independent Federation of Malaya with a firm foundation on which the people of this country can build a great and prosperous nation.

Before I speak about the principles included in the new Constitutions, I should like to place on record that we of the Alliance Government and the representatives of Their Highnesses have received the most helpful and friendly advice and encouragement from Her Majesty's Government during these last few months in which, working against time, we have been striving to find the right solutions to the many problems with which we have been faced. In particular, we are most grateful to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Allan Lennox-Boyd, and to the officials of the Colonial Office who have spent long hours on our behalf seeking with us the best arrangements for the future. I now propose as briefly as possible to amplify the details of the proposals as set out in the White Paper, and I shall follow the order of subjects in that Paper.

With regard to citizenship, I must emphasise that the basic principle which it is proposed to accept is that all persons who regard the Federation as their home and who wish to take advantage of what this country has to offer must owe undivided loyalty to the Federation and must be prepared to participate in the duties of citizenship. The corner stone of the new proposals is undivided loyalty to the Federation. Accordingly, the recommendation of the Reid Commission with regard to the Oath of

Allegiance has been amended and it is proposed that all those who wish to become citizens of Federation either by registration or by naturalisation shall be required to take an Oath of Allegiance declaring that they absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all loyalty to any country or State outside the Federation. It is vital that we should be able to offer our absolute loyalty to Malaya. We were able during the discussions in May to induce Her Majesty's Government to agree that this principle of undivided loyalty is absolutely necessary and that in this matter the Federation cannot make any distinction between foreign countries and Commonwealth countries. We appreciate the fact that our Constitution cannot alter the provisions of the law of other countries. This being so, the status of a person who is already a citizen of another country as well as a citizens of the Federation will not be altered after Merdeka Day. In other words, a person who is already a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies will not be required to renounce his citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies. But if any person takes advantage of his rights of citizenship under the law of any other country, he will be liable to be deprived of his Federal Citizenship. A person who was dual citizenship must accept the fact that his loyalty cannot be divided and if he choose to place himself in a position where he is liable to lose his citizenship of the Federation, he must accept the consequence. For the future well-being of our country, we expect and demand the undivided loyalty of all who wish to call themselves Malaysians. It follows from what I have just said that any Federal Citizen who acquired by any voluntary and formal act, other than marriage, the citizenship of any other country may also be deprived of his citizenship.

All those who are citizens of the Federation before Merdeka Day will become citizens of the new Federation, and any person born within the Federation on or after Merdeka Day will become a citizen automatically. We have made a slight amendment to the recommendation of the Commission that certain citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies who are entitled under Clause 126 of the Federation Agreement of 1948 to become citizens as of right should continue to be entitled to claim citizenship after Merdeka Day. It would be wrong to deprive these persons completely of their privilege under the Federation Agreement but it has been agreed that it would be inappropriate to include a provision of this nature as permanent provision in the new Constitution. It is therefore proposed that persons in this category

should be required to exercise their right to claim citizenship within a period of one year after Merdeka Day. If they do not do so within that period but later wish to become citizens of the Federation, they will have to apply under the provisions of Article 16.

The Commission also made recommendations providing that a woman who is or has been married to a citizen should be registered as a citizen upon making application in the prescribed manner. This recommendation has been modified. We consider that it will not be appropriate to include provisions enabling women that have been married to citizens to become citizens as of right. Such women will either already be citizens or else will be able to acquire citizenship by application under the provisions of Articles 16, 17 or 19. It has been agreed, however, that a woman who is married to a citizen should be entitled upon making application to be registered as a citizen provided her marriage has been registered in accordance with any written law. Such a woman will be liable to be deprived of her citizenship of any country outside the Federation by virtue of her marriage to a person who is not a citizen. A further safeguard has also been included in the Constitution to ensure that marriages are not arranged for the sole purpose of enabling women to obtain citizenship without having to comply with the normal conditions. Thus a woman be liable to be deprived of her citizenship if she has obtain that citizenship by virtue of her marriage to a citizen and if her marriage is dissolved otherwise than by death within a period of two years. This provision will not apply automatically.

With regard to children, Honourable Members of Council will have noted that it is proposed that a child born before Merdeka Day who is not a citizen on that day but whose father is a citizen should only be registered as a citizen if he is ordinarily resident in the Federation and of good character. If those qualifications were not included, a child who has had little or no contact with the Federation and who may be living in a foreign country could automatically be registered as a citizen of the Federation. It was considered that it would be unwise to permit the automatic registration of such children.

The provisions dealing with citizenship by registration of persons born in the Federation before Merdeka Day are similar to those recommended by the Commission with the important difference that all such persons must take the new oath of undivided loyalty to the Federation. With regard to those who were not born in the Federation but who are resident in the Federation on Merdeka Day, it is proposed to modify the recommendations of the Commission as explained in the White Paper. In framing these proposals we have had in mind the security and well-being of the Federation. For example, if the Government had no discretion in the grant of citizenship to person in this category, large numbers of Communist terrorists and secret society thugs would automatically become citizens. I am confident that Honourable Members will agree with me that this would not be desirable. I can however give an assurance on behalf of the Alliance Government that the responsible Minister will not direct that an application for citizenship under Article 17 of the Federal Constitution be rejected unless he has very good reason for doing so.

The provisions regarding citizenship by naturalisation are similar to those recommended by the Commission subject again to the taking of the new oath of undivided loyalty. I have already explained the major changes in the recommendations of the Commission with regard to deprivation of citizenship and Honourable Members will have noted that the normal provisions for deprivation, as recommended by the Commission, have been accepted. These are set out in Articles 25, 26 and 27.

To complete the picture of the citizenship proposals, I must say something about Commonwealth citizenship. In the first place, I should like to make it clear that Commonwealth citizenship is not comparable to nationality in such a way as to constitute one leg of a dual nationality status. It does not limit the independence of any member country of the Commonwealth by requiring any special rights for Commonwealth citizens in member's territories. It cannot involve any conflicting loyalties since the Commonwealth is essentially a free association of sovereign nations. Commonwealth citizenship is a symbol of membership of, and loyalty to, an association of nations with a common tradition of

political rights and duties and of democratic parliamentary government; it is therefore something added to the primary status of Federal citizenship and can take nothing away from it.

I turn now the matter of Parliament and the Executive. Generally speaking, the recommendations of the Commission on this part of the Constitution have been accepted. We propose that the Supreme Head of the Federation should be called the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung and that his consort should be known as the Raja Permaisuri Agung. The Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will be appointed by the Rulers from among themselves to sit on the Throne in turn for a period of five years. A Deputy Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will also be appointed to act for him in the event of his absence from the country or if he is indisposed. The Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will normally act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet but it is proposed that he should be given powers to act at his discretion in certain matters; for example, he may act in his discretion in appointing the Chief Justice, after considering the advice of the Prime Minister and views of the Conference of Rulers. It may also be necessary to require the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung to act after consultation with or on the recommendation of a person or body of persons other than the Cabinet. A clause has accordingly been included in Article 40 providing for this. With regard to the proposals relating to the power to exercise pardon, it has been suggested to me that the Governors should not have any such powers and that in respect of Penang and Malacca the power to grant pardon should vest in the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung. If, however, this proposal were to be adopted it would mean that the Governors were not being accorded equality of status with the Rulers of the other States. Moreover, it is essential that Penang and Malacca should be as independent of control by the Federation as are the Malay States. If it were to be suggested that the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung and the Federal Parliament or Government could interfere in any way in the affairs of the two new States in a manner in which they could not interfere in the affairs of the Malay States there would undoubtedly be an outcry from the two new States. It is a fundamental part of the proposals as a whole that Penang and Malacca should take their places in the new Federation as equal partners with the Malay States.

With regard to the appointment of the first Yang Di-Pertuan Agung the Rulers will be left to exercise their judgement in accordance with the provisions of the Third Schedule. That first choice is perhaps of vital importance to this country. The person chosen should be one who will command the love, respect and absolute loyalty to the Malayan peoples. This is all the more important because the institution of Yang Di-Pertuan Agung is new and has no parallel in the world today. It is perhaps the will of Providence that the newest of all nations should have introduced this system whereby a Ruler appointed does not come to the Throne as of right by reason of his royal birth. Our head of State may therefore rightly be called a democratic constitutional monarch. The example set by Malaya in this respect may perhaps be followed in other countries which require a change. Therefore in making their choice the Rulers must set aside all sentiments but instead be guided by a desire to do right by the people and the country.

There has been considerable amendment of the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the functions of the Conference of Rulers. The proposed functions of the Conference are however summarised in paragraph 16 and 17 of the White Paper and I need not say a great deal on this subject. Under the proposed Federal Constitution, the legislative functions of the present Conference will largely disappear because the assent to laws by the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will replace the present requirement of assent by the Conference of Rulers. As stated in the White Paper, however, it will still be necessary for the Conference to give their assent to certain particular laws before those laws are brought into force. It is not intended that any substantial change should be made in the machinery regulating the proceedings of the Conference.

There will be sixteen Nominated Members of the Senate in place of the eleven recommended by the Commission. In effect, this will be a transitional provision as it is proposed to retain the provisions recommended by the Commission with regard to the reduction in the number of Nominated Members and their ultimate abolition if Parliament so decides. It is also proposed to retain the provisions enabling Parliament to increase to three

the number of members to be elected for each State and to provide that the members to be elected may be so elected by the direct vote of the electors.

Immediately after Merdeka Day, the powers of Parliament will be exercised by the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung with the advice and consent of this Council. The Commission recommended that the Federal Legislative Council should not be dissolved before the 1st January, 1959; they also recommended that the first elections under the new Constitution should not be held until new electoral rolls had been prepared including the names of those who would wish to take advantage of the new provisions for obtaining citizenship. My Government has accepted this recommendation. I am confident that when the time comes for the first elections to be held, the members then elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate will be truly representative of the people of the Federation. It is our object to build a united nation; we have provided easy means for the acquisition of citizenship by all those who wish to become Malaysians in the true sense of the term. Would it be right to deny these new citizens the privilege of voting in the first elections after Merdeka Day? In my opinion there can be only one answer to that question. There will doubtless be some who will criticise the new temporary provisions of the constitution which provide that the Federal Legislative Council may, if necessary, continue in existence until the 31st December, 1959. I would emphasise, however, that the extension of the life of this Council will be approved only on the advice of the independent and impartial Election Commission that it would not be reasonably practicable to hold elections at an earlier date. It has to be remembered that during the early years after Merdeka Day, the Government will undoubtedly have to deal with many difficult problems. We are about to assume heavy responsibilities and we shall no longer be in a position to obtain advice and assistance from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as we have done in the past. But we intend to maintain the present high standard of administration and we intend to press on with our plans for the further development of the country so as to improve the general standard of living of our people. All this will throw a heavy burden on our administration. Moreover, the Election Commission itself must have time in which to make the detailed agreements for the holding of the first elections.

I am prepared to answer criticism on this point but I do not believe that anybody who has the interests of the country at heart will seriously suggest that we can rush into elections at a moment's notice. Let me now speak about the question of relations between the Federation and the States. I believe this to be one of the most difficult problems with which we shall be faced. We are all accustomed to the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948, and with the help of a strong and efficient Civil Service we have been able to make that Agreement work. The new arrangements must inevitably be very different; we must look forward to the time when there will be a fully elected Government in each of the States and a fully elected Government here in Kuala Lumpur; we must look forward to the time when the elected representatives of the people will be actively and constructively engaged in the formulation of policies and in the administration of the country.

There are bound to be difficulties, if only because we shall be working on new principles, and I am sure that the representatives of the States in this Council today will agree with me that on both sides—on the part of the States and also on the part of the Federal Government—there must be an abundant fund of goodwill; there must be the will to make the new Constitution operate effectively. We are embarking upon independence based on the well-tried system of parliamentary democracy. It is against this background that I should like to speak about the relations between the Federation and the States. Many persons have argued in the past that the Federation should have a much stronger control over such matters as the development of our land. In the Working Party we spent many hours discussing the division of legislative and executive powers between the Federation and the States. The key to this question lies, I think, in the terms of reference given to the Constitutional Commission. Honourable Members will remember that the Commission were required to make recommendations for a federal form of Constitution for the whole country including provision for the establishment of a strong central government with the States and Settlements enjoying a measure of autonomy. In any Federation it is inevitable that the component parts of the Federation should not always see eye to eye with the central authorities. It has been our task to ensure not only that the States will have a measure of autonomy but also that in matters of national interest the

Federal authorities will have the power to take all necessary action and it is my hope that we succeeded in providing at any rate for some years to come the framework within which the State and Federal Government may be able to work together to their mutual benefit and for the good of all. Generally speaking, it is proposed to accept the recommendations and executive powers. Honourable Members will, however, note from the White Paper that it is proposed to establish a National Land Council. There has been a need for such a Council in the past and there can be no doubt that the provisions of the Federation of Malaya Agreement would have been much easier to operate if such a Council had been in existence earlier. The great advantage of the new proposals is that once a policy has been decided with the agreement of all the State Government and the Federal Government then that policy will be followed throughout the country as a whole. The proposal with regard to agriculture and forestry is designed to ensure that we shall not waste money by building up in the States expensive technical organisations which they can ill afford to maintain. In the past, the State Governments have relied on technical advice from Kuala Lumpur and it has been agreed to remove a possible source of conflict in the future by providing that the professional advice of the Federal Departments should be followed by State agricultural and forestry officers.

I should also perhaps amplify the proposals with regard to the power of the Federal Parliament to legislate on certain subjects contained in the State Legislative list. At one time, the Working Party had in mind the proposal to recommend for inclusion in the Constitution a Fourth or Special Legislative List. Items included in this list would have been matters in which the Federal Parliament would have been empowered to legislate for purpose of uniformity but executive authority in respect of such matters would have rested with the State Governments. Ultimately, however, it was decided to include an additional clause (clause 4) in Article 76 of the Federal Constitution to give effect to the intensions of the Working Party. Although the Federal Parliament will be entitled for the purpose of ensuring uniformity of law and policy to make laws with respect to the subject referred to in that clause, the application of the law and the administration of the policy will be the sole concern of the States. I may say that the representatives of Their Highnesses

were not at first inclined to view this proposal with sympathy. They argued that if the Federal Parliament were to be empowered to legislate on such matters as, for example, local government, then the autonomy of the States would be much reduced. But in this as in many of the other matters which we discussed we reached a compromise. In a country the size of the Federation it would lead to untold difficulties if the basic law of the country on such fundamental matters as local government and a national land code were to differ from State to State. We are all accustomed to working on laws which are uniform throughout the country and indeed it has been the policy of Government during the last few years to consolidate our law. I frankly admit that we have adopted a device to get round our difficulties without departing to any great extent from the fundamental principle recommended by the commission that legislative power and executive authority should always go together. But speaking as Chief Minister of the Federation Government, I believe that the State Government will find that these arrangements will not operate to their detriment. I know that it was not easy for them to accept the proposals and I am grateful to the representatives of Their Highnesses for agreeing to the compromise. I am also grateful to Their Highnesses and to the State Governments for accepting the proposal to set up a National Land Council. With regard to the Articles dealing with land itself, I believe that we now have an adequate framework in which to resolve to the satisfaction of all parties any problems which may arise in connection with the use of land for Federal or State purpose or for the implementation of our development plans on which my Government lays so much stress.

The major changes in the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the judiciary are set out in the White Paper, and I propose now to refer only to the procedure with regard to appeals from the Supreme Court. It has been said that the continuance of arrangements whereby appeals may be heard by the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council will be derogatory to the sovereignty of the Federation. I do not share that sentiment. We have provided that appeals from the Supreme Court shall lie to the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung and that the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung may make arrangements with Her Majesty for the reference to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council of appeals from the Supreme Court. The Article on this

subject was included in the Federal Constitution at our request because we are determined to ensure that the present high standard of justice is maintained after Merdeka Day. Until we are able to set up our Privy Council we must take advantage of the experience and wisdom of learned Judges of other Commonwealth countries. This is an example of one of the many ways in which the Federation will derive great benefit from being a member of the Commonwealth.

In this respect I would like to mention that before I came to this Council I was approached by the President of the Bar Council who approved fully of the new arrangements. I might perhaps read a paragraph of the letter which he handed to me which I have not had the time to study. However, this paragraph said: "Before the memorandum could be finalised for presentation at its last meeting on the 6th July, events have overtaken the Council's anxiety and the Bar Council is extremely gratified to find in the finalised draft Constitution that this anxiety had been anticipated and allayed. The Bar Council take this opportunity to express to the Government and to you personally its deep sense of appreciation for this happy situation".

As Honourable Members of Council will appreciate, a large part of our time in the Working Party was taken up with discussions on the form of the financial provisions to be included in the new Constitution. It was agreed from the beginning that it would be most unwise to provide that the States should levy and collect their own taxes to any greater extent than they do at present. It would indeed defeat the purposes of the Federation Constitution if the wealthy States were to be placed in a position whereby they could become even more wealthy, while the poorer States could be given no assistance to enable them to develop more rapidly than their own resources would permit. We therefore approached the problem on the understanding that the Federation must continue to make large grants to the States. The Reid Commission contemplated that the method of making grants would be neglected from time to time in the National Finance Council and that once a system had been settled it should remain undisturbed for a period of five years and a federal law should be passed authorising implementation of the proposed arrangements. The Working Party appreciated the reasons which prompted the Commission to make these recommendations. It was

felt however that the Constitution itself should include provisions safeguarding the financial position of the States. Such safeguards will be particularly important in years to come because we must expect that sooner or later the Government of a State will be formed by a political party which is in opposition to the party in power in the Federal Parliament. The Articles drafted by the Commission to give effect to their proposals have accordingly been recast, and it is proposed to write in to the Constitution that the State Governments will be entitled as of right to receive certain grants and other sources of revenue. For purposes of flexibility, it has been provided that the rate of the grants may be reduced if circumstances justify such a step. For the same reason, it is proposed to create a State Reserve Fund. This will be used for the benefit of States which may find themselves in financial difficulties and also to help the poorer States to raise their level of development to the standard enjoyed by their more wealthy neighbours.

I should like at this point to correct any impression there may be that under the revised proposals the States will receive less generous treatment than was proposed by the Reid Commission. In the first place, the Commission proposed that the States should pay to a National Pension Fund pension contributions in respect of pensionable officers in their employment. This large liability has been removed from the States. Secondly, the Commission did not provide for the States to receive grants or any other source of revenue as of right. Let me now give you some figures to illustrate the effect of the revised proposals. The Federal allocations to the States this year including development and per capita grants and the percentage of petrol duty total \$43 millions. This figure together with \$7.6 millions in respect of transitional grants and population increase and \$10 millions in respect of the currency surplus and education rates make a total of approximately \$61 millions to be paid by the Federation to the States this year. If the sum of \$4 millions in respect of assistance to local Councils is also included, the total allocation to the States can be regarded as about \$65 millions. State revenues for the year are estimated at \$99 millions. Against this, the budgets proposed by the States themselves (including expenditure on local Government) total \$165 millions and it is estimated that the actual expenditure will be about \$156 millions. But in 1956, the States only spent \$131 millions, and, as their own revenues for

1957 are estimated at \$99 millions, the proposed system of financial allocations will, I am confident, give the States ample funds to meet all their needs. I should also mention that it was agreed that \$4 millions should be paid into the State Reserve Fund initially because the transitional grants for this year total \$2.9 millions, and as Honourable Members will appreciate, the purpose of the new State Reserve Fund is much the same as the purpose of the transitional grants under the present system.

It is our hope that the National Finance Council will play a large part in the financial affairs of the Federation as a whole. Although that Council will be consultative only, it will deliberate on a large number of matters not all of which involve finance, and it should serve as a most useful forum of debate.

The offer to allocate to the States a percentage of the export duty on tin was first made before the Report of the Constitutional Commission was received. It has now been provided in the Constitution that the States shall receive at least 10% of this duty, and it is the intention of my Government to introduce legislation as soon as practicable to implement this provision. In the first instance however, this proposal will, under the terms of paragraph (g) of clause (4) of Article 108, be considered in the National Finance Council.

I believe—and in saying this I have the support of my friend the Minister of Finance—that the new financial proposals will be much easier to implement than the present system of financial allocations. Under the new proposals the States will achieve complete financial autonomy; they will be able to accumulate surpluses and they will, I hope, soon be in a position to carry out their own development plans within the limits of their own financial resources. In saying this, I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the Federal Government will not in future continue to assist the States in their general development by the provision of financial, technical and other assistance over and above the grants and other sources of revenue which the States will receive as of right. There are ample provisions in the Constitution for this assistance to be given to the States and, indeed all the development plans of the Federation Government must to some extent benefit one State or another because there will be no Federal territory in the new Federation.

Before I leave the subject of the new financial provisions, I should mention that the Federation Government has agreed that the new financial arrangements should be brought into operation as soon as practicable. I must warn Honourable Members however that complicated legislation will be required both in the Federation and in the States before the new system can be introduced. A start has already been made on drafting this legislation, and it is my hope that we shall be able to introduce the necessary Bills into the Council and that corresponding Bills can be introduced into the Councils of State in time for the introduction of the new financial arrangements on the 1st of January next year.

I need not remind Honourable Members of the importance which the Alliance Government attached to maintaining an efficient and contented civil service. To this end the Service must feel that it is not subject to political interference and that it can tender advice without fear of the consequences. Only in this way can it be expected to attract into the Service and retain the men and women of the high calibre that will be needed. At the Constitutional Conference held in London in January and February 1956, it was agreed that the most generally accepted method of achieving this end was by setting up an independent Public Service Commission. The draft constitution contains provision for such a Commission and for separate Commissions for the Judicial and Legal Service, the Police Service and the Railway Administration. In this way appointments, promotions and matters of discipline will be controlled by independent statutory bodies whose members are not associated closely with any political party and in whom the Civil Service and the general public can have confidence.

Article 136 of the draft constitution replaces clause 152 of the Federation of Malaya Agreement and underlines the intention of the Government to pursue a policy of treating Government servants impartially. Candidates for the Public Service are required to be Federal Citizens and under Article 153 there will be certain preferences accorded to Malays when candidates are under consideration for first appointment. But once an officer has been recruited to the permanent establishment these preferences cease to apply and there will be complete equality of treatment. This will also apply to officers already on the permanent establishment who are not Federal Citizens. They too can be assured that they need not fear that there is any danger of a change in their existing terms

and conditions of service or that there will be any interference with their tenure of office or their prospects of promotion or that they will receive treatment in any other respect different from their fellow officers. The setting up of the independent Service Commissions is a further guarantee that this undertaking will be observed.

I come now to that part of the White Paper dealing with fundamental rights, and I should like first to say something about the provisions concerning the special position of the Malays. It seems to me that there has been very nearly as much discussion and comment on this particular matter as there has been on the other parts of the Constitution put together. Shortly after the Constitutional Commission was appointed, we heard of the fears both of the Malays and of persons of other communities. There was a general feeling that somehow everybody was going to suffer and even now there seems to be much uncertainty as to the manner which the revised provisions of the Constitution on this subject will be applied. Some Malays fear that their special position will not be adequately protected and that as a consequence they will gradually be overwhelmed by the other communities who have come to live in their country. Persons of other races, in particular the Chinese, fear that their gain would not be half as much if special privileges are given to the Malays. Everybody seems to have forgotten that there is a clause in the Federation of Malaya Agreement which gives to the High Commissioner the special responsibility of safeguarding the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities; corresponding power is given to the Sultans of old Unfederated Malay States. There is no evidence to show that any community has suffered as a consequence of the policies adopted in the past. Last year, the Parties of the Alliance discussed this question at considerable length. We then agreed on a formula based on the provisions of the 1948 Agreement and the new provisions in the Federal Constitution have, in turn, been based on the formula worked out by the Alliance. The facts are that unless the Malays are protected there will be no place for them in Malaya. This is proved to be so in Singapore and Penang. Again to those of other communities who are nervous about their future, I would say—study closely Article 153 of the Federal Constitution. They will find that the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong is also required to safeguard their legitimate interests. They will find that no person may be deprived of any public office held by him or of the continuance of any

scholarship, exhibition or other educational or training privileges or special facilities enjoyed by him. They will find that all persons of whatever race in the same grade in the service of the Federation will, subject to the terms and conditions of their employment, be treated impartially. They will find that no person may be deprived of any right, privilege, permit or licence or of a renewal of any such permit or licence when such renewal might reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events. They will find further safeguard in Clauses (8) and (9) of the Article. The provisions of Article 153 will be applied on the advice of the Cabinet. I cannot imagine that any government will be formed without representatives of each of our main communities. What then is there to fear? When discussing the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities, we must never forget that our object is to unite our people. We should do all we can to remove communal barriers and help build a united and patriotic Malayan people. This Article 153 gives each of us a great opportunity to show that we have the true interests of our country at heart and that we are prepared to place the interests of Malaya as a whole before the interests of our own community.

As regards Malay land reservations, it is intended that where it is found necessary to create a Malay reserve on land which has not been developed or cultivated, then an equal area of similar land must be reserved for general alienation and the total area of land declared in any State as Malay Reservation after Merdeka Day will not at any time exceed the total area of such land in that State so made available for general alienation. In case of developed land it can also be made Malay Reservation but with the distinct object of preventing the Malays from being driven completely out of towns and villages and also of giving effect to the wishes of some philanthropists who desire to reserve a piece of his own land for Malays. Lands can likewise be reserved for non-Malays who desire to build their houses in the towns.

The other new provisions of Article 89 are described in the White Paper, and I need not repeat the details.

One of the most important changes in the recommendations of the Constitutional Commission concerns the proposal that Islam should be declared the religion of the Federation. There has been much speculation about this and a number of inaccurate statements

have appeared in the Press from time to time. The proposals are clearly set out in paragraphs 57 to 60 of the White Paper and there is only one point I wish to make now. It has been suggested that there should be a Ministry for Religious Affairs. It has to be remembered that Their Highnesses are the Heads of the religion in their own States and although they have agreed to authorise the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung to represent them in any acts, observances or ceremonies agreed by the Conference of Rulers as extending to the Federation as a whole, Their Highnesses felt that establishment of a Federal Ministry for Muslim Religious Affairs would affect adversely their position as Heads of Muslim religion in their own States. If necessary, a Muslim Department of Religious Affairs will be set up as part of the establishment of the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung.

I turn now to the question of the national language. The recommendation of the Commission with regard to the use of the Chinese and Indian languages in either House of Parliament or the Legislative Assembly of a State has, as you know, not been accepted. It would be most difficult to operate the clause proposed by the Commission but in any event it is very important that our people should converse with one another in one common language and there can be no doubt that the common language must ultimately be the Malay language. However, the recommendations of the Commission with regard to qualifications for election as a member of either House of Parliament have been accepted; we have thus removed the present disqualification which provides that a candidate must be able to read and write English or Malay, but clearly if a person were to be elected, who could not read and write English or Malay he would find it most difficult to take part in the proceedings of the House. I firmly believe that those who have the welfare of the country at heart will accept these language proposals as being not only fair and reasonable but right.

There seems to be a fear existing in the minds of the non-Malays that their right to learn and use their own language will ultimately be lost. But Article 152 provides that no person shall be prohibited or prevented from learning and using his own language. It is also provided that it shall be the right of the Federation Government and the State Governments to preserve and sustain the study of the language of any other community.

This in my opinion amounts to a duty imposed by the Constitution on the Government to uphold the right of others to learn their language.

It is for this reason that we do not consider it advisable to appoint as Menteri Besar and elected member unless two third of the members of the Council of State demand it. I do not believe that we have men available in the State Councils who have the experience to take on this responsibility because it was the policy of the Alliance that all the best men should stand for elections to the Federal Council rather than to the Councils of States, and that those who are in the Federal Council should not be eligible to stand for elections in the Councils of State. This was done in order to give larger members of the Alliance experience in the running of the Government. The position would be different in 1959 when it is expected that suitable persons will be available to lead the elected Government in the States.

May I now say how much we welcome Penang and Malacca as partners with the other States in the new independent Federation. The people of these old Settlements are no strangers to us. They have behind them their own traditional customs and cultures and they have much to contribute to the well-being of our new nation. The Constitutions for Penang and Malacca have been drafted so that the relations between the Federation and the Malay States; and the Federation will guarantee the democratic character of the Penang and Malacca Constitutions just as it will guarantee the democratic character of the Constitutions of the Malay States.

Nobody imagines that the new Constitution will stand without amendment for all time, and it would be wrong not to provide for the passage of amendments supported by a reasonable number of members of Parliament. It would be equally wrong however to provide that the Constitution may be amended by only a small majority possible representing less than half of our people. It is accordingly proposed that the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of each House of Parliament will be required in support of amendment of the Federal Constitution. A similar provision has been included in the Constitutions for Penang and Malacca and in Part 1 of the Eighth Schedule which contains the final provisions for incorporation in the Constitutions of the Malay States.

A reference appears for the first time in the new Constitution in respect of Naning in Article 44 of the Constitution of Malacca which provides that the Governor should appoint a person to the office of Dato' Penghulu of Naning in accordance with the Naning custom. This particular Article has given rise to some heated discussion in Malacca and in consequence representation has been made to me that Naning should not be written into the Constitution of Malacca as the appointment is in fact that of a Penghulu and not a Head of State. My personal opinion is that the matter should be aired in the Council of State of Malacca when the Constitution is debated, and that the Federation Government should give effect to the verdict of two third majority of that Council.

As I explained at the beginning of my speech, the proposals now before this Council have been most carefully worked out. We have had to take account of the various conflicting interests, and I do not believe that a better Constitution could have been devised in the circumstances of our country today. The economical future is bright; the country must not be held back by the selfish and unyielding attitude of any individual or groups of individuals. The Constitutions provide the framework for a happy and contented Federation. Let us all firmly resolve to make it work.

Let us make it work and build for ourselves and our descendants a shangrila whereby we can all live in peace, happiness and prosperity.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF
MERDEKA TRADE FAIR AT PETALING JAYA,
SELANGOR ON 18TH JULY, 1957**

I would like to pay my tribute to the Malayan Junior Chamber of Commerce for this noteworthy undertaking in putting on a Trade Fair to celebrate the memorable occasion of our Independence. This project, apart from being an added attraction to the celebration of our Independence, will serve as a stimulus to the young and budding businessmen of this country to face the challenge of Independence which lies ahead. The Malayan Nation looks upon her young men to help her in the task of nation building, and we find here sufficient indication that we can depend on the members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce to set the lead to the young men to participate in the commerce and industry of this country.

This country, like others in the world, is depending a great deal for its prosperity on the trade and industries which it must sustain and help to flourish, as it is from these sources that the Government derives a large proportion of its revenue and the populace their private income. It is therefore in the interest of the country that trade and industries should be encouraged, and I am glad that Government departments are participating in this Trade Fair and are joining forces with private concerns to achieve this end. This shows how keenly interested is the Alliance Government in the development of the economy of this country.

I have been informed that a good number of stalls under construction belong to foreign firms. Their participation in this Trade Fair augurs well for our future—it indicates their faith in the strength of our economy, the stability of our currency and the good prospects of the country as a market for their wares and products. All these should serve to rebut the unfounded rumour which from time to time gains circulation about a possible devaluation of our currency after we have become an independent



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra meletakkan batu asas Pesta Perdagangan Malaya Merdeka di Petaling Jaya pada 18hb Julai, 1957

State on August 31st this year, as it is inconceivable that a country like ours with a vigorous international trade and a good payment balance would have any need to resort to such a measure.

There is another point about this participation by foreign firms. It shows their goodwill towards this country—a goodwill which we will need and value in the years ahead, especially during the early years of our independence when under the stress and strain of the change from a protected State to a fully sovereign nation we would need encouragement from our friends abroad.

As I look around me from this stand, I cannot but feel impressed by the preparation that is being made. The amount of work and planning that have gone into the construction of these buildings merit our admiration for the effort of our young businessmen, the sponsors—the Malayan Junior Chamber of Commerce, and I am confident that it will be crowned with success.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars will be spent on this site and the buildings which adorn it will I am certain be filled with display of articles and goods worthy of the cost and effort put into this show.

Barely a month and a half from now, we shall witness the most historic event of this country as Independence is finally achieved. From then on we pray only life moulded with peace and tranquility and prosperity shall reign in Malaya, for independence will not only be with us for a day but it shall be forever. Let us be vigilant with our duties. Let us not falter in our struggle for the betterment of our country. This country has potential wealth and I call upon the youth of this new nation to go out and seed it. With your vigour, enterprise and determination, you will enrich this country further. We are setting up Industrial Banks, Land Banks, and Apex Banks with the object of helping those with ambition to better themselves in business and help to develop the economy of this country.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the various elements engaged in commerce and industry, particularly the rubber and tin industries, for their participation in this Trade Fair. The exhibition of the by-products of rubber and tin which

are the two pillars of our economy will certainly add lustre to the fair. I am told that no less than three million dollars will be expended by the sponsors and exhibitors of the Trade Fair and it is money well spent.

In laying the foundation stone, I utter a prayer that the efforts of the Malaya Junior Chamber of Commerce to achieve the ideals and purposes which they seek by organising this Trade Fair will not be in vain. With these words I proceed to lay the foundation stone of the Merdeka Trade Fair.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT ROYAL
AIR FORCE, SELETAR, SINGAPORE ON 23RD
AUGUST, 1957**

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to be here with you this morning and I feel very honoured that I should be invited here. We have got here my good friend the Chief Minister of Singapore who takes great pride indeed with the progress made by the Singapore members of the MAAF. I particularly feel very proud that two of our men have got their "Wings" this morning. This is the second time I have had the pleasure and opportunity to pin the "Wings" on the chests of members of our MAAF.

I would like to thank the RAF for having been so good to give our men the necessary training. In time we hope that the training they get here will prove of very great value indeed to the Air Force which we hope to form in a very short time. We are waiting at this time for our Commander to arrive from England.

With his arrival we have got to build the Royal Federation Air Force. By this I do not mean to say that the MAAF will be scrapped; far from it. What we propose to do is to build both Forces. While one will be actively trained to man the Air Force, the other one will be trained to support this Air Force.

Therefore, do not feel that with the formation of our Air Force the MAAF will be scrapped. I hope that our Air Force comes into being and members of the MAAF in training today will offer their services to the Malayan Air Force.

Besides the flying men whom I am glad to see this morning, we also have our ground men and Fighter Control Unit. All these will be of immense value to the Federation. I had the opportunity to see some of these men in training when I visited the Fighter Unit in Port Swettenham. I was greatly impressed with the progress they had shown.

Now this is an opportunity for me to see both the Federation and Singapore MAAF in training together. That is as it should be because whatever happens the proximity between the two territories will be close—and even more close—in the future.

As regards the Shell Trophy, I was there in Penang when it was presented to the Penang Unit. Having retained it for two years I am glad it has come to Singapore where it will be retained for one year. I congratulate you all and I would like to thank the RAF for having given the time to help our men. Lastly, I would like to congratulate the two men who have won their "Wings". I thank you all again for the very fine reception you have given my good friend the Chief Minister of Singapore and myself today.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE FEDERAL HOTEL, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 26TH AUGUST, 1957**

It is an honour to me invited by Messrs Low Yat Construction Company Limited and the Federal Hotel Company Limited to perform the ceremony, this evening of opening this imposing ten storey building as a hotel.

The building yet adds to the number of big buildings which, in recent months, have been erected in Kuala Lumpur, but this one stands on a slightly different footing in that it was completed in time to serve the needs of the Federation Government to provide accommodation for the number of guests who were invited to take part in this country's most important celebration. The contractor, the builders and the workmen worked overtime so that it could be ready in time for our visitors. They have thus done their work well and the opening of this building has relieved the Government of one of its greatest headaches connected with this important event. I would therefore like to thank those concerned for their service to the nation.

I am certain that our visitors will be served to their complete satisfaction during their stay in the Hotel. Under the management of Mr. Myron Ling I know that every attention and courtesy will be shown to our guests. Everything that can be done to make our guests happy will, I know, be done and I hope when they leave our shores they will take with them the good impression that they have had a good time and a good rest while they were our guests in Kuala Lumpur staying in this Hotel.

The owner of this building in none other than Mr. Low Yat, a man who has been responsible for the construction of many big buildings not only in Kuala Lumpur but throughout this country. Low Yat's name has been connected with the aerodrome, Government and office buildings and now this Hotel. His enterprise and business acumen have been the envy of successful businessmen, and the impressive structure of this Hotel is a credit to this enterprise.

I have a feeling that this Hotel which adorns the capital of the Federation will be the meeting place as well as the resting place of visitor of all nationalities from all parts of the world. The Chinese and English cuisine together with the Ballrooms will, I am sure, be the centre of attraction to the tired businessmen who want relaxation after a tiring day and perhaps my Ministers and I will show our faces here sometimes to enjoy the comfort and happy surroundings of this Hotel.

To the hotel management and to the owners of the building, I offer my best wishes for the success of their business. Let us now drink to the success of Bintang House and the Federal Hotel.

**STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
PRESS CONFERENCE IN KUALA LUMPUR ON
28TH AUGUST, 1957**

This is an important Press Conference which I am holding today. I am only sorry that I am not able to give you more fully the information you seek. You may well appreciate my position if you realise that I am at the head of the Government of a very new nation. I cannot therefore tell you what this nation will do immediately after attaining Independence. One thing I know, however, is that we have internal problems of our own and that these problems require our immediate attention. My first duty will be to attend to things I consider very important and that is to the needs of my people and the country.

The needs are many; for instance, the multi-racial population of this country has to be taught and trained to consider this country as their home. A lot of spade work has got to be done to inculcate in their minds and to bear in their hearts the true significance of loyalty to this country of which they are nationals. On the whole they are peaceful and sports-loving; they are polite and friendly; and they have cultivated in the course of their association with this country a common Malayan characteristic. I am afraid not much work has been done in the past to develop this.

My own personal feeling in this matter, however, is that if an effort were made through education, social work, civics courses, this characteristic can be developed to the fullest advantage. My Ministers and I will do our utmost to devote our time and energy to this end. We trust God will give us guidance in this so that we can influence the Malayan peoples to respond to our treatment.

Malaya is a happy and prosperous land. She may be small in area but she is rich in her natural resources. We are also endowed with a good Government, and a standard of living second to none in Asia. The successive British administrators have each contributed their little part to make the administration of this country a fine machinery. The members of the civil service and other

officers in the Government service have helped to make the machinery of Government an efficient one. I feel therefore that the political party in power will have an efficient organisation which will make workable any plan we have in mind and advantageous to the country as a whole. We realise that the duties of politicians are not to interfere with the civil service and we do not intend to do so; we want to make the civil service independent and impartial. For that reason our Government has set up various Service Commissions to deal with promotions and other service matters. Our duties are to keep a watchful eye on the public service and to see that the public who put us in power are well served. We are not infallible for we are only human. But I can promise you on behalf of my Government that we will do all we can for the people and for the country. My Ministers and I are dedicated to the service of our country and people.

We will see that the perfection and efficiency of the Government machinery which we inherit as a legacy from the British will not suffer at all. As a Party, we come and we go, but if another party comes in to take our place as the Government of this country, they will not set up a firm foundation for a good Government for them to work on.

Our planning will provide for improvement in economy and industrial advancement of this country, for improved standard of living and social condition, for general and advanced education, for improvement in the standard of health and for carrying out the ambitious road building and water supply programmes. For these reasons we do not intend to devote much money on defence. We will however have sufficiently strong armed forces to police this country and to tackle subversive elements and to fight our enemy within the country or any foe whose aim is to overthrow this Government by force of arms. We shall have a Navy which is strong enough to patrol our shores and stop any acts of piracy on the high seas. Most of our forces will in time be commanded by our own men but at this initial stage we have got to get help from the United Kingdom Government and this help will be willingly and readily given. We have already prepared for signature a Mutual Defence Agreement between the Federation of Malaya and the United Kingdom Government and this help will be willingly and readily given. As soon as the Councillors approve this

Agreement it will be signed. This Agreement as you know, provides for mutual assistance for both countries. I am not able to disclose the full text of this Agreement at this stage, but I can safely say that under the terms of this Agreement, Britain will come to our help should we be attacked from without. Nothing in this Agreement however, makes provision for a base for nuclear weapons. It is not the intention of my Government to allow Malaya to be used for any offensive purpose. If this weapon is required by the SEATO countries for their purpose, then it is only right that the base for this nuclear weapon should be within the countries in the SEATO Pact. The bases that will be allowed in this country to the British and Commonwealth troops are purely for the purpose of this mutual defence pact and for use by the United Kingdom Government under her Commonwealth obligations

Many people have asked me from time to time if it is the intention of this country to join SEATO after Independence. I have answered as often as I have been asked that it is not our intention to get this Government involved in any particular pact with any group of countries in this world. This is a matter which I have to leave to Independent Malaya to decide. As I said earlier on, my main concern is to attend to the affairs of my country first and the people who live here. Later, when we have become more mature as an Independent country, we might be able to make our decision. At this juncture, it would be wrong to try and rush into anything. For the protection of this country, I consider it sufficient that we enter into defence agreements with Britain. The bases that will be allowed to the British troops in this country and the facilities accorded to them will allow them, in time of exigencies, to increase the strength of the forces in order to make the defence of this country effective. Under modern conditions, it would not be difficult to increase the size of the forces and to strengthen the fighting power when necessary. The planes and weapons necessary to defend the country can be brought here at short notice. In the meantime, we do not intend to have any big armed forces stationed here except the strength sufficient to fight the Communists. In coming to this decision I am only guided one way or the other by my own conscience and I am not influenced by any fear of criticism from countries who are not in SEATO and equally I am not influenced by those countries in SEATO.

My aim is to bring an end to the Communist terrorists war by 31st August 1958. We will go all out to do so. Unless we fix a target date to end this war, the people of this country are apt to be complacent about it all. They are apt to regard this war as something we must have and as something we could fight against given time. But that attitude is not to help us. The people must give the Government the fullest co-operation in order to bring an end to this state of Emergency at a date which I have fixed on 31st August. We may issue in a short time terms of surrender and if the Communists do not accept then they regard this new Federation as their enemy. The new terms of surrender will not legalise them because I know from experiences of other countries that Communists can never co-exist with any Government. They drove the Nationalist Government out of China; they tried to drive the Nationalist Korean Government out of Korea and they tried to drive the Nationalist Government from Vietnam. I would be deceiving myself if I were to think that they are going to tolerate our Government and treat us differently. If they are legalised they will spend their moments of freedom in planning to drive us out too. The people of Malaya are used to a form of Government which gives them freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom from want and freedom from fear, and they shall be given all that as soon as the Emergency ends. From time to time a number of questions have been raised on the subject of restrictions of individual liberties. People who raise this issue forget that we have enemies in our midst, and it is necessary therefore that this Government should have the right to impose restrictions on individual liberties. Let me assure all that it is not the intention of this Government to abuse this authority but if we have to fight the Communists, it is necessary that we should be given certain authority to impose restrictions as otherwise we will find difficulty in fighting them. Every person in this country has access to the law, be he a citizen or an alien, except our enemies. And any reference in the Constitution to alien enemies means the Communists.

It must not be presumed however that we would abuse the trust imposed on us by the people by restricting any more than is necessary the freedom of the people. We are conscious of the duties and responsibilities to the country and to those who have put us into power, and in order to bring the Emergency to an

end, it is necessary for us to be given the necessary authority to do so. Most people forget that we are at war and have been at war for the last nine years. I mean to bring an end to this war by August 1958 and my Government must be given every opportunity to do so. Let the people worry more about Communist terrorism than about fundamental rights which they know fully well that nobody is going to abuse. Let them remember that we are fighting a front-line battle against international communist terrorism and that if we are defeated then this menace will be knocking at the gate of European countries which are now free from it. It has been found necessary to impose certain restrictions on the movement and on some of the freedom because it was forced upon us by the Communists but if this country, God forbid, were ruled by Communists not only will there be no freedom at all but a rule of iron will be established in this country which will completely destroy the happy characteristics of the Malayan people.

I believe in allowing the people to have their ways so long as they observe the laws and orders of the country. I believe in allowing them to run their own life and to enjoy the fruits of their labours; let them wear what they want to wear; let them do what they want to do; let them go where they want to go. I do not think it is right to order their way of life and it follows therefore that if they want to have their own clubs for their own particular community, let them because clubs are made by a group or community of people for their social enjoyment. If they are happy to mix with their own community only let them do so. Therefore it is not the intention of my Government to close down European or Asian Clubs. Let them have what they want so that they can have happiness and spread happiness in this country.

I naturally would like to see more clubs in this country which provide for intermingling of all the races who live here. I am certain that in the course of time more clubs of this kind will spring up in the country. I am a member of one club only and that's the Flying Club which has an international character.

There is also another question that has been asked, that is about the flow of traffic between Singapore and the Federation. The Press appeared to have decided the question for us. But to

be honest with you, this is not a simple matter that can be tackled right now. There has been free access into the Federation from Singapore and vice versa for years and therefore to place a barrier all of a sudden would cause grave hardship. Something will have to be done later on because the immigration laws of Singapore and the Federation will not be the same and are not quite the same now. But how to overcome our difficulties is the question which both the Singapore Ministers and the Federation Ministers would have to work out and until we have worked it out, it is not our intention to place a barrier at the Causeway. It will however be necessary to check all Identity Cards of persons using the Causeway as a first step but if we find that this is not effective enough then some form of border pass may be introduced but it won't be done for some time to come.

There is yet another question which has been asked time and time again and that is whether Singapore will merge with the Federation. Again I say this is a matter which is not easy to decide because in these last few years there have been influx of people into both territories, particularly in Singapore, who have not shown any loyalty to this country. That is not all but there are cases to prove that they are here to make trouble. I have said earlier that my duty and responsibility is to attend to the well-being of the Federation and I cannot take in any new problems when the Federation itself has many problems of her own to solve. If all the people of Singapore are like Mr Lim Yew Hock and his Ministers there will be no problem. I will take them on tomorrow and I will be proud to take them on, but as I have said all residents of Singapore are not all Malayan-minded. I am afraid this question will have to be left out and must be shelved for some considerable time.

I would like to extend my welcome to all the pressmen who have taken so much trouble to attend our Celebrations. If I have not given them enough news to write home about at this moment, I want them to excuse me, particularly at this moment when there are so many things which occupy my time and my mind. Infact I do not know which way to turn. I am as enthusiastic and as excited as a child being given a new toy. I only pray that the weather will be kind to us so that all the preparations will proceed as smoothly as we have planned. There may be hitches here and there but these cannot be avoided because of the

great many things which our officers have to do in connection with the Celebrations. You can see for yourself how excited all the people are in this country. Merdeka is on the lips of every body and when the 31st day comes, I am certain the people will enter into the mood and spirit of this day—the greatest day in our history.

I hope you are all comfortable and happy while you are here to cover the Celebrations and I hope the Malayan people who are looking after you will do all they can for your comfort and happiness.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE MERDEKA STADIUM,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 30TH AUGUST, 1957**

We have been anxiously waiting for this moment—the moment when the stadium will be declared open. The time is now here and I shall do so with a feeling of great happiness and exhilaration—a feeling which I am sure you all share with me. With the opening of this stadium, the dream of the Federation's sports-loving public has come true. It is fitting and right that it is opened in time to herald the greatest of all events in the history of our country. It is only proper that this stadium shall be called the Merdeka Stadium as it is within its area the Independence of the Federation of Malaya will be declared.

The building of the stadium and the completion of it within a record space of time is an achievement in itself. It is a tremendous task undertaken with great determination unequalled in any project which we have undertaken in the past. Let us thank those who have planned it and those who have helped to put the plan into effect and also those who have toiled day and night to complete it in time for it to be opened today. These are the engineers, the architects, the workers, the contractors—one and all I thank them for their great work. Behind these men and urging them on are Mr. S. E. Jewkes and the engineers and the staff of the Public Works Department. The contractors themselves were allotted different types of work but all of them worked as one without seeking any personal credit for any work done. They worked together in complete harmony and co-operation with one another. This is an example of what united effort and determination and loyalty of purpose can achieve.

The site itself was made available to us through the kind generosity of Mr. McDonald, the President of the Playing Fields Association and members of his Committee and the State of Selangor who gave up the playing field in order that the sportsmen of this country can have the object of their dream. In this stadium we can have soccer, hockey and all sports at all hours of the day and night. Besides sporting events, it is also hoped events of national importance will be held here from time to time.

The management of the Stadium has been entrusted in the hands of those who have devoted their lives to sports and their service to the public of this country. They are people who are prepared to give their time and comfort so that the youth of this country can advance forward in the field of sports. You can therefore trust them under their Chairman Dato Razak to run it well.

I have great hope that the Stadium will be the meeting place for sportsmen throughout the world. Here they will meet our own men and demonstrate their prowess in the games they specialise and through the link which will be forged in the true spirit of Olympia, friendship and comradeship will be formed. Through sports, we hope to promote peace and happiness and goodwill in this world. The Duke of Wellington said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing grounds of Eton. Let us now hope that the comradeship and unity of the Malayan people and the goodwill of all the nations, near and far, can be won in the sports stadium of the Federation of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur. I see evidence of that now and I would like to say how our people appreciate the goodwill shown by our friends from overseas who have come in such numbers to join us in celebrating our most important event. They have taken a lot of trouble to do so and at great expense to themselves. I hope our sportsmen who play hosts to them will do all they can to make our friends happy and comfortable. At this particular moment, I hope our friends will put up with any shortcomings in the spirit of real sportsmanship. In less crowded moments, I would have no doubt as to what our men can do for our guests but with visitors from all over the world and in great numbers there will be the necessity of sharing alike some of the discomforts, but please do not take it to heart but return here one day when we will give you all the attention we are capable of giving.

We are most pleased and honoured to have them all with us and the lessons they will give to our sportsmen both in the departments of games and in sportsmanship will be of great benefit to us.

To all here I say thank you for doing us the honour of attending the opening ceremony of our Merdeka Stadium. I now take pleasure in declaring the Stadium open.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
ALLIANCE RALLY AT KUALA LUMPUR
ON 30TH AUGUST, 1957**

This is the greatest moment in the life of the Malayan people for at the stroke of midnight a new nation is born—a nation that will stand forthwith free and independent. To all Malaysians this is a fateful moment a moment we have long prayed for—a moment of joy and gladness; humble yourself before God whether it be in mosques, churches and temples or in our homes. Give thanks to Him for this blessing He has showered upon us.

A new star rises in the eastern sky—a star of freedom for yet another Asian people. A new hope comes into being, a dream long cherished now materialises. It is freedom for the Malayan people and once this torch of freedom is lit let us hold it up high so that all around us will glow with radiant happiness. Let freedom be secured for all the law-abiding people. There shall be freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom from want, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of movement.

Let us be free from the menace of Communist terrorism which has terrorised this country for the last nine years so that the people of this country can be free to move wheresoever they choose unharrassed, unafraid and undisturbed.

With freedom there is much to do for us all. Freedom must bring with it opportunities to all; to the needy new hope, to the sick and afflicted relief, to those distressed and in want, help. We shall build our social, economic and educational structures so that the new nation will rear its head sturdy and proud and the people happy and contented.

My Ministers and colleagues are pledged to dedicate their lives to the nation. Many of them have given up their lucrative profession, calling and career in order to serve the country and the people. We are blessed with a good administration forged and tempered to perfection by the successive British administrators. Let this legacy left by the British not suffer in efficiency



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra tiba di Perhimpunan tengah malam untuk meneriakkan Merdeka di Padang Kuala Lumpur pada 30hb Ogos, 1957

or integrity in the years to come. With this machinery in such good condition, there is much that the Government can do for the country and the people. It is for the people to resolve to play their part by the Government so that we shall advance to prosperity, peace and happiness. No matter who you are live in harmony in this glorious land of ours.

We have all worked for this day and we have won independence not by any act of violence but by Constitutional means through mutual goodwill, understanding and trust. Let us not abuse this trust but honour it so that others will honour us. A nation born with honour will tread the path of glory. The Persekutuan Tanah Melayu as an independent and sovereign nation will join the Commonwealth and take her rightful place in the community of free nations. We must build our determination and courage to play our part for the well-being of the world. Our country is small but our resources are big and with that our contribution to the economic stability of the Commonwealth countries is assured.

In this hour of our triumph and rejoicing, let us not forget those who have sacrificed their lives or their limbs to make this country safe for us to live in. May God bless their souls and give them peace in their everlasting rest.

To the members of the armed and security forces, both of the Malayan units and the British and Commonwealth units, who have fought our enemy all these nine years with firm, singular courage, through fair and foul weather, through forests, jungles, swamps and mountains, Malaya will forever sing praises of your courage. To you I say thank you as an expression of the nation's gratitude.

To the peasants, planters, miners, labourers and employers alike, you have earned the nation's gratitude by working in face of adversity to maintain through the difficult period the productivity of the country so that through the wealth we have earned we have been able to sustain the economic stability of the country and to plan for its future.

To the youth of this country I have a message. You have a wonderful future ahead of you. Unlike us, you have a country free from any domination. You grow up with your heads held high as masters in your own country. As masters you have your privileges as well as your duties and responsibilities. The future of this country rests on you: whether our star rises or falls, it will be due to you solely. Therefore, be ready to serve her, to build her up and to give your life in her defence. You and I must be determined to make Malaya a place which we shall all be proud to call our home. We have therefore a role to play and let us play it well.

To the friendly peoples of the world, Malaya extends her greetings. We are now ready to take our place at your side and are determined to work together for peace and prosperity of the free world.

To the Malayan people, independence must bring you all a sense of achievement for all of you big and small, rich and poor, old and young have played their little part to make our dream possible. To the members of my party, the Alliance of UMNO, MCA and MIC, I say thank you one and all for having gone through together through all the difficult stages of our journey. At no moment have you faulted or wavered or lost faith in our cause. We have had anxious moment which might have taxed the courage of the bravest but you remained with me steadfast and hopeful. I can never thank you enough for the patience, courage, understanding and unswerving loyalty which you have shown me and which has enabled us to come to the end of our journey together. Posterity will remember this year 1957 as the most glorious year in the history of our country. This country must depend on the unity of all the races for her well-being, peace and happiness, bless you all.

SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE FIFTH REGIONAL CON-
FERENCE OF BRANCHES OF THE COMMON-
WEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION
AT THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 30TH AUGUST, 1957

Mr. President, Your Excellency and fellow members.

It gives me great pleasure to see representatives of Branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association gathered in Kuala Lumpur to participate in the Merdeka Celebrations and to attend Conference, the fifth of its kind held by the Branches of the Association in the Malaya/Borneo region.

I should explain briefly that these Conferences originated from an informal meeting held in Singapore on the 23rd April, 1952, among representatives of Branches representing Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and the Federation of Malaya with a view to holding meetings and regional conferences to discuss and exchange views on matters of common concern and interest. Since then Conferences have been held in Jesselton, North Borneo, in January, 1953; in Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya, in September of the same year; in Kuching, Sarawak, in April 1954; and lastly in Singapore in 1956. Delegates to these Conferences discussed and exchanged views on subjects of common concern and interest, and I am sure they returned to their territories greatly strengthened in their belief in the co-operation for the benefit of all.

Now, perhaps I should explain that in the ordinary course this Conference should have been held in Jesselton, North Borneo, as agreed at the last Singapore Conference, but the North Borneo Branch kindly offered to defer its turn in favour of our Branch in order to enable their members to attend the Merdeka Celebrations. We are grateful for this offer but at the same time we are conscious that in the present circumstances we are unable to provide adequately all the amenities and facilities and comfort which they should by right have. I trust you will overlook our

shortcomings occasioned by the large number of visitors here. We have had also, very reluctantly, to limit the number of delegates and observers participating in the Conference from each territory, but this, I am sure, will not detract in any way from the benefits and purpose of this Conference.

Having now briefly sketched the origin and purpose of regional conferences, may I say a few words on the significance of being a member of the Commonwealth. As you know, the Federation of Malaya is on the eve of independence and tomorrow all its inhabitants will rejoice and celebrate this happy event. I felt very much inspired and deeply stirred by the sight of so many parliamentary representatives from various parts of the Commonwealth assembled in Kuala Lumpur to take part in our Merdeka celebrations. To one and all I say, "Thank You" from the bottom of my heart.

Tomorrow a new chapter opens in our relationship with Great Britain: the protected status will give place to full equality as a member of this great family of the Commonwealth. We hope to make our just contribution towards the well-being, peace and prosperity of the Commonwealth nations, as a new nations, we realise the various problems which face us but fortified by the belief that this great family of the Commonwealth will always extend to us a helping hand, we have confidence in ourselves. We accept our new role as a new nation with great determination and courage. We will do all we can to play our part in promoting the peace and goodwill among the free nations of the world.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will always remain the link within the various members of the Commonwealth family and the conference which we hold from year to year will provide opportunities for us to know one another, to exchange views and to make recommendations for the good of the world. Let this conference go on and continue for the good of this great family in the future. We on our part will do all we can to help make it a success it richly deserves.

I would like to extend my very warm welcome to all our friends who have come to attend this meeting. As I said earlier, any shortcomings which they may meet will, I hope, be accepted

in a sporting spirit. I would have like to give them my individual attention but in the circumstances they would, I am sure, appreciate my difficulty in view of the fact that I have had to attend to the varied programmes connected with our celebration.

Finally, I would like to say that your presence here demonstrates beyond doubt the goodwill and friendship that exist among us and this kind gesture is reciprocated. I trust that during your visit here you will be able to appreciate the warm welcome of the Malayan people and that your stay will be a pleasant one.

I wish this Conference every success.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE MERDEKA HISTORICAL
EXHIBITION ON 30TH AUGUST, 1957**

I am very glad that an Historical Exhibition has been included in our Merdeka programme and, as you have said, I am keenly interested in the work which the Malayan Historical Society is doing in introducing to the Malayan public glimpses of the past which many of them had no chance of learning when they were at school.

Malaya has a very long history, but unfortunately very few records and monuments have been preserved with the result that they have not sufficiently aroused the interest and curiosity of the present generation. The Tableaux of historic events in the various divisions as well as the collections of uniforms, photographs and weapons are most valuable, and I hope some of them at least could be sent to other parts of the Federation for exhibition.

Malaya has been the centre of attraction to many visiting races in the last fifteen hundred years. This has resulted in the plurality of community in this country. I am glad indeed that the organisers of this exhibition have laid emphasis on the friendly association which has prevailed between our main communities for so many centuries. I refer to the tableaux of the visit of Admiral Cheng Ho to Malacca in 1406, to the early meeting of the Malay Chief and the Capitan China and Captain Francis Light at Penang, and the concept fellows-at-arms of all Malaysians in the security forces.

I have time and again mentioned that in the course of the long association of the various races with this country they have all cultivated a common Malayan characteristic and outlook. All it needs in order to create unity among the Malayan people is to develop this common trait. Everything that can be done will be done towards this end. This kris of Malaya is known throughout the world but few people know its significance. To a Malay it is said that a house without a kris is like a house without a soul. In this exhibition you see all kinds of weapons. They represent the spirit of the Malay people of old but after foreign domination this spirit has vanished; I only hope it will be revived

with independence. With independence let all people who consider Malaya their home cultivate the spirit of goodwill, peace and happiness towards one another. Let all the crises and weapons displayed here be articles of adornment for we stand for peace and goodwill and we will work towards that end.

The amount of planning and research put into this exhibition must have taken a lot of time and the effort put into the task must indeed be enormous. Therefore I would like to congratulate the organisers for the very hard work they have put into this exhibition and I hope that all who have come here to attend the Merdeka Celebrations will take full advantage to visit this Exhibition. I now have much pleasure in declaring it open.

**SPEECH BY THE CHIEF MINISTER AT THE
PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE AT
MERDEKA STADIUM, KUALA LUMPUR
ON 31ST AUGUST, 1957**

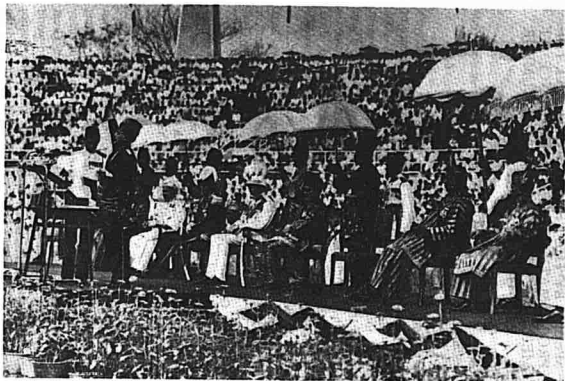
Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, People of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

I am indeed proud that on this, the greatest day in Malaya's history it falls to my lot to proclaim the formal independence of this country. Today as new page is turned, and Malaya steps forward to take her rightful place as a free and independent partner in the great community of Nations—a new nation is born and though we fully realise that difficulties and problems lie ahead, we are confident that, with the blessing of God, these difficulties will be overcome and that today's events, down the avenues of history, will be our inspiration and our guide. It is therefore with a feeling of particular solemnity that we have listened to the eloquent words of His Royal Highness¹ and in particular to the moving message he has conveyed from Her Majesty the Queen². We are indeed honoured that Her Majesty should have deputed her own uncle, His Royal Highness to be with us on this occasion particularly when we remember that he is no stranger to this land: we recall too with pleasure his previous visit to Malaya and happy recollections of his stay have remained with us.

His Royal Highness has spoken in moving words of the past associations of our two countries. We in Malaya have a long history, but we do not lightly forget old relationships. For many years past our fortunes have been linked with those of Great Britain and we recall in particular the comradeship of two world wars. We remember too the products of our association; justice before the law, the legacy of an efficient public service and the highest standard of living in Asia. We shall therefore always

¹ Duke of Gloucester.

² Queen Elizabeth.



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra mengangkat tangan mengisytiharkan Kemerdekaan di Stadium Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur pada 31hb Ogos, 1957

remember with gratitude the assistance which we have received from Great Britain down our long path to nationhood; an assistance which culminated today with the proclamation of Malaya's Independence. But the long standing friendship between our countries does not cease with independence: rather it takes on a new form. As you have heard in the gracious message from Her Majesty the Queen, Malaya will henceforward take her place in the great Commonwealth of Independent Nations whose members are found in all parts of the world, and as an equal partner in that great association. We in this country will do all in our power to promote its well-being in the interests of mankind in general and in the particular service of world peace.

Thus today a new chapter opens in our relationship with Britain; our colonial status has given place to full equality but we are confident that, fortified by old associations, and linked by old memories, our ties with Britain will grow ever stronger and more durable. British will ever find in us her best friend, and it is a source of much gratification to my Government that British Civil Servants will continue to serve in this country to assist us in the solution of the many problems which independence will present.

But while we think of the past, we look forward in faith and hope to the future; from henceforth we are masters of our destiny, and the welfare of this beloved land is our own responsibility. Let no one think we have reached the end of the road: Independence is indeed a milestone, but it is only the threshold to high endeavour—the creation of a new and sovereign State. At this solemn moment therefore I call upon you all to dedicate yourselves to the service of the new Malaya: to work and strive with hand and brain to create a new nation, inspired by the ideals of justice and liberty—a beacon of light in a disturbed and distracted world.

High confidence has been reposed in us; let us unitedly face the challenge of the years. And so with remembrance for the past, and with confidence in the future, under the providence of God, we shall succeed.

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL. PRAISE BE TO GOD, THE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE AND MAY THE BLESSINGS AND PEACE OF GOD UPON HIS MESSENGERS

WHEREAS the time has now arrived when the people of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu will assume the status of a free independent and sovereign nation among the nations of the World.

AND WHEREAS by an agreement styled the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1957, between Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highness the Rulers of the Malay States it was agreed that the Malay States of Johore, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perak and the former Settlements of Malacca and Penang should as from the 31st day of August, 1957, be formed into a new Federation of States by the name of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

AND WHEREAS it was further agreed between the parties to the said agreement that the Settlements of Malacca and Penang aforesaid should as from the said date cease to form part of Her Majesty's dominions and that Her Majesty should cease to exercise any sovereignty over them.

AND WHEREAS it was further agreed by the parties aforesaid that the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948, and all other agreements subsisting between Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highness the Rulers or any one of them immediately before the said date should be revoked as from that date and that all powers and jurisdiction of Her Majesty or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in or in respects of the Settlements aforesaid or the Malay States or the Federation as a whole should come to an end.

AND WHEREAS effect has been given in the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1957, by Her Majesty the Queen, Their Highnesses the Rulers, the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Legislatures of the Federation and of the Malay States.

AND WHEREAS a constitution for the Government of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu has been established as the supreme law thereof.

AND WHEREAS by the Federal Constitution aforesaid provision is made to safeguard the rights and prerogatives of Their Highness the Rulers and the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and to provide for the peaceful and orderly advancement of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu as a constitutional monarchy based on Parliamentary democracy.

AND WHEREAS the Federal Constitution aforesaid having been approved by an Ordinance of the Federal Legislatures, by the Enactments of the Malay States and by resolutions of the Legislatures of Malacca and Penang has come into force on the 31st day of August, 1957, aforesaid.

NOW in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN ABDUL HAMID HALIMSHAH, PRIME MINISTER OF THE PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU, with the concurrence and approval of Their Highnesses the Rulers of the Malay States do hereby proclaim and declare on behalf of the people of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu that as from the thirty first day of August, nineteen hundred and fifty seven, the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu comprising the States of Johore, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perak, Malacca and Penang is and with God's blessing shall be for ever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
THIRD SESSION OF THE FEDERAL LEGIS-
LATIVE COUNCIL, KUALA LUMPUR ON
3RD SEPTEMBER, 1957

Mr. Speaker, Sir,¹

I rise to move the first motion standing in my name on the Order Paper today, which is to offer to His Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious speech with which he has opened this session of the Legislative Council.

Sir, these are famous days. This is the first time in our history that the Paramount Ruler of an independent Malaya has addressed the Council. May this blessing continue forever. His Majesty has in this speech outlined some of the policies which his Government will pursue in the days which lie ahead. This is not the time to analyse in detail the policy which has just been outlined to you, but as our work unfolds, we shall in his Chamber have opportunities in the future for considering the many issues to which His Majesty has invited our attention. Our purpose today is rather more a symbolic one. In the midst of our celebrations which have heralded our independence, it was thought right that the Legislative Council itself should meet in circumstances of particular solemnity in view of the special part it plays in the fabric of our constitution. Yesterday with due pomp and ceremony His Majesty was installed as the first Paramount Ruler of this land, and thus one of his first acts in his high office has been to address this Council, and to set out, for your information, the general line of policy which his Government proposes to adopt. The canvas is a wide one, and on many important activities of Government it has not been possible to touch, but broad principles of development have been sketched to accord with our new independent status and above all, to ensure the welfare and happiness of the people of this land. In these matters, this Council has an important part to play when, in due course, consideration is given to the problems which confront us. We do not under-rate the difficulties which lie ahead, but we are confident that, with God's blessing, these can be overcome.

¹ Dato Abdul Malik Yusof.

All this lies in the future, but it is appropriate that in the midst of our Merdeka joys, we should take stock of the position and realise the high destiny to which we are called.

In the Gracious speech, His Majesty has indicated the path we are to tread: let us here and now dedicate ourselves to the tasks which await us. Meanwhile it is our duty and privilege to thank His Majesty for the gracious words he has addressed to us and the honour he has paid us.

Sir, I beg to move

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF RADIO MALAYA STUDIOS,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 4TH SEPTEMBER, 1957**

I feel I always have to be a little careful about what I say when I come to Radio Malaya because through the magic of radio every word that I utter can be heard by many people.

I am very proud to be associated with these new studios, and in fact everyone in the Federation has the right to be proud of them, for they are as good as any in South East Asia. I would like publicly to express the deep appreciation of my Government to the architects, to the Public Works Department and to the Engineers of the Department of Broadcasting who have been responsible for their construction and design.

I think it is fitting that we should have this informal gathering tonight when we are coming to the end of our celebrations, for it is from these studios that thousands upon thousands of words—words spoken by His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung, by the Duke of Gloucester, by myself and many others, have winged their way through space to the uttermost ends of the earth. During the Merdeka period up to last night, a hundred and seventy-five studio and recording bookings have been made for domestic purposes; and on these recordings will be preserved for ever descriptions of the events which have changed Malaya into the free and independent nation of which we are so proud.

More than fifty sessions have been arranged for overseas broadcasters who have come to Kuala Lumpur as observers of the string events that have taken place. They have come from Holland, Pakistan, Australia, Sarawak, Japan, India, Vietnam, Canada, England and Morocco. More than forty miles of recording tape has been used, and the conservative estimate shows that more than four hundred and forty-five million people throughout the world have listened to the events of the past few days from broadcasts originating in these studios. Additionally, the programmes produced by Radio Malaya for Merdeka have been broadcast by every

country in the Commonwealth, and throughout the United States and many other countries, bringing our story to more than one hundred and fifty million people.

I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep appreciation to our sister country in the Commonwealth—Australia, for the assistance she has given to us by the loan of outside broadcasting and recording equipment for use over this period; which to me is an example of the close ties and helping hand which one can always expect from Commonwealth countries.

My Government is very conscious of the tremendous contribution which radio makes in the life of the people of this country, and also of the importance of using this means of telling the world what we are doing and what we are thinking. I take this opportunity to pay my tribute to Radio Malaya for the part they played in preparing and smoothing out the way for Independence. Without being even instructed or directed or advised, they took upon themselves the duty and responsibility of enlightening the people on the meaning of Independence and answering many involved and difficult questions connected with our Constitution. Every item emanating from Radio Malaya at that very difficult and tricky period radiated goodwill, comradeship and peace among the many people and groups of people who were prone to panic on the slightest pretext. Radio Malaya did their job so well and so loyally that I would like it recorded here my own personal and the nation's gratitude to them. I would also like to compliment the Director, Mr. Jackson and the Deputy Director, Mr. Read, and the staff of Radio Malaya for their very great work. It is for these reasons that we are determined that our radio organisation here in the Federation shall have the facilities to carry out the duties with which it is charged; and it is to the service of this country that I dedicate these studios and formally declare to be operative the new transmitting station at Ipoh.

May I express my thanks to the Minister responsible for the Department and to the Director of Broadcasting for the opportunity of saying a few words on this occasion.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CHAMPIONSHIPS OF FEDERATION OF MALAYA AT THE MERDEKA STADIUM, KUALA LUMPUR ON 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

It gives me great pleasure once again to attend today to formally open your Annual Championships. At last year's meeting which was held in Penang, I expressed the wish to your President, Mr. E. M. Mc Donald, that the Thirty Sixth Annual Championships should be held this year at the Stadium Merdeka at Kuala Lumpur. I promised him that I would do everything in my power to have the Stadium completed by that date and as you will see I have kept my part of the promise—thanks to the Engineers, Contractors and workers and staff of the Public Works Department.

Having promised the youth of this country that they should have a national stadium for their football matches and other sporting events it had to be decided where the stadium should be placed. I can still visualise standing at the top of the Chin Woo Tower and looking down to where a few athletes were training on the old Coronation Park. I visualised a large stadium surrounding those athletes and now today that vision has materialised and here you have the stadium surrounding the athletes from here and our friends abroad.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome the athletes here today; some of them have travelled long distances. Apart from competitors from all the States in the Federation of Malaya, we have representatives from Singapore, British Borneo, Fiji and Indonesia.

I am informed that although the number of competitors taking part is not a record for this series of Championships, it is expected that many athletic records will be broken in the course of the next three days, and I hope that all of you taking part, even though some of you may have no chance of breaking a record or of winning a medal, will nevertheless give of your best both in the game and your sportsmanship.

As Malaya has now taken her place by the side of other nations in the world affairs, I recommend for the consideration of all national sporting bodies in Malaya that every endeavour should be made to hold a major international meeting in this country at some not too distant date. Perhaps the Asian Games in 1962 and who knows the Olympic Games in 1968, because as I have said often sports will foster and promote friendship, goodwill and peace among mankind. I take this opportunity to congratulate the President and the members of the General Committee for their painstaking preparations to make this Championship meet an attractive one because it forms part of our Independence celebrations. Nothing now remains to be done except to wish the Championship the success it so richly deserves.

I now have great pleasure in formally declaring the Thirty-Sixth Annual Championships of the Federation of Malaya Amateur Athletic Union open.

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE SECOND
PENANG INTERNATIONAL SALON AT THE
SHOWROOMS OF HIN COMPANY LIMITED,
PENANG ON 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1957**

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to come here to open the Second International Salon of Photography to be held in Penang for the second time. An exhibition of this nature could put Penang on the map and I therefore take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Chan Eng Hock for taking the initiative to arrange for this exhibition.

This exhibition is bound to attract many keen photographers in Malaya and there are a number of photographers in this country which on the basis of population is second to no country in the world. If this exhibition continues to be held from time to time, it would add to their enthusiasm and thus improve their standard of photography.

I understand the first exhibition of this kind was held in 1955 and as it met with so much success it was decided to organise a world show once in two years. It is indeed gratifying to know that this Merdeka Year Exhibition has brought together participants from all over the world, including those from the Iron Curtain. Thus it is proof that art recognises no barrier. Apart from countries outside Malaya, we have participants from nearly every town in the Federation. Although only thirty two of our own entries made the grade, nevertheless it is an encouraging sign that our photographers can count themselves among the best in the world.

Malaya has its panoramic and her scenic beauty, its evergreen trees and vegetation, its blue seas and sky. These are objects of a photographer's dream. With the necessary encouragement, more Malayan photographers will in no time be able to exhibit their works of art depicting these objects of beauty not only in this country but in other parts of the world.

Arranged around this hall are pictures which range from the scene of harbour at night to the model of a beautiful girl. The skill with which they are photographed is something even words fail to express our admiration for the talents of the artists. It is the work of art of the highest order. In the old days men become famous through the art of painting their objects but today under the science of photography our photographers could well win equal fame as those artists who used the brush. As much as those artists of old use their imagination, photographers today must equally use their imagination and here we see this imagination is used to good advantage.

With these words, I take pleasure in declaring the Salon open.

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
CONVOCATION OF UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
AT CHINWOO, KUALA LUMPUR ON 21ST SEP-
TEMBER, 1957**

I consider it a very great privilege indeed to be asked to address this very learned and distinguished gathering — a gathering such as only to be seen on occasions like these. I accepted this invitation with a feeling of diffidence for I have learnt as a student to regard this occasion with feelings of awe and solemn respect. I did not dream that one day I would be singled out to fill such a distinguished role at a Convocation. On this occasion too I am the proud receiver of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, an honour which I greatly covet and for which I am most grateful to University for this very generous gift. With the bestowal of this degree upon my humble self, I was made permanent member of the University of Malaya, a University which has won so much fame in the short time it has been established. I therefore wish to thank all those concerned for this very great honour done to me.

This Convocation is an event of very great significance to us in the Federation and coming as it does in the wake of Merdeka makes this Convocation particularly memorable and historical. It is also a happy augury for the future of education in this country. It is positively a step in the right direction and I feel that with this as a beginning it will bring about in the not too distant future the realisation of our dream for the establishment of a full-fledged University in the Federation recognised not only in this country but also throughout the academic world. The student population in our country is large enough to warrant the founding of another University in Malaya. It is only too well realised how essential this higher education is to an independent country, but it is also realised that such an institution requires plenty of survey and exploration before it can be set up. Therefore for the time being and in view of the compelling circumstances, let us be content with the programme of expansion rather than start with building of a new University. With the addition of a

few more faculties, it will not be long before the present University of Malaya will be regarded as among the best and the largest in the world.

At the moment we have over four thousands students abroad and the fact that they are able to get admission into the Universities have been entirely dependent on the generosity and goodwill of these friendly countries. There are more than two thousands students in the United Kingdom alone and almost as many in Australia. There are students in America, in Eire, Ireland, New Zealand and in Hong Kong. It is obvious therefore that provision must be made in our University to absorb as many of our students here as is possible so that we do not wear out the welcome which has been extended to us by these countries. It must at the same time be realised that Universities in these countries are built at great cost and at the expense of the taxpayers and the Government of their respective countries, and the primary duties of all these countries must be to provide education for their own people. A time may come when they may have to restrict the entries of our students and before such time comes, let us make preparation to accommodate our students in our own country; otherwise a real calamity would befall this new nation.

I should like to take the opportunity to refer to the question of our national language. It has been agreed that the national system of education in his country must aim to make Malay the national language of the country. This is a language commonly spoken by the Malayan people no matter what may have been their race of origin. The extension of its use in the public life of the country is greatly desired but there are difficulties and there are problems and these difficulties and problems must be approached with great care and planning. However a beginning to advance Malay as the national language of this country must be made some time and somewhere. Therefore I would very much like to see our University develop somewhat on the lines of this important aspect in our educational policy.

It must also be appreciated that this University is not only a teaching establishment for higher academic and professional education but it is also a pivot on which knowledge in its broader sense centres. The students obtain and ought to obtain not only a sort of knowledge and learning that can be tested by examination but

also the moral, social and civic qualities which they learn here and which will only show to advantage in their later service in the cause of humanity. We have now a parliamentary form of Government which preposes a responsible and well informed electorate. It requires therefore competent and able leadership. The primary and secondary education provides some training for the shouldering of responsibility by the leaders must possess higher qualifications than that given in schools so that they can be better able and better equipped to undertake the tasks of guiding the people and of building the nation. And so upon this University is entrusted the burden of providing not only doctors, lawyers, engineers, botanists, zoologists, teachers, civil servants but also men and women with a higher sense of duty and responsibility to their country and their people.

Malaya at this stage is under-going a change and with the change there must inevitably be problems. One of our main problems is to find sufficient qualified men to man the Government departments and to undertake the various work which requires the calibre of University qualified men. We lack doctors, engineers and men with technical qualifications. Most of our qualified men find better and more remunerative employment outside Government service. Every hospital is short of doctors and dentists though the University turns out many men every year but few thought fit to join the Government service. It is said that Government provides no inducement for these professional men. On the other hand when comparison is made with the services in other countries, the Malayan Service is very attractive indeed. The Federation Government is examining the reason for this lack of response from our own people but at the same time a vacuum cannot be created in any department of the Government service, and it has thus been necessary for us to recruit doctors from India and it would also be necessary for us to recruit engineers and technicians from other countries. We hope that time will inculcate in the minds of our people that consciousness of service to their country and that this country will find no shortage of professional men she needs.

To the graduands who are present here, this Convocation must surely be an occasion of great rejoicing. You have worked hard for this moment and as the saying goes he who sows must reap. I congratulate all of you here on this achievement but I would also

ask you to regard this moment as one of dedication - dedication to the high ideals of service upon which this University was founded. Therefore regards the degrees conferred upon you as a symbol of duty and service to your country and be ready to play your part for the betterment and progress of your country and your fellowmen. The nurtured to robust health and strength, and it needs the help of everyone of its sons and daughters and in particular qualified men to help her obtain this.

To the undergraduates who are here today, convocation and conferment of degrees must surely be an occasion which you earnestly pray would come to you one day. Each one of you I am certain is renewing your determination to ensure success when that day comes. I therefore urge you to make the best use of your time at the University by familiarising yourself with the customs and idiosyncrasies of individuals and of students other than those of your own kind. Take active part in student life so that you will equip yourself to take your rightful place as a tolerant Malayan and to acquaint yourself with the problems and duties attending leadership.

Do by all means take part in healthy political activities in your College life. You must be in a position to know what is good or what is bad politics. You are now men and women and must be guided by our own conscience — a conscience to serve your country and to better the way of life to which we Malaysians have been used. Therefore avoid introducing something of which you know very little about and which might not be good to our Malayan society. You must remember that what is good for one country might not necessarily be good for another, and as we have been used to the Malayan way of life, let us try and improve it where and when we can. Therefore do not introduce something new which might have the effect of destroying the fabric of our society. We here know how to live and to smile and to desport ourselves in all the good things which God gives us. Let us carry on with this way of life and it is for you to develop it but never to destroy it.

The graduates of the University of Malaya have made contribution towards our national progress. The people desire to receive more and more benefit from them individually and collectively.

On this unique Convocation Day, I appeal to you all to give what is expected of you by the general public and by your new nation.

Then there is also the need for service in the interests of your Alma Mater. As members of the Guild of Graduates, which constitutes one of the University Authorities, it is your right as well as your responsibility to see that University flourishes and attains maturity and fame. It is your duty to suggest ways and means for the progress of your Alma Mater, while, I must add strongly, it is also your responsibility to contribute your part actively towards that progress.

This Convocation is a fitting occasion for you to do a little heartsearching as to how far you have used your rights and shouldered your responsibilities and to think and re-think as to how you can best execute them from now on. Lastly to members of the public I must remind them that this University is not a State University, nor is it privately owned: it is theirs, mine and ours. It is up to us to give it all our support so that this University will go on developing and progressing. We have at the moment in this country a University Commission consisting of three learned representatives of University bodies from outside Malaya and one representative each of the Federation and the Singapore Governments to review the constitution, working and finances of the University.

The Commission started work on the 22nd of last month and since then they have been meeting various people and representatives of interested bodies and also visiting various educational institutions in the Federation with the object of getting information for the report which they will shortly produce. Their report will contain plans for the future development of this University. We are all interested in the development of our University and will do all we can to support it. I would like to take this opportunity convey our gratitude and thanks to these gentlemen for the valuable services they are rendering to this country and to say that we are honoured by their presence at this Convocation today.

I understand that the enthusiasm which followed immediately after the founding of this University has somewhat slackened. The pace in the flow of endowments to the University has been

slow but if citizens of this country feel as I do that the University institution is essential to the life of the nation as food is to the body, then that pace must be quickened and endowments to the University must come in generously. We must all make up our minds to give this University our unstinted support so that our University will be the food and the pride of this new nation.

With faith in God and my belief in men, I have confidence that this support will come and that our University will multiply from one to two and the needs of our student population in this country will be satisfied. I would like once again to thank the University of Malaya for their kindness and generous thought in conferring upon me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws for which I am most grateful. I wish the University all the success it deserves.

Thank you.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL WELFARE COUNCIL AT KUALA
LUMPUR ON 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

I am indeed very pleased to be present today at the opening of your Annual General Meeting and to have this opportunity of meeting you and speaking to you.

To whatever extent the social services of a country may developed and in whatever direction, there is always a very important role to be played by voluntary welfare organisations and a great need for voluntary effort. To co-ordinate this effort a strong central advisory council such as yours is invaluable—not only to its member organisations but also to Government. I would like here and now to stress this point and to assure your Council of my Government's support in all its worthy undertakings. I hope that in their turn the various voluntary welfare organisations in Malaya and all public-spirited individuals will also give you their unstinted support.

Your Council's achievements in the past have been excellent and merit more publicity than they have yet had. I know that you are actively planning to extend and expand your work and it is really of the future that I now wish to speak.

The remarkable advances that have been made in Medical Science have brought new social problems to light. Tuberculosis and leprosy, for example, are no longer considered to be the death warrant of the unfortunate sufferers. Medical science can arrest and cure these diseases, but it is the problem of the social worker to rehabilitate them after their cure and help them to be absorbed into the normal life of the community. I understand that you are studying these problems and I am sure that the Central Welfare Council and its branches working as they do in close co-operation and harmony with the Department of Social Welfare can solve them satisfactorily.

It is gratifying to note the interest that the University of Malaya is taking in your work. Mr. Wells, I understand, is going to address you later on the subject of a Social Survey which your Council, with his help, is planning to carry out. I hope that this survey will be the forerunner of others which will study the social needs and problems of Malaya. This is a very important task and one in which the Government will take a keen interest.

It is also very gratifying to know that your Council—I ought really to say our Council—is affiliated to the International Conference of Social Work and I hope that Malaya will participate in this to the full. I very much welcome the proposal to hold a Conference of South-East Asian Social Workers here in Malaya in 1958. This is planned to take place immediately before the International Conference in Tokyo and it may well be that delegates from other countries besides our neighbours in South-East Asia will wish and be able to attend the Malayan Conference on their way to Tokyo.

All these activities of course cost money. The Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board has made very substantial grants for welfare projects channelled through and recommended by your Council. I hope that these grants will not only be continued, but increased. The Social Welfare Department is making a grant to you towards administrative expenses and I hope that next year it will be possible to increase this to enable you to develop and carry out your expanding programme. You cannot, however, depend entirely on Government and the Lotteries Board and I sincerely trust that members of the public will give full support to your Appeals which I earnestly commended to them.

I hope that more publicity will be given to your work and in this connection I am sure that the Government's Information Service will gladly give assistance.

I have often said, and it would not perhaps be out of place for me to reiterate the statement here, that the duty of His Majesty's Government of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu is to devote all its attention to the well-being of the people of this country, and in this respect intensive work must be carried out to improve our social services but help provided by the Social Welfare Department alone without the help of voluntary organisations would not

be very effective. There is we feel still a very wide gap in the life of the people in this country. Those who are rich are very rich and those who are poor very poor. There are also those who are hail and hearty but there are also those who are sick destitute. Our duty will be to try and help those who are in need and to alleviate the conditions and sufferings of the poor and bring remedy to the sick and the needy. Only organisations such as yours can do all these.

Our newly independent country has had a most auspicious start and it is said that once a good beginning is made, half the battle is won. Let us not slip in our duties and responsibilities but redouble our efforts to make full use of this good start so that the people here will reap to the full all the benefits which independent Malaya can offer. This is a beautiful, lovely and happy country and I call with confidence on the goodwill of my countrymen to assist you in your endeavours in the cause of social work and may God bless and support you.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
TENTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE
PENANG MUNICIPAL SERVICE UNION AT
E. & O. HOTEL, PENANG ON 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

This is the second occasion I have had the privilege of attending the Municipal Services Union dinner and of addressing the members. The atmosphere at your function has been one of happiness and a jolly affair as only you know how to put on. This function is held during the festive Merdeka season and that helps to make the occasion even more so. It reflects the spirit of Merdeka and everybody seems to me to be in great mood. It is my fervent hope that this spirit will long continue to radiate peace, happiness and harmony.

It is therefore obvious that a Union of this type or category must enjoy success particularly when they are led by able and sincere leaders. They have each individually attributed towards the success of this Union.

These leaders are sincerely devoted to the welfare of the members of the Union and it is for this reason that the Penang Municipal Services Union have had a long and happy history.

The Government is conscious of the part your Union is playing and on its success I would like to offer my heartiest congratulations. If only all unions are like yours, then I say this Government would have no cause for worry. There are in this country about two hundred and fifty unions. Some are like yours—truly good unions, others are not quite so good while a few cannot by any stretch of imagination be considered as unions, leave alone calling them good.

Many unions which fall within your class or category, I am glad to say are formed by members of the Government or semi-Government. There are others from the estates, business houses and so on. The more there are unions of this type the happier we will all be.

I am sure one day more unions will reach the same standard as the Municipal Services Union and it is the wish of Government to do all it can to help and encourage healthy unionism such as yours. There are also unions which are less well run and well organised. Perhaps with a little help these unions will be able to reach your standard. It was for this reason that when I visited UK the last time, I took the opportunity to have a talk with the head of a British trade union and sought his help for an expert to come out and help to organise a number of trade unions in this country which are within this category. It was my intention that Government should pay the expenses of this man to come out here for a few months. I am still waiting for advice.

It is not the aim of Government to try and run your union or to control your activities but to help and give guidance where such help and guidance are found necessary. We have also a third category of unions. Happily they are not very many of them. They are not unions in the true sense of the word. They are formed by individuals who wish to make use of the name and their unlimited membership to stir up trouble or to build a name for themselves. Some of these unions have got no particular aim. Their membership is open to all and sometimes without the members themselves being aware that they are roped into these unions. Most of the leaders of such unions have no identity of interests with members of the unions in that they do not do the work the members of the unions do, nor do they belong to the same service. They come from outside and set themselves as leaders to organise the unions in order to make trouble and or to make a name for themselves. They are political opportunists who must be kept out of unions.

I have said before that unions must be free from politics or political influence. The political opportunists should not be allowed to make use of the unions to serve their political ends. The unions exist to serve the interests of the members and as such only will the unions be able to do good work expected of them by the country and by the members. One thing however I am pleased to observe here is that there is no subversive elements which have infiltrated into your Union or the other good unions besides yours. You have the blessing of the people in this country and also your Government.

This country is now independent and it is the duty of every one who owes allegiance to this country to work towards the stability of this Government. We have got to earn sufficient income to pay for our various services, social and economic development of this country. Government is planning to diversify the country's industries, but if trouble is created by the workers nobody would think of investing money in these industries.

Therefore it will be both in the interests of this country and in the interests of the workers themselves to give full support to the Government in order to implement any project which will promise prosperity for this country. Unions can do a lot to bring about good understanding between employers and employees and it is with this understanding that the well-being of the workers and everybody concerned will be assured. This new nation does not depend entirely on her administrators to serve her interests—she depends on every one of her sons and daughters to look after her and to nurse her to maturity and to strength.

We stand now on our own feet and we are brave enough to face the challenge that lies ahead and with the support of all the elements, the different races who made up the Malayan nation, we feel confident that we can overcome all obstacles.

Let us show the world how in diversity we can find unity. We have now been admitted into the United Nations and recognised by the whole world as a free and independent nation. Let us show what we can do towards peace and happiness not only in our own country but in the interest of the world in general.

I would like to thank, on behalf of my wife and my colleagues, for your very fine dinner and your kind hospitality. I have always enjoyed the happy atmosphere because it helps me to forget the onerous duties connected with my office. They say that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown". That is quite true in my case because I never hear the end of criticism. I am not likely to hear the end of them until I enter the grave. I welcome fair and just criticisms but where criticisms are made without justification, then I just ignore them. That is how I am able to keep fresh, well and in good humour. This is my advice to you how to carry on with your Union. Keep cheerful and happy and the world will laugh with you.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN WIND-
ING UP THE DEBATE ON THE PROPOSED
EXTERNAL DEFENCE AND MUTUAL ASSIST-
ANCE AGREEMENT AT THE FEDERAL
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEETING, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 3RD OCTOBER, 1957

I do not think there is much in what has been said by those opposing the Mutual Defence Pact which I had not in fact already mentioned in the course of my speech when introducing this motion. This is perhaps due to the fact that those opposing the Pact had made up their minds to oppose it and had prepared their speeches on that line in advance. However, the Honourable Mr Thaver said that a military pact always invites trouble. It may be so where such a pact is made between two powerful countries but a pact between a new nation that seeks to protect its own independence and sovereignty with another country that can help to achieve this object would not and could not be said to be a military pact. I gave the reason as to why we had sought to enter into this Mutual Defence Pact with UK. I repeat it is because we have not got armed forces strong enough not only for the purpose of resisting aggression from without but even for crushing the Communist uprising from within. As I said earlier even in spite of the help we are receiving from the British and the Commonwealth troops, we have not able to end this state of Emergency. I can visualise what would happen to this country if this pact is not signed. In the first place, it would give rise to feelings of insecurity, the consequences of which will be that capital would leave the country—not only foreign capital but even local people would be afraid to invest money in any project.

The British Officers serving with us in all departments would also leave. This will affect adversely our administrative machinery. That would surely invite disaster and would ensure a Communist victory because the Communists strive and gain ground where the Government of the country is bad or where the people are dissatisfied and starving. With the flow of foreign capital from this country there would be economic instability which will precipitate this country in bankruptcy. The value of the Malayan

dollar which now stands firm will rapidly drop and this will cause inflation and with that you will all realise only too late the consequence of our folly in not accepting friendly assistance when you know fully well that such assistance is necessary for the well-being of this country.

The Malayan forces which have had the help of the British and Commonwealth forces to fight the Communists would be fighting alone, and with the number of men and arms we have available, the Communist would come out from the jungle and once again start to terrorise people not only in the villages but in the towns. That is not all but worse fate awaits us—the same as that which befell Korea and Vietnam.

Without a single vessel to patrol our shores the power friendly to the Communists would soon send help in men, arms and equipment to help their comrades fight this battle. Does the Honourable Member imagine the war in Korea was fought between the North Korean Communists and the Nationalists? Even aided by the Allied power the war could not be won by the Nationalists. Why? Because the comrades came from across the border to help. The same happened in regard to Vietnam. With the help from Comrades from across the border the Nationalists had to slice half of the territory for the Communists. The same would happen in our case—the war they will say is waged between the patriots and the British running dogs, but three-quarters of the patriotic force will come from across the China Sea. That is why Chin Peng is not prepared to accept the peace offer because he is living in hope of help from outside. The opposition is exactly what he is praying for and you will be doing a great service to him if you will reject this treaty, but you will be committing an act of treachery to this country if you do. This was what actually happened in Korea and Vietnam.

Why the terrorists had not been so successful here was because the British naval and air craft have been keeping close watch on our shores. We have not I said possessed anything that we can call a vessel or a plane to help us in this matter.

The battle of Malaya would be ended if it were possible to fight an open battle with this cunning enemy and we can finish this battle with even half the number of the men we have today. But our battlefield stretches from the Thai border right to the tip of the Peninsula.

We have also the subversive elements and the fifth columnists who are part of the Communist organisation.

The Honourable Mr. Thaver had the impertinence to suggest that we have no enemies. What does he think of this trouble we have had for the last nine years? Does he suggest that it is just a playful gambol among member of the family where the number of deaths resulting from this gambol totalled ten thousand seven hundred and thirty eight up to the 30th September of this year? Does he suggest that the killing is cause through sheer accident?

The other point raised by him was with regard to the duration of the Treaty. I have already mentioned that this treaty endures only as long as there is goodwill between the two countries. It can be scrapped tomorrow at the instance of either party. He also suggested that by allowing our men to enlist in the British Army we are encouraging divided loyalty. I suppose he would suggest that all the British officers seconded to serve in our Army and other services have been encouraged by their Government to have divided loyalty.

With regard to land they do not have a title to it. They are subject, like all other lessees are, to the terms and conditions of the lease and it is also correct that if we allow them to stay in this country we should allow them the facilities of using our telephones and telecommunication services in the same way as we allow all business people whether they are foreign or local to use the and facilities which this country can offer.

The Honourable Mr. Thaver also said that this Treaty suggests that we are controlled in our foreign policy by the British and quoted the stand we took on the West Irian issue and Communist China. This is wholly incorrect. If Mr. Thaver were to listen carefully to the speech from the Throne he will realise that our policy is a straightforward and simple one. We stand for peace and goodwill and co-operation with all friendly countries. This is our stand in the United Nations, but to ask us to support the entry of Communist China into the United Nations would mean to admit that the Communist whom we are fighting are part of a regime of a friendly nation.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE
AGREEMENT ON EXTERNAL DEFENCE AND
MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AT THE FEDERAL
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEETING, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 4TH OCTOBER, 1957

The question of an Agreement on External Defence and Mutual Assistance was first taken in the Malayan Constitution Talks held in London in January and February 1956. It was then appreciated by both parties that when the Federation attains her independence the defence of her territories would become her sole and exclusive responsibility. It was realised by the representatives of the Federation Government that the resources of the Federation would not be sufficient to maintain an army which is strong enough to defend ourselves against aggression and at the same time carry on the fight against Communist terrorists which has menaced our territories for the last nine years. We also realised only too well that this fight against Communist terrorists (to be successful) should not only be conducted solely in the terms of a shooting war, or psychological warfare, but should also be conducted in the field of social and economic activities. Our total income is \$761,000,000 out of which only \$76,000,000 could be mustered for allocation for defence purposes. These would include expenses for the army and the building up of our own air and naval forces. If we desire to spend more than that it would mean either we have to raise more taxes, or else reduce our expenditure on education, social services and the economic development of the country. We, therefore, felt that we ought to make do with such forces as are sufficient to maintain peace and order within our territory, and leave it to the goodwill of our friends to defend us against aggression. It would be too much of a risk to take no steps after independence for the defence of the country, and it would be wrong to depend entirely on the United Nations to come to our assistance in case of an attack; by the time such help can come the conquest of Malaya would have been a fait accompli, as it has been proved elsewhere and Malaya would be no exception. Therefore the Federation representatives in the London Talks felt that we should enter into a defence agreement with Her Majesty's Government in

United Kingdom soon after the attainment of Independence whereby the external defence of the country and mutual assistance would be provided on a reciprocal basis.

As for the United Kingdom their representatives were willing to give their fullest co-operation so as to insure that the Federation Government remains a member of the community of nations that comprise the Free World. In addition, United Kingdom who has obligation in respect of the Commonwealth welcomes the prospect of having bases in the Federation which would enable her to discharge her obligations fully.

It was thus agreed at this first Constitutional Talks in London that recommendations should be made to both Governments that they should freely negotiate for an agreement on the mutual defence of the Federation and the UK territories in the Far East. It was agreed that a Working Party should be appointed consisting of a number of representatives of Her Majesty's Government on the one hand and a similar number of representatives of the Conference of Rulers and Alliance Party on the other to carry out the negotiation. It was also then agreed that the Australian Government and the New Zealand Government should be invited to send representatives as observers to the discussion of the Working Party. White Paper No. 6 of 1956 laid on the table in the Legislative Council held on March 14, 1956 was accepted.

The Working Party consisted of five representatives of the Federation and five representatives of Her Majesty's Government and one of the latter, the Commissioner-General, South-East Asia, was Chairman. The Federation representatives consisted of the Chief Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Education, the Keeper of the Rulers Seal and the Mentri Besar, Selangor.

The discussion had taken a long time. The first meeting of the Working Party was held in Kuala Lumpur on 16th April, 1956 and the last meeting was held on 20th March 1957, but the discussion between the two parties went on by correspondence until 23rd August that is right to the very last week before Merdeka day. In the first series of meetings of the Working Party held in Kuala Lumpur on 16th April and 6th June, a large

measure of agreement was reached between the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Federation and the points outstanding were left for further discussion in Malaya between the representatives of the United Kingdom here and the representatives of the Federation. Some further progress was made in the second series of discussion which were carried on by correspondence and by a meeting of the representatives of the two parties which took place on November 19, 1956, but some points of major issues were still left unresolved and it was agreed that they should be taken up in London. When a Federation delegation went to United Kingdom in December 1956 for Financial Talks, opportunity was taken to resolve these major issues at a round table with the Secretary of State and almost all of them were settled at this talk, except for a few unimportant points which were left to be settled in the Federation. The final meeting of the Working Party was held in Kuala Lumpur on 20th March 1957, but exchange of correspondence went on as stated earlier till the last week before Merdeka.

The time taken to produce the Agreement which is set out in the White Paper now before you is evident of the careful consideration which the Federation delegation have given to every point connected with the Agreement. It is, for example, worth noting that provisions which might be regarded likely to compromise the sovereignty of the Federation took the longest time to resolve, and it was only after these provisions have been settled to the satisfaction of the Federation representatives that it was considered that the Agreement was acceptable. The journey to London and the direct negotiations with the Secretary of State for the Colonies produced result and the understanding shown by him and his colleagues is worthy of note here. The provisions in point are those connected with jurisdiction over offences committed by the members of the United Kingdom forces in the course of duty; those connected with action to be taken in the event of a threat to the preservation of peace and a threat of war, or of actual attack against our territories, or the territories of the United Kingdom in the Far East, comprising Singapore, Borneo and Hongkong, or in the event of an outbreak of hostilities elsewhere than in the Far East; and the provisions connected with review and termination of the Agreement.

I would like to reiterate here that the provisions embodied in the Agreement are the results of a long study and a prolonged negotiation and each of the provisions embodied therein has been very carefully examined by members of the Federation delegation to the Working Party.

Throughout the long negotiation the United Kingdom delegation acted in a spirit and in a manner which are both commendable and praiseworthy. When in London the Secretary of State for the Colonies assured the Federation delegation that the United Kingdom on their side was inspired by the spirit of doing all it possibly can to help the Federation. She did not wish to see the Federation burdened with heavy commitments before she is ready and able to stand on her own feet. The United Kingdom wanted to help the Federation in the expansion of her armed forces; she agreed to make her forces available to help the Federation in the fight against terrorism; and she agreed to help the Federation if his assistance is required when the peace and security of her territory is threatened from without. The Federation delegation recognised that in order to enable United Kingdom to give the fullest assistance to us the United Kingdom should be allowed bases in the Federation but on the condition that the size and the location of these bases and the size of the forces must be determined by us.

Both parties to the negotiations throughout appreciated that any agreement of the kind negotiated must be inspired by mutual trust and goodwill as otherwise it would not be worth the paper on which it was written. It might be worth yourwhile to listen to some of the relevant portions of the speech I made at the opening of the discussion in London.

"Such a Treaty must be inspired by mutual trust and goodwill; without this it will not be worth the paper on which it is written. It has been shown too often in the past that no matter how solemn the undertakings, or how detailed such Agreements or Treaties are, if they do not reflect a true desire between the countries concerned for genuine friendship and collaboration they will not work; at the worst they may be abrogated; at the best they become valueless documents. On the other hand, where there is friendship and goodwill, even though the Treaty itself were to be written in invisible ink, that Treaty would still live.

I hope Sir, that we shall all bear this truth in mind during our discussions. In a treaty of this sort, which we have to consider, one can argue forever as to whether this clause or that clause should be inserted or not, or whether this phrase or that phrase should be amended in this way or that. But this sort of discussion is not what we have come to England for. We have come to England because we know, as the elected Government of Malaya, that our country, Independent Malaya, which will emerge in a few months time, will have to choose between an association with the Communist Block or the great family of the British Commonwealth.'

As you see from the Treaty, we chose the latter.

'But the Defence Treaty which we are about to discuss must reflect both in the word and spirit the full Independence and Sovereignty of the new Malaya. Anything in it, any clause, provision or word derogatory to that status will not merely be difficult—indeed impossible—for me to defend in public, but will provide immediately a platform from which subversive elements will attack our Government and seek to undermine its authority on the grounds that although we have secured Independence with the one hand we have then given it away with the other. I and my colleagues know that the British and Commonwealth Forces remain in Malaya at our request, as friends and allies, to help us in our present struggle against Communism and as a safeguard against any future threats to our freedom. But there will be some—and the Communists in particular—who will seek to depict them, falsely, as an Army of Occupation. We have to avoid this at all costs; for if this allegation can be made, even on the flimsiest of pretexts, it can wreck the working of the Agreement and undermine the whole future relations between our two countries.

It is for this reason that my colleagues and I are convinced that there must be full consultation with and the concurrence of the Malayan Government before use is made of the forces or bases which British and Commonwealth Government will have in Malaya, under the Treaty.

It is for this reason also that we feel bound to maintain the present position whereby the members of the British Armed Forces operating in Malaya are subject to the same Civil criminal jurisdiction as the members of our own Forces.'

Both parties to the negotiations agreed that this agreement, which is the result of the long negotiation based on goodwill and mutual trust, should not be signed until the Federation stands on an equal footing with the United Kingdom as a fully sovereign and independent State. In fact the talks were carried on as if the Federation was already independent and we were both of equal status. Provisions for consultation between the parties to the Agreement followed closely upon arrangements and procedure upon which other independent nations based their negotiations having regard to the principle that mutual co-operation can best promote the objectives and ensure peace and harmony and provide mutual assistance in time of war. The recognition given to the independent status of the Federation is reflected in the words and spirit of the provisions of the Agreement: there is no provision in the Agreement which can be regarded as derogatory to the sovereign status of the Federation, but all without exception accord completely with international practice.

The Agreement has been criticised in certain quarters on the ground that the sovereignty of the Federation has been compromised by having foreign troops in its territory, and that in effect our independence was half baked; to that my answer is that in these days of internationalism, it is accepted that in a treaty of mutual assistance, the stationing of foreign forces in one's territory does not constitute an infringement of one's sovereignty. In fact, it all depends on the terms under which these forces are allowed to remain in the country, and that is whether they are forces invited as friends and allies or whether they are forces of a military power in occupation of another's territory by reason of conquest. As I have explained earlier, the United Kingdom and Commonwealth forces are invited to stay here in order to be in a position to assist us when such assistance is required. There can be no half baked independence. When a country has been recognized as independent by the World it is independent in the real sense of the word. It, however, very much depends on how one would like to make of one's independence, provide safety for the country

or invite disaster. In this case it is the safety of the Federation with which we are concerned and while I am head of the Party in power, I am prepared to stand or fall by this Agreement.

As I have indicated earlier the rights and privileges granted in the acts to be performed under this agreement are subject to further consultations and negotiations from time to time as the need arises. These matters include the size of the forces, changes in their character and deployment, the need for more bases or their reduction in number, the payment of compensation for the taking of United Kingdom bases by the Federation and of compensation for damages to property caused by the explosion of explosives, etc. The amount of compensation payable under the terms of the Agreement is again to be determined by consultations between the two parties.

In normal circumstances the treaty of this nature does not require the prior approval of the Parliament before it is signed; it is sufficient if the Prime Minister and his Cabinet approve of it. For this reason this Agreement for External Defence and Mutual Assistance is not discussed in the British Parliament. On the other hand, I have brought this matter to this Council in fulfilment of a promise I made to the electorate. My duty now is to explain to you the various provisions of this Agreement.

I repeat that the main purpose of this Agreement is to provide for assistance in the external defence of the Federation and the United Kingdom in the event of a threat of armed attack and of our territories and the territories of the United Kingdom in the Far East. The Federation on her part however agrees to grant the United Kingdom bases to enable her forces to be stationed here for the above purposes, and to provide her forces with other facilities.

There are only eleven articles in the Agreement. In Articles I and II, the Government of UK undertakes to afford the Federation such assistance that the latter may require for her external defence and to furnish such assistance as may be agreed upon for the training and development of Federation forces. In the Articles III and IV, the Federation agrees to the UK maintaining such naval, land and air forces as are agreed between the two

parties to be necessary and to the UK having and maintaining bases in the Federation. The terms under which the bases may be occupied and the facilities provided are defined in Annexes II and IV to the Agreement. Article V in Annex III provides for definition of the status of the members of the forces and the civilians stationed in the Federation. The next three Articles, VI to VIII regulate the courses of action in the event of (i) a threat of attack, (ii) an armed attack and (iii) a threat to the preservation of peace and outbreak of hostilities elsewhere than in the Far East. In the first case, the two parties are to consult together on the action to be taken; in the second case they agree to co-operate with each other and to take such action as each considers necessary for the purpose of meeting the situation effectively; and in the last case the UK agrees to consult the Federation before committing her forces involving the use of her bases in the Federation, but this provision does not prejudice her right to withdraw her forces out of the Federation. In no way will the Federation be committed to a war in which Britain is involved except where it concerns the territories of Singapore, Borneo, Brunei and Hongkong. In the Article IX the UK agrees to consult the Federation before making any major changes in the deployment and in the character of her forces. In the Article X, both parties agree to consult together before introducing any administrative and legislative changes which would affect the operation of the Agreement. The last Article provides definitions to terms used.

The point to note in the provision regarding assistance for external defence is that the UK will give such assistance as the Federation may require. The initiative rest with the Federation if such assistance required.

Our forces are still in the development stage and assistance is required in various forms and the UK has agreed under the Agreement to provide at our request assistance with staffing, administration and training; facilities within UK bases for maintenance and the logistic support of Federation Armed Forces and finally assistance in the supply of equipment. It may be mentioned that the UK has separately agreed to give financial assistance in the expansion of the Federation forces—by way of a grant-in-aid and in kind.

It is provided in Article 3 of the Agreement that the size of the forces which the UK will maintain under the Agreement is to be agreed to by the two Government; the UK Government cannot maintain troops of any size in this country and these are confined to British, Australian, New Zealander, Gurkha and Fijian Forces.

Under the Agreement, the UK forces can only be based in specified areas agreed upon by the Federation Government. The terms under which these bases may be occupied are set out in Annex 4 to the Agreement. In short, the UK forces will not be permitted to own or to hold title to any land, but will be granted leases for a period not exceeding thirty years, but further leases may be granted for such further periods as may be considered necessary. The number of bases that the UK forces shall maintain under the Agreement has been determined and when the final deployment of the UK forces are made in accordance with this Agreement, the UK forces will be confined to a few specified areas. At the moment they are found in various places which are in fact interim bases and which will be given up to the Federation as soon as their permanent bases are completed.

The leases are granted to the UK forces on the same terms as those granted to private individuals; in other charges imposed by law for the time being in force in respect of land held by private individuals. Although it is not provided that they would be subject to payment of local authority rates, they would make a contribution to the Government of the Federation for the facilities or services rendered to them by the local authorities and normally covered by the general rating assessment—the amount of contribution is to be Government of the Federation for the facilities or services rendered to them by the local authorities and normally covered by the general rating assessment—the amount of contribution is to be ascertained on a basis to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

In addition to the grant of bases the Federation Government agrees under the Agreement to grant the UK forces areas for training purposes, and other facilities to help in the movement of troops, vessels, aircraft and vehicles but such movements would be subject to the usual traffic regulations and control. The

UK are given rights to the construction and use of telecommunications, radar and broadcasting systems, and to the use of our postal services.

The UK forces will be entitled to use our roads, railways and bridges. It is, however, provided that where the Federation roads or other public services have to be developed or maintained to a level which would not have been necessary but for a UK request, the UK Government shall make a contribution for such development or maintenance.

Provisions are also made for the movement of explosives through the ports of the Federation and to move them when reasonably necessary, but the Government of the UK will indemnify and compensate the Federation authorities against any claims for compensation, legally enforceable or ex gratia in respect of any damage caused by the explosives.

Fears have been expressed in the papers that bases for experiments in nuclear weapons might be granted under the Agreement. Bases are given for the purposes of stationing the forces agreed between the two Governments to be necessary to implement the provisions of the Agreement, and no provision is made for bases or facilities for experiments in nuclear weapons: explosives referred to in the Agreement does not include nuclear weapons. The fears recently expressed are therefore groundless.

It is also agreed in the Agreement that the UK forces shall have the facilities to purchase locally manufactured goods and commodities and to employ local civilians under terms and conditions of employment conforming to our Labour Code.

The Federation also agrees to the UK Authorities recruiting citizens of the Federation for enlistment in their forces, but terms and conditions of service are subject to the agreement of the Federation Government.

Annex 3 makes provision for the status of the forces. The provision of this Annex follows closely current international practice. Under the NATO arrangement, for example, offences arising out of action committed in the course of official duties

are triable in service courts, but our agreement with the UK it is provided that such offences will be triable in our civil courts. In other words our courts have wider jurisdiction over members of British forces than is normally provided in international practice.

The provisions of the Agreement do not involve the Federation with the affairs of the SEATO. The treaty with UK covers only the defence of the Federation and we are only committed to cooperate with the UK in the case of a threat of attack or of an armed attack on her territories in the Far East, comprising Singapore, Borneo and Hongkong. The Agreement does not even commit the Federation in war when Australia and New Zealand are attacked.

I have mentioned earlier that any Agreement of this kind is based on mutual trust and goodwill and is terminable at the instance of any of the parties to the Agreement. We have however agreed that it shall be provided in an exchange of letters to be made between the parties that the Agreement shall be subject to review at the instance of either party. The thirty year lease provided under the Annex dealing with Land Tenure is purely a technical matter connected with the use and occupation of bases, and the term agreed to is purely for the protection of UK's interest in such bases and for the recovery of any sum of money expended. Should the Agreement be terminated the need for bases would no longer arise and the leases would therefore come to an end and in this case UK would be allowed to dispose of her residual interest in the land.

The Australian and the New Zealand Government have expressed their desire to associate themselves with the Agreement in so far as the terms of the Agreement concern them and we are grateful for the goodwill shown.

This Agreement for Defence and Mutual Assistance between the UK Government and the Federation Government is a simple treaty providing for mutual assistance in the defence of the territories named where such assistance is required. It is limited in scope and in extent. It is not a treaty which bind one country to another; it is a treaty of friendship, pure and simple. Most people in this country are apt to interpret any treaty made with the British Government as providing for protection whereby this

country will come under the sphere of British influence. All the past Treaties and Agreement between various State in Federation provided for that, because at the time we were a subject state. Therefore those treaties were not in fact treaties by arrangements for the exercise of power by UK over the territories of the Malay States. As from the 31st August 1957, Malaya has taken on a new status whereby she stands on an equal footing with all the free countries of the world. She is free to enter into any treaty with any friendly country if she so wishes, for this treaty with UK Government does not prevent her from doing so, and she is free to abrogate any agreement made if in her opinion such agreement serves no further purpose. By entering into an agreement with us millions of pounds will be expended by her for the stationing of her forces in this country and allowing us at the same time to develop progressively our own armed forces.

There are sections of the people who are averse to making a treaty with Britain; some say it invites aggression, some say it commits Malaya to war, while others say that it compromises our sovereignty. The reason for aggression does not arise through just allowing bases in Malaya to a friendly country under an agreement. It arises from greed and from a desire for conquest on the part of the aggressor. In fact there is no safety for any country in the world if others are intent on making war.

There are some who are callous enough to think that Malaya can stand on her own feet. There are others who think that as we have become independent we are already great and as such we should not seek assistance from any other country, but let us face facts—we have at our own command an army of less than one division in strength; we have no air force, not even a single plane, or a single man; we have no navy, not even a single sea-going craft. With the revenue at our command we can never be able to build our forces to the strength which we would require for the defence of our country. I have mentioned earlier that we have \$771 million in revenue; only one-tenth of that can we spare for our armed forces; the rest must go for the national development, schools, medical and health, postal services, housing, improvement of agriculture, land development, drainage and irrigation, road improvement and such like.

In the circumstances it is only too obvious that we can't stand alone. If with experience we find any part of the treaty needs amendment there is nothing to prevent us from doing so provided we give the other party notice of our intention to do so. It was for this reason that provision is made for the treaty to be reviewed at the instance of either party.

I would like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to Sir Robert Scott, the Commissioner-General who presided at meetings of this Working Party. He showed so much understanding, and so much fairness in the conduct of meetings. At no moment did he try to bring his influence to bear on us nor did he try to persuade us to agree to anything which in his opinion we could not and would not agree. The meeting of the Working Party went on smoothly and in an atmosphere of goodwill and friendship. It took us several months to complete the work, and as between the representatives of the Rulers and ourselves, we had to work sometimes even late at night in order to achieve the fullest agreement on all points. The Federation representatives were thus represented at the meetings of the Working Party as one party right from the moment the Working Party commenced its work up to its conclusion through the exchange of letters on the 23rd August, 1957. I would therefore like to express my thanks and gratitude for the cooperation which was given fully by the representatives of the Rulers and of course by the representatives of our own party.

I have nothing further to add as to the merits or demerits of this Treaty. You would appreciate fully that a new nation cannot stand alone and it would be a crime against the Malayan society to leave this country undefended and open to attack from without and harrassed by enemies from within. Therefore when the White Paper, No. 6 of 1956, was debated in this Council, members of this Council gave full support and approval to this Treaty and all that followed was to work out its terms. The terms are here now on the White Paper which deals with every aspect of a treaty of defence in fact and in spirit it is a defensive treaty. It provides for mutual defence of both countries and in no way can it be said that we have allowed thereby the sovereignty of this country to be compromised. I feel duty bound to urge upon this House to honour the Treaty which we have entered into with the United Kingdom Government in good faith and

for the well-being of our country. Remember again that treaties made between two sovereign independent countries rest on goodwill and mutual understanding. This treaty is open to review from time to time and I undertake to review this treaty again not later than a year from now. I beg to commend to the house the acceptance of this treaty without amendment.

Sir, I beg to move.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT
THE OPENING OF THE FEDERATION OF
MALAYA INTER-GOVERNMENT DEPART-
MENTAL SPORTS AT THE MERDEKA STADIUM,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 4TH OCTOBER, 1957

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel happy to be invited to open the Inter-Government Departmental Sports. This is the sort of thing which I like to encourage. When this matter was brought up I at once gave it my blessing and this is the first meet of this kind and I hope that this will be the forerunner of many more sports events of this kind.

This is also a happy medium of bringing representatives of various departments together in one place and in friendly rivalry. This rivalry will produce good comradeship and understanding.

Sports has got very many good points in it. It helps you to build your body and it helps to build your mind and it will also give you that spirit which makes for goodwill. It helps you to lighten your burden which you carry on your shoulders as Government servants and give you time to laugh and to enjoy yourself.

In order to compete you would also have to train after your office hours. This itself is a good exercise and helps to sustain you in good health and in good spirit throughout the year. I would of course like to see many more inter-departmental competitions but I know it would cost money and time to bring all the sporting Government servants together. Therefore let us do first thing first and begin with this Athletic Meeting. If it proves successful then we might start thinking and planning about holding the other games.

You have in this stadium an ideal ground for your sports and in an ideal surrounding and if the weather keeps fine everything should be as your hearts have desired. I hope that you have a very enjoyable time here.

I would like to congratulate the organisers of the Federation of Malaya Inter-Government Departmental Sports for the initiative they have taken to bring about this meeting and for the time and labour they have spent in arranging it.

I am glad to see that ladies are taking part alongside the men. Independent Malaya depends on her well-being not only the men but the women as well, so good luck.

I have much pleasure in declaring the First Federation of Malaya Inter-Government Departmental Sports open.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY AT PETALING
JAYA, SELANGOR ON 5TH OCTOBER, 1957

The Hon'ble the Minister of Health,¹ Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Customs requires that I should start by saying how pleased I am to have been invited by the Minister of Health to open the new Headquarters of the Department of Chemistry—but to tell the truth I have never been so apprehensive about speaking on any subject as I am today. Chemistry, I must confess, has always been a closed book to me. It recalls boyhood memories alternating between an array of unpalatable medicines and weird apparatus responsible for what I suppose I ought to describe in this distinguished gathering as a most objectionable odour—but for which we school boys were accustomed to use a shorter and less polite, if more pungent word.

So when the Minister invited me to perform this opening ceremony I thought this would be at last my opportunity to learn something about chemistry which I have hitherto neglected. I hope indeed that the Minister himself, since these things fall within his responsibilities, would tell us all about the subject in his introductory speech. But no; what did he do? When I looked last night at the notes which he had sent I found that he had run away from the subject too and was going to make a very charming speech which you just heard, tracing the HISTORY of the department—leaving ME to tell you what it DOES.

In these circumstances I hope you will all—and above all the Director of Chemistry—who I fear is going to suffer mental torture while I display my ignorance of his subject—forgive me the obvious shortcomings in what I am about to say.

The Department of Chemistry is in a sense one of the “back-room” departments of Government. By that I mean that it works behind the scenes to provide services which many of us depend

¹ V. T. Sambanthan.

on or take for granted whilst hardly knowing of their very existence. As an avid follower in my youth of the adventures of Dr. Sherlock Holmes I supposed I should have realised how important the Department of Chemistry is to the maintenance of law and order. I certainly never realised until it was brought to my notice that last year the Department examined no less than 8,500 exhibits on behalf of the Police. All of us, in other words, sleep safer in our beds at night owing to the close collaboration between the Department of Chemistry and the Police Department in the pursuit of the criminal.

But the Chemistry Department does not only help to keep us safe and sound—provided we are on the right side of the law. It also helps—regardless of which side of the law we are on to keep us more healthy. It is principally responsible for the analysis of water samples on which the maintenance of pure water supplies so largely depends. Some 15,000 samples of water supplies will be examined this year. Similar work is undertaken in the analysis of food and drugs, although in this field there is much more to be done, and one of the reasons for building this new Headquarters is to enable this important side of the department's work to be greatly expanded. Many other branches of the Government use the department's services; it also renders important services to the business community and is playing its part in various forms of research designed to help commercial and industrial development in Malaya. In all these ways therefore the work of the department is vital to the smooth running of our daily life in Malaya even though not many of us come into personal contact with it.

I should therefore like to congratulate all those who have been responsible for the buildings we see today. Above all, the Director of Public Works and the State Engineer, Selangor; Mr. S. P. Merer and Mr. H. I. Ashley who designed the building and Mr. F. L. Gandolfo and Mr. B. Wong who were responsible for supervision on the spot. The contractors have been the Low Yat Construction Company and the total cost approximately \$550,000.

But before I declare this new Headquarters open I should like to take this opportunity to appeal for more young Malaysians to enter the scientific services of the Government. At present the Division One staff of this Department is all expatriate and although

three local officers are studying for higher degrees at the University of Malaya a recent advertisement offering three additional scholarships this year did not produce a single applicant. This is most disappointing. If Malaya is to play her full part as an independent nation she must have her own scientific officers. I hope therefore that parents, school-masters and others responsible for influencing the young people of Malaya in their choice of careers will do all they can to persuade these with suitable aptitude to qualify in science and enter the scientific services of the Government.

Mr. Minister, Your Excellencies and Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not going to detain you any longer with any technical descriptions of the new Headquarters or the work of the department which you will see for yourselves in a few minutes. I will only add that I am assured by the Director of Chemistry that any dangerous fumes or objectionable odours—or whatever you wish to call them—are carefully removed by the latest sensitive of you to fear this morning.

I have now, Mr. Minister, much pleasure in wishing the Director and Staff of the Department of Chemistry every success and in declaring this new Building open.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO
GOVERNMENT OFFICERS UNDERGOING AN
EXECUTIVE SERVICE TRAINING COURSE,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 5TH OCTOBER, 1957

Gentlemen,

I congratulate you on your appointments to the new Executive Service. You have passed searching tests, and there is no doubt that, judging by your performance in these tests, you will be worthy pioneers of our Executive Service.

I understand that, since you have already shown your worth, you will not be subjected to further examination at the end of this training course. This knowledge will, no doubt, enable you the more cheerfully to enter on this course and, perhaps, to sleep the sounder. I trust, however that sleep will be confined to the right time and place, and will not extend to occasions on which you are expected to give undivided attention to a lecturer!

This course has been designed to provide a broad understanding of Government, the structure of the Government service and to improve your knowledge of administrative procedures. Fully realising the vital importance of the new Executive Service, Heads of Government Departments, Executives of Public Authorities and business firms—have willingly agreed to give you the benefit of their specialist knowledge, and to discuss with you topics which are likely to concern you as Executive Officer, and which certainly concern you as citizens. I thank all those who have accepted invitations to lecture on this course and I trust, Gentlemen, that you will show your appreciation by coming to this course with a flexible and constructive approach to problems, and so gain full benefit from the training.

At this juncture in the history of Malaya an efficient, loyal and honest administration is more essential than ever before. The establishment of the Executive Service comes therefore at a propitious time. The role of the Service—in taking some of the burden of day to day administration and policy execution from



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra berucap kepada Pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan yang menjalani Kursus Latihan Perkhidmatan Eksekutif di Kuala Lumpur pada 5hb Oktober, 1957

Heads of Departments and in providing a firm link between administrative and clerical officer—is clearly of the greatest importance.

As serving Government officers, you will know that the Public Service is vital to the community. Within it there is work for almost every kind of professional knowledge and special skill. The total staff is devoted entirely to the service of the people under the direction of their elected representatives. It is hoped that from this course you will acquire the right background to your work in the Executive Service. I hope you will take this opportunity to enhance your knowledge of the Public Service, its place in the community, and the part you will have to play in the future.

If this course is to be a success, Mr. Gildersleeves, the officer-in-charge, will need your full co-operation. I am sure that you will give that co-operation. Our thanks are due to the Selangor Government for offering the full use of the Rest House for this course. I would ask those of you who are residing here to accept the catering arrangements which it is hoped will meet individual needs and tastes.

You, Gentlemen, are pioneers of the Executive Service. Mr. Turner, the Principal Establishment Officer has hinted that I might mention a few of the qualities required in a successful pioneer and administrator.

FIRST among these qualities I would place truthfulness. By this I mean not merely abstention from conscious mis-statements, but the greatest care to avoid the suggestion of the false or the suppression of the true. A good administrator and leader must be at pains not to leave any incorrect impression whatsoever upon the minds of his superiors, or subordinate officers or upon members of the public. If, in perfect good faith, he gives mis-leading information he should at once remove the misapprehension however temporarily convenient it may seem to allow it to remain.

SECOND I think I would place the qualities of clarity and precision. The good administrator should not waste his time trying to discuss what is at the back of someone else's mind; there may, for all he know, be nothing at the back; he should concentrate

all his attention on making quite sure that no-one is left in any doubt whatsoever in regard to what is at the back of his own mind.

THIRD The good administrator must display the quality of calm. This quality must be displayed in two ways. In the first place he should be good tempered or at least be able to keep ill temper under control. In the second place he should be very patient especially with the subordinate officers he is leading and with the public he is serving.

The quality of modesty is also important in the good administrator. Lack of this quality may at some crucial issue, prevent him from confessing that his predictions or recommendations or his information were incorrect. It may induce him to think that this particular post is the centre of the Government machinery and that other people, who in fact know better, are born blind and ignorant if they ignore his advice.

I might perhaps just mention now one quality amongst others that must be avoided at all costs. It is self-satisfaction. It leads to a loss of adaptability and, to a decline in imagination. Adaptability, in this context, means the power of putting oneself in another's place. It is constantly necessary for a Government Officer to be able to forget his own opinion in order to place himself in the position of the member of the public whom he is serving, or the Head of Department under whom he is working or the subordinate whom he is directing.

Last, but by no means least of the qualities of a good administrator is the quality of loyalty to the country and to the Government he serves. It is the quality which probably above all others, can produce the spirit of teamwork and co-operation so necessary for good Government.

If I have made no mention of such qualities of honesty, integrity, courage, perseverance, sincerity, willingness to work, it is not because I consider them un-important. It is because I have taken it for granted that you possess them.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, I wish you an enjoyable course and good luck as pioneers of the Executive Service.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE CEREMONY OF THE HANDING-OVER BY LADY LIMERICK OF THE BRITISH RED CROSS TO THE FEDERATION GOVERNMENT AT SELANGOR STATE COUNCIL CHAMBER ON 18TH OCTOBER, 1957

I am happy to be present at the Ceremony of the Handing-over by Lady Limerick of the British Red Cross to the Federation Government. Henceforth this will be an organisation the sole responsibility of running of which will fall on the Federation people.

The work of the British Red Cross in this country is one which will be remembered with gratitude. They sent out nurses to work in the villages and kampongs at the time when the Emergency was at its height. There were dangers but because the interests of these nurses were concentrated in the cause of humanity they treated all these dangers lightly. They worked under most difficult conditions without caring for their personal safety but were bent on their work. They have trained and guided local people to take interest and then finally to take over the work which they are doing and it speaks volumes for their good and unselfish work as within so short a time after the attainment of independence the new Malayan Organisation is ready to apply for membership of the International Red Cross.

I would like to express my grateful thanks to Lady Limerick for the particular interest she has taken in Malaya. When she visited this country two years ago she found the time to come to Kuala Lumpur at great personal inconvenience to herself. She came to present the new constitution which gave autonomy to the Red Cross Branch of the Federation of Malaya. It was rather a nice gesture on her part for which the members of the Malayan Organisation have not forgotten.

The Government of this country is fully conscious of the value of Red Cross Society in this country. We appreciate the humanitarian work carried by the International body in times of great stress such as during time of war or in time of national disaster.

I had the pleasure of telling Lady Limerick, when she did me the honour of calling on me, that this Government would do all it could to help the Red Cross Society in the Federation. When asked if the Government would find a Chairman of Council, I said that the choice of a Chairman would be left to the Council itself. In effect, what I said was, while the Government would render the Red Cross Society in this country all the help it required we would not interfere with the independence of this Society, nor would we do anything which might be considered as an attempt to exercise influence over this Society. We feel that there are men and women in this country who are capable and who will be ready to carry on the good work of this Society in the best tradition of the British Red Cross Society.

Once again, I thank her Ladyship for having come all the way to hand over the Red Cross Society to the Federation and we take pride and pleasure in accepting it and will assure her ladyship that we will do all we can to make a real success of it in the way she expects it of us.

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
PARADE OF THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA
AIR TRAINING CORPS AT THE KUALA
LUMPUR AIRPORT ON 19TH OCTOBER, 1957**

This is the first occasion I have the pleasure of seeing the boys of the Federation of Malaya Air Training Corps on parade and I must congratulate all those concerned for their smart turn-out and credit in particular goes to Squadron Leader A. A. Wragg, who has been Commanding Officer of the FMATC for the whole of Malaya and also Flt. Lt. Arunasalam and Flt. Lt. Navaratnam. From the smart turn-out of the boys it is possible to gauge the amount of time and attention they have given to them not only here but throughout the whole of Malaya.

I understand that the Commanding Officer of No. 1 Squadron is Flt. Lt. Navaratnam. He must have taken a lot of trouble to train them and the boys themselves must have been very keen for them to be able to turn up on parade so smartly. To all concerned I offer my heartiest congratulations.

These boys who have joined the Air Training Corps have shown keen interest in this Corps and it gives me great hopes that the Federation of Malaya will in future be able to build its Air Force without much difficulty. Some of the boys will no doubt take to the Air Force as a career. Those who don't or don't make the grade will find the training and discipline taught them.

Malaya unfortunately at this moment has not got any Air Force but as an independent country she must have one. Whether that Air Force is going to be big or small is immaterial for it will have its material and prestige value. I, of course, like to see more boys taking interest in this Air Training Corps. It is for the schools to give them all encouragement and for the Government to help to provide the incentive. We hope very soon that the Government will be able to do something in this direction.



Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra memeriksa perbarisan Skuadren Yang Pertama Tentera Udara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di Kuala Lumpur pada 19hb Oktober, 1957

Apart from the drills the boys get I very much hope that they will be given greater opportunity to fly. At the moment without a plane to our name it is not possible for them to do so. Arrangements are now in hand whereby this country will have some planes and its Air Force, and it is also hoped that the Flying Clubs will be given some aid by the Government whereby they can provide amenities for those who are keen to take up flying either as a career or as a hobby. The type of training which they are given now will all go to help towards making airmen of them. I understand that they are given initial training in all aspects of flying, navigation, signals and engineering. However, when they leave school they cease to become a member of this Corps. They can then join the Malayan Auxiliary Air Force or else join the Flying Clubs, and take up flying seriously and, in some cases where they satisfy the requisite conditions, can join our Air Force.

I would like to thank the Headmasters of all schools for having co-operated with the FMATC and through this co-operation made possible the recruitment of a number of boys whom we see on parade here today. We hope their co-operation will continue in future.

I understand that Sqdr. Ldr. A. A. Wragg will retire next month and his place will be taken over by Flt. Lt. Arunasalam. I know Arunasalam well and I am certain he will continue the good work that has been done by Mr. Wragg. With the FMATC under his command there is every reason to believe that this organisation will continue to be proud of the FMATC.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
STATE BANQUET, KUALA LUMPUR ON 24TH
NOVEMBER, 1957

Your Excellency Mr. Nabusuke Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan.
Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan has done us a very great honour by paying us a visit; in fact he is the first Prime Minister to visit this country after Independence. The gesture on the part of His Majesty's Government of Japan in sending his highest official of State on a goodwill mission to Malaya shows Japan's friendly feelings towards us here. I only regret that he will be with us only for a day and a night but even the little time we have had with one another convinced me that much good can come of His Excellency's visit. I hope His Excellency can find time in the future to stay with us a little longer.

There is undoubtedly so much that we can talk about which can prove of common benefit and interest to our two countries. Japan is the most advanced country in Asia and has shown to the world what Asian can do and are capable of doing. We, on the other hand, are a new Nation which has much to learn from our elder brothers. We are not ashamed to admit that we lack tradition and political background but we are proud to say that we are willing to learn and try experiments in order to march forwards alongside the other advanced nations of the world.

We will in a very short time set up our Embassy in Japan; in fact arrangements have already been made for the purchase of suitable houses for our Representative in Japan. On the other hand, the Japanese Government has already sent their representative here as Charge d'Affairs in the person of Mr. I. Harai who has made himself popular with us here. With the setting up of diplomatic relations between our two countries much can be done by way of promoting and increasing friendly, economic and cultural ties between our two countries. In fact there is much in common between the customs of the Japanese and the Malayan people and it needs a little encouragement in order to bring the people closer together and promote greater understanding.

We hope to send many of our young men and officers to tour Japan and take note of what Japan as a nation is doing by way of reconstruction and economic and industrial advancement so that we here in time can follow the example of Japan and tread along the path of advanced nations. I have also had a frank exchange of views with His Excellency on current international problems. It was agreed that our two countries should co-operate as members of the free world in the maintenance of world peace and that we should work together with all the other free nations for the solution of international problems in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Among the important things for big nations to do are to help economic development of the world's under-developed areas and the improvement of the living conditions of their people for they are factors which will help to secure freedom and peace. We may be under-developed industrially and economically but I am proud to say that our standard of living in this country can be favourably compared with any country in Asia.

There is much however that industrialisation can do for us by way of improving our industry and Japan as a buyer of our raw materials can help to reduce the cost of living in our countries and bring about greater prosperity. In order for us, a new nation, to advance along these lines we must have peace in this world and I was happy to know from His Excellency the Prime Minister that his country's greatest aim is to seek peace and greater understanding among the nations of the world. I would like to say how grateful I am for this assurance because we as a young and small nation would wish for nothing more than to be left to our peaceful pursuits and to be allowed to contribute in a small way towards peace and happiness of the world.

I see in the Prime Minister of Japan a man with a keen sense of honour and understanding and in whom I can see a real and sincere desire to work to this end. Not only do we have much in common in our political thought, but I understand His Excellency also has one son and one daughter and so have I but he has gone one ahead by having two grandchildren while I only have one.

I would like to say how grateful I am for Japan's participation in our Independence Celebrations. Not only did Japan send her representatives here but the Government also presented us with fireworks, the display of which was much enjoyed by men, women and children alike and it also added to the success of the Celebrations. Now His Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you to raise your glasses and drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Japan Mr. Nobusuke Kishi and to the future good relations between our two countries.

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
OPENING OF THE KING EDWARD VII HALL
AS RESIDENCE FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS AT
SINGAPORE ON 30TH NOVEMBER, 1957**

It gives me the greatest pleasure to perform the official opening of the King Edward VII Hall although I am well aware that it has been unofficially open for some time, providing much needed accommodation and recreational facilities for senior medical students of the University.

This hall has been named the King Edward VII Hall so that we may keep alive in our memories the King Edward VII College of Medicine which was the forerunner of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Malaya. It is tempting to assess the worth of an University degree as being higher than that of a College diploma or licentiate but I trust that the medical students now living in this hall and those yet to enter its doors will never forget the great endeavours of the staff and students of the College of Medicine, endeavours which led to a well-deserved reputation for scholarship and research and in turn made easy the way of development towards full university status.

It is said of one college in Oxford that if you stand in the quadrangle and shout for "Mr. Jones" heads will appear at half the windows; if you shout for "Mr. Lewis" heads will appear at the remaining windows. While an older seat of learning can preserve its tradition of admitting students of only one nation to a particular college it is gratifying to those of us who have multi-racial harmony as one of our major objectives that this King Edward VII Hall provide accommodation for students of different races and background. The bond of association for them will first start from a purely academic one, that of following the same course of study at the same level. When, in due course, they leave this Hall to practise the art of healing, we trust they will also continue to practise the art of living with others which they must have acquired during their stay here.

I am sure that many among this audience will feel a thing of envy when they compare the comfortable amenities of this new Hall with the comparatively austere conditions under which they lived during their own student days. Not only is the living accommodation here of a very high standard, but provision has also been made for social relaxation for students and their guests.

In making way for the new something old is often sacrificed and many will regret the loss of the FMS Hostel which formerly stood on this site. But the erection of this new Hall has made it possible for the Tan Tock Seng Hostel to be used for the accommodation of nurses in the hospital and thus fill a pressing need.

In declaring the King Edward VII Hall open, I do so in the firm hope that from its portals will issue a steady stream of qualified doctors some of whom I hope will be ready to serve the country by joining its medical service and relieving our great shortage of doctors in the Government service, and all of whom will be eager to relieve the pain of the sick, and determined to demonstrate their appreciation of the experiences they have gained in this fine Hostel by striving to pursue in a wider field the harmony of living in a gracious atmosphere.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT A
DINNER GIVEN BY THE FEDERATION
GOVERNMENT TO DELEGATES OF THE
PHYTO-CHEMISTRY CONFERENCE AT THE
LAKE CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR ON 5TH
DECEMBER, 1957

Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

The Symposium on Phyto Chemistry which most of you are at present attending is in its way unique as it is the first occasion since the Federation of Malaya gained its Independence that the Government of this country has been host to a group of overseas delegates attending an International Symposium. As you know, the Symposium has been jointly sponsored by the Federation Government and UNESCO and it gives me great pleasure to welcome overseas delegates to this country and to this dinner tonight.

The countries which are represented at the Symposium are widespread range from New Zealand in the South, to Japan in the North and to India in the West and I have no doubt that in the region represented at this Symposium many matters of mutual interest will come for discussion.

Information will be exchange and the necessary contacts for future exchange of new information will be established and I have no doubt that it is desirable that Symposia such as that which you are now attending should be held at reasonably frequent intervals. I am not unaware of the fact that meetings of this type are expensive but they could still achieve their purpose if kept to a limited number of delegates and held at regular intervals at centres within the region concerned.

I think the term "Phyto Chemistry" is one which is not very well known to the general public. In fact I have heard of an occasion when a stenographer transcribed "Phyto Chemistry" as "Fighting Chemistry"; whether this may be one of the accepted attributes of Phyto chemists I don't know but nevertheless it is

a branch of science which greatly affects our every day lives and one which has in the past, and I am sure will in the future, play an important part in the economic development of South East Asia.

The flora of Malaya has been the subject of considerable study in the past and this country, and for that matter a large part of South East Asia, is indebted to the work carried out many years ago by men of the calibre of Ridley and Burkill.

These people made a survey of the flora of the Peninsula and, as far as was possible at that time they made a limited study of the chemical constituents of many local plants. Furthermore—and I think this has been of great value to local phyto chemists—they recorded a great deal of information which was associated with local folk lore and customs as to the use of plant extracts and mixtures for medicinal use.

From an economic aspect, much of Malaya's current wealth is dependent on products derived from either indigenous vegetation or plants and trees which have been imported and found to thrive as plantation crops. The most outstanding example in this field of course is rubber but the production of edible oils, and to a lesser extent essential oils, plays a significant part in Malaya's economy. More recently we have added cocoa as a possible crop which may be of considerable economic importance.

Most of the products which I have just mentioned are derived from plants which were known to produce marketable products before they were introduced into this country but as you are aware one of the main interests in Phyto Chemistry is the potential wealth which may exist in our forests or lowland areas in the form of creepers, bushes or shrubs, parts of which may contain chemical constituents which may be valued either industrially or medicinally. It is the investigation of such items as these, gentlemen, which form the main task of phyto chemists in this area. It is most likely, I imagine, that in probing the secrets of the local flora, much information will come to light which may be of academic or toxicological interest and I assume that such interests should be integrated as part of a scheme which has, as its purpose, a survey of local plant national resources with a view to adding to the well-being and economic development of the people.

Most of what I have said refers to the situation as it exists in the Federation of Malaya but I am sure that the same situation exists in other countries in this part of the world. The interest in this field of scientific endeavour is therefore a common one for this region and one which should benefit considerably from the effort put into, and the material matter discussed, at a Symposium of his nature. I understand that it is for this reason that a considerable proportion of the time available to you has been devoted to discussion of National Phyto Chemical Surveys and various aspects of this type of work which it is hoped will lead to a greater understanding of work being done in this region and we hope, result in an increased interchange of information which will reduce the chance of work being duplicated in two or more places. I am also told that it is the hope of many of the delegates that the Conference will result in an integration of the efforts of their countries in assessing the vast amount of information on studies of plant materials which is already available or likely to be supplemented in the foreseeable future. Much of this material already exists and it was the existence of this date, and possible future additions, which decided the need for a Symposium of the type which you are attending.

The essential place which Science plays in the everyday life of modern existence does not need to be emphasised. We are a new nation and our scientific efforts will of necessity be conditioned by the same factors which apply to many other small countries. In Western countries, many international meetings of a scientific nature are sponsored by old established learned societies or professional institutions but such societies or institutions are to a large extent lacking in this part of the world. In the case of this Symposium, UNESCO has come forward and become the co-ordinating body and we are deeply indebted and grateful to that agency of the United Nations. It is our hope that this Symposium will be the forerunner of others of the same type in this region and that future Symposia will be closely related to the functions of the United Nations Agencies in South East Asia. On behalf of the Federation Government I wish to express our warm welcome to those who are here for this Symposium.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE
FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, KUALA
LUMPUR ON 9TH DECEMBER, 1957

This is the first time that an Honourable Member of this House has stood and openly and unashamedly declared his support for the Communists and all that they stand for though he took pains to explain to this House the difference between terrorism and Communism, with the same breath he condemned the Emergency Regulations. In his mind their effect is to give the Alliance Government dictatorial powers. He condemns the Government for wanting to perpetuate the state of emergency in this country.

He accused us of being pro-Anglo-American. He asked the Government to accept the friendship of Russia and China. He asked the Government to send a goodwill mission to these countries. He accused the Government of trying to stop people from going to these countries. He forgot conveniently that we allowed trade missions to visit China.

He championed the cause of Chin Peng—and asked the Government to kow tow or bow our heads to the terrorists, and welcome him and his bloodstained body and soul into the fold of our society, and grant citizenship rights to the other bloodstained comrades of Chin Peng.

Then he accused the Alliance Government of trying to destroy the cultures of the Chinese or as he puts it of the various races through the Education policy. He accused the Police of wilfully beating up the school children. What more mischievous and harmful statements can be made in this House than these. In short he is using the privilege of this House to incite the people to open rebellion against this Government by taking Chin Peng's side and help to set up in this country Communist Government.

He, of course, does not care what effect his words may have on the minds of certain section of the people so long as he can see his name blazoned in the headlines of the press. He does not care about the consequences of his words and deeds, so long as

he can get sufficient popularity to win for his party and others in alliance with him support in the election. He doesn't care if the fire with which he is playing can set the whole country alight. I suppose he thinks that if things get too bad here he can always leave for his homeland.

I will try to answer his indictment against the Government as best as I can and as politely as I can:—

On the subject of action taken by the Police against rebellious students in Ipoh, it is the only thing that the Police could do in the circumstances. They were lenient when compared with what the students did on that occasion. I myself saw a picture of the students attacking a Police Officer and stones were thrown at the Police who were trying to keep peace and order. The Honourable Member can check up with other places where there was trouble and he will find that the Police did not use any form of violence where the students themselves did not do so. But in Ipoh things were very different because behind this student trouble there were politicians who wanted to exploit the situation for their political platform. This has worked in their favour, but for how long I don't know, and I would dread the time if ever the students were to run this country through their politicians.

If this same school trouble were to occur in China, does the Honourable Member know what would have happened to the students. Allow me to remind the Honourable Member of what happened recently in Hanyang where there was some school trouble which the Communists had to put down and by way of punishment note that they did not use the cane to punish these boys. They shot them and the three teachers who led the demonstration of the Middle School students of June 12 and 18, 1957 were executed before a crowd of ten thousand on September 6th while others were given sentences ranging from five to fifteen years. To the Honourable Member this execution of teachers is justified because the Communists did it but because we employed the use of the cane to deal with violent and aggressive boys here we are considered bad and uncivilised. Remember "Spare the rod and spoil the child". Let me refer the Honourable Member also to events which recently occurred in Hungary where the

brutalities of the Communists resulted in the death of thousands of people and the suffering which was inflicted on the rest can best be imagined.

If this Government is as bad as the Honourable Member made it out to be, then I say he would not be standing there and speaking in this Council when what he said in the course of election was sufficient to put him behind bars and in China shot before a crowd ten thousand people for agitating the students and personally organising anti-Government activities. But this Government is tolerant and not only allowed him to say what he wanted to say and allowed his henchmen to do what they did but allowed him to sit in this Council and pay him \$500 a month including enjoyment of privileges. When I went to defend myself and my Party against his attack, was I permitted to talk by the Honourable Member? In the true spirit of the Party which he represents, he refused to allow me talk, leave alone to explain. He sent thousands of students to drown my words. This is permitted in this country and yet he now comes out and says this country is bad—this Government is brutal—this Government is barbarous and undemocratic.

He talked about Government employing school boys to take part in anti-Communist rallies. Yet it is correct to employ them in his political campaign to intimidate opponents and abuse the authorities, to hurl insults at Government officials and ministers.

I would offer him a free passage to Russia and China, the countries which he looks up to as models of civilised nations and as models of what is good in nations. Go there I say, and say half the things he said here against those Governments and see what will happen to him. Mention for instance the atrocities committed in Hungary against the Hungarians and in China mention what they did in Hanyang to the students they shot down. I am sure Ipoh and Menglembu would miss their representative forever but it is the only way to illustrate the difference between democracy and communism. Go there I say. If the Government refuse to pay your passage I will, but first promise to say against the two Governments what they did to the Hungarians and the students in China. Even if I have to borrow, I will raise the money for his passage.

There is no limit as to what political opportunists will do in order to gain support for themselves and their party and in an effort to bring discredit to a Party which they abhor—the Alliance Party. The Honourable Member could stand up there blatantly denouncing the Alliance Government for giving entertainment to foreign visitors and included in its fare, liquor. Don't throw stones at others if you live in glass houses. I remember when he was a member of my Party, the Alliance, he was host at a dinner in Station Hotel where there was a free flow of liquor. I do not know whether it was at his expense or others but there was liquor. How he comes up here and tells the House that it is a wrong thing to serve liquor. Woo by all means the Communists but don't try to win over the Malays. We know you for what you are. I do not want to show the insincerity of the Honourable Member any more than I can help because you will in time find it out for yourselves. The longer he is here with us, that is, if he chooses not to go to Russia and China, the better you will know him. He can say anything without thinking so long as it serves his purpose. We cannot do it. We are not political opportunists which he is, we are statesmen who consider the welfare of this country in which we live and the happiness of the people. What we set out to do today is intended for the well-being and security of this country and its people, not only for this generation but for the many many generations to come. We have no home other than this Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Unlike the Honourable Member he can return to his country of origin if conditions here are not suitable to him. For us, this is the only place which we can call our home. The policy introduced in the Chinese schools is intended to give the boys and girls the feeling that this is their home.

On the question of Chin Peng, it was suggested that we should invite representatives from all parties to a meeting with Chin Peng. I know what Chin Peng is made of. I know what lies behind his mind and I am not going to give him that importance which he wants or you seek for him. If I see him at all, it will be to accept his surrender. I have no intention while I am responsible to this country and the people of recognising a Party which aims to destroy the fabric of our society and freedom which we hold dear. If the Communist Party is legalised and if they had to fight the election, they will do worse things than the Progressive Party did. I had a taste of what you did and I do not intend to add any

more to your numbers. I also know what they will do to swell their funds. We saw it before the last war. I have a friend who had his ears cut off just because he refused to contribute to their funds and there are others who suffered the same fate as my friend.

My duty to this country is to see that everybody will have justice provided they observe the law and that everybody is free to go wherever he likes provided he respects the rights of others. This is democracy. Can you find a country more democratic than this country? No only are the Ministers elected but even the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung is elected. Find one better country to live in or better form of Government that can give the people a sense of security and liberty and the right to do what they like as here.

The very moment Emergency Regulations are removed and cease to operate in this country, I am sure no one will be able to sleep in peace leave alone to move about freely. The Honourable Member accused the Alliance Government of using these Regulations in order to be dictators in this country. Does the Honourable Member realise that after the Alliance Government have come into power all Detention Camps have been closed except one which is in Ipoh; more frequent enquiries are held; services of lawyers are allowed to be employed when this was never allowed before? Did he quote an instance where the Alliance Government had been dictatorial? In fact the reverse is the case and he and his party and those who support him made full use of our leniency and glaringly abused democracy.

Much criticism has been directed against the Ministers regarding the amount of salaries which they receive but not one word was said against the British officials in the old days such as the British Advisers. If you compared the salaries the British Adviser received previously and with what Ministers get you will find that in actual fact the Ministers receive less than half the amount. What is there to prevent the Ministers from abusing their office by making use of their authority to enrich themselves if they so want, but they do not do so. We prefer to be honest, frank and straight. We came before the people and asked to be treated as Ministers of the Crown to be paid a salary that is in keeping with our office. Let me tell you that it would be a sad day indeed for Malaya if the high officials are paid on a scale of salary below their rank. The Alliance Government will not take the chance as we have

seen what happened in other countries. For the good of this country, it is better to pay for a job well done and to maintain the efficiency of this Government than to save that little bit of money by paying small salaries to officials.

The Honourable Mr. Thaver was a little bit outspoken on the subject of expatriate officers who have been good enough to stay here at our request. I would have wished that he could have said it without going out of his way to hurt innocent people. It would be a simple thing for all British officers to clear out or to leave this country on Malaya's achievement of Independence. In fact nothing would have suited them better. The compensation terms which were agreed were liberal and others who are not entitled to compensation could have retired on earned pension. One thing however which was forgotten by the Honourable Member in his tirade against the expatriate officers was that the White Paper on the Malayanisation policy was laid on the table of this House. It was stated quite clearly how the Federation Government proposed to deal with the shortage in staffing as a result of this policy. Did he however get up (at any period) to criticise the policy stated in the Paper. He did not. For some reason he has taken upon himself to do it now knowing fully well the proposal contained in that Paper with regard to Malayanisation. It was intended to prevent disruption in the Government administrative machinery and the aim of Malayanisation was to gradually fill all the posts with Malaysians. It was also the intention of this Government that in doing so, service principles must be upheld. This was agreed to in London in 1956 and a White Paper on this was again laid on the table. Attempts were made to fill the Ministries with Malaysians and attempts will continue to be made in this direction. At the Conference in London the delegation who had the interest of Malayan at heart thought that too rapid Malayanisation providing for the exodus of expatriate officers from the Government service might bring disaster. It was for that reason that we expressed the hope that arrangements could be made by Her Majesty's Government for a central pool from which overseas officers could be made available to fill such posts on secondment terms for so long as they required by the Federation Government.

Subsequently, Her Majesty's Government announced the creation of a Special List of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service and this appeared to suit the purpose of the Federation

Government admirably in as much as one of its objects was to provide a means whereby a territory could retain for a time serving officers who would otherwise wish to leave the service of the Government on account of the constitutional changes taking place and the consequent loss of prospects of completing a normal career. The Federation Government accordingly agreed in July, 1956 that an approach should be made to Her Majesty's Government with a view to the introduction of a scheme of this nature.

Details of such a scheme were then worked out in conjunction with Her Majesty's Government. The main features of this scheme were as follows:—

- (a) Permanent and pensionable officers guaranteed employment up to 1962 or 1965 and those who were thirty five or thirty two years' old respectively on 1st July, 1957, would be eligible to be considered for entry to the List on being recommended by the Public Services Commission. There are two hundred and ninety nine officers in the former category and four hundred and ninety one in the latter. However, indications are that the scheme will appeal only to a limited number since as long as they remain on the List the compensation scheme does not apply to them.
- (b) Officers selected would, subject to certain conditions, be liable to serve Her Majesty's Government up to the age of fifty in any post in any territory to which they might be assigned.
- (c) As long as he was continuing to serve in the Federation the officer would be regarded as being on secondment from Her Majesty's Government. The Federation Government would give one year's notice if it no longer wished to utilise the services of the officer.
- (d) If he could not be found employment, certain expenses would arise in regard to unemployment pay and compensation and there was special provision for the division of these cost between Her Majesty's Government and the Federation Government.

The total number of entitled officers who have left the service prior to 30th November is four hundred and ninety nine. In addition one hundred and two officers have elected to retire in the

future. In all, therefore six hundred and one officers are known to be retiring out of a total of one thousand five hundred and eighty and another twenty seven have proceeded on transfer to other territories. As against this, total recruitment of expatriate officers during the year 1957, excluding the seventy eight doctors from India, has been twenty seven.

Losses on this scale which cannot be made up by recruitment of sufficient qualified local officers are matter of concern to the Government which considers it necessary to take any reasonable step that will stem the flow of retirements. It has, therefore, asked the Secretary of State to extend the limits of eligibility referred to above so as to make the scheme attractive to a wider range of officers. At present it is unlikely that it will appeal to more than a very few.

The great value of the scheme is that it would retain an officer for as long as he was required and at the same time compensation either in whole or in part would be saved in respect of officers who eventually found employment in another territory.

The Honourable Member suggested that by retaining the expatriate officers we are doing Malaysians out of their jobs. Any responsible Malaysian knows his capacity. The question is not that we are trying to perpetuate Colonialism. We have had enough of it but at the same time we are not in the race to bring disaster to this country. An independent country must take time to settle down after a period of Colonialism that extends well beyond hundred years. There are of course some people whose ambition knows no bounds, whose sole hope is that with independence they would be given posts formerly held by European officers with all the comfort, prestige and amenities that they carry. They do not care whether they can do the work well or not. Their ambition is purely personal but the Alliance Government owes a duty to the country. Everything will be done in good time to satisfy the wishes of the Malaysians but my advice is that we make haste slowly. We are not playing to the gallery nor are we prepared to sacrifice this country for the sake of getting popularity.

We have seen what happened to some countries which effected a change-over too quickly. The consequences have been very disastrous and in these countries they have not been able to

recover the efficiency of the administration even now so long after independence. We have been a Colony for many years and it would be sheer nonsense to pretend that Colonialism can be cleared and scraped from the system so soon after independence. We have to learn, where before we have no opportunity to do so, to take over our administration so that the efficiency of the machinery would not suffer. Nobody in this country can say that the change-over has so far brought miseries, has brought instability and has brought trouble to the people and the country. On the contrary it has brought administrative and economic stability. Let me say without boasting that few countries can claim this distinction. If you refer back to trends of thoughts before independence you will remember that the (same people) were asking: are financial, administrative or economic (structures) going to suffer? We assured them that this country would move to peace and prosperity and when they say that it is so, they become more greedy and ask for more and more, example, the demand of daily rated workers after the recent increase. While the Alliance Government is in power our duty and responsibility is to give the people security and if we are going to be criticised for that then we will face criticism bravely. We would not invite applause from the gallery if by doing that we invite disaster to this country. So please take note, If some party say they can accede to all these demands and yet find enough money to carry out social, educational and economic development, let them try.

His Majesty the King has put in a nutshell this Government's policy with regard to foreign affairs: "It will always be my Government's policy to maintain close co-operation with the countries of the Commonwealth and to contribute towards the promotion of world peace and prosperity and to uphold the charter of the United Nations". This is the most a new nation like ours can do in the circumstances. It would be a mistake to run before we can walk. Some people are really hasty and to them I repeat the old adage "Make haste slowly". They want this country to delve in foreign affairs as some countries in Asia are wont to do and do it badly too. We feel there is so much to be done at home and that it is better to adopt the principle of "Do first things first" than to take part in affairs of the world of which we have very little knowledge and are so ill prepared for it.

In our country today, unlike any other country in the world, we have so many people with different origins and with divided loyalty. In the Colonial administration, these people never had a chance to regard themselves as Malaysians or to look upon this country as their Home—it was a place to exploit for wealth and riches. They were always referred to as Chinese, Indians and others, because it was never expected that Malaya would ever be a Nation.

On the attainment of Independence, the position now is that the people are still divided in their loyalty, as Mr. Seenivasagam is himself. He has said that when China and Russia made a public declaration of recognising the Federation, why don't we accept their friendship. Does he not realise that so many millions of dollars are being expended every year to fight the menace of Communist terrorism in this country. Does he not realise that thousands of lives of our young men have been sacrificed to fight this menace of communism and yet he has the impertinence to ask us to extend friendly hand towards those nations who are connected with this trouble, if not directly then they are morally responsible for this trouble in Malaya today. The unfortunate part is that quite a large section of the people while enjoying privileges and amenities that this country offers them, are being downright disloyal. There are some politicians who are also exploiting the situation in order to gain their own ends and as I have said earlier the Honourable Member from Ipoh is no exception. With the country so troubled by prejudices, suspicion, how far can we embark on foreign policies. Our first duty must be to train the boys while at school to love this country and to look upon it as their object of loyalty. But these boys refuse and there are others who encourage them to do so. At most, therefore, we can deal with foreign affairs only as we come across each and individual problem. We should, as mentioned by His Majesty, concern ourselves with the maintenance of close co-operation with all the friendly countries and make our just contribution for world peace and prosperity and to uphold the Charter of the United Nations. And in this respect, if friendly countries feel disposed towards us, we will do the same. It is a matter of policy that we cannot set up diplomatic relations with those whose politics have a disturbing influence on the peace of this country. I pray for the day when all the racial groups comprising the

population of this land can look to Malaya as the object of their loyalty rather than elsewhere, then only can the full significance of independence of this country be realised.

It has been said also by the Honourable Member that Malaya's foreign policy is steered every time by the United States and also Britain, by the various propaganda to which the people of this country are exposed. If he will only remember our stand in the United Nations on the West Irian issue he will realise that Malaya's stand was directly opposed to the British and definitely not in line with the neutral attitude of the Americans. Let me tell him that the British have no say in our internal or external affairs. Whatever may be the nature of the propaganda, Malaya knows its own limit and we wish to pursue the right course. We will not pretend that we know more than we do. At the moment this nation has just been born. Let us therefore learn to walk before we run and it is the avowed intention of the Alliance Government not to plunge Malaya headlong into foreign politics which might precipitate this country in the abyss of disaster.

I do not deny what Mr. Seenivasagam said about the aim of the United States in regard to the Communist Governments of China and Russia but that is not our business and I suppose he would like to say here that the aim of Russia and China towards the United States is one of friendship. But we know fully well that this is not so. But what may be the feelings between these countries, that has got nothing to do with us. If he considers himself a Malayan then concentrate his attention on the peace and well-being of Malaya.

I do admit that in this world there are two distinct political groups of countries one represents the free world and the other represents the Communists. Britain belongs to the free world and so does America. We ourselves in this country have been brought in this free world and until there is this Communist trouble all men and women are allowed to do exactly as they like provided they keep within the limits of justice. Why should we therefore leave the life which we are used to and in which we find happiness and prosperity and thus freedom and try and experiment with a life practised by the other group—Russia and China. In those countries they live a life directed and controlled by the Governments. They are not free to do what they like.

I would like to refer to the Honourable Member's appeal to the Federation Government to review the Education policy in relation to Chinese education. What he meant by that is very difficult to know. The way the Chinese students themselves are acting in order to force the Government to change its Education policy will nor coerce the Government and for that matter no Government would be intimidated into considering this so-called appeal when underneath it lies a threat.

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INDEKS

CATITAN :

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UCAPAN-UCAPAN DALAM BAHASA INGGERIS SILA
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