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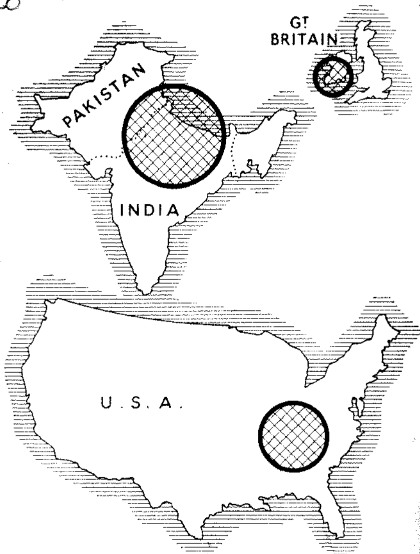

MALAYA COMPARED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.

The Maps are on the same scale and the circles represent the sizes of population in each country.

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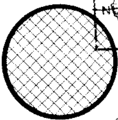

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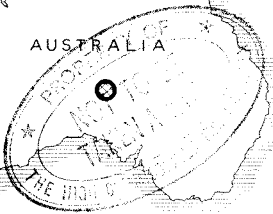

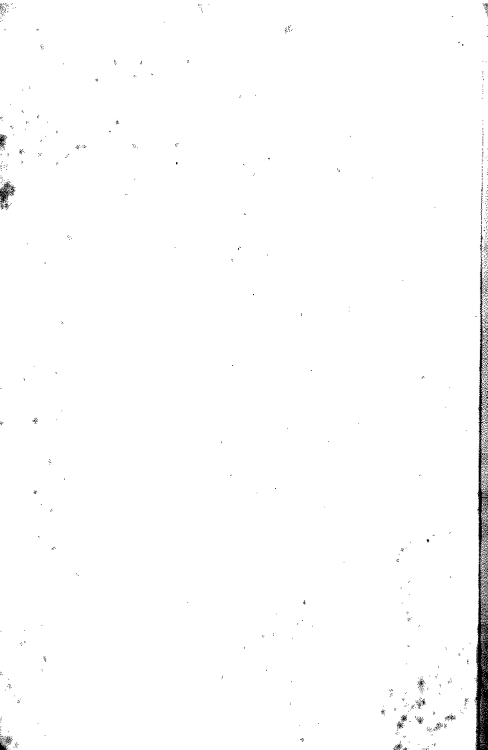

CIVICS FOR YOUNG MALAYANS

AT WORK TO SERVE MALAYANS.

[*Frontispiece*

A READER ABOUT MALAYAN LIFE

CIVICS FOR YOUNG MALAYANS

E. H. G. DOBBY, B.A., Ph.D.

University of Malaya, Singapore

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BEFORE YOU BEGIN READING

RADIO MALAYA once asked me to broadcast and tell schools something about how people in Singapore and the Federation of Malaya arrange their life and work together.

So many schools liked these broadcasts that they have been put together here as a book, with a large number of Malayan pictures. It is a Malayan book because it deals only with the people of Malaya, showing them at work and play and explaining those things which go on quietly to make it possible for Malaya to be one of the best corners of Asia today.

Every boy and girl should know a little about the Malaya they live in; otherwise they will not see any sense in the busy life around them. Things in Malaya do not happen on their own—people make them happen—and young people must know how they are made to happen.

Look at all the pictures first. See whether there are any of your district or things you already know. Then begin reading what it is all about.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOR permission to reproduce the photographs and diagrams in this book, we tender our grateful thanks to:

The Cathay Organisation, Singapore, for the photograph on page 137; the Central Office of Information for the frontispiece and the photographs on pages 11, 24, 65, 88, 109 and 158; the Currency Commission, Singapore, for the reproduction of the dollar note on page 110; the Department of Public Relations, Federation of Malaya, for the photographs on pages 12–15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 40, 50, 70, 77, 81, 96, 102, 103, 106, 121–123, 127 (*a* and *b*), 128, 129, 134 and 153; the Exclusive News Agency for the photograph on page 83; the Malayan Information Agency, London, for the photograph on page 53 (*b*); Messrs. McLeish and Macaulay for the photograph on page 92; the Mercantile Bank of India, Singapore, for the photographs on pages 111 and 116; the Oxford University Press for the diagram on page 79, adapted from an illustration in *Our India* by Minoo Masani; the Shell Co., Malaya, for the photographs on pages 46 and 91; the Singapore Harbour Board for the photographs on pages 51, 94 and 95; the Singapore Public Relations Office for the photographs on pages 10, 17–19, 21, 35, 37, 52, 57, 59–62, 67, 131, 138, 144, 149 and 159; the *Straits Times* for the photographs on pages 69, 98, 115, 135 and 147; and the Topical Press for the photograph on page 157.

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Chapter 1

LIVING TOGETHER

ROBINSON CRUSOE lived for years alone on an island. Everything he ate he had to find or grow for himself. All his clothes had to be made by himself from skins of animals he had killed. His house was made by himself from wood he had cut. He hated it. He was as lonely as though he were the only man in the world.

None of us is like that. We live and play and work beside other people. We have brothers and sisters living with us. We play with friends. We work with other young people at school, and we expect to work with others when we leave school.

We like being with other people.

This book is about the everyday things which happen when people are living together. Because these are everyday things, it is easy to forget them, but we must understand them and ourselves help the people of Malaya to get along with one another.

Civics is the study of how people live and get along together.

Because Robinson Crusoe had to do everything for himself, he had very little time to spare for other things. When people live together, they share work and help one another in such a way that each has less work to do and fewer kinds of work to do.

In a class, young people gather together to learn something. The class is a group of young people being taught together. It has one teacher and this means less teaching work than if each boy or girl were taught separately. In that way the group called a class saves work and costs less.

A CLASS GROUP OF MALAYS AT WORK.

Living and working in groups saves work, time and money. It is cheaper or more economical than doing things alone.

The group called a class has to be *arranged* for these things to be possible. The room must be ready, the young people must have a time-table arranged, and each must reach the class at certain times. Each needs a desk and seat. The students must be comfortable, and the place must be quiet before the group can do what it sets out to do—be taught.

What the class needs and does must be *organised* so that every person fits in. Some things are usually organised by other people for the class, but each person also does something for the group. Each must be quiet—if not, the group cannot hear what is being taught or cannot think of what it is doing. Each person might like to eat, to dance, to play games or to sing, but to make life in the class group possible, none of these may be done during the class-time. The

THE FAMILY GROUP OF A POOR CHINESE.

students give up their separate wishes in order to serve the interests of the class as a whole.

There is nothing wrong about eating, dancing, playing or singing, yet these things cannot be done in the class because they interfere with the group.

Sometimes the teacher may punish those who do not fit in with the group. Even if the teacher were not present and the class wanted to read or learn or listen, the group would not allow one person to do what he liked. Students would throw him out or sit on him for upsetting their arrangements.

That is the beginning of civics. Classes are organised by each student arranging to behave so as to fit in with the others. Each gives up something he might like to do in order that the group may be able to work.

Civics, the organising of life in groups, can be seen in every classroom. Besides working, the students in a class do other things together. They may play games, go on ex-

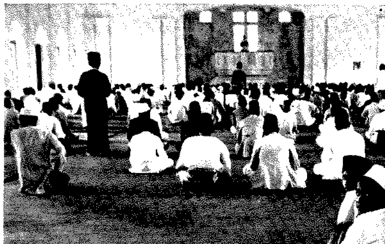
A GROUP OF CLASSES FORMING A SCHOOL.

cursions, have little jokes among themselves, or have special fashions like wearing certain badges or ties.

We get so used to our group that we easily forget how we learned to be part of the group and fit ourselves to it. When you are new to a class, you realise that many things have to be learned before you fit in with it. We learn to fit in—it is not something born with us. We are born as persons and we grow up in groups.

The civics of living in a class group at school is easy to understand. But a class is not the only group.

Besides your class, there are all the other classes of the school, each keeping together in its work, keeping to its own time-table, playing together and living a group-life similar to your class but separate and different. The whole school is a group of classes. It might be called a group of groups.



A GROUP OF WORSHIPPERS.

The school organises the classes so that one does not interfere with the other, in much the same way as one student fits in with the whole class.

Thus one student is in a class group and his class is one of a school or group of classes. He is organised in two groups at once—the class group and the school group.

Besides this, there are other schools in your district. All of these have to be arranged to suit the needs of the district. That organising of all the schools is done by the Education Department. It deals with a group of schools, each of which is a group of classes.

Besides classes, there are many other groups. Each of us belongs to a family. Our family is a group of people who grow up together, help in the work and costs of a home, protect the young until they grow up, share food and support one another when they are sick or old.

The family is the first group we belong to. It consists of father, mother, brothers and sisters living together. When

SCOUTS AT A CAMP MEETING.

each brother and sister grows up, marries and makes new families, the family then becomes a group of families. In a few generations it becomes a clan—another group of groups of people.

Each boy and girl is in a family group and also belongs to a class group.

Boys may belong to the Scouts, which is a group with special interests. Each may also belong to a mosque, church or temple, where groups of people worship.

Most of what happens in modern life is a matter of groups. The benefit of group-life is less cost and less work for everyone.

A person gives up certain things to belong to the group, he gets something from it in return. He agrees to the rules of the group and shares in the benefits of it. Organising together

in groups makes it possible for large numbers of people to live together reasonably, comfortably and cheaply.

Each person is a member of many groups which make up neighbourhoods, districts, towns, states and nations. Each of these is a group of groups.

A TEAM OF BASKET-BALL PLAYERS.

The word *society* may be used to describe the groups into which people are organised. There are many words for special groups. A Geographical Society is one group of people interested in geography. A sports club is a group for playing games. A union is a group of workers, and there are other groups called leagues, organisations, companies, parties, teams, associations, kongsis and so on.

This book tries to answer questions about the groups in Malaya, and to explain what you will read about these groups in your daily newspaper.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Write down the different kinds of groups to which you belong.
2. How does one group of which you are a member keep order among the people of the group?
3. Make a list of the different groups in your district which call themselves clubs, and a list of those calling themselves unions. Against each write what the members of those clubs and unions are grouped together to do.

Chapter 2

HOW TOWNS AND DISTRICTS ARE ORGANISED

WHEN you count the groups of people in your district, the number is large.

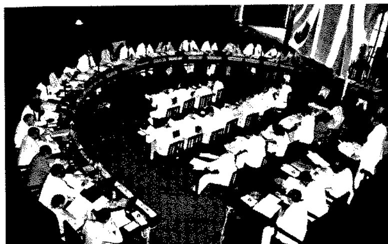
Outside the school and family in your town there are groups of people keeping shops, other groups deal in rubber, more groups do clerical work and there are groups of doctors, teachers, lawyers and similar skilled people. The members of each of these groups belong also to family groups, belong to religious groups perhaps, belong to sporting groups and clubs, and to co-operative societies or trade unions.

Almost everything people do either makes them part of a group or brings them into touch with a group. Each group organises its members from inside so that they can easily, quickly and profitably do what interests them.

In addition, each group has links outside itself. Each of you is a member of the class group, but you depend on your family group for your meals and clothes. Your family group depends on your father's working group for the wages to purchase your daily needs. When your father gets that wage, your family uses it to get things from other groups which grow rice or make clothes.

No group can really stand alone. It connects with others outside itself. It depends on other groups to serve it, and in turn each group serves or helps other groups of people.

Your town is like an enormous machine of many wheels, each helping to turn the others and being helped by others to keep turning itself. Each group is like a wheel or cog in



A MEETING OF SINGAPORE MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

the machine which is called our town. If you separate one wheel from the rest of a machine, the wheel does not go round. If you separate one little group of people from the others and prevent it connecting with them, then that group cannot live or be helped or be helpful.

In your town there is certainly a way or organisation for keeping the groups working together in good order, not interfering too much with other groups and not being worried too much by other groups. There is either what is called a Town Board or a Municipality. Municipalities and town boards are much the same thing—committees for organising the groups of a town. The municipality is generally for the large towns like Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca. To each of these there is a President or Chairman, who guides the committee and keeps order, like a referee at a football match.

Municipalities and town boards are committees made up of people chosen to represent the groups in the town and

REMOVING THE SEWAGE.

trusted with power to regulate the whole town. They are asked to arrange so that the town groups receive what is necessary for healthy living, and also to prevent groups threatening the healthy living of other groups.

Every house in the town produces much waste every day. There is waste from the kitchen, dust and rubbish from other rooms, dirty water from washing, and the sewage. Each family produces these wastes every day, and must get rid of them outside the house or else rats, flies and germs will increase and the family will fall sick. If each family threw its waste into the street or into the next garden, it would be unpleasant for other people and threaten the health of the neighbours.

That is why the town must arrange to get rid of the rubbish where it will not harm anyone. That unpleasant job has to be organised by the town in the interests of everyone in the town. It is done by the town boards and municipalities. Upon their work in sanitation, as clearing the rubbish and sewage is called, depends the health of the town. If for a few days the sanitation fails, a town becomes

WASHING THE STREETS.

too dangerous to live in. Many old towns in Southeast Asia had to be abandoned because dreadful diseases, like cholera and plague, killed thousands of the citizens when they failed to attend to sanitation. Our Malayan municipalities have been so successful in this part of their work that we suffer less from diseases than most countries round us.

Another job which these committees do is to supply water. Every day each person drinks water in one form or another, perhaps as tea. We wash in water several times a day. Water must be used to clean and cook food; more is needed to wash clothes and floors and tables. You will see the streets being washed with water. You will see firemen pouring water on burning houses. Shops use water for cleaning. Sewage is often carried from houses with the help of water. Every factory uses water. In Singapore, more than thirty gallons of water are being used daily by every person living there.

Town boards and municipalities must arrange that water is easily available to every family. This is not kindness—it is to protect all the people of the town. If some families

do not have enough water, diseases will break out and threaten the whole neighbourhood.

Town boards and municipalities are responsible for keeping that water pure as well as for getting enough of it. In our towns we turn on a tap and safe, clean and healthy water runs out of it. We drink that water without fear. We often forget the work the town boards and municipalities must do to get the water, to make it pure and clean and to bring it through miles of pipes to our streets and houses. In the country, where there are fewer people, they can get water from wells or rivers, but in towns we rely on water supplied by the town boards and municipalities.

That gives you an idea of the services for our group-life which are organised by the committee called the municipality or town board. In addition to sanitation and water, these committees supply electricity and gas. They may arrange bus services, they organise fire brigades, they watch hawkers and markets to make sure food is clean and wholesome. Some municipalities run clinics for the sick, some have feeding centres for poor people and look after the old and crippled.

These are great responsibilities because they affect the health and comfort of everyone in the town. The people of the town organise these services in the way that best suits everyone. The work has become highly skilled and very complicated, so that town boards and municipalities employ many experts to run the services, but the committee is made up of townspeople who alone decide what shall be done in their town. In many cases they give their services and the time they spend on public work. They are a group of respected persons working for the interests of the town as a whole, making it possible for the smaller groups within the town to live side by side, healthily and comfortably despite the crowding together.

POOR PEOPLE GET THEIR WATER FROM A PUBLIC TAP.

Singapore has begun to *elect* people to the municipal committee (or Commission as it is called there). This means the townspeople vote for their municipal representatives. Electing representatives to municipalities is planned also for Penang, Malacca and Kuala Lumpur and will become the usual thing in most towns of Malaya, as it is in Britain.

The town group of thousands of people crowded into a small space, is much more difficult to organise than a family group or a school group. This organising work in a town is known as *local government*. It organises the townspeople for a smooth-running and healthy group-life.

What the municipality of Singapore does for the health and welfare of its people is no business of, say, the townspeople of Penang, so that the rules and organising of the Singapore Municipality may be different from those of other towns. Each town has its own needs which it can arrange locally.

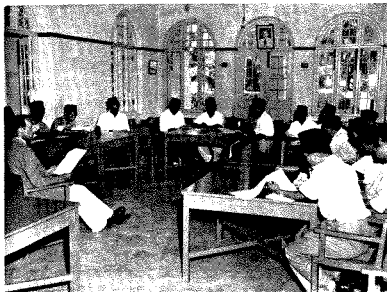
Of course, services arranged by the towns *cost money*. That is why local governments are entitled to ask the townspeople to pay for the health, fire, sanitation and other services. The cost is spread equally among the people in some way, either by charging each house for water, gas, electricity and sanitation or by taxing the rent of the houses.

THE HEADMAN OR PENGHULU MEETS HIS FELLOW-VILLAGERS.

The amount gathered from the townspeople of Kuala Lumpur may be different from the amount gathered from those of Malacca—depending on the services provided and the way of collecting money which the municipality considers fair.

Not every part of Malaya is organised into towns. Eight out of every twelve Malayans live in the country, in small scattered kampongs or villages. They are *country people*, living in groups of forty or fifty, separated from the next group by padi fields, rubber estates, mining areas or forest. They are cut off from one another and from the sort of life that goes on in towns.

Because the country people are so scattered, they are not much in touch with other people, even with other country people. They depend very much on themselves;



A DISTRICT OFFICER AT A MEETING OF PENGHULUS.

many of them grow their own food and make their own houses. It is more difficult for them to group together. Often they need less organising. In sanitation, if one country house is careless about its wastes, the risk of disease to the neighbours is not serious because they live some distance away.

Yet these country people have a committee like the town boards or municipalities, working to organise the villagers. These committees are called *rural boards*—the word "rural" means country—and they do for the scattered groups of country people the organising which town boards do for townspeople.

The big group of a rural area is the *District*, over which presides a *District Officer*. He organises his district through special committees, each looking after some group work.

THE RURAL BOARD ARRANGES A SERVICE TO DESTROY MOSQUITOES.

Most country districts, for example, have a Sanitary Board and a Mosquito Destruction Board; these names explain themselves. Then there is a Licensing Board, which controls the shops selling beer and toddy, and a Rubber Licensing Board, regulating the shops dealing in rubber. There are usually Health Boards and Welfare Boards. The District Officer also has a committee of headmen or penghulus of mukims and kampongs who meet regularly to consider how those villages may be improved. All these boards are made up of about a dozen selected local people, together with the skilled technical people who have to do what the boards decide should be done.

Besides looking after these rural boards, the District Officer is responsible for seeing that the people of his district carry out those regulations which the nation as a whole has considered necessary for the benefit of the country. In this way, the District Officer acts as a *magistrate* and he is entitled to order punishments for those persons acting in

a way harmful to the rest of the people. The District Officer also arranges to collect taxes to pay for the services provided in his District.

Thus in the country and in the towns there are always three sides to organising people. First, there has to be some way by which the groups make known what it is they think needs organising. Secondly, there have to be agreed punishments for those who will not do what the groups decide should be done. Thirdly, money has to be collected to pay for whatever workers the groups must employ.

Boards and committees and councils and assemblies are all representing groups of people. What they decide to be necessary for the welfare of everyone is laid down in rules, regulations or laws which everyone must obey. Anyone who breaks these is punishable in ways laid down in the laws. Every service of the boards needs money to pay for it.

FOR YOU TO DO

Find out the following things about your local government by talking among yourselves or asking your friends, or looking at the daily papers:

1. What are the names of the townspeople who form the Town Board or the Municipality where you live?
2. Where does your town's water come from, where is it purified and how is it paid for by the families using it?
3. How does your town deal with its rubbish and sewage? Where is the rubbish of the town burnt, and where are the sewage wastes got rid of outside your town?

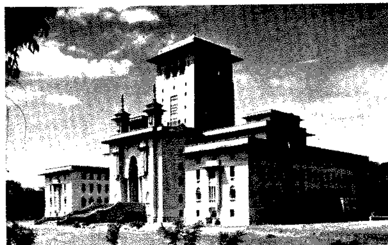
Chapter 3

HOW MALAYA IS ORGANISED

IN Malaya, as in all modern nations, there is much coming and going of people. Consequently the regulations made by rural and town boards for the interests of only the people in those districts and towns soon affect people belonging to other districts and towns as well. For example, suppose one district decided it did not like roads and refused to build one through its countryside, then, however modern and wealthy the surrounding districts were, they could not link their roads through the district which refused. They could not exchange produce or send things to other parts of the country because that one district had decided it would not build any roads. In this way, if Johore decided to have no roads, it would prevent Singaporeans either travelling to or trading with Kuala Lumpur or Malacca, and it would prevent anyone in the rest of Malaya selling produce to the outside world by way of Singapore.

To prevent this, district and town boards have limited powers of organising. Their rules and organisations are carefully restricted. All things affecting the whole nation, the whole country, have to be decided and organised by and for the whole nation, instead of being left to each district. About things of use to everyone, like roads, districts must act in step with neighbouring districts. Their wishes must balance with the needs and wishes of their neighbours.

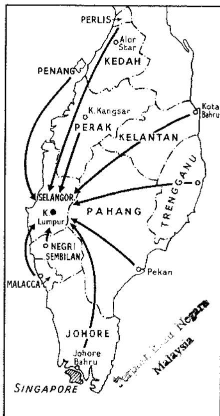
Over the district committees there is, therefore, a State or Settlement Council, which is another type of committee serving to hear the wishes of town and district boards and to



THE OFFICES AND MEETING-PLACE OF THE JOHORE STATE COUNCIL

meet those needs which affect more people than merely those of any one district. In the State Councils, the Sultan or his Mentri Besar (first minister) presides; in the Settlement Councils of Malacca and Penang, the president or chairman is called the Resident Commissioner. In the State and Settlement Councils, there are representatives of the districts and towns who decide what must be done in the interests of everyone in the state or settlement.

You must be seeing now that there is a sort of pyramid of organising. First come families. Then there is the organising of neighbourhoods and streets through town boards, municipalities or district offices. These in turn are organised to fit together by the State Councils which meet in Johore Bahru, Seremban, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Kuala Lipis, Kota Bharu, Alor Star, Trengganu and Kangar, and by Settlement Councils in Penang and Malacca. Matters which concern more than the people of one state and affect everyone everywhere in Malaya are in turn organised and arranged



REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL THE MALAYAN STATES MEET IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT KUALA LUMPUR.
Singapore has a separate Legislative Council.

by the Federal Legislative Council in Kuala Lumpur. There is a similar council, the Legislative Council, for Singapore.

The Legislative Council has that name because it makes laws. In Kuala Lumpur the Legislative Council is made up of about seventy-five people who represent the states, the settlements and all the main groups in the Federation of Malaya. It advises and reaches agreement on what should be done to keep the states and settlements in step with one another. It advises the State and Settlement Councils, which afterwards make suitable regulations in their own districts. The title "Federation" comes from words meaning "agreed", and it is intended to make clear that the states and settlements are really separate and free to arrange laws in their own councils, yet they agree by treaty to work together smoothly by means of the Federal Legislative Council. The chairman or president of the Federal Council is known as the High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya.

A MEETING OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.
The High Commissioner is Chairman.

Because Singapore contains fewer people, its Legislative Council is smaller (twenty-six persons in 1951), and what it decides becomes law for the island of Singapore without further agreement by other councils. Some of the representatives on this council are elected, and its chairman or president is the Governor of Singapore.

These Legislative Councils are very big committees. They meet every now and again for two or three days at a time because it takes many hours to hear what so many people have to say. Recently some of the Federal Councillors have been chosen as "Ministers" to speak for and take care of groups of government departments.

The Executive Council contains fewer representatives than the Federal Legislative Council. It is constantly available to give advice to the High Commissioner on any matter he suggests. This Executive Council cannot make laws; these must always be passed by the Legislative Council.

The method of making laws is first to write an outline of the new proposals. At this stage the outline is called "a Bill". It must be printed in the Government Gazette and also sent to members of the Legislative Councils and to the States. When enough time for studying the proposals has been given, the Bill is discussed at a full meeting of the Legislative Council, during which changes may be made. To give everybody time to consider and reconsider, after the Bill has been passed or "read" at that Council meeting, it must be brought up again twice, so that the Bill is really considered three times. When agreement has been reached, the Bill goes to the High Commissioner or Governor, who signs it and then it becomes an *ordinance* or *enactment*, or, as ordinary people say, a law.

You may think all this considering and reconsidering is a waste of time, but it aims to make sure every representative studies the new proposal and has time to give his views. In that way, when the Bill becomes an ordinance, it has the full weight of agreement behind it, and everyone must accept it as desirable in the interests of the whole community.

But notice that the matters which each of these organising councils decide have to be carefully arranged so as to keep the people of all Malaya reasonably in step one with another. The two separate Legislative Councils often discuss with one another for this reason, and it is part of the work of the Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia to help the two Legislative Councils to keep in step, not only with one another, but also with Great Britain and the surrounding countries.

Each of the councils has strictly limited powers. None of them can do just what it likes, and none of the people sitting on these councils can do just what they please. Their chief business is to find out what needs organising, how best to

COLONY OF SINGAPORE

Government Gazette

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No. S 90—The following Bill about to be introduced into the Legislative Council is published for general information.

A BILL

intituled

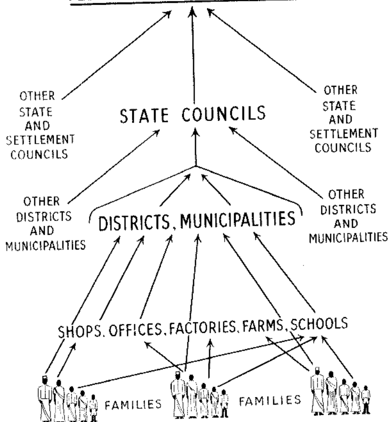
An Ordinance to provide for the establishment and incorporation of the University of Malaya and for matters connected therewith.

Whereas it has been agreed between the Governments of the Colony of Singapore and of the Federation of Malaya that an Institution to be known as the University of Malaya should be established for the promotion of Learning, Arts, Science and Research, the provision of

A BILL WHICH IS READY TO BE DISCUSSED.

organise, and what laws and regulations are required to bring about the organisation.

The councils and boards never do the work which they organise. When once agreement is reached, it is carefully recorded so that there is no misunderstanding, and then the work is handed over to trained officials who carry out the wishes of the councils and boards. Many of these special workers are highly skilled professional men, like the doctors who attend the country's hospitals, and the engineers who prepare roads and drain the streets and fields; others are skilled office workers—because there is a tremendous amount



THE PYRAMID OF GROUPS IN MALAYA.

of clerical work to do in looking after the affairs of six million Malayans. These official workers are carrying out schemes and providing services agreed upon by the councils and boards.

All the councils make what is known as the Government of Malaya. We may think of government as a pyramid of groups organised together. It works through boards and district offices and councils, which have powers to hear what people need, discuss ways of meeting those needs and to

make rules, regulations and laws for the orderly carrying out of the national wishes.

This government has established groups of officials and experts to apply the decisions of the various boards and councils. These are the *government servants*, or *civil servants* as they are often called.

Here is a list of the various branches or *departments* which form the government administrative services in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. For those departments whose names may be new to you, there are notes on what type of work they do:

Agriculture (encourages better and more farming).
Audit (checks the accounts of all branches of government).
Broadcasting.
Chemistry.
Chinese Affairs.
Civil Aviation.
Co-operative Societies (encourages and regulates co-operative societies).
Currency Commission (supervises and regulates the coins and notes).
Customs (collects taxes at the ports and borders).
Drainage and Irrigation (drains swamps and extends irrigation for padi).
Education.
Electricity.
Film Censorship (checks films).
Fire Services.
Fisheries.
Foreign Exchange Control (regulates the exchange of foreign money).
Forests.
Game (controls and studies wild animals).
Geological Survey (studies Malayan rocks).

Immigration (regulates new-comers to Malaya).
Imports and Exports.
Income Tax.
Industry and Commerce.
Inland Revenue.
Judicial (concerned with judges and courts).
Labour.
Legal (lawyers advising the government).
Malayan Railway.
Marine.
Medical.
Meteorological (studies weather).
Military.
Mines.
Museums.
Police.
Postal.
Printing (does governmental printing).
Prisons.
Public Relations.
Public Works (builds government premises and roads).
Road Transport.
Social Welfare.
Statistics (keeps records of all kinds of numbers connected with Malayan people).
Survey (makes maps of Malaya).
Telecommunications (organises telephone, cable and radio services).
Town Boards.
Town Planning.
Trade Union.
Treasury.
Veterinary (looks after cattle and other animals).

The central councils, committees and boards lay down what is called *the policy*—that is, the way things are to be done for the community—and the rules, regulations and laws to be followed. The government servants do the detailed work of *carrying out* this policy in every corner of the country. These services are performed by many thousands of people, the civil servants of the country. They serve the public in a way decided by public councils; no private person can order them about.

AN IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT SERVANT.
The Postman, whom we see every day.

The whole organisation, the whole government, of a nation like Malaya is thus a very complicated thing. It is like a pyramid in one sense, with one council on top finally organising the smooth working of all the many other councils and boards spread in every corner of the country. In another sense it is like a machine with many wheels, each helping to turn the others and each being turned by others. In an ordinary machine there is one motor or engine which does the driving of the machine and one place where the machine turns out its work. The government machine is driven, so to speak, from all the small towns and districts, each expressing its interest upwards through boards and

committees, and then all of these are finally driven or organised or set going by the decisions taken in the national councils.

Each of us is involved in this two-way arrangement. Each of you has certain needs in your class—for clean, dry space to work in, for teachers and for equipment. These needs have to be passed from your school to your district, and your district passes them to your State Council, from your State Council they go to the Federal Council, where some way of meeting those needs has to be worked out so that your needs can be met without interfering with the needs of everyone else and without costing more than the country can afford. When that balancing of your needs and those of others is done for the whole country, then the government services work to make available to you such of your needs as the nation as a whole can satisfy. In this way, even while at school, you are caught up in the system for expressing needs to the central councils and in the system for receiving services from the council. In other words, you, like every other person in Malaya, are involved in influencing the making of policy by the government and in benefiting from the services of the government.

Of course, if you want a new pencil, the Legislative Council is not going to meet to discuss it; that is a small detail left to the local officers after it has been agreed by the Federal Councils that pencils may be paid for from public money. Yet if you asked for a major thing not already decided upon in the past, such as having all your lessons in Spanish, then that would have to be considered and decided upon in the highest councils because it involves many groups of people. It would involve the other classes in the school, it would involve the training of special teachers in Spanish, the providing of extra money for the purchasing

VISITORS LISTENING TO A DISCUSSION IN A LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

of textbooks in Spanish—that is, it would affect many other people besides you and your classmates, and must be decided on a national scale, in the national or Federal Council.

There is no magic in government. Each of us is part of the government, giving to it our wishes and receiving from it that which can be given without being unfair to others. No part of the governing machine is really more important than another—each board and committee and council has a special job to do, and is needed to make the whole thing work. None of the government servants, however senior, is really all-powerful—he can do only that which the committees and councils have laid down by law and by regulation. Not even the Governor or the High Commissioner or the Sultans may do just what they like even though they act

as chairmen to the highest boards and councils; they have limited powers and limited responsibilities, and if they go outside these, then they are breaking the law.

It is this limiting of powers and sharing of responsibilities at all levels of our groups, this careful balancing of needs and means and services of groups, which is the very nature of the government machine.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. You should be able to answer the following questions by reading your local paper or by asking people in your district:
   a. Who speaks for your district on the council of your state or your settlement?
   b. Who speaks for your state or your settlement in the Federal Council at Kuala Lumpur? Find out how often he or she goes to Kuala Lumpur for its meetings.
2. *a.* Try to find out how often the council of your state or settlement meets, where it meets, in what town and what building.
   b. If you live in the town where your state or settlement council meets, visit the council's meeting-place so that you can see where the public business of your area is done.

Chapter 4

WHAT GOVERNMENT SERVICES COST

THE machinery of government is complicated. What it supplies for us is equally complicated, if you look round you. While you are at school, you are sitting in chairs and desks which have at least partly been provided by the government. If you are in a government school, the chairs and desks will be entirely government property. The roof under which you are sitting is also at least partly the property of the nation. The salaries of your teachers and all those employed in the school come from government money, either entirely or in part, depending on the type of school.

When you leave school, you go out to walk on a road built and paid for by the machinery of government. Every fan or light we switch on is driven by electricity produced by a public service department. The food you buy has probably at some time travelled by railway—also a branch of governmental service. The water laid on in your houses is produced as a public service; the drainage of your houses and streets and the safe destruction of sewage is part of the public service. All letters and parcels that are posted are being handled by government servants. The policemen who regulate the traffic and keep an eye on defending us from thieves and bandits are another branch of service coming to us from the machinery of government. Law courts and prisons are maintained by public money. Most of the hospitals, and the nurses and doctors working in them, are run by the machinery of government. Out in the rural districts the marshes are drained by a government department, and

THE SELANGOR STATE COUNCIL MEETS TO DISCUSS ITS ESTIMATES.

canals are provided to irrigate the padi fields as a public service. Round the coasts, the harbours are built and organised by the government.

The list of these services performed for us by the machinery of government is very long. We take most of these things as a matter of course—they were already working rather like this when we were born, and we cannot imagine them not being there. The services provided by the nation we accept without thinking about them—just as we breathe air thousands of times a day without ever thinking about air—but you know what happens if someone prevents you from using air!

Without an elaborate set of public services, a modern nation cannot exist. In fact, a nation is really only called modern if it has a generous set of public services.

These services have to be paid for—and very expensive some of them are. Every child in a government school costs the nation on an average $80 a year, in government secondary

schools each child costs about $240 a year. It costs $40 a year for every person who visits a hospital for public medical service; it costs $1,300 a year merely to keep in good condition each mile of public road. The average cost of a policeman to the nation is $5,500 a year, taking into account his wages and the organisation behind him.

When you add up the total cost of these public services, they come to sums of money so big that we can scarcely imagine them. In 1951 the total costs for such services in the Federation of Malaya were about $410 million and in Singapore $125 million. Sharing this cost among the men, women and children of all Malaya, it worked out at about $90 as the average cost per person for services rendered by the nation in 1951. That means that the average family of five or six people received in 1951 public services costing about $500 for the family.

Such huge sums of money are spent as a result of the needs expressed in the different councils and boards scattered throughout the country. No single person anywhere in the government machine may do what he likes with that money. The $410 million of the Federation services and the $125 million of the Singapore services does not belong to any one person or any one officer. No governor, sultan or commissioner can claim that vast sum of money as being in his power to use as he likes. It is public service money, intended to be spent only in the manner agreed upon by the councils and boards.

The organising of the money side of public affairs, of government, is in the hands of that part of the civil service called the Treasury. In this country its most senior officer is called the Financial Secretary. Finance is a word that means "money matters". It is not used for the small sums of money that ordinary people possess—it is reserved for

CUSTOMS OFFICERS COLLECTING THE TAX ON TEXTILES COMING INTO MALAYA.

the handling of large sums of money such as nations and banks possess. The Financial Secretary's office is the one that deals with the $410 million which has to be paid out by the Federation of Malaya government. Another Financial Secretary deals with the $125 million which Singapore spends on government services.

A Financial Secretary has two distinct sides to his job. The Legislative Council has agreed that certain services must be provided for the public. The Financial Secretary asks each department which provides services to say as accurately as possible how much money will be needed for the purpose. The sum calculated by the department is called its *estimate* of the cost. The Education Department, for example, prepares an estimate of how much will be needed to pay salaries, maintain buildings and pay for light and water and books and paper in all the schools, and how much will be needed to build new schools for the increasing population of Malaya. The Agricultural Department also estimates for the public service it has to do. The Drainage and Irrigation Department makes a similar estimate—and all the estimates for public service are sent to the Financial

EVERY CAR SHOWS ITS LICENCE ON THE LEFT OF ITS FRONT WINDOW.

Secretary. With the help of his skilled civil servants and of a committee chosen from members of the Legislative Council, he goes through these estimates in detail, cutting out what is not essential and anything which has not already been agreed upon by the Federal or Legislative Council. He is responsible for seeing that no public money is spent wastefully or without previous agreement by the highest councils of the nation.

When these estimates are checked and re-checked, then begins the Financial Secretary's second job. He must think of ways to get the money to pay for the services. Even in this he does not work alone; he works with a committee which thrashes out the best way of raising from the public the money needed for services to the public.

The Financial Secretary to the Federation of Malaya had

to find \$410 million to keep going the public services in 1951. Not many people would take on the job of finding \$410 million in one year and to collect similar sums regularly every year—the public services go on and on, generally increasing every year as the population increases.

How are these huge sums obtained? The national money is collected by taxing everyone. In some cases, it is true, we pay a little every time we use one of the public services. We pay ten cents when the postal services handle one of our letters. We pay something for the electricity and water we use in our houses. Sometimes we pay a little for schooling in the form of fees. Not often does what we pay cover the full cost of the service we get.

J Nº 001000

CATHAY CINEMA
SINGAPORE

Admission	\$0.75
Tax	25
Total	\$1.00

11.00 A.M.

THE MANAGEMENT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO REFUSE ADMISSION BY REFUNDING PURCHASE PRICE
This portion to be retained

A TAX IS INCLUDED IN THE COST OF EVERY CINEMA TICKET.

Most taxes are obtained in such a way that most people do not know they are taxes. They might be called painless taxes, included in the price of things we buy every day but without any mention of tax at the time. This kind of tax, the *indirect tax*, is mostly collected at the ports and harbours and border towns, where the goods we need enter the country before reaching the shops. The Customs Officers, the collectors of these taxes, are responsible for gathering them when the articles and goods cross the border. When once the goods are inside the country, no further tax is paid. The wholesale dealer pays the tax at the border. He includes this tax in the price he charges the retail shop-

keeper, and the shopkeeper in turn includes it in what he charges you when you deal with him. In Singapore the chief goods which pay taxes at the border are tobacco, petrol and alcohol; in the Federation there are also taxes on medicines, cloth and things like that.

Then there are the taxes paid *directly*. All licences are really taxes of this kind, so that the dog licences, the car licences, the restaurant licences, the bicycle licences, licences

SINGAPORE COLD STORAGE CO. LTD.
(Incorporated in Singapore)
ORCHARD ROAD, SINGAPORE

No. 58621

Received from

the sum of Dollars ... Cents ...

being

SINGAPORE COLD STORAGE CO. LTD.

$

A STAMP IS FIXED ON EVERY RECEIPT AS A FORM OF TAX.

to deal in rubber, licences to have radios, are all taxes that we pay directly. In addition, there is the tax called stamp duty, paid on every legal paper like receipts and lawyer's papers; they are called stamp duties, because in this case the tax is paid by fixing stamps of a certain value on the papers.

Another direct tax is *income tax*, paid on earnings above a certain amount and graded so that the more a man earns the more tax he pays, and the less he earns the less he pays. Below certain salaries, depending on the size of the family, no tax of this kind is paid at all.

A direct tax is paid on every ticket bought at the cinema

THIS TANKER HOLDS 1,200 GALLONS OF PETROL ON WHICH $800 HAS BEEN PAID IN TAX (1950).

or at any public entertainment. If you look at your ticket next time you go to a cinema, you will find on it a statement of how much tax has been included in the price you paid for it.

In the Federation there are also taxes paid on sales of tin and rubber. These are taxes on goods being exported, so that really they are paid by the people outside Malaya who buy our tin and rubber, rather than by the people in this country who produce them.

The petrol tax is particularly interesting because it helps us to see how taxes are often shared among many people. It is directly paid at the petrol-pump by everyone who purchases petrol to run a car, lorry or bus. Every passenger is indirectly paying a bit of this tax in every ticket he takes for a bus journey—because the bus uses petrol. Everyone who buys rice and other foods also pays petrol tax indirectly, because in the cost of the rice and food will be a small payment for transporting it by lorry to your dealer, and that lorry uses petrol in the price of which is included the petrol tax.

The Financial Secretary must raise enough money by taxes, enough *revenue* it is called, to cover the estimates of all the public service departments, so that, roughly speaking, the cost of these services, at least $80 per person of the Federation, as distinct from Singapore, has to be met by taxes. This means that taxes to the value of that $80 for every person must be paid in the Federation. For each person in Singapore, a tax of $152 must be raised from somewhere each year. These figures are for 1951 and they are always changing.

For the public services of Malaya, these taxes have to be paid by the tin and rubber exports, by the income tax, by the cost of licences, by the stamp duties, by tobacco, alcohol and petrol taxes. Some persons have to be taxed much more than $80 each to make up for those thousands of people (children, the sick and poor) who earn nothing or can pay only very little.

If someone dodges his tax or his licence, he is depriving everyone of a fraction of the public services we need or else he is causing heavier taxes to be put on the other taxpayers. He is really cheating everyone in the nation.

Each of us, then, is a tax-user because we all use the public services, and we are all taxpayers, some paying directly, some paying indirectly through the prices charged by the shopkeeper.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Find out which direct taxes are paid by the family in your house and what they total for a year.
2. Try to discover three articles in regular use at home which have never at any time paid tax of any type, direct or indirect.

Chapter 5

NEW TAXES FOR NEW SERVICES

THE Treasury and the financial side of the machine of government are of great importance to everyone in Malaya. That $410 million which the Federation spent in 1951 on public service, and the $125 million which Singapore spent in the same way, are sums so huge that they affect every single one of us.

Each of us shares the benefits of that spending, and at the same time each of us contributes towards the cost.

Almost every idea anyone has for providing a public service depends on money. If one district wants a new road or padi growers want a new canal, even when everyone agrees that the wish is fair and reasonable, it comes to the Financial Secretary in the Treasury. He must discover how much the new service will cost. When that is clear, he must find a way to obtain the money. Thus after the new service has been agreed upon by the highest council, it comes back again to the same council in another form, to get national agreement about the way to get the money.

Sometimes it may be possible to use money now being spent on something else. We could, for example, shut a hospital and use its money to pay for building a new road. That would not be popular because it takes away a service already supplying the needs of many people. Very rarely can new services be paid for in this way.

More often the money for a new public service must be raised by new taxation.

It is easy to suggest new or bigger taxes. In practice it is

difficult to put on a new tax without upsetting ordinary life. Already taxes are being collected each year at the rate of over $125 from every person in Singapore. Most things that can be taxed are already taxed. If a tax is so difficult to collect that it needs many civil servants, then the cost of collecting may equal the value of the tax, leaving no spare money for the new service.

Supposing that, in order to increase the schools, someone proposes an extra tax on cinema tickets. Those tickets are already paying about 25 cents tax from every dollar ticket. If the tax is increased to 50 cents, then people will have to pay $1.25 for what had been a dollar ticket. As a result, people may go to the cinema less often so that the total tax collected may be less than when a smaller tax was charged.

In this way, by increasing a tax, the total obtained by the Treasury may be less than before and, instead of providing extra services, existing ones may have to be cut down.

Taxes on cinemas, cigarettes or alcoholic drinks are popular with Financial Secretaries because only those people who can afford these luxuries will be paying.

On the other hand, a tax on rice will mean a rise in the price of rice, and either cause poor people to purchase less rice and go hungry or cause them to demand higher wages. If they get higher wages, the costs of what they do or make will go up, so that soon everything else will begin to cost more also. It is not usual to tax ordinary foods because such taxes hit the poorest people very hard.

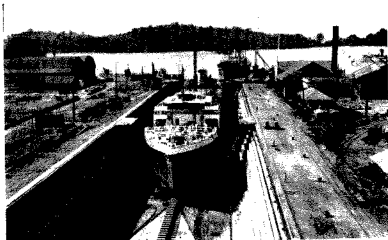
An extra direct tax on incomes may also produce unexpected results. It may cause people not to work so hard because they receive so little of their wages after tax has been deducted: Britain is beginning to reach this stage. It may cause people to give up luxuries like cinemas and cars, so

PUBLIC PROPERTY: THE ELECTRIC POWER STATION IN KUALA LUMPUR.

that, while the tax from incomes may increase, what is obtained from cinemas and petrol may decrease and the total received by the Treasury be less than before.

This shows how complicated it is to increase taxation. There is the possibility of receiving less when the tax increases. There is the possibility of causing distress when the tax is gradually passed to everyone in the form of extra charges on everything.

Tin and rubber now pay considerable taxes which are largely being paid by people outside this country. But if we increase the tax on our exports of rubber, its price will become higher than rubber sold by Ceylon, Nigeria and Brazil, which also grow rubber. Buyers will then purchase their rubber from those places rather than from Malaya, whose rubber will be more expensive because of the tax. Thus a higher tax on exports of our rubber can cause a decrease in the sales of our rubber. Possibly rubber buyers will turn to substitutes for rubber, such as the United



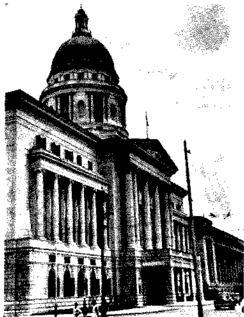
PUBLIC PROPERTY: ONE OF THE DOCKS IN SINGAPORE HARBOUR.

States has already been using, to the disadvantage of our industry.

Much the same may happen if Malaya increases the tax on exports of tin. In both cases our produce and trade may be lost to our rivals, and instead of extra money for the Treasury, we shall have extra unemployment when mines and plantations shut down.

The effects of taxation require the most careful thought. The Financial Secretary has to remember that we do not get more eggs by worrying the hen that lays them; nor will we find a store of eggs by killing the hen; nor will the eggs be cheap if we economise by reducing the food of the hen until she dies.

In 1951 out of every \$100 which the Singapore Treasury obtained by taxation, \$25 came from the tax on alcohol, \$8 from petrol, \$21 from tobacco, \$2½ from entertainments and \$25 from income tax. For the Federation in the same year, out of every \$100 collected by taxes, \$1 came from entertainment, \$8 from income tax, \$3 from cloth,



PUBLIC PROPERTY: THE SUPREME COURT AT SINGAPORE.

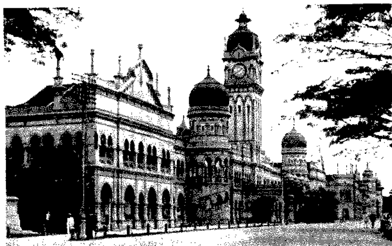
$19 from rubber, $16 from tin, $5 from petrol, $16 from tobacco and $8 from alcohol.

The Treasury can get extra money by borrowing from banks or from people. There is a limit to this. A Treasury does not rely on borrowing because every loan must pay interest, so that taxation must be increased for that purpose as well as for repaying the loan.

Borrowing money is always being done by the Treasury. Loans for a few months at a time have to be raised regularly because, although the public services go on all the while, the collection of taxes takes time and the revenue is not really in the Treasury until the end of the year. Those who work in public services cannot wait a year for their pay, so for short periods of a few months the Treasury borrows money, promising to pay back when the taxes come in. These are called "short-term loans". They are regularly advertised in the newspapers.

The Treasury borrows money for other purposes as well. Services like canals, harbours, roads, railways and so on cost large sums to construct in the first place. These are

KUALA LUMPUR IN 1882.



KUALA LUMPUR IN 1950.

These views are of the same piece of ground. Notice how public property has been created during the years.

called capital costs. After such things are constructed, they produce either extra rents or extra licences, or extra petrol taxes or extra income tax, or extra rubber and tin. They create new revenue for the Treasury. The capital costs are often paid by loans and every year afterwards the interest on those loans and a small part of the loan are included in taxes on users of the canals, harbours or railways, so that in twenty-five or thirty years the whole capital will have been repaid. A good government in a well-run country can always raise loans of this type at low rates of interest—far lower than ordinary people pay if they borrow from moneylenders.

Our Malayan governments can continue to raise such loans at interest rates as low as 2½ or 3 per cent. a year.

This system of estimates and taxation is not peculiar to Malaya. Every government has to pay for services to the nation, and every government has a system of taxes to raise money for its servants. Governments cannot get things for nothing any more than people can. You will be foolish if you believe that a government anywhere can always be giving service to the public without gathering taxes from the public in some form. If anyone ever asks you to vote for him and says that when he gets into government he will give the people services for nothing, you can be sure that either he is a fool or he thinks you are a fool.

As the years go by, the property constructed as part of the Malayan public services gradually increases. The public buildings, public roads, public irrigation and drainage services, the bridges and railways, the parks and museums, the school buildings and colleges, are with us as a result of building things out of taxes for many years. They are our inheritance for all that has been paid in taxation by our fathers and forefathers and everyone else in Malaya. They represent a heritage of very great value indeed. We were

born among them, and we accept them without thinking, like the air we breathe, yet they make all the difference to our lives. If by destruction we lost them, we should be very poor and obliged to lead lives almost as primitive as people in the lonely forests. That is why we must all defend them.

If merely our Malayan roads all had to be built now, it would cost us so much that each family in Malaya would have to pay at least $900. The inheritance we have received in the form of roads at the present time must be thought of as worth $900 per family. The value of all public property you inherit is in the same way probably worth $10,000 per family.

As we grow up and share the paying of taxes, we add a little to these permanent public buildings, roads, bridges, canals and so on. By this means our own children in their turn will inherit more and better public property than that which we have inherited, and we shall be paying our taxes to maintain, to expand and to increase that which came to us as public property. The value of it per person is greater than many of us will leave behind as personal property to our children.

We are each of us guardians of this heritage. We received this public property from those who are no longer alive. We pass it on to those who will live here after us. Anyone who damages public property is damaging our inheritance; he is damaging that which we should pass on to our children.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. What are the six items of public property which are most important in the ordinary work of the people of your district?

2. What would that property cost if your district had to build it now?

Chapter 6

POLITICS, PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

MANY millions of dollars are collected from us in taxation, and spent upon us in the public services which make the modern life of Malaya. Because they control these huge sums, the Legislative Council in Kuala Lumpur and the Legislative Council in Singapore have great power. How they use this power makes a great difference to all of us.

When they raise those millions of dollars, the councils influence the cost of everything we buy and use. The petrol tax influences the price of rice and the fares on buses, the entertainment tax affects the cost of tickets to the cinema, and income tax affects the amount of money which families and firms have to spend. Those millions influence also the services provided for the public in the way of roads, hospitals, schools, harbours and so on.

The power of public money is enormous—far greater than that of any single firm or any single person in Malaya. Consequently there are always people wishing to use their influence on this enormous power. Makers of bicycles may be interested to raise the petrol tax so that people will be obliged to use more bicycles. Rubber growers may be interested to lessen the tax on rubber exports. People in your district may want to direct a big slice of the revenue to improve the services in your district. Every group in the nation has a special and private interest in the flow of public money and in the distribution of public services.

Arguing in favour of special interests, and trying to

PREPARING THE ELECTORAL REGISTER IN SINGAPORE.

persuade the highest councils of the nation to use public funds and public services in one way rather than another, is politics. Each of us is very much concerned with politics, because every tax and every public service affects us personally, affects our families and affects all the different groups to which we belong.

There is nothing wrong about it and nothing unfair about trying to get most benefit from the machine of government. What is essential, however, is that no person and no group shall get such benefits without due regard for the interests of everyone else. It is the business of the Legislative Councils to discuss all the arguments of different persons and groups who want benefits, and to establish a fair balance between them. The councils have to reach an agreement not so much on the rights or wrongs of each group interest, as on the order of importance of these

interests, so that the important things are provided first and the less important afterwards, if money is available.

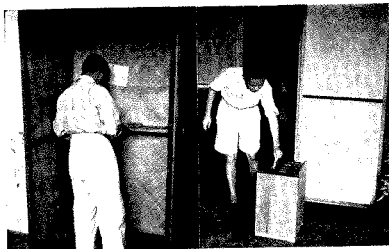
The persons sitting in the councils have a great responsibility in judging needs and interests, and it is necessary that the councils should represent as many as possible of the groups which make up the nation. It is their work to make known the needs of the groups, and to balance fairly the needs of one against the interests of the majority.

Getting such councils to include representatives of a wide range of groups and interests is done in different ways. In the Federation, the Legislative Council (1951) consists entirely of people who are invited (*nominated* is the usual word) by the High Commissioner to sit on it. In Singapore the Legislative Council consists partly of invited or nominated councillors and partly of councillors *elected* by the people of Singapore. In Britain the similar council, there called the Parliament, is made up entirely of elected representatives. Some people like one of these ways more than the others, but the object in each case is the same—to secure the widest representation of groups and to secure the wisest persons to judge and balance the interests.

We have to expect that in due course choosing by election will become more common in Malaya, and all young people now will soon take part in elections for members of different councils, so they must have a clear idea of what the councils are intended to do and what sort of person it is best to elect on the councils.

Let us consider what happens at the elections of Singapore. In the Singapore Legislative Council nine members are elected and others are nominated by the governor. Those elected sit on the council for three years, and must then retire or seek election once more.

For the election, the island of Singapore is divided into



FILLING UP A VOTING PAPER. PUTTING THE VOTING PAPER INTO A SEALED BOX.

separate districts, known as *electoral wards*. Every part of the island is in an electoral ward, and each ward elects a councillor. In the electoral ward every man or woman over the age of 21 is entitled to vote providing he or she was born in Singapore or is a British subject, and providing he or she claims this right beforehand by entering his or her name in a register of voters—called the *electoral register*. That is much the same arrangement as in Britain; it gives every adult a vote, if he was born in Singapore or is a British subject. Something like that is usual in every democratic country, and is the way which the British Commonwealth has used for many years.

Who are the voters to vote for? In each ward several people may want to be elected; each of them is called a candidate. Any elector can be a candidate if he can get a few voters of the ward to propose him. Candidates must be proposed or *nominated* on a certain day fixed in advance.

COLLECTING THE SEALED BOX AT THE END OF ELECTION DAY.

After "nomination day", voting papers are printed showing the names of all candidates and leaving a blank square opposite their names.

Between nomination day and voting day, candidates go round their electoral ward trying to persuade people to vote for them. This is called the *election campaign*—it is a sort of fight for votes. It is a fight by words: the candidate uses his fullest power of talking or persuading. If he attempts to do anything more than persuade the voters—that is to say, if he bullies them or tries to bribe them in any way—he will be arrested by policemen and probably be sent to prison.

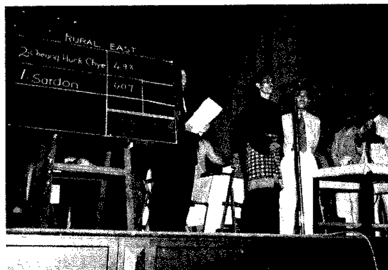
On election day, at certain offices in the ward, sealed and guarded boxes are placed. Every voter enters this office, known as a *polling booth*, and gives his name to the officer, who then checks that the person is on the electoral register. After making sure of this, the officer gives him a voting paper which has nothing on it but the names or signs of the candidates. The voter then goes to a quiet and private desk in the office where no one can see what he is writing, and puts a cross against the name of the candidate he chooses. No other mark is made, no signature, no number, only a cross against the printed name. The voter must then fold

COUNTING THE VOTES FROM ALL THE BOXES OF AN ELECTORAL WARD.

his voting paper and himself put it in the slot of the sealed box. No one can possibly know how he voted. It is all secret and private, except for checking beforehand that the voter is on the register of electors.

Because not everyone in Malaya can read and write, the candidate's name on the voting paper has a sign-picture against it, something like a bird, a book or a pipe. This is to help those who cannot read to recognise the candidates. The only mark to be put on the voting paper is a cross, which anyone can make whether or not he can write.

At the end of the day the sealed boxes are collected from all the polling booths, and are opened under the eye of trusted people by an officer, who then counts the votes which have been given to each candidate. The candidate with the greatest number of votes, the *majority of votes* as we say, is then declared elected as councillor for three years. If two candidates obtain the same number of votes, it is decided



THE CANDIDATE WITH MOST VOTES IS ANNOUNCED AS THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS WARD.

by tossing a coin, but the whole thing is really very simple and—this is an important point—very private. Nobody may know, either at the time of the election or by looking at the voting papers afterwards, that any one person voted for a certain candidate. Nobody can force the vote in any way or punish people for the way they voted.

That is what a democratic election is like.

A single candidate cannot do much to persuade the majority of voters of an electoral ward to give their vote for him. There are thousands of voters scattered in an electoral ward. Candidates usually need many helpers to reach and talk to the voters of a ward. In the council, too, one councillor can have only a small influence—it is the majority of councillors which can cause changes, not a single councillor. As a result, there has grown up the *political party*. This party is different from a tea party. It is a group

of people who agree to vote for a candidate at an election on condition that he agrees to vote for certain things if and when he becomes councillor.

In Singapore there is a political party calling itself the Progressive Party and another named the Labour Party. One Federation party is U.M.N.O., the United Malay Nationalist Organisation. Each of these works to get the election of its own candidates, and then in the council the successful candidates speak and vote in a way designed to further the policy of that party. The party is a grouping of people to get influence on councils. A party can get its own way on a council if most of the councillors are members of it, and it helps candidates to secure votes in the electoral wards.

In Britain there are two or three main parties. France has a dozen or so parties. In the United States there are two or three. In Russia there is only one party and no one is allowed to form any other. Except in the Russian system, the voters have a choice of parties at election time. In addition, there is nothing to prevent a candidate putting up for election who belongs to no party at all—he will call himself an *independent* candidate, meaning he is not connected with any party, and he will speak in the council as he likes rather than as a party wants him to speak.

Where the council or parliament or congress or senate (all of which are names for a nation's highest council), is one whose members are entirely elected, it generally happens that one party has the majority of councillors. Over the years, first one party and then another has the majority, and therefore has power to support its favourite interests or its way of dealing with the affairs of the nation.

In England, when the parliament has a majority of Labour Party members, any new law, new tax, new public

service which that party considers good, is almost certain to be introduced and become law.

Where there are many parties, it often happens that no single one of them has a majority in the council, and this will frequently prevent that council from deciding a matter. That sort of thing has been happening in France over the last few years, and it has been happening in Burma too.

But, in any case, all the old services and old laws still go on whatever the party with a majority may be. The public services and the civil service still carry out those things agreed upon by previous parliaments. Running the machinery of government, the services to the millions of people in a nation, must go on much the same whatever party holds a majority.

The difference is that all new laws and new services may have an order of importance or an order of priority different from that when another party has the majority. Though councils and parliaments and congresses may change the majority party at every election, the machinery of government continues and the civil servants continue to carry out the public services.

The job of the highest council is to consider the most desirable way of serving the best interests of the nation as a whole; it discusses what is called the *policy* of public services and of public taxes. It has very little to do with the work of repairing roads, constructing canals, buying pencils and paper for schools, and so on. Civil servants deal with those details.

Parliaments and councils are concerned with deciding whether there shall be new services and finding new money for new services. In many ways when the majority in a council changes from one party to another, the change always sounds far greater than it really is—and the excite-

MALAYANS WATCH THE PROCEDURE OF AN ELECTION IN LONDON.

ment when one's own party wins a majority of councillors may cool when it is discovered that the machinery of government goes on much as before. Although political parties are inclined to promise voters something for nothing if the voters support the party candidate, the hard fact remains that public affairs go on without very big changes.

Whatever party gets the majority in a council, it can only give to the public that which the public is willing to pay for in the form of new taxes or that which the people want so much that they will give up some old service to get it. No matter what political party has the greatest number of councillors, the public services continue and everyone's needs and everyone's means must be brought into balance.

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

Chapter 7

THE PEOPLES OF MALAYA

THE chief interest of nearly every adult in Malaya is his or her constant need of feeding adequately and of being reasonably clothed and housed. For ordinary people there is no other way of meeting those needs than by working. Their daily work is as necessary as food, clothing and housing.

In most homes, the job of the fathers, mothers and brothers is of the greatest importance to everyone. It is talked about by the whole family. The ways of the family are shaped to fit the jobs which are done by members of the family. The times of meals are arranged to suit them, and the amounts of food and clothing and the kind of house depend on what they earn from their work. The position of the house depends on the chief wage earner: it may be provided for him by the firm he works for or chosen to be near the firm. It must be near routes which enable him to get to his work.

All workers in the same type of job for this reason live in much the same way, keep to the same times and have similar interests. Their families form a group or *community* with ways of life in common.

The importance of grouping according to jobs is recognised nowadays, and *trade unions* exist for organising communities engaged in one type of job. All the trade unions are banded together into a Trade Union Council for managing their interests in wages and conditions at the factories and offices where workers spend so much of their time.

WORKERS DISCUSS THEIR AFFAIRS AT A MEETING OF THEIR TRADE UNION.

Two communities have grown up round types of work. First there are town workers who earn wages or get profits in factories, offices, shops and similar jobs.

Secondly there are country workers. They are concerned with getting a living from the land, growing padi, rubber, coconut palms and vegetables, catching fish or mining.

These two communities have ways of life which are more different from one another than they are from other ways of life in Malaya. It is not important which way of life is the better. They serve different purposes for Malayans as a whole and receive different services in return.

Townspeople must remember the importance of the country community, because from it we get our food supplies. Farmers sow a few handfuls of padi and harvest enough to feed several people. From a seed which is not enough for a mouse to live on, they produce enough cabbage to feed several people or rubber to make shoes for several people. Clever as townspeople are, they never increase anything by their work. They convert simple material into

complicated articles. Country people must remember that modern things and modern organisations have been thought out and developed by townspeople.

The country life is simple. People there live far apart, and they depend on themselves more than on others. Being so scattered, they are more difficult to reach and it is more difficult to provide them with services of pipe-water, sanitation and schools. Town life is highly organised, government services can be cheaply supplied, and large numbers of people easily reached with new ideas and equipment.

Even today when buses and bicycles make it possible to travel quickly, country children, for example, have greater difficulty in getting the best education than children in towns. They may not be less clever, but they are less easy to reach so that their cleverness may be trained.

In the town community there are various ways of living, but the differences between them are not so great as between town and country people. Professional workers, like doctors, teachers and lawyers, have interests different from those of businessmen, and these in turn work and live differently from the labourers and artisans, but they are all alike in the sense that none can feed or supply themselves from the work they do. The country man, on the other hand, can grow his own padi, vegetables and fruits. Townspeople exchange services for money and money for food and necessities. Farming people are more nearly self-supporting in their daily needs. They do not need to go to shops for everything.

These two communities of Malayans often do not understand one another's difficulties or way of doing things, though it is easy to see that each is very dependent on the other. No townsman could live if countrymen refused to exchange or sell their produce for the services and the

A TOWN COMMUNITY GOING ABOUT ITS BUSINESS.

articles of townspeople. No countryman could live without organisation or trade provided by townspeople, or get modern articles like bicycles, needles, scissors and lamps, which the towns produce. The ways of life in the towns and country fit together to make a satisfactory life for the country as a whole. They may be different, but they are linked and related. They are both necessary to a modern nation, as head and legs are necessary to a complete man. Every other nation in the world has these two great communities.

In Malaya there are still other communities. You can find representatives of them in every locality, in every type of work and in every profession. These are the communities of Malays, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and Europeans.

Malays are to be found in every town, in every district, in most types of job from highest to lowest. The greater part of them are still country people, as might be expected, because most of them have been here so long that their families cannot trace having been anywhere else. That is what is

TELEPHONE OPERATORS AT WORK.

meant by saying they are the natives of the country. They are the greatest food-producing community in Malaya. Indians take part in most types of work too, and large numbers are connected with the rubber estates. Chinese people work at every kind of job in Malaya. Some of them are wealthy, hundreds of thousands of them are poor working people. They gather into towns, and are much engaged in organising trade, which is a large part of the work in towns.

There is no boundary or barrier between the work or the living place of these Malayan communities. They may speak differently and prefer different foods, clothes or religions, but they are mixing together so much in work and play that the distinction is becoming less.

The distinctions between the interests of a country Chinese and a town Chinese are much the same as the distinctions between those of a country Malay and a town Malay. The work, worries and interests of a little Chinese family of cultivators in the country districts are very little different from the work, worries and interests of a Malay family in the country. The different languages make it more difficult for such communities to understand one

another, though they have similar needs. Malays, Chinese and Indians need to eat regular meals each day, need to work to obtain these meals, to bring up children and give them a good start in life; they all want decent housing and clothes, to live healthily, to have amusements and friends, and to feel happy and contented.

When the sensible people of Malaya look into the problem of living together in organised groups as a modern nation, they see that communities of language are one more of the several groups to which each of us belongs as part of the way our society is arranged. In Malaya, at any rate, the grouping as Chinese, Malays and Indians is becoming less important than our grouping into jobs or trade unions with special interests, into localities with special interests and into families with special interests.

Education is smoothing out the differences between people, and our common needs are becoming more important than our differences. That is the lesson of the modern world, where writing, printing, films, radio and magazines are bringing people closer together as nations, as people, as classes and as communities. Groups are realising that each is dependent in some way on the other.

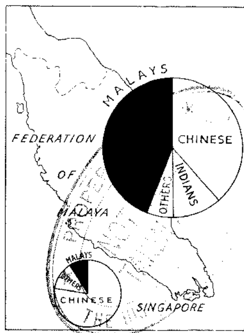
Being a Malay, a Chinese, an Indian, a Eurasian or an Englishman is to be thought of as a grouping much like scouts, families or trade unions. The differences make for a more varied life here in Malaya, but progress in raising our standards of living and improving our life can only be achieved by these five communities realising they have many needs in common.

Out of every hundred people to be met in the Federation, 44 are Malays, 39 Chinese, 11 Indians and 5 are Indonesians. In towns there are everywhere more Chinese and Indians than there are Malays, but Malays form the majority of the

people in Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis and Kedah. Chinese form the majority in Penang, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Johore. The pattern of people is quite different in Singapore, where 78 out of every hundred people are Chinese, 8 are Malay and 8 are Indians. Nowhere, however, is there a Malayan town where no Malays or Indians live and every country district has a few Chinese or Indians.

This picture is even more complicated than it appears. Malays speak much the same language and have much the same customs among themselves, though they have many types of work. But Chinese are very mixed among themselves. Some of their families have settled in Malaya for many generations, and have no connection with China any longer. Others have not been here long, and still have families and interests in China. What is more, the Chinese divide into groups, each of which speaks a distinct language or dialect which cannot be understood by other Chinese; the main sections of Chinese are Hokkien-speaking, Cantonese-speaking, Teochew-speaking and Hakka-speaking. Chinese may be Buddhist, Christian or Confucian by religion. The Malayan Indians are similarly mixed, some coming from North India and speaking Hindustani, others coming from South India and speaking Tamil or a similar language. Indians are also grouped into the Hindu, Muslim or Christian religions. In addition, Malaya has numbers of Europeans and Eurasians. There is no other part of South-east Asia with such a mixed grouping of people by languages, religions, origins and race.

These differences do not matter so long as a smooth working arrangement permits all to live adequately and to have a reasonable understanding of what it means to organise life in groups. Understanding of this kind is easy when people are educated, especially if they are educated in a



THESE CIRCLES REPRESENT THE POPULATION OF THE FEDERATION AND SINGAPORE.

Each circle is divided according to the size of the communities.

language understood by everyone. That is what Malayans are seeking now. Other nations have had similar very mixed types of people at some stage in their history. The people of Britain were once so mixed by race and by language that they could not understand one another; they have settled down now with a language and a way of life in common. In the United States the people were very mixed by origins, race, language and religion, but that was smoothed away by a great effort in education, so that the present generation of Americans all speak English and have developed a national spirit of unity. That spirit the people of Malaya can also achieve.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Enquire about the dialect spoken by each of the Chinese you know.
2. Ask a Malay, a Chinese and an Indian among your friends to tell you the history of their families as far back as they know it.
3. Make a list of three skilled jobs done in your district, and see whether every race is represented among the workers in each.

Chapter 8

FARMERS IN MALAYA

OUT of every twelve people in the Federation of Malaya, nine are country people, scarcely knowing things which are common in our towns. Often their lives are hard and simple.

They live mostly by farming or cultivating the soil. They depend very much on themselves, though even in the smallest villages will be found a shop or two where the farmers buy things which they cannot produce. Their work is to grow crops of some sort, or possibly to rear animals, chickens, pigs, cattle and buffaloes. All their ways of doing things are related to nature, which enables plants and animals to grow.

Padi, rubber trees, fruit trees and all the other crops have their own lives. Country people must learn to keep pace with these growing crops. The farmer can do nothing to hurry a plant or make it produce fruit or latex before the proper time set by nature. For months there is no work in the fields; nature may be at work and the crops may be growing, but farmers have nothing to do. Then come months when there is so much planting or gathering to do that the country men may have to work every minute while there is light. Malay farmers may be harvesting padi even after dark in the moonlight. The farmer's work depends on nature.

That fitting of country life to the timing or cycle of nature is different from that which townspeople, factory workers and office workers know. When visitors pass through the fields and see no one at work, they may get the false idea that country people are lazy. They should ask what the crop is and think of the work connected with it. Crops grow at

THE SCATTERED HUTS OF FARMING PEOPLE.

their own pace and demand work from the countrymen at times suiting nature—even if those times are not convenient.

Without the farmer's unhurried labour of watching, sowing and harvesting, none of us could live. No factory can make food. Plants, however, produce food from ground which we cannot eat, converting earth and water into rice, fruits and other eatables. Farming, too, is the only work which really gives out more than people put in. A handful of padi properly cultivated in the fields will give a crop of enough rice for about ten bowls full. Machines only give out nearly the same as is put into them; they generally give less, because there is always some waste.

Farmers and agriculturists are giving the world a constant increase, multiplying and replacing the world's food. If it were not so, people would long since have decreased.

MANY MALAY FARMERS ARE SO SELF-CONTAINED THAT THEY MAKE THEIR OWN PLOUGHS.

Farming is often concerned with food, growing rice or vegetables or animals for meat. Here in Malaya many of our farmers have a special interest in a crop no one can eat. Rubber, which has made Malaya famous, is not a food, and very little of it has any use in this country. It is a *cash crop*. It is sold for money, and that money is used to buy food from elsewhere.

Less than a quarter of Malayan cultivated land is used to grow our rice. Many farmers grow padi chiefly to feed themselves and their families; they have little to spare for selling. They are self-contained, as we say. They need the padi they grow, and they grow what they eat. In this they are very different from those who grow rubber and must sell it for money to buy what they eat. These country people have organised their crops to bring money and that money brings food. They cannot eat unless they buy their food with money from their rubber crop. They are, indeed, in a very awkward position. If no one will buy their rubber, they and their families cannot get food or pay rent or buy clothes.

Because over half of Malaya's cultivated land is used for

the rubber crop, most Malayans are influenced by the delicate balance of the rubber-growing life, and depend for their living on selling rubber. They depend on tyre manufacturers, mackintosh-makers, cable makers and the electrical industries of America and Europe being willing to buy rubber. At the same time they depend on the willingness of padi growers in Siam and the wheat growers of Australia to sell foods for Malayans to eat.

EVEN COUNTRY WOMEN MUST HELP WHEN THERE IS MUCH TO DO IN THE FIELDS.

In this way our country community, though living in the lonelier parts of Malaya, is linked to users of rubber overseas. It is equally linked to sellers of foodstuffs in other countries overseas. Whether the rubber grower is Chinese, English, Swiss or Malay, he has to sell rubber to America or Europe, and to buy food from Siam or Australia and clothes from Britain, India or Japan.

Our rubber growers thus have special interests. This group would like Malaya to act in such a way that we could sell large quantities of rubber at high prices to America and Europe and to anyone else willing to buy. It would also like Malaya organised so that huge quantities of food

could be bought from Siam and Australia at very low prices.

The interest of our rubber-growing community may clash with that of our padi growers. Farmers who grow padi in Malaya and have some to spare will be happier if Siam does not supply rice at cheap prices. They prefer that the price of rice should be as high as possible because then they may sell their surplus rice at high prices.

Because so large a part of our country community is concerned with rubber, it has great influence in the councils and committees which consider the public needs.

The three-cornered system of growing rubber here, selling rubber there and buying food from somewhere else has its dangers. If part of it breaks down, much of Malaya breaks down too, with unpleasant results to thousands of ordinary working people.

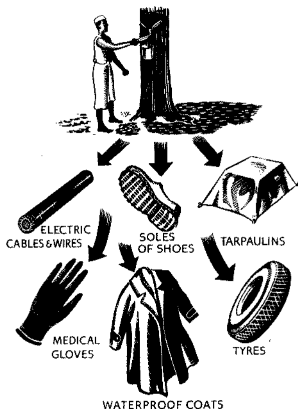
One danger is beyond our control. Malayans cannot force other people to pay them good prices for rubber, and they cannot prevent other people in Sumatra, Borneo, Ceylon, India, Africa and South America from growing rubber and selling it more cheaply than Malayan rubber.

Even nature is against the rubber grower. Rubber trees in the tropics grow quickly, so that the amount of rubber produced by Malayan growers and by growers in other tropical countries soon becomes enormous. At once this causes lower prices for rubber. Nature in the tropics favours the farmer by producing large crops, but in the long run works against him by causing low prices. On the other hand, that generosity which gives abundant return from tropical crops favours a country community which grows food for local use only.

One way in which Malayan rubber growers can lessen their risk is by cultivating other crops. If they have several

crops, they will not depend on only one crop. If, too, Malayans were willing to eat other foods, they would not depend on Siam and Australia alone for their supplies.

This idea is called *diversification*. To diversify the farming



THE USES OF MALAYAN RUBBER.

means to cultivate several crops rather than only one. To diversify the foods means to take bread as well as rice, to use less of both and more of maize, sweet potatoes, tapioca, yams, meat and foods like that.

A KELANTAN MALAY GATHERING SUGAR FROM HIS COCONUT PALMS.

It is easy to suggest diversification, but most tropical crops—sugar, cocoa, hemp and so on—are already being produced in other parts of the tropics better suited to them than is Malaya. Most of these are already in the same dangerous position as Malaya. It will be no advantage to diversify with crops already produced cheaply and plentifully somewhere else.

Nor is it easy to change people's customs in the food they eat. Rice eaters take time to get accustomed to bread. Ask yourself whether you would take easily to tapioca, yams and maize in place of the rice or bread you eat now.

One diversification of crops is going on in Malaya. Some country people, particularly smallholders, are diversifying their interests by growing a little rice on part of their ground, a little rubber on another and some fruits and vegetables on another. In this way the smallholder spreads his risks: he is growing some of his family's food; he has a little rubber or

SOME MALAYANS SPECIALISE IN GROWING VEGETABLES.

fruit or vegetables to sell for cash. Such a farmer, however, is not going to get very much of anything, crops or cash.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. If Malayans took to growing large quantities of cocoa, with what countries already producing cocoa would they be in rivalry and to what countries would they expect to sell?

2. Would the position of our rubber agriculturists be easier if the rubber they produced were manufactured here in Malaya?

3. How would you and your class-mates set about changing your own family custom of eating rice as the main article of food?

Chapter 9

MALAYAN MINERS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

THOUGH miners live scattered in the rural parts of Malaya, they take no part in farming. They are concerned with a product *under* the ground, not things growing *on* the ground. Unlike the farmers, miners produce something which does not grow or change so that it can be worked at any time. There is no season in mining work.

Tin, the chief mineral of Malaya, occurs where nature puts it. Miners cannot obtain from the ground more than nature has placed there. Experts who study rocks (geologists) can often foretell where tin will be found, but no one can make it come or increase the supply.

The miner depends on something which he cannot control. Tin is found largely as a matter of luck. The metal or ore exists in a limited quantity at some place, and when the miners have dug out or extracted it, the ground is "dead". No more tin will be found there. Then the miner's work has ended. He must search for deposits of tin in other places.

These are the points which make tin mining a gamble. People may hunt for tin and never find any. They may find some, but in so small a quantity that soon the tin is exhausted or costs too much to reach. On the other hand, large quantities of tin may be discovered accidentally and make much money for the discoverer. The same sort of chance applies to all mining, for coal, iron, bauxite and oil.

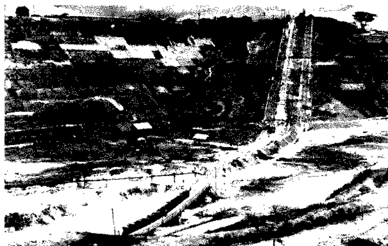
Cautious miners work only those large deposits which will

continue to occupy them for a long time and repay the cost of their equipment, but in every case the deposit ends sometime. The length of time it takes to exhaust the deposit is called "the life of a mine". Tin mines may have a life of anything from four to fifty years.

AT WORK IN AN OLD-STYLE TIN MINE.

Tin mining has had a great influence on Malaya. The good luck of finding large and easily worked deposits of tin near Taiping and Kuala Lumpur attracted people and capital into parts of Malaya which had been useless. In Taiping the tin is nearly exhausted, giving us an example of what happens to tin districts. About seventy years ago, Taiping was a flourishing town where miners were making plenty of money and attracting thousands of new-comers to the chief mining district of Malaya. Taiping now is a quiet country town where only a little mining is done. The miners have either moved to new tin areas or changed their work, to become merchants or rubber growers.

Despite their limited life, Malayan tin mines have made fortunes for some lucky people. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of workers have got little from coming here to mine except hard work for an ordinary wage and the risks and diseases of mining.



IN THE DEEP SUNGEI BESI TIN MINE.

sure that the price must later improve when supplies from other places are used up and some rival tin producers disappear.

The owner of the mine can afford to wait. Tin keeps, and he can be fairly confident he will do well again in time. But what of the workers? The tin may be safe underground, yet the workers will be without employment while waiting. They must go hungry or move to other jobs in other places—which is not easy or pleasant. The workers in a mine face the risk of loss of work owing to the world price being low, as well as the risk that one day their mine will be exhausted and their work will come to an end.

The workers in tin mines are very much at the mercy of things outside their control and outside the control of anyone or any other group in Malaya. From the workers' point of view, mining work is uncertain. From the owners' point of view, mining is risky and short-lived. From the national point of view, mining is unsure as a source of taxes and

LAND NEAR TAIPING AFTER BEING DREDGED FOR TIN.

revenue. The tin-mining groups always face uncertainty and the risk of unreliable work and prices.

The profits for miners, though great for some lucky ones, are limited by rivals overseas. When the costs either of wages or of machinery and equipment get so high that Malayan tin becomes more costly than tin from Bolivia, Nigeria and Indonesia, our mines cannot expect to sell their tin, however much they may still have.

Malaya's mining groups have been great pioneers, settling and working districts which had never been developed before. Their needs and their profits have created big towns like Ipoh, Taiping and Kuala Lumpur, and helped to pay for our roads, railways and other capital equipment.

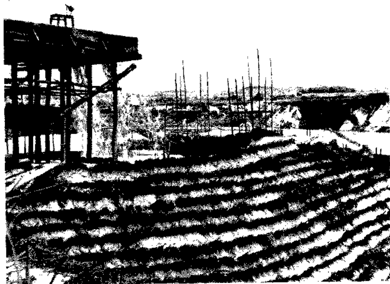
Malayan mining stirs up soft ground and may pour mud and sand into the rivers, which then form great banks and spread useless sands over padi fields, preventing cultivation. We have learnt how dangerous these *silts* can be, and we now oblige miners to prevent the bad effects. The miner

CHINESE TIN MINERS EATING AFTER THEIR DAY'S WORK IS OVER.

rivals the padi grower in using our rivers. One needs water for washing his ore, the other for covering his fields.

Sometimes they are rivals for the same piece of ground, because it can happen that a field may be excellent for padi on top and also contain valuable tin underneath. Who should have first claim? The agriculturist who works on top or the miner who wants what is underground? That is a question which often has to be discussed in the state and district councils. The answer is difficult, because when ground has once been worked for tin by dredge or gravel pump, the top is not much use for anything else. Abandoned or "dead" mining land cannot always be cultivated.

There are other types of mining in Malaya: coal at Batu Arang, gold at Raub, aluminium ore in Johore and iron ore in Trengganu. They are far less important to Malaya than



MINES ARE NOW OBLIGED TO HOLD BACK THE SILTS THEY STIR UP.

tin mining, and they employ far fewer workers. Malaya has large quantities of iron and aluminium ore, but these cannot be smelted in Malaya and it is expensive to ship such bulky materials to distant places like Australia, India and Japan, which can deal with them.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. If you live in a tin-mining district, visit one of the "dead" mines, find out when that mine began and when it ceased to be used, so that you will know what its "life" has been.
2. Discover how much tin Malaya produced last year and how much each of its rivals produced (Indonesia, Bolivia, Nigeria, Belgian Congo).
3. For a whole month keep a scrap-book with newspaper cuttings about Malayan tin mining. In that way you will learn whether any new problems are beginning to face the industry.

Chapter 10

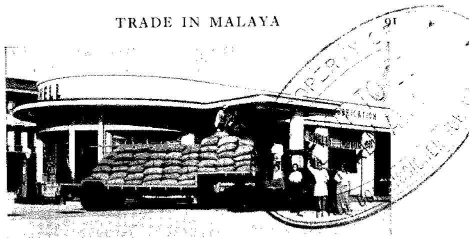
TRADE IN MALAYA

LARGE groups of Malayans are in a peculiar position about their way of living. The townspeople depend on earning money to buy their daily needs. Country people growing rubber and mining tin also buy their food and their clothes with the money they get by selling their produce. Because so many Malayans must buy their daily needs, foods and goods must flow regularly towards towns and rubber-growing and mining districts. There is a similar flow of tin ore, rubber and copra away from the country towards Malayan ports, and from those ports to our customers across the seas.

This flow of foods, clothes, tin, rubber and so on make what we call trade. Our trade is a two-way flow: a flow *to* Malayans of foods and everything else they need which they do not make for themselves, and a flow *from* Malayans of tin, rubber, palm-oil, copra and iron ore, which they cannot use but which people overseas need.

Goods do not flow of their own accord. The flow of trade requires people to move the goods and vehicles to carry the goods. It needs the group we know as *traders*, and another group of *transporters*—railway workers, lorry drivers, sailors and porters. These communities of traders and transport workers serve the rest of us in a special way, in return for which they receive wages or salary or profit, which they then use to provide themselves with food, clothing and housing.

To judge the importance of the service these tradesmen and transport workers perform, think how they affect your daily needs.



TRANSPORT WORKERS GETTING READY TO DISTRIBUTE RICE TO MALAYA BY ROAD.

Consider your daily rice. Your mother buys it from the shopkeeper in the market. She buys it by the kati. The shopkeeper keeps a stock of rice, which is on show beside other things he sells. Your mother may walk home with the rice or take a bus—she herself transports it from shop to house.

The shopkeeper gets his stock from the rice dealer in the same town, who has a large godown full of sacks of rice. That dealer (or *wholesaler*) differs from the shopkeeper (or *retailer*) by trading in large quantities of only one article, the rice, while the shopkeeper usually trades in many articles. Someone will have to move the rice from the dealer's godown to the shop. That will almost certainly be done by a lorry.

The wholesale dealer in your town gets his supplies from one of the Malayan ports. He gets it from a trader in Singapore or Penang, using either lorry or railway or both to bring it from the port to your town.

The trader at the port handles huge quantities of rice, thousands of tons of it, and has large godowns near the

TRADERS OF SIAM COLLECT RICE FROM THE PADI FARMERS BY CANAL AND BRING IT TO BANGKOK.

harbours because he receives his rice by sea from Siam or Burma. It reaches our ports through the work of sailors and engineers on the steamers and tonkangs. At the other end, at Bangkok or Rangoon, there is another trader. He brings rice to those ports by sampan, lorry or railway from the padi farms and rice-mills of Siam or Burma. At Bangkok and Rangoon the trader *collects* the rice from inland. At Penang and Singapore the Malayan trader *distributes* the rice within Malaya, and each of the chain of dealers inside Malaya handles smaller quantities in the service of distribution.

How many different people, shopkeepers, dealers, wholesalers, lorry drivers, sailors, clerks and tambies, have been working to get that kati of rice from the farmer in Siam into

the hands of your mother for your meals today in Malaya? It could easily be a couple of hundred persons, all helping to get that rice into your house. If your town is in one of the rice-growing areas of Malaya, like Kedah and Kelantan, where the farmers have rice to spare, they can sell to people nearby without so many go-betweens or so much transport.

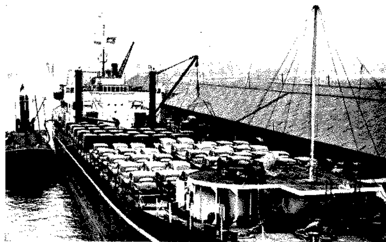
What has happened to your rice may be surprising. More people are working to bring it to the table, passing it in the flow of trade, than are needed to grow the rice in the fields.

Each person working in trade and transport naturally expects payment for his service. Traders take what is called commission, charging more for the rice than it costs. The transport workers generally get wages which are added on to the price of the rice they handle.

This explains the difference between the price a farmer gets for his rice and the price we pay at the shop. There is nothing unfair about it. Everyone working to bring rice to us should get adequate pay for his services.

Similar services occur in the rubber and tin trades. There are groups of traders who collect and purchase from the growers or the mines. They transport these products from the plantations or mines to bigger dealers at the ports. Other people move the rubber and tin to ships, carry them overseas, and then distribute them from foreign ports to the factories that need them in America or Europe.

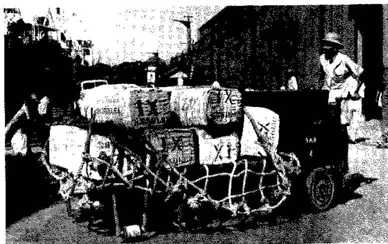
Is it possible to cut out some of these traders and transport workers so that either more money is received by the producers or less is paid by the users? Traders compete among themselves and that rivalry reduces the go-betweens. But the handling cannot be removed altogether. In every trading flow there has to be collecting, transporting and distributing as well as the original work of producing the articles.



CARS FOR MALAYA COME OVERSEAS FROM BRITAIN.

It seems that there are too many shops in some of our towns—whole streets of shoe shops selling similar shoes, paying many rents and many wages and many commissions. All these costs are added to the price we pay for shoes, and some could be saved if only one or two shops handled that type of distribution. Some people argue that if there are many shops selling shoes, the customer can choose the best and bargain for cheap prices. But most shoes are made at some factory, in any case; they are much the same in kind and in cost, so we have not really much choice. There are often more shops to choose from than there are types of shoes. Although we may bargain and reduce the price by a few cents, we may be taking that few cents from the wage of the shop assistant. A fair wage for everyone is not possible by bargaining like that.

Co-operative societies do much the same work as traders. The difference is that the co-operative society shares its profits and its losses among its members; the trader keeps



MALAYAN RUBBER BEING LOADED TO GO OVERSEAS.

the profits for himself after paying the wages of the people he employs, and bears the risks.

There are several kinds of co-operative society in Malaya. One type is a group of producers who agree to put all their rice or rubber together and to sell it wholesale, cutting out one or two collector go-betweens, and by that means getting better prices. These are producer co-operatives. Then there is the group of town or village people who agree to do all their purchases together and buy direct from the importer, saving the charges of distributor go-betweens. These are consumer co-operatives. Both co-operatives act like dealers, with the difference that the profits are shared by the group in some way, either by sharing at the end of a year or in the payments between the co-operative and each member.

Turning again to Malayan trade, the incoming flow of rice, foods, clothes and other necessities is usually handled by one set of traders who direct it inwards to the remote parts of Malaya. The trade in rubber, tin, copra and palm-

A CO-OPERATIVE SHOP NEAR KLANG.

oil flowing outwards from our country districts is handled by an entirely separate group. The amount of money received from the outflowing trade is the amount of money Malayans can spend to buy what they need. That is how the inflowing trade depends on the outflowing trade. For Malaya as a whole it means what every private person knows—that if a man earns his living by growing rubber, he can only buy what the money obtained from his rubber permits him to buy. Trade and the traders are the means for making this exchange of rubber, tin and so on for the goods of other countries.

Besides taking part in the Malayan flow of imports and exports, Singapore traders collect rubber, tin and copra from all the surrounding countries and islands. They put them together, pack them and grade them for sale to consumers in the United States, Europe and India. Other Singapore traders act as distributors to the islands and countries round about, distributing produce brought from England, America and India to Siam, Indonesia, China and Burma. This type of trade is called *entrepôt* trade. Rubber is imported to

AT A WHOLESALE GODOWN IN SINGAPORE.

Singapore and also exported from Singapore. Tin is imported to Singapore from Siam, Malaya, Indonesia and Borneo, and also exported from Singapore to Britain, the U.S. and other parts of the world. Singapore people are almost entirely dependent on trade; they do not produce a great deal themselves, although gradually factories are being set up on the island. The Federation of Malaya has trade flows based on what it produces from within. Singapore people depend on commissions and wages for their service in the trade flowing through Singapore to and from other places.

Except for the squatters and padi growers who live an isolated life, Malayans are all connected with the flow of trade and with the transport inwards and outwards which it causes. Even though your family may not itself be a trading or business family, it uses the services of trade to get its daily needs.

The services performed for us by the best sort of trader are essential for the smooth organising of our lives. Trade leaves the rest of us free to specialise in our own types of work.

Trading has its own kind of skill. The good trader must

THE SIMPLE CLOTH SHOP IS PART OF THE DISTRIBUTING TRADE.

estimate what sort of goods are needed. He has to know who wants the goods and where to place the goods so that they may reach the customers. He has to understand who produces the goods, how they have to be reached and how the goods must be handled to keep them in condition. He must watch prices and estimate how they are likely to change. There is always a risk in trading unless the trader uses the commission system, taking a fixed percentage of the sale price in return for his services.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Make a list of the different types of co-operative society in your town.

2. Visit the main shopping street of your town, and find out the number of shops there in each of the following classes—eating shops, grocery shops, cloth shops, shoe shops, bicycle shops, mixed (or sundries) shops.

3. If you know a shopkeeper or trader, try to discover from him the chain of people who take part in getting his articles from the producer to the user and the chain of transport his articles have followed.

Chapter 11

THE WORK AND WAGES OF MALAYANS

EXCEPT for that part of the agricultural group or community which gives its attention to growing food, Malayan groups are all obliged to work for money. They sell their produce for cash or receive wages for their services. Altogether about $1\frac{1}{4}$ million Malayans are working for money, and upon each depends the life and comfort of their families.

Questions about work and the pay it produces are constantly coming up for discussion in the homes as well as in the factories, farms and offices. Wages are very much in the minds of grown-up workers because other people depend on them.

Even padi farmers and vegetable gardeners who grow food and can eat what they grow, get involved in selling their produce: It has become impossible for anyone in this country to grow or make everything he needs or to be entirely independent or self-contained. Malayans need important things, like matches, knives, needles and so on, which they must get from elsewhere. Robinson Crusoe was self-contained, but he could not be described as comfortable or enjoying what even the poorest Malayans like to have.

You have learnt now that modern life is a three-cornered exchange of work, money and things like food, clothes, housing and similar essential supplies. These form a chain of three links binding our society, which is organised so that we share our skill and our produce, exchanging our produce or work for that of others.

COLLECTING WAGES AFTER WORK IS OVER.

We must work to earn. We must earn to buy what we need for living.

There are two distinct types of work in Malaya. One type produces an article, like rubber, tin, timber and coal. The other is a service, such as lorry driving, keeping shops, teaching and running an office. Workers who give service include civil servants, mechanics who repair cars and lorries, clerks, nurses, traders and so on, all working to keep in good order the machinery of our society.

Malayans who spend their lives in service-work sometimes forget their place in the whole organisation of Malaya. They often receive training for several years to make them highly skilled. Much work in a modern country must be done by these specialists. If for any reason they refuse to do their jobs, not many of the rest of us can replace them. A person must become such a skilled worker in a modern country if he wants a good salary and respect.

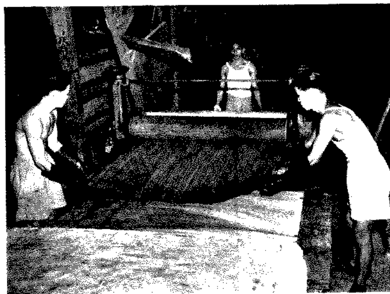
There are, of course, workers who have very little skill. These unskilled workers can do little more than push or carry or watch. That is the great difference between our society in Malaya and that of advanced nations—we have many unskilled workers and few skilled ones.

PREPARING FOR A LIFE OF SERVICE.
Dental students at the University of Malaya.

Malaya provides many types of work and skill. All types of work do something useful for our society, but which is better? Which is more important?

Although it is difficult to answer these questions, our society, the people as a whole, settles the questions in the wages and salaries paid for each class of work. Roughly speaking, wages are arranged so that the more skilful worker gets higher wages. A man with a rare skill will get better wages than one with a common skill.

How are the wages fixed? The wages and salaries paid for rubber and tin workers have to match the prices which buyers are willing to pay for the produce. The rubber smallholder's money is exactly what his sale of rubber brings him. The amount which can be paid to the workers on a rubber



SKILLED WORKERS IN A NEW PLYWOOD FACTORY AT SEREMBAN.

plantation likewise depends on the price the plantation gets for its rubber.

The wages of lorry drivers, railway workers, the traders and the clerks who transport Malayan tin and rubber have to be related to what the producers of rubber and tin will take for their produce and what the buyers will pay for it.

In turn, the civil servants and municipal workers receive their wages from what the producing and transport workers contribute by paying municipal taxes, income tax, tobacco tax, entertainment tax and so on.

The wages paid to shop assistants, in turn, depend on the amount spent in shops by the rubber workers, tin workers, civil servants, transport workers and others.

Thus all wages and salaries are closely connected with one another. In Malaya, they are closely connected with two

products, rubber and tin, and some others, like coconut oil, iron and coal. The wages and salaries fit together like a jigsaw puzzle. A change in one set of wages at once affects all other wages, reducing some and increasing others. Whether it is fair or not, the wage of one person affects and is affected by the wages of others.

A HIGHLY SKILLED MALAY WORKER IN SILVER.

It is not the amount of wage which really matters to the worker. He is more concerned about its usefulness. The wage must buy for his family the daily needs of food, clothing, housing and light, so its real meaning depends on the price of rice and clothes; there are other needs, but these are the essential ones. The price of rice depends on the farmers in Siam and Burma who grow it, on the wages of the transport workers who bring it, and on the wages of shopkeepers who sell it to you. The price of clothes depends on the cost of cotton in India and Egypt, on the wages of the cloth workers in Lancashire or India or America, and on the wages of transport workers and traders who handle the cloth.

Thus what you can buy with wages in Malaya is connected with prices and wages outside this country. Wages fit into the jigsaw pattern of all wages inside Malaya, and

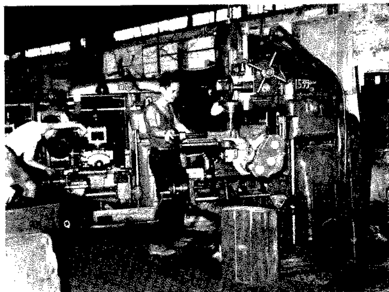
also into the wages outside Malaya. This sets a limit to the amount that can be paid to each type of worker.

When we look into the usefulness of wages and consider what they buy, we see another point. Below a certain sum, no one can buy enough of the essential needs to feed his dependants. There are families receiving so little money that they are too poor to feed adequately, bringing them all the consequences of ill-health, worry and unhappiness. From this has come the idea that no wage should be less than enough to keep a family from starving. This is called a fair living wage, meaning one which will, at least, provide the essential needs for living.

A fair wage is far from easy to fix. Money does not continue to buy the same amounts year after year, because prices change. People's needs also change according to the size of families. What is a fair wage for a man to keep his wife and two children may not be enough to prevent starvation if he has twenty children. That is why fair wages soon lead us to think of what are fair-sized families. It explains why good ways of living are connected with the size of families and what is the cost of living.

When committees consider wages, as they have done several times in Malaya recently, they face the complex pattern of wages inside Malaya and outside Malaya and become involved in the question of what is a fair living wage for the humblest of workers.

There are several ways of improving wages. Each person can himself do something, even at present, to improve his wage, by acquiring extra skill so that he can claim to produce more or to add more to the work he does, and to be a more valuable worker, deserving better pay. Everyone can do that now. Another way is by keeping the families small so that the wage will buy more for each member of the family.



MACHINES ENABLE A MAN TO DO MORE AND BETTER WORK.

As a nation, we can take other steps than these. We can devise machines which with one man's work will do two or three times what men can do now. That is the modern way: getting more produce out of one man with the help of a machine which multiplies his power. In this case the machine is doing the extra work, and produces extra so that we can afford to pay more to the skilled man behind it. The high standards of living in many Western countries have come by this method, in which one man does the work once done by many. This calls for workers with extra skill, extra training and extra technical knowledge to invent and produce suitable machines and equipment for the jobs needing to be done.

While that method helps us to pay more wages to one man because the machine he uses turns out the work once

LEARNING A NEW SKILL—HOW TO USE MACHINES IN PADI FIELDS.

done by dozens of men, there is always the danger that the machine may give a good wage to one man and cause unemployment to the men who are no longer necessary. If these displaced men can get new jobs, all is well. If not, the country faces the problem of no work and no wages for many of its people, and much work at high wages for a few.

Fortunately for Malaya we have a small population. We are not over-using our land, and we are not getting all we might out of our land or our people. Greater skill and more modern methods can release men from their present jobs so that they may extend our cultivation and deal with our other resources. Thus greater skill, greater thought behind the work, greater efficiency and greater knowledge are needed if we are to get more wages and a better standard of living. We cannot increase wages all round and raise

standards of living all round without raising the skill of our people, because we are working within limits of prices outside Malaya and within the jigsaw pattern of wages of all workers inside Malaya.

Young Malayans have a big responsibility when they grow up. They are the ones who will have to be more skilful. None of us can live better than our fathers did without being more skilful than our fathers were. We cannot improve standards of living for everyone while Malayans continue to be unskilful and wasteful in their work.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Find out what is the ordinary wage for the following types of worker: a shop assistant, a clerk, a doctor, a lorry driver, an electrical mechanic, a garage mechanic, a rubber tapper, a tin-mine labourer, a bus conductor, a gardener, a house-servant.

2. Ask your mother or father how much must be spent each month from the wages of your family to buy the following essential needs: rice, other foods, lighting, housing, clothing, gas, charcoal for cooking.

3. Write out a list of the people in your town who directly earn *their* livings from what your family spends every month.

Chapter 12

THE MONEY OF MALAYA

MANY people in Malaya depend on work to get money. Let us look at money and what it does in our society.

Some money is in the form of *coins*, which are pieces of metal. There are coins for one cent, five cents, ten cents, twenty cents and for fifty cents. Other money is in the form of *notes*, which are pieces of paper. Twenty- and fifty-cent notes are still used, but notes are chiefly for five, ten, fifty, a hundred and a thousand dollars.

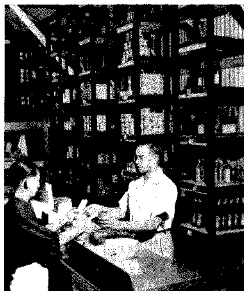
If you take a count of the money in your house or among your friends you will generally find more paper money than coins being used. Malaya as a whole deals far more in paper money than in coins.

Metal money has many advantages. It cannot burn, tear, rot or damage easily. Roughly speaking, the amount of copper or nickel or silver in the coin is what could be bought for the price stamped on it, so that the metal in a ten-cent coin is about what you could buy for ten cents. When we use coins, we do not think of this. As long as everyone is willing to accept it in shops and give us ten cents' worth of the goods we want, no one bothers about the metal. That is why modern countries use few metal coins. Gold has almost ceased to be used for money.

When money is in notes the paper has almost no value. No piece of paper used for money ever has anything like the value printed on it. The paper of a dollar note is much less than you could buy in a shop for a dollar. It does not matter any more than the metal of a coin really matters, so

long as we all agree to give and take the paper in exchange for a dollar's worth of goods or services.

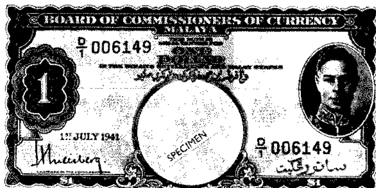
On the paper money are printed words meaning that it is exchangeable for goods or services. The actual words on Malayan notes are: "This note is legal tender for one dollar" or whatever the amount may be, meaning that everyone is compelled by law to accept it as payment for any sale or services worth a dollar. Saying "compelled by law" means that it is part of the law of the country. Through our representatives in the legislative councils, Malayans have all agreed that the notes shall be "legal tender", legally exchangeable for goods and services.



THE USE OF MONEY: EXCHANGE FOR GOODS.

In some countries the paper money once had a phrase printed on it agreeing to convert the paper into coins or gold if anyone wanted. Most nations do not worry about that now—no one wants the metal, and large sums in coins are too heavy for people to carry. The metal and the paper are not important—the chief thing is that we can exchange the money for the goods we need. Money matters less than the things it will buy.

That is the main idea behind money or *currency*, as it is



A MALAYAN DOLLAR NOTE.
Can you pick out what is printed above the words "one dollar"?

often called. It is a way of *exchanging* things. It is a nationally agreed way of exchanging things.

Agreement is the very foundation of any exchange, however simple. When boys swop things, for example, there has to be an agreement even though no money is involved. If the swop is a knife from one boy for stamps from another, the number of stamps depends on agreement, because no number of stamps ever really makes or equals a knife.

The agreement among ourselves about coins and notes is sometimes called trust or confidence. We are confident that everyone agrees to use the note in exchange for goods and services. There is so much confidence in the value of the Malayan dollar that people outside this country have great trust in our money, which is one of the reasons why Malaya has so much trade with other Southeast Asia countries.

Currency is issued only by the governments of nations. Malayan currency is in this way *national* property, part of a national agreement and trust, part of the national organisation, one of the many things Malayans agree upon for the smooth running of their daily lives.

CURRENCY PASSES IN AND OUT AT THE COUNTER OF A BANK.

Let us consider how a twenty-cent note comes to a boy as pocket-money. It comes to him from his mother or father, who obtained it as part of what she or he earned from work or trade. It may have been handed to them by the employer who pays their wages. That employer got the notes almost certainly from a bank. That is the history of a boy's twenty-cent note.

Let us look at the future of his note. He will use the twenty-cent note at the tuckshop or at some other shop in exchange for sweets, cakes, fruit or a drink. That shopkeeper may then use the note to pay one of his workers. He in turn will exchange that note in other shops to buy his daily needs. The shop may then pass it back to another customer as change, and it may then go from person to person as exchange for services and then into another shop. Or it may be sent by the first shopkeeper to pay for new stock,

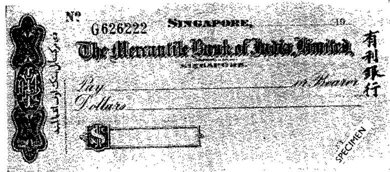
or to pay his wholesale merchant, who may pay it into his bank. In the course of a week that single twenty-cent note may come from a bank, pass through several hundreds of hands, take part in hundreds of exchanges and end up at a bank. Later it will pass out into another round of exchanges.

That one note, marked as legal tender for twenty cents, may in these exchanges during one week take part in trade totalling as much as ten dollars. In this way, it helps a flow of trade worth far more than the number of cents printed on the face of the note, which tells its value in one exchange though the work done in the course of a few days will total many times that face value.

The number of times the note moves from person to person is thus more important than its face value. If that twenty-cent note can do ten dollars' worth of trade it will be better for the community than if it does only twenty cents' worth of trade—the faster it changes hands the more it is doing. It is the *circulation,* the moving of currency from person to person, that counts for the country as a whole, though it is the face value that counts in one exchange. The circulation value of Malayan currency is many times the total of coins or paper money in the country.

Another paper is also used in payment for goods or services. It is called a *cheque*. That, too, is usually a printed paper, but it need not be. A cheque can be written on note-paper or anything else, because it is really a letter rather than a note or coin. In Babylon they once used cheques of brick, baked after they had been written on.

A cheque is a letter to a bank from a customer, asking the bank to pay someone else from the money kept by the bank for the customer. It is different from money, because it is a private note from a customer to his bank and the customer can write the cheque for any sum of money. The cheque



A CHEQUE BEFORE IT IS FILLED IN.

serves much the same purpose as currency—it is a way of paying for goods and services. The one cheque makes one payment only and afterwards is useless. It does not move from person to person in many exchanges as currency does.

Payments by cheque nowadays add up to enormous totals. Traders and businessmen mostly pay their bills that way, and even people with only a modest amount of money use cheques. They have the great advantage that very little money in currency need be kept at home or in the purse. The risk of theft and loss is much less when people pay by cheque and leave their coins and currency in banks. Sometimes wealthy people cannot even pay for a bus ticket because they do not carry currency in their pockets but depend on cheques. People who keep coins and notes under their floors or in their pockets are the delight of thieves, and they suffer when a fire burns up their savings.

Banks act as storehouses of money for their customers. They are the beginning and the end of the circulation of currency and the place where payments by cheque are centred. They store money, but their chief work is to keep accounts of money. The amount of money recorded in the

books of banks (the account books) as the property of their customers is far more than the amount of currency in their cellars. The currency is a sign of the usual flow of money from person to person. The account-books show the total of all the savings of the customers. Customers are not always drawing out their money. They leave it in a bank account, and only use a small proportion now and again.

More money is in the account books of banks than they have in currency or than is created by circulating currency, because much money passes from person to person not in currency but merely as figures in books. When Mr. Chu wishes his bank to pay 'Che Ahmad $100, he writes a cheque asking it to pay $100 to 'Che Ahmad. 'Che Ahmad, however, does not often go and get notes for that amount from the bank. What the bank does is to subtract $100 in the account book of Mr. Chu and add $100 to the account book of 'Che Ahmad. No money passes at all. A figure is altered in the two books and payment is complete. It has been done in books and not in currency.

A bank deals in money much as a grocer deals in rice or sugar. It is difficult for most of us to think of buying and selling money, but the bank does that in addition to acting as a money store. It borrows money, it lends money at interest, it takes profit or commission on money, in the same way as the rubber dealer takes commission or profit on the rubber he handles. By lending money, banks assist traders and help to start new factories and industries.

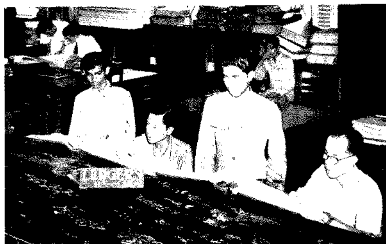
The currency of Malaya is "legal tender" only in Malaya, and circulates only among the people of this country. What happens when a person in Malaya wishes to buy goods in another country? Malayans must by law pay in Malayan dollars and cents, but those are not legal money in Siam, for example. The Siamese people have a currency of their

own—they use ticals. By their laws, they must be paid in ticals, while here in Malaya we want to pay in our dollars and cents. Hence there has to be an agreed rate for exchanging dollars and ticals.

ONE OF MALAYA'S BANKS FROM THE OUTSIDE.

The number of cents which can be exchanged for a tical depends very much again on agreement, on confidence and on the state of trade between the two countries. Siamese traders will not want our dollars unless our dollars can be used to buy what Siam wants. The Siamese may want to buy something, say, from France, so the Siamese will take our dollars, providing our dollars can be exchanged for francs in France. France may not be willing to accept ticals, but may accept our dollars from the Siamese so that the French can buy our tin. In that way the exchange values of all currencies form a chain, one related to the other in the give and take of international trade.

Dealing with this matter of how many Malayan dollars can be changed for a Siamese tical, and how many Siamese ticals can be exchanged for an English pound, and how many French francs can be exchanged for that pound or for Indian rupees or for Indonesian rupiahs, is all part of the banks' business. Altering the exchange value of one currency compared with that of the currency in another



THE ACCOUNT BOOKS OF THE MERCANTILE BANK IN SINGAPORE.

country has serious effects on businesses which trade between those countries.

All these points about money, currency and banks remind us again that we are very much tied up in relations between our groups within Malaya and also with others outside Malaya. None of us is isolated from the rest of the people in Malaya, and Malayans cannot think of their own money problems without thinking of the relation between their money and the money of other countries, particularly those with which Malaya trades.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Discover how a cheque has to be filled in by the customers of a bank.

2. From the newspaper, find out the value of one Malayan dollar by comparison with:

U.S. dollars.	English pounds.
Australian pounds.	Siamese ticals.
Indonesian rupiahs.	Indian rupees.

Chapter 13

HOW THE LAW IS ORGANISED

WHEN the Legislative Council has decided to provide a service for the public, it lays down its decision in the form of laws and regulations. These laws regulate our actions so that the different groups of people may keep in step together, and describe the punishment for those who do not act in the way that the Council considers desirable.

There has grown up in well-developed states a most elaborate set of laws. If you visit a law library in Kuala Lumpur or in Singapore, or if you look at the books in a lawyer's office, you will find that a large number of volumes is needed to make clear what the legislative councils have decided. Councils have made laws for many years, and by now there are thousands of regulations for the smooth working of Malaya and the organising of its millions of people. This regulation of our actions is called "The Law of the Country".

Some people become nervous when they see the hundreds of books containing the laws of this country. It seems that there are thousands of ways in which each of us can break the law. But ordinary people going about their usual work every day, doing their job and taking part in their group activities, only rarely break the laws and only rarely need punishing. Most people go through their lives without once offending the law.

It is easy to imagine when you see the many books of laws, and the policemen in the streets, that these things limit our freedom. In a way they do—they restrict our actions so that we shall not interfere with other people among whom we live. In return for this, we are assured by the same laws

that all other people are similarly restricted so as not to interfere with us. The law is a two-way guarantee of our personal freedom. So long as we do not interfere with the freedom of other people and other groups, we are free to do what we like.

Out in the streets, the only sign of the law is the policeman. He is a public servant. It is his work to see that the laws are not broken. He is a watchman in the public interest. He is watching for an offence against the laws, not for the purpose of learning everyone's business. He does not know every law by heart. The policeman has been trained to prevent persons from interfering with the orderly freedom and private life of others. He is chiefly concerned with those who make themselves a nuisance to others, and, of course, with those desperate men who commit crimes like stealing or killing. In Singapore the policemen are helped by special radio cars that rush from place to place to catch criminals.

Towns have special policemen to regulate the traffic, to see that cars and lorries obey the regulations and that the public roads are properly used. They try to prevent accidents and will report when accidents occur. Road accidents are the greatest danger people face nowadays.

The law gives a policeman the right to take our names and addresses if we seem to be committing an offence. If the offence is obviously serious, like an attempted robbery, then the policeman can arrest the offender and take him to the nearest police-station. If the offence is small, then the offender will receive a letter asking him to go to the police-station to explain himself on a certain day. In both cases the whole matter must be considered in the public office or *court* of a magistrate, who alone decides whether or not it is reasonable to suppose that an offence has been committed. The policeman is not the person who makes these decisions

POLICEMEN BRING THEIR CASES FIRST TO THE POLICE-STATION.

—he is a watchman, he can take precautions but he cannot punish people.

A magistrate is a person who has studied the law, and he has had experience in hearing what people have to say when they are suspected of offending the law. He listens to the policeman and to the suspected person. He also hears any witnesses who were present when the offence happened. He listens to the *evidence*. Upon his decision depends whether the suspected person is to be charged or to be released.

In this way the policeman's action in the streets at once comes to the attention of a person learned in the law—as a magistrate is. Thousands of offences never get any farther than this. If the magistrate decides the evidence is not good or that no law was broken, nothing more happens.

When the magistrate considers there is strong evidence that the suspected person has broken the law, then the whole matter will come up again in a short time for a careful examination. At this stage, there will be a professional

lawyer to state the evidence against the accused person. The lawyer will be representing the nation which made the law. Often he is called "the lawyer for the crown," which means lawyer for the state. He will present the evidence of the policeman and of those who saw the offence committed. The accused person will usually hire a private lawyer to defend him expertly. If he is too poor to hire one, the magistrate will probably arrange for a lawyer to defend him voluntarily.

These first courts, or magistrates' courts as they are called, have limited powers. The magistrate only has power to consider offences in certain areas. He may punish by *fines*, which are payments of money, or by short periods of imprisonment. These punishments are carefully laid down by the law, and the magistrate may only slightly modify them according to how serious he thinks the offence to be.

If the magistrate finds that the accused has committed no real crime but has been a nuisance, he may call for guarantees that the person will behave well. This means that friends of good position will have to promise to pay certain sums to the court if the offender becomes a nuisance once again. This is called being *bound over*. It is part of the precaution taken by the magistrate for the protection of the public. A magistrate has considerable powers to prevent other nuisances to us.

Against all this, every person in British territory has a right known by lawyers as "habeas corpus". This is the right of a person to demand a fair trial. By it, no one in British territories can be kept in prison or in police-stations without being tried by a magistrate within a few days. That is a protection of freedom which not every nation enjoys.

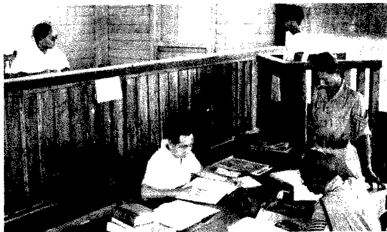
Where the offence is serious, involving breaking laws which lay down severe punishments like large fines and long imprisonment, the magistrate must pass the case to a

higher court, over which presides a *judge*, who is more highly qualified than a lawyer and more experienced in listening to evidence. If someone thinks he has been dealt with unfairly by a magistrate, he may ask for a new trial by a judge in this higher or District Court. Magistrates may imprison offenders for up to a year, District Judges may do so up to four years. The magistrate sits in his court almost every working day. The District Judge comes only now and again, because in a well-ordered country the number of serious offences is not very great.

A JUDGE IN MALAYA.

If the offence is very serious, the District Court may send the offender to the Supreme Court. There is one Supreme Court in Kuala Lumpur for the Federation and another in Singapore. These courts may give the penalty of death. They act also if someone disputes the decision of a District Court and *appeals* for another trial.

Thus there is a pyramid of organisation in the law.



A MAGISTRATE'S COURT IN KELANTAN.

Accused people may always appeal to a higher court if they have reason to believe the lower court has been unjust or acted illegally. If anyone disputes the Supreme Court decisions, they may appeal to even higher legal authorities, to a special court called a Court of Appeal, where three of the highest judges consider the appeal. It may be carried higher still, to the Privy Council in London.

There are two types of law. One type has been made by the state to regulate the services of the country for the people. The other has grown from custom and tradition. Many troubles arise for which the nation has made no laws. In such cases the judges make decisions based on justice, fairness, custom and common sense. They have had to make decisions of this kind for years. If a new case arises, it may be decided by looking back to previous cases of a similar kind. In other words, there is a body of laws which is formed from decisions in previous cases. This is called Common Law or law of precedent, which means the law laid down in previous cases.

A CASE BEING HEARD IN THE SUPREME COURT.

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

In the Federation among Muslims there is a separate *law of custom*, rather like the law of precedent but concerned solely with disputes among Malay Muslims. The religious teachers of Malays are mostly concerned as judges in these matters.

So far we have considered offences against the laws and regulations of the whole country; that is, what happens when someone acts against the rest of us as a group, against the laws agreed upon by the nation. The courts where judges sit also deal with disputes between individuals—the *civil cases*. These arise when an offence is committed not against the state but against a private person. Civil cases concern disputes about wills, about ownership of property, between husbands and wives, and so on—matters which are private rather than public. For these the law has laid down only principles, and not the details of regulations and punishments. Here the judge often refers to the law of precedent—cases decided previously.

Every young person should visit one of these courts as

soon as possible. Your idea of the careful watch over your interests will not be complete until you see the working of a court. It is best to visit one alone or with a friend. No magistrate or judge will welcome a crowd, because it will disturb him in the difficult work of deciding what is fair. The courts have places where a visitor may sit and watch what is going on. The better way is for a few students to go to watch a court, and then organise a "mock court" or a "mock trial" to show everyone else how the court deals with things.

The judges are not civil servants. It is their business to keep the balance of justice and fairness between private persons and the body of laws laid down by legislative councils. They are in this sense above the government, and they may give decisions against the government. This guarantees fairness and freedom.

Although the public is permitted to watch magistrates and judges in court, what happens there is not easy to follow. The language is often strange to those not accustomed to words connected with the law, and the arrangements for operating the law are complicated.

Yet we must realise that the law exists to make possible the smooth working together of six million Malayans in all their variety of needs and difficulties. The courts assure us freedom from being pestered or ill-treated by others.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Find out where the Magistrate's Court is in your town and where the District Court is held.

2. Where is the prison to which serious offenders will be sent from your district?

3. Discover what punishments have been given in your district for the following offences against the law:

(*a*) stealing a bicycle; (*b*) driving an unlicensed car; (*c*) beating a neighbour; (*d*) not supporting one's children; (*e*) gambling.

Chapter 14

SOCIAL SERVICES IN MALAYA

FROM what you have been reading about the organising of Malaya, it is easy to think that the society we live in must be nearly perfect. While a great deal of organisation has been done to keep the machine of Malayan society working, to each of us is left much freedom to do what we like.

From the personal freedom may come at times some unpleasant results. For instance, a young man does not want anyone to interfere with him in his search for the best job at the best pay. He wants complete freedom about choosing his job—and in Malaya he has it. No law in the land can force him to work in one way more than another. That is an advantage when there are jobs to choose from. What happens when there are no jobs? The freedom to choose one's job, the absence of any law compelling people to have jobs, is a disadvantage because it leaves men unemployed, not perhaps through any fault of theirs, nor through any fault of Malaya. At those times a man's freedom from legal obligation to have a job may turn out to be freedom to starve, which is most unpleasant. There is no law in Malaya which says men are not free to starve if they want to. Not many people like that effect of leaving people to do what they like about jobs.

That is why in Malaya it is possible for persons to suffer from conditions otherwise good for society as a whole. Most people now agree that we should, as a community, make arrangements to look after people who suffer from events and conditions which are not really their fault. Nations look after the welfare of their unfortunate people.

From this have arisen what are called the *social welfare* organisations. There is a Social Welfare Department in Kuala Lumpur with branches all over the Federation of Malaya, and another in Singapore. They are set up by governments to look after the welfare of people in distress.

The main services for safeguarding people's health have existed for many years as the Medical Departments with hospitals, places to isolate people with "catching" or infectious diseases, and dispensaries where the sick can get medicines and the healthy be advised. The medical services are very important parts of our social welfare. It was quickly understood that only by safeguarding the health of *all* society could each of us be safe from disease. That branch of social work is done by highly trained workers like doctors, surgeons and nurses, whose work has become so complicated that none of the rest of us could possibly do it. Through these services the standard of health in Malaya has become higher than that of most of our neighbours.

The education service is also a social service. It has existed for many years and become a specialised job for experts. Passing on to young people an idea of the world around them and training them to be citizens of our society is not easy. In the old days parents educated their children; it cannot now be done by parents because they are themselves occupied in their own specialised jobs. Years ago people could do what they liked about educating their children. Today society as a whole deals with it. There is much still to be done to provide education for all who need it, and here in Malaya we need more schools and teachers to train the young people.

Similarly society as a whole begins to realise that it must look after the housing of people. It is not much good being free to live in what houses we like unless all houses have a

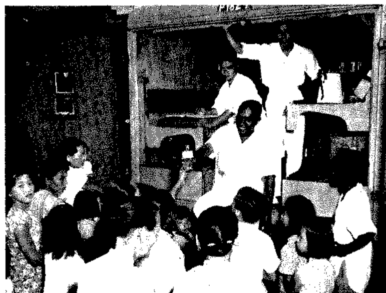
LOOKING AFTER THE WELFARE OF YOUNG BABIES. AN OPERATION AT JOHORE HOSPITAL.

Part of the government medical service.

certain healthiness, airiness, safety and sanitation. The nation now regulates these details to ensure that every section of the public is housed to a reasonable standard.

The nation regulates conditions of work to make sure that health and safety rules are observed in factories, safeguarding the interests of workers. The government even goes further, and encourages working people to organise themselves into trade unions to express their needs and look after their interests. As a nation, we also help to develop co-operative societies. In some countries such things as trade unions and co-operative societies have already developed of their own accord, among people who have learnt the advantage of acting together as a group rather than one by one to improve their conditions of work and standards of living. In Malaya such organisations have had to be inspired by the government.

These are some branches of social services which have existed for a long time. The new Social Welfare Depart-



A TRAVELLING DISPENSARY ATTENDS TO PUBLIC HEALTH IN PENANG.

ments are more personal. When a district has an emergency —a fire, a flood, or a dreadful storm which destroys houses, and leaves people unemployed—the Social Welfare Department is there to help. Through it the nation comes to the rescue of unfortunate persons. It is chiefly concerned with people who by poverty or accident are not able to do much for themselves. After the war, when food was scarce and expensive, the Social Welfare Departments arranged public feeding-places where food was provided at prices well below those of ordinary shops and of black marketeers who were then making life terrible for thousands of families. Aged people, without relations and unable to look after themselves, are also the concern of the Social Welfare Department. It helps orphaned children and advises mothers how to attend to their children in modern, sensible ways.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT HAS A HOME FOR ORPHANS.

The Department also trains young men and women who have been separated from their families or who may have been sent to prison or have been otherwise in trouble with the police. In the case of these young offenders against the law, the chief concern of society—and of social welfare workers—is to show them what a decent life means, and to teach them trades so that they can learn to stand on their own feet and become useful members of the community.

Besides this, the Department makes arrangements for persons who are blind or crippled. Healthy people do not realise that the blind and crippled can be useful and happy though they need special equipment and can do only certain kinds of work. Social welfare workers are responsible for organising these services, and helping the unfortunate

people to pay their way, to earn their keep and to get back their feeling of being respectable members of society.

Social welfare is largely concerned with people in distress, and in particular with poor people, those who for some reason have lost their ability to earn wages for their daily needs. Our new interest in distressed people dates from the war, when so many people were in trouble that only by using all the power and influence of the government machine could we set them on their feet.

Relieving distress has been done to some extent through the ages, particularly by the religious groups, by mosques, churches, and temples, all of which in some way tried to help the poor and needy. Modern life has become complicated, and loss of the means to earn a living at times is so widespread, that no single religious group can deal with all the distress which then arises. In the modern world, misfortune has sometimes grown far beyond what it ever was in the past. In Malaya, because so much depends on trade with other countries, misfortune may be due to happenings far away, over which no one here has any control.

Nations now take a new view of people's distress. They consider distress of many people to mean that something is wrong with the wheels of their social machine, and for that reason it is felt to be the responsibility of the nation as a whole. They realise, too, that when groups are in distress they are dangerous to the rest of us. Hungry people grow desperate and commit crimes to obtain their food. Governments realise that the hungry and distressed grow sick and can spread horrible diseases among the rest of us. Instead of blaming people for being without work, we think now that every pair of hands which cannot be set to do some piece of work is wasted, leaving more work to be done by the others. Modern nations consider that people who do

THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT ASSISTS UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE TO FIND WORK.

nothing are taking away food from the rest of us, and denying us any help in the work which has to be done. That is what is meant by saying a person who can find no work is a waste to the nation.

From this point of view, social welfare services are not charity. They protect the rest of us. It is to protect us that the government machine must attend to distressed people and get them back as useful wheels in our society, and prevent them damaging us, wasting our heritage and ruining the whole social machine in which we have our place. Religious people may feel sorry for these poor people, but as a nation we must deal with them as a safeguard for the welfare of those who are not in distress.

Many private citizens have always helped to look after the crippled and blind, helped the sick and aged, attended

to orphans and rushed to help during floods and calamities. The Social Welfare Departments try to bring all these voluntary helpers together to spread their good deeds fairly and to prevent different groups of generous citizens from giving too much to help in one place and none in another. They try also to prevent the good intentions of charitable persons and voluntary helpers from being misused.

By running these social services, Malaya shows that it is keeping in step with the best modern nations. Not many countries of Asia have yet reached the standard of our own social services. We have been lucky enough to have a trade and taxation system which has supplied these things for us more quickly than most parts of Asia. That gives us another special interest as a nation. The social services are part of our heritage, the things we have inherited from our ancestors here in Malaya. They are something valuable left to us by Malayans who worked and traded in the past, and we must protect this heritage from damage by outsiders and from destruction by foolish insiders.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. What are the branches of social service established in your town or district?
2. Find out the kind of distress which your local Social Welfare Department has most often to handle.
3. Supposing you could spare one evening a week for voluntary work among distressed people, find out what local organisations would welcome your help.

Chapter 15

AMUSEMENTS IN MALAYA

BY amusements are meant the different ways of enjoying ourselves, of passing the time pleasantly and of being amused.

Many people have the idea that an amusement is something that makes you go "Ha ! Ha ! Ha !" There are more ways of being amused than that. Most of us have friends who go to the cinema and weep many tears at what they see —yet they are enjoying themselves and feel pleasure. That may seem rather a queer form of amusement. Some people are built like that. Weeping does no one any harm; it may do some good, so these people are free to weep for pleasure if they wish.

Amusements are of many types, such as that of the dog which chases its tail, the baby that plays by putting one wooden brick upon another, the little girl who dresses a doll, the boy playing football, the young man going to the cinema, the mother watching her children get prizes, the father backing a racehorse, the old lady listening to the radio, the man enjoying a meal or a drink with his friends, the millionaire sailing a yacht and the tough man climbing mountains for fun.

The amusements of a baby differ from those of young people. Those of adults are different again. The amusements of an educated young man are different from those of one who has never done anything except work in the fields. Country people amuse themselves differently from townspeople.

A SKILLED AMUSEMENT: REPAIRING THE RADIO SET.

Because there are so many kinds of amusement, we give ourselves away by the sort we take part in. It is no good someone telling us he is 18 if he plays with balloons like a one-year-old baby. No one is really an adult if he plays with things that are meant for a child.

Amusements can be simple, like walking in the park to enjoy the view. They can be brainy, like working out a difficult puzzle; or spiritual, like listening to music or going to church or mosque. They can be coarse, as in watching men punch one another till they are silly.

Amusements refresh us as a change from the ordinary things of our lives. People in modern life are such specialists in their work that they use only part of their bodies and their senses. Maybe this is a bad result of specialising, but there it is—our senses are not fully used in our work and we shake up our senses every now and then for amusement.

To play, enjoy oneself and be amused is in modern life one of our regular needs, especially in towns.

Because the need for amusement has become so important to refresh and keep the senses fully used, a large industry has grown up to provide us with it. There is a whole group

ENJOYING A FEW HOURS IN A PUBLIC PARK.

of workers who earn their wages looking after us while we are being amused, making things to amuse us, helping to amuse us. To these workers, what they do is not amusing, it is a job. They must work so many hours a day to earn so many dollars a week, in the same way as miners, rubber-tappers, bus drivers and clerks.

Most people are willing to pay someone to amuse them rather than bother to amuse themselves, and large sums of money are spent to buy amusement. The *amusement industry* includes all the workers connected with cinemas and theatres, the race-tracks, the amusement parks, the radio, the dance-halls, and involves the writing and printing of books, magazines and papers. Car driving forms one of the industries that are partly for amusement and partly for trade. In Malaya alone many millions of dollars each year are spent on forms of amusement, and it all goes to pay an army of workers who help to keep Malayans amused.

These industries have each become highly specialised.

Think of the teams of specialist workers in racing—the gardeners keeping in order the large grounds set aside for racing, the trainers of horses, the breeders of horses, the jockeys, the watchmen, the bookmakers and the cooks and servants who supply foods and drinks for the race-goers.

Amusements provide jobs for thousands of workers who often produce nothing of any real use, so that they face great risks of losing their jobs when people reduce the money they spend on luxuries such as the amusements that have to be paid for.

Why are people willing to pay so much to the amusement industries? Many of them are bored with their own work. They have no interest in their job, and may not see any reason to be proud of it. Perhaps they live in bad districts or are worried about their futures, or dislike the people they work with. Bored and worried people take to amusement as though it were a drug, to make them forget, to turn their thoughts away from their own unhappiness.

Amusements *can* be used as a drug. In this they can be rather like opium; doctors use opium to relieve certain sicknesses, yet it can also be an evil when wrongly used.

Although there are amusements which can, if misused, take away the money that people must work to earn, a great number cost almost nothing. They are free! We can, however, get a tremendous amount of pleasure from them.

Some free amusements are provided by the nation—fine gardens for walks, open spaces by the sea for swimming, playgrounds for younger people, sports fields for older people, museums, libraries, bands in the park and parades. Then there are many enjoyable things to do for ourselves. Making collections of stones, butterflies and moths, photographs, shells and so on, can give much pleasure to the collector, especially if he gets so absorbed in them that he

WORKERS IN A CINEMA: THE PROJECTION ROOM.

labels his pieces by hunting up the names in the library. Model making can give endless enjoyment; the models can be of the different cars, aeroplanes, ships or trains, made carefully and to scale after looking up the details. These hobbies have given many hours of pleasure to thousands of people of many ages, rich and poor alike.

There is great pleasure in satisfying curiosity—by finding out how different things work, what new inventions are like, tracing back the family history or the district history. Great fun can be had in exploring the neighbourhood where you live and writing about it. Other free amusements are trying to draw the people and things around us, trying to catch the funny words, queer sayings and thoughts of people so as to write about them in a diary or a story. Writing diaries and stories has for centuries been a highly admired

YOUNG PLAYERS IN THE SINGAPORE ORCHESTRA.

form of amusement in most countries. Painting, drawing, and dress designing are pastimes of great repute.

Music is an old favourite. Sometimes we pay other people to make music for us, yet we can also make it ourselves. Fiddles and flutes can be made at home. Guitars are not really expensive. Villagers of poor parts of Kelantan make whole orchestras for themselves, giving the players and their friends many hours of pleasure at no cost. To play the piano or violin or do dramatics calls for skill and needs training, but the result can be endless free pleasure for the player and the listener.

Repairing things can be an amusement of the skilled sort. There are clocks to put right. Old engines can be repaired. Some people enjoy discovering how to make the radio give the best results. These can be pastimes, and they may lead

on to new skills and even to extra income and better jobs. Many of the skilled amusements prove profitable in the long run, especially those like carving, rearing chickens and weaving.

Scouting, choir singing, team games and so on are similarly free but pleasurable amusements. Most people prefer to make their amusements in groups, enjoying the friendliness, for example, of teams in football or play acting. Others prefer personal amusements and like the pleasure of doing something alone in weight lifting, throwing, jumping or playing badminton.

These free amusements develop skill. They develop whatever skill you like best—they make you useful and pleasant and attract admiration.

When people take part in amusements for the fun of them, they are called amateurs. An amateur football team plays the game without pay; amateur singers and actors also perform free. Those who do the same sort of thing to earn their living are known as professionals; that is, they play games or act for a wage or salary.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Make a list of the free public amusements provided in your town.
2. Write down the names of three of the people you most admire, and under each describe their favourite pastimes.
3. Discover the meaning of the following forms of amusement: archery, ballet, gamelan, mendora, silat, gasing, etching.

Chapter 16

MALAYA'S INTERESTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

EVERY now and again in reading about Malayan civics, about the groups, activities and organisations inside Malaya, we find that their interests come into touch with those of people outside Malaya.

In matters of trade, such as buying our basic needs for everyday life or selling our products, and in matters concerning our money, our wages and our standards of living, groups inside Malaya are related in various ways to other groups and interests beyond our boundaries. Malayans are thus connected with outside groups over which our laws, our organisations and our governments have no control.

For example, however much people in Malaya may be interested in Siamese rice, they cannot deal with Siamese farmers who produce that rice in the same way as they may deal with farmers of rice in Malaya. Malay farmers are represented in all our machinery for making laws, protecting people, providing services and paying taxes. The Siamese farmers belong to an entirely separate nation, taking part in their own machinery for making laws, paying taxes and providing services for their own people, the citizens of Siam. But Malayans need fair and reasonable arrangements with the Siamese in order to obtain Siamese rice, which is an essential need of our people.

Trying to act wisely with the groups of people in other nations is called *foreign policy*. When you look through the newspaper reports of what the legislative councils in

THE SIAMESE PADI FARMER HAS HIS OWN WAYS AND HIS OWN SOCIAL MACHINE.

Kuala Lumpur and Singapore are doing, foreign policy may not often be mentioned, yet Malaya has such products and needs, such a *pattern of trade* as it is called, that Malayans are much concerned about foreign policy, far more than almost any other single country in Asia. Without trade between Malaya and foreign countries, the sort of Malaya we know today would not exist, but some Asiatic countries would not suffer much if their external trade came to an end.

Every country needs good working arrangements with other countries. These arrangements are made by the governments of the countries, and mostly arise from trade, from the need to sell some products and to buy others. Thus when Malayan governments are trying to make good and useful relations with one foreign country so as to advance Malayan interests, they know that other countries are also seeking good relations with that same country to advance their own special interests. In this way there is a pushing and a pulling between the countries, each wanting to obtain most favourable relations with the other.

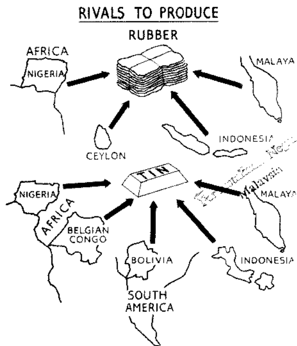
This rivalry or competition between the governments of

countries is very much like the competition between groups of people within any one country. Competition of interests inside a country has to be balanced to serve the interests of the people as a whole through the legislative councils. Recently there has developed a similar idea of a world council to make a reasonable balance between the interests of countries. The United Nations Organisation aims to do such work in balancing the interests of nations. The representatives at the United Nations are representatives of governments of nations, in the same way as the members of a legislative council are representing the groups within one nation. It has proved less easy to run the United Nations Organisation than it is to run a legislative council. The aims are much the same, but the scale is bigger.

In the past the usual way to settle a rivalry among nations which reached the point of being a quarrel has been war. War takes place when each nation fights for what it thinks to be the special interests of its people. Only occasionally do we hear of one group inside a nation fighting another group. However much the padi farmers may want something, it is unusual in well-run countries for them to go to war with, say, the rubber planters or townspeople, who may not want that thing because their interests are different. Parliaments and legislative councils balance any dispute between the interests of groups. By this means war inside a nation, *civil war*, is prevented in well-organised countries.

The United Nations Organisation, by trying to establish a balance between the interests of nations, hopes to make war among nations, *international war*, equally unusual. It is an organisation made up of representatives of the nations aiming to make international laws, just as a legislative council is made up of persons who represent groups aiming to make national laws to apply to all groups, including themselves.

What are the special interests of Malaya in its relations with foreign countries? They depend on the products Malayans must sell, the money they get from that sale and on the products they must buy. We need those foreign relations which help to sell our rubber and tin, to get good



MALAYA HAS RIVALS IN PRODUCING RUBBER AND TIN.

money and to be able to buy rice, foods, clothing and goods we cannot produce ourselves. These make our flows of trade. The going out and coming in of goods involves transport, so that Malayans are also interested to make sure that the routes are safe.

Malaya must be on good terms with all countries buying rubber, tin, palm-oil, copra and our other products. This

PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION MET IN SINGAPORE IN 1949.

means we must have good relations with North America and Europe, whose industries and factories use these things in enormous quantities. Upon good relations with those places depend not only the salaries and wages of people who grow rubber, mine for tin and so on, but also the salaries and wages of Malayan shopkeepers, traders, railwaymen, transport workers, harbour workers and civil servants. All our social services which derive from taxation, the wages in the amusement industries, the rents of landlords, the incomes of restaurants, these too depend on a foreign policy of being on good terms with North America and Europe.

Good relations with such places are nothing to do with love or kindness. It is not a matter of having a liking for the people of U.S.A. or Europe. It is a matter of keeping on good terms with a customer, so that he pays reasonably, so that he behaves fairly, and so that he gives us a square deal. Liking the customer is not the important thing in foreign affairs. Even if Malayans had, for example, a great liking for Eskimos of Greenland, it would not be very helpful to the welfare of this country because Eskimos do not buy rubber,

tin and copra. Our national interests are not the same as our personal likings, though it is more pleasant if dealer and customer like one another.

Malaya might, of course, consider conquering its customers. We might fight to force them to pay high prices for our tin and rubber. It may sound silly to talk like this, but in the past the foreign interests of producers have sometimes caused wars of that sort.

As a seller of rubber, tin and copra, Malaya has rivals. We are, then, interested that our relations with North America and Europe should be better than those of our rivals. If we can have such good relations with buyers of tin and rubber that they *prefer* to get these things from us, then we have an advantage over our rivals.

Another way to get an advantage for our produce might be to try to upset the rival country inside, perhaps to support a revolution so that it could not produce tin or rubber, leaving us free to sell more of ours. Some nations have in the past tried to get advantage for themselves by causing civil war and ruin among their rivals.

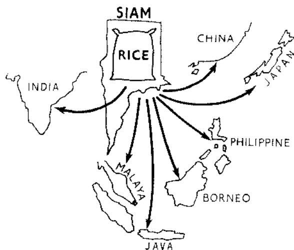
Our special interests might be furthered by entering into an agreement with other producers, such as Ceylon, to keep up the price of rubber, or into an agreement with Bolivia never to sell tin except at a certain price.

These are all types of foreign policy towards those who compete with Malaya.

In all these trading arrangements money is involved. Our customers pay money for what they buy from us. Money is useful only if it buys what we want. Even if Eskimos, for example, could use thousands of tons of our rubber and tin, we would still not sell to them if they offered to pay in money we could not use—if they paid, say, in shells or beads or pieces of paper that no one else would accept as

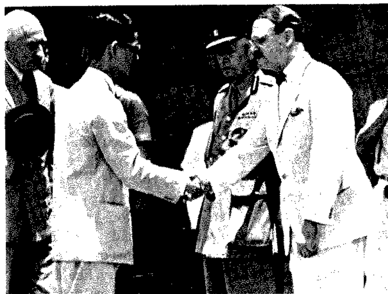
money. In this way Malaya is interested not only in its customers but also in everything which influences the value of the money the customer gives us—that is, we become interested in what other nations think of the money of America and Europe.

Similar questions of relations with foreign countries arise from our needs of food, clothing and manufactured goods.



MALAYA HAS RIVALS IN PURCHASING RICE FROM SIAM.

Siam has been for some time the country with rice to spare for sale in large quantities. We must, then, have good relations with Siam. We must be able to depend on Siamese rice coming to Malaya regularly. We must be sure that our money is useful to the Siamese, so that they can buy what *they* want by our payments for what *we* want. We must persuade the Siamese to sell their rice to us rather than to other rivals who want rice.



HIGH OFFICERS SHOW THEIR GOODWILL TO THE KING OF SIAM AS HE COMES THROUGH SINGAPORE.

We may get these good relations in several ways, by offering better prices or by offering money that is more useful to them than anyone else's money. We might fight Siam and force its people to give us rice. We might threaten Siam. We might prevent ships reaching Siam from other places by way of the seas round Malaya. We might threaten to grow all our own rice and cease buying. When there are other suppliers of rice, when Burma and Indo-China are producing again, we could threaten to buy from other places. All of these are ways of dealing with Siam. Some of them are more sensible than others, but they are all of them types of foreign policy towards Siam. With that neighbour, Malayan interests are very complicated; while we are buyers of Siamese rice, Siam is also a rival of ours as a producer of tin and rubber.

Our clothes and manufactured goods we must buy from America, from Europe and from India. There are several places from which we can get our capital equipment and machinery for factories, mines, railways, transport and so on, so that our needs can be met from several directions, and we naturally buy them from whichever place suits all our other interests as well, or from the cheapest place, or possibly from the one which is our best customer.

When we look at Malaya's interests in overseas transport, things get complicated. We need cheap shipping for our exports and our imports. We need safe ways through the Suez Canal beyond which our chief customers lie. We need good relations with people in the islands off Malaya, so that they do not interfere with our streams of trade.

That makes our relation with a country like Indonesia very delicate. We are rivals of Indonesia as producers of rubber, tin and copra. We need the profit and commission which comes by Singapore and Penang acting as trading ports for Sumatran and Javanese exports and imports. We need those foods which Java can supply.

With some countries, our relations may seem surprising. In the past China has never supplied much that Malaya needs, and never been a customer for large quantities of tin or rubber. Despite the fact that the ancestors of some Malayans once lived there, China has had small effect on our trade. Malay's day-by-day trade did not link much with China. In 1949 out of every $100 of Malayan trade about $3 was with China, as against $7 with Siam, $14 with Britain and $15 with the U.S.A.

We have special interests in Arabia, which Malay Muslims visit when they make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

These matters of foreign policy for the best interests of people living and working inside Malaya are quite different

REPRESENTATIVES FROM MALAYA ATTEND AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

from personal likes and dislikes. When it is a question of selling what we produce and buying what we need, personal feelings either way are not of first importance.

Thinking out the foreign policy for a place like Malaya is difficult, and our relations with groups outside Malaya are often in a delicate balance. When you add to this the different interests of groups inside the country, it is clear that organised modern living such as we enjoy is most complicated. It calls for clear thought rather than personal likes and dislikes. Kind words do not fill rice bowls. The job of establishing good foreign relations is, in Malaya, chiefly done through the Commissioner-General's office.

But when a person wishes to visit foreign countries for private reasons, these matters of foreign policy do not occur. All the traveller needs is to be allowed to make his journey through foreign countries without trouble. To do this each traveller must obtain the *passport* of the country of which he is a citizen. The passport is a paper in which the govern-

ment of one country declares the facts about the traveller, guarantees his nationality and asks other governments to treat him respectfully and honourably. It is a sort of identity card for use in foreign places. With a British passport, for example, a traveller may be sure that whenever trouble arises in a strange country where he is travelling, he can always obtain the protection of high officials like British ambassadors and consuls. These are the representatives of Britain who live in foreign states to look after British interests and make sure that foreign governments deal fairly with British subjects.

Every foreigner in Malaya should likewise have one of these passports from his own government, and by it his private interests will be protected by the consuls of his country. All the important countries which deal with Malaya have consuls and their offices in Kuala Lumpur and in Singapore.

FOR YOU TO DO

1. Ask any Malayan or foreigner you know to let you look at his passport.
2. Think out why it is more important for Malaya to have good relations with Arabia than with Argentina.
3. In which three of the following countries will there be groups interested to keep the price of rubber high, and in which three will there be interest to keep the price of tin low: Wales, Hawaii, Ceylon, Arabia, India, U.S.A., Indonesia, West Africa, Philippines, Pakistan, Japan, Canada?

Chapter 17

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MALAYA AND BRITAIN AND THEIR PEOPLES

THE relations between Malaya and Britain are very different from those with foreign countries. They lead to a number of matters which have become the subject of confusing words and strong feelings. The facts, however, are plain, being partly to do with customs which have come down to us from the past, and partly to do with laws.

Until the British took an interest in this part of the world, there had never been a Malaya as we know it, and no one had ever ruled or governed the peninsula as one piece. Today there is in the peninsula the Federation of Malaya, one country where none had existed before. The British Government hopes that Malaya may become united enough for a place among the other nations of the world which have large populations and govern large areas.

The relations between Singapore and Britain are easier to understand. Singapore Island was purchased completely by the East India Company, and the property later passed to the British Government, together with other rights of the Company.

As we have seen, a whole machinery of government has now grown up in Singapore so that it has its own Legislative Council in the same way as parts of Britain have their separate machinery of government. The Governor of Singapore is appointed by the King, and when he signs the laws passed by the Singapore Legislative Council, he does so in the name of the King and his Parliament. The Singapore

Legislative Council has by now made many laws (or ordinances as they are called) of its own, and it is entitled to make them provided they are not contrary to British law. The British Parliament could lay down laws for Singapore, but this is a power reserved for emergencies. That is what is meant by saying that Singapore is subject to Britain and that Singaporeans are British subjects.

By this Singapore is a British Colony and part of the British Commonwealth and Empire in which large numbers of people and many scattered places are grouped together by common ways and common laws which bind them together so that they can act among other nations with the strength of unity.

Because the British law says that everyone born in British territory has British nationality, those who are born in Singapore, whatever their parents, race, religion or speech, are entitled to British passports, to the services of British officials, ambassadors and consuls, to defence of their interests by British forces, to all rights under British laws, and to take part equally with other Britishers in all elections to government councils in Singapore and in Britain. Relations between Britain and the colonies are handled by the Colonial Office of the British Government, and the Colonial Office is represented in Parliament by the Secretary for the Colonies, so that members of Parliament may question and discuss its actions.

At one time Penang was a colony in exactly the same position as Singapore. Malacca, too, was a British Colony. About a hundred years ago Penang and Malacca were combined with Singapore as the Colony of the Straits Settlements, but now these two "settlements" are part of the Federation of Malaya and people born there after 1947 are no longer British. The British Government has agreed to

THE CONFERENCE OF SULTANS.

delegate its powers and rights in Penang and Malacca that they may form part of the Federation of Malaya.

The rest of the Federation consists of nine states each with its sultan or raja, who ranks as the equivalent of a king and generally inherits that rank. The sultans have not been conquered by the British. They are advised by the State Councils, and they have agreed that in due course their State Councils shall be elected in the same sort of way as Parliament is elected.

The sultans have entered into treaties or legal agreements with the British by which the British agree that the sultans shall have full powers over everything connected with custom, tradition and religion among the Malays of their states. In return the sultans have agreed to delegate powers to the Federal Legislative Council which shall in time become an elected council for the whole of the peninsula.

The parts of the Federation of Malaya are not British colonies. The British Government advises and agrees to protect the Federation against foreign interference, but the

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TAKES THE OATH OF OFFICE BEFORE THE CHIEF JUDGE OF THE FEDERATION.

people born there are not British subjects. The Federation is known as a "British protected territory". It has a High Commissioner, who ranks as representative of the British Government and in part as representative of the sultans, who accept his advice on those matters not already their direct responsibility according to their treaties with Britain. The High Commissioner himself is advised by the Federal Legislative Council, the Executive Council and by the British Government.

Because the laws and agreements which make the Federation lay down that at some time in the future the councils shall consist of elected representatives, there arises the question, "Who is to be entitled to vote?" Voting at once raises the question of citizenship and nationality—that is, of the loyalties of the voters and the obligations they will

accept from the laws of the councils they elect. It is obviously not reasonable that anyone should vote for the governing council of a country unless he will loyally accept the obligations which may be agreed upon by that council and expressed in its laws.

This raises a most difficult problem. Many of the people living in the Federation are foreign, born in foreign countries, often carrying foreign passports, still having interests abroad and loyalties to foreign governments, and expecting to return to those foreign countries later on.

On the other hand, there are many others in the Federation who may have had foreign parents but themselves were born here. They have now settled permanently in Malaya, know no other country, possess no foreign passport and have no intention of taking part in any other government or of moving out of Malaya. If the Federation were a British colony, such people would automatically, by being born there, become British subjects; it is not a colony, so they are not British subjects.

If British law applied, those people would be subjects of the state they happened to be born in. The states, however, are Malay states, and their sultans until recently recognised as their subjects only those who were born and brought up in the custom, tradition and religion of Malays.

This curious legal matter left many people in the Federation without any citizenship at all. Though born and settled there, they were not subjects of the sultans, not subjects of Britain, and no longer subjects of the country from which their ancestors came. As a result, "Federal citizenship" was devised, by which the second generation of people born in Malaya of whatever parentage might become citizens of the Federation though not subjects of the sultans. Certain other people of long residence might also be entitled to

"Federal citizenship". By this means, something like the usual international practice might be arranged in the Federation to enable long-settled peoples to take part in the elections which will shape its future government and future policies.

The difference between citizenship and nationality is subtle. Nationality means accepting allegiance and loyalty to the government of one country and giving up allegiance to all others. Many prefer that Malayan nationality should be created so as to encourage Malaya to become one nation and gradually drop the internal differences between peoples. Federal citizenship is not the same as full nationality and many people think it does not prevent anyone from giving allegiance to other countries—which is considered to weaken their loyalty to Malaya. Any change of this sort in the laws of the Federation requires the consent of the Conference of Sultans or Rulers.

Since Malays are subjects of the sultans, their interest is very carefully watched by the sultans, who meet regularly to consider matters connected with Malay affairs and with the treaties by which they are related to the Federal Government and to the British. That is the object of the Conference of Rulers, which therefore has quite a different purpose from the State Councils and Federal Legislative Council.

Because both Singapore and the Federation are closely related to the British Commonwealth and Empire, it is important to understand what that is.

About a quarter of the world's land and over a quarter of its people are included in the Commonwealth and Empire, and all parts of it are organised under forms of government like that of Britain. The forms are very varied, but they are all varieties of the democratic system, involving rule by

THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS IS IN THE "HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT" BESIDE THE RIVER THAMES IN LONDON

accepted laws and by councils which are representing the people, generally through elections.

Some of the parts are completely self-governing and are called Dominions. Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and Pakistan are of this type. Their representatives of the King differ from a governor such as Singapore has by being obliged to accept the advice of the local parliament. The only link between the dominions and self-governing territories like India and Britain is that they recognise the same symbol (the King's Crown) and share certain common laws and traditions. They each acknowledge one another's complete equality, but agree to make every effort to keep in step with one another by regularly consulting about relations between them and foreign countries.

Colonies are related to Britain in the manner of Singapore, all possessing forms of legislative councils together with

A DISTINGUISHED MALAYAN MEETS THE KING.

governors appointed by the King, and all at various stages of development to the democratic way.

There are other types of territory in the Commonwealth and Empire. Some are protected in the manner of the Federation, and the local kings or sultans have special treaties with Britain. Others, like Tanganyika, were "Trusteeship Territories", entrusted to the British to organise and govern on behalf of the United Nations Organisation.

The peoples in the whole Commonwealth and Empire are most mixed. Some are actually descended from ancestors who lived in the British Isles, others have become British by events in history which are no longer important. The essential thing is that the combination of peoples and places is now based on agreements and on common acceptance of the idea that government involves laws. Laws are best made by the democratic method of representation by election, towards which all these peoples have moved at rates depending on their stage of development. That is why the Parliament in London is called the Mother of Parliaments. It is a pattern which other British territories have adopted

The British King has a special position with regard to the British Commonwealth and Empire. His Crown is accepted as a symbol. All connections of the parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire are to the Crown, not to the person wearing the Crown. Because a Crown cannot really do anything and is only seen, it is a sign of common loyalty without any suggestion that the King, who personally wears the Crown, has any powers over the separate governments. That is why Singapore is often known as a "Crown Colony".

THE CROWN.

This is certainly very much a legal matter, though the Commonwealth is based on the relations of people rather than merely of governments. The Commonwealth today has the advantage of speedy personal contact by aeroplane, and speedy messages by radio, cable and newspapers, to keep in step those millions of people who in the British Commonwealth and Empire have reached advanced stages of development and understanding and balance.

11 AUG 1982

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED READING

I HOPE you like this book and have enjoyed reading it as much as I have enjoyed writing it for the young people on whom the future of Malaya depends.

I have tried to explain the organisations of Malaya in simple language. You must not think that the machinery of government is simple, even though it may be described simply. There is plenty more to learn about it. It can run only with your help, and it runs only in order to help you, so it needs you to continue to be interested in it. To be so interested is to be "civic-minded".

How can you learn more about the civics of Malaya? You can take part in Malayan life, joining its groups and helping to organise them. You can get other people to tell you and your friends how different parts of Malaya are organised and how other places in the world are organised. You can visit courts and councils, take part in committees, and be always ready to lend your help in running group activities. You can read the reports of departments of the government, and be watchful that the interests of your district and your people are given suitable attention.

Be "civic-minded", and know that a reasonable and common-sense statement of your needs is the sure way to get a fair deal from the Malayan machinery of government.

MAP OF THE WORLD
showing
THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH
and the
PRINCIPAL OTHER STATES

REPUBLICS

DOMINION OF
CANADA

UNITED
STATES

BERMUDAS

BAHAMAS

WEST INDIES

BRITISH HONDURAS

JAMAICA

JAPAN

PHILLIPINES

PACIFIC
OCEAN

SOUTH
AMERICA

FIJI

ONWEALTH OF
STRALIA

DOMINION OF
NEW ZEALAND

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Self Governing Territories

Crown Colonies & Protectorates

Trusteeship Territories