

The Formation of the Federation of Malaysia

This book is dedicated to Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj and all those in Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak who were responsible for the Formation of Malaysia.

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NASKAH PEMELIHARAAN
PERPUSTAKAAN NEGARA MALAYSIA

in
959.5
FOR

Acknowledgement

The description of the various events in this issue of the Formation of the Federation Malaysia had been reported solely by the 'Sarawak By The Week' issued by the Sarawak Information Service for the year 1961, 1962 and 1963.

I would like to put on record my sincere thanks to Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui for the Preface, and my appreciation to the Sarawak Museum Achieves for their valuable services.



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CONTENTS

The Tengku Tells Sarawak of His Greater Malaysia Plan	1 - 4
Borneo's Political Reactions To Greater Malaysia Plan	4 - 6
Supp — "Wait Till Merdeka"	6 - 8
Panas — "We Should Merge"	8 - 9
Malaysia Committee Meets In Jesselton	9 - 14
Assurance Given By Malaya	14 - 26
Malaysia: Tengku On Borneo Controversial Points Answered In House of Representative Speech	26 - 29
Malaysia Talk In Kuching Parliamentarians Confirm Support 'Great Stride Made'	29 - 34
Malaysia and Sarawak	34 - 36
Sarawak and Malaysia	36 - 38
Hopes and Expectations Mr. Morrison	38 - 42
Malaysia Talks In K.L.	42 - 54
Concept Receives Full Support	54 - 60
Malaysia Would Raise Living Standards In Borneo Says Tunku Abdul Rahman	60 - 65
Fourth Malaysia Conference Committee To Present Memorandum To Commission of Enquiry	65 - 67
Assurances and Safeguards For Borneo Territories	67 - 68
Cobbold Commission Arrives Next Week Task Will Take Two Months	68
Malaysia Our Destiny	69 - 78
Malaysia Commission Named Lord Cobbold As Chairman	78 - 83
Cobbold Commission Begins Work Report Ready In Three Months	83 - 90
The First Sitting	90 - 103
The Sarawak United People's Party Memorandum To The Cobbold Commission	104 - 110
Malaysia Round-Up	110 - 112
Malaysia: More Views Recorded Cobbold Commission Carries Out Heavy Programme	112 - 113
Malaysia Round Up	113 - 114
Malaysia: Cobbold Commission Complete Sarawak Tour: Strong Native Support In Second Division	
Beware Of Red Influence — Tengku Advises Supp	
Malaysia Negotiations: Lord Cobbold Hopeful	
No Racial Domination In Malaysia — Tengku	

'Sarawak' Indians Have Big Part To Play	114
'Sink All Differences' — North Borneo Leader	114
Panas Calls For All Party Conference	115
Malaysia: London Talks 'Going Smoothly' Brunei Accepts Federation In Principal	115 - 118
London Talks On Malaysia Set: Tengku Confident Destiny of Borneo and Malaysian Peoples Linked	118 - 119
Premiers To Discuss Time-Table Tungku Hopeful For 'Some Agreement' Snag Hit Malaysia Talks	120 - 121
'Borneo's 3 Will Not Be Junior Partners' — Lee	121
1961 — Turning Point In Sarawak's History	121 - 123
The Report	124
Chapter I Sarawak	125
Chapter II North Borneo	125
Chapter III Assessment Of Evidence	125
Chapter IV Recommendations	125 - 134
Summary of Recommendation's and Comments By The Chairman	134 - 135
Malaysia: Reassurances By Tun Razak 'Rural Development Will Follow-Malayan Pattern'	135 - 136
Chapter V Other Matters	137
'Very Hard Work Ahead' Tun Abdul Razak	137
Key Figure In Malaysia Plan	137 - 138
Tungku Coming On Goodwill Visits Malaysian Cabinet Will Have Borneo Ministers' Assurances Given To Borneo People	139 - 140
Malaysia Plan On The Move British and Malayan Teams Arrive	141
Lord Lansdowne On Work Of Inter-Governmental Committee	142 - 153
Lord Lansdowne Press Conference in Jesselton	153 - 154
Supp Launches Another Anti-Malaysia Campaign	154 - 157
Cobbold Report: Views of 3 Political Parties	
Tungku On Significance of Malaysia Supreme Councillors attend IYC Preparatory Meeting	158 - 159
'Talk Terms' Mandate Given Surprise Support By Ong Kee Hui Our IYC Team That Will Seek Safeguards Council Negri Welcomes Malaysia	160 - 176
Tungku 'Woos and Wins' Borneo Visit A Big Success	176 - 184
Malaysia 'Buttress Of Freedom' — Lansdowne	185
Sarawak Will Sail ... 'With Good Ship Malaysia'	186 - 187
Tun Razak Urges Sarawak Alliance 'Go All Out To Win' Grand Alliance Convention A Big Success	187 - 192

Agreement Signed in London All Set For Malaysia	192 - 195
Alliance Triumphs Leaders Meet Sir Alexander To Discuss	195 - 201
Formation of Government New 'Cabinet' Meets Ningkan Appointed Chief Minister	201 - 203
'Malaysia Day' Fight 'Summit Conference' At Crucial Stage	204 - 210
Call by Sarawak and Sabah 'Don't Delay Malaysia' Strong Reactions To Manila Agreement	210 - 218
International Reactions	218
Chief Minister Warns Trouble — Makers	218 - 220
Agreement on UN Assessment In Borneo In — U Thants man	221 - 224
U Thants Reply — To Manila Request	224
British Government Agrees	224 - 228
Stephens Calls For Political Unity	228 - 229.
UN Flag Over Sarawak But ... Indonesia Provokes Crisis Refuses To Send Observers	230 - 233
Malaysia Day — September 16, 1963 New Era Dawns Sarawak Achieves Self-Government	233 - 236
United Nations Mission Starts Work	237 - 246
Malaysia On September 16 Welcomed First Victory	247 - 252
The Debate	253 - 261
UN Mission Completes Assessment	261 - 270
'Borneo States Favour Malaysia' — U Thant	270 - 273
Last Minute Dispute Solved and Now On To Malaysia	274 - 276
Sarawak joins Malaysia Merdeka! Merintah Diri!	276 - 282
Message By The Prime Minister of Malaysia Tungku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj	283
Malaysia Day Message To Sarawak From The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew	284
Message from the Prime Minister, Tungku Abdul Rahman Putra, to the Workers of Malaysia	285
King's Message To School Children	286
C.C.O. Bid To Ruin Malaysia Celebrations	287

* Due to an oversight what appeared on Page 242 under the heading "SUPP Accusations" to Page 246 "Views of Chinese Association" is repeated on Page 266 to 270 under similar headings.



Illustrations



An important meeting of the Malaysia Consultative Committee was held in Kuching in December 1961. Seated in front are Mr. Yeo Cheng Hoe (Sarawak), Dato Ong Yoke Lin (Malaya), Mr. Donald Stephens (North Borneo), Mr. Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore) and Datu Setia Pengiran Ali (Brunei).

(S.I.S.)



Mr. Yeo Cheng Hoe, the leader of the Sarawak delegation, addresses the meeting.

(S.I.S.)



The meeting also had its informal moments. Datu Ong Yoke Lin and Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau.

(Hedda Morrison)



Mr. Donald Stephens (centre) of North Borneo confers with his colleagues.

(Hedda Morrison)



The leader of the Brunei delegation Dato Setia Ali is seen addressing the meeting.



The North Borneo delegation (from left) Inche Fadzal Mr. Pang Tet Tshung, Mr. G.S. Sundang.



Tribune picture shows members of the Sarawak delegation (from left at far end) Mr Remiguis Durin, Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, Temenggong Jugah, Mr Ong Ke Hui, Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe (leader), Mr James Wong, Pengarah Montegrai; Mr Ling Beng Siew, Datu Abang Haji Openg.

Solidarity Consultative Committee In Session Leaders Make Preliminary Addresses at the K.R.D.C. Chamber.



Mr. Donald Stephen, the leader of North Borneo delegation and also the Chairman of the conference.



The leader of the Malayan delegation, Dato Ong Yoke Lin is seen addressing the meeting.



The leader of the Singapore delegation Mr Lee Kuan Yew is seen addressing the meeting.



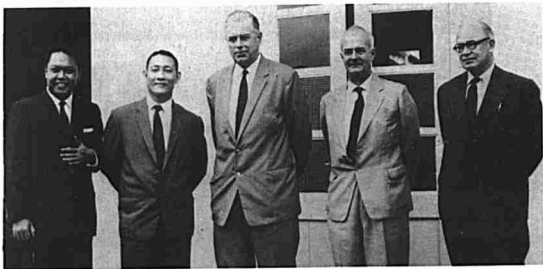
Pictures of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee's Discussion Forum held in a studio at Radio Sarawak.



Following the assesement of the Cobbold Commission that the majority of the people of Sarawak and Sabah favoured Malaysia, an Inter-Governmental Committee, headed by Lord Lansdowne, was formed to formally work out the details for the establishment of the Federation.

Picture shows Lord Lansdowne (right) addressing a press conference in Kuching 1962 with the deputy chairman of the committee, Tun Abdul Razak. Also in the picture is Inche Ghazali bin Shafie (left).

(S.I.S.)



The views of the people of Sabah and Sarawak towards Malaysia were sounded in early 1962 by a Commission headed by Lord Cobbold.

The Commission carried out a strenuous programme of tours in both States to hear the views of the people — and the response was great.

Picture shows members of the Commission, from left: Inche Ghazali bin Shafie and Dato Wong Pow Nee (Malayan Government nominees); Lord Cobbold; Sir David Watherston and Sir Anthony Abell (British Government nominees).

(S.I.S.)



North Borneo delegation l/r: Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, Mr. H.W. Davidson, Mr. Peter Lo, Mr. W.S. Holley, Mr. Donald Stephens, Mr. R.N. Turner, Mr. J.O. Ballard and Mr. Khoo Siok Chiew.



Sarawak delegation l/r: Che Wan Abdul Rahman bin Datuk Tuanku Bujang Penghulu Umpau, Mr. Gerunsin Lembat, Adviser, Temenggong Jugah, Pengarah Montegrai, Mr. James Wong, Mr. P.E.H. Pike, Mr. F.B. Jakeway, Mr. G.A.T. Shaw and Mr. B.A. St. Hepburn. (Other delegates not in the picture were Mr. Ling Beng Siew, Mr. Chia Chin Shiin and Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha).



Malaya delegation l/r: Enche W. Fernando, Enche R.J.C. Wait, Dato Nik Daud, Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein (leader), En. Che C.M. Sheridan and Enche Abdul Aziz bin Yeop.



The third Plenary session of the Inter-governmental committee on Malaysia being held in Kuala Lumpur in December 1962. Above pictures show the delegations from North Borneo (top), Sarawak (middle) and the Federation of Malaya (below). The United Kingdom was also represented by a delegation led by Lord Lansdowne, Britain's Minister of State for Colonial affairs, who was chairman of the committee.

Sabah Pictorial
March 1963.



The Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee played a vital part in giving substance to the Malaysia Plan. At various meetings held in different Malaysian capitals, members of the Committee — drawn from the legislatures — thrashed out the details and finally produced a blueprint which became the basis for public discussion.

(S.I.S.)



A meeting of the Sarawak Alliance which was formed during 1962 consisting of Party Negara, Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak, the Sarawak National Party, Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak and the Sarawak Chinese Association.

(S.I.S.)



In November, 1962, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Rahman paid a visit to Sarawak and is shown speaking at a meeting of civil servants at the Jubilee Hall.

(S.I.S.)



One of the strongest opponents to Malaysia has been the Sarawak United Peoples' Party. In various rallies and statements the Party has consistently demanded independence before Federation.

The Party was defeated in the last general elections and managed to secure only five seats in Council Negri.

Picture shows one of the Supp rallies in progress during 1962.

(S.I.S.)



唐納·史帝文氏於二月十六日在亞庇舉行的親大馬政黨代表大會致開幕詞。史帝文氏是大會主席。

PRO-MALAYSIA CONFERENCE IN JESSELTON

Mr. Donald Stephens, after being elected chairman, speaking at the opening session of the conference held in Jesselton from February 16-17, 1963. Taking part were six pro-Malaysia political parties from Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya.

Sabah Pictorial
March 1963



The delegation from the Alliance Party of Malaya: l/r Tuan Haji Abdul Khalid, Assistant Minister of Rural Development, Senator T.H. Tan, Dr. Lim Swee Aun (leader) Minister of Commerce & Industry, Inche Ismail Yusof (Assistant Minister of Broadcasting & Information), and Mr. V. Manickavasagam (Assistant Minister of Labour).



A part of the Sabah Alliance Delegation: l/r Datu Mustapha, Mr. Donald Stephens, Mr. Li Yun Hin, Mr. Kahar Singh, Mr. Khoo Siak Chew (partly covered), Mr. Pang Tet Tshung. In the rear, l/r Mr Yeh Pao To, Mr. Ganie Gilong, O.K.K. Nonon bin Anad, Mr. Ngui Ah Kui.

PRO-MALAYSIA CONFERENCE IN JESSELTON



A group picture of all delegates attending the Pro-Malaysia conference held at the Jesselton Community Centre (Photo: Mea Hua)

MERDEKA MALAYSIA!



Dr. Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, who led the People's Action Party of Singapore '... an opportune moment for all of us to meet so that we can reaffirm our solidarity and our faith in the Malaysia Plan.'



Dr. Lim Swee Aun, Minister of Commerce and Industry of Malaya, leader of the Malayan Alliance Party. He stressed that Malaysia would never be a threat to Indonesia.



Tun Lim Yew Hock, leader of the Singapore People's Alliance Party. '... Recent elections in Sabah indicated that the people here are 100 per cent behind Malaysia.'

At the closing session the Conference passed a resolution strongly supporting the establishment of Malaysia by August 31, 1963. It also condemned the December rebellion in Brunei; expressed regret over the open support of the rebels by Indonesia, and supported the rejection by the people of Sabah of Philippines' claim to Sabah. The meeting pledged full support "for such policies as may be necessary" to secure the safety and integrity of the 5 territories of Malaysia from hostile force.

Temenggong Jugah (standing) of the Sarawak Alliance Party said "We have chosen Malaysia to safeguard our interests." In the picture Mr. Chia Chin Shin seen sitting next to Temenggong Jugah.



Sabah Pictorial
March 1963

THE TENGKU TELLS SARAWAK OF HIS GREATER MALAYSIA PLAN

8th July, 1961

The Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, announced in Kuching 8th July in 1961 that he had sent a memorandum to Britain on his Greater Malaysia Plan which suggests the appointment of a commission to come and to examine and work out a proper constitution under which Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore would federate with Malaya.

He said that he had asked for a "mixed commission" similar to that which had drawn up the Malaya's Constitution. He also said that he had proposed a name for the federation but he declined to divulge it because "the British might not agree".

The memorandum, the Tengku added, had been taken to London by the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, Lord Selkirk.

The Tengku was speaking at a press conference held at the conclusion of his four-day visit to Sarawak after accompanying the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on a state visit to Brunei.

He spent Tuesday and Wednesday at Sibul and Friday in Kuching. Accompanying him were his wife, Puan Sharifah Rodziah and the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, and his wife.

At the press conference he made it clear that he would like to see Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei come into his Greater Malaysia Plan as States of Malaya, and had the following points to make:

- that it would be difficult for the Borneo Territories to be independent on their own without having the necessary resources to meet the costs involved and to develop their countries
- that in coming in as states of Malaya, they would "enjoy absolute equality" with the other autonomous states
- that they would also enjoy the same privileges and benefits as the other states and that money would go towards their development
- that there was no need for the Borneo Territories to form a federation and achieve independence before joining in with Malaya

People 'very receptive as a whole'

Speaking of his visit to Sarawak, the Tengku said that he had found the people "very receptive on the whole" to his plan though they did not understand "all its points". He mentioned the fears expressed by some that the three Borneo Territories would, in his Plan, be "swallowed up" by Malaya.

The Tengku referred to an article appearing in a Sibul newspaper which in reporting him as saying that "people who do not agree with my plan must be Communists" had misinterpreted it. It was not exactly what he said.

He recalled that when he first announced his plan for a closer association of South East Asian States, the Communists had criticised it "very strongly". They were now critical of his plan for a Greater Malaysia. In this context he felt that those who had disagreed with his ideas, before even knowing what it was all about, were like the communists.

There were "absolute need", he declared, for close cooperation between the countries involved in his proposal. This was obvious to all those countries which had neither population strength nor the financial resources required for development to become independent on their own.

"Independence costs a lot of money — setting up embassies, legations and defence. If I am not mistaken, it roughly costs us \$5,200,000,000 to carry out our five-year development plan. I do not think the Borneo Territories have that much money," he said.

Referring to a report that the leader of Party Rakyat in Brunei, Inche A.M. Azahari, had said that Brunei could have independence without having to depend on federation for it, the Tengku asked how that was possible when Brunei had not one technical officer or doctor. It would, he remarked, make "a mockery of independence".

He added: "One has to look at things broadly and from all angles because many countries who have achieved independence have not got on so well with it. But some, like ourselves, have benefited a lot."

"When I said federation with the Borneo Territories, I mean that they should be the same as the other states of Malaya. We have 11 states that form the Federation of Malaya and if the Borneo Territories decide to come in there will be 14 — all enjoying absolute equality, one with the other."

Worrying factor

The Tengku continued by saying that another factor which might worry people in Borneo, as it had worried others in the Malayan states, was whether they would be autonomous.

He explained that the Federal Constitution embodied a constitution for each of the 11 states and he went on to describe the powers held by the Federation Government and those by the States. He also described the basis on which the States received subsidies from the Federation Government to help them run their internal affairs.

The Tengku then went on to say that, what he had in mind for the Borneo Territories was not "a greater federation" but a simple one. The greater federation was with Singapore because it was politically advanced and it was in "our interests" to have Singapore as a separate state forming a greater federation with the Federation looking after its external affairs, defence and internal security.

The set-up which he had in mind for Borneo would entitle a man from Sarawak to even be the Prime Minister of the Federation. There would be state elections and adult franchise and whichever political party won the elections would run the state.

He also pointed out that if the party in power in a state was allied to (or actually belonged to) the party forming the Federation Government, its leaders could become Cabinet Ministers.

Asked if he meant whether the structure of a simple federation would really be the main structure of his Plan, the Prime Minister said "yes".

It was next pointed out to the Tengku that apart from Brunei-Sarawak and North Borneo were still colonies and he was asked whether it would be possible for them to federate with Malaya before they achieved independence.

In reply, the Tengku recalled that Malacca and Penang were once British Settlements.

Asked whether there should be a federation of Borneo Territories first, he thought that

there was no need for it because each territory would be an autonomous state and there would be no point of having "a federation within a federation."

The United States of America, he recalled, had taken in Hawaii and Alaska as additional states and the people in them enjoyed the same benefits and privileges as the Americans themselves.

'We also have underdeveloped states'

When it was pointed out that the fear of the disparity in the political and economic development between Malaya and the Borneo Territories had raised certain doubts as to how the latter were to receive equal benefits, the Tengku pointed out that in his country there were also underdeveloped states, like Kelantan and Pahang.

They were receiving considerable assistance in development and he referred to the roads built there. There was no question of one state "getting the better of the other or the upper hand."

The Tengku was next drawn into commenting on a statement made by the Bruneian political leader, Inche Azahari, that his people "do not want history to record that they achieved independence through merger with the Federation of Malaya."

The Prime Minister replied: "In what other way can they achieve it. It means a lot more than running yourselves. You must take your place with other nations of the world. You must play your part in defending human rights. But are you able to defend yourselves? Are you able to set up diplomatic ties with other nations?"

The Tengku went on to ask what benefits would there be in the Borneo Territories forming a federation on their own even though they might achieve independence and pointed out that if this happened it would be difficult for Malaya to assist them if they were separated. By joining Malaya, they could enjoy equal rights with the other states.

In Malaya, he recalled, every state had not at first welcomed the idea of a Federation of Malaya when it was proposed. The Rulers thought that their powers would be usurped but he did not think they enjoyed as many privileges as they did today. Furthermore, the Chinese were afraid the Malays "would get the upper hand" but today they were

enjoying prosperity and here he instanced the contractors. It would be the same within Sarawak, he said and added: "What we do for the Malays and Dayaks, we will also do for the Chinese."

The Tengku, in reply to another remark that there was a fear of the smaller countries being "swallowed up by Malaya", offered to sponsor a visit of Sarawak journalists to Malaya "so that they could present the true facts to the people here" on their return.

He admitted that there was bound to be a lot of misunderstanding about the issues involved and that an assessment of the benefits to be derived from federating with Malaya could best be answered by such a visit.

The Tengku next said that on the whole the people in Borneo, including "those in the know" in Brunei, were "very receptive" to his Plan. Referring to Brunei he felt that 'man-in-the-street' thought that Malaya wanted "to scrounge money" from their State. He answered this by saying that Malaya made surplus of \$230 million last year and gave the assurance that money would go towards the development of Sarawak and North Borneo.

He then declared: "We have done more for all our states in three to four years than the British have done in a hundred years. I have said this to the British themselves,"

National Education System

Asked if federation would involve the Borneo Territories in Malaya's national system of education the Tengku said: "Yes, if you enjoy the privileges, then there is the duty and responsibility, otherwise you will be broken up — you will never be united."

In Malaya, he continued, the Chinese were allowed to study their language "as much as they like" ("they can study one million characters" he said with laughter). But he pointed out it would be unfair to students if they left school without the School Leaving Certificate which was a necessary qualification for a job. That was why the Government had started out with national system of education and was providing free primary education for all for six years. He also referred to the vast sums of money now being spent on education.

The Tengku also agreed that the use of English as a medium of instruction in Sarawak schools was a unifying force. In the Federation, he said, English was being taught

alongside Malay.

There were today 10,000 Malayan students abroad. It was necessary to know English to aspire for higher studies and that was why English was being taught alongside Malay.

The Tengku and his party arrived at Sibul by air on Tuesday afternoon.

Shortly afterwards he made a tour of the town calling at the offices of the Sibul Urban and Sibul Rural district councils.

A reception was held by the Sibul Urban District Council in his honour and a speech of welcome was delivered by the chairman, Mr Ting Chew Huat.

In his address Mr Ting said: "Sibul is commonly acknowledged by visitors as a progressive town. This statement is justified by the number of new buildings which have been erected since the war. The peoples, however, have always been friendly for we are prepared to accept anybody without distinction of colour or creed."

"It is fitting here for me to say a few words about the Council. The Sibul Urban District Council was established in 1952 and it was not until 1958 when the peoples of this town were allowed to elect their own representatives to sit in the Council."

"The Council is autonomous except for certain matters, such as finance, which is still controlled by the Central Government. The relationship between the council and the central government has been good and for most of its important functions the Council is run under the guidance of the advisers from the Central Government."

Turning to the Greater Malaysia Plan, Mr Ting endorsed what had been said on the subject by Yang di-Pertuan Agong in Brunei recently that the five territories should always closely be bound in a currency union and it was inevitable that they should work together for the common good.

Long-standing desire to visit Sibul

Replying the Prime Minister spoke of his long-standing desire to visit Sibul and said he had come to meet as many people as possible.

He was glad that the first reception in Sarawak to his Greater Malaysia Plan had been good, adding: "The Plan has not been finalised yet, and I hope that when the complete plan is published you will continue to

show equal enthusiasm."

In the evening the Tengku attended a reception given by the Malay community at the Abang Ali School. In his address he said he was grateful to meet people of various races there.

The Tengku was also presented with a Matu hat and Kenyah parang while, Puan Sharifah Rodziah, received a Native handbag.

On his return, he gave a press conference during which he invited Sarawak to send 12 journalists on a visit to Malaya. The Sibü visit ended with a reception at the Residency.

The following morning the Prime Minister left by speedboat for Durin, near Sibü, to visit the longhouse of Penghulu Jarrau.

The Tengku and his party left Sibü early on Thursday in the Royal Malayan Navy vessel, the Mutiara.

As it passed Binatang a crowd waved from the jetty. The Tengku then decided to call in and invited the people aboard. Later he spent 90 minutes visiting the town and talking to the people.

The Mutiara berthed at Kuching on Friday morning and at the wharf to greet the Prime Minister and his wife were the Governor of Sarawak and Lady Waddell.

He then inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by the Sarawak Constabulary, was introduced to members of the Supreme Council, religious leaders and the judges, and rowed across to the Astana.

The Tengku and his party were next taken on a tour of the capital by the Deputy President of the Kuching Municipal Council, Tuan Haji Satem. The tour ended at Batu Lintang Training College where the Director of Education, Mr. M.G. Dickson, conducted him on a tour of the buildings.

Later the Tengku returned to the Astana for a reception after which he attended prayers at the Mosque.

Before leaving for Singapore he held a press conference in the Information Office and paid a brief visit to Radio Sarawak, where he was interviewed.

During his interview, he said: "One of the things I noticed when I arrived in Sarawak was the cordiality and the warmth of welcome of the people. This afternoon, of course, I had the opportunity to go to the Mosque and pray with the people there, and the way they greeted me and the way they got hold of my hand and wished me welcome touched me right to the bottom of my heart. Thank you very much for the welcome I have received since I have been here."

BORNEO'S POLITICAL REACTIONS TO GREATER MALAYSIA PLAN SUPP — 'WAIT TILL MERDEKA' PANAS — 'WE SHOULD MERGE'

From July 9 to July 15, 1961

Political leaders in the Borneo Territories have commented on the general outline of the Greater Malaysia Plan described by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, during his recent visit to Brunei and Sarawak.

The Tengku made it clear that he would like to see Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei become States of Malaya and had the following points to make:

- that it would be difficult for the Borneo Territories to be independent on their own without having the necessary resources to meet the costs involved and to develop their countries

- that in coming in as states of Malaya, they would "enjoy absolute equality" with the other autonomous states
- that they would also enjoy the same privileges and benefits as the other states and that money would go towards their development
- that there was no need for the Borneo Territories to form a federation and achieve independence before joining in with Malaya.

The first reaction in Borneo to the Plan came from the Sarawak United Peoples' Party which, in a statement issued in Kuching on Saturday, July 8, said that any question of

federation with Malaya by Sarawak should be postponed until after independence had been achieved.

The Party went on to say that it would welcome any assistance from Malaya or from any other country in its fight for independence and that it would be prepared to take part in any meeting, such as that recently suggested by the Socialist Front of Malaya, to examine the implications of the Plan.

A joint statement was next issued in Jesselton on Sunday by Mr Ong Kee Hui, chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party; Inche A.M. Azahari, President of the Party Rakyat Brunei; and Mr Donald Stephens, a prominent North Borneo leader, who is taking a leading part in the formation of his country's first political party.

They said: "We met in Jesselton to discuss and consider current political developments which affect the three territories.

"The talks were of an exploratory nature and agreement was reached on a number of important issues, the most important of which was the question of the so-called Mighty Malaysia Plan of Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

"It was agreed that a United Front should be taken on this important matter and that the British Government should be advised that so far as the wishes of the people of the three territories can be ascertained, any plan in accordance with the pronouncements made by Tengku Abdul Rahman in Brunei and Sarawak would be totally unacceptable to the people of the three territories.

"We believe that it is vitally important that the constitutional advance in the three territories should be speeded up and with this in view, elections should be held in the territories where an undertaking has been given by the Governments concerned so that the legitimate aspirations of the people for political advancement can be satisfied.

"We further agreed that there should be frequent exchange of views and discussions on matters of common interest by political leaders of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo."

Views of PANAS

Party Negara Sarawak, which describes itself as the political party which has the largest number of members in Sarawak, next issued a statement saying that it did not agree

to join the proposed United Front to consider the Greater Malaysia Plan and that it disassociated itself from whatever declarations, statements or decisions had been made verbally or through the press on the subject.

The chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, Abang Haji Mustapha (Datu Bandar) also announced his Party's support for the Plan and the suggestion by Tengku Abdul Rahman that an international commission be appointed "to make a survey and examination" of the countries concerned in the Plan.

This commission, he advised, should consist of members for various independent countries in the Commonwealth excepting Malaya, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, with a view to drafting a constitution.

The Party chairman, who was speaking at the opening of the Tebekang (First Division) Branch of PANAS on Sunday, said the Tengku's Plan was most worthy of the full support of his Party and the peoples of Sarawak in general.

Earlier in his speech he announced that his Party had changed its policy on the Plan "by withdrawing the previous policy statement released on May 30 after receiving the announcement of the Greater Malaysia Plan which was still vague and without full details."

The previous policy considered that when the time came for confederation it would be far better for the three Borneo Territories to merge with Malaya as an individual unit and not as three separate political entities.

Abang Haji Mustapha then referred to the press conference which the Malayan Prime Minister gave in Kuching and said the Tengku had given full assurance that Sarawak would not become the "colony" of Malaya when the time came for merger.

Abang Haji Mustapha continued: "Sarawak will maintain its full independent status. This Party thinks that Sarawak would become a loser if it were to merge as a confederation after unification with the other two Borneo territories as one individual unit, but it is thought that Sarawak would benefit most if it were to merge with Malaya as a separate political entity. And Sarawak would not be deprived of her autonomy, privileges or rights as an independent state within a federation."

"The illustrations which the Tengku has explained to me in respect of the great strides

in developments in Malaya it achieved 'Merdeka' three years ago give rise to a full determination to grasp the opportunity of a merger."

'Send goodwill mission'

The Tengku, continued the chairman, had even invited Sarawak journalists to visit Malaya and to see the great changes which had taken place since independence.

His Party also felt it would be beneficial if the Sarawak Government were to send a goodwill mission to Malaya on a fact-finding tour rather than to foster the existing goodwill missions sponsored by the North Borneo and

Sarawak Governments to evolve and pave the way for closer association.

Abang Haji Mustapha then stated: "As these countries have been under British Administration for over a century it is obvious that the British Government would not transfer power to the peoples if it would bring disastrous consequences, but that it would maintain British justice and prestige to ensure that these territories do not become the victims of outside powers. Thus it is thought desirable that Sarawak should merge with the Federation of Malaya as proposed by the Tengku."

MALAYSIA COMMITTEE MEETS IN JESSELTON ASSURANCE GIVEN BY MALAYA

An assurance was given by the Malayan delegation, which attended the first meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee held in Jesselton August 21, 1961 that there was no question of bigger units absorbing smaller units in the Malaysia proposal.

Malaysia, it was explained, would be a new political unit formed by the coming together of all the potential members as individual partners — the coming together of 15 territories (the 11 States of Malaya, Singapore and the three Borneo Territories) as individual units.

The meeting, which was held on Thursday and Friday, was attended by delegations from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association branches in the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo under the chairmanship of Mr Donald Stephens, of North Borneo.

Sarawak was represented by Mr Yeo Chng Hoe, of Kuching, Inche Annie bin Dhoibie, of Sibn and Mr James Wong of Limbang, all members of Council Negri.

A communique issued after the meeting said that the Committee had discussed the status and rights of the individual territories within the Malaysia framework and such subjects as language rights, freedom of reli-

gion, educational policy, land rights, migrational problems and economic relations.

It was also agreed to publish a booklet dealing with the questions raised at the conference in order to help clear misunderstanding and doubts that some people had expressed about the nature and aims of Malaysia.

The aims and objects of the Committee were outlined in the communique and it was agreed that the next meeting, tentatively fixed for the first week of November, would be held in Kuching.

Apologies to Brunei

In opening the meeting in the Secretariat Conference Room, Mr Stephens apologised to Brunei for the short notice given and hoped it would be able to send delegates to future meetings.

He then said: "I have spoken of fears and misgivings I myself have had many of these misgivings cleared or reduced but I have always also stressed the need for us all to go into details so that as the knots are untangled the people will be kept in touch and will be in a better position to know whether they would want their countries to become a partner in Malaysia."

He added: "I have fought against Sabah being bulldozed into Malaysia and that stand remains. But I am quite sure now that no one wants to bulldoze anybody else into Malaysia.

"I am also certain in my own mind that Malaysia, if all are agreed and plans can be worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned, can be the partnership which would ensure our future stability and security."

The chief Malayan delegate, Incbe Ismail bin Yusoff, who is Assistant Minister for the Interior, said that in Malaya today "the idea of our greater association has stirred the imagination and captured the hearts of the people because it appeals to the deepest feelings of brotherhood and unity which we feel for the people of Sabah, Brunei, Sarawak and Singapore."

He added: "We have come together and seen for ourselves the reality of our feelings and our conditions and we have conquered, I think, our isolation. We must now labour to build the future which we commonly desire. Of course, it will be no easy, short road."

Incbe Ismail then said that the facts of geography and of economics further reinforced "our growing intimacy in our joint efforts in many practical fields, such as administration, education, technical assistance, finance, the law and the exchange of experts and training programmes in various fields."

He stressed the need for such co-operation to be speeded up and improved because, he said, "when under the plans for Malaysia these co-operative efforts will become activities within the same national boundaries - so the more easily may be benefit of each territory's experience and wisdom be made available to one another."

He then scorned the suggestion that the Malaysia proposal was inspired by the British Government or that the Federation Government had imperialist intentions.

Policy of liberation

The Federation Government, he added, was committed to a policy of advocating the liberation of subject peoples, as it had demonstrated in the United Nations and elsewhere and said: "The freedom of the Borneo Territories is the more dear, real and personal to us and we shall do all in our power to accelerate their independence."

The charges of imperialist designs were totally absurd and impossible within the con-

cept and meaning of the Malaysia Plan as envisaged through the constitution of the Federation of Malaysia.

Incbe Ismail then said that the Federation Constitution guaranteed the autonomy of each individual State as well as the fundamental liberties of speech, religious worship and of association.

Singapore's Minister for Culture, Mr S. Rajaratnam, spoke next and said Malaysia was a "very big concept and the bigger the idea, the greater the agitation that it set in motion."

The idea of Malaysia had been suggested four or five years ago but had failed to evoke any interest. Today it had evoked response, some favourable, some unfavourable. He thought this was because there was "a solid basis of reality in the idea" and the prospect that it could come about.

Mr Rajaratnam denied that Malaysia was a British scheme and an attempt to impose some form of colonialism or imperialism. But once the idea of Malaysia had been implanted, then they were faced with one prospect, that the territories involved had been for nearly 100 years administered as a single economic and political unit by the British.

It was clear, he pointed out, that sooner or later the British must pull out. So when this happened were they also going to disintegrate, he asked.

Singapore, Malaya, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo, he went on, were prosperous and had been prosperous because of a settled administration. There must be no vacuum once the British pulled out — they must find some way of ensuring that the central administration was carried on. If they did not do it, he warned, somebody else would do it for them.

Mr Rajaratnam said that in Malaysia, accommodation must be found for the legitimate special and local interests of the individual units. The idea would never come about if viewed in the light of specific political ideology and it must be thought about not in terms of unity between governments or political parties but as an attempt to unite people who were basically alike, "racially, culturally, and in every respect."

'Sarawak parliamentarians interested'

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe of Sarawak was the

next speaker and expressed the interest parliamentarians in his country had taken in the Malaysia proposal.

He said that he had told his fellow parliamentarians what had transpired at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference in Singapore and of the formation of the Malaysia solidarity Consultative Committee.

In Sarawak, a special committee had been formed composed of Council Negri members from each of the five Divisions to collect the views of the people on the question of closer association between Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo Territories and to discuss the question informally with the CPA representatives of the territories concerned. Under the terms of reference they would report back to their CPA Branch the results of these enquiries and discussions.

He hoped that at the Jesselton meeting "we shall be able to learn much more of the Malaysia Plan so that in the process of collecting the views of others we may be able at the same time to tell them what the implications are in this Malaysia Plan."

After the opening speeches the meeting went into a closed session at the conclusion of which a communique was issued.

The communique stated that the Committee discussed fully and frankly a number of matters relating to the status and rights of the individual territories within the Malaysian framework.

It added: "A number of delegates expressed fears that Malaysia would mean the domination of weaker and smaller territories by the stronger. It was also pointed out that Malaysia would not come about by a process of larger units like the Federation of Malaya taking a smaller units.

"The Malayan delegation explained that Malaysia would be a new political unit formed by the coming together of all the potential members of Malaysia as individual partners. In other words, Malaysia will be constituted by the coming together of 15 territories as individual units. There will, therefore, be no question of bigger units absorbing smaller units.

"It was also pointed out that there will be consideration local autonomy for the states thus ensuring that state interests are safeguarded.

"The delegates also discussed such

subjects as language rights, freedom of religion, educational policy, land rights, immigration problems and economic relations.

The communique then stated that the committee agreed:

- to publish a booklet dealing with the questions raised at the conference in order to help clear misunderstandings and doubts that some people had expressed about the nature and aims of Malaysia.
- to publish a journal to be called "Malaysia" in order to provide a forum for free discussion of problems connected with Malaysia.
- that the aims and objects of the committee should be — to collect and collate views and opinions concerning the creation of Malaysia comprising Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya.
- to disseminate information on the question on Malaysia
- to initiate and encourage discussions on Malaysia
- to foster activities that would promote and expedite the realisation of Malaysia.

On the question of the composition of the Committee, the communique said, the meeting considered the drawing up of a constitution defining its membership and functions for consideration at the next meeting, tentatively fixed for the first week of November, in Kuching.

The communique finally said that it was agreed that at the next meeting the Committee would decide how often it should meet and that all members present at the meeting would be treated as pro-tem members.

Mr Richard Lind, secretary of the CPA Branch in North Borneo, was appointed pro-tem secretary of the Committee.

Composition of the delegations

Malaya: Inche Ismail bin Yusoff; Inche Hussein bin Mohamed Noordin; Senator S.O.K. Ubaidulla and Mr Lee San Choon.

Sarawak: Messrs Yeo Cheng Hoe, Ainnie bin Dhubie and James Wong.

North Borneo: Messrs Stephens; Khoo Saik Chew; G.S. Sundang, Pang Tet Tshung, Lau En Kong and Dato Mustapha bin Harun.

Singapore: Mr S. Rajaratnam; and Dato Abdul Hamid bin Haji Jumat.

MALAYSIA: TENGKU ON BORNEO

CONTROVERSIAL POINTS ANSWERED IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SPEECH

October 15



The Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, dealt with some of the major points that have raised controversy in the Borneo Territories in relation to his Malaysia plan when he addressed the House of Representatives in Kuala Lumpur on Monday.

They ranged from the fear that the Malaysia concept was an attempt to colonise the Borneo Territories and the imposition of one language only to Borneanisation of the civil services and the question of whether there should be a federation of the Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei first before merger.

Tengku Abdul Rahman was speaking on his motion that the House agree in principle with the Malaysia concept and endorse the Government's initiative in taking action for its realisation.

The motion was approved by an overwhelming vote after a three-day debate which now gives the Malayan Prime Minister the necessary mandate for his talks in London with the British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan, early next month.

The Malayan Prime Minister said that in his talks he would discuss the transfer of the sovereignty over the State of Singapore and

the Borneo Territories to Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia.

He would also seek agreement on the continued use of the Singapore bases but not for the purposes of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato).

In his speech, the Tengku revealed that he sent a memorandum on the Malaysia Plan to Mr Macmillan and that the British Prime Minister then replied that Britain would give the merger proposal close study.

The Tengku said he felt Britain was most anxious about the question of the continued use of the Singapore bases as she was committed under the Seato treaty to provide a base in Singapore.

On the Borneo Territories, the British would not commit themselves on the ground that the question needed a lot of thinking about.

The Tengku said he detected a note of anxiety over the Singapore bases, for Mr Macmillan was a little hesitant on the idea of giving up the bases for Seato purposes.

In the circumstances, he felt that talks with Mr Macmillan would not bring fruitful results until Britain agreed on the bases for discussion, and he had told the British Prime Minister this.

Then, on October 3, 1961, he received a message from Mr Macmillan saying: "There is a wide measure of agreement between us on this plan of Malaysia, in that the British Government would welcome and accept the concept of Malaysia which would incorporate the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the three Borneo Territories."

Britain agreed, said the Tengku, that the best future for the Borneo Territories would lie in close political association with the Federation and Singapore.

Talks suggested

It was suggested that he should go to London as early as possible to have talks with Mr Macmillan so that we could best work together in the attainment of his plan. This would ensure that any misunderstandings which might arise from a long-range

correspondence would be avoided. He then announced that he would leave for London on November 7.

Earlier in his speech, the Tengku gave a full account of the circumstances which led to the opening of talks with Mr Lee Kuan Yew on merger with Singapore.

He said originally he did not favour merger as he was of the opinion that integration of the two territories would spell danger for the security of Malaya.

The differences in outlook of the people of the Federation and Singapore were so pronounced that they made merger out of the question.

However, times changed, and so must their outlook. Hence, what was not agreed to yesterday might be agreed to today, when they gave it second thoughts. The idea of Malaysia then took shape.

The Tengku said that, because of the special position of Singapore as a city state, it would be best if Singapore came in on a partnership basis, with local autonomy and powers to determine nearly all matters except defence, external affairs and security.

He intended to call the association or federation of states the "Federation of Malaysia", comprising all the Malayan states, the Borneo Territories and Singapore.

Singapore would be joined in partnership on a footing like that existing between the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland.

In his speech, after he had discussed the problem of Singapore in relation to the concept of Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Rahman turned to the Borneo Territories which, he said "does not present the same complexity in the implementation of the concept as Singapore does."

He said: "In a broad sense it could be stated that the question is much simpler there, in fact so much simpler that they present a special difficulty of their own.

"The three Borneo Territories have two political factors in common. First, Sarawak and Sabah are still colonies and Brunei a protectorate under the British Crown and because of this they are the vestiges of British colonialism in the area of South East Asia.

"The second factor they have in common springs from the first and that is that their constitutional development has been very slow indeed.

'Still colonial in government'

"It is quite remarkable, when you come to think of it to consider that the Federation of Malaya became independent 12 years after the end of the war, that Singapore had its first elected Ministers 10 years after the war and far greater autonomy stemming from 1959 but the Borneo Territories are still colonial in government with nominated members: it follows that there have been no general elections.

"This slowness of constitutional development is in marked contrast to developments in other British colonies or protectorates in Africa or Asia.

"Malaya's attitude towards colonialism is well-known and constantly reiterated both at home and abroad. We consider that it is our duty to help bring about an end to any form of colonialism. The very concept of the Malaysia plan is an effort to end colonialism in this region of the world, in a peaceful and constructive manner.

"We in Malaya won our independence by peaceful means and we are sure that the peoples of the Borneo Territories would like to end their colonial status and obtain independence in the same way.

"From the Federation's point of view we are linked to the Borneo Territories not only by proximity and close association but also because the Borneo Territories have the same types of culture and racial origin as Malaysians.

"We have similar customs, similar problems — economically or otherwise — and we even share the same currency. We work along similar administrative lines, our Civil Services have grown up the same tradition and on the Service principles.

The territories like the Federation, have a diversity of races. There are Chinese there just as there are here. There are Malays there and many of the other races there are of the same ethnic stock as the Malays.

"There are other similarities, too. Brunei, for instance, is ruled by a Malay sovereign, and the Royal history of the State is intimately bound up with the past history of Malaya. Until a few years ago Sarawak also was a Royal State under the rule of a Rajah.

"So these two states have a tradition of Government similar to Malaya's many States, and above all the common language understood by all is Malay.

"The story of Sabah is different. Sabah today is a Crown Colony and called British North Borneo. But until very recently it was run by the Borneo Chartered Company, in much the same way as Penang and Malacca were for many years by the East India Company.

'Natural affinity'

"For all these reasons, therefore, there is a natural affinity between the Territories and the Federation, an affinity which I should say has no exact parallel elsewhere.

"If any proof is needed of the intimate and close importance of this affinity, it can be seen in the remarkable reaction and response which the people of the three Borneo Territories have shown in the concept of Malaysia.

"I have made it clear from the beginning, and I have repeated frequently, that the Federation of Malaya has no ambitions for mastery and will not do anything which is contrary to the basic desires of the peoples of these Territories.

"We have not set out to start a great propaganda band-wagon rolling to win over the peoples of the Borneo Territories to the concept of Malaysia. The peoples of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah have sparked off and demonstrated their own deep interest in the ideal.

"For example, when we asked them to come over to the Federation, look around for themselves and form their own judgments they came without hesitation and in large numbers from all sections of the community and from towns and villages. While they are here they show much enthusiasm about what they see in the new Malaya and they ask innumerable questions about many things.

"From what I have seen I am surprised that they have not been given a greater part in the management of the affairs of their country, because they have displayed great knowledge of the affairs of government and keenness, far-sightedness and political acumen.

"I can guarantee that within a year of the birth of Malaysia they will show a great change in themselves and will be no different from any of us here. They can contribute a tremendous amount to the well-being and prosperity of Malaysia.

"Within the past few months no less than 12 delegations from the three Territories,

numbering 103 persons, have come to Malaya. Even as I speak there are three delegations from the Borneo Territories, including one from Brunei, touring the Federation. Some more are on the way here.

"While these representatives of the peoples of the Borneo Territories are learning about us, about our progress, about our affairs, we too in Malaya are, learning a great deal from them.

"It is my hope that as soon as opportunity arises it will be possible for more delegations from Malaya to visit the Borneo Territories in the same exploratory way. In fact, a delegation from the Socialist Front will be visiting those territories soon on our study tour vote.

Malaysia Committee

"One extremely important factor in furthering the concept of Malaysia has been initiated by a meeting of members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association recently called in Jesselton, which has resulted in the formation of the Malaysia Consultative Solidarity Committee.

"This was initiated and achieved by the leaders of the Borneo Territories themselves. What better proof could there be of the inherent accord which the concept of Malaysia produces in the Federation, Singapore and the Borneo Territories?

"This historic committee is shortly setting about the task of determining the future constitutional relationship between Borneo and the Federation of Malaya in the Federation of Malaysia. I have no doubt of the successful outcome of its deliberations.

"We who believe in the concept of Malaysia do so because we have faith in ourselves and in our future, we have confidence that by co-operation and goodwill, we can work together to build a better and brighter future for all our peoples, by creating a partnership for unity and security in one common nationhood.

"I do not say that the path which lies ahead of the Borneo Territories in relation to the Malaysia concept has no difficulties; no-one knows this better than the peoples of these areas themselves.

"But what I do say is this - difficulties can be overcome by co-operation and goodwill of all those who desire the political and social upliftment of peoples of this region.

"How can this be done? The ideal of

Malaysia is, I think, the only answer. There are some, however, who think that they should wait until the three Territories have formed a Federation of their own and then join the partnership of Malaysia.

"But to that I say, how long will this take? Years, I am afraid. We cannot afford to wait so long without providing the Communists with the weapons they need for subversion, infiltration and disruption with the ultimate objective of capturing these Territories.

"Time is not on our side. The important aspect of the Malaysia ideal, as I see it, is that it will enable the Borneo Territories to transform their present colonial status to self-government for themselves and absolute independence in Malaysia simultaneously, and baulk the Communist attempt to capture these Territories.

'To say that Borneo people are not ready

"To say that the people there are not ready is wrong. After all Penang and Malacca were British colonies a little while ago. When they joined the independent Federation of Malaya they became independent. If this can happen here, why not in Borneo?

"The fact that we in the Federation are independent now and the peoples of the Borneo Territories are not is relatively unimportant, because in the Federation of Malaysia we will all be independent together.

"After I had put forward the ideal of Malaysia in my speech last May, naturally there was intense interest and much speculation by peoples in the Borneo Territories. Not being so familiar with the new Malaya, there were misgivings of various kinds expressed in some quarters.

"In the months that followed most of these misgivings have resolved themselves, but I think it would be as well to mention them now, as they indicate certain ways of thinking and feeling.

"One reaction was that the Malaysia concept was an attempt to colonise the Borneo Territories. The answer to this was that it is legally impossible for the Federation to have colonies as our Constitution provides only for the accession of States.

"Another fear was that Malaysia would mean the imposition of Islam. They know now that all religions are freely practised in

Malaya, and this freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution.

"There were also some who felt that Malaysia would mean the imposition of one language only. The fact is, of course, that no person in Malaya is prevented from learning or teaching other languages, and the official languages are Malay and English.

"Others felt that they were not yet ready for independence and might be at a disadvantage. I have already answered this today.

"The question was asked, would not Malaysia mean that the Government Services in the Borneo Territories would be Malayanised? The position of course, is that Public Service Commissions exist in the Federation and in each State, and each State has the right to employ officers for its own Civil Service. The Federation Government can only appoint applicants to Federal posts.

"As a matter of fact, State Service Officers are sometimes seconded to the Federal Government Service, because we have a need for the able services of particular men or women.

"One strong feeling in the Borneo Territories was that they must be consulted. I feel that they have the right to be consulted on the future of their people and the future of their country. I have said on more than one occasion that Malaya can only accept Borneo people 'from an expression of their own free will to join us.'

Borneo Federation first?

"Another attitude taken was that the Borneo Territories should first come together in a federation of their own before thinking of Malaysia. The answer to this is that this procedure would only double the process and take more years to achieve, and in the end the result would be the same. I was happy to read recently that the Borneo leaders now are proposing self-government and independence in Malaysia simultaneously.

"Some said that with 11 Malay States and only three Borneo States, the Borneo area would be swamped. My reply is that this is a wrong assumption to make, as the members of our House of Representatives in the Federation do not represent States.

"They represent the people and parties. Moreover in our future constitutional arrangements the Borneo people can have a

big say in matters on which they feel very strongly matters such as immigration customs, Borneanisation, and control of their State franchise rights.

"Finally, there was a misgiving that the territories in Borneo might lose their autonomy. As members of this House are aware, each State of the Federation has powers and control of certain subjects in which the Federation cannot interfere, for instance, land or local custom and religion. In addition, there are certain subjects of authority which are exercised through joint operation and the States."

Earlier in his speech the Federation Prime Minister spoke about his country's stand against communism.

He said that after his meeting with Chin Peng (the Malayan Communist leader) at Baling in December, 1955, he had become convinced that Communists and true Malaysians could never co-exist.

He added: "In all my experience, I have never found any reason to doubt the validity of this conviction.

"Take another instance. In Sarawak recently statements were made by a member of the United People's Party that the party did not want merger with Malaysia, because this would make Sarawak a colony of Malaya, and it was better to get independence separately first.

"This is the line of the pro-Communist elements in the Federation — Singapore and in Borneo, and it is obvious that the pro-Communist faction got someone unwittingly to put over the Communist line.

"In actual fact everyone must know that under the concept of Malaysia, there can be no colonies, that in fact there will be no Federation of Malaya, because in its place there will only be independent Malaysia, in which all the States would have equal status and such reserved State powers as will be agreed by all the States concerned.

'Object of our loyalty'

"Malaysia will be the ultimate object of our loyalty. The opinion given by this member of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party is certainly not the opinion of Mr Ong Kee Hui, who is the president of the party, and who has declared himself in favour of Malaysia.

"Opposition by such people to the concept of Malaysia arises not from any fear or sus-

picion which they openly express, but from fear that the Communists would have no more grounds for inciting discontent or creating trouble as they have tried it here unsuccessfully.

"You see therefore that the pattern is the same; the Communists will work in every way they can to oppose a merger and the concept of Malaysia."

In supporting the motion, the Federation Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin, gave the assurance that as far as "housekeeping policy" after merger was concerned his Government would apply the same broad principle to the three Borneo Territories as it would to Singapore.

He said that the Federation Government had no intention of interfering with Singapore's housekeeping policy but must have an effective say to cope with any policy taken by a state which would affect the economic stability of the whole country.

SUPP CALL FOR SPEEDIER CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE

Constitutional changes should be speeded up if Sarawak was to be in a position to negotiate its entry into Malaysia, urged Mr Ong Kee Hui, one of Sarawak's foremost political leaders, in a newspaper interview this week.

Mr Ong also pointed out that Malaysia would be acceptable only if there were adequate safeguards guaranteed and if the country was granted self-government and independence prior to negotiations for a merger.

He felt that the transfer of political power by Britain could be done gradually and he advocated that there should be an interim period in which a responsible, representative ministerial form of government could function to ensure the stability of such a transfer.

This could take place immediately after the 1963 elections said Mr Ong, who is President of the Kuching Municipal Council, a member of both Council Negri and the Supreme Council and chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party.

Asked if the people were ready to accept such a responsibility, he said: "There is no question of whether we are ready or not. We must be ready because there is no choice. The pace is moving forward rapidly and it is in this form of interim government that we can get independence first before merger."

The people are generally in favour of Malaysia but the difference of opinion lay in what form merger should take.

The Borneo people would want their aspirations safeguarded and to ensure that the less advanced community was not swamped by the more advanced.

Elaborating on this, Mr Ong said that there should be local control over the country's affairs particularly in migration, education and land policy. Borneanisation of the civil service should be continued and the citizenship laws could be based on terms Singapore was asking for now.

Finally, added Mr Ong, Sarawak should have its own status, "as an equal partner with equal rightful voice to shape the policy of the future, with adequate representation in any federal set-up."

He then said that from what he had

gathered in informal talks with Colonial Office officials in London, there was no question of Britain's favourable attitude towards the principle of merger. Furthermore Britain would place no obstacles towards merger provided the peoples were themselves willing.

As to remarks made by Prime Minister of Singapore Mr Lee Kuan Yew, that the communists had already penetrated the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, Mr Ong said that his Party was not a communist organisation and that there was no place in it for any member of a clandestine communist organisation.

He added: "We are a legitimate political party and we have no place for people who choose to conduct activities outside the law. If the Party has any evidence of any member involved in such activities it would have no hesitation in taking firm and proper action."

MALAYSIA TALKS IN KUCHING PARLIAMENTARIANS CONFIRM SUPPORT 'GREAT STRIDE MADE'

18, 19, 20 December 1961

Parliamentarians from Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, who met to discuss the Malaysia concept at the second meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee held in Kuching as from 18, 19, 20 of December 1961, reiterated their acceptance and support of it.

However, North Borneo and Sarawak delegates felt that more clarification on details were required "before the people could be prepared for political advance by coming together in the Federation of Malaysia."

The meeting itself was characterised by the Sarawak and North Borneo delegates raising many questions on the implications of Malaysia as they would affect the two territories.

The points raised resulted in a decision to continue the discussions in Kuala Lumpur early in January in order to enable the Malayan delegation to be in a better position to answer them.

The final communique issued at the end of the meeting, held from Monday to Wednesday under the chairmanship of Mr Donald Stephens of North Borneo, disclosed that Religious Freedom; Representation in the

Federal Parliament; Civil Service staffing; Migration; the National Language; Economic Development; and Finance, were some of the main points raised and discussed.

In summing up the results of the Kuching meeting, the leader of the Malayan delegation, Dato Ong Yoke Lin, said: "It has been a most useful meeting, and we have been able to clear up a great deal of the fears and misunderstandings, and other points, through a free and frank exchange of views. I think I can really say that we have made a great stride towards the realisation of Malaysia."

The Committee held two plenary and three committees sessions. At the first committee session, the delegates reported on the progress made by them in their respective territories with regard to explaining and furthering the concept of Malaysia among the people.

During the second and third committee sessions they discussed the papers presented by the North Borneo, Sarawak and Malayan delegations dealing with the constitutional and political problems relating to the Malaysia concept, and the economic basis of Malaysia. The Malayan delegation presented

a booklet in question and answer form on the issues involved in the concept of Malaysia.

According to the final communique issued "the North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak delegates were agreed that external affairs, defence and internal security should be vested in the Central Government. They all supported the objective of an effective Central Government as vital to sustain Malaysia.

"The delegates from the Borneo territories put a number of questions to the Federation of Malaya delegation with a view to getting clarification on the shape and content of Malaysia."

It added: "Free and frank discussions took place on the salient points relating to the constitutional, political and economic aspects of Malaysia. Many of the doubts and misgivings in the minds of the delegates from the Borneo territories were cleared as a result."

On the discussions of Religious Freedom, the communique stated: "A number of Borneo delegates asked whether the acceptance of Islam as the official religion of the Federation of Malaya would affect the religious freedom of other communities in Malaysia.

"It was explained to them that although Islam was the religion of the Federation, every person and all communities have the right to profess and practise any religion under the Federation of Malaya constitution.

"This right would be enshrined in the constitution of the Federation of Malaysia. The North Borneo and Sarawak delegates expressed satisfaction at the clarification that all religious orders and religious freedom would remain as at present."

Representation in Central legislature

Referring to the discussions on Representation in the Federal Parliament, the communique said: "Some of the Borneo delegates expressed anxiety that there might not be adequate representation for them in the central legislature, because of their sparse population.

"They were assured by the Federation delegation that the universal practice in all democratic countries is to give weightage of representation to less densely populated

areas. This principle would apply to the Borneo territories which are all rural.

Others raised were: **Migration** — "The delegates from North Borneo and Sarawak expressed fear of their people of unimpeded migration from other states of Malaysia.

"The Federation of Malaya delegation pointed out that the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, has already expressed his understanding and sympathy of the natural desire of the people of the Borneo territories not to have their territories, which are sparsely populated, flooded with migrants from the other States of Malaysia.

"The Federation delegation also stated that the constitutional provisions whereby such control can be affected by the State Governments of each of the Borneo Territories can be devised by constitutional experts."

Civil Service — "It was agreed that all State civil service appointments would be under the control of the State Governments.

"The meeting endorsed that the progressive Borneanisation of the public services and that in all Federal service appointments made to the Borneo territories, the people of Borneo territories would be given priority.

"The delegates also stressed that all present serving officers would continue until there were suitable local officers to fill their posts.

"Importance was also given to the training of indigenous people to equip them to hold professional and executive posts in administration and commerce.

"Attention was drawn to the special provision in the Federation of Malaya constitution relating to Malays. There should be similar provisions to cover the indigenous peoples of the Borneo territories.

"These provisions related to matters such as scholarships, training and civil service posts. At the same time, all present legitimate interests of the other communities would also be safeguarded."

National Language — "All nations have a national language. Whether a component state has its own indigenous or other language media of education is a matter which can be resolved by the State and Central Government."

Economic Development — "The Federation of Malaya delegation assured the three Borneo territories that the rate of economic

and capital development would be much more than their present development with the aid of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

"As in the Federation of Malaya today, the individual states in Malaysia would have their own state development committees and state officers who will plan and execute development projects in the states, with the aid of funds, technical advice and equipment, backed by the experience of the Central Government's organisation and personnel."

Finance — "Delegates discussed and agreed that financial and fiscal policies of Malaysia are matters to be resolved by a working party at Government level after it has been determined what powers would be retained by the Borneo territories."

The communique finally stated that it was decided to continue the discussions in Kuala Lumpur on January 6. (It is expected that this meeting will last three days).

Opening the meeting on Monday, the Chairman, Mr Donald Stephens welcomed the delegates saying: "Whatever our views, Malaysia has come to us with a big bang."

He added that it was well that they should all get together "to talk it over calmly and soberly" and he hoped, "with a very large store of goodwill and understanding."

Reminding the delegates that the question of Malaysia had been given extensive coverage in all the newspapers of the five territories — "some good and constructive, others purely destructive and negative" — Mr Stephens said that 'Malaysia' had been on the lips of those living even in the remotest ulu.

Remarking that because of recent events connected with Malaysia they should be better able to discuss the concept in greater detail, and thus give the people more details, Mr Stephens said: "I know that the broad principles of Malaysia are known and generally accepted, but it is the details which are still worrying many of our people, and we should take it upon ourselves to inform the people regarding these details."

Mr Stephens added that he had done his best to make known among his people what Malaysia would entail, but as a result of his travels and talks in his country, he had been forced to the conclusion there were still many who did not know about the proposal to be able to make up their minds freely to accept it.

He added: "I do not say this in a defeatist

sense because I am convinced that given the facts and knowing that the safeguards they want can be attained, they will all gladly see their country become a partner in Malaysia."

'Snags in plenty but

Continued Mr Stephens: "While the difficulty of course is that many of the leaders of the three territories themselves do not as yet really know in what final form Malaysia is to be, we know that if each of the Borneo territories were to join Malaysia as a State based on the present constitution of the Federation of Malaya certain snags are very apparent, some more difficult than others but snags there appear to be in plenty.

"I myself am not afraid of these snags because I feel that with goodwill and understanding a genuine desire to untangle them there is no snag which we cannot overcome.

"I also feel that the sooner we put these snags before our people and tell the people how we intend to overcome them the sooner will we be able to disperse the feelings of fear and misgivings which unfortunately do still exist among many of our people — fears and misgivings which have only arisen because of insufficient knowledge of the change which they see coming and coming, according to many, too soon for their liking."

Mr Stephens then pointed out that people were always afraid of change because they feared it might be for the worse and not better.

It was therefore necessary that "we should try to prove to our people that the change would in fact, be for the better not only for the present but also for the future."

He thought that the Committee had a great part to play in clearing up "the cloud of uncertainty" in the minds of the people and felt that the time for "hush-hush papers marked 'confidential' and 'secret' as far as the Committee concerned should be over — "the time has come for us to get down to brass tacks and tell the people what we are discussing and have discussed."

He added: "The British Government and the Government of the Federation have agreed that Malaysia is a desirable object. I think all of us in the Conference agree with this definition: that Malaysia is indeed a desirable object.

"I know for certain however that many of us have different views regarding the manner

in which we are to achieve this object. I think, if we are to get anywhere at all, we must also consider it the duty of this Committee to try to channel the views of all concerned in such a way that a concerted effort may be made towards the achievement of this desirable object."

'Problems can be solved'

Referring to the paper on "The Political and Constitutional Problems relating to Malaysia" prepared by the North Borneo delegation, Mr Stephens said it brought out much, if not all, the worrying snags about which he had already mentioned.

"It certainly is not meant to be cold water thrown at the Tengku's proposal for Malaysia but is meant to clear up the misunderstanding and misgivings in the minds of our people and to get to grips.

"I am quite sure we shall be able to find solutions to the problems which are raised in this paper and what we must do is to tell the people frankly about these problems and how we intend to solve them," he added.

Turning to the Commission which is coming out to the Borneo Territories to ascertain the views of the people on Malaysia and to make recommendations, Mr Stephens remarked on the intention to have the Commission sitting in North Borneo sometime in January and said: "Glad as I am to see the Commission sitting in North Borneo I would be failing in my duty if I did not inform this meeting that the majority of my people feel that we should be given a little more time to sort out our thoughts regarding Malaysia to get together and put on paper what we feel necessary so as to be in a position to make a useful contribution in the work of the Commission by putting these facts before the Commission.

"I think we would be much happier if we are given say till March or April before we have the Commission sitting in North Borneo."

The leader of the Sarawak delegation, Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, said in his address: "Our people are still full of doubts and questionings about this often talked-of merger. The only thing which we know so far about the Malaysia Plan is from the pronouncements of the Prime Minister of Malaysia and the Prime Minister of Singapore, in their speeches in their respective House of Parliament and from

the debates in their Houses of Parliament.

"Far from being reassuring, what transpired in those debates seems to have caused greater confusion in the minds of our people here. For we have come to hear of such terms as merger, semi-merger, genuine merger and even phoney merger.

"Our people can appreciate the concern of Britain on the future of the bases in Singapore, when the subject of Malaysia was discussed. Our people can understand Malaya's wish not to have Singapore in the merger unless the three Borneo Territories come in at the same time. And we also can understand, perhaps not fully, the Singapore Prime Minister's warning of invasions and communism, visible and invisible.

"But my people can be excused for their wanting to know what concerns them most — the advantages or even sacrifices for our Sarawak to join in this Malaysia set-up, and what kind of a set-up that best suited our needs.

"Our people are still waiting for the booklet which we have long promised them to issue, setting out all the details of the Plan. It is to be hoped that out of our deliberations in this conference we may be able to recommend some concrete views on Malaysia for the information of our people so that when the Commission comes, our people will be in the position to make their decisions sensibly."

'Bright new moon' — Dato Ong

The leader of the Malayan delegation, Dato Ong Yoke Lin, then rose to speak and said the meeting gave an opportunity for a free and frank exchange of views "on this vital question of the creation of a new nation, which has been aptly described as a bright, 'new moon' in this region."

He added: "We, the people of independent Malaya, with genuine and sincere feelings of goodwill and a sense of oneness, are ready and willing to share our future destiny our achievement of Merdeka, our stability and our many fields of national progress with our own brothers and sisters in the larger nation of Malaysia."

Dato Ong then said it was a source of gratification to all to see that a great deal had happened and great progress has been made since the Jesselton meeting.

Tremendous and widespread interest had

been generated, and there had been a greater understanding and appreciation among the peoples of this region of the urgent need to bring about the realisation of Malaysia.

After referring to the results of the recent London talks between Malayan and British Prime Ministers, he said: "Our present meeting is held at a momentous time: I say this because very shortly the Joint Commission will be set up and will be arriving here to ascertain your views.

"As far as my delegation is concerned, we are here to listen to your views and to discuss any points that you may wish to raise because we sincerely believe that the realisation of Malaysia can only be a workable proposition if the peoples of these territories desire whole-heartedly and freely to come into it.

"Our choice is whether we should come together and further sustain and strengthen each other, maintain our economic interests, and the stability of our currency.

"We can all march forward together 'as equals holding high our heads as free peoples and in unity we shall preserve our freedom, and work out our own future, which will no doubt be as happy and prosperous as that which we are now enjoying in the Federation of Malaya.

"With faith and self-confidence, the sense of common loyalty and unity we must accept the challenge of the time."

Recalling Malaya's struggle for independence through peaceful constitutional means, Dato Ong said there were then 'some who lacked faith and confidence in themselves and were plagued with doubts and misgivings.

'Doubts and fears proved groundless'

He added: "Within a short time after Merdeka, all these doubts and fears were proved to have been groundless and my country now has been looked upon as a model nation in which peace and harmony, freedom of speech and religion, democracy, justice and human rights prevail. In the highest world forums Malaya has been championing the cause of freedom and human rights.

"In a world in which exists a real threat to democracy and nationhood from the Communists, the smaller nations standing along will constantly face the threat of Communist

domination and enslavement. The battle is being waged by the communists and the tactics of Communist warfare are many and varied, stretching from subversion to actual armed conflict.

"What then are the lines of action open to the smaller nations? They could succumb, one after another, lose their national identity and become satellites or they could unite in groups and resist the onslaught by concerted action.

"Random unions based on few or no common factors are doomed to failure and will provide, through the ensuing chaos attendant upon dissolution, an opportunity for the enemy of democracy to make inroads and finally capture the whole position.

"However, an association that can claim for its members a common cultural heritage, links forged in history, common economic factors, common threats to their security and consequently the need for similar defence thinking and administration and judicial service produced out of the same mould and for decades a common currency - such an association could hardly fail.

"The Federation of Malaya, the States of Singapore and Brunei and the territories of Sarawak and British North Borneo are fortunate enough to enjoy these common factors, factors which are self-evident and have in any case been explained in greater detail before and elsewhere.

"It would therefore seem logical for territories and states such as these to merge and meet their common problems together.

"There have been invaluable lessons to be learned in the fight against attempts by international communism to capture and enslave small countries especially those under colonial rule. The unfortunate attitude of giving 'too little and too late' had caused untold and avoidable suffering and chaos in many former colonial territories.

"Communist imperialism always takes advantage of situations in territories under colonial rule, no matter how benevolent the colonial power may try to be.

'Colonialism — best fertiliser for Red imperialism'

"Colonialism is the best fertiliser for Communist imperialism, and subject nations are the best nurseries for the expansion of this pernicious growth. But on the other hand, in

independent nations with freedom, democracy and justice, Communism will not be able to take root."

Recounting the fact that Malaya was fortunate enough "that the British in their wisdom managed to avoid this catastrophe and agreed to grant us independence before it was too late," Dato Ong said that relationship between Malaya and Britain under the news status had greatly improved, and there was no sense of sourness towards the British.

He added: "With independence, we are ushering a new sense of pride and patriotism, and Merdeka has released in us a 'Semangat Bahru', and has provided for us a sense of determination to work ever harder to lay the foundations of lasting peace and prosperity for our people.

"As a sovereign people we are in a better position to face communist threats. What the British failed to do in nine years to defeat the armed uprising of the communists, we are independent and free people succeeded in less than three years after Merdeka.

"The Federation can claim to be the only country which has succeeded in completely defeating the communists within its boundaries and kept the country undivided. We are of course constantly vigilant and alive to the dangers of Communist expansion through subversion. As far as we are concerned, we are certain that everything is under control."

Turning to what he described as the "obvious economic benefits to be derived from this wider association" Dato Ong said that the geographical situations of the Malaysian territories coupled with their historical, cultural and existing economic ties provided a rational and advantageous association.

Remarking on the trend towards larger groupings, the formation of the European Common Market and the economic benefits it brought to its members, Mr Ong asked: "Why then should be in this part of the world stagnate in this respect while most others forge ahead?"

Dato Ong went on: "In the Malaysian territories, a great deal of trade is inter-territorial and at present customs formalities and duties abound. But with Malaysia, this will cease to be a problem and we can then all concentrate our efforts to obtain markets abroad without any longer having to worry about 'internal' competition.

"Again, a larger economic entity can

always expect to produce goods more cheaply because of the larger home market, and large concerns would consequently be happier to invest where their returns are likely to be surer and better.

'Prosperity in abundance'

"In the international finance field, the chances of obtaining loans are better if you are large and in local industry, we shall be able to learn from one another's experience without having to learn the hard way from our own mistakes.

"Our limited expert skill will not be frittered away through wasteful application on minor projects but will be so applied as to obtain the maximum benefits from them.

"There can be no doubt therefore that from the economic point of view alone, Malaysia will bring prosperity in abundance for all the peoples in these territories to shape and enjoy."

Dato Ong finally said: "Time and tide wait for no man": Time is certainly not on our side; the common ties of generations between our peoples must not be allowed to slip.

"Disintegration and chaos must not be given an opportunity to take root. Communist dominations must be forestalled.

"Let us therefore, come together and forge a united, independent and sovereign Malaysia and open a new and glorious chapter in the history of our peoples and our lands so that our children and their children after them may say of us — 'they have done wisely and well.'"

Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, spoke next and after briefly tracing the progress made towards Malaysia since the Jesselton meeting said: "This rapid development of events within the course of four months is the result of a complex of internal and international forces thrusting us in the direction of Malaysia.

"Each of us has his own ideas of the form and content Malaysia should take for our respective component parts, but all of us acknowledged that the only logical course is to come together for our stability and survival, in the midst of the shifting balance of forces in South East Asia.

"So long as we accept the necessity and inevitability of Malaysia, the differences of view we may have as to the form and content of Malaysia can be resolved."

"We all recognise that before a period of rapid and far-reaching changes, there must be some hesitations, doubts and anxieties. These are the natural reactions to swift changes.

"It is right and all to the good that all of us should speak our minds freely and frankly, for only by understanding each other can we help to resolve our mutual problems.

"What is wrong is to allow anxieties for local interest and ambitions to become excuses for resisting changes which are inevitable, or to stall solutions which in the long run are to the benefit of all of us."

'The nationalist answer'

Mr Lee continued: "Having enunciated the principle of Malaysia we should now find ways and means of expediting the realisation of Malaysia. The pattern of Malaysia cannot be dictated by any one of the five partners to the exclusion of the others. It cannot be fashioned to fit the exclusive interests of any one partner.

"We must all uphold the essential interests of Malaysia, the basis and fundamental interests of all of us collectively, whilst at the same time we must take into account the special local interests and conditions of our respective territories.

"Malaysia is our creation. It is our own nationalist answer to our problems of viability and survival in one of the most contested four regions of the world."

Mr Lee then said he was happy that the leader of the Sarawak delegation had made "a frank and pointed reference to the confusion felt by the people of Sarawak after the debates on Malaysia in the legislative chambers of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore".

He added: "This conference will give us an opportunity to explain and clarify what has transpired, and to show which portions of the debates that caused confusion were motivated by the internal political party conflicts and internal political party interests of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya and what parts were sincere expressions of anxiety over the sufficiency of the constitutional protection for local interests.

"I hope that all of us will state the specific local interests which need to be protected and

reserved. So long as the reservation of these local interests do not retard the development of a strong, stable and prosperous Malaysia, we must make accommodation for each other's problems.

"Each of us must discharge the burden of allaying the doubts that sections of our people in the respective territories have over their future position in Malaysia and the protection of their vital interests after Malaysia.

"The problem is made more difficult when sectional interests are based not just on political and economic differences but also on racial, religious, cultural and linguistic differences.

"But the test of leadership lies not merely in echoing fears and doubts, especially when these fears and doubts, however real, are capable of solution and be rendered irrational and unfounded.

'Give lead to public thinking'

"As leaders of our various communities, we recognise the existence of these anxieties, but we have to give the lead to exorcising them. We cannot afford to passively let things drift. We have to give the lead to public thinking.

"After having drawn attention to the interests of our communities that require special protection, we must formulate solutions which will safeguard these interests and advance the common good. It is up to us to transmit to our people our faith in our future together in a Federation of Malaysia."

Directly after Mr Lee had sat down, Mr S.T. Bani, a Singapore delegate and member of the Barisan Socialis (a party which opposes the People's Action Party) attempted to make a speech contesting the Prime Minister's right to speak on behalf of the people of Singapore.

He was quickly ruled out of order by the Chairman.

Speaking on behalf of Brunei, which sent five observers, Dato Setia Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed Daud, stressed the importance of the Malaysia Plan and hoped that the meeting would promote constructive opinion.

He added: "We hope that as soon as the darkness of doubts have been uplifted we can then see with all clarity the aims of the proposed Greater Malaysia which have all this time been regarded as a vague problem. After this we will be able to study and to decide

which direction we are going to."

At the first day's meeting, the Chairman, Mr Donald Stephens, said at the outset that the conference was for those who agreed on the principle of Malaysia and that the delegates were gathered together to discuss the details, form and the content.

He referred to the terms of reference of the Committee and stressed that the Committee was purely consultative in character because the final details could only be decided by the people. At the same time, it had to ensure that the impetus given to the concept of Malaysia was not slowed down.

The committee could build up popular enthusiasm for the play by giving greater substance to the concept and Mr Stephens, therefore, urged the delegates to offer constructive suggestions.

After the Federation and Singapore delegations made their reports on the developments relating to Malaysia in their respective territories, the North Borneo delegation said that events had developed fast since the last meeting and pointed out that the people of North Borneo still had some doubts on the conditions for Malaysia.

Sarawak's views

The Sarawak delegation pointed out that after the Jesselton meeting, a sub-committee of the Sarawak Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

This sub-committee, it stated, had sought the views of the people on the concept of Malaysia, but the general complaint from people was that details of the Malaysia plan were not known.

The delegation went on to state that some of the points over which the Sarawak people had doubts were cleared by the Federation of Malaya Prime Minister during the debate on Malaysia in the Federal Parliament but that there were still many points which needed to be cleared.

The Sarawak people, it added, held the view that a decision on Malaysia should be left entirely to them - some were for, some not enthusiastic, while some felt that a Federation of the Borneo Territories should precede the formation of Malaysia.

However, now that a Commission from Britain was coming to the Borneo territories, the sub-committee might temporarily

suspend its work.

The delegation also cautioned against haste because it might lead to opposition being hardened to the Malaysia plan adding that if the decision was right, people would applaud, but if the decision was wrong, then it would be sad.

Some of the Sarawak delegates suggested that the British and Federation of Malaya Governments should get together and furnish the Borneo territories with more information, so that they could better understand Malaysia. On the Communist threat, they said the Federation Government knew what it is talking about because it had had experience in the matter.

That was why the British and Federation Governments should get together and enlighten the people further so that Malaysia could be brought about and communist expansion in the region prevented.

One of the Sarawak delegates said Sarawak would be quite happy to leave external affairs and all matters connected with defence, including internal security, in the hands of the Central Government.

Another in stating that some people regarded Sarawak as backward, submitted that was true only in the development field and one of the things the Sarawak people wanted to know was whether, when Malaysia came into being, the Federation of Malaya would give financial assistance towards such development.

'Misgivings must not become obstacles' — Brunei

The Brunei delegation remarked that everybody was agreed in principle on Malaysia but all want more explanation. So far as the misgivings of the Borneo territories were concerned, those had been aired fully in the press.

However, the Brunei delegation stressed that misgivings must not become obstacles to the formation of Malaysia, because they could be resolved by conditions on reservations for entry of the territories into Malaysia. What was needed were clear expressions of where the doubts and fears were, and equally clear explanations given on them.

The territories must also make it clear what powers they wanted to retain and what they wanted to concede to the Central

Government. Brunei was quite happy about Malaysia because it would have equal status with the present states in the Federation.

Winding up the discussion, the Federation of Malaya delegation said it was natural for nations and true nationalist to seek freedom. At the same time, it was natural for people to be afraid of changes.

But from the economic and geographical points of view, he added, the association of all the territories (in the Malaysia plan) was equally natural.

The Malayan delegation then assured that the Borneo territories would enjoy equal status with the present 11 states of the Federation. The British Government had said that the aim of Malaysia was desirable and Britain appreciated that it was for the good of the territories concerned.

The Malayan delegation also emphasised that it did not consider the the Borneo territories as backward. If that was so, the Federation would not have asked them to join Malaysia and give them equal status, it added.

At the closing session, the leaders of the delegations made their closing remarks.

Dato Ong Yoke Lin of Malaya, thanked the Sarawak Branch of the Parliamentary Commonwealth Association "for its very warm and generous hospitality", the Sarawak Government, and others responsible for helping to make the meeting a success — an expression echoed by the other delegations.

Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said that the proceedings of the last two days had made most of the delegates from Singapore and the Federation of Malaya wonder who "originated this myth that the people of North Borneo and Sarawak are less sophisticated than the people of Singapore and Malaya."

He added: Many of us are veterans of quite a number of CPA conferences. We had expected to spend a leisurely two days in Kuching saying the nice things that are usually expected at CPA conferences and being shown the sights of Kuching.

'Much food for thought'

"But the pace which you from North Borneo, Mr Chairman and Mr Yeo as leader of the host delegation, have set in the last two days has given us so much food for thought that the Federation delegation asked for an

adjournment to consider its replies. All this is quite unprecedented.

"But the able support which North Borneo and Sarawak leaders have received from their fellow delegates — everyone of whom was a performer in his own right — and the eloquence of our friend from Brunei (Dato Setia Pengiran Yusof) who has filled us with poetry, have left us in no doubt that the future central Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia is going to be a lively chamber, not just for eloquence and oratory, but also for some hard hitting, longhouse talk of the sweetness of sugar cane, varying with its distance from the root, and of the uniform bitterness of beer."

Mr Lee said that many important items had been raised that it was only natural for the Malayan delegation to wish to answer some of the more intricate questions, for example, on finance, at the meeting in Kuala Lumpur.

"Here again", he added, "this is an indication of rapid, growing sophistication of the Sarawak and North Borneo delegations in suggesting that they take the next round in Kuala Lumpur. I think they appreciate the position of the Federation delegation in wishing to consult their colleagues at the highest level in order to give clear and authoritative replies on the queries raised."

Mr Lee went on: "We have got to know each other much better in the last two days. Once the exchange of greetings were over, we wasted no time in getting down to business. We now know clearly the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo. They, on their part, also know not only the views of the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, but also the views of the Opposition of Singapore and the opposition of the Government of Singapore."

He added that he was most happy to hear his fellow delegate from Singapore, Mr S.T. Bani, admit that delegates from Sarawak and North Borneo could well look after their own interests and represent their own peoples, adding: "This is all to the good. When he came to Kuching, he and some of his friends in Singapore believed that their paramount duty was to take up the defence of the rights of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo in the interests of non-Malaysia and non-merger.

"But when we go to Kuala Lumpur next year we shall be spared all these pious homilies about what should be and should not be done to and by the people of Sarawak and

North Borneo."

Dato Setia Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed Daud of Brunei said the reason for their presence his delegation was to study the outcome of the conference in order to obtain a clearer picture of the proposed Malaysia Plan.

'No concrete answers' — Brunei

He added: "From the speeches we have heard in this chamber during the last two days, we were able to note something of the attitude of each of the delegation.

"It seems that most of the delegations wish to have clearer explanations to bring back to their respective countries and to inform their people about the execution of the Malaysia Plan.

"As for the problems that have been put forward by the delegations from North Borneo and Sarawak, though explanations have been given by the delegation from the Federation of Malaya, we feel no concrete answers have been given.

"However, at the next conference which will be held in Kuala Lumpur, I believe that the Malayan Government will be able to give concrete answers that can be adhered to. After this, the delegations from North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei would be in a position to give their people a clearer picture of the Greater Malaysia Plan."

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe (Sarawak) said: "The hour for saying 'sayo nara' to our distinguished friends and neighbours draweth nigh. I say friends and neighbours because in this rather unfriendly world who could be our friends better than those in our neighbouring countries of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei and Sabah. I assure you that we in this country highly value this friendship.

"We had discussed and exchanged our views frankly on Malaysia and the various forms it might take. We had agreed that the ultimate decision has to come from our people, who will first be given sufficient time and more information to consider this Malaysia Plan.

"We are sure that our people will study and discuss the details which will enable them to make a wise decision for the good of all. If we have expressed our views to bluntly, we hope our guests will excuse us."

Mr Pang Tet Tshung of North Borneo, who spoke next, hoped that the Malayan dele-

gates did not think that his delegation had been unduly difficult.

He added that the Paper which North Borneo had prepared was to bring out the salient points and to provoke thought for discussion at the meeting.

He added: "We are grateful to the Malayan delegation for the answers it has given and we look forward to the answers it will give at a later date. We are sorry that paper was given at rather short notice. Malaya has invited us to send more questions. If we do have any more to ask, we will send them in good time.

"In the meantime we thank Malaya for its invitation to Kuala Lumpur, and I am sure that after that meeting we will be in a position to get a pamphlet out to give the public the fullest possible information about Malaysia."

'Friendly and stimulating' - chairman

Adjourning the meeting, the chairman, Mr Donald Stephens, said: "As far as I am concerned I have found the meeting friendly and stimulating. Many pertinent - and may be on occasions not very pertinent - questions were asked; many remarks made on the subject which is the reason for the existence of our Committee and for our presence here, Malaysia.

"It is my hope that the Malayan delegation will be able now to publish a small printed booklet containing the questions and answers which have been circulated to members and all the questions and answers also which have been asked or suggested at the second meeting of the Committee."

He went on: "As at the beginning of this meeting, I do not think it would be out of place for me to mention once again that the Committee is meant in a way to be a forum for those who believe in Malaysia to clear the Malaysian atmosphere of the cloud of misgivings and even suspicion which no doubt do exist.

"But it is vital if our Committee is to be what we call it, namely, a Solidarity Committee, that we must start of with faith and confidence in the Malaysia concept - if we try to see a sinister motive in every little thing connected with this concept; if even before mar-

riage as it were we think too much of possible divorce, I think we are starting on the wrong foot on our work.

"Fears and misgivings should not, I feel, be allowed to crystalise into distrust of a friend who, I am convinced is trying to bring about a partnership beneficial to all the partners."

"Delegates present at the meeting were:

Federation of Malaya: Dato Ong Yoke Lin, Minister for Health and Social Welfare; Inche Mohamed Ismail bin Yusoff, Assistant Minister for the Interior; Wan Sulaiman bin Wan Tam; Inche Aziz bin Ishak; and Mr Lee Siok Yew.

Singapore: Mr Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister; Inche Ahmad Ibrahim, Minister for Labour; Mr S. Rajaratnam, Minister for Culture; Dato Abdul Hamid bin Haji Jumat; and Mr S.T. Bani.

Brunei: Dato Setia Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed Daud; Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Mohamed Yusoff bin Pengiran Haji Abdul Rahim; Tuan Haji Jamil bin Pehin Udana Khatib Haji Awang Omar; Chegu Hashim bin Tahir; and Mr. George Newn Ah Foot.

North Borneo: Mr Donald Stephens (Chairman); Mr Pang Tet Tshung; Inche Fadzil bin Asmad; Mr G.S. Sundang; and Mr Lai Eng Kong.

Sarawak: Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe; Temenggong Jugah; Pengarah Montegrai; Mr Ong Kee Hui; Datu Abang Haji Openg; Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau; Mr James Wong; Mr Remigius Durin; and Mr Ling Beng Siew (Datu Bandar did not attend owing to illness).

'ENSURE SAFEGUARDS' - S'PORE ADVICE TO SARAWAK

THE Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said in a broadcast talk in Kuching on Tuesday that the Borneo Territories could ensure that when they join Malaysia their legitimate local interests would be protected and that they could have control over their own local destiny.

He said: "We in Singapore and Malaya have had the advantage of better and higher educational facilities. We have more local graduates and professional men. We have become more sophisticated and competitive.

"If there were no safeguards, you may perhaps find competition with the city people of Singapore and the Federation harder and

more exacting.

"But that is what we are here to talk about, to find out how your legitimate interests can be protected, how you can have control over your own local destiny in the Borneo Territories after merger in the Federation of Malaysia.

"There can be safeguards by your own reserve powers over Borneonisation of your side of the civil service."

Earlier in his talk Mr Lee said that the Borneo Territories in common with Singapore and the Federation had similar political features, the same administrative system, similar basic problems of building a united people from three main racial, cultural and linguistic groups, close economic ties, trading links, and the strength that they gathered from each other in sharing one currency.

Mr Lee then declared: "Singapore is no stranger to most of you. Many of you have friends or relatives who have been to school or university there. So I suggested then that as the British colonial power withdrew we should get together, for it is more likely that we shall survive well and prosperous in a united group than by going our lonely and separate ways."

He added: "A month ago, in a joint statement, the British and Malayan Governments said that they were convinced that the creation of a Federation of Malaysia which would embrace North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei was a desirable aim, and they have accordingly decided to set up a Commission to ascertain the views of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak and to make recommendations.

"They also said the views of the Sultan Brunei were being sought. Recently, the Sultan of Brunei in a speech to his Executive Council said that he welcomed and supported the proposal that Brunei should join the new Federation of Malaysia.

'Commission will study deliberations of MSCC'

"And so the second meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee which was formed by North Borneo and Sarawak delegates after the CPA conference in Singapore in July this year has acquired an importance which few could have foreseen, when the first meeting was held in Jesselton in September this year.

"The deliberations of this meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee will not doubt be closely studied by the Commission that will soon be set up.

Declaring that the speed of political development of the last few months "is a reflection of the speed with which ideas travel in our world of jets, rockets and sputniks" Mr Lee said: "The three territories of Sarawak, Brunie and North Borneo are the last of the colonial possessions in South East Asia.

"Of course, there is also West Irian, part of the old Dutch Empire which is now the Republic of Indonesia, and it is a toss up whether colonialism is ended first in West Irian or in the Borneo territories.

"You have read in the newspapers that today, December 19, President Soekarno will be giving orders to the Indonesian Armed Forces for the liberation of West Irian. Such is the changing pattern of national boundaries in Asia and Africa.

Mr Lee continued: "Colonialism is on its way out, and the sooner it is out the sooner we begin to grapple with our real problems of social change, of building a more just and equal society. The longer Colonialism goes on, the more will we accumulate these problems and the more intractable they will be, because in the process of the anti-colonial struggle, in the name of freedom, the Communists in Singapore and in Sarawak, and later no doubt in North Borneo, will expand and increase their strength.

"People everywhere in all colonial territories want freedom. It is easier for the communists to get the people to fight with them for freedom than to fight with them for communism. The communists are the only people who profit by having colonial territories malingering in a state of semi-independence.

"As Singapore, Sarawak and later North Borneo, and may be even Brunei, continues under colonial rule, so will the discontent grow, and in this discontent the organisations of the Communist Party will grow and thrive.

"Malaysia is simply the nationalist answer of cutting short the period of gestation from colonialism to independence in order to deny the Communists the use of the time spent in a protracted struggle to build up not our forces of democracy, but their forces of communism.

Example of Malaya

"The communists have seen what hap-

pened in the Federation of Malaya. Once independence was achieved in August, 1957, the Communists had to face a local nationalist elected government, and not a colonial government. Then their armed revolt collapsed and their organisation was broken up.

"From time to time as they expanded their front organisations and created discontent, a nationalist Federation Government punctured it. So the relentless process of struggle goes on; but now not for freedom, for independence has already been won, but for what we should do with the freedom that we have won for ourselves.

Describing constitution making as the art of making forms of government practicable by taking into consideration the practical realities of a given situation, Mr Lee said: "Those of you who have read our agreement between the Singapore and the Federation can see how we have been able to resolve our problems to our mutual satisfaction, fairly and reasonably.

"But at the end of it all, we have one mutual interest which overrides everything else, namely the need to survive together in a troubled and changing world, and to create prosperity and stability despite the rapid changes of our social order."

He went on: "As one who is a descendent of a Chinese immigrant and who firmly believes that the future of all our peoples in Malaysia depends upon our being united in one nation, I would like to see a fair balance of interests maintained between the indigenous people, the Dayaks, Dusuns, Muruts, the Malays and the immigrant Chinese and Indians.

"Naturally, I would be most unhappy to see any of the discrimination which is practised against the Chinese in almost every country in South East Asia except our five territories of Malaysia. And Malaysia offers us this hope of finding a just balance of interest between the descendants of the immigrant people and the indigenous people.

"If we remain fragmented, and in isolation, then surely survival will be a dangerous business. But if we come together to form a strong Federation of Malaysia with our record of reasonableness and tolerance between Dayaks, Dusuns, Muruts, Malays, Chinese, Indians and others, there is every reason for our multi-racial society, with stable and happy relationships between its many races, to sur-

vive and continue to prosper.

"If we had the time, perhaps Malaysia could take five or six years for formulation, re-formulation and final creation. But the second half of the 20th century is the age of rapid change and advance. Ideas and ideologies move with fantastic rapidity. We have to move as fast as events around us are moving. We have to ensure that we are not overtaken by events, and that our future is what we wish it to be."

MALAYSIA AND SARAWAK

THE British and Malayan Governments have agreed that the creation of a "Federation of Malaysia," embracing the eleven states of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunie is a desirable aim. The view of the British Government is that, if satisfactory terms of merger can be agreed, the plan offers the best chance of fulfilling its responsibility to guide the Borneo territories to self-government in conditions that will secure them against dangers from any quarter. A Commission will be visiting North Borneo and Sarawak in the near future to ascertain the views of the peoples of these two territories on this proposal and to make recommendations. It will be for the Commission, in the light of the evidence they receive, to work out a plan which they believe will be acceptable to the people of both territories.

2. The object of this publication is to explain in simple terms what "Malaysia" means and to assist the people of Sarawak in making up their minds what views they should present to the Commission when it comes. There has already been much discussion on this subject in the newspapers, and there have been very useful exchanges of views in the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, but there is general demand for a factual and objective exposition of Sarawak's place in the Federation of Malaysia.

3. The declared aim of the British Government is to grant independence to all colonial territories as soon as they are ready for it. Hitherto this has been thought of simply as independence for Sarawak standing by itself or, more recently, in association with North Borneo. Now an opportunity is provided for independence as part of a larger Malaysian unit. There are obvious advantages in this. In area Sarawak is not much smaller than the Federation of Malaya but its population is

In conclusion, Mr Lee said: "The days of the protecting British Raj are over. We, the peoples of Malaysia, must provide the leadership to solve our own problems before they become intractable, and this is what the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee is doing, to sort our own thoughts, to educate ourselves on each other's problems, and to inform our people where the road to peace, stability and prosperity lies."

under three quarters of a million compared with seven million in the Federation. It would find it very difficult and very expensive to stand alone as an independent territory. The peoples of Malaya and Borneo have cultural, economic and historical ties which make them fit naturally together as a group. This is universally recognised and at the recent Solidarity Consultative Committee of meeting in Kuching all the delegates supported the concept of Malaysia. What is more difficult is to decide in what way Sarawak can best fit into this concept.

4. The first thing to be clear about is that Sarawak is not merely being invited to join the present Federation of Malaya as one of the states equal in status with the other existing states of the Federation. The present eleven states of the Federation of Malaya will be merged in the Greater Federation of Malaysia and the Federation of Malaya as a political entity will cease to exist. This has already been partly achieved, to the extent that the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore have already agreed on the terms on which Singapore will join the larger Federation. The Prime Minister of Malaya has stated that in the "future constitutional arrangements the Borneo people can have a big say in matters in which they feel very strongly. However, when considering what these future constitutional arrangements should be it is reasonable to take the constitution of the present Federation of Malaya as a basis from which to start.

5. The present Federation of Malaya comprises eleven states each of which has its own state Constitution and government with certain powers reserved to it, the principal of which are control over local government, land, agriculture, forestry and state public-works. The federal government controls

external affairs, defence, internal security, civil and criminal law and the administration of justice, federal finance, trade, communications, education, health, labour, co-operatives and federal public works, to mention the most important. There is also a list of subjects on which both federal and state governments can legislate but the federal law prevails if it conflicts with any state law - the list includes social welfare, scholarships, town and country planning, protection of wild life, sanitation, drainage and irrigation. The residual power of legislation rests with the state i.e., the state retains the power to make laws with respect to any subject not specifically allocated to the federal government. Each state has its own ruler or governor or head of the state, and its own state public service.

6. This constitution provides for a strong central government where a great deal of power rests and which, in view of its wide responsibility, spends about three quarters of the total revenues. The first instinct of people in Sarawak will be to require a much greater measure of local self-government than is afforded to the states of the present Federation. This is a natural instinct but it should not be pressed too far. To the extent which Sarawak demands a greater say in its local affairs it will have a lesser say in federal affairs. This may not, in the long run, be in the best interests of Sarawak. We have been assured that representation in the federal legislature will not be based purely on population ratios but that account will also be taken of the extensive size and rural nature of the country. This means that Sarawak will have a larger voice in federal matters than its population strictly warrants. All matters which it reserves to itself will have to be looked after by itself. Federal matters will be the responsibility of the federation as a whole and will have the whole federal resources behind their handling.

7. It is generally agreed that a federal government must have control over external affairs, defence and internal security. Sarawak would thereby have, through the federation representation abroad, participation in the armed forces of the Federation (which would certainly contain Sarawak units), and the federal authority for the maintenance of law and order. What other federal powers would Sarawak like to keep as state powers? The Prime Minister of Malaya has

already agreed that migration to Sarawak from the other states of Malaysia is a matter on which the Sarawak Government can maintain control. The method by which this may be achieved can be devised by Constitutional experts. If it becomes necessary for the development of the economic potential of Sarawak to have more people from other parts of Malaysia this will be decided by the people of Sarawak themselves.

8. It would be an odd federation which did not have a common system of administration of justice. Justice is at present administered in Sarawak by a combined judiciary covering North Borneo and Brunei. The extension of this to a federal judiciary should present little difficulty.

9. "Communication" is a comprehensive word which covers the transportation of people and goods by land, air and water and the transportation of messages by similar channels. Postal, telegraphic and radio communications are natural federal subjects, so are air, road and water transportation as between states. Air, road and water transportation within Sarawak might well, however, be a matter in which both state and federal governments have functions and responsibilities. In other words it would be a joint subject.

10. Education is a subject which greatly exercises the people of Sarawak. It is also the largest single item in the budget of expenditure, and the item which is growing fastest. Education in Malaya is more advanced than in Sarawak but is developing on similar lines. The school leaving age there is 15 and this year free universal primary education will be introduced. It may be thought that the quickest way to achieve parity, and to accelerate educational advance in Sarawak would be to leave this as a federal subject with such reservations as local circumstances may require. This would not affect the present Government policy on the language of instruction in schools.

11. Health lends itself naturally to a division between state and federal administration, as is at present the case in the Federation of Malaya.

12. It would be desirable that labour legislation should be uniform. Generally speaking, Sarawak is less advanced in this sphere than Malaya and could therefore benefit much

from Federal experience.

13. The financial and economic aspects of the incorporation of Sarawak into a Federation of Malaysia are complex and will require expert examination beyond the scope of this paper. Just as North Borneo and Sarawak have recently found it advantageous to conclude a free trade area of Malaysia help to develop the economy by providing a bigger home market for local products. A unit of ten million people is obviously more viable economically than a unit of one million. Sarawak is short of capital. There has recently been very extensive capital investment in Malaya which would no doubt continue in Malaysia and from which Sarawak would benefit. At the recent Consultative Committee meeting the Malayan delegation has stated that the rate of economic and capital development of the Borneo territories as part of Malaysia would be faster than at present. Malaya has an intensive and rapid programme for rural development which, with adaptations, seems well suited to the needs of Sarawak. Development is a joint subject (i.e. shared by the Federation and the States) and each state has its own development board. With independence, grants from Britain under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act would cease. Britain has been ready to give financial assistance, when this has been shown to be necessary, to other Commonwealth territories after independence and there is no reason to suppose she would not be willing to consider the case of Sarawak in the same way. Aid under the Colombo Plan would continue to be forthcoming as at present. Aid from other sources, such as the International Bank of Development and Reconstruction would be directly available to the Federation of Malaysia as an independent territory.

It is important for the individual and for businessmen to remember also that the local and intertional standing of the currency of Sarawak (the Malayan dollar) rests on the combined strength and viability of all the territories which would make up the Greater Federation and would be secured by entering into a permanent association.

14. On the other hand there would be additional expenses. Sarawak would have to bear its share of the cost of federal representation abroad and of defence - it would have to do that anyway when independent, and it will be less as part of a larger unit than of a small one.

Taxation in some categories is higher in the present Federation of Malaya than in Sarawak. The probability is that as part of Malaysia national taxes as distinct from state and local taxes in Sarawak would have to go up. The Financial Secretary, in his recent budget speech, has said that this is inevitable even if Sarawak continues for the time being as a colony. Improved services and communications have to be paid for and the price of independence is invariably a bigger budget. 15. People have wondered whether the fact that Islam is the official religion of the Federation of Malaya would affect religious freedom in Sarawak as part of Malaysia. This has been clarified at the recent Consultative Committee meeting. Although Malaysia would have Islam as the official religion of the enlarge Federation there would be no hindrance placed on the practice of other religions. Complete freedom of religion would be guaranteed in the federal constitution. Sarawak has at present no established religion and it would not be required to accept Islam as its state religion.

16. The matter of a national language was also discussed in the Consultative Committee. Malay is the national language of the present Federation of Malaya and it is the lingua franca of this region. The constitution provides that for ten years from Merdeka Day and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, the English language may be used for official purposes. It has been explained that this period of ten years or longer relates only to the existing states of the Federation. A longer period could be applied to new states of the Federation of Malaysia if desired. The acceptance of Malay as the national language would not prevent the use, teaching or learning of any other language nor would it prejudice the right of any state of the Federation of Malaysia to preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages.

17. As part of Malaysia there would be two civil services functioning in Sarawak. The state service, over which Sarawak would have complete control, and the Federal Service. Control over the latter would naturally have to rest with the new Federal government but in all Federal service appointments made to the Borneo territories the people of Borneo would be given priority. There would also be opportunities for Borneo Federal officers to serve in other parts of Malaysia and in exter-

nal affairs posts overseas. Clearly it would be to no one's advantage that there should be any breakdown in services caused by staff dislocations, and present serving officers would carry on in their posts. The progress in Borneanisation of the local service would continue.

There are special provisions in the present Federation of Malaya's constitution relating to scholarships, training and civil service posts for Malays. There could be similar provisions applying to the indigenous peoples of Borneo. The services of overseas officers will still be needed and it will be necessary to devise arrangements whereby they will be encouraged to remain in their posts while the process of localization continues on the principles already established.

18. The question which the average kampong and longhouse dweller is most likely to ask is "How will I be affected if Sarawak joins Malaysia?" He will not notice any immediate change. When the Federation of Malaya was formed transitional arrangements will be necessary with the Borneo territories. In the long term he may expect to reap the benefits

of partnership in a vigorous, young community if independent peoples. If he finds the idea of Sarawak joining Malaysia still too novel he should stop to ask himself a second question, "What is the alternative?" Independence will come to Sarawak within a measurable period of years. This is promised and inevitable. The present state of world opinion suggests that the period will be shorter rather than longer than we anticipate. This opportunity to attain independence by joining Malaysia is unlikely to recur and Sarawak may be left with no other alternative than a perilous existence as a small, defenceless country in a large and predatory world.

19. This paper has endeavoured to set out the framework of a greater federation and to direct attention to the special interests Sarawak has in such matters as religion, land development, migration, education, language and the civil service and to indicate an approach to the solution of such problems with the intention of assisting the public to put to the Commission constructive proposals for an acceptable plan.

SARAWAK AND MALAYSIA: HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS



Mr Morrison

RURAL development is the key to making Sarawak a strong, stable and reliable partner in Malaysia, said Sarawak's Information Officer, Alistair Morrison, in a talk given at a symposium held at the University of Malaya in 1962.

Here is the full text of his talk:

What do the people of Sarawak hope to achieve through the creation of Malaysia and how they hope to benefit?

The establishment of Malaysia means great and radical changes in Sarawak thinking. After 100 years of Brooke paternalism and 17 years of Colonial Office rule, with the chaos of the war years sandwiched in between, a major change of course is now being planned.

Brooke rule brought order and the rule of law. From the point of view of social and racial development it was an enlightened period but marred by failure to develop education and to prepare Sarawak for its place in the modern world.

Colonial Office rule has been a period of intense trying to catch up, to establish an expanded and modernised Government service, to develop education and the economy and to establish the foundations of democratic life on a sound basis of Local Government.

When you compare the position today and that prevailing in 1946 you will see that a lot has been done, enough to withstand and sustain the impact of further essential change.

Desirability of change

The desirability of change is now generally accepted in Sarawak, and I would like to try and analyse some of the thoughts which people have. I want to indicate how they hope and expect to benefit from the creation of this new political unit and some of the practical problems and difficulties which are involved. The views expressed are entirely my own.

This may strike you as being a fairly tall order for an expatriate civil servant to attempt but from the view point of my job, we do learn something not only of expressed thoughts and ideas but also of those more amorphous ideas which certainly play an important part in people's thinking though not always clearly formulated.

I do not propose to attempt to analyse the opinions of two sections of the community whose views are calculated to obstruct the development of Malaysia. We do have our opposition to the whole idea.

We also have those who feel that Malaysia means a comfortable life, better jobs, more pay and less work.

But these do not reflect the view point of that large majority of Sarawak people who accept the idea of Malaysia as being a good one and who are prepared to put their backs into making it a success and who do not think of it as meaning all play and no work.

They certainly hope to benefit in a reasonable way from its creation though they are not always very clear as to just how this will be done.

They do not expect a golden age but they do expect a better one associated with the security of a larger and stronger family and full Borneanisation of the Public Service. I do not propose to enlarge on the two latter points which I think can be taken for granted.

First of all one can say quite definitely that people hope for greatly improved educational facilities and better chances for their children than they have had themselves.

Sarawak has had to overcome undeniably backwardness in education. The educational record of the Rajah's Government was such a weak one. The Government hardly interested itself at all in educational matters. The field was left open almost entirely to the Missions and to Chinese education agencies. The only Government schools were a limited number of primary schools for Malays.

This meant an extremely uneven educational picture. The education conscious Chinese were the most advanced in educational matters. Native education was very backward and particularly amongst the Dayaks and other interior peoples it was almost non-existent except for one or two areas.

I should perhaps explain that the word "Native" is a respectable one in Sarawak. It means a non-Chinese indigenous inhabitant and is freely used.

Education problems

It may seem a trifle odd to you but while in Sarawak the word Native is a perfectly respectable one and has never acquired any derogatory connotation, there are strong objections to the use of the word aborigine. It should never be used in respect of anyone in Sarawak.

To get back to education the present position is that after 16 years of effort, Sarawak is within sight of universal primary education and it is planned to provide 30 per cent of the primary school leavers with places in the secondary schools/

This may seem a modest programme but it has involved and will involve a very large effort and there are still many imperfections.

Not all children attend school regularly. School fees have been reduced but not all parents can afford to pay them even though a good number of free places and local scholarships are available.

It is difficult to get the best qualified school leavers to take up teaching as a profession. Many parents do not appreciate the importance of keeping their children in school. The result is that there is still a large preponderance of Chinese among those with secondary education.

This results in an unhealthy lack of balance which is felt all through the fields of higher education and senior Government and professional employment.

People want more schools, better schools and preferably free schools. Sarawak is a very young country. About 44 per cent of the population is aged 15 or under. There is a particular demand for rapid expansion of the secondary school system.

All this involves very large sums of money and great staffing difficulties. There is also the unusual dangerous tendency for a very large

proportion of secondary school leavers to be mainly interested in White Collar employment and to be reluctant to work in the countryside or on the land.

But undoubtedly what people hope for is universal free primary education, a greatly expanded secondary school system and much increased opportunities for study in universities and other institutions in order to qualify for professional and other forms of higher employment.

The main difficulty is simply that of finance. Waiving fees in all aided primary schools would at present cost about \$2¼ million per annum but completing the expansion of primary education to provide the 30,000 extra places needed and expanding secondary education to take 30 per cent of primary school leavers will cost something like \$25 million or more in capital expenditure by 1968 and further large increases in recurrent expenditure.

Education costs rising rapidly

Sarawak is already spending 18 per cent of recurrent expenditure on education. It has risen by roughly one thousand per cent in the last seven years and is still rising rapidly.

Furthermore the 30 per cent ratio satisfies no one in Sarawak and people will certainly hope for universal secondary education as you are so boldly undertaking in Malaya.

All these extra items and the provision of better terms of service to attract more well qualified boys and girls into the vitally important teaching profession will be vastly expensive. The extra finance is beyond the resources of Sarawak by itself.

Many people of Sarawak look forward to improved employment prospects in various forms of Government service as a result of Malaysia. This particularly applies to the defence services which should provide valuable employment openings for some of the communities which most stand in need.

Dayaks and other peoples of Sarawak make fine soldiers. They should have a valuable role to play in the defence of Malaysia and this can benefit very substantially the economy of the countryside. Undoubtedly Iban opinion hopes to see the establishment of Dayak battalions in Malaysia's army. Obviously this will be expensive but need and the interest exist.

Another form of development which peo-

ple want and want quickly are improved and expanded medical services. In Sarawak emphasis has been on the health side of medical work, preventing illness rather than curing it. And I think we can say we have done pretty well.

The Sarawak anti-malaria scheme is generally acknowledged to be the best of its kind in Asia and the disease which was formerly a serious source of depopulation in inland areas has now practically been eliminated. Yaws is now almost unknown and a good start has been made on tackling the problem of tuberculosis. Nearly all the main centres of settlement have been or will soon be provided with piped supplies of treated water.

But health work is not really what the public is most interested in. They want more doctors and better hospitals fine big impressive hospitals for the care of themselves and their families in the big towns and a qualified medical man and a cottage hospital in every district.

This is understandable but very expensive and difficult to staff. We have a fair number of local boys and girls training in medicine but by no means all of them are prepared to work as a District Medical Officer or even to join Government service.

Nevertheless educational and medical development is comparatively easy to undertake if you have the money. Skilled direction and efficient organisation are required but the problems and targets are clear.

Economic improvement schemes

Far more difficult and infinitely more expensive are schemes of economic improvement, particularly in the rather unusual circumstances of Sarawak. Given the money anyone can build a fine new hospital but even with money it is far more difficult to raise the standard of living of the Sarawak countryman.

Yet this is precisely what people in Sarawak most hope to obtain through the creation of Malaysia - rapid rural development and improved standards of living. And the work to be done and results achieved fairly painlessly and far more quickly than at present.

Rural development is the key to making Sarawak a strong, stable and reliable partner in Malaysia.

As you know Sarawak is a large country,

the same size as Malaya but with only one ninth of the population. People live spread out over a great expanse of country and still largely live the same economic life that their forefathers did.

Malay and Melanau fishermen still use old and outdated methods and unpowered fishing craft to gain a livelihood with this difference that there are more fishermen and fewer fish.

Dayaks and other people of the interior still live basically by a system of shifting cultivation though with the addition of some rubber cultivation. But the pressure on the land is greater, fish and game are scarcer, internal migration in the traditional manner is no longer possible.

Health and education have been substantially improved but in many cases the diet of country people is not satisfactory as it should be.

If standards of living are to be raised then farming methods must be fundamentally altered. Settled cultivation must take the place of the bush fallow system. If this is to be achieved not only must people better methods but there must be massive injections of the necessary capital.

In Sarawak there is a well organised but still fairly small Agricultural Extension service and this branch of Government aims to teach country people better methods with particular attention being paid to the role of women. At the same time we have research and planting schemes in operation.

The planting schemes cover rubber and coconuts but the subsidies are very low in comparison with those paid in Malaya and the target acreages are quite modest. At the same time attention is being paid to road communications but although the effort is a large one in terms of Sarawak's resources when you look at the planned road network on the map you will realise that it is in fact a very small one.

Post-war development record

Sarawak has no need to feel ashamed of its post-war development record but the plain fact of the matter is that needs are so great and problems so large that the resources so far devoted to development have not achieved any appreciable raising of rural standards of living except in the fields of health and education.

We have done little more than to establish

the framework in which development can proceed and to keep Sarawak's head above water.

The total planned post-war development expenditure up to the end of 1963 amounts to \$280 million of which \$50 million approximately has been provided by Britain. The rest has been found from Sarawak resources.

Expenditure has been steadily rising and \$147 million of the total will have been spent in the years 1959-1963. Estimated capital expenditure of all kinds this year amounts to \$54 million compared with recurrent expenditure of \$68½ million.

Sarawak has been lucky to extent that Government recurrent expenditure has tended to be on the low side while the Government machine is being built up and very substantial surplus balances have been accumulated from periodic commodity booms.

This money has been ploughed back into capital development and the totals at first sight are not unimpressive. But as I have already explained, we are not doing much more than keeping heads above water and the financial honeymoon is now over.

Sarawak is not bankrupt and we could carry on but our ability to continue to finance additional development even at the present rate will present difficulties. Recurrent expenditure has gone up, commodity prices have gone down. We have already borrowed \$25 million and there is a limit to the additional amounts we can afford to borrow and service from our foreseeable revenue.

At the same time very much greater resources must be devoted to capital development if the expected raising of standards of living is to be brought about quickly.

The existing planting schemes for rubber and coconuts must be extended and enlarged. There are very limited opportunities for planting other new crops although some oil palm planting may be possible. There must be further improvements in the communications pattern coupled with settlement and drainage schemes. Agricultural work of every kind and particularly Extension must be greatly expanded and there is a tremendous need for expanded rural credit.

Very roughly if standards of living are to be materially increased within the fairly near future, investment of the order of \$750 million over the next 10 years will be called for.

Some resources can be obtained by additional taxation in Sarawak where the level of taxation is lower than in Malaya. But at the same time the cost of living there is higher than in Malaya and basic amenities fewer. Some increases in taxation are almost certainly inevitable but they can only provide a very limited answer to the need for additional finance.

'Developed territories should aid those less prosperous...'

External aid will no doubt continue but it would be very unrealistic or optimistic to think that Britain with its huge commitments can afford to finance Malaysia on the scale required in Sarawak.

The blunt fact is that unless the more highly developed territories of Malaysia are prepared to dig into their pockets to help the less advanced and less prosperous members of the family, the promised improvement may not take place.

The figures which I have given may seem high to a Malayan audience, but it must be borne in mind that Malaya is already more highly developed.

There has over the years been greater development of what economic gobbledegoo terms infra-structure. Surveys, investigations and communications are all more highly developed in Malaya and people are more accustomed to the disciplines of planting and settlement schemes.

You may wonder whether there are any other natural resources which can be harnessed for Sarawak's development. I am afraid the outlook here is not promising.

Sarawak is and will remain primarily an agricultural country and its soils are exceptionally poor. Rubber is the stable crop. The standards of cultivation are generally low and we are perhaps even more dependent on a good rubber price than Malaya.

Pepper is a highly unstable commodity and sago is far from being a prosperous crop. Coconuts are only cultivated on a small scale and the possibilities of growing oil palms are restricted to very limited areas.

Agriculture must continue to be the main foundation of life in the country but it will not generate large sums of additional capital. The output of timber, at any rate the most valuable ramin, is soon going to decline sharply because it has been overcut.

As far as minerals are concerned there is only a trickle of oil being produced at present although there are some possibilities of offshore deposits.

Bauxite is being produced at a rate of about 250,000 tons per year but unless further deposits are found production will cease in a few years' time. There is a little gold and a slim possibility of more given the necessary investigations but the prospects are not bright.

Japanese industry is showing interest in a medium sized deposit of coking coal but it is a long way from a port and even if the necessary and expensive communications are provided production is unlikely to amount to more than 750,000 tons per year.

There are no miracles to be expected from minerals nor is any important measure of industrialisation likely. Agriculture must be expected to remain the mainstay of the economy.

In many countries one of the keys to development lies in the increased investment of productive capital by overseas business interest. I do not question that this can be very helpful but in so far as agriculture is concerned, this does not apply to Sarawak because it is a country of small holdings and because of the rather curious system of land tenure which exists.

Three main categories of farming land

Basically farming land is divided into three main categories. Firstly there are the mixed zones, totalling about 4,400 square miles where people of all races can obtain title for land i.e., including Chinese. All titles are leasehold and not freehold.

Then there is Native Area Land where only Natives i.e., non-Chinese can obtain title to land. The total of Native area land amounts to 2,500 square miles.

The vast bulk of farming land is Native Customary Land where no titles are issued and where Natives only can use land in the traditional manner. Rights belong to the descendants of the person who originally felled the jungle. Only Natives can acquire any rights or interests in such land.

In addition, there are of course considerable areas of land, about 11,500 square miles under Permanent Forest but not very much of this is fact suitable for farming, being either

swamp land near the coast or inaccessible hill land in the interior.

From this you will see that opening for Chinese who require land or for overseas planting interests are strictly controlled. This has meant that Natives have retained their land which they might otherwise not have done.

Very few Natives are landless and this imparts social stability. But from the point of view of productivity it has an adverse effect because the Chinese are the most efficient farmers in the country.

Furthermore, inability to hold Native Customary Land under title is a brake on the efficient farming of such land by Natives because of uncertainties of ownership.

These problems have recently been studied by an expert committee and obviously considerable changes are called for but they may not be too easy to introduce. The situation does, however, retard the expansion of the economy.

I am afraid that what I have had to say may have struck a slightly gloomy note. You may feel that I have overstressed the cost of developing rural areas. Amounts are always open to argument but one thing can be said categorically. If Malaysia is to succeed in Sarawak more must be done for the countryman than is being done at present and to achieve this investment must be at a sub-

stantially increased rate.

Where the money can come from I frankly do not know. Under developed countries all over the world are facing the same difficulties. But it is important well informed public opinion in Malaya should understand that Sarawak is going to be a fairly expensive and needy member of the family if it is to grow into the strong and prosperous member of the Malaysian family, which is what Sarawak people want and expect.

THE symposium was also attended by Mr Peter Ratcliffe, Director of Broadcasting, Sarawak; and Mr R.J. Brooks, North Borneo's Director of Broadcasting and Information.

Mr Ratcliffe, who also spoke at the symposium, said that the people of Sarawak wanted to come into the Federation of Malaysia "as brothers, but not as younger brothers for long."

"This feeling and wanting to be a member of the family is the basis for the good that will grow," he added.

Touching on the safeguards sought by the people, Mr Ratcliffe said they were reasonable as many of the things they wanted they had already got.

On the opposition to Malaysia, Mr Ratcliffe said that nothing could be done about the "Communist left-wing elements and die-hards."

MALAYSIA TALKS IN K.L. CONCEPT RECEIVES FULL SUPPORT

THE USE OF ENGLISH AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS WOULD NOT CONFLICT WITH THE REQUIREMENT THAT MALAY SHALL BE THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF MALAYSIA, ACCORDING TO THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN KUALA LUMPUR ON MONDAY AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MALAYSIA SOLIDARITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

The other main points dealt with in the communique are:

- Transfer of Sovereignty
- Citizenship
- Aid to Islam and other religions
- The special position of the indigenous peoples

- Constitutional safeguards
- Representation in respect of Sarawak
- Economic aspects of Malaysia

The meeting which began on Saturday, January 6, ended on Monday, January 8, after talks conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and goodwill.

The next and probably the last meeting of the committee will be held in Singapore on February 1 and 2.

A full record of the proceedings of the MSCC meetings is to be issued in four languages - Malays, English, Iban and Kadazan - in the form of a booklet.

The Committee also agreed:

- That there should be an intensive programme for exchange of visits of people at all levels between the Malaya and

Borneo territories.

- To submit a full record of the proceedings of the meetings to the Commission of Enquiry for North Borneo and Sarawak.

At the closing session on Monday, Mr Donald Stephens, the chairman of the meeting, said that the pieces of the Malaysia jigsaw puzzle had fallen into place and the picture it produced was that of a "new, vigorous and young nation in the making...."

Mr Stephens urged the delegates to tell their peoples, when they return, of what took place at the meeting, and give them the information they want, so that there would be an early realisation of Malaysia.

The Sarawak delegation leader, Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, said that his delegation appreciated very much the sincere desire of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman to help Sarawak through Malaysia.

Singapore's delegation chief, Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said that with Malaysia there was no reason "why the standard of living of the people of the five territories should not reach that of more developed countries as we lack neither human or natural resources."

Leader of Malaya's delegation; Dato Ong Yoke Lin, Minister for Health and Social Welfare, said that the committee had taken a big step forward towards achievement of its principal object - to expedite realisation of Malaysia.

Delegations reiterate support for Malaysia concept

The delegates paid tribute to the efficiency of the Secretariat "whose members worked till the wee hours of the morning during the three-day meeting, and also thanked the Federation branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association for the arrangements made for the meeting and Malaysians for their friendship and hospitality.

In the joint communique issued at the end of the meeting "all delegations once again reiterated their acceptance of and support for the concept of Malaysia, and the vital necessity for its realisation as soon as possible.

The communique went on to say: "The Federation delegation tabled papers relating to the economic aspects of Malaysia's trade and tariff arrangements currency and the

Central Bank.

"The Menteri Besar of Perlis, Datu Sheikh Ahmad, one of the observers from the Federation of Malaya, explained to the Committee how a small and previously under-developed state such as Perlis has benefited from membership of the Federation since Merdeka.

"The Committee was of the opinion that all information which had been accepted by the Committee should now be disseminated as widely as possible among the peoples of the Territories concerned so that they too would appreciate the vital necessity for the realisation of Malaysia as soon as possible."

"It was agreed that there should also be an intensive programme for exchange of visits of people at all levels between the Malaya and Borneo territories.

"The delegations from North Borneo and Sarawak put further questions to the Federation delegation with a view to obtaining fuller clarification on several aspects of the Malaysia Plan. The following subjects were dealt with:- **Transfer of Sovereignty:** Simultaneously with the admission of the Borneo Territories and Singapore, sovereignty would vest in a newly-constituted Federation of Malaysia comprising all the component states.

Citizenship: On date on which the Federation of Malaysia comes into existence every British subject born in either Sarawak or North Borneo or naturalised before that date would become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia provided he was permanently resident on that date in the territory in which he was born or naturalised.

A British subject born before that date in either Sarawak or North Borneo whose father was himself in the same territory or was a permanent resident of the territory concerned will also be entitled to Federal citizenship by operation of law.

In calculating periods of absence no account should be taken of absence which was not inconsistent with essential continuity of residence.

Persons regarded as British subjects.....

A person who would have been a British subject if the territory in which he was born had been a British colony, in the case of Sarawak from the commencement of the

Brooke Regime or in the case of North Borneo from the date of commencement of the Chartered Company regime, would be regarded as a British subject.

Provisions of Federal Constitution with necessary modifications would apply to acquisition of citizenship by registration or naturalisation and renunciation but some transitional arrangements might be desirable in regard to citizenship by registration.

National language in relation to education: Use of English as the medium of instruction in schools would not conflict with the requirement that Malay shall be the national language of Malaysia. In view of the differences in development of education in Borneo Territories, however, there must be a transitional period before the national education system could be applied in those Territories. English as an international language would maintain its place in Malaysia.

"Aid to Islamic religion: Federal or any State Government might give grants to aid Islam or any other religions.

However, no person could be compelled to pay any special tax for the purposes of religion other than his own.

"The special position of the indigenous peoples: In Malaysia the special position of Malays in the present Federation would be equally shared by the indigenous people of all constituent territories for such period as might be necessary to improve their standards in the fields like economy, education and public services. At the same time the legitimate

interests of other communities would be safeguarded.

"Constitutional safeguards: When an individual state was given autonomy in respect of a particular matter which was not conceded to all States, some form of safeguards would be desirable.

"Representation in respect of Sarawak: For the time being the electoral college system for State legislature can be retained and Federal representatives could be chosen by that body. However, consideration might be given later to the desirability of introducing direct elections.

"Economic aspects of Malaysia: Papers tabled by the Federation delegation were received with approbation. With references to allocation of development funds, the amount would not depend on the size of the State but priorities so that less developed States would get a greater share of such funds. In regard to Federal and Colombo Plan scholarships, candidates would be chosen on a fair basis depending on merit. State scholarships would remain purely State matter. Account would be taken in the allocation of Federal Colombo Plan and other overseas scholarships and training facilities of the need to narrow the gap in education and technical standards amongst the people of the various States.

"In conclusion the Committee expressed the view that the explanation given by the Federation delegation on subjects dealt with were satisfactory and generally acceptable.

"It was decided to hold the next meeting in Singapore, on February 1, 2 and 3, 1962."

MALAYSIA WOULD RAISE LIVING STANDARDS IN BORNEO SAYS TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

DECLARING open the meeting on Monday, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya said that one of the principal objectives in forming Malaysia was to further the economic development of the Borneo Territories so that their standards of living and technical skills might be raised, and a firm basis provided for accelerated economic growth.

The Tunku said that measures would be introduced to accelerate industrial develop-

ment in the Borneo Territories, and to minimise the disequalising effect of free play of the economic forces so that "the gap between a relatively backward state and the advanced would be narrowed and not widened."

He added: "We shall, of course, have to find safeguards during the transitional period and thereafter so that the initial advantages now enjoyed by the present states of the Federation or Singapore should not be allowed to reinforce and consolidate at the

expense of the Borneo Territories."

"This means that the economic forces influencing trade, industrial location etc. would not be given free rein by the sudden abolition of tariff barriers within Malaysia.

"I have no doubt that we can safely leave the detailed study of such subjects to a working party of experts.

"I am confident that the rate of development in the Borneo Territories would be considerably increased after the merger, sufficient not only to offset or compensate for their loss of the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Funds, but to increase the tempo of their economic activities."

Earlier in the address the Tunku said that the idea of Malaysia was not his dream alone, but also that of many prominent leaders.

Borneo Territories would lose subject status

He added: "To me it came about when I heard of the many discussions the British officials of the Borneo Territories had with the British Government, and agreed to by some of the leaders of Sabah and Sarawak on the formation of a Federation of Borneo States.

"I reasoned to myself that if the people of Borneo themselves could wish to come together for their own good and well-being of their country in the form of a Federation, why then should we not join together?

"The only difference would be that whereas in a Federation of Borneo States, as among themselves, the Borneo Territories would continue for a long time to be colonies of Britain, in the Federation, with us they would lose the subject status immediately and would gain in stature, and become independent territories enjoying equal rights and dignity with all other eleven states which now comprise the Federation of Malaysia.

"The peoples of Borneo would be able to hold their heads high as they consider themselves the equal of any free people in the world."

The alignment of small countries is dictated not only through the desire to live as free men and not as colonials, but by the desire to survive in a world harassed by formidable and destructive forces constantly looking out for new conquests.

"Please do not think that by embracing the territories of Borneo, Malaya is looking for territorial aggrandizement.

"We are linked by a common cultural heritage and historical background and financial and economic interests.

"In addition, the territories of Borneo and the Federation of Malaya have the same system of administration and law, and we use the same currency, while we speak the same common language.

"Therefore, it is only logical that if the Borneo Territories want to secure strength through unity, they should unite with the Federation and Singapore which alone can give us all strength viability and unity.

The Tunku went on to say: "It is both undignified and incompatible with modern trends of thought for the people of the Borneo Territories to still feel that they would like to continue much longer to live as subject people of Britain, for if they continued to stay as they are they can be no more than that.

"They will never be given the same rights or privileges as the British themselves enjoy. The British cannot make them members of their Parliament or leaders of Great Britain.

Opportunities for leadership

"On the other hand, in a Federation of Malaysia not only will we all become leaders of our nations, and so can the Sultan of Brunei be the Yang-di-Pertuan Agong of this new Federation."

The Tunku added: "You might say that the British have promised you independence. The question is when will that come about?

"Should your independence depend on normal development, I do not think you will achieve it in the near future. And when your independence finally arrives, you will be exposed to a precarious existence as tiny and powerless preys to the hungry and rapacious powers of the world.

"The position would be precarious if the balance of power in this region is radically altered. You might say that when the time comes you might consider joining Malaysia.

"But the circumstances might have so changed that the offer of Malaysia, or even the opportunity for the creation of Malaysia would have existed no more. And even of there was still the possibility of creating Malaysia then why do you have to be content to wait that long with your present state of humiliation as subject peoples when the opportunity to achieve the same object exists now.

"The Malaysia Plan is meant to telescope all that process and achieve your independence immediately."

The Tunku went on to describe the fear of some people in Malaya during the struggle for independence and of the position today under which "the Chinese are richer now, the Indians had better jobs and professions, and businessmen were more prosperous."

He added: "And as for the poor people of the rural areas who had been neglected before, they are getting a better life and a better deal than they ever had before."

"The same cannot be said for the people of Borneo. When I visited them in their kampongs I had to balance myself like a tight rope walker to cross a river in order to reach their longhouses."

"There is no single railway track in the whole of the mainland of Sarawak, not one road connecting one territory with another. So very little has been done to improve the lot of people living in Borneo today."

The live now as they had lived before, and they are afraid to venture forth into a new life because of a sense of false security under which they now live.

Falsehood being spread by subversive forces

"To suggest that by joining us in Malaysia the Borneo Territories would not be our equals, and to suggest that by joining us they would lose their right to practise their own religion and culture and to pursue their own customs and the right to study the languages of their forefathers is not true, and is a falsehood which had intentionally been spread by forces which hope to take control of these territories for themselves."

"And to suggest that the Borneo peoples can be better served by the British and enjoy more rights under the British than they would in this new Federation is to disregard facts."

The Tunku continued: "The Borneo Territories too have their own aborigines who live in the most primitive way in the very deepest

part of the country. But even the industrious and virile Ibans, Kayans, Kadazans and Melanaus - to mention a few of your indigenous peoples - suffer today such neglect as we Malays used to suffer. It saddens my heart every time I think of the fact and welfare of the sons of the soil of Sarawak and Sabah."

The Tunku went on to describe the religious freedom obtaining in Malaya and said he was fully aware of the fears and needs for certain safeguards for the Borneo Territories, mentioning migration and Borneanisation of the Civil Service.

He considered that similar provisions as in Malaya could be made to cover the indigenous peoples of Borneo in order to equip them to hold professional and executive posts in the administration and commerce by means of scholarships, training, education and quotas in certain spheres of the public service.

The Tunku also said that opportunities would be given for the Borneo people to participate in the defence of Malaysia.

He ended by saying that he hoped to announce the Chairman of the Commission within the next few days.

The leaders of the delegations then spoke.

The leader of the Sarawak delegation, Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, emphasised in his speech that although the members of his delegation were members of the Legislature of Sarawak, they were at the meeting as individuals.

They had "never at any time assumed the role of anything else than a group nominated by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Branch to meet, discuss and find out more about the Malaysia Plan for presentation to our people."

He went on: "We feel that the time has really come when further discussions, if necessary, should be at Government and the Federation Government."

"While we are here we will try and be as constructive as possible in our discussions, but my delegation feels that this really ought to be the last meeting for the time being until circumstances warrant calling another one."

FOURTH MALAYSIA CONFERENCE

COMMITTEE TO PRESENT MEMORANDUM TO COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

THE leader of the Sarawak delegation, Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, pleaded for more time at the meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee which began on Thursday this week at Singapore and ended on Saturday, February 3, 1962.

Said Mr Yeo: "Knowledge takes time to disseminate in a country of difficult communications such as ours in Sarawak.

"Our people are now divided and confused by conflicting views. Give time for the light of knowledge to dispel their fears so that they can view Malaysia in the right perspective."

Quoting a Malay proverb, "pokok pisang tidak berbuah dua kali" (the same banana tree does not fruit twice), Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe said, "Rush through this Malaysia Plan, and we will have a repetition of that unhappy episode in Sarawak's history when His Highness the Rajah of Sarawak ceded the country to Her Majesty's Government."

Earlier Mr Yeo said: "Today we have in Sarawak a much divided people, and it would appear that Malaysia, which has as its objective the bringing closer together of different communities bound by a common political link and by economic, racial and cultural ties, has brought about a tense atmosphere in the Borneo Territories, and become a bone of contention among different communities of different racial origin."

Too much emphasis on fear of communism

He added: "To some Malaysia is seen as a threat to their vested interests, to others it means the shattering of hopes and aspirations built over a period of years on a certain pattern, but to the bulk of my people it gives rise to fear of the unknown and the uncertainties of the future based on the bitter memories of the past."

Mr Yeo continued: "In our enthusiasm for the concept of Malaysia and our eagerness to advance its cause, perhaps we have placed too much emphasis on fear - the fear of Communism, or fear of annexation and domination by more powerful neighbours.

"This has set an unfortunate train of thought among our people and brings more forcibly home the comparative security of the present, even under a colonial status, and increases a natural resistance to radical political changes, to meet dangers or menaces that not everyone can appreciate.

"Fear can only be dispelled by confidence, inspired by knowledge. My delegation has, throughout the proceedings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, endeavoured to get a clear picture of the advantages which Malaysia will bring.

"At the same time we have helped to clear away the unavoidable suspicions which have arisen. In this way we hope to give Malaysia a fair chance of acceptance as the future most likely to bring prosperity and happiness to Sarawak.

"Finally," said Mr Yeo, "let us not cloud the Malaysia concept with fear and hate engendered by conflicting political beliefs or ideologies. Let us present it in its brighter light of its objective of increased happiness, prosperity and security of a big or family of free people."

Meeting opened by Yang di-Pertuan Negara

Declaring open the meeting, the Yang di-Pertuan Negara of Singapore, Inche Yusof bin Ishak said that the M.S.C. committee had not only given impetus to the Malaysia movement, but it had also given the concept of Malaysia sufficient definition and content to make its realisation only a matter of time.

Earlier Inche Yusof said: "All patriots of our five territories agree that the building of Malaysia is a great task. It is an inevitable historical process, that it is our duty to bring about this fulfilment of our destiny with the largest measure of accord and unity."

He added: "The prospect before you is a fair and promising vision of a great state, endowed with political and economic sovereignty, rich and prosperous enough to give its people a standard of living comparable to the best in the world, powerful and viable enough to sustain its integrity from

encroachment and to make its contribution to the peace of this region.

Mr Donald Stephens speaks of racial tension

The Chairman of the Conference, Mr Donald Stephens of North Borneo, calling upon the Yang di-Pertuan Negara to declare the meeting open, said that racial tension was beginning to make itself felt in Borneo.

He said: "One of the things we have always been extremely proud of in Sabah was the excellent relations among all races in the country, but generally speaking because the indigenous peoples are for Malaysia, and the Chinese are for the most part anti-Malaysia, or unsure about Malaysia, racial tension is beginning to make itself felt."

He added: "It is the saddest aspect of Malaysia in Sabah, this dividing line between peoples who have years and years lived happily together.

Pointing out that it was not his intention to lay the mantle of blame on anybody's shoulders, Mr Stephens said: "It is my earnest prayer that my Chinese brothers in Sabah will try to see why the native brothers feel that their one future hope lies in Malaysia; and the indigenous peoples must also, on their part, understand the fears and misgivings of their Chinese brothers to a change which has come so suddenly with more understanding and sympathy by leaders on both sides."

Earlier Mr Stephens said that Malaysia had been responsible for creating a great interest in politics, and the people, even in the most "ulu" places were today discussing Malaysia in the towns, in the coffee shops, in the barber shops, in the clubs and at Mahjong tables.

Pointing out that in North Borneo where there were no political parties till July 1961, there were now six different political organisations, Mr Stephens said: "The impact of the concept on the people of the country has been great."

He added that answers to questions on the constitution, religion, education, civil service, and Borneanisation; national language, immigration, citizenship, special position of the indigenous people; communications, Federal and State relations, representation in the Federal Parliament have been conveyed to the people.

Mr Stephens went on to say that economic problems were also raised. Questions were raised and answers given on taxation, customs and excise, state and federal finance, financing of development in the Borneo Territories, banking and industrialisation.

He added: "The political winds of change which are taking place so rapidly in the world, and especially our part of the world, has also been talked about and has provided much food for thought, but in Sabah there are still people - mostly very rich people - who have started political parties whose aim is to defer Malaysia, probably with the hope that if they manage to get Malaysia deferred long enough, Sabah may never become a partner in Malaysia.

Dispel fears of Chinese people....

Continuing, Mr Stephens said that if an alliance on the basis of the Alliance of the Federation of Malaya can be formed, it should help very quickly to dispel the atmosphere of racial division which was beginning to pollute good relations among the peoples in Sabah.

Concluded Mr Stephens: "I mention this aspect of Malaysia because I think we should do everything possible to dispel the fears of the Chinese people in the Borneo Territories that Malaysia would mean second class citizenship for them.

"I feel that an all-out effort should be made to supply the Chinese people in the Borneo Territories with correct information to counteract the false propaganda of the communists and the reactionaries who like to maintain the status quo for their own ends."

Brunei delegate speaks

The leader of the Brunei delegation, Dato Setia Pengiran Ali, said his delegation was aware and fully appreciated that the proposal to create Malaysia was a logical and inevitable process which could neither be hindered nor suppressed, nor could its development merely become a topic for conversation, for it was manifestly clear that the question affected everyone who was involved in it.

He added that though the Brunei delegates, who are attending the meeting as observers said very little, he hoped this did not convey the impression that they were

taking a negative attitude.

Dato Setia Pengiran Ali said: "A much closer examination of the problem will result in a much broader outlook, for nothing will please us more than to see the realisation of our common aspiration. In this regard we in Brunei realise perity and security for the people of Malaysia."

Two-third of Sabah people want Malaysia, says N.B. Leader

The leader of the North Borneo delegation, Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun said that though he might not claim that he spoke for the whole of Sabah, he could claim to speak for the members of the United Sabah National Organisation, of which he was President.

He added that the United National Kadazan Organisation (of which Mr Donald Stephens is President) had already signified its desire to affiliate with USNO.

Said Dato Mustapha: "I am sure no one can accuse me of exaggerating when I say that USNO and UNKO together can claim to represent at least two-thirds of the people of Sabah."

"Such being the case, I am sure it can also be said that at least two-thirds of the population of Sabah want Malaysia, and want it to come about as soon as possible."

He concluded: "Malaysia will mean immediate independence for us, so where is the point of getting our own independence first? We will get independence with Malaysia: let us work for Malaysia with all our might. For me and my people in Sabah, Malaysia will mean their union with their brothers and sisters of Sarawak, Brunei, the Federation of Malaya and Singapore - a union which will mean our security for the future, a guarantee of peace and prosperity in our area, happiness and prosperity for all the peoples of happy Malaysia."

"Voyages of discover," says Malayan leader

The leader of the Federation of Malaya delegation, Inche Mohamed Khir Johari described the Consultative Committee meetings as "startling and momentous voyages of discovery."

He added: The prophets of doom and division have been working among us for so long now, carefully building myths to frighten and

bewilder us, but we have blown away these myths in a breath of exploration and discovery, and now we find another myth perpetrated by confused, hysterical people who are frightened at the prospect of our unity about neocolonialism.

"Destroy them, we will, as assuredly as we have destroyed the myths of the colonialists. Of course, there have been doubts and hesitations, but we are not slogan-merchants, ready to echo at a moment's notice any catchword handed down from "The Book", unrelated to the real conditions in which we live.

Referring to the Commission of Enquiry, Inche Mohamed Khir Johari said: "The Cobbold Commission will begin its work very soon to find out the attitude of the people of the Borneo Territories towards Malaysia.

"We must make completely certain that these views are known to the Commission; nothing must be left to chance.

Reminding listeners that it was not the end of their labours, but the beginning of a long, hazardous, and fateful road ahead, Inche Mohamed Khir said: "We must go forth as it is our moral responsibility to explain to our peoples the choice before them.

"This will be the measure of our mettle.

"Are we men of straw who await our future to be decided for us, or are we men of determined conviction who are prepared to strive and struggle to build our own future for ourselves and our children to come?

"We will face many attacks, of course, and let there be no mistake about the nature and virulence of these attacks. The enemies of democracy and freedom are fighting for their very survival, and fight it they will, with all the resources of lies, cunning and ruthlessness that we have known to expect from them."

Finally Inche Mohamed Khir said: "We are not the slaves of foreign masters and ideologies; we belong to our peoples, but of course no amount of concern or sincerity and goodwill will get us anywhere unless we are prepared to fight and defend our convictions with steady will and application."

MSCC ISSUES JOINT COMMUNIQUE

IN a joint communique issued in Singapore on Friday, the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee said that it went into committee session on February 1 to review the

work it had so far done in Jesselton, Kuching and Kuala Lumpur.

Said the communique: "It was agreed that the Committee should, on the basis of what had been achieved so far, present to the Commission of Enquiry a memorandum reflecting the consensus of opinion of delegates from the five countries.

"A draft of such a memorandum will be discussed by the Committee in reply to questions by a member of the North Borneo Delegation.

The Federation delegation reaffirmed:

1. That the Central Government being responsible for internal security which includes public order throughout the Federation of Malaysia must have both legislative and executive authority in respect of this matter; it would not be practicable to delegate this responsibility to individual states.

2. That the desirability of providing constitutional safeguards when an individual state is given autonomy in regard to a particular matter which is not conceded to all states has already been agreed to in principle at the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee Meeting in Kuala Lumpur last month. However, any specific proposal as to the form such safeguards should take could be submitted to the Commission of Enquiry.

3. That it has already been accepted that there should be control by the Borneo Territories over the movement of people from other parts of the Federation of Malaysia into those territories. Furthermore, with control of internal security in the hands of a strong Central Government, communist elements would be effectively contained, not only in North Borneo, but throughout the Federation of Malaysia.

"In reply to questions from the Sarawak delegation, the Federation delegation reiterated assurances already given that there would be no question of discrimination in the allocation of Federal Colombo Plan and other overseas scholarships, and added that account would be taken of the need to narrow the gap in educational standards between the various states.

"The indigenous people of the Borneo Territories would be treated on par with the Malays in the Federation.

"The Federation delegation reaffirmed the principle already accepted in the Federation of Malaya that existing leases and concessions would remain valid and that the creation of Malaysia would not affect existing rights, customary or otherwise. Land and forests are now state subjects in the Federation of Malaya and will remain so in Malaysia.

"The Federation delegation said that the principle of Borneanisation of the Public Service in the Borneo Territories had been accepted and every effort would be made to train Borneans to take over the administration as soon as possible, but expatriate officers would be retained for as long as their services were needed.

"The Sarawak delegation then asked whether political parties would be allowed to operate throughout Malaysia. The Federation delegation replied this would be most desirable as it would be the most effective way for Borneo interests to be given their full weight in the Federal Parliament.

"However, the Committee agreed that political parties whose sole allegiance is to forces outside the Federation of Malaysia should have no place in it."

ASSURANCES AND SAFEGUARDS FOR BORNEO TERRITORIES

Recommendations providing the basis on which the peoples of the three Borneo Territories could accept the Malaysia Plan are contained in the Memorandum on Malaysia published on Wednesday with the unanimous approval of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

The memorandum, described as a blueprint for Malaysia, embodies proposals and recommendations arising from the meetings

held in Jesselton, Kuching, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

They include a number of assurances, ranging from religious freedom and representation in Parliament to the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools and the allocation of development funds and scholarships, and safeguards, ranging from control of migration and the civil service to the position of the indigenous peo-

ples. The citizenship proposals for the peoples of the Borneo Territories are described at length.

Singed by all delegates who attended the final meeting of the Committee held in the Library of the Singapore Assembly House last week, the memorandum will be presented by the Chairman, Mr. Donald Stephens, to the Cobbold Commission when it arrives in Sarawak later this month.

A touch of pageantry was lent to the close of the meeting when leaders of all five delegations and the chairman signed the document in a room made brilliant for Malay Film Unit cameramen and press photographers.

In their final speeches the leaders commended the memorandum to their respective peoples. In his address Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, of Sarawak, said: "We have come to the end of our labours and have given expression to what the Malaysia concept should be. I think this meeting has been rewarding.

"On our success in presenting it depends the realisation of our hopes and aspirations for the building of a nation among peoples of different racial and cultural origins."

The Committee also issued a final communique which announced the establishment of an Information Secretariat under the chairmanship of Mr Stephens "to disseminate authentic information about all aspects of Malaysia among the peoples of the five territories."

The Secretariat, which will be located in Kuching and work in close co-operation with representatives of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei and Sabah, will also undertake publicity of the memorandum and any other matter connected with the promotion of the Malaysia concept, including its economic aspects. The memorandum will be translated into various languages, including Iban, and widely distributed.

THE MEMORANDUM - in full

Introduction: The statement made on May 27, 1961, by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, on the concept of Malaysia at a press luncheon in Singapore sparked off a lively interest in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo Territories in the idea of Malaysia resulting in all manner of speculations on

what the plan and form Malaysia might take.

While views welcoming the proposal were expressed in the territories concerned, the idea of Malaysia became the target of serious criticisms from certain quarters.

In view of the indeterminate way in which the subjects, of necessity, had been launched, there was uncertainty in the minds of many of the people, particularly in the Borneo Territories. However, one point was clear; few could claim to be apathetic to this vital subject.

2 - Formation of Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee: Malaysia was first jointly discussed by the leaders of the Borneo Territories, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association regional meeting which was held in Singapore in July, 1961.

During the Conference, misgivings regarding local interests were expressed and views exchanged. As a result of a preliminary examination, delegations from North Borneo and Sarawak took the initiative to propose the formation of a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Their joint statement said inter alia "we have decided to form a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee consisting of representatives from each of the five territories.

The object of the Consultative Committee would be to continue the explanations and discussions initiated at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Associations and ensure that the impetus given to Malaysia is not slowed down

"What emerged clearly from the conference (CPA) was that the delegates who shape and mould public opinion in their respective territories, were convinced both of the necessity and inevitability of Malaysia."

3 - Aims and objects of MSCC: The aims and objects of the Committee as formulated and agreed upon at its first meeting in Jesselton on August 24, 1961 are:-

(a) To collect and collate views and opinions concerning the creation of Malaysia consisting of Brunei, North Borneo (Sabah) Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya.

(b) To disseminate information on the

question of Malaysia.

(c) To initiate and encourage discussions on Malaysia; and

(d) To foster activities that would promote and expedite the realisation of Malaysia.

4 - Committee meetings: The Committee met four times, namely, in Jesselton on August 21, 1961; in Kuching on December 18-19-20, 1961; in Kuala Lumpur on January 6-7-8, 1962; and in Singapore on February 1-2-3, 1962.

5 - Brunei's attendance: Brunei did not participate at the Jesselton meeting but attended as observers during the Kuching, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore meetings.

6 - Concept of Malaysia supported: At these meetings delegations submitted reports on the progress made by them in their respective territories with regard to explaining and furthering the concept of Malaysia among the people.

The Committee, while reiterating its acceptance of and support for the concept of Malaysia, recognised the need for the widest dissemination of all information relating to Malaysia among the peoples of the territories so that all would appreciate the vital necessity of the realisation of Malaysia as soon as possible.

7 - Not unitary: In view of the fact that all delegations acknowledge the desirability that all component states should retain their identity and autonomy, the possibility of Malaysia being formed as a unitary state was never considered.

8 - Federation defined: The Committee envisaged an association of several sovereign states with a central organ invested with powers directly over the citizens of the member state and in certain defined circumstances over the member states themselves.

There would be a central government and also state governments, but from the view point of international law, the collection of states forming the federation would be recognised as one sovereign state within the family of nations.

9 - Strong central government vital: The Committee in the course of its deliberations has come to the conclusion that External Affairs, Defence and Security of Malaysia should be vested in the central government and it also supports the objective of an effective central government as vital to

sustain Malaysia.

Accordingly, the Committee arrives at the only logical answer that Malaysia should be in the form of a Federation. And, in view of the special problems relating to Singapore, the Committee appreciates the need for special arrangements for Singapore.

It was agreed that, like Singapore, the three Borneo territories should have certain local safeguards - in the case of the Borneo Territories, in respect of such subjects, for example, control of migration, Borneanisation and special provisions for taxation, customs and other fiscal matters to ensure that the less developed economy of the Borneo Territories are not suddenly upset by the application of a unified Malaysian customs and excise duty and other national taxation but should only be made uniform gradually as the development of the economy of these territories progresses - but could otherwise be placed on equal footing with the other States of the present Federation of Malaya.

10 - Wishes of people respected: The Committee, of course, is of the opinion that whatever safeguards which might be provided for the Borneo Territories must conform with the expressed wish of the Borneo people themselves but that such arrangements should not prejudice the principle of a strong central government or curtail the fundamental liberties of the nationals of the Federation of Malaysia.

11 - Singapore Plan: The Committee notes with satisfaction the heads of agreement negotiated between the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore for the merging of the State in the Federation of Malaysia.

The Committee recognises the fact that Brunei is a self-governing state and not a colony as in the case of Sarawak and North Borneo, that the Commission of Enquiry's jurisdiction does not extend to Brunei and that the State is competent to negotiate direct with the governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya.

12 - Sovereignty: There is no doubt in the mind of the Committee that, from the international point of view, sovereignty rests with the Federation of Malaysia.

The Committee accepts the principle that the Federation of Malaysia should have a constitutional head of state and there is no reason to discontinue the system of the

appointment of Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The sovereignty of the Ruler of each state of the Federation of Malaysia will be guaranteed.

Within the concept of Malaysia the Sultan of Brunei will be eligible for nomination to be Supreme Head of the Federation while Sarawak and North Borneo will each have a Head of State. Each State will have a Constitution of its own and its powers defined.

13 - Islam as the Religion of the Federation and Religious Freedom:

The Committee directed a great deal of its attention to the question of Islam as the religion of the Federation.

It is satisfied that the acceptance of Islam as the religion of the Federation would not endanger religious freedom within Malaysia nor will it make Malaysia a State less secular.

The present constitution of the Federation of Malaya, which would serve as the basis of the new federation, has adequately guaranteed that other religions can be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation.

Every person will have the right to profess and practise his religion. No person will be compelled to pay any special tax for purposes of a religion other than his own.

Every religious group will be assured of its right to manage its own religious affairs, to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes and to acquire and own property and hold and administer it in accordance with the law.

There would be freedom to establish and maintain institutions for religious education. No person in the Federation of Malaysia will be required, except in accordance with the laws of his own religion, to receive instruction, or take part, in any ceremony or act of worship of any religion.

All these rights which are in fact universally enjoyed at present in the Federation of Malaya will be enshrined in the constitution of the Federation of Malaysia.

14 - Islam in relation to a state within the Federation: The Committee examined the position of Islam in relation to a state other than a Malay state and finds no objection to the present arrangement for Penang and Malacca being adopted in the future states of Sarawak and North Borneo and Singapore.

Each of these states will have in its constitution provision for conferring on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong the position of Head

of the Muslim religion in the state whose legislature would make laws for regulating Muslim religious affairs and for constituting a Council to advise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in matters relating to the Muslim religion.

The Committee observes that in practice these three territories are already, to some extent, concerning themselves with the affairs of Muslim religion and the adoption of this principle on a formal basis would present no difficulty.

15 - Fundamental liberties: The present constitution of the Federation of Malaya has firmly established constitutional guarantees for the people.

The Committee has taken it for granted that these provisions in the Constitution safeguarding the fundamental liberties of the people of the Federation of Malaya would be extended to the people of the Federation of Malaysia whose rights could be enforced by the courts which could countermand and invalidate any attempt to undermine any of those rights whether by legislative or executive action or otherwise.

16 - Elections of representatives to Federal Parliament and State legislatures: In view of the fact that political advancement in the Borneo Territories is at the moment in varying stages of development, the Committee is convinced that it would not be possible to apply at once on merger the general practice adopted in the Federation of Malaya regarding elections to the Federal Parliament and State Legislatures.

The Committee is of the opinion that, although the pace of these developments should be accelerated, no precipitate step should be taken lest some unforeseen and undesirable consequences might ensue.

The Committee therefore appreciates the suggestion that for the time being in Sarawak the electoral college system may be retained under Malaya for the State Legislature and the representatives for the Federal Parliament may be elected by the Council Negri from among its members.

In the case of North Borneo, the question of representation to the State Legislature and the Federal Parliament should be a matter for consideration by the Commission of Enquiry.

17 - The Chief Executives: With regard to the appointment of the chief executive of the state, namely the Chief Ministers in North Borneo and Sarawak respectively, the

Committee has not applied its mind on how this should be affected.

Undoubtedly the Chief Minister will be someone who has the support of the State Legislature. It will be his responsibility to select persons from among the members of the State Legislature to assist and advise him as members of the Executive Council or the Supreme Council, as the case may be.

Brunei is in somewhat a different position and it is envisaged that until a new constitution is introduced and other arrangements made, the Menteri Besar, members of the State Legislature, as well as the Executive Council, will continue to be appointed in accordance with the present arrangements.

18 - Direct elections for future consideration: It is accepted that these arrangements in the Borneo Territories must necessarily be temporary in nature and should not be allowed to continue indefinitely if these territories are to keep in step with the other states of Malaysia in their political advancement.

As soon as possible, consideration should be given to the desirability of introducing at the proper time the system of direct elections in respect of State and Federal representatives.

19 - Adequate representation in Parliament: In regard to the question of representation in the Federal Parliament, the Committee is satisfied with the assurance that the Borneo Territories would be given adequate representation and that the universal democratic practice of giving weightage to representation for less densely populated areas would be adopted.

The present arrangement in the Federation of Malaya regarding the appointment and election of members of the Senate should be adopted for the new states of Malaysia.

20 - National Language: The Committee accepts the view that the Federation of Malaysia should have a national language and places no objection to the adoption of the National Language of the present Federation of Malaya, Singapore and Brunei which is also the lingua franca of this region.

The Committee is aware that in the present Federation of Malaya Constitution it is provided that for ten years from Merdeka Day the English language may be used for official purposes. However, Parliament may also provide that the period be extended.

In any case this period of ten years is applicable to the Federation of Malaya and it is reasonable to expect that this period should only apply to the new states of the Federation of Malaysia with effect from the day Malaysia comes into being.

The Committee is satisfied with the assurance that this period would be extended if so desired and the acceptance of Malay as the national language would in no way prevent the use, teaching or learning of any other language now would it prejudice the right of any state of the Federation of Malaysia to preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages.

21 - Position of English: English is an international language would maintain its place in Malaysia.

22 - English as medium of instruction: It has been very much in the minds of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo that the acceptance of Malay as the national language might create problems relating to the policy of making English as the medium of instruction in schools.

There has been uncertainty of the role of English in schools in the Borneo territories. The Committee welcomes and accepts the explanation that the use of English as medium of instruction in schools will in no way conflict with the acceptance of Malay as the national language of Malaysia.

23 - Complete integration desirable: The Committee has also noted that although the advancement of education is at different stages in different territories its development has been on similar lines whether in the Borneo Territories or in the Federation of Malaya.

As from 1962 free universal primary education is introduced in the Federation of Malaya and the school leaving age is 15. It is therefore hoped that the transitional period which will precede a complete integration of the educational system would be as short as possible so that the Borneo territories would quickly achieve parity in education with the other states in the Peninsula.

24 - Migration: The Committee dealt very extensively with the question of immigration into the Borneo Territories.

While the concept that the Central Government should be responsible for immigration is acceptable in view of the excellent control and fortunately similar laws

that exist today in the Borneo Territories, Singapore and Malaya, it is a matter of great apprehension to the delegations from the Borneo Territories that there might be free movements from Singapore and the Peninsula into the Borneo Territories.

At the moment these territories are very sparsely populated and therefore may attract settlers from the overcrowded and densely populated areas of Singapore and the peninsula states.

The Borneo Territories are anxious to protect their lands, trade and employment from being taken up by people from other parts of Malaysia. They are also anxious to see that no undesirable elements from other parts of Malaysia are allowed entry into the Borneo Territories, and noted that there are now adequate security arrangements for this purpose.

25 - Safeguards desirable: The Committee is not oblivious of the fact that if the future states of Borneo desire quick progress and development they will need to attract labour and technical men and these should be obtained at reasonable rates.

However, in fairness to the Borneo Territories the Committee feels that the territory concerned should be given an opportunity to determine the rate and scope of development it may wish to adopt, having taken into account the population problem such development may create and at the same time keeping in step with the general tenor and trend on the general development of the whole Federation of Malaysia in accordance with the national plan.

There are of course certain safeguards which are available to the states in view of their autonomy in matters of land, agriculture and the machinery of state government and control over local governments.

The adoption of certain policies in regard to these matters can have the effect of discouraging or even prevention the migration of people into these states. But the Borneo Territories will not be completely happy unless they are provided with constitutional safeguards.

26 - Control to be devised: The Committee therefore welcomes the statement from the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya that he is extremely sympathetic with the view of the Borneo delegations in this matter.

The Committee is therefore satisfied with

the assurance that there would be no unimpeded migration into the Borneo states from the other states of Malaysia and the constitutional provisions whereby such control will be affected can be devised by constitutional experts.

27 - Citizenship: The Committee dealt with the question of citizenship at some length since this subject is of paramount importance to the peoples concerned.

The position is further complicated in that the people of the Borneo Territories, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya are governed by distinct and different citizenship and nationality laws.

The Committee has noted that with regard to Singapore there is already an understanding reached with the Government of the Federation of Malaya whereby on merger all Singapore citizens and Federation of Malaysia citizens, would automatically acquire Federation of Malaysia nationality and will, as nationals, have equal rights, carry the same passport, enjoy the same protection and be subject to equal duties and responsibilities under the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia.

The Committee agrees with the view that there should be a single Malaysian nationality.

28 - Brunei subjects as citizens of Malaysia: With regard to Brunei the Committee is satisfied with the proposal that a subject of His Highness the Sultan should automatically become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia.

29 - Position of British subjects permanently resident in Sarawak and North Borneo:

In the case of North Borneo and Sarawak the Committee has accepted the formula that on the date on which the Federation of Malaysia comes into existence, every British subject born in either Sarawak or North Borneo or naturalised before that date will become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia, provided he is permanently resident on that date in the territory in which he was born or naturalised or in one of the other territories of Malaysia.

30 - Person absent: However, subject to paragraph 33, no person shall become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia on the appointed day who has been absent from the territories comprising the Federation of

Malaysia for a period of seven years upwards immediately prior to the appointed day.

31 - Position of British subjects not permanently resident: A British subject born before that day in either Sarawak or North Borneo, whose father was himself born in the same territory or was a permanent resident of the territory concerned, will also be entitled to Federal citizenship. The word "father" referred to means father by blood but not by adoption of a child.

32 - Permanent residence: A suggestion was made that a person shall be deemed to be "permanently resident" in a territory who has completed a continuous period of 15 years residence in that territory.

This presumption would not of course exclude persons who have not completed the specified period from establishing permanent residence.

The period, it is felt would be a matter for consideration by the Commission of Enquiry.

33 - Continuity of residence: In calculating the period of residence periods of absence which are not inconsistent with essential continuity of residence should not be taken into account.

The Committee appreciates that the question of "Permanent residence" is a judicial matter and acknowledges the fact that in practice it is subject to a liberal interpretation which would prevent any miscarriage of justice in cases where a citizen lives abroad but maintains substantial connection with his home in the territory concerned.

34 - Citizenship by registration etc.: The Committee is generally satisfied with the proposal that the provisions of the present Federal Constitution *mutatis mutandis* will apply after merger to citizenship by operation of law, registration or naturalisation.

Some transitional arrangements might be desirable in regard to citizenship by registration.

35 - Arrangement for persons born during Brooke and Chartered Company regimes:

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that Sarawak became a colony only on July 1, 1946, while North Borneo was transferred from the Chartered Company on July 15 in the same year. Before those dates the people did not have the status of British subjects.

The Committee therefore accepts the arrangement that a person who would have

been a British subject if the territories in which he was born had been a British Colony, in the case of Sarawak from the commencement of the Brooke regime, or, in the case of North Borneo, from the date of the commencement of the Chartered Company regime, will be regarded as a British subject.

This formula would obviate any future difficulties relating to this very important and complex subject.

36 - Position of indigenous peoples: It is acceptable to the Committee that on the creation of Malaysia the indigenous peoples of the Borneo Territories should be placed in the same position as the Malays under the present constitution of the Federation of Malaya.

They are the "founder citizens" and to place them in a position different from that of Malays from the constitutional point of view would only create anomalies.

The special provision in the present Federation of Malaya Constitution relating to Malays should be extended to the indigenous peoples of the Borneo territories so that they would equally share whatever advantages might be derived therefrom.

These provisions relate to the reservation of such proportion as may be deemed reasonable of positions in the public service, scholarships and other similar educational or training programmes and special facilities relating to trade or business in order that they may be able to take their rightful places along with the other communities.

37 - Legitimate interests of others safeguard: The Committee is satisfied with the guarantee in the existing constitution of the Federation of Malaya that the rights and legitimate interests of the other communities in the Federation of Malaysia will adequately be safeguarded.

38 - State, Federal and concurrent lists applicable: Having accepted the principle that all the Borneo Territories would join the Federation of Malaysia as states equal in status with the other existing states of the Federation, the Committee is cognizant of the arrangement that the State list, Federal list and Concurrent list of the present Federation of Malaya Constitution defining the present powers and responsibilities of the State and the Federal Governments will, subject to local autonomies and paragraph 41, be applicable in the new Federation of Malaysia.

There may of course be some administrative problems in the case of integration of services and such like matters but the Committee is confident that all those could be resolve by a joint working party of officials.

In this regard the Committee is of the view that nothing should be done so as to disrupt the machinery of government and reduce the efficiency of the services concerned.

39 - Assurance on Civil Service: With regard to the public services in the Borneo Territories it is agreed that all state civil service appointments would be under the control of the respective State Governments.

In the case of federal services, the Committee welcomes the assurance given by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya on January 6 at the Kuala Lumpur meeting of the Committee when he stated:

"I can also give a categorical assurance that there would be a progressive Borneanisation of the public services in the Borneo Territories and in addition the people of the Borneo Territories would have new opportunities to serve in high appointments in the Federal service.

"Of course, as I have declared before, nothing should be done to disrupt the present machinery of Government. Expatriate officers who are now serving the various territories would continue to do so until suitable local officers are found to take their places.

40 - Service in Armed Forces: The Committee also welcomes the Statement of the Prime Minister in the same speech that the local people of the Borneo Territories should participate in the defence of Malaysia.

"Their young men should be encouraged to enlist in the army, navy or the air force of the Federation of Malaysia and take a legitimate pride in being officers and other ranks in such forces.

"Programmes will have to be arranged whereby those in schools who aspire to make the armed forces their career will be given suitable training either in our own military college or overseas."

"The warriors of the Borne Territories should stand shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the peninsula in the protection of Malaysia.

41 - Amendment safeguard: In the course of its deliberations, the Committee referred to the fears entertained by some delegates that it

would be possible for the Federal Government to amend the constitution and withdraw whatever powers it had agreed to give to the states.

The Committee is of the opinion that when an individual, state is given autonomy in respect of a particular matter which is not conceded to all states some form of safeguard will be desirable.

The assurance in this regard was most welcomed. The form such safeguard will take is a matter to be worked out by constitutional experts.

42 - Existing laws to continue until replaced: With regard to the question of the validity of the existing laws in the Borneo Territories until replaced by Federal law, the Committee is satisfied with the explanation that subject to modifications, existing laws on Federal matters would continue until amended or repealed by Parliament.

Existing laws on state matters will continue until amended or replaced by the State legislature.

43 - Economic Aspects of Malaysia: The Committee made a thorough study of the papers relating to the economic aspects of Malaysia which were tabled by the Federation delegation.

The Committee is adequately assured that the future economic and trade policy of the Federation of Malaysia would not deviate from those precepts which are admirably suited for the purpose of the common prosperity and welfare of the people of Malaysia.

44 - Allocation of development funds and scholarships: Assurances on the allocation of development funds were most welcome. The Committee endorsed the principle that the amount should not depend on the size of the state but on priorities, so that the less developed state would get a greater share of such funds.

In regard to the Federal and Colombo Plan scholarships, candidates would be selected on a fair basis depending on merits.

State scholarships would remain purely a state matter. Account will be taken in the allocation of Federal, Colombo Plan and other overseas scholarships and training facilities of the need to narrow the gap in educational and technical standards amongst people in various states.

WE, the members of the delegations to the

Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee from Brunei, Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, having completed our deliberations in Singapore this day do hereby attest this Memorandum:

Done at Singapore this third day of February, 1962.

CHAIRMAN: Mr D.A. Stephens;

Brunei Delegation (Observers)

Leader: Dato Setia Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed Daud; **Members:** Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Mohamed Yusuf; Haji Jamil bin P.U.K. Awang Haji Umar; Dato Temenggong Lim Cheng Choo; and Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Mohamed Zain.

Sabah Delegation: **Leader:** O.K.K. Datu

Mustapha bin Datu Harun; **Members:** Mr Pang Tet Tshung; O.K.K. G.S. Sundang; and Mr Lai En Kong.

Sarawak Delegation: **Leader:** Mr Yeو Cheng Hoe; **Members:** Mr. Ong Kee Hui, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang; Dato Abang Haji Openg; Mr Ling Beng Siew; and Mr James Wong.

Federation of Malaya Delegation: **Leader:** Inche Mohamed Khir Johari; **Members:** Inche Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof; Mr V. Manickavasagam; Dr Burhanuddin bin Mohamed Noor; Mr Lee Siok Yew; Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee; and Inche Abdul Ghani bin Ishak.

Singapore delegation:

Leader: Mr Lee Kuan Yew; **Members:** Inche Ahmad bin Ibrahim; Mr S. Rajaratnam; Dato Abdul Hamid bin Haji Jumat.

EXTRACTS FROM CLOSING SPEECHES BY DELEGATION LEADERS: Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun (North Borneo)

"I think we can feel that we can congratulate ourselves for the work we have done. Patting oneself on the back is not what we are here for, but after these months of hard work getting Malaysia down on paper it is not unnatural that we should feel happy and elated now that our work is done, and I think the work is well done.

"I think that even our severest critic, if he is honest and sincere in his criticism, must admit that the Memorandum is an important document. For us in the Borneo Territories it is important because it embodies all the safeguards which we have asked for; because it should once and for all clear all the doubts and misgivings which many still profess to have.

"The Memorandum is indeed a blue print for Malaysia and should I hope help to make the work of the Cobbold Commission easier because of the painstaking work which has been put into it by experts of all the governments concerned.

"Our thanks are due to the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, for having proposed this great Malaysia Plan, an historic plan which shall have its effect on the lives of all of us and of our children and our children's children.

"Without our Tunku's proposal we would today still be thinking in our own way,

working for a future which would be perilous indeed for us of the Borneo Territories. To the Tunku therefore we must express our heartfelt thanks for the proposal which was responsible for the existence of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee and for shining before us the torch which lights the road to a happy secure and prosperous future — THE ROAD TO MALAYSIA."

Dato Setia Pengiran Ali (Brunei)

"At the beginning of this series of meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the Committee was faced with many difficulties, doubts and allegations in respect of the proposed Malaysia Plan: but after several meetings had been held, all of them were disposed of satisfactorily.

"Even though we, on our part, did not submit questions, seek information or give our assurances on this question of Malaysia, let it not be said that we are not aware of the respective stands taken by the other delegations.

"The Committee has succeeded in preparing a memorandum which contains the views of the various delegations, with regard to the proposed Malaysia Plan.

"I wish to stress that the views contained in this memorandum have been expressed by

this Committee with all sincerity of heart and have in no way been dictated by foreign elements. But we have no right, however, to commit our Government in this matter."

"The question whether Brunei will join the Federation of Malaysia depends on His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, who should study the memorandum of this Committee, the views of the people which have been collected by the Commission in Brunei, while also examining other aspects in the interests of our country.

"We are convinced that good intentions and sincere wishes will have the blessing of God Almighty. God will not be a party to those who want to subvert their country, nation and religion."

Mr Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)

"This last meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee has been a gruelling one. However, no one need make any apologies for having made the others sweat it out to find the answers to questions important and unimportant, points big and small and sometimes even when the points have been agreed to, it was not easy to find a form of words which would satisfy all of us.

"For after all, this is an important document. It marks the end of our labours to give form and definition to the concept of Malaysia.

"There may have been no departures from the trend of thinking and argument that started in Jesselton and progressed in Kuching and Kuala Lumpur. But to put it into one document to which every member present expresses his support and agreement is a remarkable achievement of reasonableness, tolerance and a desire to accommodate one another's difficulties.

"With the conclusion of the task of documentation, a new phase opens. It is the duty of each and everyone of us in our respective Legislative Chambers to marshal support and mobilise the large reservoir of nationalist solidarity now diffused over the communities in our five territories.

"That is the new task we together and separately must accomplish. We all know that Malaysia is historically inevitable and that it will come about in any case. But if we do our task well, then it will come about with the maximum of understanding of the true objectives of Malaysia and the maximum of good-

will for the many difficulties that had been resolved only by reasonable compromise and the taking of the middle road between two separate and contending points of view, on the many details of how Malaysia is to be brought about.

"Our work can make the day Malaysia is established an event to be awaited with eager expectation of a new and pleasant journey on the road to survival in unity and prosperity in strength. We must do everything to dispel the evil slurs and aspersions on the concept of Malaysia."

Inche Mohamed Khir Johari (Malaya)

"It is a matter for gratification for all of us that this Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, after only four meetings and within a short period of just over five months, have been able to agree on a memorandum which we all have just signed setting out a practicable and realistic framework for the setting up of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"In the Federation of Malaya we have, under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman and backed by the determination of the people, been able to achieve independence in spite of the various obstacles from all sides. In the same way it is our firm conviction that nothing can stop the onward march of the peoples of Singapore, Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak towards genuine independence through federation with the 11 states in Malaya in the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"I am sure that as a result of our work all genuine doubts and misgivings will be allayed and the mutual benefits that will accrue from our belonging together in a united, independent and democratic Malaysia will become clearly apparent to all who love freedom and are proud of the land of their birth or adoption and hold dear their way of life, their cultural heritage, their own welfare and the future of their children.

"The Malaysia that we have together conceived will be a happy land of free people, enjoying peace and prosperity, under a stable and strong central Government which will ensure the security of the lives and property of our people and at the same time accommodating the special interests of each territory

through the granting of local autonomies within a federal system of government."

'No question of domination'

"We, from the Federation of Malaya, who have already achieved our own independence would like to share the benefits of freedom with our brethren in this part of the world with whom we have so much in common.

"There is no question of the Federation of Malaya trying to dominate the other territories in the proposed Federation of Malaysia, for with the establishment of Malaysia the Federation of Malaya itself will cease to exist and will be replaced by a greater Federation of Malaysia in which the 11 independent states which now form our present Federation and the other four territories will take their places as equal partners in the Federation of Malaysia.

"All the talk about the flag of the Federation of Malaya replacing the British flag is sheer nonsense, for when this Federation comes into being we all will have a new flag for the new nation which will symbolise the unity of the 15 member States of Malaysia.

"I would like to end this speech of mine with a little note of caution. Let us not think that with the presentation of this memorandum which we have just signed and which has our unanimous agreement, our work is by any means over.

"We must realise at all times the presence, both within and outside our territories, of forces which, for their own selfish ends, try to wreck the good work that we have done and are trying to do. But so long as we are united we can be confident that we will succeed, for I believe that —

Divided, we fail;
United, they fail.

Mr Donald Stephens (Chairman)

"To my dying day I will never forget the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee. Here I saw the Malaysia Plan take shape into something tangible; something solid; something in which I can say at last, without any reserve, that it has my full and complete support.

"As the person who was the first to raise the doubts and misgivings felt by myself and by the people of Sabah, and as someone who was dedicated to seeing that these doubts and

fears can only be cleared by the safeguards which I feel are necessary if Malaysia is to come about, I have naturally paid special attention to all the safeguards which I feel the people of North Borneo as a whole would want.

"I can say that from the answers which we have received to all our questions, and the assurances and re-assurances which we have received in regard to these safeguards, only a blind man would fail to see that all the possible and reasonable safeguards which North Borneo would want, have in fact, been fully guaranteed by the proposers of Malaysia, namely the Federation of Malaya.

"We should be grateful for the kindness, patience and consideration which the delegates of the Federation of Malaya have shown throughout our meetings.

"There must have been times when some of our questions looked almost silly; others must have been very irksome, but the patience which was shown by the delegates of the Federation throughout all our meetings was, I think, the greatest proof of the sincerity of the delegates when they say that Malaysia is a plan meant to be for the good of all of us of the five constituent countries and not for any one single country.

"As for me I have long since been convinced that Malaysia is the only hope of my country's survival in these turbulent times, and that it is only Malaysia which can give us any guarantee of our future security.

"I hope and pray that all the people of the Borneo Territories will also be able to see how necessary it is that we should get together with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore so that, we would have a nation big enough to be truly viable economically and one which would be politically unencroachable.

"We can already feel the cold winds of hate being blown at Malaysia. While at one time, when the forces who bear us ill will felt that Malaysia was just so much talk and was not within our means to achieve, they pretended to support the idea.

"But now they know that the vast majority of the people of Malaysia know that Malaysia is their only sure hope of containing Communism within Malaysia and of keeping Communism out of Malaysia, these forces have come out openly against Malaysia.

"I have heard radio stations outside Malaysia condemning Malaysia as the work

of 'colonial stooges' and 'neo-colonialists'; these expressions are well known, they are the brand which the communists put on all who will not toe the Communist line and who dare fight Communism in our part of the world.

"Resolutions have been passed condemning the work of this Committee. Communist-inspired resolutions which merely show the true colours of those who passed these resolutions.

"In a way I think we should be grateful for these resolutions because they have now clearly drawn the line between ourselves, the believers in Malaysia as a bulwark against Communism in this part of the world and the forces which seek to destroy Malaysia, to see that we, the countries of Malaysia, remain disunited and weak the easier for each of us to be gobbled up in time by Communism.

"Now that we see the danger clearly, now that we know who are our friends and who the enemy is; let us keep the unity of purpose created by this Committee alive by an unrelenting battle against these forces which would seek to destroy Malaysia.

'Pocket Parliament of Malaysia'

"I think I would not be completely wrong in saying that here in this Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee we have in fact seen a pocket Parliament of Malaysia at work.

"The principles which governed our meetings were the principles of democracy; the debates, which we have had at our meetings have been debates by parliamentarians of the countries which will constitute the Federation of Malaysia.

"Some of our debates have been heated and so they should as in all parliaments; but it has been heart warming to see, to know, that everything was done for the best and that there were no hard feelings and we all part today as friends.

"May be in the years to come when the Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia reaches its full bloom and we have retired from work and have to look after our grandchildren instead of taking any active part in parliamentary work, it would be a source of some consolidation for us to be able to tell our grandchildren that we, the members of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee were the first to have had a foretaste of what

the Federation of Malaysia Parliament would be like!"

PANAS CHAIRMAN PAYS TRIBUTE TO MALAYSIA COMMITTEE

The Chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, Abang Haji Mustapha, paid tribute to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee for preparing the groundwork "for the establishment of a powerful Federation of Malaysia" when he declared open the party branches at Kampongs Tabuan Ulu and Tabuan Lama, in Kuching Rural District, last Sunday.

He also praised the British Government for agreeing to the creation of Malaysia as well as the Sarawak Government for the "timely step" it had taken in issuing its paper setting out and explaining in simple terms what Malaysia meant to the people of Sarawak.

Abang Haji Mustapha added: "This is most desirable in order to assist the people in making up their minds on what views they should present to the Commission of Enquiry."

The district councils, he went on to say, were also "worthy of our sincere appreciation" for their all-out effort to propagate the Government paper on "Malaysia and Sarawak" among the rural people.

He added: "Their tasks are by no means simple but by understanding and sharing the same aspirations for achieving independence they are carrying out their civic responsibilities to best of their ability."

The chairman ended by appealing to every inhabitant of Sarawak to support and work hard for the creation of the Federation of Malaysia in which, he said, lay the future stability, security and economic advancement of the people.

49 KAMPONGS AND LONGHOUSES SAY 'YES' TO PLAN

More than 1,000 villagers and representatives drawn from 49 kampongs and longhouses in the Third Division, gave their full support to the Malaysia Plan at a mass meeting held in Sibü on Wednesday.

They came from kampongs and long-

houses in the Mukah, Matu, Sarikei and Binatang areas carrying a population estimated at 50,000.

The mass meeting was the climax of a series of kampong and longhouse meetings held earlier in January.

Seven Native associations — Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (Sibu Branch); the Muslim Association; the Malay/Melanau Association; Melati Haderah; Malay Union Club; Sarawak Natives' Association; and Melanau Association — sponsored the meeting.

The chairman of the meeting, Inche Ahmad Zaidi bin Adruce, gave a two-hour talk on Malaysia based on the booklets now available.

A heavy downpour in the middle of the talk failed to dampen the interest of the crowd who opened up their umbrellas and kept on listening.

Following the talk, the chairman asked the gathering to indicate their acceptance or otherwise of the Malaysia Plan. Their response was a loud "Sokong" (we support).

After speeches by representatives of va-

rious villages, the meeting unanimously passed the following resolutions:

- Full support to Malaysia Plan
- Governor/Head of State must be from the bumiputera (son of the soil) of Sarawak
- Privileges as accorded to the Malays in the Federation of Malaya must also be given to the Natives of Sarawak without discrimination
- Measures to improve the economy and standard of living of the Natives should be taken immediately after Malaysia has been realised and top priority accorded to the less advanced communities
- Compulsory and free primary education and more facilities for higher education must be established as soon as possible after the realisation of Malaysia.

It is learned that a memorandum will be prepared by the Organising Committee to be presented to the Commission of Enquiry when it comes to Sibü.

COBBOLD COMMISSION ARRIVES NEXT WEEK TASK WILL TAKE TWO MONTHS MALAYSIA

11/2/62 — 17/2/62

The five man Commission of Enquiry, which will ascertain the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the suggested inclusion of the two territories in a Federation of Malaysia, will arrive in Kuching on Monday, February 19, to begin its work, which is expected to take about two months.

The members are: **Chairman** — The Right Honourable Lord Cobbold; **Nominated by the British Government** — Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherstone; **Nominated by the Malayan Government** — Dato Wong Pow Nee, and Inche Muhammad Ghazalie bin Shafie. The Secretary to the Commission is Mr I.H. Harris, of the Colonial Office.

The Commission will spend a week in Kuching and the First Division, visiting the following places at the times indicated to hear oral evidence.

Tuesday, February 20

Kuching, in the
Supr Building.
From 2.3

Wednesday, February 21 — Continuing in
Kuching. 9 a.m.

Thursday, February 22 — Bau, in the
District
Officer's
bungalow.
From 9.10 a.m.

Friday, February 23 — Sematan (for
Lundu District).
From 9 a.m.

Saturday, February 24 — Serian (for
Upper and
Lower Sadong
Districts) From
9.30 a.m.

On February 25, the Commission will leave for Jesselton and on March 9 commence a series of visits in Sarawak returning to Kuching on March 30, and leaving for North Borneo on April 1.

The following programme of visits has been arranged:-

Friday, March 9: The Commission will travel by R.A.F. aircraft from Jesselton to Lawas in the morning and will hear evidence in the Lawas court room during the day. In the evening it will leave Lawas by air for Brunei and then go to Limbang by launch.

Saturday, March 10: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room at Limbang.

Sunday, March 11: The Commission will go by launch to Brunei and thence by air to Miri.

Monday, March 12: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room in Miri.

Tuesday, March 13: The Commission will travel by air to Marudi in the morning. Some members will stay in Marudi and some will go on to Long Akah. The day will be spent in hearing evidence at Marudi and Long Akah.

Wednesday, March 14: The Commission will return to Miri by air in the early morning and leave at once for Bintulu. During the day it will hear evidence in the court room at Bintulu. In the evening it will go by air to Mukah.

Thursday, March 15: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room at Mukah during the day and go to Sibü by air in the evening.

Friday, March 16: The Commission will hear evidence in the High Court in Sibü.

Saturday, March 17: The Commission will continue to hear evidence in the High Court in Sibü during the morning and in the afternoon will go to Kanowit in M.Y. "Zahora".

Sunday, March 18: The Commission will go by M.Y. "Zahora" to Kapit.

Monday, March 19: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room at Kapit.

Tuesday, March 20: The Commission will go by M.Y. "Zahora" to Kanowit and will hear evidence in the court room at Kanowit during the afternoon.

Wednesday, March 21: The Commission will continue to hear evidence in the court room at Kanowit during the morning and will go by M.Y. "Zahora" to Sibü in the afternoon.

Thursday, March 22: The Commission will go by speedboat to Binatang in the morning, hear evidence in the court room at Binatang and leave for Sarikei in the evening.

Friday, March 23: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room at Sarikei and in the evening will leave by M.Y. "Zahora" for

the Second Division.

Saturday, March 24: The Commission is expected to arrive at Saratok at about 10.30 a.m. and will spend the day hearing evidence in the court room there. It will leave for the Saribas in the evening.

Monday, March 26: The Commission will go to Betong from Tanjong Assam, Saribas, by boat in the morning, will spend the day hearing evidence in the court room at Betong and will leave for Simanggang overland in the evening.

Tuesday, March 27: The Commission will hear evidence in the court room at Simanggang.

Wednesday, March 28: The Commission will go to Engkilil by boat in the morning, spend the day hearing evidence in the court room there and return to Simanggang in the evening.

Thursday, March 29: The day will be spent in Simanggang.

Friday, March 30: The Commission will leave Simanggang by air for Kuching.

Written representations to the Commission should be sent to the Secretary, Malaysia Commission, c/o the Secretariat Kuching, or c/o any District Officer. All such communications will be acknowledged.

It will facilitate the work of the Commission if written memoranda are submitted as early as possible, and in advance of the Commission's visit to the district of the persons making representations.

People who wish to give oral evidence before the Commission should say so in writing to their District Officer giving their names and addresses. Such notifications should be sent in not less than seven days before the Commission visits the centre concerned.

Wherever possible views should be expressed collectively through a spokesman. Spokesmen may be supported by a limited number of colleagues but the sittings of the Commission will not be open to the general public unless specifically so announced beforehand.

The Commission will not disclose the course of views submitted to it, whether orally or in writing, where the persons concerned wish this to remain confidential.

COUNTRY-WIDE INTEREST IN THE MALAYSIA PLAN GREW IN INTENSITY THIS WEEK WITH THE HOLDING OF MEETINGS, ISSUING OF STATEMENTS AND OTHER FORMS OF CAMPAIGNING.

SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT VIEWS EXPRESSED AND STANDS TAKEN ON THE SUBJECT ARE GIVEN IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES TOGETHER WITH OTHER ARTICLES OF INTEREST.

Tua Kampongs and representatives of local associations and organisations in the First Division, representing an estimated total population of 20,000, pledged full support for the Malaysia Plan at a four-hour meeting held in Kuching on Sunday.

The meeting also passed the following seven resolutions

- That the Head of State be called Yang di-Pertuan Negara, who must be a 'bumi-putera' (son of the soil)
- That special privileges be given to the indigenous people
- That the State should control immigration
- That there should be freedom of religion
- That Malay should be the national language and that English be used as the official language in conjunction with Malay for at least 10 years
- That internal security be the responsibility of the Federal Government
- It was not agreed to create a Sultan or Rajah to be Head of State

The meeting, sponsored by the Malay National Union, was attended by 12 Tua Kampongs and 35 representatives of associations.

It was the climax of a series of individual kampong and association meetings held recently.

The meeting was addressed by Inche Abdul Rahman Ya'kub who was elected chairman, and the President of the MNU, Inche Mohamed Haji Bakeri.

The President disclosed that at a meeting held on December 9 last year to discuss the Malaysia Plan, a resolution was passed the MNU should extend invitations to all Native associations to come forward and discuss the Plan.

Some of the many speakers at the meeting expressed doubts and fears, while others said that they fully supported the Plan.

It is understood that a memorandum will be submitted to the Cobbold Commission.

More than 200 residents of Kampong Gita, in Kuching, held a meeting on Monday and unanimously approved a resolution giving fullest support to the Malaysia Plan.

They also passed the following resolutions

- That the elected Head of State must be of indigenous origin
- That Malay be adopted as the national language but English may be used alongside Malay as the official language for 15 years after the date of the country's independence
- That special privileges or positions must be afforded to be indigenous people of the country similar to what is afforded to the Malays in Malaya today.
- That the customs of the indigenous peoples must be respected, safeguarded and sustained
- That the native customary land rights and farming tenure must be respected, safeguarded and sustained
- That migration into Sarawak by people from foreign lands or from states with the Federation of Malaysia must be subject to the control and administration of the local state government.

Tua Kampong Haji Dol bin Osman, who presided over the meeting, explained to the people the concept of Malaysia.

Some speakers expressed their fears that Sarawak would be colonised by Malaya and that autonomy on certain subjects would not be granted to the country. After lengthy debates, the residents approved the country's participation in Malaysia.

A memorandum is to be submitted, through Tua Kampong Dol and other delegates, to the Cobbold Commission.

BERJASA BRANCH GIVES SUPPORT

The Ulu Bandar Branch of Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak in Kuching, which held a rally on Wednesday to mark its opening expressed support of the Malaysia Plan with certain safeguards for the country.

Speaking at the rally, which was attended by about 500 people, Inche Mohamed Haji Bakeri, a member of the National Executive

Council of the Party, explained the proposals to the people and said that Malaysia could not be achieved "simply by talking about it."

He went on to say that although most of the Malays and Dayaks in the country supported Malaysia, a similar big force was opposing it.

Inche Abdul Kadir Hassan, another Executive Council member, emphasised that Berjasa was not formed merely to accept Malaysia, but to guarantee the peace, prosperity and well-being of the Natives.

He also stated that the Party would fight against any political organisations found to be "nestling communists" and added: "It is our aim to eliminate the scourge of communism."

Inche Pathi Taha, the Branch Secretary, informed the rally that the Branch had recently passed a resolution supporting Malaysia in principle, providing certain safeguard were given.

The newly-established Santubong (First Division) Branch of the Berjasa has also passed a resolution accepting Malaysia in principle and requesting its national executive council to declare its stand on Malaysia.

It is understood that the Party will now await similar resolutions from its other branches before considering its stand on Malaysia on executive council level.

SUPP BRANCHES LAUNCH 'ANTI-M' CAMPAIGN

Individual branches of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party are collecting anti-Malaysia signatures for presentation to the Cobbold Commission during its forthcoming tour of Sarawak.

The document people are being asked to sign says: "We are opposed to Malaysia Plan until self-government or independence is achieved". It is already circulating in upcountry districts and in various wards of the Kuching Municipal Area.

According to one report, in ward 5 alone more than 400 shopkeepers have signed the document. Other reports say that school-children have been helping to distribute the document.

Mr Ong Kee Hui, chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, said that the suggestion for this campaign had initially come from the branches of the Party.

Originally, he said, the branches had wanted to hold anti-Malaysia demonstra-

tions. They had been told, however, that the leaders of all parties had agreed with the Government that political demonstrations should not take place during the Commission's visit. The SUPP party branches had then asked whether they might organise a signature-collecting campaign instead.

Mr Ong said that at a SUPP meeting held during his absence in Singapore at the fourth session of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, it had been agreed that individual branches might collect signatures if they wished to do so, but that the collection of signatures must be on a voluntary basis.

Mr Ong added that the signed documents opposing Malaysia would be presented to the Cobbold Commission by individual SUPP branches and not by the Party as a whole.

Warning by Panas

The Secretariat of the Party Negara Sarawak issued a signed statement which said that it had come to the Party's knowledge that certain persons were "using tricks to solicit signatures from both urban and rural people for a document which purported to support the Malaysia Plan".

The statement warned people to study any document very carefully and to be absolute certain of its contents before signing it. Rural people, it said, should always consult their headmen before committing themselves.

The statement ended by saying that the public should take cognizance "of the monstrous intrusion of forces which, for their own selfish ends, are trying to wreck the good work which the Government and all those who are sincere in their aspirations have done and are trying to do."

SUPP PUBLICATION ATTACKS MALAYSIA PLAN

The Sarawak United Peoples' Party devoted the ninth issue of its Chinese language publication, Unity, which appeared this week, to criticisms of the Malaysia Plan.

The editorial states that the Malaysia Plan means a mere transfer of power from the colonialists, "who can no longer retain colonialism in its old forms under present international pressures," to "reliable" right wing elements.

It points out that the Plan will not afford real independence to the peoples of the

Borneo Territories and Singapore but will help soften the "peoples rising feeling of anti-colonialism", blur the aim of their struggle and prolong the life of colonialism".

The editorial goes on to say: "One of the most important principles of the Plan is to ask Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah, each as a state, to merge with the present 11 states of Malaya in forming a Federation of Malaysia."

"Why should Sarawak join as a state of Malaya, which has 11 states? What we hold against the Plan is that we would be ruled by the present Malayan Government".

The editorial concludes: "The Sarawak people know how to expose the intrigues contained in the Plan and they also have the knowledge and courage to struggle. We are convinced that this kind of struggle would bring unity eventually. All comrades, respond to the party's call on the anti-Malaysia Plan and take action!"

The issue next publishes a circular informing members that, in view of the Government's "undemocratic refusal" to allow the holding of demonstrations and mass meetings when the Commission of Enquiry arrives, the Party has decided to protest against this decision and to hold a rally at its headquarters to declare: "We do not want the Greater Malaysia Plan and we do not want new colonial masters".

'Independence first'

The Party's attitude towards the Malaysia Plan, calling for independence first before consideration is given to Malaysia, is explained in another article.

The same theme is expressed by the Party's Secretary-General, Mr Stephen Yong, in another article, which is followed by an attack on the "Lee Kuan Yew clique" and another which reviews the anti-Malaysia forces in the five territories and criticises Malaya, stating that Malaya still possesses a "feudalistic society" and that its economy is controlled by foreign capitalists.

Mr Chan Siaw Hee, Organising Secretary of the SUPP, in his contribution, deplors the action of the Singapore Government in refusing "comrade" Tan Chong Meng, a party delegate at the recent conference of Socialist parties held in Kuala Lumpur, permission to stay in Singapore.

The resolutions of the Socialist confe-

rence, the joint communique, working reports submitted by the SUPP and Party Rakyat of Malaya, together with an account of the "triumphant closing" are given in other articles.

Reprints of some anti-Malaysia statements by the Party Ra'ayat of Brunei are also published, followed by two poems and two songs.

Resignations from the Sarikei (Third Division) Branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, have now risen to 346, it was reported this week.

A small number, however, intend to apply for re-admission.

The Branch, at a meeting held on Sunday, passed nine resolutions, one of which expressed no confidence in the Malaysia Commission "as its members are appointed by the British and Malayan Governments."

It also condemned what it described as "all the little groups pretending to represent the people but in reality were anti the people."

Another resolution condemned the colonialists who, it said, were attempting to represent the people but in the participation of Malaysia and who were sending out people to propagate the Malaysia Plan with the object of confusing the people in their own struggle.

Appeal to 'comrades'

The Branch appealed to members of the Party to be on guard against the conspiracy of pro-colonialists and 'speculators' who were out to destroy the unity of the people. It also appealed to "all comrades" in the country to strengthen their organisation and learning and to be prepared to oppose colonialism.

Another resolution declared that Mr Chen Ko Ming, former vice-chairman of the Branch, and Mr Chen Tung Sheng, former secretary, who recently resigned from the Party, had repeatedly disobeyed the "correct collective leadership" of the Party and had disregarded public opinion is sabotaging unity within the Party.

In view of this it had been unanimously decided to refuse to accept their resignations but to expel them.

51 PENGHULUS (REPRESENTING 112,000 DAYAKS) SUPPORT MALAYSIA

Fifty-one Penghulus (elected chiefs) of the Third Division, representing a population of

112,000 Sea Dayaks, held an "aum" (traditional meeting of Sea Dayak chiefs) at Kapit bazaar this week to discuss the Malaysia Plan which resulted in unanimous support for it.

The meeting, however, decided that the following points should be put before the Cobbold Commission —

- Each head of State in the Federation of Malaysia should also be eligible in due course to be Head of the Federation
- The Head of State of Sarawak should be a Native of Sarawak
- English should remain the official language of Sarawak and should be one of the official languages of Malaysia
- Education should be a Federal subject so that all states may enjoy equal advantages
- Customary law to remain a State responsibility
- Land to remain a State responsibility
- Freedom of religion
- Adequate representation of Sarawak in the Federation of Malaysia Government
- British officers to remain until replaced by properly qualified local people
- Natives to have a fair share of Government employment; to enjoy the same privileges as the Malays in the Federation of Malaya; and to have a fair share of overseas scholarships
- Powers reserved to the State under the Malaysia constitution may not be changed without the agreement of the State
- Migration should remain under the control of Sarawak
- Development should be accelerated

The meeting also supported all the other agreements reached and assurances and safeguards contained in the Memorandum on Malaysia published by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee recently.

SARAWAK'S ECONOMY WILL IMPROVE WITH UNITY — JUGAH

Speaking on the Malaysia Plan at the last meeting of the Kapit District Council, the chairman, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, said that if the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah were united, the people of Sarawak would be

strong enough and better equipped to improve their economy.

Temenggong Jugah stressed that it was his fervent desire to see the Natives of Sarawak gain equal footing with the other races.

Warning councillors, about the "bad elements" in the country, he said: "We must protect our future generations. We must think deeply about the proposals and inform our people of them."

Earlier, in referring to the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, Temenggong Jugah said that all questions raised at the conference had been answered satisfactorily and this had as a result "very much cleared the air of our doubts."

He added: "Six months ago, when I met Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaya, he was trying to put across the idea of Malaysia to me.

"I had then very little knowledge at all of what he was talking about. At the conference I began to understand something, and later in Kuala Lumpur I had a clearer picture of the whole concept.

"It was so amazing to see so many different people of various political parties getting along so well with each other."

CHINESE ASSOCIATION LEADERS MEET

The Conference of Representatives of Chinese community associations, convened by the Kuching Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, has decided to submit a memorandum on Malaysia to the Cobbold Commission.

The memorandum will contain cross-section views and opinions of the Chinese community and will have a summary of written statements of Chinese organisations submitted to the Chamber.

At the Conference, the representative of the Chawan Association said his association had discussed the Malaysia Plan and decided that Sarawak should achieve self-government and independence first, after which it should federate with the other two Borneo territories before joining the Federation of Malaysia.

The Conference was told that the Hokkien Association's stand on the issue was similar to that of the Chawan Association and that the

people should have the right of self-determination. The Foochow and Lui Yang associations have stated that they are not in favour of the Plan. The Tai Poo Association has also passed a resolution opposing Malaysia.

Meanwhile six Chinese associations which met separately in Kuching on Thursday passed resolutions opposing the Malaysia Plan.

They included the Kheng Chew, Ka Ing, Lung-See, and Coffee Shop Owners' associations.

BINATANG COUNCIL SAYS 'NO' TO PLAN

The Binatang (Third Division) District Council debated the Malaysia Plan at its meeting held earlier this month and passed a resolution stating that it was not in favour of Malaysia at present.

The resolution added: "If Sarawak must be forced to decide in a rush, the Council recommends a referendum".

The motion was proposed by the chairman, Mr Teng Tun Hsin and seconded by Mr Sia Kie Tu.

Of the 14 councillors, including the chairman, who spoke only one supported the Malaysia concept, another councillor said that he had no comments to make as he had not yet consulted his people, and a third said that his people, who were all Malay kampong folk, were "indecisive" but added that they would follow the opinions of the majority of the Malays "in deciding the acceptance or otherwise of the Plan".

'Big problem'

The rest of the councillors indicated that their people were generally not in favour of Malaysia.

The chairman, summing up the discussion, said that the consensus of opinion, as expressed at the meeting, was against the immediate implementation of the Malaysia Plan.

He said that Malaysia was a "big problem" and it required time and careful thought before the people of Sarawak could come to a decision.

SARIKEI CHINESE HEADMEN SAY 'YES'

Headmen, sub-headmen and two Kapitan China, who attended a meeting called by Mr H.R. Harlow, District Officer, Sarikei (Third Division) on Friday, February 9, all spoke in favour of the Malaysia Plan.

However, they stressed that the acceptance of the Plan must be subject to the safeguards already discussed for the indigenous peoples of Sarawak.

The headmen, sub-headmen and the Kapitan China will now explain to the people in their respective areas the concept of Malaysia and report back their views.

There will also be a meeting of the headmen and sub-headmen of Sibn on February 23 to discuss the Malaysia Plan.

The next meeting of Council Negri originally fixed for March 14 has been postponed to May 1, owing to the forthcoming arrival of the Commission of Enquiry on Malaysia and its operations in Sarawak in February and March this year.

Malaysia Our Destiny

Representatives of the pro-Malaysia political parties in Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo reaffirmed their strong support for Malaysia at the conclusion of a conference held in Jesselton on 16th & 17th February 1963.

The conference was called by Mr Donald Stephens, of the Sabah Alliance Party, in view of the recent opposition by the Philippines and Indonesia towards the creation of the Malaysian Federation.

A resolution containing five 'proclama-

tions' was passed on Sunday and it was announced by the Singapore Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Toh Chin Chye, that plans were being made for the formation of a Malaysia Solidarity Action Committee to mobilise world opinion in favour of Malaysia and to check "foreign intervention".

Dr Toh said that the conference was determined not to let foreign intervention delay the formation of Malaysia and that for this purpose a Malaysia Solidarity Action Committee should be formed with one member from each

of the five parties present. He added that the Sabah Alliance Party would form the secretariat of the Action Committee.

The following resolution was passed:-

Whereas the peoples of Sabah, Brunei, Sarawak and Singapore, of their own free will have expressed their desire to form the Federation of Malaysia with the Federation of Malaya

We the representatives of pro-Malaysia political parties elected by the peoples of the five territories concerned, in conference in Jesselton on February 16 and 17, hereby jointly and unanimously proclaim:

1. Our deep regret that Indonesian leaders have expressed open support for the rebels in Brunei;
2. Our support of the rejection by the people of Sabah of the Philippines' claim to Sabah;
3. Our determination to realise Malaysia by August 31, 1963;
4. Our undivided support for such policies as may be necessary to secure the safety and integrity of the five territories of Malaysia from hostile forces;
5. Our intention to establish Malaysia which covets no other territories and which wishes to live in peace and prosperity with all its neighbours;

And towards this and we call upon the nations of the world:

- a) to take note of the danger to peace and to the integrity of Malaysia posed by threats of outside intervention,
- and
- b) to ensure that the 10 million peoples of Malaysia are left in peace to decide their destiny on their own without intimidation and interference from outside.

It was decided that this resolution be despatched to the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

Opening the conference at the Jesselton Community Centre on Saturday, February 16, Mr Donald Stephens, who was elected chairman, said that the presence of the delegations should prove to the world that the major political parties of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo were solidly behind the creation of Malaysia.

Referring to the charges and accusations

made against pro-Malaysia elements, Mr Stephens asked: "Are we stooges of the colonialists and imperialists? I think that even the biggest fool could see if he would take a little trouble to find out that we have all been anti-colonialists and nationalists who want freedom and independence for our countries as much as anybody else.

"Most of us are either elected members of legislative bodies of our countries or at least to the office we hold in our political parties."

'Uncalled for antagonism'

"Stories which are told of our being imperialist stooges out to save 'rubber, tin and oil for the imperialists' are therefore just so much eyewash."

Mr Stephens then referred to neighbours "who bear us ill-will" and said: "The recent events and the completely uncalled for antagonism shown towards the Borneo Territories have proved more than anything that the people had been right when they decided to join Malaysia.

He said that in the recent elections the pro-Malaysia Sabah Alliance Party made a clean sweep and proved conclusively that the people of Sabah were 100 per cent for Malaysia.

Referring to those people who said all they cared about was to see that the people of Sabah were allowed self-determination, Mr Stephens said he would ask them to come to Sabah and find out the true situation.

He next told the conference: "We have work to do. It must not only proclaim to the world that we stand united in our desire to see Malaysia established but must find the means to combat evil propaganda methods used by self-proclaimed enemies.

"We must work out how we can best fight subversion inside and outside Malaysia. We must see to it that the spirit of co-operation, friendship and solidarity will be kept alive and strengthened."

Mr Stephens then reviewed the events from the time the first meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was held in Jesselton in August, 1961 till the present time when the Inter-Governmental Report was about to be published.

Speaking next, Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, leader of the North Borneo delegation, regretted Indonesia's confrontation policy and said: "We have nothing against

Indonesia and would in fact want very much to be good neighbours and good friends."

He added: "I would like to say this to Indonesia. We in Sabah have decided that the people of all races and of all creeds want independence and that we are determined to see that independence will come through Malaysia."

'DUPED BY THE PARTY RAKYAT'

Referring to the Brunei revolt the Datu said that the people of Brunei had been duped into believing that Party Rakyat was nationalist — it was in fact a party which aimed at handing Brunei over to Indonesia.

"This is a completely false accusation. The people of Sabah feel their future must lie with neighbouring countries with which they have had long established ties," he said.

"Both Indonesia and the Philippines have turned antagonistic and refer to us as wanting to team up with the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Brunei in a plot to prolong colonialism in this part of the world.

Haji Abu Bakar, leader of the Brunei delegation, accused the Indonesian Communist Party of inspiring the Brunei revolt.

He pledged support for the Malaysia concept and said the people of Brunei backed Malaysia after the realisation that they had been duped by Party Rakyat.

He said the people had declared their loyalty to the Sultan and had realised their future was in Malaysia.

Temenggong Jugah, leader of the Sarawak Alliance, said that the people of his country supported Malaysia because they realised the benefits it could bring. The people of Sarawak, he added, had condemned the communist-inspired Brunei revolt.

He appealed to neighbouring countries to "leave us alone" and said that the people of Sarawak could manage their own affairs without interference.

Tun Lim Yew Hock, leader of the Singapore Peoples's Alliance, said that people who believed in democracy backed Malaysia.

Dr Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Premier of Singapore and leader of the People's Action Party delegation, said that the path towards the fulfilment of the Malaysia Plan and not been a smooth one.

Dr Toh said it was Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) which initiated the Indonesia opposition to Malaysia on the pretext that Malaysia represented neo-colonialism, adding: "The utter falsity of such reasoning could best be exposed by the people of Borneo Territories themselves. Our Borneo friends have reiterated that they are supporting Malaysia of their own free will and that Malaysia has not been imposed on them by the Federation of Malaya."

He added: "The Indonesian charge that Malaysia is a neo-colonialist plot and must, therefore, be opposed, has no grounds to stand on. We must look for other reasons for the Indonesian opposition to the plan.

"The Brunei delegation has just now explained to us the source of inspiration for the abortive rebellion which took place in their State. From this, we can make inferences on the real reasons for Indonesian opposition.

"Although Malaysia has not yet been formally proclaimed it is our duty and responsibility, as representatives of our people, to be the caretakers of the security and peace of the future Malaysia State.

Confronting 'confrontation'

"We come from different political parties but we have come here to seek concord among ourselves so that we can meet the task of uniting our people to confront any foreign intervention. This is a time when national interests must over-ride political party differences.

"When an arsonist threatens to set our house on fire, brothers do not quarrel with each other. We may be hurt and full of indignation at foreign intervention but let me plead that we deliberate in a calm and detached atmosphere so that we can better arrive on common ground for agreement on ways and means of confronting foreign confrontation.

"In the long run Malaysia must co-exist with its neighbours, particularly with Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia and the other states of South East Asia which are our most proximate neighbours. This is not only to our advantage but it is also to the advantage of our neighbouring countries.

Our energies should be expended on construction at home and not be burnt up by friction with our neighbouring territories. We must, therefore, positively work towards a

happy solution so that the present dispute with the Philippines and Indonesia will not reach the flash point of explosion in South East Asia.

"It will be a calamitous day if the existing tension between Malaysia and Indonesia develops to a state when Malaysia seeks the assistance of its allies on the one hand, and Indonesia should seek the assistance of her allies on the other.

"We do not want to become a battleground for an international ideological dispute between the Western powers and the communist bloc. Our efforts must, therefore, be towards reducing the tension between Malaysia and Indonesia.

"I do not believe that either side wishes the present war of words to heighten until the cold war becomes a hot-war, for this can only bring unhappiness and economic misery upon both sides.

"As a first step, there should be a truce in the prevailing war of words. If this pre-requisite can be fulfilled then we are convinced that a positive contribution towards maintaining peace in South East Asia will have been made by both sides.

"Let it not be misunderstood that the way of peace is a weakening of our determination to see the fulfilment of Malaysia.

"From recent events it would appear that the birth of Malaysia will not come about without our young nation experiencing birth pangs. Birth pangs, however painful we will endure and we are determined that the birth of Malaysia shall take place. It is, therefore, our duty to see that Malaysia is not aborted by the machination of external and internal forces who do not wish to see the fulfilment of this plan.

'LIKE FINGERS OF OUR HAND'

"This is an opportune moment for all of us to meet so that we can re-affirm our solidarity and our faith in the Malaysia Plan. It is also appropriate that we from Singapore and the Federation should cross the sea to visit our brothers in the Borneo Territories which are in danger of becoming a battle-field for foreign intervention.

"Our five territories are like the fingers of our hand. United we can achieve great things. Divided we will become isolated and be politically extirpated, one by one. There is no doubt that when Malaysia is formed we who

are of Malaysia will have to make our contribution and sacrifice if the sovereignty and peace of Malaysia should ever be threatened".

The last speaker was Dr Lim Swee Aun, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Malaya, and leader of the Malayan delegation.

He said that the conference assumed a "special importance" in view of the charge that Malaysia was "neo-colonialism" adding:

"The speeches by the leaders of the Sabah, Brunei, Singapore and Sarawak delegations have given the answer to these charges. They represent a spontaneous proclamation to the world that the people of these territories overwhelmingly desired the formation of Malaysia, and that they had made this decision of their own free will, that Malaysia was their best guarantee for a secure, happy and prosperous future."

Touching on the speech made by the leader of the Brunei delegation, he said that it was clear now that Azahari and his "handful of men revolted at the instigation of Indonesia and the Partai Komunis Indonesia."

He said that his delegation was grateful for the "unequivocal expression" of determination to exert every power for the establishment of Malaysia as planned, and hoped that in sessions to follow ways and means would be found to facilitate the birth of Malaysia this August.

He reiterated the sense of brotherhood that Malaya had for the members who would be joining the new family of Malaysia and stressed that the five territories had the same historical, cultural, economic and racial ties.

Dr Lim then said: "In the wake of the abortive rebellion in Brunei (which should serve to emphasise the need for us to get together in a Malaysian federation) and in the face of the confirmation by the delegation from Brunei and that the Communist-inspired attempts was not so much to foil the creation of Malaysia but, in fact, to establish the rule of the hammer and sickle.

WISHED TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY

"It is fitting that we should proclaim to the world our determination to carry the Malaysia Plan to fruition, and to declare in unequivocal terms our solidarity in this historic task."

He reminded the conference of Malaya's "life-or-death" struggle with Communism

during the 12 years of emergency, and that they knew from cruel experience that they could not co-exist with those who took their orders from the Kremlin.

He stressed that Malaya had wished only to live in peace and harmony, and for that reason she had been on the best of terms with all nations around her and refused to join the South East Asia Treaty Organisation.

Touching on relation between Malaya and Indonesia, he said that the two countries had been on the best of terms until recent months. Malaya signed her first Treaty of Friendship with Indonesia. Malaya wished only to carry out her obligation under the Treaty.

He hope their sincerity and goodwill would "yet prevail upon the Indonesians not to continue making utterances of a most unpalatable and unfriendly character," and assured that Malaysia would never be a threat to their security.

Dr Lim then said that their common border with Indonesia would bring them into closer affinity, and "that we could say we would be closer neighbours".

In spite of Communist-supplied war potential of Indonesia, people in Malaya had never regarded Indonesia as a threat to them now or in the future Malaysia. They respected the Treaty of Friendship with Indonesia and "the latent goodwill of the Indonesian people".

Speaking of "confrontation", he said that the word was but current "political jargon" which could be an abbreviation for "Communist-front agitation". Nonetheless, they should not be "caught off guard if Indonesia chooses to translate threats into action". He reiterated what the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya had said a few days ago that Malaya "will defend herself to the last man if necessary".

He said that Malaya had enjoyed happiness and prosperity and intended to give their people even more. They intended to share all this with the peoples of Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak through Malaysia.

In a speech of thanks before the close of the conference Mr Ling Beng Siew of Sarawak said that the fact that political alliances and parties of the five territories had taken part in the conference was ample proof of the firm determination of the great majority of the people of North Borneo, Singapore, Brunei, Malaya and Sarawak to achieve Malaysia, and that "in Malaysia lies our hope

for democracy and independence".

Full support for Tengku

He went on: "We want to take this opportunity to assure the Government and the people of Indonesia of our firm determination and intention to live in peace and harmony with all, especially Indonesia, who has been our close and friendly neighbour for the past centuries. Indonesia has just won her independence and she will, no doubt, be able to appreciate our striving for the same political and national objective.

"As Dr Toh Chin Chye, leader of the Singapore PAP delegation," has said, "the five territories are like the five fingers of our hand. We fully and wholeheartedly endorse this analogy. United we stand, divided we would surely fall. And I pray that this hand be used only for work and shaking those of our neighbours, be they near or distant.

"We would also request the Malayan delegation to convey our fullest support to Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman. We firmly believe that he is a man who labours for the unity and independence of the five territories through Malaysia, so we could live in peace and harmony with our neighbours. We trust him implicitly because we are able to rely on his political record.

"In this current world scene of frequent tension, and 'confrontation', may I suggest that we use our head as well as our heart. And this fact has also been amply shown in our resolutions. We are determined to have Malaysia by August 31, 1963.

"We are confident that all peace-loving people in the world would support and rejoice with us for the formation of Malaysia, and there should not be any reason that the Philippines and the Indonesian people should be exceptions.

"Indeed, looking back, we rejoiced with the Philippines and Indonesia not so long ago when they achieved their independence. Therefore, is it illogical or unreasonable that we should expect the same of them?"

Members of the delegations

SABAH ALLIANCE: Mr D.A. Stephens; Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun; Mr Li Yun Hin; Mr Khoo Siak Chiew; Mr Kehar Singh; Mr Pang Tet Tshung; Pengiran Ahmad Tajuddin; Mr Abdul Momen; Mr Ganie

Gilong; Mr Y.K. Wong; Che Harris bin Mohammed Salleh; Mr Richard Yap; Mr Yeh Pao Tsu; Mr Ngui Ah Kui; Inche Nonon bin Anad; Mr K.J. Joseph; Haji Yusuf Shamsuddin; Mr Peter Lo; Mr Sikopit Siganul; Mr Amadeus Leong; Mr Peter J. Mojuntin; Mr Stephen Tibok; Mr S. Mulkiaman and Mr A. Rival.

SARAWAK ALLIANCE: Temenggong Jugah; Mr Ling Beng Siew; Mr Chia Chin Shin and Haji Su'ut Tahir.

BRUNEI NATIONAL PARTY: Yang Mulia Penyurat Haji Abu Bakar; Inche Ahmad Latif bin Buyong; Inche Morshilin bin Baik; Inche Mohammed Tahir bin Abdul Rahman and Inche Mohammed bin Puit.

PEOPLE'S ACTION PARTY, SINGAPORE: Dr Toh Chin Chye; Mr S. Rajaratnam; Inche Buang bin Omar Junid; and Inche Mahmud Awang.

SINGAPORE PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE: Tun Lim Yew Hock; Dr Thio Chan Bee, and Dr Tay Teck Eng.

FEDERATION OF MALAYA ALLIANCE PARTY: Dr Lim Swee Aun; Inche Ismail bin Mohammed Yusof; Mr V. Manickavasagam; Tuan Haji Khalid bin Awang Osman and Senator T.H. Tan.

JESSELTON CONFERENCE: MORE CLOSING SPEECHES

Mr Donald Stephens said that the meeting had been a gathering of friends; friends who believed in something they all wanted to see realised. "We have gathered here, not to argue, but to put our minds to bear on a subject very near to our hearts," he said.

Mr Stephens continued: "All the political parties represented here have been unanimous in expressing their firm resolve to get on with the work of bringing about the new nation of which we will be a part by August, 1963 — Malaysia which will bind us together for better or for worse, never more to part."

He said that there should be no doubt that the political parties meeting in Jesselton represented the large majority of the peoples of Sabah, Brunei, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya and that those who were trying to wreck Malaysia should take note of this fact.

The next speaker, Mr Li Yun Hin, joint chairman of the Sabah Alliance Party, expressed deep appreciation for the way the delegations had carried out the business of

the conference.

On Malaysia, Mr Li said that the conference wanted to show that the actions of anti-Malaysia forces from the outside world were wrong and inappropriate. The majority of the peoples of the five territories concerned would not countenance outside interference in their sacred task of building a new nation.

"To each and everyone I give this advice — Malaysia is a vital issue so vital that it is our very life. In fact, it is our sole guarantee to preserve peace, prosperity and security in this region of the world. As such, any attempt to wreck it will be resisted with all the strength at our command," he added.

'One mind and one purpose'

"Let there be no mistake about this" he stressed. "We have no intention or desire to be embroiled with quarrels or conflicts. We can't afford to do that anyhow. All we ask is a chance to build a nation and to work for the well-being of the people". He hoped the world would give them that chance.

The leader of the Brunei delegation, Yang Mulia Penyurat Haji Abu Bakar, said: "I wish to state, that by the Grace of God, all our past deliberations will be fulfilled, especially about the formation of Malaysia by August 31, 1963."

He concluded: "We, on behalf of the people of Brunei, strongly condemn the Brunei rebellion organised by Sheikh Azahari. We must pray to God for the peace and prosperity of all the Malaysian territories."

Tun Lim Yew Hock, leader of the Singapore People's Alliance said that they had come to the end of their labour. Their deliberations had been short because they had but one mind and one purpose — the creation of Malaysia.

Mentioning the various allegations spread by anti-Malaysia elements that Malaysia was forced on the people, he said that they now stated in strong and unequivocal terms that Malaysia was what they wanted and asked their neighbours to leave them to work out their destiny. "We do not covet any territory at all; all we want to do is to live like one happy family".

MALAYSIA COMMISSION NAMED

LORD COBBOLD IS CHAIRMAN

The members of the five-man Commission, which will ascertain the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the Malaysia proposal and make recommendations after assessing these views, were named in a statement issued as follows.

They are: **Chairman** — The Right Honourable Lord Cobbold P.C., former Governor of the Bank of England; **Nominated by the British Government** — Sir Anthony Abell, K.C.M.G., former Governor of Sarawak and Sir David Watherston, K.B.E., C.M.G., former Chief Secretary of the Federation of Malaya; **Nominated by the Malayan Government** — Dato Wong Pow Nee, Chief Minister of Penang and Inche Muhammad Ghazalie bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs.

The Secretary of the Commission will be Mr I.H. Harris of the Colonial Office.

Lord Cobbold, who is 57-years-old, was from 1949 until June last year, Governor of the Bank of England.

He was High Sheriff of the County of London for 1946—47 and is one of Her Majesty's Lieutenants for the City of London.

He was educated at Eton and Cambridge University and after becoming a London accountant and insurance broker, launched into a successful career in banking.

He was created a Privy Councillor in 1959 and a Baron in 1960.

Lord Cobbold is a director of the Bank of England and a Fellow of Eton.

He is married — his wife is the daughter of the Earl of Lytton — and has two sons and a daughter.

Sir Anthony Abell, 55, was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sarawak as well as High Commissioner in Brunei from 1950 to 1959.

Sir Anthony joined the Colonial Administrative Service in Nigeria in 1929 and served there until his appointment to Sarawak as Governor.

His years of service in Sarawak were marked by progress in all fields of development and he earned widespread popularity and respect.

Sir David Watherston, 54, has had long experience of Malayan affairs.

He joined the Malayan Civil Service as a Cadet in 1930. Between 1940 and 1944 he was seconded to the Colonial Office and later joined the Malayan Planning Unit, going out to Malaya at the end of the war to serve with the British Military Administration.

He served from 1946 to 1948 as Secretary to the Constitutional Working Committee which negotiated the Federation of Malayan Agreement.

His next appointment was as Secretary for Defence and Internal Security in Malaya and he became Chief Secretary in 1952, serving in that capacity until Malaya's independence was attained.

Sir David next joined the Malayan High Commission in Britain as Special Counsellor, serving there between 1957 and 1959.

Dato Wong Pow Nee, 50, is the Chief Minister of Penang.

He was a teacher of English in a Chinese school before entering politics, being elected a member of the Bukit Mertajam Town Council and later Penang State Councillor. He was made a Dato in 1958.

Inche Ghazali, 39, is the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs.

He was educated at Raffles College and during the war was a member of Force 136.

In 1948 he went to Britain to further his education and graduated from the University of Wales with a law degree.

He was then appointed Assistant State Secretary in Negri Sembilan and later entered the diplomatic service.

He was Malayan High Commissioner in India before his present appointment.

The decision to appoint the Commission of Enquiry, was made by the British and Malayan Governments, after talks held in London last November when the proposal for the creation of a Federation of Malaysia, which would embrace North Borneo and Brunei, were fully examined. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:-

"Having regard to expressed agreement of Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya that the inclusion of North Borneo and Sarawak (together with other territories) in the proposed Federation of Malaysia is a desirable aim in the interests

- of the peoples of the territories concerned -
- (a) to ascertain the views of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak on this question;
 - (b) in the light of their assessment of these views, to make recommendations".

COBBOLD COMMISSION BEGINS WORK

REPORT READY IN THREE MONTHS

In four centres of the First Division this week — Kuching, Bau, Sematan and Serian — the people gave their views to the Cobbold Commission as to whether Sarawak should take the Road to Malaysia.

It was an orderly process, and it is estimated that in Kuching and Bau alone about 800 people representing various political bodies, trade unions and community associations and as individuals met the Commission.

On arrival in Kuching on Monday, Lord Cobbold, the Chairman, said that the Commission aimed at spending about two months in Sarawak and North Borneo and at producing a report within three months from the date of arrival.

During this week the Malaysia Plan dominated all talk throughout Sarawak. Kampong and district council meetings, a large rally organised by the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, newspaper comments and correspondence, were features of the intense interest aroused by the subject of Malaysia. There were reports of growing support for the Malaysia Plan while the opposition stepped up its activities and protests. A Malayan Chinese Association goodwill mission said in Kuching on Friday that doubts and fears harboured by many Borneo Chinese had now been removed as a result of its 10-day tour.

The 'Great Debate' on Malaysia promises to be more intense as the weeks roll by.

On the day of the Commission's arrival, the Chairman, Lord Cobbold, made a broadcast saying that the Commission recognised the great importance of the enquiry for the future well-being of the peoples of Sarawak and North Borneo.

"It will be our objective in making our report to take fully into account the views and wishes of every section of the population and to make recommendations which will in our judgement be best suited to the long-term

interests of all concerned," he declared.

Earlier in his address Lord Cobbold said that for some members of the Commission, Sarawak and North Borneo were "familiar ground" while for the others they were new.

He went on: "For myself, though I have visited Singapore and Malaya before, I have never been able to come here. I have always wanted to visit Sarawak and North Borneo and am very glad to have this chance of doing so. Many of my friends know your countries well and have told me how happy they have been here.

"We come here — and this I emphasise — as a Commission of Enquiry. Our first function is to ascertain what the peoples of Sarawak and North Borneo think about the idea of Malaysia. In this task we shall need and we shall welcome your help. We hope that people throughout the territories will let us know their views freely, and we will undertake to read and listen to evidence from every quarter with care and attention.

"The sittings of the Commission will not be open to the general public unless specifically announced beforehand. Everybody can be assured that their evidence will be treated as confidential if they so wish."

Lord Cobbold continued: "The pamphlet recently published by Government has set out the general argument on the proposal for Malaysia and has drawn attention to various points which will need special consideration.

"Very useful contributions have also been made in publications by the Consultative Committee and elsewhere. All this will, I am sure, have helped to explain the proposal and to illustrate the subjects on which we shall hope to hear views and comments during our travels.

"The British and Malayan Governments have stated that they favour the idea of Malaysia; but no decision has yet been taken

and no detailed plans are yet in existence. We are here to find out what you think about the proposal, and at the end of our enquiry we shall make a report and put forward recommendations.

"It is only after our report and recommendations have been completed and considered by Governments that any detailed plans can emerge for debate and discussion.

"We therefore feel it desirable in everybody's interest to proceed as quickly as we reasonably can. We shall aim at spending about two months in all the territories, and at producing a report within three months from now.

"It may well prove necessary for me, and perhaps other members of the Commission, to visit Kuala Lumpur and possibly London while our work is going on, but in general the Commissioner will be working and travelling in the territories continuously between now and the latter part of April.

"I must ask the public not to expect us to make statements or speeches about how we are getting on. We shall only make one statement which will be our report. We cannot reach conclusions until we have heard all the evidence. I propose to keep an open mind until the end of the Enquiry and to pay as much attention to the last day's evidence as to the first."

'Most difficult task'

Speaking at newsmen at Kuching Airport Lord Cobbold said that the Commission had "a most difficult task and heavy responsibility" and would need all the help it could get from every section of the community.

Referring to himself and Lord Cobbold, he said: "We do not know the people here and they do not know us. We are looking forward to making a lot of friends."

He said that though there might be many disadvantages in that he had not been to Sarawak before there was certainly one advantage for him — as far as the Enquiry was concerned he could bring an independent judgement and open mind to bear.

He promised that he would do his best to keep the Commission's hearings on an informal, friendly and intimate basis.

Members of the Commission were welcomed at the police-guarded Kuching Airport by the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell and the Chief Secretary, Mr F.D. Jakeway. There were no incidents.

This is the first visit to Sarawak by Sir Anthony Abell since he retired as Governor of the country in November, 1959.

Sir Anthony, who is looking extremely fit, showed obvious signs of pleasure at being back again and has already met many of his friends.

THE FIRST SITTING

The first sitting of the Commission was held on Tuesday afternoon in the Council Negri Members' Room in the Court House and lasted 2½ hours.

The period was wholly taken up by Sarawak's two leading rival political parties — the anti-Malaysia Plan Sarawak United Peoples' Party and the pro-Malaysia Plan Party Negara Sarawak.

The SUPP delegation of 10, led by the

Party Chairman, Mr Ong Kee Hui, and the Secretary-General, Mr Stephen Yong, was first in. Others in the delegation included Mr Chan Siaw Hee, Mr Song Thian Cheok, Mr Charles Linang, Mrs Barbara Bey and Inche Salleh Marican.

The Party memorandum and 12 newly-bound volumes containing 21,451 anti-Malaysia signatures were presented to the Commission.

THE SARAWAK UNITED PEOPLES' PARTY

MEMORANDUM TO

THE COBBOLD COMMISSION

The SUPP is the first political party to be formed in Sarawak and was registered on June 12, 1959. It has now a registered membership of 41,836, comprising 23,929 Chinese, 12,339 Ibans, 2,480 Land Dayaks and 3,088 Malays, Kayans, Melanaus and others. These members are distributed throughout Sarawak and there are today 46 branches and sub-branches throughout the five administrative divisions in Sarawak.

The subject of Malaysia has been fully discussed by all branches and sub-branches, the views contained in the memorandum are therefore the consensus of opinion of the party and reflect the broad views of a cross section of the people of Sarawak.

One of the main tasks the SUPP has set itself to accomplish has been concerned with the welding together of the different and diverse races in Sarawak into one community with Sarawak as the object of its loyalty and with the fostering, particularly among the immigrant Chinese section of the population a sense of belonging to Sarawak.

The main platform of the SUPP is therefore the creation of a Sarawak nation through a common loyalty and to secure self-government and independence.

The Malaysia Plan as proposed by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj, conflicts with this aim of the SUPP in so far as it calls for acceptance now of a different loyalty which is alien and has no basis for appeal to the majority of the people of Sarawak.

Whereas it is easy for those born, bred or brought up in a country to have a sense of belonging to that country, it is difficult to expect this loyalty to be switched, particularly among politically unsophisticated people to a set up like that envisaged by the proposer of Malaysia.

It is therefore understandable that the immediate reaction of the Borneo peoples was unfavourable to the Malaysia Plan.

It must be appreciated that the masses cannot adjust their political thinking as rapidly as required under the Malaysia Plan.

In Sarawak opposition to the Malaysia Plan can be partly attributed to the historical background, and past experience. For example, the Land Dayaks even today have bitter memories associated with foreign domination and oppression before the days of the White Rajah and the Sea Dayaks and others still fell strongly about domination by a Malay hierarchy both in Brunei days and under the Brooke Regime.

Most Malays on the other hand remember with bitterness the circumstances under which the country was ceded to the United Kingdom and there is therefore a natural suspicion of a further sudden change in the status of Sarawak which does not take the form of a straight forward or direct grant of self government or independence to the people.

The merging of Sarawak as a state in a Federation of Malaysia or independence through merger is not regarded as fulfilment of the aspirations of the people for self government or independence.

In essence the implication of the Malaysia Plan is merely a transfer of the political power from the United Kingdom to another sovereign state.

Although the Malaysia Plan envisages the break up of the present Federation of Malaya into its eleven component states and the merging together of these with the additional four states of Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, it is obvious that the eleven states of the Federation of Malaya having formed one country before geographically, economically, and politically will be the dominating factor in the proposed Federation of Malaysia, and become the arbiter in all important matters of national policy vitally affecting the future and welfare of the new states in the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

So far as can be ascertained, the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya would be the basis for the proposed Federation of Malaysia which implies acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, acceptance of Islam as the National Religion and adoption of Malay as the national language.

Imposition of these on the people of

Sarawak would cause resentment because they are either alien or do not form part of the tenets of life of the vast majority of the people of Sarawak.

The memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee seeks to meet some of the points raised above by providing safeguards.

It is, however, very doubtful whether these safeguards are in fact effective or practicable. For instance is it practicable for a state within a Federation to have one language as the national language, a different language as a medium of instruction in schools and possibly a third language to be maintained as a subject in schools?

Further, even if these safeguards are written into the Constitution they could be removed by the predominant 11 component states of the present Federation of Malaya on the ground of national interest.

There is good ground for this reservation as the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya had been amended twice affecting entrenched clauses and fundamental rights of the people within a period of four years, by the party in power without reference to the electorate.

It is noted that according to the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee it was proposed that the special rights of the Malays in the Federation of Malaya should be extended to the Malays and the indigenous peoples of Borneo, who would be termed Founder Citizens of the Federation of Malaysia and the same would be written into the Constitution of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

This implies at least two classes of Citizens. While it is appreciated that the less advanced section of the inhabitants should be given more opportunities to improve their standard of living (indeed this is the SUPP policy as contained in the aims and objects in its Constitution) it is wrong in principle to perpetuate discrimination against a class of the citizens of a country.

It is not conducive to creation of a nation and a people. It offends against the spirit and intent of the Nine Cardinal Principles in the Constitution of Sarawak and particularly Article 8 thereof.

It is further noted that the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee envisages the continuation of the present Sarawak Constitution which provides for indirect represen-

tation without a representative Government.

It confirms the view widely held that the object of the Malaysia Plan is no more than a transfer of Sovereignty by one power to another.

Two reasons have often been advanced for the desirability of Sarawak entering into the Federation of Malaysia, namely that the vulnerability to aggression and economic viability.

The first presupposes the abandonment by Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom of the Borneo territories and it would be impossible for an independent Sarawak, to make arrangements or seek alignment for its own defence and that Malaysia as such would be invulnerable.

In fact the Federation of Malaya itself being so placed geographically to those countries in South East Asia, which are now subject to Communist infiltration, is in greater danger than any of the Borneo territories and it is also difficult to see how the Federation of Malaya separated by more than 300 miles of sea is able to defend Sarawak unaided.

Any arrangements with other powers for the defence of Sarawak by a Federation of Malaysia can also be effected by Sarawak as an independent state.

Over the years Sarawak has been able to not only survive economically but to expand and develop its economy and having an area almost as large as Malaya itself with only about one tenth of its population it would appear that economically its prospects of survival may be even better.

It has a socio-economic structure based on smallholders with comparatively speaking no wide disparity in the distribution of wealth. It is a society that should be more economically stable than that of the other territories in the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

It is therefore the considered view of members of the SUPP that the arguments advanced for the bringing into being of the proposed Federation of Malaysia before the people of Sarawak are given independence and can determine their own future either along or in association with other states is detrimental to the fundamental interest of the people of Sarawak and is inconsistent with the declared aim of Her Majesty's Government when it took over Sarawak from H.H. the Rajah to uphold and preserve the Sarawak Constitution and honour the Nine Cardinal Principles contained therein.

The SUPP is not against any association with other states provided such association would not in any way infringe on the fundamental rights of the people of Sarawak.

Association with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore in accordance with the Malaysia Plan as outlined in the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee will not be in our view acceptable.

On the other hand the proposal for closer association of the Borneo territories which had been the subject of discussion over a long period between both the government and the people of the territories seems to us a more feasible and desirable proposition.

There is much more in common between these territories. They are more closely linked geographically. They have already taken measures for close co-operation and have now certain combined public services and a common market arrangement has also been established between North Borneo and Sarawak.

The SUPP therefore would submit:-

- That the people of Sarawak are overwhelmingly against the Malaysia Plan and it would be immoral to hand them over to foreign control. The Malaysia Plan should not be imposed upon the people of Sarawak
- That the people of Sarawak should be given the right of self-determination
- That if it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom to relinquish control of Sarawak, the Government of the country should be handed over to the people of Sarawak and not to any other government
- That Her Majesty's Government should honour its pledge when it took over Sarawak and not abrogate the Nine Cardinal Principles which forms part of the Sarawak Constitution
- That the desire of the people is now for closer links with the adjoining territories of Borneo and North Borneo
- That in no circumstances should the future of Sarawak be decided without a referendum organised on democratic lines
- That the people of Sarawak have unequivocally signified their opposition to the Malaysia Plan in a signature campaign organised by SUPP within three weeks of the

arrival of the Commission of Enquiry. The signatures will be submitted to the Commission by all the branches of the SUPP.

Speaking to newsmen afterwards, Mr Ong said that on the whole the Commission had given the delegation a fair hearing.

However, he said that one Malayan members of the Commission had tried to point out the safeguards which the Party might have overlooked in its representations.

Mr Ong said he replied that though the Party was fully aware of these safeguards they were always subject to change as recent events in Malaya had shown.

Mr Ong also denied rumours that the documents containing the signatures opposing Malaysia were signed by people who did not know what they were asked to sign.

He said that each document was printed in four languages — English, Chinese, Malay and Iban — and it was explained to each signatory what he or she was asked to sign.

PANAS in next

The PANAS delegation, led by the chairman, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, and the Secretary-General, Abang Othman, was next ushered in and presented its memorandum.

The Datu Bandar told the press afterwards that it was a "friendly meeting" and that there had been no disagreements.

Asked whether any points had been raised on the Party's memorandum, the Datu Bandar said that the Commission had suggested that his Party should "ease up" on the question of special privileges for the indigenous peoples as it might affect the feelings of non-natives.

He added that his Party would not press hard on this but he had pointed out to the Commission that the Natives had had more privileges given by the former Rajah of Sarawak than those contained in the memorandum issued by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

The Datu Bandar also said that his Party had full confidence in that the Commission would give a fair hearing to all concerned.

Twenty groups, consisting of more than 400 people, appeared before the Commission at its second sitting on Wednesday.

Nine of the groups were said to be from the anti-Malaysia Sarawak United Peoples' Party, eight from the pro-Malaysia supporters

of Party Negara Sarawak, and three were described as "independents".

The first person to meet the Commission was Mrs Tra Zehnder, a Dayak and only woman member of Council Negri. She later said that she did not represent any organisation and had appeared before the Commission merely as an individual.

Mrs Zehnder added that she agreed with the Malaysia Plan in principle, but was concerned over the national language issue and the question of the election of Head of State, as well as over the question of religious freedom.

Among the 10 groups to see the Commission in the morning were leaders of 21 kampongs who claimed that they represented a total population of 21,000 in favour of Malaysia.

Their leaders, Inche Hassan bin Kadir of Kampong Astana, Inche Drahman bin Sahari of Kampong Gita and Inche Bismilla bin Agus of Batu Kawa said they had told the Commission that the people of Sarawak wished to live in harmony with the other races living in the country.

In the afternoon, a seven-man delegation from the Sarawak First Division Trade Union Congress met the Commission, and also issued a statement on the Malaysia Plan.

The group which claimed to represent the "majority of workers in the First Division" were led by the Secretary-General, Mr Lim Kim Seng.

Malaya criticised

The TUC statement, in referring to the Malaysia Plan, said: "... such a plan will not help Sarawak to advance towards independence. But on the contrary this Plan as we see it tries to put Sarawak under the rule of a foreign country.

"The only difference is that this Plan gives the political authority to the Central Government of Malaya, which represents the interests of the minority and colonialists. Thus we cannot accept such a plan which is not in conformity with the wish of the people of Sarawak and intends to prolong the colonial domination in these five territories."

The statement went on to say: "As the unions' organisation we are much concerned about the labour movement and the interests of the workers. As we know mass workers in Malaya lead a hard life; they are suppressed

and exploited; their wages are low.

"According to reports in Malayan newspapers, miners in Malaya have to work 16 hours a day; their average wages are \$1.50 a day and they have no annual holidays and public holidays.

"There are more than 300,000 unemployed workers as registered by the unions, according to the report of the Malayan Trade Union Congress."

The statement also alleged that the workers in Malaya did not fully enjoy the right to organise unions and that many union leaders, loyal to the workers, had been deprived of their liberty.

It added: "As we know many famous union leaders in Malaya have been and are still kept in Tunku's prisons we are greatly in doubt that such a Malaya would bring independence and prosperity to Sarawak".

Concluded the statement: "Neither the British Government nor the Malayan Government has the right to speak or represent the people of Sarawak and to make any constitutional arrangements"

After the interview with the Commission, Mr Lim, the Secretary-General, told reporters that his delegation was not given enough time to present its views.

He also alleged that the atmosphere in the chamber was "not too cordial" and that the delegation was told by a Malayan member to write to the Malayan Government should it want to know more about the Malaysia Plan.

The TUC delegation claimed to represent 6,000 people of five Kuching unions, namely, the Bus Workers Union, Wharf Labourers Union, Printing Workers Union, Building Workers Union and the Employers and Labourers Union.

Nine other groups met the Commission in the afternoon. They comprised of people from different areas in and around Kuching.

On to Bau

More than 250 people, including several women, met Cobbold Commission at Bau on Thursday.

The hearing, which was held in the District Officer's bungalow, lasted about four hours.

Twelve delegations — eight from the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and four from Party Negara Sarawak — appeared before the Commission.

The first delegation in was from Party Negara Sarawak led by Mr Remigius Durin, who is also a Council Negri Member.

Later he said that his delegation had told the Commission that the 15,000 Land Dayaks and Malays under him fully supported Malaysia.

Mr Durin said he also asked that the same special privileges extended to the Malays in Malaya should be given to Sarawak Natives in the event of Malaysia.

The next to meet the Commission was Mr Ong Guan Cheng, Chairman of the Bau District Council. He was followed by other delegations from the SUPP and PANAS.

A spokesman from one of the SUPP groups said that the Bau Branch presented a memorandum together with 3,200 anti-Malaysia signatures.

He described the atmosphere in the hearing chamber as friendly but added that this was only an "outward sign of friendliness" and that the Commission's real attitude might be "quite on the contrary".

The Commission travelled to Bau in the morning in two cars under heavy police escort. Along part of the route anti-Malaysia and anti-Colonialism posters were displayed. The posters, written in English, Chinese, Malay and Land Dayak, were perched on tree-tops, hung between telephone posts and on traffic signs.

Some of these, painted on hard yellow paper, bore such slogans as: "Long Live Afro-Asian People"; "Friendship of the people of Borneo territories shall not be shaken"; "Resolutely struggle against colonial rule"; "Wipe out colonialism completely" and "Scientific political insight can see through dirty political realities".

One of the posters, in English, read: "We protest against radio broadcasts smearing those who are anti-colonialists".

The Commission arrived back in Kuching in the afternoon to hear further representations from more than 100 people consisting of six groups.

Kuching sessions end

The first to meet the Commission, Haji Awang Wal and Wakil Tua Kampong Ali bin Bujang of Kampong Sungei Bedil Besar said that they represented more than 1,000 inhabitants who supported the Malaysia Plan.

A spokesman of the anti-Malaysia groups, Mr Lam Teng Kui, an elected Municipal Councillor claimed his group represented nearly 12,000 in Wards 5 and 6, who admitted a mandate of signatures.

Among individuals who gave oral evidence was a Kuching merchant, Mr Tan Hock Seng. Mr Tan said he told the Commission whether Malaysia materialises or not the unity, friendliness and prosperity of the country which the people have enjoyed for the past 100 years should be preserved.

The Commission visited Sematan on Friday, where it heard the views of the people of Lundu District and Serian on Saturday where the views of the people of Upper and Lower Sadong Districts were recorded.

The Commission left for Jesselton on Sunday, February 25. On March 9, it will begin another series of visits in Sarawak, returning to Kuching on March 30, and leaving again for North Borneo on April 1.

SUPP HOLDS ANTI-MALAYSIA RALLY

Loud and strong protests against the Malaysia Plan were voiced by leaders of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party at a rally held at its Party Headquarters in Kuching on Monday — the day of the Cobbold Commission's arrival.

An estimated crowd of 7,000 Chinese with a few Malays, Ibans and Land Dayaks were present.

The Party's chairman, Mr Ong Kee Hui, and the Secretary-General, Mr Stephen K.T. Yong, were among several speakers who spoke against the Malaysia Plan. Shouts of "sa'ati" (unity) punctuated the speeches.

Banners and placards all bearing expressions of protest against the Malaysia Plan were displayed within the compound of the Headquarters.

In opening the rally Mr Ong pointed out that today when Sarawak was facing its crucial moment the people should display their "indomitable spirit" in opposing the Malaysia Plan.

He contended that his signing of the memorandum prepared by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was not an act of betrayal as the memorandum was merely a record of various meetings held by the Committee. Moreover the representatives

participating at the meetings did not attend them on behalf of their people or the governments of their respective countries but merely as delegates of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Independence first

Mr Ong stressed that Sarawak was an integral country and therefore it was not necessary for it to be merged with others — Sarawak was the object of loyalty of its people. Before the achievement of national independence, the people should not accept the Malaysia Plan and he reiterated: "I do not want to accept the Malaysia Plan now."

He also said that the Party had invited the Cobbold Commission to the rally but it was unable to attend.

Mr Stephen Yong, after introducing the guests to the rally, said that Government had refused the Party's application to hold an anti-Malaysia demonstration and had also rejected another application to hold a large-scale rally at a large public place.

Mr Peter Chin, chairman of North Borneo Democratic Party, who was invited to speak, said that this Party's platform on Malaysia was similar to the SUPP's — it was seeking self-government and independence first before considering Malaysia.

He pointed out that Malaysia was detrimental to the people. If the British Government was prepared to "abandon" its administration the people were prepared to take over.

Finally he ridiculed the statement made by Tengku Abdul Rahman that the Malaysia Plan was meant to cope with the threat of communism.

Mr Chan Siew Hee, a Central Committee member, said that anyone who agreed with the Malaysia Plan was a traitor because the Plan was Malaya's attempt to "swallow up" Sarawak.

Mr Chan also attacked Government for not permitting the holding of anti-Malaysia demonstrations and for using Radio Sarawak and the Information Service to propagate the Malaysia Plan.

Finally Mr Chan asked: "Why does not the Malaysia Commission dare appear before us?" The rally answered: "Because it is afraid of public opinion."

Mr Chan then said the Commission was "merely a trick" — it had not come to ascer-

tain the opinions of the people. Lastly he proposed that a strong protest be made against Government's refusal to allow the Party to stage demonstrations.

Mr Bong Kee Chok, Secretary of SUPP Kuching Branch, said the constitutional safeguards mentioned by the Tengku were "merely a trick" of his since they could be amended to Malaya's benefit. The present Malayan constitution had already been twice amended and no one could predict how many times it would be amended.

Four resolutions

Others who made speeches included Messrs Wen Min Chyuan, Marican Salleh and Charles Linang. Another guest at the rally was Inche Othman Latip, Publicity Chief of the Party Ra'ayat Brunei.

Four resolutions were adopted by the rally. They are -

- Strong opposition to the Greater Malaysia Plan
- Appeal to the peoples of all races in the country to be alert against all intrigue and provocations
- Protests against the Government's rejection to grant a permit to hold a demonstration in protest against the Malaysia Plan
- Support the 17 resolutions passed at the Socialists' Conference of the five territories held in Kuala Lumpur recently.

The Party also released the same day copies of the Memorandum which it submitted to the Cobbold Commission on Tuesday.

VIEWS OF KUCHING CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Kuching Chinese General Chamber of Commerce in a statement issued this week declared that it opposed the Malaysia Plan but supported the Malaysia Concept.

Nine reasons were given in opposing the Plan.

The Chamber held that a longer period should be given to consider the implications of the Plan and to dispel fear and suspicion which the people might have.

It pointed out that the Sarawak Constitution had incorporated the nine cardinal principles given by the last Rajah of Sarawak

and that these principles should be preserved so as to give equality to all races.

The Chamber also held that before the realisation of the Malaysia Plan, opportunity should be given to the three British Borneo territories to strengthen their ties and associations because they were closely linked economically, politically, historically, geographically and traditionally.

MCA MISSION CLEARS DOUBTS OF BORNEO CHINESE

The leader of the Malayan Chinese Association goodwill mission to the Borneo Territories, Dr Lim Swee Aun, said in Kuching on Friday that his mission had helped to remove doubts held by many Chinese in Borneo, who were opposed to the Malaysia Plan.

They now supported the concept in principle.

Thanking the Chinese people in Kuching, and elsewhere for giving the mission a warm welcome during its 10-day tour and for the opportunities for a free exchange of views, Dr Lim said: "At Jesselton, meetings were held at the Community Hall, and it was found that the majority of the Chinese there were against Malaysia.

"Many questions were raised and replied to the satisfaction of the people. Doubts were removed and now they support the Malaysia concept in principle.

In Sandakan, Dr Lim said, the mission also met Chinese leaders from Tawau and their doubts too were cleared by honest and sincere replies, so much so that some of the leaders requested that a branch of the MCA be set up there.

Dr Lim said that the requests for the formation of a MCA branch was also made in other places, but his advice was that the Chinese people here should form some sort of party in alliance with the other parties of other races similar to the Alliance Party in Malaya which consisted of MCA, the UMNO and the Malayan Indian Congress.

He said that at Sibul the Foochow Association authorised him to announce on its behalf that a meeting would be held on Friday with a view to adopting a resolution to support the concept of Malaysia in principle.

The mission also was told, said the MCA leader, that Mr Peter Jong, a member of the Sibul Urban District Council would be holding

public rallies in his ward so that he could explain Malaysia to his constituents.

He added: "The Malayan mission is grateful to be given the opportunity, in Kuching, to meet and inform the people of their experiences in Malaya — before and after Merdeka — in a five-hour session with the result that the majority was convinced of the inevitability of Malaysia and the subsequent benefits of the Malaysia Plan."

Aim of visit stressed

Stressing that the mission did not visit the Borneo Territories to force the Malaysia concept on the people, Dr Lim said that their visit was meant to clarify any doubts, misunderstandings and preconceived ideas.

Dr Lim also stressed the importance of citizenship "as only citizens of a country can have the right to choose their government whether Sarawak wants to be independent first or join Malaysia now."

In conclusion Dr Lim said, "The success of this mission was because its members represented a cross-section of the Chinese in Malaya.

"Every member is an authority in his own subject, and it was therefore able to answer any questions raised to the satisfaction of the people.

"Every member gave of his best and the whole mission worked as a team. As tour leader I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and thanks to all members of my team.

The goodwill mission consisted of Dr Lim Swee Aun and Mr Cheah Theam Swee (Leaders), Messrs Heah Joo Seang, Chan Chong Wan, Lee Siok Yew, Goh Kwee Teng, Yong Sat Fah, Koh Kim Leong, Chan Siang San, T.H. Tan, Chan Kwong Hon, Wong Tham Soon, Yong Woo Meng, Y.T. Lee, Tay Boon Seng and Lim Cheng Poh.

BARJASA BACKS MALAYSIA PLAN

Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak (Barjasa) has come out in support of the Malaysia Plan and agreed with the contents of the Memorandum published by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

This was announced in a statement released in Kuching on Saturday, February 17, by the Secretary-General, Mr Alfred Mason.

The statement said that the Party supported the Malaysia proposal "subject to certain safeguards" which it considered essential for the well being of loyal Sarawakians, the inhabitants of Sarawak in general, "and also for the maintenance of peace and order in this peaceful country of ours."

"Merger," the statement declared, "must take the form of a federation of the composite states of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo."

"Neither a Confederation nor a Union is acceptable to us, for the former will not be as effective as a federation in uprooting dangerous elements in Sarawak, while the latter is inconsistent with our desire that Sarawak must control migration into Sarawak from any other State within the Federation of Malaysia."

According to the statement, control of migration and land alienation must be vested in the State of Sarawak and special privileges in the matter of education, the public service, and economic development must be given to the indigenous people of Sarawak.

The statement said that this would ensure that the indigenous people would have a proportionate share in the prosperity and administration of the country.

A warning

It added: "Today, most of the civil servants are non-natives, and the economy of the country is in the hands of the Chinese. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue for an indefinite period, for if the Natives are not given their proper place and fair share, a day will come when their pent-up dissatisfaction and feeling of frustration will force them to resort to undesirable and dangerous methods of remedying their position."

"Special privileges should be given to the indigenous peoples of Sarawak not primarily because they are Natives, but because their present high necessities such a concession."

The statement went on to say the Party deeply regretted that "the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, which has already been infiltrated by dangerous elements, and also the various Chinese community associations which sent their representatives to the conference convened by the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce recently, has seen it fit to oppose a plan which promises a bright

future for the backward indigenous peoples of Sarawak."

It adds: "We are therefore left in no doubt that those members of the Chinese community who oppose the Plan would prefer to see the Natives remain as they are: poor in education, and very poor in economy. They do not want to assist the Natives better their condition."

"The SUPP and the Chinese community associations concerned want the Chinese rather than the 'Natives' to be the successors to the existing Sarawak Government."

"Those Natives who support the SUPP in its stand on Malaysia have done so either because of their ignorance of the real forces within the SUPP and its associates or because they prefer to cede Sarawak to the People's Republic of China".

Continued the statement: "We would like to make it abundantly clear that we are convinced that there are many Chinese in Sarawak who are genuinely doing all they can to uplift the standard of living of the Natives."

"There are, however, others who are fence-sitters, many are chauvinistic, and there are those whose sole aim is to make Sarawak a State within the People's Republic of China."

"We can see clearly the plan pursued by the C.C.O. (Communist Clandestine Organisation) and the M.C.P. (Malayan Communist Party) working through political parties."

"What the SUPP and the Barisan Socialis in Singapore desire mostly is independence without Malaysia for Sarawak and Singapore. If their plan succeeds they reckon they will have a good chance of forming the government in these countries."

'Then Red China embassies

"Once that is achieved it is not unlikely that the People's Republic of China will have its embassies in Singapore and Sarawak. We know that there are many loyal Sarawak Chinese in the SUPP, but they are helpless."

The statement concludes: "We leave it to the members of the public to draw their own conclusions as to what will happen if and when Mao has his ambassadors in our country."

"When we ask for special privileges, we have no desire to force others to surrender

whatever they already possess. But we believe in the principle that those who have not should be given, but those who already have should not be given more at the expense of those who have not."

Appeal to women

Speaking at the opening of the Luar Bandar Sebrang Ulu (Across River) Branch of the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak on Saturday, February 17, Chegu Ajibah Abol, a member of the National Executive Council urged the women of Sarawak to take a more active part in politics and to work hand-in-hand with the men.

A Chinese member of the Party, Mr Richard Tan Puay Chia, said that Barjasa, as the name implied, was a Party for all true Sarawakians.

He said: "True Sarawakians are not necessarily people who were born in this country nor is the term confined to the indigenous people of the country.

"The term embraces all peoples whose loyalty to this country is genuinely undivided."

Mr Tan concluded by saying that the objection to the special privileges for the Natives in the proposed constitution of Malaysia was not only selfish but also criminal, "for it is a crime that a person who has been sheltered by the kindly house owner should one day ask to have equal rights in the control and management of the house."

The Secretary-General, Mr Mason, said this week that the Party had sent its memorandum to the Cobbold Commission.

MALAYA TOUR IMPRESSES SECOND DIVISION DAYAKS

Canon Basil Temenggong, who led a group of 10 Second Division Dayak leaders on a ten-day tour of Malaya, said before returning to Sarawak this week that he felt the Malaysia Plan would benefit all the five countries concerned.

He admitted being sceptical about Malaysia at first but said that he and his colleagues had changed their minds after reading the memorandum issued by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

Canon Temenggong also said that his party was impressed by the efforts being

made by the Federation Government to improve the lot of the rural people.

Before flying back the group attended a 'Masi Maham' festival at the Subramaniam Hindu temple at Alor Setar.

The festival, held annually on the 10th day of the 11th lunar month according to the Hindu calendar, attracts thousands to the Alor Setar temple.

The Sultan of Kedah was the chief guest on this occasion, and met the Sarawak visitors during the function.

Canon Basil Temenggong said later: "This was the climax of our unforgettable experience in Malaysia. We felt honoured to be invited to the temple festival which was another highlight of inter-religious harmony prevalent here."

More reports of support for the Malaysia Plan were received in Kuching this week from various parts of the country.

Support was expressed by -

- Seven Malay fishing villages in Kuching District — Kampongs Sambir, Sebandi, Matang, Sebandi Ulu, Tembirat, Beliong and Tanjong Apong.

The total population of these villages is 6,000.

The decision to back the Malaysia Plan was taken after 150 people, including headmen, met on Friday, February 16, at Kampong Sambir.

- Kampongs Tabuan and Tabuan Hilir (total population 1,500), situated about three miles from Kuching town.

People from both villages also met on Friday, February 16.

- Various Malay kampongs in Kuching District with a total population of 6,000. These kampongs have been holding meetings separately.
- The headman of Kampong Grogo, in Bau District, Orang Kaya Pemancha Jonek anak Dolah, who represents about 3,700 Land Dayaks.

He announced the decision after 300 people from his village had met.

OKP Jonek added that his people accepted Malaysia subject to the terms and safeguards contained in the MSCC memorandum.

- Eight Land Dayak villages and areas between the 15th and 21st mile, Simanggang Road, Kuching, with a total population of 5,000. They are: Tejirak

Sigah, Massah, Sungei Daerah, Doras, Sentah, Seratau and Petak.

About 350 people from these villages, including their headmen, met recently to discuss the Malaysia Plan.

- Twelve kampongs in Lundu (First Division) District with a total population of about 13,000.

They are — Lundu, Siling, Setunggang, Sebeban, Sekambal, Temelan, Sekati, Rembungan, Etoh, Sungei China, Sompak dan Sempadi.

Representatives of the first seven kampongs met in Lundu on Sunday while a meeting of leaders of the other five met at Kampong Sempadi last week.

- One hundred representatives of all branches of Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (Sarawak Youth Movement) which claims membership of 20,000.

The representatives met in Kuching on Sunday and passed 12 resolutions.

The resolutions were mostly concerned with the rights and safeguards for indigenous peoples of Sarawak as well as measures to improve their economy and standard of living.

- Kampong Semera in Lower Sadong District (population 3,500). The decision was announced by Tua Kampong Bunag bin Taip and Councillor Bojeng bin Endot
- The Matu/Daro (Third Division) District Council after a meeting held on Thursday, February 15
- Eleven out of the 13 councillors, representing 13,000 people, were in favour of the Plan
- The Kanowit (Third Division) District Council at a meeting held on Saturday, February 17
- The Sarikei Chinese Chamber of Commerce which met on Saturday, February 17

All these kampongs and organisations decided to submit a memorandum each to the Cobbold Commission.

SIBU FOOCHOWS RAISE MALAYSIA ISSUES

The Sibü Foochow Association adopted a seven-point resolution on Friday at a meeting held to discuss the question of Malaysia.

The resolution which is to be submitted to the Commission of Enquiry, contains the following points:

- **Citizenship:** All Sarawak-born or naturalized Chinese or those Chinese who have been living in Sarawak for a period of seven years should automatically become citizens of Malaysia
- **Rights:** All Malaysian citizens to enjoy equal rights and bear equal obligations
- **Seats in Parliament:** In view of the vast area of Sarawak, the allocation of the seats in the Federation Parliament should include seats for each of the five Divisions
- **Language:** English should be used as the national language, and Chinese as one of the official languages
- **Religion:** Freedom of religion should be granted: there should be no specific state religion
- **Head of State:** Anyone born in this country should be entitled to be elected Head of State
- **Defence and external affairs:** Defence, external affairs and internal security should be the responsibility of the Central Government; the remaining powers should belong to the State.

MALAYSIA ROUND-UP

Lord Cobbold, chairman of the Malaysia Commission of Enquiry, flew to Kuala Lumpur on Monday from Jesselton for talks with the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman.

The two Malayan members of the Commission, Dato Wong Pow Nee and Inche Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie, also returned for the Hari Raya "break" while the other

members, Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherston carried on the Commission's work in North Borneo and Northern Sarawak (Lawas and Limbang) this week.

Lord Cobbold, who arrived with his wife, told newsmen in Kuala Lumpur that the Commission had had a very useful and interesting two weeks in Sarawak and North Borneo whose people were coming forward to pre-

sent their views on Malaysia "fully, frankly and without reservations."

This had enabled satisfactory progress in the Commission work, Lord Cobbold said. He called on the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, at the Residency on Monday. The Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, was also present on the occasion.

Dato Wong Pow Nee said that he found the response to the Commission "encouraging and satisfactory". The views presented comprised a wide pattern of opinion "some for, some against, some convinced and some not". Some of the people had travelled many many miles to reach the place of enquiry and he added: "This is very satisfactory and encouraging".

Later in Penang (where Lord and Lady Cobbold spent a brief holiday) Lord Cobbold said that the Commission should be spending about six weeks more in Borneo.

He added that although he had earlier given the target date of three months for the Commission's work to finish, it might probably last until May.

Sarawak sittings next week

The full Commission will resume sittings in Sarawak next week. It is expected to arrive at Lutong Airstrip by RAF Twin Pioneer on Sunday, March 11, and on the next day hear views in the Community Hall, Miri.

It will leave for Marudi on Tuesday and there it will divide, half to go to the District Officer's bungalow, and half to carry on to Long Akah, accompanied by the District Officer.

At Marudi, the Commission will hear people's views in the District Officer's bungalow, and at Long Akah in the Fort.

The full Commission will leave Miri by air for Bintulu on Wednesday. At Bintulu, the Commission will sit in the Bintulu Recreation Club, and will leave in the afternoon for Sibul.

MIRI SAYS 'NO': SUBIS 'YES'

The Miri District Council, after a four-hour debate on Saturday, March 3, resolved by 11 votes to 5 to oppose the Malaysia Plan. It also decided to adopt a memorandum prepared by eight councillors for submission to the Cobbold Commission.

The memorandum states that there will be no advantage in Sarawak joining Malaysia

but agreed that a future date and on the basis of true equality, democracy and free will, to strengthen the ties of closer association among the five territories and eventually form a federation or union.

The memorandum urges the British Government to keep to its promise of helping Sarawak attain its independence and to respect popular opinion instead of forcing the country to join the Plan.

It also considers that the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee merely represented the views of several individuals acting as an official advisory body but unqualified to represent the people of the five territories. Furthermore the British Colonial Secretary and the Malayan Government had no legitimate right to monopolise management of the internal affairs of Sarawak and North Borneo and to conduct any negotiation that would tend to change their constitutions.

When the meeting was thrown open to debate five Councillors — Mr Chia Chin Shin, Inche Mohamad Sepawi bin Jahar, Inche Obe Hairuni bin Abdul Wahab, Inche Bujang bin Jeli and Inche Reduan bin Tuah Johari — recorded their support of the Malaysia proposal subject to safeguards.

The councillors who spoke in opposition argued that Malaysia would lead to prolonged colonial rule and that Sarawak must be given self-government first before discussing Malaysia. Those who spoke were Messrs. Lim Chee Hian, Heng Kia Seng, Wee Kit Chong, Sim Song Chay, Liao Kon Chun, Teo Siang Ann, Han Chin Juan and Yang Siew Siang.

Chairman's comments

The chairman of the Council, Mr G.W. Geikie, felt that more time should be given to the people, especially those living in the remoter parts of the country, to consider the concept of Malaysia.

He also urged that a referendum be held on the issue and cautioned against rushing into the creation of Malaysia.

After the debate, Messrs Mahari Mokti, Sim Song Chay, G.W. Geikie and Lim Chee Hian were elected to meet the Cobbold Commission.

The Subis (Fourth Division) District Council, at a meeting held recently, decided to support the Malaysia Plan.

VIEWS OF SIBU BUSINESSMEN

The Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and seven other Chinese associations at Sibu held a four-hour meeting at Sibu on Saturday, March 3, to discuss Malaysia, under the chairmanship of Mr Chew Geok Lin, chairman of the Chamber.

The meeting agreed with the Malaysia concept but resolved to oppose the Plan, declaring that Sarawak would do better to wait until it achieved self-government before discussing the Plan.

However, the meeting stipulated 12 conditions should it be decided that Sarawak "must accept Malaysia". They include:

- the present rates of taxation in Sarawak should remain unchanged for 15 years
- all races should be equally treated
- English should be the official language and Chinese should also be regarded as one of the official languages
- in the allocation of seats in the Federal Parliament, Sarawak should be regarded as having five states
- all those born in Sarawak, no matter of what race, should be eligible to become Head of State
- the Banking Ordinance in Sarawak should not be amended for at least 15 years
- there should be no privileges for any race under the land laws

The meeting also resolved that the chairman of each association should be appointed to appear before the Cobbold Commission. The associations represented at the meeting, were the Heng Hua Poh Seng, Foochow; King Chiew (Hainanese); Hakka; Cantonese; Chiang Chuan; Teochew; and Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

..... AND MUKAH CHINESE

The Malaysia Plan was opposed at a meeting of Chinese residents in Mukah District, Third Division, held recently.

They considered that Malaysia should come only after self-government and independence but if Sarawak's participation was necessary there should be special safeguards.

One of the five "safeguards" listed stated that any one born in Sarawak should be eligible to become Head of State. Others concerned citizenship, religion and language.

MELANAU BACK MALAYSIA

Representatives of the Melanau people from Kampongs Nangka, Banyok and Telok Bango in Sibu District declared their support for the Malaysia Plan at a meeting held on Saturday, March 3.

The meeting also elected three delegates, led by Tua Kampong Abang Louis Bareng, to present a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission.

The 11-point memorandum states that Melanau, who form the fifth largest community in Sarawak, number 45,000.

The biggest concentration of Melanau, it adds, are in the Mukah and Binatang Districts, where they form 50 per cent of the total population.

Adds the memorandum "We are mostly a backward type of people engaged in fishing and farming and most of our people depend on the sago industry.

"Nearly one-third of our population are Muslims, another one-third Christians, and the rest pagans.

"As our people are not educated there is no point in listening to our rank and file. The only people who can speak for the Melanau as a community are the tua kampongs".

The memorandum states that the Governor and Chief Minister of Sarawak should be chosen from among the Bumiputera (Sons of the soil).

Immigration should be the responsibility of the State Government and English should continue to be the official language until Malay can efficiently replace it.

There should be no state religion and all religions should be free to practice their respective creeds.

'We require schools'

The memorandum goes on to state that the Melanau people require schools and even financial support for the education of their children in the rural areas.

Because Melanau children can "hardly compete" with children of the other advanced races, it points out, special concessions should be granted to Melanau wishing to enter Government service.

Other points in the memorandum state—

- representation in the Government Service should be on population basis.

- co-operative societies should be run by Government officials in rural areas.
- no election in the rural areas for at least another 10 years because people are not educated and can be easily misguided by interested parties. There should only be nominations to Councils.

PWD WORKERS IN FAVOUR

The Sarawak Public Works Department Workers' Union at its meeting held recently agreed to support the Malaysia Plan in principle with the following conditions:

- The Head of State must be elected from among the Native peoples
- The Union should be represented in Council Negri as it is important that workers should have representatives in the legislature.
- In case Government needs employees for such posts as clerks and technical assistants, it should negotiate with the union for supply of workers who should be genuine citizens of Sarawak. The union does not agree to import labour except in cases where the posts cannot be held by residents. The engagement of those from outside Sarawak should be on short-term contracts.
- The Head of Administration should be a Native of Sarawak.
- Malay should be official language or national language and English should be used as an official language for 10 years only.
- Islam should be the official religion while other religions should be preserved.
- Privileges for the Natives should be similar to those enjoyed by the Malays in Malaya.

The chairman, Inche Ibrahim bin Ali, said that the Union represented about 2,000 members in all the five Divisions of Sarawak and would submit a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission.

WHARF LABOURERS OPPOSE

One of the seven resolutions passed at the Eighth Representatives Conference of the Federation of Sarawak Wharf Labourers' Union, held on Sunday in Kuching, expressed opposition to the Malaysia Plan.

The resolution stated that the Federation would submit a memorandum to the Cobbold

Commission advocating self-government in 1963.

Another resolution protested against the Trade Union (Amendment) Bill as an attempt to suppress the labour movement — a memorandum is to be submitted to the Council Negri.

SUPPORT BY SARIKEI BUSINESSMEN

The Sarikei Chinese Chamber of Commerce has supported the Malaysia proposals in principle subject to 12 conditions contained in a memorandum to be submitted to the Cobbold Commission.

One resolution was that the seats of the Malaysia Parliament should be distributed according to the population and land area of each state.

For instance (the memorandum states):

The total population of the five territories is 10,000,000; total seats 100 (one for each 100,000 persons).

The total area of the five territories is 130,000 sq. miles; total seats 65 (one for each 2,000 sq. miles).

Total Malaysia Parliament seats: 165.

According to the above calculation:

Malaya: Population 7,000,000	70 seats) 95 seats
Area 50,599 sq. miles	25 seats)
Singapore: Population 1,700,000	17 seats) 18 seats
Area 224 sq. miles	1 seats)
Sarawak: Population 750,000	8 seats) 31 seats
Area 47,000 sq. miles	23 seats)
North Borneo: Population 450,000	5 seats) 19 seats
Area 27,387 sq. miles	14 seats)
Brunei: Population 80,000	1 seat) 2 seats
Area 2,226 sq. miles	1 seat)
<hr/>	
Total:	165 seats

Direct elections

Another resolution states that the election of councils at all levels should be direct. English should be the Federal and official language.

On the subject of education, the memorandum suggests that expenses should be borne by the Federal Government in introducing universal primary education in the

shortest possible time and that the medium of instruction in Sarawak should remain unchanged.

The memorandum also suggests that all persons born in Sarawak should be eligible for election as Head of State.

It considers that as Sarawak is still a backward state it should have priority in development.

Finally, any revision of the "safeguards" for Sarawak should have the approval of a two-thirds majority of the Council Negri.

"The majority of them would favour English to be the official language in Sarawak without limitation of time.

"It is not within the purview of this memorandum to compare the usefulness of the two languages; suffice it to say that it would be undesirable in principle and would indeed cause undue hardship in practice, if the overwhelming majority of the population is required to learn more about one language to a degree of proficiency in addition to their own, and bearing in mind the importance of English as one of the media of instruction in our schools.

"With regard to the language for debates and discussions in the State Assemblies of the Borneo Territories, we consider the existing arrangements under the Local Council Ordinance would work satisfactorily."

Immigration: "We would like to record our full agreement with the recommendations (paragraph 148 (g) of the Report) on this subject."

Citizenship: "The question of citizenship is a matter to which we attach the greatest importance, as it mainly affects the Chinese community in Sarawak.

"With regard to residence qualifications (in paragraph 148 (k) of the Report), we would suggest a period of seven years instead of eight years as recommended.

"We fully support the view that the formalities of obtaining citizenship should be reduced to the minimum so that anyone who regards Sarawak to be the country of domicile could acquire citizenship of the new Federation by registration.

"We hold the view that a waiver for a limited period regarding language test should be extended to all persons irrespective of age."

Special position of indigenous races: "We are in agreement with the view that any special privilege provided in the Constitution

would be in contradiction with the spirit of the Nine Cardinal Principles enshrined in the Constitution of Sarawak.

"We agree that an Advisory Board should be set up to deal with this 'complex and thorny subject'.

"We would advocate that special aid instead of special privilege be given to those who are backward and needy for a period of time until they have attained a more competitive level".

Education: "It is our considered view that adequate time should be provided for the study of Chinese Language and Chinese literature in our schools within the framework of national system of education in Sarawak".

Fisheries and rural development: "We think these should be accelerated so as to raise the living standard of the people. Traditional fishing grounds and local interests should be fully protected."

Labour: "We agree that some degree of concurrence from the State should be obtained regarding legislation affecting trade unions and labour problems in Sarawak."

Natives and Non-Natives: "We hold the view that anyone who is born in Sarawak should be called 'Sarawakian' and the words 'Native' and 'non-Native' should be obliterated from the Constitution.

"The moment the Constitution of a country divides its people into two categories, it immediately reduces one section of the population to a position of inferiority. Moreover, such a division would in our opinion be detrimental to racial harmony."

Safeguards: "We cannot emphasise more strongly that the safeguards and special guarantees for the Borneo Territories as recommended (in paragraph 148 (b) of the Report) are of paramount importance, and should be accepted in toto. For it is on this that many have based their attitude on the Malaysia proposal as a whole."

Views of Indian Association

The application of citizenship laws as recommended by the Cobbold Commission "is likely to affect adversely" the rights of large numbers of Indians resident in Sarawak according to the memorandum submitted by the Indian Association in Kuching.

Urging the sympathetic consideration of the case of citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies resident in Sarawak, the me-

memorandum says that each and every "Commonwealth Citizen" resident in Sarawak on the date on which Malaysia comes into being should be eligible to apply for registration as a citizen of Malaysia, at any time during the year after that date, if:

- he was registered while in Sarawak as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year or, was registered as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies while in some territory other than Sarawak but obtained a registration as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year;

- he intends to reside permanently in the Federation, a statutory declaration to that effect to be accepted as satisfactory evidence of such intention;
- he is of good character;
- he is proficient in the use of the English or Tamil language.

In conclusion the memorandum said that there can be no excuse whatsoever for refusing Malaysian citizenship to British subjects of Indian origin who have automatically ceased to be Indian citizens by becoming Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies by registration, in good faith, before Malaysia became a certainty.

MALAYSIA: MORE VIEWS RECORDED

COBBOLD COMMISSION CARRIES OUT HEAVY PROGRAMME

The views of the people in the Fourth Division and in Mukah and Sibu districts, in the Third Division, on the Malaysia proposals were recorded by the Cobbold Commission during March 1962.

In the Fourth Division the Commission called at Miri, Marudi, Long Akah and Bintulu.

It was a heavy programme and members of the Commission had to travel around in Royal Air Force aircraft, by boat and car, and in a Shell plane and helicopter.

The week was not without its adventures — three members of the Commission, Lord Cobbold, Sir Anthony Abell and Inche Ghazali bin Shafie were forced not unhappily — to enjoy a night of traditional Baran hospitality in the longhouse of Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, paramount chief of the Kenyahs, at Long San when their plane became bogged down in the mud of Long Akah airfield.

Later a plane flying them to Mukah developed engine trouble at Bintulu and held up their arrival for a few hours.

The Long Akah incident also forced the Commission to remain divided into two sections for the Bintulu and Mukah sessions.

Report of this week's tour

Thirty-one groups of people appeared before the Cobbold Commission when it sat in

Miri town on Monday to record views on the Malaysia proposal. The enquiry was conducted in the Community Hall.

All five members of the Commission had assembled at Brunei on Sunday and had paid a courtesy call on the Sultan before leaving for Miri.

One of those who made a special trip to Miri was Penghulu Lawai Basara, leader of the 2,000 Kelabits living in 16 villages in the far interior of the Fourth Division.

The penghulu, who journeyed from Bario, said he told the Commission that his people were still in the dark about Malaysia and asked for more time to enable them to make up their minds.

Another person who made a special trip to Miri to meet the Commission was Mr James Wong, a Council Negri member from the Fifth Division.

He had met the two British members of the Commission, Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherston, at Limbang last week when they conducted the enquiry there.

At Limbang Mr Wong appeared before the Commission twice — as chairman of the Limbang Chinese Chamber of Commerce and as a District Councillor.

At the invitation of Lord Cobbold, the Commission's chairman, he flew to Miri to present his personal views.

The first group from Miri District to meet

the Commission was the delegation from the District Council, led by the chairman, Mr G.W. Geikie, who said he had submitted the minutes of the Council's meeting at which a motion opposing the Malaysia Plan was passed by a majority and a letter containing the signatures of eight people opposing the Plan.

Next in was a delegation from the Subis District Council which strongly supported Malaysia, followed by three Niah Malays, led by Tua Kampong Kawi bin Sanidat, who claimed to represent 400 people.

Tua Kampong Kawi said afterwards that his people fully supported the Plan but had urged that the customary laws of the Natives be retained in the event of Malaysia coming into being.

Representatives of nine Chinese associations — the Chamber of Commerce, Chowan, Foochow, Thai Poo, Kheng Chiew, Hakka, Kwong Wai Siew, Kaying and Leung Chon — submitted a joint memorandum to the Commission.

The memorandum expressed opposition to the Malaysia Plan and stated that the associations preferred Sarawak to remain British colony until it achieved self-government and independence.

The memorandum added: "We strongly resent the Federation of Malaya's calculated plot which seems to help Saawak to obtain self-government earlier, but is actually leading her away from independence forever."

'Unjust to hurry it'

The associations, it further stated, considered that merger of two different countries should be based on equality if it was to bear the meaning to true democracy.

It added that the Malaysia Plan was based on the Malayan Constitution which showed racial discrimination. This was "plainly revealed" in the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

The associations' memorandum also felt that it would be unjust to hurry the Malaysia Plan as it was not one based generally on the need and willingness of the people.

The branches of two political parties in Miri — Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak (Barjasa) and Sarawak United Peoples' Party (SUPP) — were each represented by a 10-man delegation before the Commission.

The Barjasa delegation, was led by the Branch chairman, Mr Chia Chin Shin, who said afterwards that the Branch fully agreed with the Party's memorandum submitted to the Commission in Kuching recently.

He stated however that the Branch had added two more points — that expatriate officers should be retained until such time local officers were available to replace them and that in case the Central Government could not cope with troubles beyond the scope of the local armed forces (including those involving internal security), the British Government should be requested to give assistance.

According to Mr Chia, the delegation also told the Commission that at this stage (and until the citizenship laws had been properly defined) the armed forces, including the police, should be composed of people drawn from indigenous races only in order to prevent any infiltration by undesirable elements.

The SUPP delegation led by Inche Mahari Mokti, chairman of the Miri Branch, said that insufficient hearing time was given to his group by the Commission.

He said he personally carried 15 volumes containing 6,333 signatures collected from Miri, Lutong, Sibuti, Niah and Bakam, signifying opposition to the Malaysia Plan.

The Commission also met anti-Malaysia delegations from the Miri Wharf Labourers' Union, the Chung Hua Public School Alumni Association of Krokop and the Chinese Primary School Ex-pupils Association of Miri.

Anti-Malaysia posters

Police discovered anti-Malaysia poster pasted in a number of public places in the centre of the town, on the fences of homes, all along the Miri/Lutong Road and even at the Community Hall.

They were written in Chinese, English, Malay and Iban on coloured paper.

Gathered outside the Community Hall were 30 women from various areas in the District who said they were sympathisers of the SUPP.

The Commission next flew to Marudi (Baram District) on Tuesday where it split into two parties — Lord Cobbold, Sir Anthony Abell and Inche Ghazali going to Long Akah by RAF Twin Pioneer and Dato Wong Pow Nee and Sir David Watherston staying on at Marudi to record views at the District Officer's bungalow where delegations from three po-

litical parties, Chinese associations and individuals met them.

The people comprised Kelabits from as far as Bario, Ibans from the Lower Tinjar and Bakong as well as near Marudi, Kenyahs from such places as Long Ikang and Apoh and the Chinese of Marudi town itself as well as Fochows and Malays from Lubok Nibong, just over a mile from Marudi.

The first to appear before the Commission was a delegation of five representatives from the Marudi Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Hokkien, Kheh, Kwang Tong Associations and the Baram Wharf Labourers' Union.

A spokesman said later that these five associations after meeting with their respective members were "very strongly against the Malaysia Plan."

The next to go in was a pro-Malaysia delegation of three from Party Negara Sarawak led by Wakil Tua Kampong Serot, followed by a delegation from the Sarawak National Party comprising 13 people, mostly Ibans, led by Penghulu Entri, of the Lower Tinjar.

The SNP delegation stated in a memorandum submitted that it was for Malaysia with certain conditions which include:

- That the adats or customs of the indigenous peoples of Sarawak must be retained
- No interference in the religions of all races
- Dayak and Malay should be used as national languages but English retained as the official language
- The Officer Administering the Government must be a Native of Sarawak
- All excess revenue should be used for the benefit of Sarawakians
- Britain should be asked to give development aid to Sarawak

SUPP delegation next

Next to see the Commission was a delegation from the Sarawak United People's Party from the Baram area, led by Tama Weng Tinggang.

The delegation of 10 expressed strong opposition to the Malaysia Plan and presented several volumes contained signatures indicating this. It was learned later that the signatures of protest, numbering 1,420 were collected mainly from Marudi and the Bakong area.

Another delegation to see the Commission was one led by Tua Kampong Sebli bin Kassim of Lubok Nibong who said his group represented about 300 people who were in favour of Malaysia.

However, three Kelabits from Bario led by Mr Balang Radu did not state as to whether they were in favour or otherwise but asked for time to consider the proposals still further.

Several penghulus and tuai rumahs who also saw the Commission, wore their Long Service Medals and war decorations.

There were no anti-Malaysia posters put up in the town. A 67-year-old Sea Dayak, Nawang anak Nipah, of Rumah Sureng Dabai, near Marudi, died from heart failure that morning while on his way to see the Commission.

At Long Akah Lord Cobbold, Sir Anthony Abell and Inche Ghazali heard views in the Fort from spokesmen for the Kenyahs, Kelabits and Penans.

Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, the paramount chief of the Kenyahs, also presented his views and was later host to the visitors at a luncheon given at Long San.

However, the aircraft, which was to take them back to Miri the same day, became bogged down at the airstrip when its wheels became firmly wedged in deep mud as it was preparing to take off.

Attempts were made by a large number of people to lift the wheels off the mud but they were abandoned after an hour, and the three members of the Commission were forced to spend the night as the guests of Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau in his longhouse at Long San. However they left by boat the next morning and after reaching Marudi were lifted by a Brunei Shell helicopter to Miri.

The other two members of the Commission, Sir David Watherston and Dato Wong as well as the staff flew back to Miri in special flight arranged by Borneo Airways: the aircraft took off from a slippery airstrip and in poor weather conditions.

On Wednesday morning they flew to Bintulu to record views in the District Council Chamber.

Seven groups of people from the District, including delegations from Party Negara Sarawak and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, saw the Commission.

Among the individuals who presented their views was Inche Atahar Khan, a district councillor and member of Council Negri.

Panas delegation next

Next to go in was a delegation from Panas led by the Branch chairman, Inche Yaman bin Pedol. The Branch submitted a memorandum which expressed full support for Malaysia with safeguards on the subjects of Native customs, the civil service, land and native rights and immigration.

It is also stated that all property, whether owned by foreigners or otherwise, should remain undisturbed.

The Branch claimed to represent 6,000 people in the various parts of the district.

Of the groups which met the delegation only one came out against Malaysia — the Bintulu Branch of the SUPP, which claimed a membership of about 800.

The Branch chairman, Inche Sahari bin Semat, who led the delegation, presented four volumes containing 914 anti-Malaysia signatures.

A four-man delegation from the District Council, led by Mr Jilan anak Nyegang, told the Commission that the Council supported the Malaysia Plan on certain conditions.

One of the most colourful groups to meet the Commission comprised Native chiefs wearing uniforms and headgears together with their Long Service Medals. They were all in favour of the Plan and included Penghulu Abok anak Jalin, of Sebauh, representing 4,000 people, Penghulu Buan of Tatu, representing more than 6,500 people and Penghulu Mani, of Pandan, who was 4,000 people under his jurisdiction.

The Commission also saw a strong delegation of representatives from various Malay kampongs which have a total population of 6,000. They supported the Malaysia Plan as well.

Support was also expressed by a delegation of Kayans and Penans led by Penghulu Ding anak Adeng, who claimed to represent 800 people.

The Chinese community of 4,000 was represented by a delegation of seven led by Kapitan China Tan Kim Siah.

In a memorandum submitted to the Commission on delegation said that at a meeting held earlier this month all representatives of the Chinese community were of the opinion that if Sarawak were to join Malaysia based on the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee it would result in

future political instability and greatly affect the peaceful life of the people.

An appeal

The memorandum added that "for the sake of the happiness and future destiny of the 750,000 people in Sarawak" the Chinese community in Bintulu were unanimously not in favour of joining Malaysia Plan at the present stage.

It pointed out that the unequal privileges for the various races would result in racial discrimination and damage the harmony and co-operation built up the Rajahs and British Government over the last hundred years.

The British Government should keep its promise in helping poor nations and in leading them on the road to self-government.

The memorandum also said that it favoured a federation of the Borneo territories before consideration of the Malaysia Plan. It added that Sarawak should decide its future destiny by a general election and hoped that the Commission would not encourage the immediate implementation of Malaysia if it was going to benefit only one race.

After the session, Sir David and Dato Wong left by a Shell Prince aircraft for Sibul to await the arrival of the other members of the Commission.

As they drove along the four-mile route from the airport to the town anti-Malaysia banners bearing various slogans greeted them.

Lord Cobbold, Sir Anthony Abell and Inche Ghazali left Miri for Mukah in an RAF aircraft which had arrived from Singapore to replace the one stranded at Long Akah.

However they had to spend a few hours at Bintulu when the plane developed engine trouble during the stop-over.

On arrival at Mukah they met 16 groups, including four delegations from the anti-Malaysia Sarawak United People's Party.

The Mukah District Council, which has accepted the Malaysia proposals in principle, sent four members to present its views and the Melanaus of the Batang Oya area (about 10,000 in number) through their representatives, give their fullest support to the Plan.

After the session they left for Sibul where on Friday the full Commission assembled to begin recording the views of the people of the district.

Town festooned with anti-Malaysia banners

The town was festooned with anti-Malaysia banners and posters on Friday morning when the Commission sat in the High Court.

Teams of teenage boys and girls carrying poles; ropes and other implements with hundreds of yards of cloth banners, joined adults in a huge effort to change the face of the town.

They chose street junctions and the busiest streets to hang 60-foot long banners.

They plastered pillars along the five-foot ways and walls of buildings with posters written mostly in Chinese.

Some of the more enthusiastic youngsters attempted to paste posters on private vehicles parked in the town area but were frustrated by the police.

Along the busy waterfront, speed boats and motor launches carrying passengers up and down the Rejang also flew anti-Malaysia banners.

The banners carried slogans, mostly in Dayak, Chinese and Malay and very few in English were evident.

On the whole the efforts of the banner hangers and poster plasterers had produced a rather bizarre effect on the whole scene, especially in the business quarters of the town.

Small crowds of people mainly supporters of those who had sought interviews with the Commission waited outside the High Court building when the hearing began.

The Commission this morning interviewed 12 groups and two individuals representing important sections of the community in Sibu District. The afternoon session was devoted mostly to recording the views of the Native peoples.

The first delegation to see the Commission consisted of a four-man delegation from the anti-Malaysia Urban District Council led by Mr Ting Chew Huat, the chairman. Others were Messrs John Lao, Chua Chui Thong and Teo Kui Seng.

The delegation submitted a memorandum and after the interview Mr Ting told reporters that the Council had told the Commission that it was not prepared to accept Malaysia as this stage because the people were not ready for it.

He added that the delegation was quite happy with the answers and explanations

given by the Commission.

He also expressed appreciation of the efforts made by the Malayan member, Inche Ghazali, to clear some misunderstandings which had lately arisen but he did not elaborate on them.

Mr Ting said that the chairman, Lord Cobbold, had stressed that the Commission was not in the Borneo Territories to sell the Malaysia Plan to the people: the idea of the Plan, he had said, was to help group together the territories concerned so that they would be happy and strong in a united Malaysia.

'Don't rush it' appeal

Mr Ting disclosed that the delegation had told the Commission that the Urban District Council was disturbed over the fact that the Malaysia proposal had created only unity but disharmony among the people and had appealed to the Commission not to rush the Plan as it felt it would intensify ill-feelings.

The second delegation to see the Commission comprised four Malay and Melanau Urban District Councillors led by Inche Annie bin Dhubie.

The delegates told the Commission that the people in their areas favoured Malaysia.

In its memorandum the four councillors — Inche Annie, Inche Ibrahim bin Haji Taha, Mr Philip Atan and Inche Jamal bin Haji Dris — said they felt justified in submitting separate representations from those of the Council because —

- The Council "is dominated by Sarawak United Peoples' Party members and its decision could not be other than the decision of the party — to resolutely oppose the Malaysia Plan".
- The majority of the members of their wards (kampong folk) had at a rally held last February passed five resolutions, the most important of which was to support the Malaysia Plan.

The councillors stated in their memorandum: "It is evidently clear that the question of Malaysia also implies to some extent — the Sarawak United People's Party versus the Native people of this country.

"The decision of our Council could not be the decision of the true people of Sarawak and it would be in the interests of this country if this decision is totally ignored, otherwise there will be no peace in Sarawak."

The memorandum ends by giving the five resolutions passed at the rally. They call for special privileges to be accorded to the indigenous people, for measures to be taken to improve their economy, standard of living, and for compulsory and free education and more facilities for higher education to be introduced as soon as practicable after the realisation of Malaysia.

In the next group were Mr Peter Jong, an Urban District Councillor and six others, mainly government servants, all from Ward 5.

Mr Jong said later that his constituents had considered the Malaysia proposal and were in qualified agreement with it.

The Commission, he said, had cleared certain doubts felt by the delegation and added: "We were assured that the resolutions submitted by us would be given due consideration."

In the fourth interview the Commission met representatives from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and six major clan associations led by Mr Chew Geok Lin.

They submitted a memorandum which supported the Malaysia concept but had suggested certain "qualifications" as far as the Malaysia Plan was concerned.

Told about citizenship

A spokesman of the delegation, Mr Khoo Peng Loong, said that the delegates were satisfied with the explanation of certain issues raised in their memorandum.

They were also told that if the Malaysia Plan materialised, citizenship would be based on the same lines as in Penang and Malacca.

Four Chinese Area Headmen, who are all anti-Malaysia were next led in by Mr Ting Lik Hung, who is known to hold pro-Malaysia concept views.

The headmen were Messrs Tai Sing Chui, King Hing Yui, Kong Chung Siaw and Tang Ong Yang. After the interview Mr Ting declined to speak to reporters.

They were followed in by representatives of three more associations who were unwilling to join the combined delegation which met the Commission earlier.

They were from the Kheh, Kheng Chew and Chiang Chuan associations who presented a memorandum opposing the Malaysia Plan.

Their spokesmen, Mr Kong Pung Seng, said that they reiterated their proposal for self-government.

The Sarawak United People's Party Branch sent an eightman delegation, led by Mr George Seah Pua Seng, who said after the interview that his delegation reiterated the party's stand that Sarawak should be granted independence by 1963.

The delegation, it was also disclosed, said that the penghulus of the Third Division, who had supported Malaysia had not substantiated their claim to represent the views of 123,000 Ibans.

The delegation also submitted 17 volumes said to contain 16,513 anti-Malaysia signatures.

The pro-Malaysia delegation from the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak, led by Dato Tuanku Bujang, had a five-minute interview with the Commission, submitting a memorandum.

The Party Negara Sarawak delegation, led by Abang Haji Razak, also had a short interview and presented a pro-Malaysia memorandum.

Next in were two strongly anti-Malaysia delegations from the Sibu All-Trade Employees Union and the Wharf Labourers Union, the former was led by Mr Ngu King Lee and the latter by Mr Ling Chioh Sai. These two trade unions represent about 2,500 and 300 members respectively.

Delegation of Methodists

Then came a six-member Methodist delegation led by Dr Ivy Chew which spent about 10 minutes with the Commission and later declared that the interview was not concerned with political issues.

The memorandum they submitted said that the Iban and Chinese Christians of the Methodist Church in Sarawak were deeply concerned that religious freedom written into the Constitution of the proposed Federation of Malaysia should be real and not merely formal.

The delegation said it could not agree with the recommendation concerning religious freedom as contained in the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, Dr Chew disclosed.

She also told reporters that the delegation had also received a telegram from the Bishop of South East Asia, Dr Hobart Amstutz, endorsing the delegation's memorandum and added that the Commission listened sympathetically to the views expressed by it.

A four-member delegation from the Third Division and Bintulu Sawmillers Association, led by Mr C.B. Dix, said that the delegates met the Commission purely in the capacity of businessmen.

They stressed to the Commission that whatever might be the outcome of the present proposal, it was imperative that there should be a strong and stable government in the country.

The morning's session ended with two important individual interviews when Mr Chiang Hie Kwong, an Urban District Councillor and Council Negri member and Mr Bangau anak Renang, former chairman of the SUPP branch at Sibü went in.

Mr Chiang said afterwards that he had submitted a statement in which he stressed that Sarawak should not lose its identity as a nation and that the people would be happy if Sarawak remained in the Commonwealth if Malaysia was realised.

Sarawak, he added, should be treated as an equal partner and not merely as a state which could join other states.

The people, he went on to say, should be given more time to study the plan and should be given the privilege of choosing either Malaysia or the present system of government.

Mr Bangau said the members of the Commission wanted to know why he resigned from the SUPP. He replied that he had given them the same reasons as he had announced earlier.

He said he had told the Commission that he supported the Malaysia concept as well as the resolutions recently passed by the 51 penghulus at Kapit.

He had also stressed that there should be no state religion and had emphasised the importance of rural development and the creation of more education facilities for the Natives in the rural areas.

Afternoon session

Eleven groups of people met the Commission during the afternoon session.

The pro-Malaysia groups came from the Melanau/Malay Association, three kampongs, near Sibü led by Tua Kampong Abang Louis Bareng, the Muslim Association, Sarawak Native Women's Association and the Sarawak Natives' Association, in addition to a group of seven Sea Dayak penghulus

from the Sibü District, representing 15,000 people.

The Native Women's Association, which claims a membership of 200, said in its letter to the Cobbold Commission that Malaysia was the best way to prevent Communist activities from spreading in the Borneo areas in particular and in South East Asia in general.

The anti-Malaysia groups were from the Bukit Assek and Bukit Lai gardening areas, the Chung Hua Alumni Association and the Joint Council of the Sarawak Third Division Chinese School Boards of Management.

The Commission heard more views in the Sibü High Court on Saturday and then left up-river for Kanowit for an overnight stay.

On Sunday, March 18, it will go to Kapit, return to Kanowit and then visit Binatang and Sarikei before leaving for the Second Division on the evening of Friday, March 23.

Meanwhile Penghulu Francis Umpau, of Kanowit, in the Third Division, stated this week that the people of the 29 longhouses under his jurisdiction were in favour of the Malaysia Plan, subject to safeguards.

The penghulu, who is Vice Chairman of the District Council and a member of Council Negri, said that the safeguards his people wanted concerned customary law and land, migration, religion and representation in the Federal Parliament. Furthermore, they considered that the Head of State in Sarawak, should be a Native who should, in due course, be eligible to become Head of the Federation of Malaysia.

Penghulu Umpau is also to submit a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission on behalf of his District Council which favours Malaysia.

KUCHING COUNCIL PASSES 'NO-MALAYSIA' MOTION

The Kuching Rural District Council, after a four-hour heated debate on Monday, decided by 14 votes to 7 with two abstentions, to oppose the Malaysia Plan.

It passed a motion proposed by three Councillors - Messrs Peter Ng Eng Lim, John Fong and Lim Eng Loon - "That this Council is strongly opposed to the Malaysia Plan because it is against the will of the people of Sarawak who are seeking self-determination."

The resolution will be submitted to the

Cobbold Commission when it next sits in Kuching.

Four Councillors - Inche Arshat bin Sulaiman, Mustapha bin Usop, Tua Kampong Ejie bin Awang Omar and Tua Kampong Suadi - walked out of the meeting before voting took place and six councillors were absent from the meeting.

Speaking in support of the motion, Mr Peter Ng said that he and most of his constituents together with "loyal patriots and nationalists" opposed the Malaysia Plan.

Referring to those penghulus and other headmen who had favoured the Plan, Mr Ng contended that once back in their longhouses and villages they admitted having no alternative because they were "orang makan gaji perintah" (government wage earners).

He said that the people of Sarawak were confused as to whether they should choose merger with Malayan leadership or independence, carrying Sarawak's national identity and international status.

Mr Ng stressed that the true nationalists of Sarawak were the "defenders" of the country's independence - and predicted that if the nationalist feelings of the people were "wiped out" by the Cobbold Commission there would be a small section of active nationalists "to form a nucleus of resistance for a thousand years."

Pro-Malaysia views

Tua Kampong Suadi, who spoke next, said that with Malaysia, the economy of Sarawak would improve and that the "sons of the soil"

would achieve a higher standard of living and education, adding that the Natives would then achieve equality with the Chinese.

He also pointed out that the British Government had favoured the creation of Malaysia because it was fully aware of what would happen to Sarawak in the future should it be independent and alone.

After three other councillors had spoken in favour of Malaysia, Tua Kampong Kais anak Ganjai, the Deputy Chairman, told the meeting that since his return from his tour of Malaya, his people had criticised him for "selling Sarawak to Malaya": because of this he preferred to be non-committal.

Mr John Fong, who seconded the motion, then launched a strong attack on Malaya for proposing Malaysia which, he claimed, sought to annex Sarawak.

The debate continued until Tua Kampong Suadi suggested that the views expressed in the Council at the meeting should be taken back to the people adding that he would not like the public to form the opinion that the Council was for or against the Plan in case it would conflict with the opinions already expressed in their wards.

He said that if the motion were put to the vote he would ask all who were against it to walk out with him. (uproar)

The Chairman, Wan Abdulrahman, remarked that if there had been objection to the motion being debated it could have been raised earlier on. As it was, he had no option but to permit the motion to be put to the vote.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried by a show of hands.

MALAYSIA ROUND-UP

Feb. 25 - March 3 1962

Support for Malaysia, particularly among the Natives, gained strength during the week in all parts of the Borneo Territories. This was given greater emphasis this week when the Sarawak National Party issued a "For-Malaysia" memorandum.

On Saturday, February 24, 1962 after encountering signs of stiff opposition to the Plan in the shape of anti-Malaysia posters and other forms of protest on their way to Serian from Kuching, the Cobbold Commission recorded full support for Malaysia from the spokesman of the first group they interviewed.

He was Haji Affendi bin Haji Marais, chairman of Lower Sadong Branch of 'Party Negara Sarawak who claimed that he represented 24,000 kampong people. He said later that his people not only supported the Plan, but had asked for its speeding up because the Natives had now fully realised the communist threat to their country.

In Sabah, (North Borneo), where the Commission was assessing people's views this week, the two largest political organisations - the United National Kadazan Organisation, and the United Sabah National Organisation - supported the Malaysia Plan

with certain safeguards.

Opposition to the Plan of immediate merger was expressed by the United Party, the United National Pasok Mamogun the Democratic Party and the Jesselton Chinese Chamber of Commerce. These organisations felt that Sabah should achieve self government first.

Sarawak preparing for next visit

IN Sarawak itself, the rural people, preparing to meet the Commission next week, expressed strong support for Malaysia, with safeguards for Natives.

They included Canon Basil Temenggong, leader of the 12-man delegation of Second Division Sea Dayak chiefs who had just returned from a two-week tour of Malaya and Penghulu Ganing of Lingga, in Simanggang District, representing 22 longhouses.

In Sibu, Mr Peter Jong, an elected representative of Ward No. 5 in the Urban District Council Area, said that his constituents had accepted the Malaysia concept in principle, subject to certain conditions.

Support for Malaysia also came from Bintulu (Fourth Division) penghulus, Chinese and Malay headmen and Divisional Advisory councillors at a meeting recently convened by the District Officer.

The Miri District Council is to hold an extraordinary meeting on Saturday, March 3, to discuss the Malaysia Plan and it was reported this week that the Miri Chinese Chamber of Commerce and eight local Chinese associations had at a meeting resolved to oppose the Malaysia Plan and to submit a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission.

Three Kuching Rural District Councillors have tabled a motion opposing the Malaysia Plan. The debate will take place on March 12.

The following is a round-up of Malaysia news and views.

Some of the views have already been put before the Commission during its tour of the First Division in Sarawak, others were presented this week in Sabah, while the views of some of those who expect to see the Commission during its forthcoming tour of the rest of the Divisions of Sarawak have also been to hand.

COMMISSION'S VISIT TO SERIAN - A REPORT

Sixteen groups of people, 12 from Simunjan (Lower Sadong District) and four from Serian (Upper Sadong), presented memoranda, submitted signed statements or gave oral evidence at the sitting of the Cobbold Commission of Enquiry at Serian on Saturday, February 24, 1962.

The Commission which left for Jesselton on Sunday, travelled from Kuching to Serian by car, a distance of 40 miles.

As a wet and rainy week gave promise of a bright weekend hundreds of anti-Malaysia posters mushroomed along the way, between the 8th and 40th miles.

Members of the Commission, escorted by police outriders, passed by protests inscribed on banners and posters and throngs of people, some sullenly silent, others shouting "merdeka", with clenched fists upraised.

The posters, estimated to be over 700, carried various slogans all expressing opposition to the proposed Malaysia plan.

Posted on culverts and bridges, rubber trees and telephone poles and hung between tall bamboo poles almost every 20 yards in residential areas, the posters carried such slogans as: "Sarawak Belongs to Sarawakians"; "No interference from outside"; "Strongly oppose Malaysia plan"; "Let the people decide it"; "Malaysia now? We want independence first"; and "End Colonial Rule."

However, at the Serian Courtroom itself where the Commission sat, there were more Malays and Dayaks than Chinese.

The first group to meet the Commission consisted of four Party Negara Sarawak (PANAS) representatives.

They were, Haji Affendi, chairman of Lower Sadong PANAS branch and vice-chairman, Tua Kampong Abang Haji Senusi bin Haji Bujang (who is also chairman of Lower Sadong District Council), and Inche Marzuki, and Tua Kampong Bujang, Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively.

The Party Negara group claimed that they represented about 24,000 kampong people.

Haji Affendi said that in the memorandum submitted to the Commission, they had asked for the speeding up of the Malaysia Plan, pointing out that the Native peoples had now fully realised the communist threat to their country.

Another pro-Malaysia group of six led by Tua Kampong Salleh also met the Commission and said later that they represented 35 headmen and leaders of 51 Malay and Land Dayak kampongs in Upper Sadong with a population of 23,000.

Two Sea Dayaks, claiming to represent 1,000 inhabitants of kampongs Sungei Alid and Sungei Bulu (Lower Sadong) were called in next. They were Penghulu Lapau (Kg. Sungei Alid), and Mr Bunsu anak Gabor (Kg. Sungei Bulu).

They stated that in their oral evidence they told the Commission that the peoples of their kampongs had not yet grasped what the Malaysia Plan meant.

They said that they also informed the Commission that to dispel the ignorance of the Sea Dayaks concerning Malaysia more information should be provided.

Another point that they stressed was that "the Sea Dayaks prefer British sovereignty to Malaysian."

A group of nine people, led by Mr Liew Ming Chung, a Lower Sadong District Councillor, who described themselves as "independents" gave the views of the people of eight townships.

Mr Liew said that he submitted a memorandum containing over 3,500 signatures opposing the Malaysia Plan.

He stressed that if the British wished to transfer responsibility for the governance of the country, it should be given to the people. It would then pave the way for a closer association of the three British Borneo Territories.

'Preserve Cardinal Principles'

Mr Liew also said that his party told the Commission that they felt whatever changes might be contemplated, the Nine Cardinal Principles should be preserved.

The next to see the Commission was Mr Licho anak Banyo, a councillor, and Mr Jeruit anak Rempi, of Batang Keba, Lower Sadong.

Claiming that they represented about 2,000 people they said that they opposed Malaysia.

Mr Licho said that he told the Commission it was not fair that there was no Iban member in it.

Two others who gave oral evidence were Tua Kampong Laboh anak Sampar and Tua Kampong Umbong anak Bedang, of Sebang Kiri, Ulu Setubu.

They said that they told the Commission that their people were quite ignorant of what was going on, and that they did not want to get mixed up in controversial issues.

A memorandum was submitted by Penghulu Kawit of Kampong Sungei Arus, Sebang, Lower Sadong and Mr Beken anak Tenden, a Lower Sadong District Councillor.

The memorandum, they said, represented the views of 2,200 people in the two kampongs. It stated that their people were not ready for Malaysia, and that they wanted self-government first.

Two memoranda were submitted by Kapitan Wee Chui Kin, chairman of the PANAS sub-branch.

He said that the PANAS memorandum supported the Malaysia Plan, and suggested that the Nine Cardinal Principles should be preserved.

In the other memorandum Kapitan Wee said he conveyed the views of his Chinese constituents supporting the Malaysia concept and also ask for the preservation of the Nine Cardinal Principles.

A short statement asking for clarification concerning the election of the Head of State was submitted to the Commission in the afternoon by an Anglican Land Dayak priest, Father Oscar Sindon.

Father Sindon who is in charge of the Taii Parish, Serian, said he could not understand how the Sultan of Brunei would be eligible to be elected as Yang di-Pertuan of Malaysia.

More signatures opposing the Malaysia Plan were contained in another memorandum submitted by the chairman of SUPP's Serian Branch, Mr Jong Chi Jui.

Mr Jong claimed that they consisted of 3,547 from members of the Party opposing the Plan, and about 5,000 more from non-members of different races, also opposing the Plan.

Commission flies to North Borneo

Lord Cobbold and the other members of the Malaysia Commission flew into Jesselton from Kuching on Sunday to begin their inquiry into opinions of the people in North Borneo on the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

After a week's stay in Jesselton, it proceeded to Sandakan, on the East Coast.

At an airport press conference Lord Cobbold said he, and the other members had spent "a useful and interesting week" in Sarawak.

At a full day's sitting in Jesselton on Monday, the Commission heard the views of some of the most important organisations in North Borneo.

The session opened at the Broadcasting House with Mr Donald Stephens, chairman of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, presenting the Memorandum on Malaysia, signed by 29 parliamentarians from the five territories.

Mr Stephens also expressed his personal views as executive and legislative councillor, and was said to have favoured the Malaysia Plan, with certain safeguards.

He was reported to have told the Commission that people wished to have a transitional period, from three to five years, before complete integration of the territories concerned.

Next to see the Commission was Mr Pang Tet Tshung, an executive and legislative councillor. He said later that he had told the Commission the people wanted self-government before Malaysia. According to Mr Pang most people supported the concept, but Malaysia must come gradually.

Things should not be rushed, he added. He found the Commission friendly and fair.

Next was a five-man delegation from United Sabah National Organisation, led by Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, who gave full support to the proposal as envisaged in the MSCC memorandum.

Datu Mustapha told reporters his party wanted immediate participation in Malaysia without a transitional period. He claimed his party had 60,000 members.

Jesselton Town Board gives views

A delegation from the Jesselton Town Board also appeared before the Commission. The Board wanted self-government before Malaysia.

The Town Board, which is dominated by United Party members and supporters, presented a memorandum.

Three members expressed objections to certain points in the memorandum by the Board.

In the afternoon, a six-man delegation from United National Kadazan Organisation

appeared before the Commission and in a memorandum supported Malaysia with certain safeguards.

Religion and National Language

On the subject of religion, the memorandum declared that the Malaysia constitution should clearly state that Islam would not be the State religion in North Borneo, where freedom of religion would apply as elsewhere.

It accepted the need for Malay as the national language, but stated that English should go hand in hand with it as the official language without any time limit set. In Kadazan areas, it was felt that the Kadazan language should be taught.

The memorandum stressed that in working out electoral wards or divisions and other electoral matters, it should be noted that the Kadazans comprised the majority of people and should therefore have ample representation in District Councils, Legislative Assembly and the Federal Parliament and Senate.

On the question of representation in the Federal Parliament and the Senate, it was felt that because of its size Sabah should be given a share larger than any state in the present Federation of Malaya or Singapore.

Other points referred to include immigration, taxation and Borneanisation.

Taxation, the memorandum urged, should be "gradual", to bring about parity on States of Malaysia.

On Borneanisation it suggested that everything should be done to encourage British officers serving in Sabah to remain after Malaysia to enable the local people to gain sufficient experience to replace them.

The following organisations were not in favour of Malaysia before the country gained independence: The United National Pasok Mamogun, several Chinese associations in Jesselton district, the Jesselton Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the United Party and the Democratic Party of North Borneo.

The Democratic Party's memorandum proposed that as self-governing states the Borneo Territories could negotiate for a constitution forming a Confederation of Malaysian states. The main terms of the constitution were also outlined.

The Commission held a two-day session in Sandakan, on Friday and Saturday.

They returned to Jesselton on Saturday, and after recording opinions of people in various small towns in the West Coast, will return to Sarawak on March 9, calling first at Lawas.

Sibu residents accept Malaysia Concept

In Sarawak the Malaysia Concept was accepted in principle - subject to conditions laid down in 13 resolutions - at a meeting of Ward 5 constituents of Sibu Urban District Council, held on Sunday.

Mr Peter Jong, a representative of the Ward, convened the meeting and the conditions which were passed by majority votes in the form of resolutions are:

- Constitution to contain safeguards which will fully guarantee and maintain the present harmonious religious policy now enjoyed in Sarawak.
- Issue of religious freedom in Sarawak should be decided by the State of Sarawak, and not by the Central Government of Malaysia.
- To preserve the present racial and religious harmony there should be not state religion in Sarawak as assured under paragraph 15 of the White Paper issued by the Government of Sarawak on Malaysia and Sarawak.
- That the Head of State must be a citizen of Sarawak irrespective of his religious faith.
- Sarawak State Civil Service should be Borneanised after Malaysia, and opportunities of appointments to the Federal Civil Service and Overseas Service be given to the Sarawak people.
- That sufficient time be given to the people of Sarawak to study the full implication of the Malaysia concept in order to dispel their fears and suspicions.
- That immigration must be under the absolute control of the State Government.
- Granting of citizenships to all races in Sarawak by:
 - (1) Operation of law under the principle of jus soli;
 - (2) Naturalisation
 - (3) Registration on residential qualification of seven years with the proviso that particulars recorded on the Identity cards issued before 1960 should be accepted as conclusive evi-

dence of birth and length of residence.

- The extension of franchise to all persons over the age of 21 subject to residential qualification of seven years, and the usual disqualifications.
- That Malay be used as a National Language and English be used as official language without limitation of time.
- That there would be no increase of taxation in Sarawak for the benefit of the Federal Government for the first 15 years after merger.
- That no amendment to the Constitution will be passed without at least a two-thirds majority in both the Federal Parliament and Senate.
- Assurance that Sarawak, after merger, will not lose her identity.

The meeting decided that the working committee of the meeting should draft a memorandum for presentation to the Cobbold Commission on the lines mentioned.

SARAWAK NATIONAL PARTY BACKS MALAYSIA

The Sarawak National Party, which is largely supported by Sea Dayaks from the Saribas District of the Second Division, this week came out in support of the Malaysia Plan.

The Party's stand was made in a Memorandum on Malaysia issued from headquarters at Betong.

The Memorandum, which is to be submitted to the Cobbold Commission, contains 19 stipulations, ranging from the naming of the Head of State to the State's contribution to the Armed Forces.

The following is the full memorandum signed by the Secretary-General, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan:

The Malaysia Plan had been discussed several times by the leaders and members of the Party at Betong, in the District of Saribas, Second Division of Sarawak.

Some of the members had expressed doubts and misgivings as well as demanded certain safeguards and assurances for the country.

During the last meeting, which was held at the Party Headquarters, most of the members present, after hearing an explanation by the Secretary-General, who presided at the rally,

about the concept of Malaysia, agreed to support the Tengku's proposal.

After dealing very extensively with the subject, the meeting suggested that all branches and members of the Party should be informed of its acceptance of the Plan as well as the vital necessity of the realisation of Malaysia, so that all could understand the issue and would not continue to oppose it any further.

The meeting made a final decision that the following should be submitted to the Cobbold Commission:

Head of State - the Head of State of Sarawak should be called Rajah, who must be from the indigenous people, and to be elected by the people of the country. It is strongly demanded to create a Rajah to be Head of State.

Supreme Head of State - the Supreme Head of State of the Federation of Malaysia should be nominated by rotation.

Eligible for Nomination - Each Head of State in Malaysia should be eligible for nomination to be the Yang di-Pertuan Agong of the Federation.

Boundaries - There should be no alteration of the boundaries of any State, especially between Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

Customary Rights - Preservation of customary rights to remain a State responsibility.

Land Rights - Protection of land rights to remain a State responsibility.

Official Language - English should remain the official language not only in Sarawak but also in the Federation of Malaysia for at least 15 years.

Medium of Instruction - English to remain the medium of instruction in schools. It was strongly supported that the study of other languages not to be prevented.

Secondary Language - As Malay will be the national language in Malaysia therefore Iban should be one of the secondary languages, especially in Sarawak.

Expatriate Officers - Expatriate officers to remain until or unless the suitable local people are found to replace them.

Powers - Powers reserved to the State should not be changed without being agreed upon by the State.

Migration - Migration should remain under the control of the State.

Development - Development should be accelerated but subject to the agreement of the State.

Employment and Scholarships - The indigenous peoples should have a fair share of government employment, enjoy the same privileges, and have a fair share of overseas training and scholarships.

Education - All States should have equal advantages in education.

Religious Freedom - The Malaysia Constitution should guarantee that all persons be equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate religion freely.

Representation - Sarawak should have an adequate representation in the Federal Government.

Constitutional Safeguards - The State should be provided with constitutional safeguards.

Armed Services - Each State should have a fair contribution of man-power to the armed services of the Federation of Malaysia, such as the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The meeting unanimously agreed to support all the other recommendations made and assurances and safeguards mentioned in the Memorandum on Malaysia released recently.

MALAYA TOUR IMPRESSES DAYAK PRIEST

Canon Basil Temenggong, who led a delegation of 12 Second Division Sea Dayak chiefs on a two-week tour of Malaya, said on his return to Kuching on Monday that Malaysia offered the best chance of speeding up rural development in Sarawak.

He also felt that the unity of the five territories would strengthen their internal security and defence.

Admitting that he was once opposed to the Malaysia Plan, Canon Temenggong said that his tour of rural development projects and talks with Malayan leaders and top officials had cleared most of his doubts and fears, which concerned such matters as education, religious freedom and development allocations.

However he felt that there would be room for improvement in Malaysia on the question of religious freedom.

Canon Temenggong said he hoped Mr Ong Kee Hui, one of the signatories to the

Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, would eventually be able to convince the other sections of the Sarawak United People's Party of the benefits of the Malaysia Plan.

"I think he is in a very difficult position of having to act against what he himself believes", he said.

'All races living happily'

"We find Malaya to be a country with people of different races and religions living happily", added Canon Temenggong, who hopes to submit a report of the tour to the Chief Secretary of Sarawak, Mr F.D. Jakeway, and the Bishop of Borneo, the Rt Rev Nigel Cornwall, besides appearing before the Cobbold Commission.

Another member of the delegation, Penghulu Intai anak Orang Kaya Jaul, of Lingga, said that he planned to resign from the Sarawak United People's Party because of its "unreasonable anti-Malaysia stand."

Penghulu Intai, who comes from Rumah Jarem and has under his jurisdiction 48 long-houses with a total of 1,000 doors, made this statement originally during the party's visit to the Ulu Tiram (Johore) Headquarters of the Sarawak Rangers.

He hoped that Malaysia would bring improvements to the rural people in education, health and agriculture.

He suggested that Malaysia should come into effect by 1963, but added that if the Plan could not be worked out by that year, the creation of Malaysia should be postponed for a number of years.

Another highlight of the visit to Ulu Tiram was a reunion between Penghulu Narok, of the Upper Skrang, with his son, Legan.

Legan has been in Malaya for over a year and was away on a jungle crossing exercise when his father arrived earlier this month.

Through special efforts he was contacted and brought out of the jungle at Kuala Lipis to reach the camp in time to meet his father.

ASIAN OFFICERS ASK FOR GUARANTEES

Asian officers in the Sarawak Government have submitted a Memorandum to the Cobbold Commission asking that there should be "certain guarantees" for the Civil Service if Malaysia comes, into being.

The Memorandum contained four resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of the Sarawak Government Asian Officers' Union. They are:

- Step-up implementation of the Borneanisation Scheme both by the active training of serving officers and the accelerated promotion of suitable local officers in order to enable them to gain the necessary experience to take over from the expatriate officers when the latter leave Sarawak
- Recruitment to the Sarawak Civil Service be confined only to Sarawak and North Borneo domiciled persons, for all grades
- The present rights and privileges conferred under General Orders and the terms and conditions of service cannot be changed unilaterally to less favourable terms than they are now
- Where Federal posts are created in Sarawak it is desirable that these be filled by local officers wherever possible.

The Memorandum, signed by the President, stated that although the Union was not a political body it felt that it would be failing in its duty towards Sarawak if it refrained from giving any views "on a certain aspect of that exceedingly important subject."

It is further stated in the Memorandum that "not an insignificant number of our members are not in favour" and that as career officers in the Public Service they desired to safeguard their interests and prospects "in return for unstinted and loyal service to the Government in power."

MALAYSIA: Cobbold Commission visits Rejang River towns: General support from Ibans

The five-man Malaysia Commission of Enquiry, headed by Lord Cobbold, spent most of this week recording the views of the people living along the great Rejang River and its tributaries, in the Third Division.

The Commission called at Kapit, Kanowit, Binatang and Sarikei before leaving for Saratok, in the Second Division, on Saturday.

The Rejang tour gave the Sea Dayaks, who form the most part of the population in the huge Kanowit and Kapit Districts, an opportunity to express their views.

On the whole the Malaysia proposal, with safeguards and subject to various provisos, was generally favoured by Dayaks and Malays.

The tour also enable members of the Commission to sample a little of Dayak hospitality and friendliness.

Report of this week's tour

Towards the close of the sitting at Sibu on Friday, March 16, three more anti-Malaysia groups met the Commission.

The first was a group representing 12 miscellaneous trade associations, including barbers, coffee shop employees, hawkers, drivers, vegetable gardeners and building contractors.

It was stated that these associations were in fact already represented by delegations from the Urban District Council, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, clan associations and a political party but had been given an opportunity to meet the Commission as each body had its own views to add.

There was also a splinter group from the Foochow Association led by a Sibu lawyer, Mr C.T. Wong, which was unwilling to be associated with the main body which met the Commission earlier.

Mr Wong told the press after the interview that the group had submitted 1,180 signatures opposing the Malaysia Plan.

Stressing that he was not a member of any political party he said that he spoke as a "true Sarawakian."

He disclosed that his group had told the Commission that Sarawak should be granted self-government first as it was the avowed policy of the British Government to help young colonies towards achieving independence.

He maintained that if Malaysia came into being it would upset all calculations. Another reason was that it would create racialism.

He went on to say that his group was also opposed to the idea of making only indigenous people founder citizens as this would give the rest merely second class citizenship and would put the Chinese in an embarrassing and difficult position.

The last group to meet the Commission comprised 18 representatives from 300 families living along Pradom Road - a Foochow rubber gardening area.

They said that they were opposed to the Malaysia Plan for the reasons already stated by other anti-Malaysia groups.

At the resumed hearing the next morning, the Commission met 14 groups, representing

over 400 people, mostly Chinese.

The two most important came from the Sibu Rural District Council, led by its chairman, Mr Ling Beng Siew, and a Henghua Association splinter group which was unwilling to join in with the group of Henghuas which saw the Commission.

The Sibu Rural District Councillors, who included Mr Sandah anak Penghulu Jarrau and Mr Jang anak Kendawang, said that they talked mainly about the resolutions contained in their memorandum supporting Malaysia with certain conditions.

Kanowit entertains Commission

By the end of the two-day session in Sibu, about 560 people from all walks of life and representing various shades of opinion had met the Commission and expressed their views.

The Commission left Sibu in the afternoon in the M.Y. Zahora for an overnight stay at Kanowit before going to Kapit.

At Kanowit, the Commission was welcomed by the District Officer, Mr D.L. Bruen, and entertained to a reception which featured a special ngajat display.

The highlight of the reception was a Dayak welcoming ceremony performed by two attractive maidens - Mas anak Kalong and Bunga anak Kalong - who sang the traditional pantun and offered glasses of tuak.

Sir Anthony Abell, who declined to join in the tuak drinking ceremony, spent his time renewing old acquaintances.

More anti-Malaysia banners were displayed along the Rejang and the local Dayak population who waved enthusiastically as the Zahora and the accompanying launches went by, seemed to have taken the displays as a means of welcome.

A long anti-Malaysia banner was stretched over the river at Kampong Kelabi, six miles upstread from Sibu, tied between overhanging branches of trees. It had slogans in Dayak, Chinese and Malay.

On the way to Kapit a few Dayak motor boats were seen cruising along with pro-Malaysia flags at the stern.

A big crowd welcomed the Commission at Kapit on Sunday evening. Colourfully dressed chiefs wearing their traditional headgear were among those who welcomed

members of the Commission who were received by Temenggong Jugah, the paramount chief and chairman of the District Council, and the District Officer, Mr Peter Tinggom.

At a reception held at Fort Sylvia, Temenggong Jugah said that the Kapit people welcomed the Malaysia proposal and hoped all would end well.

He then traced the chequered history of Fort Sylvia where the Commission sat.

Replying Lord Cobbold thanked the Kapit people and the Temenggong for the reception and said the Commission hoped to enjoy its stay there.

Chiefs meet Commission.

The first of the delegations to meet the Commission on Monday morning consisted of Temenggong Jugah, Pengarahs Sibat and Banyang and four penghulus.

They submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum containing resolutions as agreed to by the 51 penghulus at a meeting held in Kapit recently.

Temenggong Jugah said later that he had submitted a statement of his own in addition to the memorandum containing the resolution.

The statement, he disclosed, had pointed out to the Commission that in spite of the agreement reached by the penghulus at the Malaysia "aum", there were many Ibans who were still opposed to Malaysia.

The other points made were:

- If the resolutions agreed to by the penghulus and his additional ones were accepted, he could assure the Commission that those who opposed Malaysia could be brought to favour it.
- The Iban language should be given equal status with Malay and English on the realisation of Malaysia.
- The Dayak people should have their own religious department similar to the present Majlis Islam to look after their interests, customs and culture.
- In the event of Tengku Abdul Rahman being no longer Prime Minister of Malaysia and if the constitution was changed without the consent of the Sarawak Government, then the State of Sarawak must be free to withdraw from Malaysia.

Temenggong Jugah and his delegation spent more than 60 minutes with the Commis-

sion and said later that the Commission discussed fully all the points raised in the memorandum submitted as well as those contained in his own statement.

He said that he also told the Commission that for legal purposes, the other Native races such as the Muruts, Kayans, Kenyahs, Kelabits, Dusuns and Land Dayaks, should be grouped under the heading of Dayak Community.

Nine other groups met the Commission after this - two were in agreement with Malaysia and seven were opposed to it. Six delegations, which claimed to support the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, came from Song, Belaga, Mujong and outlying areas near Kapit.

The second group to see the Commission was led by Mr Jawang anak Mantoh, chairman of the Song Branch of SUPP, who said that he and his followers supported the memorandum already submitted by Party headquarters in Kuching.

Mr Bennet Jarraw led in the next delegation of Party Negara Sarawak supporters. They submitted a memorandum which claimed to represent the views of 26,000 people in 352 longhouses in the Kapit, Song and Belaga areas.

Wholehearted support

Mr Jarraw said afterwards that the delegation supported the Malaysia Plan "wholeheartedly" and that its memorandum contained the following points:-

- Special privileges should be given to the Natives
- Civil service appointments should be reserved only for Natives and qualified Sarawakians
- Native rights on customary land should be safeguarded
- Migration should be controlled by the State Government
- The customs and traditions of each and every community in Sarawak should be respected and safeguarded
- The Head of State should be a Native who should be given the privilege of participating in the Rulers' conferences
- Free primary education for all Natives and Sarawakians and a larger proportion of overseas scholarships should go to Natives

- If the title of the Yang di-Pertua Agong of the Federation of Malaysia is changed to President, he must be elected by the people of Malaysia
- Natives should be admitted to all armed forces of Malaysia
- Native representation to the parliament and the Senate of the Federation of Malaysia should be more in number than the others
- Sarawak Natives should be given a fair share of appointments in the diplomatic service
- Iban religious customs should be safeguarded and the Government should give Iban religious bodies, when formed, the same financial support as given to other established religions.

The next five delegations were SUPP supporters led by Tuai Rumah Alam, Jarau, Kalau, Nyala and Ikau.

A spokesman from one of the delegations said afterwards that they did not want Sarawak to be a minor partner in Malaysia adding that they were also afraid of tax increases.

The last delegation to see the Commission was led by Tuai Rumah Jugat who declined to comment afterwards. However it is understood that the delegation was opposed to the Malaysia Plan.

Visit to longhouse

Members of the Commission on Monday afternoon visited the longhouse of Penghulu Kulleh, in the Sungei Amang, which takes 30 minutes to reach by speedy longboat.

There they received a ceremonial welcome and were each presented with a memento of their visit — beautifully handwoven Kain Kabat.

After their return here the Commission members were entertained to a buffet party given at the bungalow of the District Officer, Mr Peter Tinggom.

It was a happy occasion which helped them to relax from their strenuous programme.

Temenggong Jugah, who played Master of Ceremonies, prevailed upon everyone, including Lord Cobbold, to dance the ngajat in ceremonial costume complete with parang ilang.

George Rasiah, who is covered the Commission's tour of the Third Division for the

Sarawak press and radio, said later that both Lord Cobbold and Inche Ghazali bin Shafie stole the show with their performances.

In his speech of thanks Lord Cobbold said that the visit to Kapit had been a memorable one and that he and his colleagues hoped to visit the district again — under different circumstances.

The Commission left for Kanowit on Tuesday morning and began sitting in the courtroom there in the afternoon.

Some of the Dayaks who arrived there to meet the Cobbold Commission travelled long distances — some took nearly two days to reach their destination.

The first group to meet the Commission consisted of six representatives from the three Committee of Progress which serve the community development schemes at Nanga Entaih, Nanga Entabai and Nanga Maong, above Meluan. They were led by Tuai Rumah Kabo, chairman of the Committee of Progress at Nanga Maong.

They said that if Malaysia was inevitable they would support it on the following conditions:

- that the Sarawak flag should be incorporated into the Federation flag
- that seats in the Federal Parliament should be equally distributed between the five territories
- that the indigenous people should be given all facilities to enable them to play a fuller and more responsible part in the affairs of Government

Two Europeans next

Two European community development officers working under the Iban Teams Project — Mr J.K. Wilson and Mr T.W. McBride — saw the Commission next.

Mr McBride said afterwards that they had expressed their personal opinions and had told the Commission that "irrespective of any decision which the ulu Ibans make, the British Government cannot be released from its responsibility to them."

He added: "The vast majority of the ulu Ibans do not, and in the nature of things, cannot understand the implications of Malaysia. If they accept Malaysia it will be because of their faith in the European administration which is dispensing information on Malaysia."

The third group comprised an eight-man deputation led by Mr Dundang anak Naga from Pakan, in the Julau area.

He said after the interview that his group supported the Malaysia concept and that it wished Malaysia to materialise as soon as possible.

He also said that he had suggested to the Commission that in the event of Malaysia materialising, the services of all expatriate officers should be retained.

The fourth group to meet the Cobbold Commission was a four-man deputation led by Mr Tuan anak Umpu, of the Ulu Julau, which described itself as independent.

The deputation said that it fully supported Malaysia and wanted it to come about as soon as possible.

A nine-man deputation from Nanga Jih, led by Mr Liau anak Ulok, met the Commission next and said afterwards that it was opposed to Malaysia Plan, preferring the present British administration to remain.

Tuai Rumah Chaong, who claimed that he and his four followers represented 35 longhouses with a population of 6,000 was next in.

This group, which also claimed to be independent, said that it was opposed to Malaysia and wanted merdeka first.

The next deputation comprising 13 men, led by Mr Kong Sao Wee, claimed to represent nine outlying villages with a population of 3,000.

They wanted independence before considering Malaysia adding that the Plan was contradictory to the Nine Cardinal Principles of the English Rajahs.

The Cobbold Commission next saw a deputation of five, led by Mr Tan Cheng Swee, which claimed to represent the Chinese community in the District.

Opposed to Malaysia

The spokesman, Mr Lau Sing Ping, said after the interview that the deputation was non-political and had submitted a memorandum. It had told the Commission that it was opposed to Malaysia because it could not agree with the citizenship proposals as laid down in the Memorandum of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

Mr Lau also said that the Commission had asked the deputation whether Sarawak, which was a small country could survive along, if and when it achieved independence.

The reply was that Sarawak would federate with the other Borneo territories and build up a "reasonably strong nation".

Mr Lau then said that the Commission further asked the deputation when it thought Sarawak would achieve independence. The reply was that it was expected in 10 years time.

Next to see the Commission were three Malay representatives led by Abang Johari. The spokesman, Abang Ali Yusoff, said after the interview that they represented about 3,000 Malays in the District who fully supported the Malaysia Plan.

Three women, led by Madam Minda, (better known as Indai Gamong) who described themselves as independents and pro-Malaysia then saw the Commission and presented a memorandum.

They said that they were from Julau and represented about 6,000 women. The other two women were Madam Terusa anak Lusa and Mrs Francis Umpau, wife of a well-known penghulu.

The last delegation to see the Commission was led by Mr Mapang anak Sanggau, of Machan, representing 2,050 people in 25 longhouses. The representatives said they were in full support of Malaysia.

The next day, the Cobbold Commission saw more people and first in were two Chinese, Mr Lim Poh Chan and Mr Leong Kim Seng, who claimed to represent 400 people living in Singayan village, about three miles upriver from Kanowit bazaar.

Mr Lim said afterwards that they belonged to no political party and had told the Commission that the people of their village were opposed to the Malaysia Plan and wanted independence next year.

They had also stated that Sarawak should remain in the Commonwealth and that expatriate officers should stay on in Government service till the people were fit to take over the reins of self-government.

SUPP group next

Next to see the Commission was a 17-man delegation from the Kanowit sub-branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party led by Mr Hong Yui Sit, the secretary.

Mr Hong said after the interview that his group had submitted four volumes containing more than 3,000 anti-Malaysia signatures together with a memorandum supporting the

one already submitted by Party headquarters in Kuching.

Mr Thilik Sigah, a 67-year-old retired teacher and an 'old-boy' of St. Joseph's School, Kuching, entered the courtroom next.

He said later that he had told the Commission of his support for the Malaysia Plan and had also pointed out that the Communists should not be allowed to vote or to take part in political activities as they were agitators working for a foreign power.

Inong anak Saka, of Kampong Jagoi, who described himself as independent and who claimed to represent 200 people living in two longhouses, then saw the Commission.

He said afterwards that he had told the Commission his people would like a merger but did not like the name "Malaysia", preferring "Federation of States of South East Asia".

The Commission then interviewed a number of pro-Malaysia delegations.

The first, led by Tuai Rumah Liang anak Nyalu from Rantau Panjai, claimed to represent 130 people living in 11 longhouses.

The next was led by Mr Besi anak Kenang from Ngemah, a village of 42 longhouses followed by two representatives from Nanga Dap, Mr Renggal anak Sanggau and Mr Entiggu anak Jugah, who claimed to represent 43 longhouses with about 4,000 people.

The fourth was a delegation of six members from the Kanowit District Council led by the chairman, Mr Empaling anak Imong.

The delegation submitted a memorandum supporting Malaysia with certain safeguards.

Mr Empaling said afterwards that the Commission had been asked to "sympathetically consider the points raised in the memorandum".

Sixteen penghulus led by Pengarah Banyang were last to see the Commission and fully supported the Malaysia concept.

Pengarah Banyang said he had pointed out to the Commission that the claim by a previous delegation led by Tuai Rumah Chaong anak Ngala that it represented 6,000 people in the Pakan area of the Julau valley was untrue and that the 16 penghulus in his area represented more than 43,000 Ibans in the district.

The Commission then left for Sibü to spend the night there before sitting in Binatang on Thursday.

On to Binatang

The anti-Malaysia banners, which had been taken down in Sibü, appeared along the banks of the Rejang River as members of the Commission journeyed to Binatang, but they were comparatively few in number.

Some Chinese motor launches were also 'dressed up' with banners bearing anti-Malaysia slogans and more banners were seen in the town there as the Commission arrived and drove through a steady downpour of rain to the District Council chamber to begin recording views.

The first group to meet the Commission comprised five representatives from 10 pro-Malaysia kampongs in the Matu/Daro area, with a total population of 13,000. They were led by Abang Abdul Gani and submitted a memorandum.

Two representatives from the Matu Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Mr Sim Cho Gim and Mr Lu Ban Seng met the Commission next.

They submitted a memorandum which supported the Malaysia concept but opposed the Plan. The memorandum held that the Malaysia Plan was being "operated too hastily" and that a longer period should be given to enable fuller consideration of the implications and to dispel fear and suspicion.

The memorandum also stated that opportunity should be given for the three Borneo Territories to strengthen their ties before the realisation of Malaysia.

Another point was that if the indigenous people were given special privileges this would create racial discrimination and inequality.

Five Dayak representatives, Mr Sandom anak Nyuak (1,000 people from Semah); Mr Boon anak Undi (1,650 people from Sungei Mador); Tuai Rumah Legak anak Saman (1,000 people from Sungei Sian and Telok Pajak); Mr Ensali anak Ajah (300 people from upper Binatang); and Tuai Rumah Banyang anak Juig (70 people from Belawai) told the Commission that they opposed the Malaysia Plan because their people had not yet grasped its implications.

Three of the leaders, Mr Sandom, Mr Boon and Mr Ensali are District Councillors.

Mr Boon said that the Malaysia issue should be decided by a referendum.

'Speed up Plan' plea

Three more pro-Malaysia delegations led by Inche Muda bin Haji Usop, Tua Kampong Haji Latip, both District Councillors, and Penghulu Tigong anak Ajah, also met the Commission.

The Malay delegations, including that led by Young Abdul Gani, asked for a speeding up of the Malaysia Plan while Penghulu Tigong said that his group merely accepted the concept.

Opposition to Malaysia was expressed by three other Chinese delegations — led by Mr Sim Sek Hee from Dato, who claimed to represent about 300 people, Mr Tong Kie Ping from Kelupu, who said he had the support of over 900 people, and Mr Ngeh Sing Kiong, the SUPP supporter from Sungei Sian.

The Binatang session ended with the recording of views from three leading anti-Malaysia groups and a pro-Malaysia Dayak leader.

The anti-Malaysia groups were -

- a 14-man delegation of Chinese headmen and sub-headmen
- a seven-man delegation from the local branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, led by Mr Tiong Siu King
- a six-man delegation from the District Council, led by Mr Teng Tun Hsin.

The headmen submitted a memorandum claiming to represent the views of 10,500 people. It contained six resolutions passed at a recent meeting.

The memorandum called for the right of self-determination for Sarawak. A federation of the Borneo Territories, it added, should come before Malaysia is considered.

If Sarawak was forced to accept the Malaysia Plan, it pointed out, the issue should be settled by a referendum.

The SUPP group submitted four volumes containing 3,890 anti-Malaysia signatures and supported the memorandum handed to the Commission by Party headquarters in Kuching.

The District Council chairman, Mr Teng, said that the Commission had discussed fully the memorandum submitted by the Council.

Mr Teng's views

He added that he had stressed to the Commission that Sarawak should have

self-government between five to 10 years' time; that the three Borneo territories should federate only if the people in each of them were willing; and that the people should be allowed to decide whether they wanted a Malaysia merger or not. In the meantime the services of British "technicians and experts" should be retained until the country had its own.

The last to see the Commission was a Dayak leader, Mr Dungau anak Sigi, who claimed to represent 200 pro-Malaysia people living at Maradong.

The Commission then left for Sarikei and attended a reception given by the District Officer, Mr H.R. Harlow, at his bungalow that night.

The town was 'decorated' with anti-Malaysia banners and many people from all parts of the District converged on it.

Local residents said that the banners were brought over from Sibu and that teams of volunteers worked at high pressure to have them hung up in time for the Commission's arrival.

According to a source, 30 anti-Malaysia banners and 1,000 posters were displayed at Binatang while it was estimated that Sarikei had 32 banners and about 1,200 posters.

Sarikei interviews

The first group to meet the Commission in the District Council Office on Friday morning comprised Mr Cheng Ko Ming, one of the best-known personalities in the District and until recently vice chairman of the local branch of the SUPP the Foochow Kapitan, Mr Wong Ngiong Hua, two headmen and six sub-headmen.

Mr Chen said afterwards that the interview was cordial and that their views were more less the same as those of the local Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

He added: "Under favourable terms it would be better for Sarawak to join Malaysia".

The next group in was from the Chamber of Commerce consisting of six men, followed by the following five pro-Malaysia groups:-

- a four-man delegation representing Malay and Melanau kampongs in Sarikei and Selalang
- a three-man delegation representing 10 longhouses in Penghulu Usup's area

- Tuai Rumah Gramong who said he had the support of six longhouses in the Sungei Sarikei
- a seven-man group from ulu Sarikei
- a six-man delegation led by Tua Rumah Sanggau anak Lom

They were followed in by 17 anti-Malaysia groups which claimed to represent a total of more than 16,900 people living in various parts of the District. They declared that they wanted independence first.

They included a delegation from the local branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party led by the chairman, Mr Adin anak Jampang, who submitted 10 volumes containing a total of 3,388 anti-Malaysia signatures.

Though the Sarikei District Council did not send a deputation, its chairman, Mr Leong Ming Tak appeared before the Commission to give his personal views.

Mr Leong said afterwards that he had told the Commission that though he personally supported the Malaysia concept, the people generally entertained doubts and fears about the Plan.

If it became inevitable that the Plan should be carried out, he had suggested to the Commission that there should be a proviso giving Sarawak the right to secede if Malaysia proved to be unsuccessful within 10 years.

Earlier Mr Lo Pek Ung, last year's chairman of the District Council, met the Commission. He said later that he believed the Malaysia Plan had been launched in a "rather indeterminate manner".

Very little time had been given for clear thinking and consequently there was now a wide split among the people.

He continued: "The people are being called upon to make one of the most important decisions that they could ever make and which might result in Sarawak ceasing to be a political entity. It is obvious we require more time before we say yes or no".

Others who saw the Commission towards the end of the sitting included Mr Low Tek, Headman of Area No. 5 and four pro-Malaysia groups.

Mr Low Tek said that he told the Commission that Sarawak should first merge with the other Borneo Territories and then decide the question of a Greater Malaysia federation.

The four pro-Malaysia groups, which asked for the speeding up of the Malaysia

Plan, comprised 11 Malays from the outlying kampongs of Sarikei bazaar who claimed to represent a total of 4,000 people.

After the sitting the Commission left by the M.Y. Zahora for Saratok, in the Second Division.

Saratok all-set

A report received from Saratok state that 23 deputations, comprising a total of 80 people, would meet the Commission on Saturday and would present a total of 21 memoranda.

It was also stated that the largest group comprised nine representatives from the Ulu Krian/Budu area where the people have had three meetings on the subject of Malaysia. Saratok bazaar Chinese would also be represented.

The Commission is expected to leave in the evening for Saribas District.

Meanwhile, the Simanggang Branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party met this week and passed eight resolutions including one to "resolutely" oppose the Malaysia Plan.

Other resolutions include those — to protest against the Government for disapproving mass demonstrations; to call upon all people to join in the anti-Malaysia signature campaign; and to support the Brunei People's Party to convene a general conference of all political parties and unions in the three Borneo Territories in order to unify the anti-Malaysia action of the people.

A statement issued later attacked the Malaysia Plan as "a new kind of colonialism" and criticised the Malayan Government.

According to a report received in Kuching on Friday Pengarah Jimbon of Delok in Lubok Antu District, Second Division, has expressed his support of the Malaysian Plan.

MALAYSIA:

Cobbold Commission completes Sarawak tour: Strong Native support in Second Division

The five-man Commission for Enquiry, headed by Lord Cobbold, completed recording the views of the people of Sarawak on the Malaysia proposal on Thursday when it flew to Kuching after touring the Second Division.

Since February 20, the Commission had visited 19 centres throughout the country, travelling an estimated 2,000 miles by land, sea and air. It is also estimated that the Commission had met and recorded the views of about 4,500 representatives and individuals of all races and shades of opinion.

The Commission will fly to Jesselton on Monday, April 2, to complete its work in North Borneo.

The Second Division tour, which lasted six days, took the Commission to Saratok, Betong, Simanggang and Engkilili, and in each centre there was again strong support given by the Sea Dayaks and Malays for Malaysia, subject to certain safeguards and provisos.

The main opposition was mounted by branches of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party.

Report of tour

On arrival at Saratok, in Kalaka District (population 25,000), on Saturday, March 24, the Commission held a 3½-hour sitting, meeting 23 deputations, comprising a total of 92 people, and receiving 26 memoranda in all.

The first deputation to meet the Commission comprised three representatives from the Middle Krian area led by Penghulu Goyang who said afterwards that his group agreed with the Malaysia proposal provided there were safeguards for the way of life of the different peoples of Sarawak.

He added that he had told the Commission that his people wanted faster economic and social advancement not only for themselves but for the other people of Sarawak as well.

The second deputation, led by the chairman of the District Council, Inche Othman bin Jais, claimed to represent 3,300 pro-Malaysia Malays.

The deputation, it was stated, pointed out to the Commission that the relationship be-

tween the different races was still not as advanced as it would like to see and expressed the fear that unless the Constitution contained safeguards, there would be disharmony.

The Ulu Krian area was represented by a deputation of nine led by Mr Luke anak Tungku, officer-in-charge of the Budu Development Scheme and Penghulu Entigu.

It submitted a memorandum agreeing with the Malaysia proposal with safeguards, particularly on migration and land.

The deputation, it was learned, had pointed out to the Commission that it did not like the name 'Malaysia' and that it was unacceptable to the non-Muslims in Sarawak as it implied 'Land of the Malays'.

The very name, it felt, had created feelings of disharmony among the Sarawak people and that to the more ignorant people, it meant that Sarawak would become a Colony of Malaya even though they were told this would not be so.

It was further learned that the Commission was told that the Dayaks still remembered the rule of the Malays before the Brookes and did not want a repetition.

Penghulu Entigu said he had told the Commission that his people had agreed to join Malaysia because of their trust in the British Administration which had stated that Malaysia was a desirable aim.

Furthermore, they felt that the progress being made under the Colonial Administration, should continue in the same way, if not faster (under Malaysia).

Chinese view

The Saratok Chinese were represented by a deputation of eight, led by Kapitan Ong Cheng Seng, which disagreed with the Malaysia Plan, saying it wanted Merdeka to come first before Malaysia was considered.

The Ulu Sebelak area was represented by a deputation of seven led by Penghulu Brinau and Councillor Manggi anak Buli. The area has a population of about 4,000.

While agreeing with the Malaysia proposal, the deputation also pointed out to the

Commission that it did not like the name Malaysia; that it would like the proposed federation to deal more strictly with Communist infiltration; and that Sarawak should be able to withdraw from the federation if it did not prove workable after five years.

The Anglican Mission sent a deputation led by Father Dunggat and Councillor Anthony Nibong, to meet the Commission.

The deputation, which agreed with the Malaysia concept, made the following requests:

- That the Central Government should continue giving State grants to the multi-racial Mission schools.
- That the law relating to Islam should be equal and fair in relation to other religious bodies, whether Christian or any other religion.
- That there should be no one national language, but that several languages should be taught in the senior schools so that pupils can mix easily with one another.

The deputation had also informed the Commission of the safeguards that should be given to Sarawak.

The Commission also met a SUPP deputation which presented a collection of 1,556 anti-Malaysia signatures and expressed similar views on the Malaysia Plan as given by Party Headquarters in Kuching.

The pro-Malaysia Kabong Malays, which number 2,500, had their views recorded next. However, their representatives expressed concern over fishing rights after Malaysia and said they hoped that these would not be affected.

After a late lunch, the Commission sailed for the Kabong Coast where the members relaxed before going on to Betong, in Saribas District, on Monday.

The District has a population of about 30,000 comprising 14,000 Ibans, 12,000 Malays and 4,000 Chinese.

Big support for Malaysia

At Betong, the Commission saw 16 deputations — 12 pro-Malaysia and five opposed to the proposal.

The first deputation to meet the Commission, which sat in Fort Lily, came from the District Council led by the chairman Pengarah Montegrai, supported by Tua

Kampong Abang Karim bin Abang Hassan and Kapitan Yong Shaw Neng.

The Council submitted its resolution in support of Malaysia passed at a recent meeting and a memorandum stating the conditions under which it thought Sarawak should enter Malaysia (published recently).

The next deputation was also led by Pengarah Montegrai and his followers claiming to represent the collective views of the penghulus of the District. It supported Malaysia on the same conditions as those submitted by the District Council.

The representatives, who claimed to speak for 7,000 people in the District, said later that they fully supported the Malaysia Plan and asked for its speeding up.

An 11-man deputation, led by Penghulu Storey anak Ngumbang, chairman of the District Council, next saw the Commission. It claimed to represent the views of 3,500 people.

Though it expressed support for Malaysia concept the deputation said that the Dayaks were not ready for a merger yet and feared they would become a comparatively minor community in a Federation of Malaysia.

The deputation asked for special safeguards including the permanent retention of the English as the official language and for Iban and Malay to be secondary languages.

The third delegation to meet the Commission was a four-man group led by Penghulu Rangga, of Undup, and Mr Edwin Tangkun, a Batang Lupar District Councillor.

Penghulu Rangga said that of the 26 long-houses under him, 20 fully supported the Malaysia Plan.

He submitted a statement, signed by 24 tuai rumahs and by the Kapitan China of Pasar Batu Lintang, Undup, Mr Goh Yong Kim, asking for safeguards.

The fourth deputation to meet the Commission comprised 10 representatives from the Simanggang Branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, led by the secretary, Mr Tan Chong Meng.

More signed protests presented

Four volumes containing 3,457 anti-Malaysia signatures were submitted and the group said afterwards that it fully supported the views of Party headquarters in Kuching.

Two pro-Malaysia Dayak groups, one led by Penghulu Chendan, of Dau, and the other

by Tuai Rumah Klop, of Sabu, then saw the Commission and asked for the speeding up of the Plan.

They were followed in by a four-man anti-Malaysia group, led by Tuai Rumah Musi of Sebuyau, which stated that it belonged to no political party and had told the Commission that Sarawak should first achieve independence. The group claimed to represent 1,000 people in nine longhouses.

A Dayak "neutral" group of five, led by Penghulu Linggoh of Skrang, which claimed to represent about 3,000 people living in 42 longhouses, then met the Commission.

The group said that it would support merger with Malaya if the federated states were called "United States of Malaya, Sarawak, Singapore, Brunei, and North Borneo instead of Malaysia.

The group also suggested that merger should be gradual and that the indigenous people should be granted safeguards similar to those given to the Natives of Malaya.

Three Tuai Rumahs — Panggai, Wit and Subat — then fully supported the Malaysia Plan before the Commission and asked for its speeding up.

They said they told the Commission that a quick merger was the only way to combat Communism in South East Asia.

The tenth deputation to meet the Commission also fully supported the Malaysia Plan and asked for its speeding up.

It comprised five representatives of 1,100 people, led by Tua Kampong Zen of Lingga.

The largest single group of Dayaks to meet the Commission was then ushered in. It consisted of 50 people, including an Anglican priest, the Reverend M. Nanang, representing the areas covered by the Batang Lupar, Batang Ai, Lower Undup, Dau, Banting and Pantu.

They were led by Mr Edward Howell, of Sabu and claimed to represent 20,000 people in all.

The deputation spent 50 minutes with the Commission and said later that it supported the Malaysia Plan with 17 constitutional safeguards covering religious freedom, education, official language, (English to remain indefinitely in the State of Sarawak) and customary rights.

Next to meet the Commission was a 10-man deputation from the Pantu Branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, comprising eight Dayaks and two Chinese claiming to

represent the views of 3,000 people.

The deputation submitted four volumes containing 1,652 anti-Malaysia signatures.

'Call supreme head — rajah'

Six Dayaks, led by Penghulu Ganing anak Gumbang, saw the Commission afterwards and said they represented over 2,600 people living in the Kara and Ulu Lingga areas.

They fully supported the Malaysia plan but disagreed with the proposal that the supreme head of the federation should be called the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. They wanted him to be called either Governor or Rajah.

A seven-man pro-Malaysia delegation, representing 26 longhouses, led by Penghulu Narok anak Bakar, of the Ulu Skrang, was next in.

Penghulu Narok said that he and his followers fully supported the Malaysia Plan and asked for its speeding up.

The Commission then saw five Sebuyau Chinese claiming to represent 250 people.

They said that they belonged to no political party and were opposed to Malaysia.

They had also suggested that Sarawak should achieve its independence and that if there should be a merger then the three Borneo Territories should unite before a decision was taken on Malaysia.

Eight deputations equally divided in their stands on Malaysia, then met the Cobbold Commission.

Those in support of Malaysia were:

- a seven-man group led by Penghulu Uli, of the Ulu Lingga, which claimed to represent more than 2,450 people
- a five-man group, led by Penghulu Kerbau, of Lingga, supported by Mr Sydney Sentu, a District Councillor from Banting, claiming to represent 2,530 people
- a 12-man group, led by Penghulu Intai anak Orang Kaya Jaul, of Seduku, Lingga, which said it was supported by 3,000 people
- a four-man group, led by Penghulu Tawi anak Selaku, representing 1,878 people

Penghulu Tawi said that of the 31 longhouses under his jurisdiction, only three supported the anti-Malaysia stand of the SUPP.

'Borneonesia' suggested

The first of four anti-Malaysia groups which saw the Commission was a four-man deputation, led by Mr Joshua anak Udin, a District Councillor, from Tanjong Bijat, which claimed the support of 4,000 people.

Mr Joshua said later that he had submitted a statement, signed by 50 *tuai rumahs*, calling for Sarawak's independence and pointing out that the Malaysia Plan would bring in its wake racial and religious discord.

He added that if merger became inevitable the federation should be named "Borneonesia" instead of Malaysia.

Another anti-Malaysia group comprised two men, Mr Chong Sit Fah and Mr Liew Kong Fah, who claimed to represent the views of 600 Chinese from Pantu and two small outlying villages. They wanted self-government and suggested in their written submission that Sarawak should remain in the Commonwealth.

The sitting concluded at 6.20 p.m. and early the next morning three members of the Commission, Lord Cobbold, Sir Anthony Abell and Dato Wong Pow Nee, left by speedboat for Engkilili to hear the views of the people of Lubok Antu District.

The District has a population of about 16,000 of whom 14,000 are Dayaks. Chinese number about 1,900 and there is a small group of Malays — about 200.

On the river journey, members of the Commission saw a few anti-Malaysia banners displayed alongside the banks — one spanned the Batang Ai.

After being welcomed by the District Officer, Abang Abdul Karim, the Commission began its sitting at Fort Leonora.

Eighteen deputations, of which 10 claimed to represent a total of 12,000 people in favour of Malaysia, met the Commission. Seven were stated to be groups supporting the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and claimed the support of about 3,000 people and one delegation, representing the Teochew Association, supported the Malaysia concept but disagreed with details of the Plan.

Some of the *penghulus* and *tuai rumahs* in the pro-Malaysia groups who said that they harboured doubts and fears before they met the Commission, declared afterwards that they were quite satisfied with the answers and explanations given.

A number of pro-Malaysia groups submitted statements asking for safeguards for the indigenous people.

20-man delegation of leaders

The first to meet the Commission consisted of 20 representatives who claimed the support of 4,000 people from the Ulu Ai, Delok and Engkari areas.

They comprised *Penghulu Ngali anak Kijang* supported by *Penghulu Ubok anak Mawan*, *Penghulu Tedong anak Cheling*, 15 *tuai rumahs* and two district councillors, Mr Tutong anak Ningkan and Mr Bakar anak Kuyah.

They told the Commission that they favoured the Malaysia Plan and asked for its speeding up.

Nine pro-Malaysia groups then saw the Commission in succession. They were: a seven-man deputation consisting of six *tuai rumahs* led by *Penghulu Tembak anak Juma*, of Tinting Lalang; six *tuai rumahs* led by *Penghulu Manau anak Bagi*, of Skarok; Mr Buda anak Ulan, a District Councillor and Council Negri member (Batu Beini); Mr Antang anak Langkai (Lower Engkilili); *Penghulu Sigan anak Singai* (Lower Engkilili); and ex-Sergeant Gol anak Sadan (Kampong Ili, Lubok Antu).

The anti-Malaysia groups included Mr Belon anak Upan, chairman of the Engkilili Branch of SUPP, who submitted a collection of 2,806 anti-Malaysia signatures; Mr Bong Nan Siong, claiming to represent Engkilili bazaar; Mr Yap Si Poh, representing the Selidong Road area; and a 5-man delegation led by Mr Sia Ko Cho, of Lemanak and Mr Bong Kim Jin, of Merbong.

The other two anti-Malaysia groups were led by *Tuai Rumah Lukang anak Bunsu*, of Undup, and Mr Liew Wei Heng, of Brayun.

Tuai Rumah Lukang's six-man deputation claimed to represent 450 people while Mr Liew's 11-man group said it had the support of more than 200 people.

The Commission concluded its sitting of 2.30 p.m. and then returned to Simanggang where the next morning it recorded the views of more deputations, several of which opposed Malaysia.

It first met a 13-man groups from the Chung Hua Association claiming to represent hawkers, the Batang Lupar Wharf Labourers'

Union, the Taxi Owners' Association and the Foochow Association.

This group was led by the Association's chairman, Mr Kho Kwang Siak, who said afterwards that a memorandum had been submitted opposing Malaysia and asking for self-government for Sarawak.

Next in was an 11-man group, led by Tua Kampong Abang Haji Mohamad Terang and representing seven Malay villages with a total population of 3,000. The deputation asked for a speeding up of the Malaysia Plan in a memorandum submitted.

The third group comprised two representatives of the Foochow Association who claimed to speak for 2,000 Foochows in the district. This group supported the Malaysia concept with certain conditions.

Two district councillors, Mr Tan Chong Meng (Ward 14 — Simanggang South) and Mr Poh Sze Kiang (Ward II - Simanggang Urban), then gave their views.

Mr Tan, who earlier led a deputation from the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, said he was opposed to the Malaysia Plan while Mr Poh said that while he supported the concept but he would remain opposed to the Plan until Sarawak achieved self-government.

The Commission then saw eight anti-Malaysia groups in two batches comprising 75 people in all. They were led by the following: Messrs Tay Wei Chong, William Chen, Chung Sung, Lee Chin, Kueh Boon Thong, Voon Siew Nam, Yong Hua Jin and Teo Hong Chian.

After the sitting the Commission flew to Kuching, where on arrival, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, one of the Malayan members, flew to Singapore.

M-CONCEPT FAVOURED BY LIMBANG DISTRICT COUNCIL

The Limbang District Council submitted a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission when it visited the Fifth Division recently stating that it was, in agreement that "the concept of Malaysia is a desirable aim" and laying down certain provisos, safeguards and assurances.

The memorandum (a copy of which was received in Kuching this week) was submitted by a delegation of four councillors — Inche Habibullah bin Majid, the chairman, Mr Gawan anak Janga, Inche Ahim bin Burut and Mr James Wong.

Should the Malaysia Plan materialise, it says, the following "rules and safeguards must be incorporated in the Malaysia Plan":

- The Head of State must be a 'Bumiputera' (son of the soil)
 - Autonomy rights, which are granted to the state in such matters as the civil service, land, forest and immigration should be incorporated in the constitution and entrenched safeguards introduced and that autonomous subjects cannot be modified nor changed nor abrogated without the full and willing consent of the people of Sarawak
 - In order to accelerate the pace of Borneanisation of the Civil Service and the upliftment of the educational, cultural, social and economic development of Sarawak, the Council feels that it is vital, that Colombo Plan scholarships and in particular scholarships from the British Government, should continue to be extended and that a fixed minimum quota should be awarded yearly direct to the Government of Sarawak for the Sarawak people.
- In short, that the present scholarship grants in all spheres direct to Sarawak should be continued and expanded by Her Majesty's Government for at least a transitional 10 to 15-year period.
- A categorical assurance on this score must be promised by the British Government and incorporated into the Malaysia Constitution.
- Assurance must be given by the British Government that even after Malaysia assistance given by Her Majesty's Government by way of aids and grants and technical services will continue, and especially that expatriate officers would be asked to continue and serve until such time as competent, trained and experienced Sarawak-born officers are able to take over and that additional expatriate officers would also be provided by Her Majesty's Government if so required, by the Government of Sarawak to serve in Sarawak.
- The Council feels very strongly that in order to allay the fears and misgivings of the majority of the population of this country that Malaysia would rob them of their heritage and birth right, it is absolute-

ly essential that the Nine Cardinal Principles (with minor amendments to clause 8 to bring it up to date) as practised by the Rajahs of Sarawak, will be retained in the constitution of the state of Sarawak under Malaysia, entrenched and guaranteed under the Malaysian Constitution and without transition clauses.

The Cardinal Principles have been the accepted and guiding Principles of Sarawak for 100 years under the Rajahs and honoured and guaranteed under the British Government.

They have brought peace, harmony and happiness to generations of Sarawakians irrespective of race, colour and creed and it is right and fitting that they should be retained in the Constitution of Sarawak in Malaysia.

In view of the fact that all the people in Sarawak are generally at least 20 to 30 years behind Malaya and Singapore in the education and other fields and these handicaps affect people of all races, particularly in rural areas, it is felt by the Council that the present policy on special privileges for indigenous people in Malaya should not be implemented as rigidly in Sarawak as in Malaya.

However latitude should be allowed to make it flexible so that all citizens of Sarawak, irrespective of race, colour or creed should be given equal opportunities in all fields, so as to catch up with Malaya and Singapore and that unqualified assurance must be given by the Malaysian Government to see that this done in both in the spirit and letter of Tunku Abdul Rahman's promises.

This suggestion is motivated by the need to harness all the loyal human resources in Sarawak for the common welfare, betterment and advancement of all the people in this country as a whole — and the instilment of a common kinship and loyalty to Malaysia in particular.

In view of the bigger area of Sarawak (which is equivalent to Malaya in size) representatives of Sarawak in the Federal Parliament must be very much more than her population entitles her to, and that a formula that gives full consideration to her area must be taken into account and be worked out so as to give Sarawak a fair and

equal voice and weightage in Federal Representation compatible with her contribution in area.

"And added to this ignorance were the lies told by members of the Socialist Front who were there recently on a Government-sponsored visit.

"To mention a few of the lies they spread — the labourers were paid between 50 cents and \$1.50 a day, they had no form of representation, their unions were run by the Government, and the worst dictator of all Asian countries was myself.

"Innocent people were imprisoned and detained for no wrong, and many were kept under detention on mere suspicion. Whereas in reality the very people who abuse the freedoms enjoyed in this country are the so-called Socialists themselves.

"The Government paid for their visit to these territories in order that they might acquaint themselves with the conditions there, in order that they might spread goodwill and friendliness.

"The reverse happened, and they went there to spread lies and falsehoods. If the people of the Borneo Territories had known more about conditions in the Federation, they would have asked the first and simple question — why do not the Socialists fight for the workers, why as Members of Parliament do they not speak out in Parliament against the so-called injustices of the Government?

"But they did not ask these questions, they just believed because it suits them to believe it.

Business monopolies

"Another factor which contributed to their opposition to merger was the matter of business monopoly.

"The business community were under the impression that their preserves would be invaded by the businessmen of the Federation and Singapore in the event of a merger, and that the benefits and profits which they reap today would have to be shared with the businessmen of these territories instead of being their sole monopoly.

"There are a few people in the Borneo territories who monopolise certain fields of industry or business, such as timber and mining and they want to guard their preserves most jealousy.

"But they forget that there are unexplored potentialities in Borneo which are being surveyed and examined by a team of United Nations experts whose reports and findings will reveal the untapped riches in the area in about three years' time.

"Such potential wealth will require the vast resources of capital, business enterprise and acumen to help in development of resources, and this is beyond their capacity.

"It would be wrong and detrimental to their country for these monopolists to adopt a

dog-in-the-manger attitude. What they themselves may not be able to do they should allow others to help them for the good of the people in their country, to provide employment for their people and to increase the wealth of their country.

"It is because of this dog-in-the-manger attitude that the country has never been developed. The majority of the people there are kept in ignorance, education has been neglected, and development and progress have not been achieved.

BEWARE OF RED INFLUENCE — TENGKU ADVISES SUPP

The Prime Minister of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said in Singapore on Tuesday that if the Sarawak United Peoples' Party allowed itself to be influenced by the Communists "it will really land itself in the soup".

He declared that the Party was the biggest of the various Chinese organisations in Borneo to be have been penetrated by the Communists.

The Prime Minister said this in a major policy speech on Malaysia made at a dinner given in his honour by the President of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Mr Ko Teck Kin.

In the course of his address, which he said was to "clear the air about Malaysia", the Tengku —

- gave reasons for the opposition to Malaysia by some sections of the Chinese community in the Borneo Territories
- spoke about the threat of Communism to Sarawak and North Borneo

He said that according to reports there was still a large section of the Chinese community who were still in doubt about the benefits of Malaysia, and other issues such as citizenship and various kindred matters.

There was still some opposition among sections of the Chinese community in the Borneo territories because of suspicion born of fear and he went on: "There were placards all over the place opposing Malaysia, telling us to go back home, to keep our hands off Borneo, to take my conspicuous patronage elsewhere, and not to interfere with the

Borneo territories because the people are already happy and contented with their lot."

'Pitch of hysteria'

The Tengku continued: "During the interviews given to the various associations, guilds and organisations, sections of the Chinese were not in favour of a merger of the Borneo Territories with Malaya. And according to reports which I received from my representatives who returned from Borneo, opposition was in some cases vehement, and sometimes reached a pitch of hysteria.

"For instance, one young lady, both young and educated came forward at the meeting and cried, 'Why don't you go away from here? What business is it of yours to come and interfere with us here?'

"The people of the Borneo Territories are under a misapprehension as to our good intentions. The Commission is there to find out the desires of the people of Borneo, and we shall abide by their wishes."

The Malayan Prime Minister then explained the "manifold reasons for opposition" as follows: "They do not know how our country is run in the Federation, and they think that the Government is purely a Malay Government, that those of other races who live here are being bullied or cajoled into utter submission and live in fear.

"They also believe that there is no form of tolerance, no freedom of worship, no freedom of speech and no freedom of social intercourse.

"This state of affairs, if unchecked, would give the Communists every opportunity to carry out their propaganda effectively."

The Prime Minister then went on to speak about Communism and said: "The Communists work on the bogey of imperialism. While the territories are under British rule and are British colonies, it gives them an extensive field in which to work in poisoning the minds of the people against the West."

"With independence their supply of propaganda would end. So they exploit the situation by spreading false rumours about the dangers of a merger and how the people of Borneo would suffer in consequence."

'In the soup'

"It is only natural that the Communists should oppose the idea of Malaysia because a merger would liberate the people of the Borneo Territories and make them a free people such as we ourselves are, and they would be full members of the family of Malaysia."

"The Communists have penetrated the various Chinese organisations in Borneo, the biggest of which is the SUPP, and if this organisation allows itself to be influenced by the Communists they will really find themselves in the soup."

"You will remember that when the break with UMNO, he named it IMP. No sooner was IMP formed than it broke apart, because its name implied mischief. Therefore, as I said, if the SUPP is influenced by the Communists it will really land itself in the soup, as its name implies."

The Tengku continued: "I have no doubt at all that the placards that were put up in the towns of the Borneo territories were at the instigation of the Communists, and that the Chinese people there themselves do not oppose merger at all; in fact, I am sure that right deep in their hearts they all want merger."

The Prime Minister went on to state that the Borneo Territories had been much neglected and that the revenues derived from them were insufficient to promote the welfare of the people and for progress and development.

The wealth of the countries was at "a low ebb due to lack of development of the potential resources of the land".

On the other hand, he said, the people paid very little in taxes compared with the people of Singapore and the Federation. This created a sense of false security — that to be a subject people was better than to be free, for then they would have to provide everything themselves and pay more taxes in consequence.

He added: "If a merger takes place these people will want the same freedom from taxation to continue as otherwise the people of the Borneo territories would say 'we were happier under the British. As free and independent people of Malaysia we have to pay more taxes.'"

"It would mean, therefore, that in order to give the people a better standard of living and a better way of life, in order to develop the country, the money would have to come from the Federation Government, in other words from the Federal Government of Malaysia."

Since Merdeka, the Tengku went on to say, Malaya had \$2,000 million and that a very large proportion of this profit would have to be used for their benefit to counter that feeling, and to show the people of the Borneo Territories that it was better to be a member of Malaysia.

Malaya would have to carry out extensive development of the land, improve the educational and social welfare facilities of the people.

Furthermore, a merger with the Borneo Territories would mean that Malaya would have to expand its armed forces in order to cover and protect the extensive area making up Malaysia.

Danger in Singapore

The Malayan Prime Minister then turned to Singapore where, he said, as the prospect of merger appeared to be imminent, the opposition against it seemed to mount.

He told the Barisan Socialis (the strongest opposition party) that assuming it won the next election, it would find itself in the same position as the People's Action Party (the party in power) unless it was prepared to carry through to the bitter conclusion the pro-Communist Chinese policy.

In such an eventuality the result would be obvious — there would be a complete break with the Federation, there would be no more freedom of movement to and from the Federa-

tion and business would suffer tremendously. This would be followed by a drop in the standard of living and difficult conditions of life.

In such an unfortunate event, said the Tengku, Singapore "might have to seek solace in the company of powers unfriendly to the Federation" which would, on the other hand, be compelled to approach, the Western powers for help. The outcome would be "war and bloodshed with devastating effect on the people".

He then told the "doubtful, half-hearted and those opposed to merger" in Singapore that they must decide now whether they wanted Malaysia or not.

Without Malaysia, he said, there would be not merger for Singapore because merger was part of the Malaysia concept.

Tengku Abdul Rahman ended his speech with an appeal to the Chinese in Singapore.

He said: "No other country in the world do the Chinese enjoy so much prosperity happiness and freedom as in the Federation, not even in China itself.

"In some other countries of South East Asia many Chinese have complained of the

treatment they receive at the hands of the Government, but nobody can say this of the Federation Government. If this is not apparent to them they have only to visit those other countries to see for themselves.

"In the Federation the Chinese have shown that they want to make Malaya their home, and the Malays have extended to them their friendly hands.

"The peace and harmony in the Federation is assured so long as this state of affairs continues, but the danger is that in years to come, long after I am gone, if the Chinese chauvinists threaten the security of the Malays, the inevitable result would be that for their own security the Malays might look elsewhere for protection.

"So I would say to the Chinese people — let us all get together to make a home of this country, and let us contribute our share towards making Malaya a happy and peaceful and prosperous country, a country which will provide for all of us and our children and our descendants the peace and happiness we enjoy today".

MALAYSIA NEGOTIATIONS: LORD COBBOLD HOPEFUL

Lord Cobbold, who headed a Commission to assess the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on Malaysia, told a joint meeting of members of the Royal Commonwealth Society and the London Chamber of Commerce in London this week that he thought there were very good prospects for the successful conclusion of negotiations for the Federation of Malaysia.

Lord Cobbold's speech was devoted mainly to his Commission's report.

"In my judgment," he said, "the two great problems to be resolved by the Governments are to reconcile the need for a strong Central Government with the no less pressing needs of decentralisation and a reasonable measure of local autonomy, and secondly to ensure that a high proportion of expatriate officers stay on".

He added: "There will not in the early years be local officers to take their place. Malayan officers are probably not available and I do not think it would be good idea for

them to go down. I think this immensely important and I again refer to the overriding necessity of maintaining law and order and continuity of administration".

"Once the Federation is achieved, a third problem will arise: to ensure that promises and hopes of social progress and economic development are fulfilled.

"This will mean Malaya putting money into Borneo and Britain continuing to make contributions and I would guess the attraction of financial support from outside the territories themselves.

'If challenges are met

"Any failure to fulfill these hopes would be disastrous. The Federation is being sold to Borneo on an optimistic prospectus and that optimistic prospectus must be lived up to.

"If these challenges are met, it is my personal conviction that creation of Malaysia, and its creation speedily is not only in the best

interests of the territories themselves, but is likely to make a really important contribution to stable conditions in this vital area of world.

"The remarkable success achieved by Federation of Malaya is the best augury for this ambitious and exciting prospect."

Earlier, Lord Cobbold said the question, of the merger of Malaya and the Bornean countries had been in people's minds for a number of years. He recalled when he had stayed with Mr Malcolm MacDonald, former British Commission-General for South East Asia, in 1951, Mr MacDonald had discussed the subject with great enthusiasm.

Lord Cobbold said merger offered some problems of merging a university, secondary school and primary school together.

Malaya was a rich country which had made tremendous strides in the last few years in industrial and agricultural development. Singapore was a sophisticated international city and seaport.

Sarawak and North Borneo, for all their potential development possibilities, had obviously a long way to go in material development to hold their own with the other two, he said.

'NO RACIAL DOMINATION IN MALAYSIA' — TENGKU

15/7/1962 — 21/7/1962

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said in Kuala Lumpur on Monday that no one single race must try to dominate the others in the proposed Malaysian Federation.

Speaking at the opening of the conference of Information and Broadcasting officials in the Malaysian territories, he said that it was not the intention of the Malays to rule.

The Tengku declared: "It is our intention, together with all those who have made their home in these territories, to build a nation where we can all live together in peace and happiness with one another — a nation where there will be freedom, equality, peace, justice and prosperity for all."

The Malayan Prime Minister said that there were attempts to obstruct the Malaysia

Plan both from within and without. This opposition, he added, was not limited to the communists.

"Apart from the communists, there are also people who oppose Malaysia because they are afraid that the British will transfer their authority to the Malays.

"Then there are capitalists in the Borneo Territories who feel that merger would result in the throwing open of the territories to others to come in and share in the wealth of the country," he said.

These obstacles, the Tengku said, could not be allowed to obstruct the establishment of Malaysia.

"They are dangerous, too, in that if allowed to go unchecked, they will endanger the unity of the people of Malaysia."

'GET TOGETHER — POLITICAL PARTIES ADVISED'

The Malayan Assistant Minister of Interior, Inche Ismail Yusuf, said in Kuching, this week that the Council Negri had made a good start in unanimously passing a motion to welcome the establishment of Malaysia next year.

Commenting on the support given by Mr Ong Kee Hui, chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, which strongly opposes the Malaysia Plan, Inche Ismail said

it seemed to him that the SUPP was now divided into two fractions.

One was pro-Malaysia under Mr Ong Kee Hui and the other under Mr Stephen Yong, the party's secretary-general, was anti-Malaysia.

Inche Ismail felt that right-wing political parties in Sarawak should sink their differences and get together and form a united front.

He said that there had been talk for months now of an alliance of right-wing parties but so far nothing concrete had been done.

Inche Ismail, who toured the Baram and Upper Rejang, said that there was no doubt that the people in Sarawak's interior were well aware of the Malaysia Plan.

He expressed surprise at having been received with "Malaysia pantuns" in a number of Iban, Kenyah and Kayan longhouses he had visited.

The Assistant Minister left for Kuala Lumpur on Monday after making a ten-day tour of Sarawak.

'SARAWAK'S INDIANS HAVE BIG PART TO PLAY'

A delegation of Indian community leaders in Malaya, led by the Assistant Minister of Labour, Mr V. Manikavasagam, left Kuching by air for Kuala Lumpur on Sunday after a two-day visit.

Before leaving Mr Manikavasagam said that Indians in Sarawak had a strong desire to associate themselves with the various events that were taking place, particularly the Malaysia Plan.

He said that Sarawak Indians might, if feasible form themselves into a political party on the pattern of the Malayan Indian Congress and merge after the realisation of Malaysia.

Mr Manikavasagam said that although the Indians in Sarawak formed a minority group

they nevertheless had a big role to play in promoting racial harmony, to live in mutual respect for one another and as one nation.

The delegation of seven had visited North Borneo and Brunei before coming to Sarawak.

Mr Manikavasagam told reporters that he and his party had met a large number of leaders of various communities in the Borneo Territories and explained the importance of Malaysia as well as exchanged views.

Describing the tour as "very successful" Mr Manikavasagam, who is Vice-President of the Malayan Indian Congress, said: "What the delegation intended to put across to the people here had been put across."

'SINK ALL DIFFERENCES' — NORTH BORNEO LEADER

The Chairman of the United National Kadazan Association in North Borneo, Mr Donald Stephens, said in Kuching this week that all political parties in Sarawak should get together and sink all their differences and work things out so that they could secure all the benefits and protection for Sarawak in Malaysia.

He said that party leaders should pool their resources on the Malaysia project in order to arrive at a general agreement on the necessary safeguards. They would thus be helping Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr Stephens, who left Kuching on Wednesday for Jesselton after attending a meeting between North Borneo and Sarawak

members of the Inter-Governmental Committee's Fiscal Sub-Committee, stressed that the Malaysia question was of the greatest national importance and that everyone should work together as a group for the interest of the country.

Commenting on the joint memorandum submitted to the United Nations by three anti-Malaysia parties in the Borneo Territories, Mr Stephens said this was only "child's play".

Asked what he thought of Mr Ong Kee Hui's support for Malaysia in Council Negri, he said: "I am glad that my friend, Mr Ong, has come round to accepting Malaysia which shows that he has realised that Malaysia is inevitable and that he is a political realist."

PANAS CALLS FOR ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE

The Central Executive Committee of Party Negara Sarawak this week called on representatives from all pro-Malaysia political parties to attend a round-table conference for an exploitory discussion on the formation of a "United Front".

In a statement issued on Wednesday, the

Party stated that in view of the prevalent political situation in Sarawak today, it was vital that all pro-Malaysia political parties get together.

The Panas statement was welcomed by the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak which stated: "Time is running against us".

MALAYSIA: LONDON TALKS 'GOING SMOOTHLY' BRUNEI ACCEPTS FEDERATION IN PRINCIPLE

15/7/1962 — 21/7/1962

Two vital events towards the creation of the proposed Federation of Malaysia took place during July 1962.

- Top-level talks between the Prime Ministers of Britain and Malaya and their delegations on the findings and recommendations of the still secret Cobbold Report as a result of the Commission's tour of Sarawak and North Borneo
- The acceptance of the Malaysia Plan in principle by the Sultan of Brunei, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, in a message from the Throne during the meeting of the State's Legislative Council. The message was endorsed by the legislature which supported the principle of Brunei participation in a the proposed federation.

The Malaysia talks began in London on Tuesday with a meeting lasting an hour in Admiralty House between the British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan, and the Malayan Premier, Tengku Abdul Rahman. This was followed by a plenary session of the full British and Malayan delegations.

Working parties were later formed to give expert study to the various subjects involved in forming the proposed Federation and according to a reliable source "everything is proceeding smoothly," and that good progress is being made.

Governor of Sarawak attending

The British delegation is headed by Mr Duncan Sandys, Secretary for the Common-

wealth Relations and the Colonies and the advisers include the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, the Governor of North Borneo, Sir William Goode, and Lord Selkirk, Commissioner-General in South East Asia.

The Malayan delegation, led by the Prime Minister, includes Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, and Mr Tan Siew Sin, Minister of Finance.

It was also reported that the British Government was anxious to speed up the talks and bring them to a close as quickly as possible.

The Malayan Premier left Singapore for London on Sunday after being given a rousing send-off by well over 10,000 people at the Airport.

Among the crowd were Sarawak's Council Negri members who had attended the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee — Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Mr Ling Beng Siew, Mr James Wong and Pengarah Montegrai. The Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, who is at present undergoing medical treatment in Singapore, was also there.

Before leaving the Tengku said with Malaysia the people of the territories "will become free and can look forward to an equal share of prosperity, happiness and well being".

He continued: "Once Malaysia comes into being all of you will have the powers to carry out whatever policies you like and to give effect to your aspirations".

Amid shouts of "Merdeka" the Tengku called for unity of the different races and said that everyone should identify themselves as Malaysians.

In thanking the crowd for coming he said: "This massive support will give me strength when my talks with the British Government begin".

Earlier the Tengku gave a press conference at which he said: "I am going to London in the full hope that what I am going for will be a success.

"Its success is going to make everybody in this region of South-east Asia happy. After all, the British Government and ourselves have agreed on the basis for the formation of Malaysia and with that agreement, all I am expected to do is to go straight to the point and discuss how soon and what is the plan for the emergence of the territories of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo".

'The sooner the better'

He stressed that the sooner a decision was made, the better it would be for all concerned.

He said that an important issue to be discussed would be the establishment and the financing of a Malaysia force, adding: "I know we have not much money but this is something we have got to do".

Asked how much he was seeking, the Tengku revealed that the initial expenditure to equip these forces would be about \$50 million with a recurrent cost of \$80 million".

The Singapore Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, in his address to the crowd described the communists as fools.

He said that they had claimed that Malaysia was the creation of the colonialists and that those were fighting for it were neo-colonialists.

What the communists meant was that they were stooges of the colonialists.

"In other words", declared Mr Lee, "everyone of us here and those who want this country to get together with Malaya, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo — according to the stupid communists — are all neo-colonialists.

"The time has come for us to make up our minds whether we want this country to survive, prosper, and our people to be happy, living in peace with one another or we want it go down the drain which it can so easily do, like some of our neighbours through the stu-

pidity and idiocy of people who chose to pursue the communal line regardless of the lives of the people."

He then referred to the Tengku, "whose great privilege it was to bring independence to Malaya and whose great privilege is to be to bring independence to Malaysia".

"We pay him homage not as leader of the Umno or Alliance but as one who sincerely and utterly believes that if Malaya and Malaysia is to be happy, peaceful and prosperous, then there must be fairness and justice for all.

"There must be harmony between the races. He has succeeded in five years of independence to keep everybody happy in Malaya.

"It is now his great privilege to bring about Malaysia and with all of us solidly behind the Malaysia Plan, all of us determined to see that racial harmony prevails and that there is fairness and justice for everybody in Malaysia, then it is our privilege together with him to see the Greater Federation of Malaysia come into being in our lifetime, and we wish him bon voyage, good luck and God speed".

Following Mr Lee's speech, Temenggong Jugah, Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Donald Stephens of North Borneo made addresses.

Earlier on Sunday the Tengku met Singapore and Borneo leaders behind closed doors for last minute talks.

'Aim of Reds is to prevent merger'

In London, the Tengku said that the federation with the Borneo Territories would secure stability in economic, political and other spheres in the area, and he thought the British Government shared his view.

He said: "Most people who know this region would agree that the best thing possible for these territories is to merge with the Federation of Malaya. Our economic interests are so linked up that one without the other would be of no value at all".

The Tengku continued: "The Chinese as Chinese can provide no threat. It is the other Chinese — the communists — who are not keen on this merger because the communists know that one of the objects of this merger is to prevent them from making in-roads in the territories of Borneo.

"They play on the bogey of imperialism and on that bogey they have earned the hearts

and minds of these people. Unless these people are given independence quickly the communists will work their way. The only way to give them independence is to work them in with the Federation of Malaya."

He added that 80 per cent of the people of the Borneo territories wanted to merge with the Federation of Malaya.

The Tengku said he expected to be in London about 10 days and that he hoped to be able to announce that the British Government and his Government have agreed on the merger at the end of the talks.

Asked if next June was the likely date for the merger he replied: "If there is going to be merger or there is going to be a Federation of Malaysia it must take place quickly. It is my ambition to announce a date for the formation of the Federation. I do not foresee any difficulties about reaching an agreement."

Prime Ministers meet

The meeting between the Malayan Prime Minister and the British Prime Minister was held in Admiralty House on Tuesday and according to one report both leaders stressed in their opening remarks that there existed sufficient agreement on main issues for the talks to be successful and that the contentious points of the report could be ironed out when committees were formed to go into the details.

After the meeting, described as "very cordial", the Tengku said that the respective delegations would thrash out all details in daily meetings and report to the two Prime Ministers.

The full conference on Thursday formed itself into working parties to give expert study to the various subjects involved in forming the proposed federation.

The working party meetings are expected to last two days and the full conference is likely to convene again on Monday, July 23, when the working parties will report on the progress that has been made.

Guests at Buckingham Palace

The Tengku and the Malayan delegates were guests of honour at a British Government reception on Thursday night following a "regal" day as guests of Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace.

Mr Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary and leader of the British

side in the talks, was the host at the reception in historic Lancaster House, scene of many constitutional conferences advancing colonial territories towards independence.

Earlier, the Malayan Prime Minister in a statement to the press said he had not discussed with the Queen the question of a Royal visit to Malaya but she would be officially invited "when she finds herself able to come".

The Prime Minister at a Royal garden party later told a questioning reporter that it was very difficult for the Queen to fit in a visit.

He added: "But I think if she does come, it will be on a separate visit and not on the way to Australia and New Zealand."

Mr Iain MacLeod, leader of the House of Commons, said on Thursday he thought the Government would possibly make a statement to Parliament on Malaysia before the House rose at the beginning of August for the summer recess.

He had been asked whether there would be a statement next week or at least before the House rose for the recess.

He replied that he did not think there would be a statement next week, but it was possible there would be one on this subject before the House rose.

As the London talks were going on the Sultan of Brunei announced on Thursday the State's acceptance in principle of the Malaysia Plan.

In a message from the Throne, the Sultan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, said the Malaysia Federation "would be highly beneficial to our country if the conditions are reasonable".

Later, the Brunei Legislative Council accepted by 22 votes to four with one abstention, a motion endorsing the message from the Throne, and fully supporting the principle of Brunei participation in the proposed federation.

The Legislative Council also supported any action to negotiate with the Governments of Malaya and Britain to determine the type and character of the Association, as the Sultan might consider suitable. But it stressed that the terms of entry into Malaysia must not diminish the status of Brunei as a constitutional state.

Tengku 'very, very pleased'

Commenting on the news from Brunei, the Malayan Prime Minister declared that he was

"very very pleased" that the State had agreed to join Malaysia.

The Prime Minister also said he had little doubt that assurances which the Brunei Sultan had sought would be "easily provided".

The Brunei decision was seen in London as a major step forward in the Tengku's dream of a five-territory merger of independent Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei and their ten million people.

Major-General J.G.N. Wilton, who will assume the post of Chief of the Australian

General Staff next year, said in Singapore this week that the proposal for the formation of a Federation of Malaysia "was to be warmly applauded".

Major-General Wilton is on a brief visit to Malaya and Singapore to examine Malayan defence problems.

He said: "Australians are closely linked with Malaysia and we extend to the countries of the proposed Malaysian area are warm friendship. We are anxious that the countries concerned should achieve greater unity and stability".

LONDON TALKS ON MALAYSIA SET: TENGKU CONFIDENT 'DESTINY OF BORNEO AND MALAYAN PEOPLES LINKED'

The Malaysia talks between the Prime Ministers of the Federation of Malaya and Britain will begin in London on Wednesday, July 18, 1962, it was announced in Kuala Lumpur this week.

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, will fly to Britain on Sunday, July 15. The other members of the Federation mission, including the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak and the Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin, left on Friday for London.

Members of the official Malayan delegation include the Permanent Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid; the Commissioner of Police, Dato C.H. Fenner; the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Inche Mohamed Ghazali bin Shafie; the Secretary for Defence; Inche Abdul Kadir bin Shamsuddin; and the Attorney-General, Mr C.M. Sheridan.

Four Council Negri members, who took part in the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee as representatives of the Sarawak Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, flew to Singapore on Friday to see the Tengku off at the invitation of the Singapore Premier, Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

They were Temenggong Jugah, Mr James Wong, Mr Ling Beng Siew and Pengarah Montegrai. Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, chairman of the Sarawak parliamentary delegation, and Mr Ong Kee Hui, who were also invited to

Singapore, were unable to go — Mr Yeo said that he had to preside over the annual conference of the Sarawak Co-operative Central Bank and Mr Ong said that he had heavy civic duties and other commitments.

Publication of Cobbold Report

A Federation Government spokesman said that the London talks would have a flexible time-table and that it was likely the Malayan mission would return before the end of the month.

The spokesman added that the talks would very likely decide the date on which the Cobbold Report would be issued for publication, perhaps as a White Paper.

It was possible, he added, that in view of the length of the Report, it would be published with a summarised version.

Before leaving Kuala Lumpur for Singapore on Thursday, the Tengku said that the people of the Borneo Territories realised that their destiny and that of the people of Malaya were linked.

He said he strongly felt that the territories in the Malaysia area should come together and work for the common good of all — that was his mission to Britain and that was the background for his future work.

The Tengku then said he was going to London with the full hope that everything was going to be alright — Britain and Malaya understood each other.

He pointed out that the problems of internal administration, internal security, and defence matters affecting Malaysia would take sometime to iron out with the British Government. He said Malaya would have extra territories to look after and would have to increase the strength of its defence forces.

But at the moment the country could not spare the money as it was committed to so many development projects.

The Tengku went on to say that it was a "mistake" to say that the Federation of Malaysia would be officially formed on August 31 this year though he hoped to make an important announcement about Malaysia on that day.

He added: "We have agreed in principle that merger will be established. That alone is not sufficient; you have got to make preparations before merger can actually take place.

He said he could not see any difficult point in his forthcoming talks with the British Ministers — if 80 per cent of the people in the Borneo territories were for Malaysia, he added, he could not see any difficulty.

At a Singapore news conference the Tengku said the Malaysia constitution would be the same as that of the present Federation of Malaya.

Amendments would, of course, have to be made for the entry of Singapore and the Borneo territories.

The Tengku described the Federation constitution as being "good enough" and added: "It has led us through to this state of contentment and happiness. It has worked".

Talks will be 'most momentous'

Meanwhile, Mr Tan Siew Sin, national president of the Malayan Chinese Association and Minister of Finance in the Federation Government, this week described the Malaysia talks in London as the "most momentous in our history".

He warned that the Communists would "spare no efforts" to wreck the concept of the Malaysia.

Mr Tan, who was speaking at a dinner given in his honour by the Ipoh and Menglembu M.C.A. at Ipoh, said: "We are living in a most crucial period of our destiny. The forthcoming talks in London of Malaysia will be the most momentous in our history.

"If they are successful, as we have every reason to believe they will be, it will open a new era which none of us at the moment can foresee".

The benefits of Malaysia, Mr Tan said, would not only be for Malaysia but for South East Asia as well, and "our past achievements will pale into insignificance".

"If we succeed, we will have proved that a small and young country can set an example not only for South East Asia but for all Asia.

"But there is one danger. Before Malaysia can be accomplished, the Communists and their sympathisers will spare no effort to wreck it. We can expect in the coming months an intensification of their efforts to wreck it."

This attempt, Mr Tan said, would be cloaked by communal tactics and he added: "The approach will not be crude. It will be done with cunning and finesse, with skill and determination. It will be done in such a way that none, except the most experienced, will suspect it. Let us therefore, all of us, be on our guard".

'Jolly good chance'

The British High Commissioner in Malaya, Sir Geofroy Tory, said before leaving Kuala Lumpur for London last week that there was a "jolly good chance" of bringing about Malaysia.

In London, Sir Geofroy will report to the British Government on the Malaysia scene, prior to the forthcoming Anglo-Malayan talks on the Cobbold Commission Report.

The British envoy said that he believed in the Malaysia concept and that the London talks would be successful.

PREMIERS TO DISCUSS TIME-TABLE

TENGKU HOPEFUL FOR 'SOME AGREEMENT'

Snags hit Malaysia talks

From July 22 to July 28, 1962

The talks in London between the British and Malayan delegations on the recommendations of the Cobbold Report reached a critical stage this week over what is believed to be the time-table for the entry of Sarawak, North Borneo and Singapore into the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

According to Reuter news agency (quoting conference sources) the Malaysians were believed to be pressing for a positive time-table for the transitional and permanent stages (August 31, 1962 and August 31, 1963 respectively were mentioned in one report) while the British delegation wanted to make sure that there was enough time for the transition of Sarawak and North Borneo into constitutionally equal partners in an independent Malaysia.

This difference, it is understood, was the main reason for the stalemate in the talks earlier in the week but "good progress" was said to have been made at Friday's meeting.

The Malayan Prime Minister and delegation leader, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said on Thursday that he hoped for "some agreement" on Malaysia when he lunched with the British Premier, Mr Harold Macmillan, on Saturday.

Another major development in the conference, now in its second week, was the arrival in London on Friday of the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, for consultations.

Two-stage approach agreed to

The talks, which began on Tuesday, July 17, were at first reported to be progressing so well that they were expected to end in the latter part of this week with the agreement of a two-stage approach to the formation of Malaysia.

The Malayan Prime Minister said late last week that the conference had accepted that merger must pass through a transitional stage in which experience would be gained.

However, Reuter reported that many thorny issues still remained to be settled and that conference sources had said one of them

would be the position of the Governors of Sarawak and North Borneo in any association of their territories with Malaysia.

After the ministerial session on Monday the Tengku said that he expected "an important decision" to be taken the next day, adding that "many things" had been agreed upon.

However, the talks broke up on Tuesday with unspecified points yet to be worked out and the British and Malayan officials began holding separate discussions in a bid to overcome them.

The Tengku said later that the talks had reached a point where a "yes or no" decision would have to be taken about the formation of Malaysia.

Through a Malayan official he declined to comment on the situation but press speculation continued.

A "major disagreement" had come to a head between the two governments on the time-table for the birth of Malaysia, according to the Commonwealth correspondent of the Scotsman.

The Times reported that a critical point appeared to have been reached and the Guardian said there were important differences and that a serious hitch had developed.

However it was learned on Friday that talks were resumed that day and that further "good progress" had been made. Reuter reported that moves to create the new Federation quickened in tempo as officials prepared for the luncheon meeting between the Tengku and Mr Macmillan.

It also stated that the presence in London of the Singapore Premier, Mr Lee, would be likely to give impetus to the talks and that officials had said that although Mr Lee possibly would not be in the current bilateral conference he would be seeing the Ministers of both delegations so that the Malaysia talks in fact would have a three-cornered character.

It is now known that the talks will stretch into next week.

Defence talks

Discussions were also held during the week on the defence of Malaysia and the costs involved by Tun Abdul Razak and Mr Peter Thorneycroft, the Malayan and British Defence Ministers and Mr Tan Siew Sin, the Malayan Finance Minister.

Officials said that they discussed the defence of Singapore and the expansion of internal military forces in Malaysia.

Among the people the Tengku met and talked to this week in London was Mr Anthony Brooke, former Tuan Muda of Sarawak and nephew of the Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke. The meeting was purely private.

Meanwhile the President of the Philippines, Mr Diosdado Macapagal, stated in Manila on Friday that he would like to see a confederation of the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, and the Borneo Territories.

This, he added, would supersede the proposed Malaysia Federation.

The Tengku said that he was confident that the real sons of the soil in the Borneo Territories were 100 per cent behind the Malaysia Plan and that only those who had not the real interests of the country at heart opposed it.

He warned the Borneo Territories and Singapore that if they did not join Malaya in the proposed Federation of Malaysia, and if they later found themselves in danger, they should not expect Malaya to come to their aid.

As for reports that if Malaysia were formed, the Borneo Territories would be swamped by Malays, the Tengku said that these were the work of agents provocateurs.

Earlier, he had pointed out that the Cobbold Commission would soon be issuing its report and added: "If their report is favourable, then I will be going to London to finalise the arrangements for Malaysia".

'BORNEO'S 3 WILL NOT BE JUNIOR PARTNERS' — LEE

In Hong Kong on Tuesday, Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said that the obstacle to the formation of Malaysia was fear of the Borneo Territories that they would be entering into a scheme as "junior partners".

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Malayan students there, Mr Lee said that Singapore and Malaya must convince them that this was not so.

He added that the Borneo Territories were also afraid that in the event of merger there

would be a "free for all" scramble for jobs and Singapore and Malaya must work out practical safeguards against such an eventuality.

He went on to say that Singapore and Malaya, despite their geographic "dislocation", were economically and politically one.

The Prime Minister called on the students to play their part to make Malaysia a success and warned there were "turbulent times" ahead.

He returned to Singapore on Wednesday after his world tour.

1961 — TURNING POINT IN SARAWAK'S HISTORY?

The year 1961 may have been a turning point in Sarawak's history: 1962 looks like being a year of decision — all because of the Malaysia proposal.

This is asserted in the General Review of the 1961 Sarawak Annual Report issued in Kuching this week.

The review says that 1961 may well prove to have been a turning point, "not because of

any cataclysmic change but because it saw the promulgation of an idea which has since dominated political thinking in the Borneo Territories".

It adds: "In May, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, announced his concept of a Federation of Malaysia embracing the states of the existing Federation of Malaya, the State of

Singapore, the State of Brunei and the British dependencies, Sarawak and North Borneo.

"The idea was not in itself a new one, but it was the first time that it had been publicly proclaimed as a practical and realisable ideal by a statesman in office.

"It is once aroused intense interest throughout the region and events since then have moved at a speed to which the Borneo Territories have hitherto been unaccustomed.

"The idea was taken up at a Regional Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference held in Singapore in July and a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was formed to develop it and ascertain public opinion towards it.

"Two meetings of this Committee were held later in the year, one in Jesselton and one in Kuching. After a meeting in London in October the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Malaya announced their agreement that such a federation was a desirable aim and that a Commission should be appointed to ascertain the views of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak on the proposal and, in the light of these views, to make recommendations.

"The Commission was due to visit the Borneo Territories early in 1962. Whatever the outcome of the Commission's enquiry, the stimulus to political thinking which the ventilation of the Malaysian concept has given to the Borneo peoples is bound to accelerate the tempo of constitutional development in Sarawak. If 1961 was a turning point, 1962 looks like being a year of decision."

Closer association with North Borneo

The review then says that association with North Borneo was brought closer by the conclusion of a Free Trade Area agreement between the two territories, to take effect from the beginning of 1962.

Two meetings of the Inter-territorial Conference were held, one in Jesselton and one in Kuching and there were frequent exchanges of visits, both between representatives of the people and between Government officials. An official visit was also made to Pontianak at the invitation of the Governor of Kalimantan Barat.

The review next mentions the adoption by Council Negri (at its October/November meeting) of the White Paper proposals for constitutional advance.

It explains: "These proposals retain the present system of indirect election to the legislature and the present number of elected seats (with some small difference in distribution) but the next elections will be conducted on the basis of adult suffrage instead of the present limited franchise.

"Provision is also made for a reduction in the number of nominated members and the introduction of a member system during the life of the next legislature, as a fore-runner to a fully fledged ministerial system.

"Elections to the new legislature are due to take place next year. These proposals were framed without the concept of Malaysia in mind, but they were deliberately made flexible and can be adjusted if necessary to meet changing circumstances".

It then refers to the setting up of a Public Service Commission to advise the Governor on appointments and promotions in the Public Service pointing out that the Commission has a majority of unofficial members.

Turning to the economy and development, the review states: "Financially 1961, though not up to the record level of 1960, was not unsatisfactory year. Revenue was up to expectation (\$81 million as against an estimate of \$76 million) and recurrent expenditure was kept close to the estimate.

"The sustained revenue yield, despite a drop in the export prices of rubber, pepper and timber, was due partly to an unbudgeted reimbursement from the British Government for part of the cost of employing overseas officers, under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, in which Sarawak has participated.

"With sagging export prices it becomes more important than ever to keep a close watch on recurrent expenditure so that the capital development so essential to the country can proceed.

"In fact, capital development went on according to plan. It was possible to make a contribution of over \$16 million to the capital fund and about \$27 million was spent on development work (compared with \$23 million in 1960).

Road building progressed

"In particular, the road building programme got into its stride and over 66 miles of new roads were constructed during the year (compared with 37 in 1960).

"The Public Works Department has now raised its annual target of new road construction to 90 miles a year; this is some of the most difficult road building conditions in the world.

"Other major works projects completed during the year were the new Port of Kuching (which was opened in June) and two new Government office blocks to accommodate the Agriculture and Land and Survey Departments.

"The secondary schools at Mukah and Simanggang, though not quite completed by the end of the year, were sufficiently advanced to enable the schools to open at the beginning of 1962 as programmed".

"Not in the category of major works but nonetheless notable is the new War Memorial, erected on a site where it was possible to observe Remembrance Day in a manner more impressive than hitherto.

"The accent has been placed firmly on rural development. The bulk of the Government's capital expenditure goes on the Rubber Planting Scheme, improved communications and the expansion of education facilities, all of which directly benefit the country people.

"Planting of high yielding rubber fell away slightly in 1961. Nevertheless, by the end of the year, a total of over 50,000 acres had been planted out of the 90,000 acres aimed at by the end of 1963.

"Satisfactory progress was also made with the Coconut Planting Scheme.

"As for communications, besides the road programme already mentioned, a regular air services to Long Akah in the Baram River was instituted by Borneo Airways Limited at the beginning of the year and extended to Bario in the Kelabit Uplands in July.

On the subject of education the review says: "Fifty-one primary schools were opened during the year.

"As usual, education has been in the forefront of public interest through the year. In August Council Negri approved proposals for a gradual conversion of Chinese grant-aided secondary schools to the English medium of instruction.

"In December, a comprehensive new Education Ordinance, was enacted based largely on the previous Ordinance, but clarifying a number of points particularly in relation to the Director of Education's control over schools".

Turning to the Medical and Health front the review has this to say: "The health services of the country were put to a stern test by an epidemic of cholera which broke out in July. Severe though the outbreak was, causing 61 deaths, it would have been far worse but for the untiring efforts of the staff of the Medical and Health Department, splendidly supplemented by voluntary aid.

'Other projects went smoothly'

"Despite this emergency the programmes for eradicating malaria and suppressing tuberculosis proceeded smoothly.

"A Mental Health Ordinance was enacted by the legislature, replacing the out-of-date Lunacy Ordinance".

The review goes on to say: "The threat of communist subversion, though still underground, remained to menace the peace and good order of the land.

"A Restricted Residence Ordinance was enacted in November to provide the Government with additional reserve powers to control the situation.

"Early in the year a First Division Trade Unions Congress was established and a meeting of the re-constituted Labour Advisory Board was held on December 1.

"The importance of mineral exploitation to the development of the country was marked by the holding in Kuching of a very successful Geological Conference organised by the Department of Geological Survey (a joint Department with North Borneo) and attended by delegates from many territories in the region.

"Kuching also had the novel experience of a visit from the helicopter of HMS Bulwark, one of many welcome visits from Her Majesty's Services and from diplomatic representatives".



Members of the Cobbold Commission

THE REPORT Chapter I SARAWAK

July 29 - August 4

The first chapter of the report deals with the enquiry in Sarawak. A brief description of the country is given. The Commission states that it was much impressed with the efforts made by Residents and District Officers to ensure that the implications of the Malaysia proposals were understood despite the problems of communications and illiteracy.

It notes the increasing strain on race relations arising from the possibility of early withdrawal of British authority. The Malaysia proposal had accentuated this development.

It states that there is confusion between the functions of a constitutional Head of State and an executive Governor. The Head of State has become a symbol of the transfer of power. Native races insist that the Head of State should be a Native. Immigrant races want anyone born in Sarawak to be eligible. All races however realise that the administration must continue to depend on British officials.

The Commission records that non-Malay natives fear the return of Malay domination under Malaysia. The suggested name Malaysia, the use of Malay as the national language and Islam as the national religion emphasised these misgivings.

The Commission notes the High esteem of all communities for the colonial administration, its impartiality and the progress which has been made under it. It notes the hope that present officials would remain.

The Commission was often reminded of the nine Carinal Principles of the Rule of the English Rajahs, now enshrined in the Constitution. Some natives however would not wish these principles to stand in the way of Malaysia.

Many people were influenced by their admiration of the Malayan Prime Minister and progress in Malaya. Unfortunate repercussions may follow if hopes of similar progress in Sarawak were not fulfilled.

Many people were aware of the threat of Communist subversion but the Commission

considered that the anti-Communist position of present Federation leaders was also an important factor in opposition to Malaysia. A large section of the Chinese business community and many of the native races dislike change and fear the unknown.

A major strand in opposition to Malaysia lies in the demand for independence first, arising from a genuine fear of discrimination against the Chinese, and against native customary law and practice. Concern was also felt about migration from other territories in the proposed Federation. The Commission felt that if assurances were given on safeguards, many in opposition might come round to support Malaysia.

- From left: Ichee Mohammed Ghazali, Dato Wong Pow Nee, Lord Cobbold, Sir David Watherston and Sir Anthony Abell.

Those for Malaysia generally want speedy implementation and a strong Central Government to deal with external relations, defence, internal security and economic development. All native groups wanted special privileges for the natives and the acceleration of development and native education. They also insisted that land, forestry and agriculture should be controlled by the State and that customary rights should be safeguarded.

Groups from other races, other than outright opponents, expressed a desire for the retention of British officers, the control of immigration by the State, and no rapid change in administration or taxation.

Natives felt that only a native should be eligible for Head of State; others, that anyone born in Sarawak should be eligible.

Other general differences of opinion were over eligibility for Head of the Federation, Islam as a national religion, Malay as a national language and the powers of the Federal and State Government.

The next section of the chapter deals with the views of the various races and political parties.

Chapter II NORTH BORNEO

The second chapter deals with the enquiry in North Borneo. The opening paragraphs give a general description of the country, its history and its progress. It refers to the exhilarating atmosphere in North Borneo with its rapid development, improving finances and bright and prosperous future.

Reference is then made to the arrangements made for the Commission and Government's efforts to provide every facility for the Commission.

The Commission was impressed by the background of friendly race relations but the conflict of opinions which arose over the Malaysia proposals. It refers to a growing awareness that present conditions must change, and records the assurances and safe-

guards which people of all races had asked for. These cover subjects such as the Head of State, Head of the Federation, Immigration, Religion, Language, special privileges for Natives, the status of North Borneo in the Federation, Federal subjects, amendments to the Constitution, the possibility of secession and citizenship.

The Commission notes that many of the fears expressed in Sarawak were echoed in North Borneo, and there was the same desire that British officers should be encouraged to remain and that there should be no rapid changes in administrative arrangements.

The report then refers to the representations made by the various political parties in North Borneo.

Chapter III ASSESSMENT OF EVIDENCE

Chapter III of the report deals with the assessment of evidence. It records the views of the Chairman and the general consensus of opinion of the members that

- about one-third of the population in both North Borneo and Sarawak strongly favours early realisation of Malaysia without too much concern about terms and conditions
- another third are in favour of Malaysia with safeguards which vary in nature and extent
- the remaining third either wish for independence before Malaysia or the continuance of British rule for some years to come.

The Commission considers that if the reservations of the group demanding safeguards were substantially met this group would generally support the proposals, and once a firm decision was made some of the anti-Malaysia group would likely to abandon their opposition.

There would probably remain a hard core of about 20 per cent of the population in Sarawak and perhaps less in North Borneo which would remain opposed to Malaysia on any terms unless preceded by independence and self-government.

The Commission records that it could not guarantee that opinion might not change one way or the other in the future.

Chapter IV RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter IV of the report gives the recommendations. It records a fundamental divergence of opinion among the members of the Commission on the question of phasing, as to

whether the Federation should be formed in one or two stages.

The recommendations are therefore in four separate categories:-

- First** — recommendations on certain general matters which are unanimous except where otherwise stated
- Second** — recommendations by the United Kingdom members
- Third** — recommendations by the Malayan members
- Fourth** — a summary by the Chairman and his recommendations.

General Recommendations

The general recommendations are as follows:-

Decision: Governments should take a decision of principle as soon as possible.

Constitution: The present Federal Constitution should be adapted. The Federation of Malaya would cease to exist and would become the Federation of Malaysia with a strong Cultural Government.

The Borneo states should have extra autonomy and safeguards and some guarantee that these should not be modified without the concurrence of the State.

Head of Federation: The Commission sees no way of meeting the demand that the Heads of State of North Borneo and Sarawak should be eligible for appointment as Head of the Federation.

The Name "Malaysia": The Commission sees no alternative to the name "Malaysia" for the proposed new Federation.

Religion: There is divergence of opinion on religion. The Chairman and the British members recommend that there should be complete religious freedom in the Borneo territories and that the Federal provisions on Islam should not be extended to the Borneo territories. Later when they have a fully elected legislature they can decide for themselves.

The Malayan members recommend that Islam should be the national religion of the Federation.

Languages:

National Language: The Chairman and the Malayan members consider that Malay can be the national language. The British members consider that this should be decided by the Borneo people themselves when they have fully elected representation.

Official Language: The Chairman and the British members recommend provision for Malay and English in Borneo without time limit. The Malayan members recommend English for 10 years and thereafter subject to agreement between the Central and State Governments.

Other Languages: The Commission recommends that other local languages at present in use in the Legislature should continue for 10 years.

The Malayan members recommend continuance only if the Central Government approves. The Chairman and the British members consider that this should be a matter for the State to decide.

Immigration: The Commission recommends that immigration from outside Malaysia into any part of it should rest with the Federal Government, and that the Federal Government should guarantee unrestricted entry for employment of persons recruited by a State Government, except on security grounds.

States should control immigration within Malaysia into North Borneo and Sarawak with guarantee of free entry of Federal officials. Entry from Borneo into Malaya should not be restricted.

Right to secede: The Commission recommends that there should not be a right to secede.

Borneanisation: The Commission recommends that Borneanisation of the Public Service should proceed as quickly as possible.

British officers: The Commission recommends that every effort should be made to encourage them to remain as long as needed.

Citizenship: The Commission's recommendations are lengthy. The main ones are:-

- A citizen of the U.K. and Colonies born or naturalised in North Borneo or Sarawak before Malaysia should become a Malaysian citizen provided he has been a permanent resident for a continuous period of 5 years beforehand.
- that 8 out of 12 years' residence shall qualify for registration as a citizen, subject to certain conditions.
- that otherwise present Malayan citizenship laws should apply. This will mean that persons born in Borneo after Malaysia will be

citizens if one of their parents is a citizen or is permanently resident in the Federation.

- The citizenship provisions should be written into the Constitution.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE BRITISH MEMBERS

The next series of recommendations are made by the British members.

They consider that Malaysia is an attractive and workable proposal and offers the best solution for the future of the Borneo territories and that a decision of principle should be taken as soon as possible by the British and Malayan Governments subject to debate and support by a majority of unofficials in the Borneo legislatures.

They consider that the first step should be the creation of a Federation of Malaysia within 12 months. After that they recommend a transitional period because of their strong conviction on the following points:-

- They consider that Her Majesty's Government has clear obligations to carry political development in the Borneo territories to the stage where people are able to play their full part in their own Government.

They do not consider that this stage has yet been reached in North Borneo or Sarawak where unofficials have not yet been given even semi-ministerial responsibilities.

- They consider that the appointment of a Chief Minister and the introduction of a ministerial system should take place as soon as possible.

But they strongly believe that for the advance to take place at the same time as the appointment of a constitutional Head of State and all the changes and adjustments, both emotional and political, involved in the transfer of sovereignty and the transfer of many of North Borneo's and Sarawak's present powers to a Federal Government in Kuala Lumpur would seriously overtax the administration and create a sense of bewilderment and a feeling of insecurity.

- They note that the idea of a popularly elected Government is still strange to a large section of population, and so also is

the concept of a constitutional Head of State. People are accustomed to a Governor who governs.

The British members consider that any weakening in authority in Jesselton or Kuching in the next few years would involve serious security risks.

They refer to the regrettable growth of racial discord and believe that until this has been given time to subside it would be difficult for local Heads of State to be selected who would command loyalty and respect, and who would be capable of discharging a delicate and invidious task.

The British members attach overriding importance to the maintenance of efficient administration and law and order in the years immediately ahead.

They consider, and state that this is a common ground among all members of the Commission, and among an overwhelming majority of witnesses, that it is absolutely essential that the services of expatriate officers should be retained for a number of years.

They emphasise that the departure of a substantial proportion of expatriate officers would almost certainly mean a breakdown of normal administration.

They consider that any solution which does not lead to the retention of a large proportion of expatriate officers would be doomed to failure.

They consider that, once Malaysia is a going concern and that officers are aware of the progress in the Federation of Malaya since independence, many of them may be willing to serve the new Federation.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Thus, during the transitional period they consider that the pattern should be:-

- Defence, External Affairs and anti-subversive aspect of internal security should be transferred at once to the Federal Government.
- North Borneo and Sarawak legislatures should elect representatives to the Federal Parliament from their own unofficial members, the two territories having a smaller quota of seats in the Federal Parliament during the transitional period.

- Sarawak and North Borneo Heads of State should continue to be called Governors and have similar executive powers to those exercised by the Governors at present.
- The Governors should be advised by Executive Councils at which they would take the chair. Chief Ministers and a ministerial system should be introduced as soon as possible for State subjects, Federal subjects remaining the responsibility of officials.

In particular the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary should remain ex-officio members of the Executive Councils and the Legislatures during the transitional period.

- In North Borneo there should be an early electoral system for the legislature. Unofficial members should be increased in both territories and Speakers should be appointed at an early date.
- As soon as possible after a decision to create a Federation is taken, a Joint Committee with Federal, Sarawak and North Borneo representatives under an agreed independent Chairman should be appointed.

Senior officials and unofficials should sit on this committee. It would make recommendations as to the timing and manner of integration, and the safeguards which should be incorporated into the Constitution.

Working parties should work under the Joint Committee to consider the judicial, economic and educational fields and the public service and other matters.

- There should be close co-operation between the Federal and State Governments during the transitional period.
- The basis of employment of expatriate staff should remain unchanged. A generous compensation scheme should be introduced at the end of the transitional period to encourage them to stay.
- The transitional period should be for five years adjustable to a minimum of three and a maximum of seven.

During the period the States should make appropriate financial contributions for services transferred to the Federal Government. Expatriate staffs should however remain a State responsibility.

The British members recommend that on the creation of Malaysia, the United Kingdom should surrender sovereignty and agreement would be reached as to the ultimate division of State and Federal powers.

The Federal Government would at once take over responsibility for Defence, External Affairs and aspects of Internal Security.

Powers and functions in respect of all other matters ultimately to be allocated to the Federal or Concurrent Lists should be delegated to States for a period of three to seven years.

The States would be administered during this period by a Governor appointed by the Agong on the joint nomination of the Agong and the Queen. At the end of the period Sarawak and North Borneo would have permanent constitutions on the lines of Penang and Malacca.

For the long term arrangements there should be a balance between ensuring a strong Federation and separate identities of the Borneo States. Racial and other problems in Borneo are quite different to those in Malaya and distances are so great as to make day to day administration from Kuala Lumpur impracticable and undesirable.

The British members recommend that the Joint Committee should consider the desirability of regionalising the more important of the Federal posts and services in Borneo as the practical administration must be carried on the spot.

Serious consideration should be given to the appointment of a Minister for Borneo Affairs with general responsibility for Federal subjects in Sarawak and North Borneo.

The quota of seats in the Federal Parliament should be account of the size of the Borneo territories as well as the population.

They recommend that the Head of State should be appointed by the Head of the Federation after consultation with the Chief Minister of State, with a constitutional position the same as that of the Governors of Penang and Malacca. They consider that the first Governor after the transitional period should be a Native.

Separate High Court

In view of the distances involved, Sarawak and North Borneo should maintain a separate High Court with its own Chief Justice, with appeals to the Federal Supreme Court.

One British member is not in favour of constitutional provisions for special privileges for indigenous races. The other British member considers that they should be given not less favourable treatment than the Malays in Malaya, subject to review after 10 years.

They consider that the allocation of functions between Federal, State and Concurrent Lists should generally follow the existing provisions in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, but make the following reservations:-

- For land, agriculture, forestry, local customs and usage, power should clearly rest with the States.
- Education needs special consideration. The aim should be Federal policy and local administration. English should be retained as the medium of instruction in schools.
- Finance should be Federal in the long term, but it will be necessary to proceed gradually. They suggest that States might retain their own borrowing powers.
- Tariffs should eventually be aligned but this should be done gradually.
- Large port and harbour works should be Federal but smaller installations on the Concurrent List.
- Fisheries should be on the Concurrent List with day to day administration a State matter.
- Some degree of concurrence may be appropriate for Labour and Social Security.
- The welfare of aborigines in Borneo should not be a Federal matter.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

On the Public Services the British members recommend that officers in federalised departments should not be transferred to other parts of the Federation without their consent, nor should federal terms of service be applied to them unless they opt. Promotion prospects of officers in federalised departments within North Borneo and Sarawak should not be prejudiced.

Officers in Federal and Joint Services should come under the appropriate Federal Service Commission. There should be close liaison between the Federal Service Commission and the State one.

A Public Service Commission should either be established in North Borneo or preferably there should be a single one for the Borneo territories which should be given executive powers from the end of the transitional period.

An Advisory Board should consider whether the Malayan quota system for recruitment should operate in Borneo. Persons recruited to Federal services after Malaysia should be liable to serve anywhere in the Federation. Federal services in Borneo should as far as possible be staffed by local recruitment.

A Working Party should be set up to consider staff matters. Uniformity in salaries, conditions and qualifications should be the objective.

The British members stress again the need to retain British officers and recommend determined efforts to fill existing staff vacancies, if necessary on contract.

They consider that one of the main attractions of the Malaysia proposals is the rural development programme in Malaya and agree with the Malayan members on this, and recommend a Development Board in Sarawak and North Borneo as soon as possible with Federal and State representatives.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY MALAYAN MEMBERS

The next section of the report deals with the recommendations of the Malayan members.

They say that the desire for special provisions and safeguards requested relate mainly to the privileges of natives and the protection of legitimate interests of others, on matters such as citizenship, religious freedom, representation, languages, immigration and development.

All people who requested these safeguards wanted British officers to be retained until the Borneo people could undertake the responsibilities of administration themselves — this reflected their trust in the present British officials whose advocacy of any plan for Malaysia would help to instil confidence in the future.

They then record the various parties and organisations which supported Malaysia and

refer to the unanimous support of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the opinions of which, they consider, demand serious consideration.

They state that opposition to Malaysia came mainly from those who demanded independence first, after which they were ready to consider the possibility of closer association between Malaya and other Borneo territories.

The Pasok Momogun was the only predominantly native organisation of any consequence which opposed Malaysia, and the Malayan members believe that the party would be more receptive if fears of domination by the Federation of Malaya could be set at rest.

The fear of Malay domination and swamping from Malaya and Singapore is the dominating factor among many groups and individuals who are satisfied with the present colonial administration and have hopes of more progress in the future.

Positive assurances needed

The Malayan members were deeply impressed by the trust in the present colonial administration. People were not categorically opposed to Malaysia, only puzzled and afraid.

Positive assurances, explanation, and tangible demonstrations were needed. Any lingering misgivings would be removed if the colonial administration could unequivocally commend Malaysia to the people.

The Malayan members state that there is therefore left a body of resistance to Malaysia which, though small in number, is extremely vociferous and active. It springs from either ideological identification with the communist cause, or an emotional identification with Chinese chauvinism, or an ardent belief in independence on their own on the basis of ultra nationalism in the narrowest sense.

Different elements of opposition require different responses. It would be a grave error to treat other forms of opposition in the same way as Communist opposition.

The Malayan members do not agree with submissions made that Malaysia is premature and would be more acceptable if delayed until the development of a complete electoral

and ministerial system.

They were impressed by the quality of leadership in North Borneo and Sarawak, the emergence of political leaders of high calibre, and consider relative inexperience is not insurmountable.

They are convinced that present leadership is in a position to guide the people, not only towards self-government, but also self-government within Malaysia.

They state that both natives and non-natives supporting Malaysia stressed that it should come quickly to avoid racial conflict.

The Malayan members shared this view and feel strongly that the transfer of sovereignty must take place within the next 12 months. They consider that the admission of North Borneo and Sarawak as constitutional states of the new Federation would serve as a major political advancement.

They will then be constituent parts of a sovereign nation which derives its independence from the status of its constituent parts.

They then state that their views on the name of the Federation, the Head of the Federation, National and Official Language, National Religion, Citizenship, and the right to se are recorded in the joint recommendations.

On the question of representation in the Federal Parliament, they strongly recommend that this should take account not only of the population of the Borneo territories, but also their size and potentialities. The existing Election Commission increased by the addition of a Borneo member should decide this.

If people from Malaya and Singapore are not to have unfettered entry into Borneo, only people normally resident in the Borneo territories should be allowed to stand and vote in Federal and State elections in Borneo and should be prevented from voting or standing in elections outside their States.

Initially election to the Federal House should be by State Legislatures from among their own unofficial members. Unofficials in State Legislatures should be increased.

Borneo representation in the analogous Senate should also take account of other factors than population.

SPECIAL POSITION OF INDIGENOUS RACES

The Malayan members recommend that the Native races in Borneo should be put in an analogous position to the Malaya under the present Malayan Constitution, and this should be written into the Constitution, and not subject to review separately from any review of the position of the Malays as a whole.

The position is complicated. A balance must be held not only between natives and non-natives but also between — various native races and they recommend that an Advisory Board should consider the problem.

The definition of 'Native' should follow existing law. Sarawak and North Borneo law on the matter should be brought into line and perhaps slightly widened.

The provisions regarding the special position of natives should apply to Federal subjects only unless the States decide to adopt similar provisions for State subjects.

The Malayan members' views on Constitutional safeguards are set out in the joint recommendations earlier in the report.

They recommend that executive authority in each State should be the Head of State appointed by the Agong after consultation with the Chief Minister.

He would act in accordance with the advice of a Council of Ministers, Executive Council or Supreme Council answerable to the State Legislature. He should be independent of any control from the Central authority and have a status similar to that of the present State Rulers and Governors in the Federation.

They do not think that he should be elected. It would be sufficient for him to owe his appointment indirectly to election. He could be appointed for a period of years but removable by a two-thirds majority in the State Legislature. With reservations they consider his title should be 'Governor'.

The first Head of State should be appointed by the Agong on the joint nomination of the Queen for not less than two years, after which the State Constitution would apply. Since the Head of State is a constitutional post, it should be possible for others than natives to be eligible for it.

Each State would also have a Chief Minister. He would be appointed by the Head of State from among members of the Legis-

lature and would be a person who commands the confidence of the House.

The present electoral college system in Sarawak should be maintained, and introduced in North Borneo to ensure a smooth transition.

Until there is a fully elected legislature, the State Secretary (Chief Secretary), the State Legal Adviser (Attorney General) and the State Financial Officer (Financial Secretary) should be ex-officio members of the State Legislatures and the State Executive or Supreme Council.

POWERS OF STATE

The States would have their own Constitution and have autonomy as provided in the current State List and in each other matters as may be specially retained. While specific powers will be exercised by the Federation, residual powers will remain with the State.

The Federal Government should exercise the powers in the current Federal List subject to:-

Immigration: The Malayan members' views on this were included in the joint recommendations.

Shipping and Navigation: There is a case for distinguishing between large and small installations. The latter would be appropriate to the Concurrent List and this should be examined by a Working Party.

Fisheries: Fisheries should be on the Federal List but nothing should be done to prejudice the present exclusive rights of Borneo fishermen.

Education: This should be a Federal matter but a Working Party should examine the integration of systems and policies.

The Malayan members consider that Sarawak and North Borneo should be admitted as States as soon as possible. They state that a blue print to be put into effect at a later date would provide opportunities for disruption. The Central Government could not assume responsibility for any matter until sovereignty has been transferred.

Legislature and Executive authority in Federal matters must be transferred at the same time as sovereignty. A graduated consti-

tutional and legal transfer of powers would be a cause of delays, would impede the creation of a strong central authority and allow the creation of friction between the Central Government and the States.

It would be extraordinarily cumbersome if both State and Federal Legislatures had to be consulted each time a transfer for responsibility was to be effected. In any case matters of everyday concern to people would remain on the State List.

The Central Government must be responsible from the outset for progressive economic development, rural development and increased attention to education if peoples' expectations are not to be disappointed.

This would also avoid difficulties over keeping financial problems and representation in step with progressive transfers of power.

They think this is the only scheme which will meet peoples' wishes.

Aware of dangers

They are aware of the dangers of a complete breakdown of administration. A transitional period during which transfer of functions should be worked out carefully and gradually is important.

They recommend that when the Federal Government is legally and constitutionally vested with Federal powers on the transfer of sovereignty, there should be immediate delegation to the State Chief Minister of as many executive functions as may be necessary for the maintenance of good administration.

Provision should also be made for State authorities to execute certain functions for the administration of specific Federal laws.

They urge the general continuance of existing State laws on Federal matters, which would become Federal laws until amended or repealed by Federal Parliament, but External Affairs, Defence and Internal Security must be excluded from this arrangement. Otherwise, nothing would change during the transitional period for the purposes of ordinary business.

These transitional arrangements would continue as long as necessary to avoid a breakdown in administration.

A Working Party should be formed of equal members of State and Central Govern-

ment officials to advise on the integration of laws into the Federal system.

This Working Party should not concern itself with financial, fiscal, economic subjects, educational policies or judicial and legal matters, which merit separate attention.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

In view of distances from Kuala Lumpur, Federal posts and services in Borneo should be regionalised, with a regional head in Borneo with sufficient authority to deal with local problems.

Titles of Heads of Departments should not be changed immediately and suitable titles for regional heads should be coined. Control of Federal services should remain with the appropriate Federal Commission, but some arrangement should be made for its functions to be carried out in Borneo by a Borneo Federal officer or by a Board with some Borneo representation.

An officer in a Federalised department should not be transferable to the Federal service, nor should his terms of service be altered without his consent. Promotion prospects in his original area should not be prejudiced.

The ultimate aim should be uniformity of service conditions but present practice should continue subject to review by an Advisory Board.

Nothing should be done for a suitable period, and then only if absolutely necessary, to standardize uniforms of uniformed services, especially the police.

There should be a convention of consultation on confidential reports on Federal officers transferred between any State in Malaysia.

The Borneo States should not find it too difficult to co-operate in sharing State officers.

THE JUDICIARY

On the question of the Judiciary the Malayan members consider that there should be one Supreme Court for Malaysia with unlimited jurisdiction throughout the Federation and between the Federal Government and States, and States themselves.

There should be a High Court in Borneo with unlimited original jurisdiction in all matters arising in the area except those reserved for the Supreme Court. The High

Court should also be a Court of Appeal. The aim should be to establish a uniform system of Magistrates Courts.

Legal and Judicial services should be under a Commission with the Chief Justice of Malaysia as Chairman, but Judges should be appointed as provided in the Malayan constitution.

Postings of Judicial officers should be made by the Chief Justice of Malaysia, and of legal officers by the Federal Attorney General.

A Joint Working Party should examine the integration of legal and judicial services into the Federal system.

FINANCIAL MATTERS

On financial matters, North Borneo and Sarawak must be subject to same arrangements applicable to present States in Malaya but certain unequivocal safeguards must be given.

A formula must be worked out whereby North Borneo and Sarawak would be assured of an annual grant such that the total revenue of the States after addition of this grant would generally meet its total expenditure.

This formula should be flexible to allow for a changing situation and future development.

State Governments should be able to borrow with the approval of the Central Government, but there should be co-ordination of borrowing plans. During the transitional period existing Federal laws and practices relating to taxation, trade and tariffs should not apply in States.

The function could be delegated to the Chief Minister, and changes towards a common structure should be gradually worked out.

A Joint Working Party (Economic) should be set up for each new State to consider integration of these matters into the Federal system.

Great expectations have been raised by the publicity given to rural development in Malaya and Malaysia will be judged on its results in this field.

It is essential that from its inception Malaysia should offer, and be seen to offer, definite advances in rural improvements, schools and medical and other social services. Training schemes must also be stepped up.

The Malayan members recognise that Districts, Residencies and Divisions, and the States themselves should have power to decide at the initial level the aims and best methods of development in accordance with local needs within the framework of the national good.

The Central authority should formulate and implement an overall and integrated development plan but should not have a completely free hand in this as this might give rise to friction.

They do not envisage, at least in the early stages, centralised planning for the Borneo territories. Much of the present organisation pattern should continue, but they should be co-ordinated in a development plan for Malaysia to avoid inconsistency and a waste of resources.

There should be increased opportunities for industrial development and joint consultation on industrial locations.

They note the valuable help being given in Borneo by Commonwealth Governments, Colonial Development Corporation, Colombo Plan and United Nations agencies and hope that this will continue.

They hoped that Malaysia will result in more external aid and that the Central Government would see that this was channelled in the direction of the Borneo territories. They recommend that the Joint Working Party (Economic) should examine the matter.

The Malayan members stress the importance of British contributions to the territories and the necessity for continuance of such financial and technical assistance.

They consider that Education should be a Federal matter. Special attention should be given to Federal scholarships and other educational training schemes.

Indigenous dialects should be preserved. Due heed must be paid, however, to the wishes of the people of the territories regarding the policies to be adopted.

A Joint Working Party (Educational) should work out the problems of integration of educational systems and policies.

The Malayan members then refer to the position of expatriate officials. They note the high regard in which these officers are held and the unanimous view that they should be encouraged to stay until they can be replaced by local people.

While they see no objection to recruitment from overseas to fill vacancies arising before local officers are available, they are reluctant to advocate the secondment of officers from Malaya or Singapore unless definitely requested by the State Government.

They have been encouraged by the responsible and reasonable attitude which expatriate officers have taken towards the

Malaysia proposals and note with satisfaction their willingness to consider serving on, provided satisfactory terms can be agreed on, irrespective of constitutional arrangements.

They strongly urge that Her Majesty's Government and the Federation Government direct their attention to the probing of how to encourage officers to remain.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS, AND COMMENTS BY THE CHAIRMAN

The next section of the Report is a summary by the Chairman of recommendations made by the other members, and his own comments.

He states that in the section on joint recommendations have been made on certain general matters. On some of them there is unanimity, and on others divergence which can only be resolved by Governments.

As regards the sections which deal with the separate recommendations of the British and Malayan members, many of the proposals are seen by the British members as objectives to be gradually worked towards and introduced during the transitional period, whereas the Malayan members see them as recommendations which should start to take effect immediately.

Subject to this there is unanimity or near unanimity on most of the matters which are summarised as follows:-

- On five matters to which great importance was attached in the bulk of evidence, recommendations were drafted and agreed by the Commission as a whole, subject to qualifications stated earlier in the Report. These are:-

Representation in Federal Parliament:

Representation in the Federal Parliament should take account not only of the population of the Borneo territories, but also their size and potentialities.

Special Position of Indigenous Races:

The native races should be placed in a position analogous to the Malays in Malaya. The Malayan members say that this should not be subject to review separately from the position of Malaya as a

whole. The British members, with whom the chairman agrees, think the provisions should be reviewed after 10 years. One British member is opposed to any constitutional provision in this matter.

Development:

Special and urgent attention should be given to rural development, education and training. The Malayan members see the proposals as an integral part of their whole approach. The British members concur generally and suggest that Development Boards should be set up during the transitional period which they recommend.

Land, Agriculture and Forestry, Native Customs and Usage:

These should be under the sole control of the State Government. At least in the early years there should be no change in **administrative arrangements in so far as they affect the ordinary lives of the people.**

- On a number of other matters there was general agreement subject only to method of approach and certain minor divergencies. These are:-

Judiciary: Specific recommendations are made by the Malayan members. The British members prefer to leave most of the details to a Working Party.

Head of State: Somewhat divergent recommendations are made reflecting the different approach by the British and Malayan members on phasing. It is unanimously recommended however that in the

Urging the sympathetic consideration of the case of citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies resident in Sarawak the memorandum says that each and every "Commonwealth Citizen" resident in Sarawak on the date on which Malaysia comes into being should be eligible to apply for registration as a citizen of Malaysia, at any time during the year after that date, if:

- he was registered while in Sarawak as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year or, was registered as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies while in some territory other than Sarawak but obtained a registration as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year;

- he intends to reside permanently in the Federation, a statutory declaration to that effect to be accepted as satisfactory evidence of such intention;
- he is of good character
- he is proficient in the use of the English or Tamil language

In conclusion the memorandum said that there can be no excuse whatsoever for refusing Malaysian citizenship to British subjects of Indian origin who have automatically ceased to be Indian citizens by becoming Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies by registration, in good faith, before Malaysia became a certainty.

18/8/62 - 25/8/62

MALAYSIA: REASSURANCES BY TUN RAZAK 'RURAL DEVELOPMENT WILL FOLLOW MALAYAN PATTERN'



Tun Abdul Razak

Reassurances about Malaysia and a strong appeal to the people of Sarawak not to harbour fears and anxiety about it were made by Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, in a broadcast made in Kuching on Sunday.

Tun Razak, who with Lord Lansdowne this week toured various centres of the country to

conduct discussions on the constitutional arrangements and safeguards for Sarawak, said: "I know that the creation of Malaysia will mean some changes, constitutional and others, and that some of you may have fears and anxiety that these changes will affect you adversely. I can categorically assure you that you need not have such fears."

He then said that Malaya —

- believed in freedom and democracy and equal rights for its citizens
- wanted to create a happy, not a greater and mighty Malaysia
- would ensure complete freedom of worship in Malaysia
- hoped that the present developments taking place in Sarawak would continue and increase.

He also complimented the Sarawak Civil Service on the way the country was being administered and spoke about the greater responsibility local officers would have to shoulder with the coming of Malaysia.

Later in a speech to the Malaya community Tun Razak gave the assurance that when

first instance the appointment should be made by the Agong on the joint nomination of the Queen and the Agong.

Public Service: There is near unanimity, with some divergencies reflecting the difference on phasing.

Federal Constitution: The division of Federal, State and Concurrent Lists should broadly follow the lines of the existing Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. Amendments should be made in the case of Shipping and Navigation and Fisheries. The British members, with whom the Chairman agrees, advocate special consideration being given to the question of Labour and Social Security, and that the provisions regarding the Welfare of Aborigines should not apply to the Borneo territories.

Finance, Tariffs and Trade: These should be on the Federal List but integration should take place gradually after study by a Working Party. The British members generally concur with the detailed views of the Malayan members.

Education: This should be on the Federal List but integration should take place after careful study by a Working Party.

The British members, with whom the Chairman agrees, stress the importance of maintaining existing policies regarding the use of English as a medium of instruction.

Regionalisation: Federal services in Borneo should be regionalised and officers appointed with sufficient authority to deal with local matters.

The Chairman adds a personal recommendation that when expatriate officers are no longer needed for these posts they should normally be filled by officers from the Bornean territories.

The British and Malayan members have both concluded on the lines of their respective approaches, that Malaysia is an attractive and workable proposal.

The Chairman, on the assumption that Singapore also joins in, strongly endorses this, adding that the inclusion of the Borneo territories would also be to the advantage of the other participants.

From the outset Malaysia must be regarded by all concerned as an association of partners. If any idea were to take root that Malaysia would involve a 'take over' of the Borneo territories by the Federation of Malaya, and the submersion of the individualities of North Borneo and Sarawak, Malaysia would not, in the Chairman's judgement, be generally acceptable or successful.

He recommends that in negotiations Government should pay close attention to this point, both in its psychological and practical aspects.

The principal difference of approach between the British and Malayan members of the Commission relates to the phasing of arrangements for the new Federation.

The Chairman considers a transitional period most desirable, and agrees generally with the arguments and recommendations made by the British members on this matter.

He feels that full precise constitutional and governmental arrangements for the transitional period, and in particular for Internal Security, must be matters for discussion between Governments.

He strongly urges that any arrangements made for the early years after Federation should provide for continuity of administration in the Borneo territories and should not result in any weakening, real or apparent, of authority in Kuching and Jesselton.

The Chairman considers it vital that Governments should reach an early decision of principle on Malaysia, subject to debate in, and approval by, the legislative chambers in North Borneo and Sarawak.

He strongly endorses the setting up of consultative machinery and Working Parties as soon as possible after the decision is taken to proceed with the Malaysia project, in order to work out the details of integration of the Borneo territories into a new Federation.

Finally he underlines what has been recorded in earlier chapters about the gratifying way in which people came forward to make their views known to the Commission.

Apart from a few groups in Sarawak which took a somewhat aggressive attitude, and were, as could be clearly recognised, under communist influence, groups of all races and of every shade of opinion, expressed their support, their opposition, or their doubts in a reasoned, thoughtful and constructive way.

Chapter V OTHER MATTERS

Chapter V of the Report deals with other matters. The Commission states that it does not regard the merger of the Borneo territories (Closer Association) as an alternative which would offer prospects as attractive as Malaysia, but there is every advantage in closer association within Malaysia. Efforts to explain Malaysia will need to be redoubled after the Report is published and a decision of

principle taken.

The Commission concludes with an appeal to leaders of public and political life in North Borneo and Sarawak to join in a determination to arrest tendencies to divisions and conflicts which have arisen over the Malaysia proposals, and to restore the racial harmony which has distinguished North Borneo and Sarawak for so long.

'VERY HARD WORK AHEAD' — TUN ABDUL RAZAK

On his return to Kuala Lumpur on Friday, August 3, 1962 the Malayan Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, said there was no question of Malaya's intending to dominate its partners in the Federation of Malaysia.

He told reporters: "We are bringing the other territories into Malaysia as equal partners. We have to consult them.

"The people of the Borneo territories are far away from us and we must do everything possible to allay their fears and given them confidence to come into Malaysia as brothers."

Tun Abdul Razak announced that his Government would establish a Malaysia Department comprising Malayan and British Government officials and nominees from Singapore, Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. The Department would be based in Kuala Lumpur.

"Malaysia", he declared, "will definitely be established by August next year. From now on we have to work very hard and go into the details of the Malaysia Plan. Within the next six months we must come to complete agreement with the British Government on

the constitutional arrangements and various safeguards for the people of Singapore and the Borneo Territories."

Tun Razak also said the British Government was very sympathetic towards Malayan requests for financial aid for the defence of Malaysia.

The Malayan Finance Minister, Mr Tan Siew Sin (who also arrived back from London), would work out details of the assistance with the British Government at the Commonwealth Finance Minister's Conference in London in September.

Tun Razak said the Malayan Government had also asked that British aid to the Borneo Territories be continued after the establishment of Malaysia.

"The outcome of this request will be known when the final picture is clear," he added.

Tun Razak said Britain would hand over certain military installations and equipment in Singapore and the Borneo Territories to the Central Government of Malaysia after its establishment. These installations and equipment were necessary for internal security.

KEY FIGURE IN MALAYSIA PLAN

A key figure in the constitutional preparations to be made for the entry of Sarawak and North Borneo in the proposed Federation of

Malaysia will be Lord Lansdowne, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs.



Lord Lansdowne has been named chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee to work out the future of the constitutional arrangements and the form of necessary safeguards for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Together with Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, he will shortly be visiting Sarawak and North Borneo to conduct discussions.

Lord Lansdowne (right) succeeded Lord Perth as Minister of State for Colonial Affairs in April 1962.

He has been a member of the Government since June, 1957, when he became one of the political Lords-in-Waiting to Her Majesty the Queen, an office which carries with it the duties of a Government Whip in the House of Lords, and of acting as Government spokesman for certain departments not ministerially represented there.

While holding this appointment, he spoke on Commonwealth affairs, and in February, 1958, attended Ceylon's tenth anniversary celebrations of independence. He had already taken an interest in Commonwealth matters, had served as chairman of the Victoria League in Scotland (an organisation devoted to promoting friendship among Commonwealth peoples) and had in 1956 visited Australia as member of a delegation from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

In 1957 and 1958 he was a British representative at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Assembly of the Western European Union. In October, 1958, he was appointed to the Foreign Office as Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State; he held this post until receiving his present appointment.

In September, 1961, he visited the Congo to study the situation there. The following November he attended the Colombo Plan ministerial meeting in Kuala Lumpur and in March, 1962, led the British delegation to the Tokyo meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

Lord Lansdowne was born on November 27, 1912, and was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. He interested himself from an early age in politics. Shortly before the outbreak of the second world war, he became Secretary to the Junior Unionist League for East Scotland (Scottish Conservatives use the term Unionist).

An ex-officer of the Territorial Army (Scottish Horse) he served in the second world war with the Free French Forces under General Leclerc in Africa, and with the French contingents of the Special Air Service, winning the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honour. After the liberation of France he went to Paris as Private Secretary from 1944 to 1945 to the British Ambassador, the late Lord Norwich, then the Right Honourable A. Duff Cooper.

He is interested in farming and forestry. He married, in 1938, Barbara, daughter of Harold Stuart Chase of Santa Barbara, California. They have two sons and a daughter.

TENGKU COMING ON GOODWILL VISIT 'MALAYSIAN CABINET WILL HAVE BORNEO MINISTERS'

Assurances given to Borneo people

August 5 to August 11, 1962

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, announced in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur on returning from London this week that he intended visiting Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo soon to tell the people that they would be welcome in the new nation of Malaysia.

At press conferences given at both places he expressed bright hopes for the future of Malaysia and asked the people of the Borneo territories to adopt a brotherly feeling towards Malaysians and together work for Malaysia.

He said: "They should not be anxious or afraid because we will respect them as members of the same family. We have no intention of ruling them.

"When we are merged, we will use all available resources to help and improve their conditions."

The Tengku also disclosed that the new cabinet of the Federation of Malaysia would include representatives from Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak.

The Malayan Premier and the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, flew into Singapore on Wednesday where a huge crowd, estimated at about 50,000 people, roared their welcome. They left for Kuala Lumpur the next day where another great welcome was given them.

'Not just for the few but for all'

In his address before the Singapore Airport crowd the jubilant Tengku declared: "Malaysia is not just for the few but for all people living in this region and for future generations to come.

"It is my prayer that it will give them the peace, prosperity and happiness with they seek. All the people of these territories will become one people of the same kind."

He gave an assurance that the Federation of Malaysia would not control Malaysia, adding: "All of you will have the same opportunity of ruling Malaysia jointly."

The Tengku added: "This is my fervent prayer — that the new nation of Malaysia will be one of which each and everyone of us will be proud.

"Be confident that with God's help and the people's co-operation, we shall make Malaysia an example to the world to show how people of various origins, religions and customs can live in peace and harmony as one nation."

The Tengku then asked the people of the Borneo Territories to adopt a brotherly feeling towards Malaysians and together work for Malaysia — "a state not only for us to live in but for our children and children's children, a model state in which all races, irrespective of religion and colour, can live harmoniously together."

He said: "If the Borneo people can live happily and satisfied with the British colonial administration, there is no reason why they should not be happy to live with us in a family of equal partnership.

"They should not be anxious or afraid, because we will respect them as members of the same family.

"We have no intention of ruling them. It is not for a small country like Malaya to want to rule over others.

"We want to save them and to live with them because not only do we have the same currency and the same economic system but also we have the same heritage."

"When we are merged, we will use all available resources to help and improve their conditions," he said.

'Sincerity on both sides'

Speaking of his "goodwill" visit to Borneo, the Tengku said that the date of his departure would depend on when Lord Lansdowne and Tun Abdul Razak thought so. (Lord Lansdowne, chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee which is to work out the constitutional arrangements and safeguards for the entry of Sarawak and North Borneo in

Malaysia, and Tun Abdul Razak will shortly be coming for discussions). Another report said he would be coming to visit the Borneo Territories immediately after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London next month.

The Tengku denied rumours that he would be going back to Britain if there was any disagreement over details of the new Constitution.

He said: "All little details are a matter we can work out easily, because I feel that there is sincerity on both sides."

On the transitional period for Malaysia, he said it was up to Britain to work out constitutional arrangements between now and August 31 next year, so that the change-over would take place smoothly.

He would be going to London in six months' time to put his "final signature" on the Malaysia agreement.

It was then that the provisions regarding freedom of worship, education, representation in the Malaysian Parliament, the special position of the Borneo Natives and citizenship would be finally decided on, he said.

Pointing out that the Federation and Singapore Governments had already agreed on the terms of merger, he said that the Sultan of Brunei had the power to merge his State with Malaysia any time he liked before August, 1963.

"In short, the new road to Malaysia is now clear and, if God permits, the new Federation will take its proud place in the United Nations on August 31, next year," said the Tengku.

He praised Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister and Mr Tan Siew Sin, Minister of Finance, who, he said, had borne the brunt of the work involved in the recent London talks on Malaysia. They were helped by Mr Lee Kuan Yew, he added.

The talks which began on July 17 and ended on July 31 were among the longest he had ever attended.

"At one stage", he added, "the talks made no progress at all and we feared that we would return empty-handed. But they continued and we were successful."

Earlier in Calcutta, the Tengku said that

the idea of a larger federation in the Malaysia region still needed greater study.

He was asked to comment on remarks on the President of the Philippines that there might be a greater Federation, including the Philippines. The Tengku said there had been an inclination among small countries to come closer but it needed greater study.

Communist threat

The Tengku also warned of the Communist threat to Malaysia and said that those who did not agree with the Malaysia concept were the Communists and Communist sympathisers.

He added: "The reason why the Communists and their friends do not agree is that they will lose their anti-imperialist propaganda weapon."

The Tengku added that in London he heard Radio Moscow attacking the Malaysia Plan almost every day, but at the same time supporting the Indonesia fight for West Irian.

"So you see, the Communists are like double-headed snakes," he said.

Before leaving London, the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said that the agreement to create a Federation of Malaysia would check the spread of Communism in the area.

Mr Lee elaborated: "In Malaysia, racial power will be evenly spread. Whoever wants to win power in Malaysia now will have to spread his appeal across racial lines. That will be a serious check on the Communist Party."

Among those who welcomed the Tengku back in Singapore was Mr Ling Beng Siew, a member of the Sarawak parliamentary delegation which took part in the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

At the Kuala Lumpur reception was the Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, who said before leaving Kuching that he would also take the opportunity of meeting leaders of the pro-Malaysia right-wing parties in Malaya and Singapore and discuss the possibility of holding preliminary talks about a future alliance.

MALAYSIA PLAN ON THE MOVE

BRITISH AND MALAYAN TEAMS ARRIVE

Stage No. 1 in the preparations for the participation of Sarawak and North Borneo in the Malaysia project was launched this week with the arrival in the Borneo Territories of —

- a team of senior British officials led by Lord Lansdowne, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs; and
- a team of senior Malayan officials led by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein.

Their mission is to have discussions with local leaders about future constitutional arrangements, including necessary safeguards for the Borneo Territories, in preparation for the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee. Lord Lansdowne is the chairman of the Committee and the vice chairman is Tun Abdul Razak.

The British Minister flew to Jesselton on Tuesday, making a brief stop-over at Kuching where he was greeted by the Officer Administering the Government, Mr F.D. Jakeway, and the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr A.R. Snelus.

He was accompanied by Mr Philip Rogers, Under Secretary of the Department of Technical Co-operation; Mr W.I.J. Wallace, Assistant Secretary at the Colonial Office; and Mr E.M. West, Private Secretary.

Lord Lansdowne, and his team flew to Kuching on Friday from Jesselton to join up with Tun Abdul Razak and his team for a quick but extensive tour of the country.



Deep in thought.....
Lord Lansdowne (left) and Mr Jakeway.

LORD LANSDOWNE ON WORK OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

Lord Lansdowne press conference in Jesselton

Lord Lansdowne, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, told a press conference held in Jesselton on Friday that the Inter-Governmental Committee, of which he would be the first chairman, would be set up towards the end of this month.

He said it would consist of representatives of the four countries concerned — North Borneo, Sarawak, the Federation of Malaya and the United Kingdom.

This Committee, he added, would appoint sub-committees to deal with specified subjects. These would report the result of their work to the main committee. He thought that the size of the sub-committees would vary and that the majority of their members would be from North Borneo and Sarawak.

Earlier, Lord Lansdowne said that thanks to the Governor (Sir William Goode), he and his advisers had been able to have talks with many of the leading citizens and representatives of various organisations in North Borneo.

Later he said it was important as far as this first visit was concerned that both he and Tun Abdul Razak, who would lead the Malayan delegation on the Committee, should have talks with as many people in the Borneo Territories as possible, adding:

"As far as I am concerned it has been most helpful to have had such frank conversations here with everyone. If we are not all friends with each other I do not think we are going to get anywhere.

"I want to make it perfectly clear that my mission is in no sense like the Cobbold Commission. I am here as the British Ministerial member and chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee which we shall be setting up at the end of our visit here, towards the end of this month."

Lord Lansdowne would not give the exact composition of the Committee but mentioned that both he and Tun Abdul Razak would be unable to stay in Sarawak and North Borneo all the time and in their absence their places would be taken by other representatives of their Governments, in his case by Mr H.P. Hall.

When the Inter-Governmental Committee

was set up, he added, one of its principal tasks would be to agree on the various subjects which should be dealt with by the sub-committees he said.

These sub-committees on many specialist subjects would be ad referendum (subject to reference) to the main committee and all four Governments would be represented on them also he foresaw.

Before leaving Singapore for Jesselton, Lord Lansdowne said that he was visiting Sarawak and North Borneo to discuss means of implementing the decision in principle to establish the Federation of Malaysia next year.

He said he would spend about three weeks in North Borneo and Sarawak and that one of his tasks would be to assist in the establishment of the Inter-Governmental Committee on which representatives of the Governments of Britain, Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak would serve.

He said that one of the most important matters the Committee would have to discuss would be the future of British expatriate officers adding: "We have agreed with the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, that it is desirable that as many as possible of these officers should continue serving in their posts after the coming of Malaysia."

The Malayan Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, accompanied by his wife, Toh Puan Raha and a party of senior Malayan officials, is scheduled to arrive in Kuching from Brunei on Saturday afternoon.

He will be joined the next day by the Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin, who will fly from Kuala Lumpur with his wife.

The Malayan officials are: the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, Datu Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid; the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Inche Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie; the Secretary of the Ministry of Internal Security, Dato Nik Daud bin Nik Mat; and the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Rural Development, Mr C.G. Ferguson.

On his brief stop-over in Kuching on his

way to Brunei Tun Abdul Razak was met by the Acting Deputy Chief Secretary Mr G.A.T. Shaw, and other senior Government officials.

A personal message

At a short press conference he said that the Malayan and British teams would have talks in Kuching and hoped to explain to the leaders and people of Sarawak the implications of Malaysia and to clarify the agreement reached in London.

In a personal message to the people of the Borneo territories he said: "I am very happy to be able to visit the Borneo territories immediately after the decision arrived at the London conference on Malaysia."

He recalled the message of Tengku Abdul Rahman that Malaya welcomed the people of the Borneo territories as members of one family and hoped that with the establishment of Malaysia they would be able to work on equal terms to solve all outstanding problems.

Asked about his programme in Brunei, he replied that he would have an audience with the Sultan to inform him of what had been agreed in London, and to explain any other matter on which the Sultan himself would like to have more information.

Answering questions on the Party Rakyat stand on Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak pointed out that Brunei had already agreed in principle, and had passed a resolution to that effect in Council.

The programme fixed for the Sarawak tour is as follows: Leave Kuching by air on Monday, August 20, for Simanggang for meetings and discussions with Second Division representatives; discussions at Sibul and Kanowit, Third Division, on August 21 and 22 respectively; discussions with Fourth and Fifth Division representatives at Miri on August 23 and 24.

On Wednesday, August 22, Tun Abdul Razak and his wife will return to Kuala Lumpur while the rest of the team will continue working in the Borneo Territories.

According to a Malayan Government statement, he will rejoin the team on August 26 in Jesselton.

Reference to the task of the Inter-Governmental Committee was made in the House of Representatives in Kuala Lumpur this week by the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who said he fully appreciated the importance of retaining as many of the

present expatriate officers in North Borneo and Sarawak as possible.

He said that the Committee would make its recommendations in full consultation "with the appropriate authorities in the Borneo Territories".

'GET TOGETHER' CALL TO LEADERS

A Sarawak Government spokesman this week drew attention to the call for unity among leaders made in Jesselton by the Governor of North Borneo, Sir William Goode, during his recent broadcast on Malaysia — a call which, he said, was equally applicable to Sarawak.

Sir William, in referring the tasks ahead for the Inter-Governmental Committee, said that North Borneo's leaders would be on it and would have their say in working out the arrangements for their country's entry into Malaysia.

He then said: "Now is the time for them to get together in the interests of North Borneo."

The Governor's broadcast reviewed the London talks on Malaysia and the implications of the agreement reached.

He began by saying that the talks were between the British and Malayan Governments to decide what action to take on the Cobbold Report.

The North Borneo and Sarawak Governments, he pointed out, were not a party to the talks though both he and the Governor of Sarawak were in London to advise the British Government on the behalf of their countries.

Sir William then said: "The two Governments (British and Malayan) accepted the finding of the Cobbold Report that Malaysia was in the best interests of North Borneo and Sarawak. They also accepted the finding that provided certain conditions and reservations could be substantially met, a majority of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak would accept Malaysia."

"On this basis the two Governments have agreed in principle that Malaysia should be brought into being by August 31 next year."

"Before this can be done, detailed constitutional arrangements, including safeguards for the special interests of North Borneo and Sarawak must be drawn up, and the Legislative Council here in North Borneo and the Council Negri in Sarawak must be consulted."

Sir William continued: "As you know, the Cobbold Report is not unanimous on many important points. There was a difference of view between the British and the Malayan recommendations. This difference was not so much about the final form of Malaysia; most of the Commission's recommendations on this are unanimous. The difference was on timing and phasing.

"Broadly, the British members of the Commission advised that the changes to the final form of Malaysia, should be gradual, spread over a period of three to seven years.

"The Malayan members thought that the changes could be made much more quickly. Indeed, they thought that delay was likely to prejudice the success of Malaysia by leaving the door open to obstruction and argument which would increase rather than reduce difficulties.

"On this main issue of timing, there was a lot of discussion and argument. In the end the British Government accepted the Malayan view that we must move more rapidly than the British members of the Cobbold Commission were able to recommend.

"It was, therefore, agreed that we should aim at creating Malaysia by August 31 next year, and that by that date British sovereignty over North Borneo, Sarawak and also Singapore should be transferred to the new Federation of Malaysia.

Transition period

"This means that by August 31, next year, British authority in North Borneo will cease. North Borneo will then be governed partly by its own State Government under a local Chief Minister who must command a majority in the Legislative Council, and partly by the central Federal Government of Malaysia.

"But in order to make these great changes as smoothly as possible and with the least disturbance to the every day life of the people here, there will be a transition period starting after the transfer of sovereignty during which a number of Federal constitutional powers will be delegated temporarily to the State Government.

"In other words, things will go on very much as they do today as far as the ordinary life of the individual is affected.

"How this is to be done has still to be worked out. On one thing, however, there is wholehearted agreement: This is the impor-

tant of retaining as many British officials as possible.

"The British and Malayan Governments considered together the unanimous recommendations of the Cobbold Report about the final form of the new constitution and the special safeguards for the interests of North Borneo and Sarawak. The two Governments were able to accept most of these.

"On a lot of other important points the Cobbold Commission was not unanimous. On some of these the two Governments were not able to reach agreed answers. In some cases there was general acceptance of the principle involved, but it was not possible to work out detailed solutions in London. On others, there was a difference of view between what the British Government thought necessary to reassure the Borneo territories and what the Malayan Government either thought necessary or politically practical.

"These are matters on which the leaders of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak — the unofficial members of the Executive and Legislative Councils — are best able to speak. It is only right that they should be consulted on matters which are important for the future of these territories.

"So it was decided in London that these problems should be referred to an Inter-Governmental Committee to be set up for the purpose of working out all the many detailed arrangements.

"This Inter-Government Committee will have representatives of North Borneo and Sarawak as well as of Malaya. The British Minister of State for the Colonies, Lord Lansdowne, will be the Chairman.

"In this Committee local leaders assisted, of course, by senior officials, will be able to negotiate direct with the Malaysians to work out acceptable answers to the problems.

'Complicated business'

"Of course, we must not expect that in these discussions we shall get for North Borneo everything that everyone wants.

"Creating Malaysia is a very complicated business, and we have to reach the best answers that are possible. Some things we might like will clearly not be possible. We must go for what is possible and try to make the best arrangements we can.

"The intention is to set up this Inter-Governmental Committee as soon as possible.

"Lord Lansdowne and the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, Tun Abdul Razak, will visit North Borneo this month to talk to our leaders and to get the Inter-Governmental Committee started.

"So, to sum up, the present position is that the British and Malayan Governments have agreed in principle to create Malaysia by August 31, next year.

"But a great deal of detailed work is still to be done, such as settling the final division of powers between the State and Federal Governments, the provision of safeguards for North Borneo and Sarawak and the financial arrangements. This will be the task of the Inter-Governmental Committee to be set up very soon.

"Your own North Borneo leaders will be on that Committee and will have their say in working out these arrangements. Now is the time for them to get together in the interests of North Borneo.

"I hope that the Committee will be able to reach agreed recommendations, which can then be put to all the legislatures for final approval.

"After that it will be possible to complete the final legal formalities to bring Malaysia into being. Until that time, of course, the present administration will carry on as before."

TENGKU EXTENDS HIS 'WARMEST WELCOME'

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said in Kuala Lumpur during the meeting of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, that he extended to the people of the Borneo territories "our warmest welcome" and wanted to express the joy that the people of the Borneo Territories would soon be members of the same family as the people of Malaya.

He was reporting to Parliament about the decisions reached as a result of the recent London conference on Malaysia and of other developments.

The Tengku stressed that it was not his ambition to establish "Mighty Malaysia" — what he was striving for was "Happy Malaysia".

He added: "What we have together, we shall share together to build a prosperous and united nation."

He went on to say: "I know the Borneo

people share this joy and will welcome us as we welcome them.

"I am also aware of their anxieties and their fears, or their hopes and expectations, and I am convinced that together we shall overcome these misgivings and realise our ideals of a stable, happy and prosperous Malaysia."

He said that the people of Malaya had no wish to impose their ideas on anyone and the people of the Borneo territories could be sure that nothing would be done which would be contrary to their basic desires.

He said he was setting up a Malaysia Affairs Department under his charge with a senior civil servant as its head with the general responsibility of administrative integration of the new States into the Federation.

In order to facilitate the work of the Department it would include senior officers with specialised knowledge and experience of North Borneo and Sarawak.

The Tengku also expressed gratitude to the Cobbold Commission "for its thorough and painstaking effort which was completed in five months of very hard work in exacting and sometimes unusual and trying circumstances."

He was particularly glad that the Commission was able to confirm Malaya's view that the formation of Malaysia was in the best interest of North Borneo and Sarawak and that an early decision of principle should be reached.

The Malayan Prime Minister also spoke about possibility of sovereignty over North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore being transferred to the Malaysian Government before August 31, 1963.

"In that event," he said, "certain interim measures may have to be adopted, if necessary, to meet any exigencies but such an arrangement would not continue beyond August 31, 1963."

PANAS CHAIRMAN ASSURED ABOUT MALAYSIA

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, will probably visit Sarawak in early October, according to the chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha on his return this week from Malaya after welcoming the Tengku back from the Malaysia talks in London.

The Datu said that the Tengku would personally meet the people and political leaders to explain that merger within Malaysia did not mean that Malaya would colonise the Borneo Territories.

The Malaysian Prime Minister had given his assurance that in Malaysia, the Borneo Territories would join as equal partners sharing equal status.

The Tengku, according to the Datu, also gave the assurance that the Borneo people's standards in education, culture and economy would be lifted to a similar level with those in Malaya and Singapore.

The chairman of Panas said the Tengku was well aware of Communist activities in the region and that they were trying to sabotage the Malaysia Plan. He asked the people of Sarawak to be firm in their convictions and to strengthen their support for Malaysia.

Before leaving Singapore for Kuching the Datu told reporters he hoped that the allocation of ministerial posts and portfolios in the future Malaysia Cabinet would be in proportion to the population of each territory.

He was commenting on the Tengku's recent announcement that Malaysia's Cabinet would include representatives from Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak.

SNAP HAILS COBBOLD REPORT

The chairman of the Sarawak National Party, Mr J.S. Tinker, has issued a statement from Betong, Second Division, hailing the Cobbold report as "an unbiased masterpiece of views."

He said that though he was in full agreement with the recommendations, felt that there were two issues on which he would comment.— Head of the Federation of Malaysia and Religion.

On the first Mr Tinker said that it was his view that each Head of State should be eligible to become Head of the Federation either by rotation or election.

Malaysia, he explained, was an association of partners and the barring of the Head of State of any one country from being Head of the Federation might mean that partner was "second rate".

On the question of Religion Mr Tinker said that the Federal Constitution making Islam the National Religion should not be applied to the Borneo Territories.

He also felt that religion should be "left untampered as at present and safeguarded by the Malaysian Constitution."

Many views, ranging from Borneanisation to the status of Head of State, were expressed to the leaders of the Inter-Governmental Committee during their tour of Sarawak.

Almost all of them covered the issues that were raised before the Cobbold Commission earlier this year. However, the memorandum of the newly-formed Sarawak Chinese Association and the Indian Association are of particular interest since their views have not been published in this Bulletin before. The opportunity is now taken to do so.

The Sarawak Chinese Association, in its memorandum, stated that the transitional period from the date of the creation of Malaysia should be three to five years.

This, the Association said, would ensure a smooth change-over and avoid any disruption in the efficiency of the Administration and added: "We are of the opinion that the Governor as well as the expatriate officers, particularly the technicians, should remain as long as possible and until such time when local people are able to replace them."

Commenting on the recommendations of the Cobbold Report, the Association said that on the whole they were "fair and reasonable", particularly the opinions expressed by the British members of the Commission.

The Association went on to comment on the following subjects:

Head of Federation and Heads of States:

"We welcome the announcement by the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, on the basis for entry of the Borneo Territories into the Federation of Malaysia as envisaged and when he said: 'We are not taking them over as subject people, but as members of the same family ... They will be nationals of the same nation with absolute equality.'"

"With this in mind we feel that any citizen of Sarawak should be eligible for appointment as Head of State and that all Heads of States should be eligible for appointment as Head of the Federation.

"We do not think that it would involve too great a problem in Constitution making."

Religion: "We have strong feelings that there should be provided in the State Constitution a provision to safeguard the complete religious freedom as to worship, education

and propagation, which the Borneo Territories have hitherto enjoyed.

"Any change that would in effect deprive them of this privilege may give rise to concern and misgivings.

"We respectfully urge that there should be no State Religion for Sarawak, and that the Federal provisions on religion should not apply."

Language: "Although Malay approaches more nearly than any other language to a 'lingua franca' in Borneo, one fact should not be lost sight of, namely that about 80 per cent of the population of Sarawak is non-Malay.

"The majority of them would favour English to be the official language in Sarawak without limitation of time.

"It is not within the purview of this memorandum to compare the usefulness of the two languages; suffice it to say that it would be undesirable in principle and would indeed cause undue hardship in practice, if the overwhelming majority of the population is required to learn more than one language to a degree of proficiency in addition to their own, and bearing in mind the importance of English as one of the media of instruction in our schools.

"With regard to the language for debates and discussions in the State Assemblies of the Borneo Territories, we consider the existing arrangements under the Local Council Ordinance would work satisfactorily."

Immigration: "We would like to record our full agreement with the recommendations (paragraph 148 (g) of the Report) on this subject."

Citizenship: "The question of citizenship is a matter to which we attach the greatest importance, as it mainly affects the Chinese community in Sarawak.

"With regard to residence qualifications (in paragraph 148 (k) of the Report), we would suggest a period of seven years instead of eight years as recommended.

"We fully support the view that the formalities of obtaining citizenship should be reduced to the minimum so that anyone who regards Sarawak to be the country of domicile could acquire citizenship of the new Federation by registration.

"We hold the view that a waiver for a limited period regarding language test should be extended to all persons irrespective of age."

Special position of indigenous races:

"We are in agreement with the view that any special privilege provided in the Constitution would be in contradiction with the spirit of the Nine Cardinal Principles enshrined in the Constitution of Sarawak.

"We agree that an Advisory Board should be set up to deal with this 'complex and thorny subject'.

"We would advocate that special aid instead of special privilege be given to those who are backward and needy for a period of time until they have attained a more competitive level."

Education: "It is our considered view that adequate time should be provided for the study of Chinese language and Chinese literature in our schools within the framework of national system of education in Sarawak."

Fisheries and rural development: "We think these should be accelerated so as to raise the living standard of the people. Traditional fishing grounds and local interests should be fully protected."

Labour: "We agree that some degree of concurrence from the State should be obtained regarding legislation affecting trade unions and labour problems in Sarawak."

Natives and Non-Natives: "We hold the view that anyone who is born in Sarawak should be called 'Sarawakian' and the words 'Native' and 'Non-Native' should be obliterated from the Constitution.

"The moment the Constitution of a country divides its people into two categories, it immediately reduces one section of the population to a position of inferiority. Moreover, such a division would in our opinion be detrimental to racial harmony."

Safeguards: "We cannot emphasise more strongly that the safeguards and special guarantees for the Borneo Territories as recommended (in paragraph 148 (b) of the Report) are of paramount importance, and should be accepted in toto. For it is on this that many have based their attitude on the Malaysia proposal as a whole."

Views of Indian Association

The application of citizenship laws as recommended by the Cobbold Commission "is likely to affect adversely" the rights of large numbers of Indians resident in Sarawak, according to the memorandum submitted by the Indian Association in Kuching.

Malaysia came into being Sarawak's farmers and rural inhabitants would benefit in the same way as those in Malaya.

He also said that certain issues of the Malaysia Plan were not fully understood by the people and if they were fully explained, the difficulties arising over the differences of opinion would be more easily resolved.

He also said he was glad to notice that the Malays had accepted the Malaysia Plan with rejoicing.

In his broadcast Tun Razak referred to the agreement reached by British and Malayan Governments that Malaysia should be established by August 31, 1963 and said: "I would, therefore, like to offer you on behalf of the Government and the people of the Federation of Malaya my warmest welcome to you all, to form as members of our family.

"It is a great joy to us, and I am sure to you all too, that we all should be able to come together as members of one family and members of one nation.

"As you know we in Malaya have no ambition to rule other people's country or to be masters in other people's territory.

"We have just achieved independence and we want all people of dependent territories to be independent so that they will be able to enjoy complete freedom and to be masters of their own country.

"We welcome you, people of Sarawak, as equal partners in this new association of States. We want you to have the same rights as we have, to enjoy the same freedom as we have and to share with us peace and happiness that we now have and whatever future that may be in store for us in the future.

"I know the creation of Malaysia will mean some changes, constitutional and others, and some of you may have fears and anxiety that these changes may affect you adversely. I can categorically assure that you need not have such fears.

"We in Malaya believe in freedom and democracy and believe that citizens of our country should have equal rights.

"All of you, whatever race or group of people you belong to, may be assured that you have your rightful place in this new Nation.

Complete harmony

"As my Prime Minister, the Tengku, has said, we do not intend to create a greater and mighty Malaysia but we want to create a

happy Malaysia. We want everyone to enjoy peace and happiness.

"As you know people in Malaya are all of different racial origins with different religions and customs, but they all live in complete harmony with one another.

"There is complete freedom of worship in Malaya and it would be the same for Malaysia.

"Religion under our present Constitution is absolutely a matter for the State Government and it would be a matter for the State Government after Malaysia to look after the religion in each State.

"It has never been our policy or practice to impose religion on any one and in Malaya every religious group is free to practise its religion as its pleases."

Tun Razak continued: "This is the first time that I have the pleasure of visiting Sarawak and I am very pleased to see the developments in the various fields which are taking place. I hope that with Malaysia these developments will continue and increase.

"To the members of the Civil Service of all races in Sarawak I would like to compliment them on the way in which they now carry out the administration. With Malaysia they would have greater responsibility to shoulder, particularly local officers. They will be given greater responsibility in the administration of their country.

"To the people of Sarawak of all racial groups, Ibans, Malays, Chinese and others, I would like to say that you are one with us, you are members of one family, you are our brothers and sisters, and as citizens of Malaysia will enjoy equal rights and status."

In stating that he would like "to stretch to you my hand of friendship and brotherhood", Tun Razak made this appeal: "Let us now work together as members of one nation and let us make this country of ours a better and happier place for us and our children to live. Let us people of Malaya and Sarawak who belong to different racial groups live together in peace and harmony.

"Let us, therefore, together create a way of life which we wish and cherish and let us give our people a better and higher standard of living so that each and every one of them will be able to take their rightful place among the free nations of the world."

Tun Abdul Razak finally referred to the task facing the Inter-Governmental Committee of which Lord Lansdowne is chairman

and he the vice-chairman.

Much work ahead

He said: "During the next few months a lot of work has to be done preparing the constitutional and other arrangements in order that Malaysia can be established.

"I look forward to you all to give the greatest co-operation to representatives of the United Kingdom Government and the Malayan Government so that we will be able to achieve complete agreement in all matters which will bring about Malaysia smoothly and happily.

More information about the task and hopes of the Inter-Governmental Committee was given by Lord Lansdowne in a broadcast the same day and at a joint press conference held with Tun Razak.

At the press conference Lord Lansdowne spoke of the object of "his preliminary visit" by the British and Malaya teams and said that their meetings with leading citizens and representatives of various organisations in Sarawak and North Borneo would give the Committee a clear idea of the point of view of the people.

One of the main objects of the Committee, he pointed out, was to meet the wishes of the people on the necessary safeguards they wanted.

He then said: "The people of Sarawak and North Borneo should think about these problems and form clear ideas in their own minds about the implications of Malaysia. From the Committee's point of view the clearer the picture the less complicated will be our task."

Earlier, Lord Lansdowne emphasised that the Committee would consist of representatives of the four Governments concerned. He expected that the sub-committees to be formed would have a larger representation of people from the Borneo Territories than from Malaya and Britain.

He went on: "We are approaching our discussions in a spirit of equal partnership, the idea being that the Borneo Territories will, of course, be equal partners in the new Malaysia.

"Tun Razak and I are determined that our work shall be conducted in a spirit of co-operation and what we want to do is to work together in realisation that the members of the four partners in the Inter-Governmental Committee are all striving towards the same

objective. Our task is to see how this objective can be reached to the mutual satisfaction of all.

In answer to questions Lord Lansdowne said that as far as representation on the Inter-Governmental Committee was concerned, the number and composition would largely rest with the legislative councils and Governors concerned.

However, he felt that the Committee should not be too large, adding: "There will be advisers who will be called in for advice but not as members of the Committee itself."

He thought there would be about 30 representatives of the four governments on the Committee. There would also be six or more sub-committees on which Sarawak and North Borneo representation would be larger than that from Britain and Malaya. There would be no representatives of the political parties on them.

Guiding principle

The guiding principle in the formation of the sub-committee, he explained, would be that they would have people expert in the subjects under consideration. These sub-committees would deal with such subjects as the constitution and finance, and he added: "We are going to have to work very hard."

Lord Lansdowne then said that he and Tun Abdul Razak expected to return in October and work would go on until Christmas. He was aware of the great strain this would impose on the Administrations both in Sarawak and North Borneo.

On the question as to why Religion had been specifically made a matter for the main Committee, Lord Lansdowne said that he had made that decision as chairman, with the agreement of the vice chairman.

He added: "I do not think a sub-committee can give us any particular assistance on this particular subject."

Asked about his impressions of the sessions held in Kuching he commented: "On the whole there is still need for further explanation of the great value to all the participants of what Malaysia can be."

Here Tuan Abdul Razak added a further point by saying that this particularly applied to the rural areas.

Lord Lansdowne felt that the more the value of Malaysia was appreciated the less

rigid would be views on such issues as religion and languages.

Questioned about the meeting held with the expatriate officers (represented by the Sarawak Senior Officers' Association) Lord Lansdowne described it was "very interesting", pointing out that the talks were of a confidential nature.

He added: "Just as it is the fervent hope and wish of Her Majesty's Government that the excellent work they are carrying out here will continue, so it is also the wish and hope of the Federation of Malaya Government."

KUCHING THEN SIMANGGANG

Lord Lansdowne began holding meetings early on Saturday, August 18, when he saw the committees of the Senior Officers' Association (representing the expatriate officers) and the Asian Officers' Union.

Later he was joined by Tun Abdul Razak in the Council Negri Clubroom where they met various political and community leaders as well as the members of Council Negri, the Divisional Advisory Council and other councillors from all five districts of the First Division.

They also met representatives of the Kuching Municipal Council, Party Negara Sarawak (led by Mr Leong Ho Yuen), the Sarawak United Peoples' Party (led by Mr Ong Kee Hui), the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak (led by Mr Philip Jitam), the Sarawak Chinese Association (led by Mr William Tan) and the Kuching Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (led by Mr Tan Kui Choon).

A reception was held that night at the Astana in honour of Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak.

On Monday, Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak flew to Simanggang where they held meetings with delegations from four political parties, community leaders and representatives of expatriate and local Government officers from the four districts in the Second Division — about 65 people in all.

The meetings were held in the Courtroom and lasted about 4½ hours in all.

The political parties represented were: Panas - led by Datu Abang Haji Mohamed Zin and Tua Kampong Abang Haji Mohamed Terang; the Sarawak National Party led by the chairman, Mr J.S. Tinker; the first vice chairman, Mr Edward W. Howell and the

secretary-general, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan; the SUPP - led by Mr Hollis Tini, Mr Belong anak Upak and Mr Tan Chong Meng; and Berjasa whose representatives included Inche Drahman bin Tunku Haji Hamid and Haji Wasli.

Among the group of Dayak leaders who gave their views were three Council Negri members — Pengarah Montegrai, Mr Anthony Nibong and Mr Buda anak Ulan; Penghulu Lawrence Sanggat anak Uyut, from Saribas District, and Canon Basil Temenggong.

The Chinese leaders included Mr Yiek Siu King, a sawmill proprietor; Mr Poh Sze Kiang, a contractor and the Kapitan China of Betong, Mr Yong Shau Nen. The Malay leaders were headed by Awang Johari bin Pengiran Azid, vice chairman of the Batang Lupar District Council.

Later in the day Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak flew to Sibul where shortly after their arrival they attended a reception given at the Residency.

On Tuesday, meetings were held at the large hall of the Police Canteen where three political parties were represented: Pamas - led by Mr R.P. Bhattacharyya; the Supp - led by Mr Jawang anak Mantok and Mr Khoo Peng Loong; and Barjasa - led by Datu Tuanku Bujang. Others present included community leaders and heads of banks and commercial firms.

In the afternoon Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak interviewed representatives of expatriate and local Government officers in the Resident's Office.

On Wednesday Tun Abdul Razak and Inche Mohammad Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, left Sibul by air for Kuala Lumpur while the rest of the Malayan team and the British team, headed by Lord Lansdowne, sailed upriver for Kanowit for discussions with leaders in Kanowit and Kapit districts.

The Resident of the Third Division, Mr A.F.R. Griffin, also went to Kanowit.

Longhouse welcome

The discussions, were held in Fort Emma, and those present include all the 18 penghulus of Kanowit District, Divisional Advisory Councillors, a delegation from Panas led by Inche Mokhtar bin Bakip of

Kapit and Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng. Party Pesaka anak Sarawak was not formally represented though all the Iban leaders who spoke stressed that their views were identical with those of the Party.

The teams later left for Rumah Empam, a short journey up the Kanowit River, where they were given the traditional Iban welcome. They left for Sibu early on Thursday morning to catch the plane for Miri.

Lord Lansdowne and Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid (who stood in for Tun Razak) together with their teams flew to Miri on Thursday afternoon. No meetings were held on their arrival and a reception took place that night at the Residency.

Meetings were held at the Community Hall the next day attended by leaders of the communities, political parties as well as councillors from the Fourth and Fifth Divisions and representatives of the expatriate Government officers and local Government officers.

Nine Miri Chinese associations next presented their views followed by delegations from the Supp, Panas and Barjasa. The afternoon was devoted to meetings with councillors and community leaders after which Lord Lansdowne and Dato Abdul Aziz left for Brunei by air on their way to Jesselton.

MALAYA CREATES BORNEO AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

On his return to Kuala Lumpur on Thursday Tun Razak announced that a few civil servants from the Borneo Territories would be coming to Kuala Lumpur to join the newly-created Borneo Affairs Department.

Speaking about his visit to Borneo, Tun Razak said that in Brunei he did explain to the Sultan that the Federation of Malaysia would be created on August 31, next year and that he had been asked for full details of the proposal.

He added: "My impression is that the people of Sarawak and Brunei are in support of Malaysia except for a few people. I am more than satisfied with the talks I had with the leaders in these territories."

He then said that he would discuss with the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, his plan to visit the Borneo Territories "at a date convenient to the Tengku", adding: "The people of the Borneo Territories are eager to welcome the Tengku and to hear of his proposals."

Later at the annual general meeting of the United Malays National Organisation Tun Razak proposed that Tengku Abdul Rahman should receive the title of "Bapa Malaysia" (Father of Malaysia) and not "Bapa Melayu Raya" (Father of Greater Malaya).

Explaining this he said: "We should consider the interests of the people in the other territories who will join the new Federation. There are many people there who are non-Malays."

Tun Razak feared that "Melayu Raya" might confuse the people who might even think that we were going to colonise them."

He reminded the meeting that the Cobbold Commission had recommended that the name of the new Federation should be Malaysia.

Tun Razak will fly to Jesselton on Sunday, August 26, to join Lord Lansdowne and other members of the Malayan team.

Many views, ranging from Borneanisation to the status of Head of State, were expressed to the leaders of the Inter-Governmental Committee during their tour of Sarawak.

Almost all of them covered the issues that were raised before the Cobbold Commission earlier this year. However, the memorandum of the newly-formed Sarawak Chinese Association and the Indian Association are of particular interest since their views have not been published in this Bulletin before. The opportunity is now taken to do so.

The Sarawak Chinese Association, in its memorandum, stated that the transitional period from the date of the creation of Malaysia should be three to five years.

This, the Association said, would ensure a smooth change-over and avoid any disruption in the efficiency of the Administration and added: "We are of the opinion that the Governor as well as the expatriate officers, particularly the technicians, should remain as long as possible and until such time when local people are able to replace them."

Commenting on the recommendations of the Cobbold Report, the Association said that on the whole they were "fair and reasonable", particularly the opinions expressed by the British members of the Commission.

The Association went on to comment on the following subjects:

Head of Federation and Heads of States: "We welcome the announcement by the Prime

Minister of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, on the basis for entry of the Borneo Territories into the Federation of Malaysia as envisaged and when he said: 'We are not taking them over as subject people, but as members of the same family ... They will be nationals of the same nation with absolute equality.'

"With this in mind we feel that any citizen of Sarawak should be eligible for appointment as Head of State and that all Heads of States should be eligible for appointment as Head of the Federation.

"We do not think that it would involve too great a problem in Constitution making."

Religion: "We have strong feelings that there should be provided in the State Constitution a provision to safeguard the complete religious freedom as to worship, education and propagation, which the Borneo Territories have hitherto enjoyed.

"Any change that would in effect deprive them of this privilege may give rise to concern and misgivings.

"We respectfully urge that there should be no State Religion for Sarawak, and that the Federal provisions on religion should not apply."

Language: "Although Malay approaches more nearly than any other language to a 'lingua franca' in Borneo, one fact should not be lost sight of, namely that about 80 per cent. of the population of Sarawak is non-Malay.

"The majority of them would favour English to be the official language in Sarawak without limitation of time.

"It is not within the purview of this memorandum to compare the usefulness of the two languages; suffice it to say that it would be undesirable in principle and would indeed cause undue hardship in practice, if the overwhelming majority of the population is required to learn more than one language to a degree of proficiency in addition to their own, and bearing in mind the importance of English as one of the media of instruction in our schools.

"With regard to the language for debates and discussions in the State Assemblies of the Borneo Territories, we consider the existing arrangements under the Local Council Ordinance would work satisfactorily."

Immigration: "We would like to record our full agreement with the recommendations (paragraph 148 (g) of the Report) on this subject".

Citizenship: "The question of citizenship is a matter to which we attach the greatest importance, as it mainly affects the Chinese community in Sarawak.

"With regard to residence qualifications (in paragraph 148 (k) of the Report), we would suggest a period of seven years instead of eight years as recommended.

"We fully support the view that the formalities of obtaining citizenship should be reduced to the minimum so that anyone who regards Sarawak to be the country of domicile could acquire citizenship of the new Federation by registration.

"We hold the view that a waiver for a limited period regarding language test should be extended to all persons irrespective of age."

Special position of indigenous races: "We are in agreement with the view that any special privilege provided in the Constitution would be in contradiction with the spirit of the Nine Cardinal Principles enshrined in the Constitution of Sarawak.

"We agree that an Advisory Board should be set up to deal with this 'complex and thorny subject'.

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Fisheries and rural development: "We think these should be accelerated so as to raise the living standard of the people. Traditional fishing grounds and local interests should be fully protected."

Labour: "We agree that some degree of concurrence from the State should be obtained regarding legislation affecting trade unions and labour problems in Sarawak".

Natives and Non-Natives: "We hold the view that anyone who is born in Sarawak should be called 'Sarawakian' and the words 'Native' and 'non-Native' should be obliterated from the Constitution.

"The moment the Constitution of a country divides its people into two categories, it immediately reduces one section of the population to a position of inferiority. More-

over, such a division would in our opinion be detrimental to racial harmony."

Safeguards: "We cannot emphasise more strongly that the safeguards and special guarantees for the Borneo Territories as recommended (in paragraph 148 (b) of the Report) are of paramount importance, and should be accepted in toto. For it is on this that many have based their attitude on the Malaysia proposal as a whole."

Views of Indian Association

The application of citizenship laws as recommended by the Cobbold Commission "is likely to affect adversely" the rights of large numbers of Indians resident in Sarawak, according to the memorandum submitted by the Indian Association in Kuching.

Urging the sympathetic consideration of the case of citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies resident in Sarawak, the memorandum says that each and every "Commonwealth Citizen" resident in Sarawak on the date on which Malaysia comes into being should be eligible to apply for registration as a

citizen of Malaysia, at any time during the year after that date, if:

- he was registered while in Sarawak as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year or, was registered as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies while in territory other than Sarawak but obtained a registration as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies before August 31, this year;
- he intends to reside permanently in the Federation a statutory declaration to that effect to be accepted as satisfactory evidence of such intention;
- he is of good character
- he is proficient in the use of the English or Tamil language.

In conclusion the memorandum said that there can be no excuse whatsoever for refusing Malaysian citizenship to British subjects of Indian origin who have automatically ceased to be Indian citizens by becoming Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies by registration, in good faith, before Malaysia became a certainty.

SUPP LAUNCHES ANOTHER ANTI-MALAYSIA CAMPAIGN

The Sarawak United Peoples' Party on August 1962 launched a country-wide door-to-door campaign to clarify its opposition to the Malaysia Plan and to "expose" the Cobbold Report.

According to one report, cadres from 17 branches and 34 sub-branches all over the country have gone into action.

Donations will be collected from Party members to enable the Party to send a four-man delegation to the United Nations to make representations against the Malaysia Plan and to tour Afro-Asian countries.

The Secretary-General, Mr Stephen Yong, left on Tuesday for Brunei to gain a first-hand impression of the political situation there and to explore the possibilities of the Party Ra'ayat Brunei combining with the

SUPP in sending a delegation to the U.N.

In an open letter to members outlining the objects of the campaign, the Party Secretariat states: "The Greater Malaysia Plan might possibly be forced through but under such circumstances, we will never change our original anti-colonial and anti-Malaysia stand. We will never refuse any arrangement to present our Party's view and to fight for the interest of the people.

"Our Party had decided to push forward the opposition of Malaysia to another climax. The first step of this action is to launch a country-wide campaign with the objects of opposing the Malaysia Plan and the Cobbold Report and to explain the Party's achievement in its anti-colonial movement, its significance and political future."

'Hold plebiscite'

"Our Party has recently decided to make representation to the United Nations of the aspirations of the people here who are determined to gain self-government and independence and at the same time expose the Malaysia Plan as contradictory to the Nine Cardinal Principles embodied in the Sarawak Constitution."

The letter also said that if the Authorities respected democratic principles, they should allow the people of Sarawak and North

Borneo to gain self-government and independence and let the people's elected representatives consider the Malaysia Plan.

If this was not possible they should at least hold a plebiscite, allowing the people to express their views before "pushing through" the Malaysia Plan.

The letter charged that the Cobbold Commission had smeared the Party and also pointed out that the Party had overcome many obstacles in the past and assured members that it would grow from strength to strength as it progressed.

26/8/62 - 1/9/62

COBBOLD REPORT: VIEWS OF 3 POLITICAL PARTIES

Three political parties — Party Pesaka anak Sarawak, Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak and the Sarawak National Party — have issued statements giving their views on the recommendations made in the Report of the Cobbold Commission.

Party Pesaka anak Sarawak (Sarawak Conservative Party) on Saturday, August 25, issued from Kanowit, Third Division, a statement which lists 21 points.

The statement, signed by Pengarah Banyang, the chairman and Penghulu Francis Umpau, the vice-chairman, says:

"Our political stand on Malaysia is based mainly on the decision taken by 51 Penghulus from the Third Division as a result of the meeting held at Kapit. It is also set on the many discussions which we have had since that meeting.

"Party Pesaka anak Sarawak is a newly-formed political party but we have very strong feelings on the various points enumerated below.

"However, we are not obstinate — we are not without reason and foresight. We are, however, unlike at least one other political party, and we are prepared to discuss further more on these points and to agree to some relaxation of our determination on certain of them provided a reasonable and acceptable alternative solution can be found.

The statement goes on to list the points as follows:

Religion: The Islamic religion cannot be accepted as the State religion of Sarawak nor

should it be the National religion of the new Federation of Malaysia.

Language: English should be the official language of Sarawak for all purposes, State or Federal, without limitation of time.

Other local languages should continue to be used as at present.

Constitution: The constitution of Malaysia should be a completely new document drafted and agreed by the legislatures of all the States concerned.

Head of State: The first Head of State of Sarawak must be an Iban and should be appointed by the present Government before the new Federation comes into being.

Head of Federation: Not only shall the Head of State of Sarawak be eligible as Head of Federation of Malaysia but the same must also apply to Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Brunei and North Borneo.

Name of Federation: This must be Malaysia and not Melayu Raya.

Interim powers: It has been agreed in London that interim powers must be given to Sarawak.

Excluding external affairs, internal security and anti-subversive measures, all powers necessary for the proper Government of Sarawak by Sarawak must be given to Sarawak. These powers must be retained by Sarawak until such time as Council Negri agrees that they need no longer be necessary.

Representation: Sarawak must be given adequate representation in the Federal Parliament taking into account the population of

Sarawak and also the size of Sarawak.

Ministerial Government: A ministerial government, or some similar system, must be formed in Sarawak as soon as possible.

Finance and Development: Sarawak should retain control over its own finance and would give the Federation an agreed amount every year as it is proper towards Federal commitments which affect Sarawak.

Flag and Anthem: Sarawak should have its own State flag, anthem and emblem. As the Federation of Malaysia will be an entirely new Nation, an entirely new flag, anthem and emblem will have to be agreed by all 15 states. This new flag must not bear, under any circumstances, any emblem or sign depicting the Islamic religion.

Local Authorities: There must be no lessening of the power of Local Authorities and the present system must be maintained.

Local Authorities should still retain control over primary education, and grants to them and the method of their payment must be guaranteed and must be sufficient to deal with the prominent increase in educational development.

Education: The present system devised by the Government of Sarawak must be retained and must not be interfered with in any manner.

Amendment of Constitution: Council Negri and only Council Negri can amend the Constitution of Sarawak.

The Federal Constitution should only be amended with 9/10th majority of the Federal Parliament.

Immigration: Control over immigration into Sarawak must rest with the State Government of Sarawak and there must be a Dayak representative in the State Immigration Office.

Land: Control over land in Sarawak and all matters connected with land must remain the responsibility of the State Government.

Borneanisation: This should proceed in the Public Service as quickly as possible with the reservation that Federal posts in Sarawak should only be filled by Sarawak-born citizens; but this should not preclude Sarawak officers from Federal service outside Sarawak.

Overseas Officers: Every effort must be made to encourage British and Overseas officers to remain in the Public Service for as long as their services are required by Sarawak.

Sarawak Rangers and Sarawak Regiment: Only Ibans can continue to be recruited into the Sarawak Rangers.

A Sarawak Regiment should be formed and recruited by all Sarawak-born citizens.

Information: We maintain that we in Sarawak now far more about Malaya and its people than the people or Government of Malaya know about us.

It is essential that some politicians as well as some Government officers and people of Malaya and Singapore should visit Sarawak and proceed to the remoter areas to gain first-hand knowledge of the people and country of Sarawak.

Safeguards: All safeguards must be written into the new Constitution and shall not be varied without the consent of Council Negri. An official Constitution must be adopted and approved by Council Negri.

The statement finally says: "We consider that Sarawak and the other Borneo Territories will be the vital force in Malaysia in time to come and we are confident that the Dayak people of Sarawak will have a most important role to perform.

"For the new Federation to be successful it is a prerequisite that all the people in all the States must accept and welcome an official Constitution wholeheartedly and without reservation.

"This they can only do if their demands are sincerely taken into account with certain amount of give and take of all States.

"With goodwill, general and harmony on all sides, Malaysia will be successful."

VIEW OF BERJASA

Sarawak's first Chief Minister should be elected by unofficial members of Council Negri from among the serving senior civil servants, states the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak in a statement issued this week giving its views on the recommendations of the Cobbold Report.

The Party explains: "This will ensure that during the transitional period the Chief Minister will be a person who has had considerable experience in the administration of the country."

The Party urges the speedy introduction of a Membership system of Government "to allow certain qualified members of the Supreme Council to hold special responsibilities."

It agrees with the recommendation made by the British members of the Commission that the transitional period should be for five years from the date of the creation of the new Federation but adjustable to a minimum of three years or a maximum of seven years.

It feels that all safeguards must be written into the Constitution and should be not varied except with the agreement of Council Negri.

On the subject of representation in the Federal Parliament the Party considers that Sarawak should at least have 17 seats in the House of Representatives "as the country is sparsely populated".

It explains: "At present Sarawak has 21 unofficial members on Council Negri representing the five Divisions — 2 from the Fifth; 4 from the Fourth; 6 from the Third; 4 from the Second; and 5 from the First.

Viewed five as five States

"Viewing the five Divisions as five States in Sarawak then each should have the following representation in the Federal Legislature:

"Fifth Division - 2; Fourth Division - 3; Third Division - 5; Second Division - 3; and First Division - 4, making the total 17."

The Party goes on to say that Sarawak should have adequate ministerial representation at both the higher and lower levels to provide for Sarawak's interests in the Federal Government.

On the subject of Finance, Development and Taxation the Party says it holds the view that Sarawak requires firm assurances that -

- adequate finance will be available to meet the accelerated development promised by the Federation of Malaya, and for this purpose a Sarawak Development Fund should be in created as soon as possible
- a formula, as recommended in the Cobbold Commission Report (paragraph 217) should be devised, assuring to Sarawak as of right adequate revenue to meet its total State expenditure
- taxation should only be introduced, if need be, to Malayan levels gradually

Though it agrees that Malay should be the national language of the Federation, the Party considers that for official purposes, English should be used along with Malay for a period of 15 years from the date of the creation of Malaysia.

The Party also considers that the Head of State should be a member of the indigenous races and that he be appointed by the Head of the Federation with the agreement of the unofficial members of Council Negri.

It does not consider that the Head of State should be eligible to become Head of the Federation.

It "strongly" holds the view that the Natives of Sarawak should be put in a position analogous to that of the Malays in the Federation of Malaya though it makes it clear that non-natives should not be deprived of their vested rights.

The Party agrees that Islam should be the national religion of the Federation but adds: "As regards the State of Sarawak, we agree with the views of the Chairman and British members of the Cobbold Commission that the question of extending the Federal provisions to Sarawak should be left to the people to decide at a later stage when a fully elected Council Negri has been constituted."

It accepts the recommendation that the existing Constitution of the Federation of Malaya should be taken as the basis for the Constitution of the new Federation with such amendments and safeguards as may be necessary and that the name of the proposed Federation should be the "Federation of Malaysia".

On the subject of Immigration, Secession, Borneanisation of the Public Service, Overseas officers and citizenship, the Party is in agreement with the Cobbold Report's recommendations.

Views of Sarawak National Party

Many of the views on the Cobbold Report recommendations expressed by Papas and Barjasa are also shared by the Sarawak National Party.

However, the Party feels that —

- the Constitution should be "a completely new document drafted and agreed to by all the States concerned
- the Head of the State of Sarawak should be eligible to be Head of the Federation
- there should be no State religion in Sarawak
- English should be the official language of Sarawak for all purposes, State or Federal, without limitation of time

- the name "Council Negri" should be replaced by "State Parliament"
- trade unions and labour should be the responsibility of the State
- strong State armed forces should be created during the transitional period
- Sarawak should have its own flag, anthem and emblem and control firearms

'Finance and Development' — by Sarawak Tribune

The Sarawak Tribune, in an editorial this week, draws attention to the problem of financing the country's development after the creation of Malaysia.

It says: "These columns have time and again advocated that in considering the question of Malaysia, there is a vital necessity to separate emotions from facts, but, so far there appears to be still too little attention paid to this important factor.

"The Sarawak public has been, in more instances than one, carried away emotionally by such subjects are religion, language, head of state, etc. (which should really be solved without too much difficulty given tolerance and goodwill on both sides), but paying very scant attention to the question of finance — and by finance we mean of a long term nature. For there is little doubt that money is the key to the improvement of our way of life and the raising of standards of living.

"It may not be out of place to pause here and consider the development of Sarawak in the past several years in relation to future progress and think just what are the means available whereby we can maintain, let alone accelerate, the pace.

"It is obvious that Sarawak has been extremely fortunate in that at the time when we embarked on a really expansive development programme we had been endowed with very timely assistance from the boom in rubber and pepper, not to mention illipenuts, which enabled the Government, to accrue surpluses.

"At the same time there has been also a steady flow of aid from the British taxpayers in the form of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the total of which is approximately \$50 million.

"The progress made so far under such circumstances has not been negligible but far from adequate. There is still a large gap to be bridged if we are to get anywhere near the level of good living standards. It means that a very substantial volume of capital expenditure is needed.

"Government Estimates (available for all who care to examine them) show that we are running into something like \$50 million per annum now. This figure may have to be doubled in the course of the next ten years, making our requirement to about \$1,000 million if any real progress is to be made.

"Where is the money to come from? Money that is needed for more schools, more roads and other means of communications, more medical facilities and more social services?

"Assistance from the CD & W Fund cannot be expected to continue once the country achieves independence — be it in Malaysia or alone, but even assuming that such assistance could continue under different names and conditions the scope would still be limited.

"Sarawak's own ability to finance development does not look at all bright, as there is no probability that prices of local produce would ever attain the level as they did in the past.

"And because of the fall in commodity prices and the steady rise in recurrent expenditure, the coffer may soon be empty if we are not cautious.

"Tun Abdul Razak has given an encouraging assurance that Malaysia would mean a better life for the people and not the reverse. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the sentiments.

"But would the people of Malaya be prepared to divert their own development fund towards Sarawak (probably at the expense of other States), and to the extent that they are substantially adequate to accelerate the pace?

"That question has still to be answered, but in the meantime the reality of the moment must be faced and should be given the careful and conscientious consideration that it deserves."

TENGKU ON SIGNIFICANCE OF MALAYSIA

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, in a message to the nation on the fifth anniversary of Malayan independence, said in Kuala Lumpur on Friday that the formation of the new federation of Malaysia would be one of the most significant events in the history of South East Asia.

He said that the birth of the new Federation by August 31, next year, would bring to an end "the era of colonialism in Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei."

"This is the last occasion on which we will be celebrating on August 31, the merdeka of Malaya, since by this time next year, by the will of Allah, we will be cheering the birth of a big brotherly Malaysia," the Tengku said.

"This will be a nation comprising Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, Brunei and Malaya and from Malaya's present area of 50,000 square miles the size will extend to 130,000 square miles and the population will increase from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 people.

"We desire to build up a country of which we can be justly and truly proud, a democracy of many races and creeds living in peace and harmony which can be an example to the world."

The Tengku also said that it was only necessary to look back on the crowded series of events that had taken place in the Malaysian region in the past 15 months to realise that the new confederation of States

was "a very natural cohesion indeed."

The Malaysian people, as well as Britain, realised that it made practical commonsense in a region where all shared a common heritage.

'So much more we can do'

He added: "There are, however, fears among a certain section of the people who have very little knowledge of Malaya and there is also a feeling of anxiety which our friends, the British, have that we may not be able to serve the people in these territories as well as they have done.

"There should be no qualms on this point. If they, who are people of a different race and from a different world, can do so much for the people of the Borneo Territories, sufficient to gain their confidence, how much more can we do for those who belong to the same ethnic group, whom we regard as brothers in the same family.

"There is so much more that we can do and so much more that we want to do for them.

"As far as we are concerned in the Federation of Malaya, we intend to do every possible thing in the maintenance of good administration and sound development; we will pool everything to ensure that the peoples of Malaysia will become one big family, one united nation."

SUPREME COUNCILLORS ATTEND IGC PREPARATORY MEETING

The Inter-Governmental Committee held a successful preparatory meeting in Jesselton on Thursday at which Sarawak was represented by official and unofficial members of the Supreme Council led by the Officer Administering the Government, Mr F.D. Jakeway.

The Acting Chief Secretary, Mr A.R. Snelus, was however, unable to attend on this occasion.

It was agreed that the following sub-committees should be set up:— Constitutional; Fiscal; Public Service; Legal and Judi-

cial; and Departmental Organisation.

It was also agreed that the headquarters of the Inter-Governmental Committee should be in Jesselton but that meetings would also be held in Kuching.

A plenary session will be held in Jesselton in the middle of October and further meetings will be held as and when required. (A press conference was later given).

The Supreme Council, which is at present presided over by the O.A.G. in the absence of the Governor, comprises the Acting Chief Secretary (Mr Snelus); the Attorney General

(Mr. P.E.H. Pike); the Financial Secretary (Mr B.A. Hepburn); and six unofficials — the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha; Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng; Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang; Mr Ong Kee Hui; Mr Ling Beng Siew; and Mr Chia Chin Shin.

Three of the unofficials are heads of political parties — the Datu Bandar is the chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, Temenggong Jugah is the president of Party Pesaka anak Sarawak and Mr Ong Kee Hui is the chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples Party while Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Chia Chin Shin are vice-presidents of the Pro-tem Central Committee of the Sarawak Chinese Association. Pengarah Montegrai is an influential member of the Sarawak National Party.

After the meeting Temenggong Jugah and Mr Ling Beng Siew flew to Kuala Lumpur to attend the Merdeka Day celebrations as representatives of the Sarawak Government. Representatives of the political parties in Sarawak, with the exception of the SUPP and through PAPAS (indirectly represented by Temenggong Jugah), also were at the celebrations as guests of the Federation Government.

Why Mr Ong went — SUPP explains

The Sarawak United Peoples' Party, which is opposed to the Malaysia Plan, and is currently engaged in a campaign against it, issued a statement this week explaining why its chairman, Mr Ong Kee Hui, took part at this week's meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee.

The statement, signed by the Secretary-General, Mr Stephen Yong, said that Mr Ong had attended it in the national interests.

At a meeting of the Working Committee held on Monday, the statement said it was agreed that "differences between political parties should be subordinated to the national interests, that a pan-Bornean outlook should be fostered and that the cooperation of all political parties in British Borneo should be sought to safeguard the interests of the people of the Territories."

The statement pointed out that Mr Ong had informed the meeting that he had agreed to join the Inter-Governmental Committee as a member of Supreme Council "in order to endeavour to secure for the people of the

Borneo Territories adequate safeguards to protect their interests if the proposed federation of Malaysia comes into being."

Mr Ong also announced his intention to join the Inter-Governmental Committee at the monthly meeting, on Tuesday, of the Kuching Municipal Council of which he is president.

He told the Council that the Inter-Governmental Committee had been set up to negotiate and work out the constitutional arrangements for the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

He pointed out that as Sarawak and North Borneo were still colonial territories without a fully elected Government, negotiations on their behalf had to be carried by the Supreme Council and, in the case of North Borneo, the Executive Council.

He went on to say: "The unofficial or elected members of these Councils by force of circumstances have to take a more prominent role at these negotiations as official members are in a somewhat invidious position in negotiating agreements which in fact means their own liquidation.

"In view of this situation I feel that as your elected representative in Council Negri and as a member of Supreme Council I should participate in the Inter-Governmental Committee.

"As these negotiations concern the whole future of the people of the British Borneo Territories I also feel that the interests of the people of these Territories should be the primary concern and that the differences of political parties should be subordinated to the national interests.

'Fullest co-operation'

"Because of this, I have agreed to participate as a member of the Sarawak Government delegation and have assured by colleagues that I shall give them the fullest co-operation in endeavouring to secure for the people of the British Borneo Territories concessions and safeguards which will adequately protect their interests in the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"This assurance has been accepted in spite of the fact that my colleagues are aware of the continued opposition of my political party to the Malaysia Plan. As I have said previously national interests must come first."

'Talk Terms' Mandate Given

SURPRISE SUPPORT BY ONG KEE HUI

OUR IGC TEAM THAT WILL SEEK SAFEGUARDS

Council Negri Welcomes Malaysia

23/9/62 - 29/9/62

SARAWAK'S LEGISLATURE — Council Negri — at its meeting held in Kuching in September unanimously resolved to welcome the decision to establish Malaysia next year and gave to a team of eight Supreme Councillors a mandate to negotiate the terms and constitutional arrangements on behalf of the country.

The motion was passed after a four-hour debate during which 17 unofficial and nominated members had expressed their views at what was described by the President, Mr A.R. Snelus, as a historic meeting.

The debate was marked by —

- the support to the motion given by Mr Ong Kee Hui, whose party — the Sarawak United Peoples' Party strongly opposes the Malaysia Plan
- requests by several Councillors that Sarawak should have the right to secede from Malaysia
- an attempt to amend the motion deleting that part which gave the date for the establishment of Malaysia — August 31, 1963.
- Mr Jakeway is at present the OAG
- a call for more frequent meetings of Council Negri in order that it could hear reports of the progress made by Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees.

THE MOTION

That this Council —

(a) welcomes the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded;

(b) notes that an Inter-Governmental Committee has been established to work out the detailed constitutional arrangements and the form of these safeguards, which will be laid before this Council;

(c) authorises the Chief Secretary, the

Attorney-General, the Financial Secretary, the Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang, Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Chia Chin Shin to represent Sarawak on this Committee; and

(d) authorises the Governor in Council to nominate as additional members of the Committee or as members of Sub-committees thereof such unofficial members of this Council and such public officers as may be desirable.

Mr Ong's decision in favour of the motion, which came as a surprise to many in view of his decision not to take part in the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee, came after he had said that there was no alternative — "things being as they are".

He said that he gave his support because "we must pursue this, we must try, under present circumstances to secure ensure that if Malaysia were to come about, the interests of the people would be safeguarded."

Mr Ong also wished those appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees "good luck and success" adding: "They have a very happy responsibility to discharge and I only wish that it were possible for me to render them any assistance in any way."

The right to secession requests were answered by the Attorney-General, Mr P.E.H. Pike, who pointed out that the Cqbbold Commission had advised against its inclusion. He also warned that it could be a two-edged weapon.

The amendment was proposed by Mr Chieng Hie Kwong (Sibu Urban District Council) who felt that there should be more time given for the consideration of the safeguards proposed and for the Inter-Governmental Committee to do its work.

It was withdrawn, by permission of the House, at the request of Mr Chieng himself, after he had been assured by the Attorney-General that the decisions as to the necessary safeguards would have been taken "long

before" August 31, next year and that the work of the Committee would be concluded by the end of this year.

As to the call for regular meetings of the Council Negri during the period of negotiations (made by Capt. D.R. Gribble-Nominated) the Attorney-General gave the assurance that if the progress made was worth reporting earlier than the Budget meeting (towards the year's end) he was sure Council would be called.

'Matter of greatest importance'

In opening the meeting the President of the Council Mr Snelus, referred to the motion on Malaysia and said: "This is a matter of the greatest and most vital importance for the future of this country".

He said that he was glad to report "no absentees to record" and hoped many of the Unofficial Members would speak.

In his speech introducing the motion the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, stressed that Sarawak must be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation.

"It will be vital", declared, "that there be a strong Central Government, and this will require that the interests of Sarawak and North Borneo be considered in the light of the overall interests of Malaysia."

He continued: "If Malaysia is to be enabled to contribute to the peace of this part of the world, it must have a strong Central Government, and it must command the respect and loyalty of all its component parts."

"A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. We must, therefore, be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation. There must also, of course, be sound Government both on the Federal and on the State levels, and it is therefore, necessary that the present standards of administration in Sarawak should be maintained".

In his speech the Attorney-General —

- criticised those Chinese newspapers which had called the Cobbold Report a dishonest one
- countered the accusation that the British Government was acting in breach of its moral obligations under the Nine Cardinal Principles by agreeing that Sarawak should become one of the States of Malaysia

- urged the Unofficial members of Council Negri appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees to act as the spokesmen for Sarawak by putting forward the claims for safeguarding the special interests of the country

Mr Pike began his speech by describing how the Malaysia "ball" began rolling and how the work of the Cobbold Commission and its assessment of the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the project.

'Hard-core of opponents'

Referring to the "hard-core of opponents of Malaysia", Mr Pike said that the Commission had estimated it to be about 20 per cent in Sarawak and added: "I would go further than this and suggest that many of this hard-core would oppose Malaysia after independence as well, because Malaysia does not suit the tactics of those whose game they are playing".

He went on to say: "I venture to suggest that no fair-minded person who has read the Report of the Cobbold Commission could fail to be impressed with the thoroughness and complete fairness with which the Commission approached and performed its very difficult task."

"One has read, in certain organs of the Chinese press, allegations of bias and even dishonesty. I suggest that such accusations are indicative of the weakness of the case which they have against the Report — that the only answer they can find to the assessment made by the Cobbold Commission is that it is a dishonest one."

"None of the persons making these allegations of bias and dishonesty has ever suggested any reason for such a grave and unwarranted accusations against the Report of a Commission headed by a man of Lord Cobbold's integrity and impartiality."

"By all means disagree with the conclusions of the Report if you wish, but in doing so do it honestly and without resorting to unsupportable allegations of this sort."

Mr Pike then touched on the talks held last July in London between the British and Malayan Governments based on the Cobbold Report and of the agreements reached to bring the Federation of Malaysia into being by August 31, 1963.

He said that it had also been decided that the "formidable task" of working out the details of the new constitutional arrangements and the safeguards for Sarawak and North Borneo should be performed by an Inter-Governmental Committee on which the British Government, the Government of the Federation of Malaya and the Governments of Sarawak and North Borneo would be represented.

In referring to the visit to Sarawak by Lord Lansdowne, the Committee's chairman and Tun Abdul Razak, the Vice chairman, Mr Pike said: "I believe that visit proved of great value to all concerned, and it culminated in a preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee being held in Jesselton on August 30.

"At that meeting, Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak re-emphasised the need for a spirit of goodwill and co-operation amongst members of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and emphasised, too, the need for safeguards, not only for Sarawak and North Borneo, but also to ensure that the Government of the new Malaysian Federation was sufficiently strong to achieve good government".

He said that Lord Lansdowne had also announced that the Committee's headquarters would be in Jesselton but that meetings would be held in Kuching as well, and that there would be five sub-committees, namely: Constitutional, Fiscal, Public Service, Legal and Judicial and Departmental Organisation.

The task ahead

Turning to the terms of the motion — "that this Council welcomes the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded" — Mr Pike said:

"The political parties of North Borneo are to be congratulated on their statesman like action in coming together and presenting to Lord Lansdowne an agreed twenty points on which they wish assurances or safeguards of one sort or another.

"It is the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees that will have the task of safeguarding Sarawak's interests, and it is

important, therefore, that the members of this Committee and of the sub-committees should be persons who can and will strive for the necessary safeguards, but who will also be ready to approach the problems, not from the purely parochial interests of Sarawak, but from the broad long-term interest of the peoples of all the States concerned.

"It is to be regretted that this step was not taken in Sarawak, for I believe that there is general agreement among nearly all of the political parties on the points which they regard as of over-riding importance.

"It is to be hoped, furthermore, that the representatives of Sarawak and North Borneo will achieve between themselves a large measure of agreement, since clearly it will be of great benefit to both territories if they can speak with one voice.

"In the task before the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees, it will be vital for us all to remember that conflicting views and interests will have to be reconciled if a genuine partnership is to be formed."

Mr Pike then stressed the importance of having a strong Central Government — "it will be vital and said that it would require that the interests of Sarawak and North Borneo be considered in the light of the overall interests of Malaysia.

He continued: "If Malaysia is to be enabled to contribute to the peace of this part of the world, it must have a strong Government, and it must command the respect and loyalty of all its component parts.

"A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. We must, therefore, be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation. There must also, of course, be sound Government both in the Federal and on the State levels, and it is, therefore, necessary that the present standards of administration in Sarawak should be maintained."

Importance of flexibility

After listing the names proposed to represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee, Mr Pike said that the motion also authorised the Governor in Council to nominate as additional members of the Committee, and as members of the sub-committees, such unofficial members of Council "and such public officers as may seem desirable."

He said that Lord Lansdowne had emphasised that the composition both of the Inter-Governmental Committee and of its sub-committees should be regarded as being as flexible as possible.

The question of Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee and on sub-committee was considered by the Governor in Council, he pointed out.

It was not possible to consult Council Negri before the preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee was held in Jesselton at the end of August and since that was not possible, the Governor in Council had decided that Sarawak's representatives on the Committee should be the Members of Supreme Council, who were his advisers on all matters of policy, at least until Council Negri had been consulted, when it would be open for different persons to be authorised to represent Sarawak.

Mr Pike continued: "A Honourable Members will already be aware, one member has felt forced to withdraw from this Committee. It is also considered that members of this Council who are not members of Supreme Council, should be appointed to sub-committees, and after taking the advice of the Supreme Council, His Excellency has it in mind to nominate as our representatives on the five sub-committees and the following persons:-

To the Constitutional Sub-Committee-

The Chief Secretary,
The Attorney-General and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him,
Wan Abdulrahman bin Datu Tuan Ku Bujang,
Mr James Wong, and
Penghulu Umpau.

To the Fiscal Sub-Committee -

Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha,
Mr Chen Ko Ming,
The Financial Secretary and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him.

To the Judicial and Legal Sub-Committee

The Attorney-General and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him,
Mr A.J.N. Richards.

To the Public Service Sub-Committee -

Deputy Chief Secretary,
Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe,
Mr Annie bin Dhoby,
Mr Dagok anak Randen.

To the Departmental Organisation Sub-Committee -

Deputy Chief Secretary,
Secretary for Local Government,
Under-Secretary (Resources and Works),
Mr Mak Yau Lim.

Provision to ensure flexibility

He then said: "While it would be perfectly proper and feasible for members of this Council to insist upon Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee being appointed by this Council, it would not, perhaps, be equally feasible for this Council to nominate representatives to sub-committees, since the composition of some sub-committees may need to be varied from time to time.

These must, therefore, I suggest, be provision such as is contained in paragraph (d) of the motion, enabling the Governor in Council to appoint the members of the sub-committees and also to appoint additional members to the main Committee, in order to ensure the necessary flexibility.

"It will be very important that the Unofficial Members on the Inter-Governmental Committee and on its sub-committees should put forward the claims for safeguarding the special interests of Sarawak. I suggest that if these claims are put forward by Unofficial members, they will carry more weight than if they come from the Officials.

"There may be a suspicion that views expressed by Officials do not really represent the feelings of the Unofficials or of the people of Sarawak, and it is important, therefore, that the Unofficial Members should regard themselves as the spokesmen on these matters both on the Committee and its sub-committees.

"The Official will, of course, give all the advice and help which it is within their power to do, and will give the benefit of their experience in matters of the sort which will be discussed, but it is, I suggest, the Unofficials who must 'make the going'.

"It is, therefore important, Honourable Members, that you make known in this debate what you regard as the essential safeguards, because your views expressed in this Council will be a mandate to your representatives on the Committee."

Mr Pike then reiterated that it would be necessary to maintain the present standards of administration in Sarawak after Malaysia and said: "This is recognised by everyone to be absolutely vital, particularly during the years of transition."

"This need has been recognised by many people who made representations to the Cobbold Commission, and has been accepted completely in the Report of the Commission and has repeatedly been emphasised both by the British Government and by the Federation Government."

Expatriate officers

"I believe that this Government and the British and Malayan Governments will do everything in their power to ensure that the expatriate officers now serving in Sarawak will be encouraged, by the terms and conditions which will be offered to them and by the atmosphere which will prevail, to remain on and serve Sarawak after Malaysia."

"Those officers can be assured that they will be given the opportunity to retire with compensation if they so wish, but they will also be given the chance to continue to serve as favourable terms, and to perform the essential and rewarding tasks which will lie ahead in this rapidly developing country, Sarawak."

"It is to be hoped that the vast majority of these officers will decide to remain on and this decision will, of course, be made much easier for them if it is found possible to give them a reasonably clear indication as to how long their services will be required."

"Our decision is made much less difficult than has been the case in many territories because in Sarawak and North Borneo, unlike most other places, there has been a strong demand by the people of these countries for expatriate officers to remain."

Referring to the agreement reached on the Malaysia proposal, Mr Pike asked: "The question we must each ask ourselves is, what practicable alternative is there to Malaysia?"

He went on: "It is easy to say, as some have said so volubly and resolutely, that the British Government is acting in breach of its moral

obligations under the Nine Cardinal Principles of the Rajah."

"But can it be seriously contended that these obligations must be honoured to the letter no matter how circumstances in Sarawak, in South East Asia, or in the world at large have altered?"

"Do those principles, laid down by so many years ago require that Sarawak must be led forward to self-government and independence on its own, even if it involves the certainty that the country will be unable to stand on its own feet, or would quickly lose its newly gained independence?"

"An alternative to Malaysia, which some people would like, is the continuance of British rule. But, quite apart from the impracticability of this in the face of the growing expression of anti-colonial sentiments all over the world, what would it achieve if, as I suggest, Sarawak could never, in the conditions of the world today, stand alone?"

"Can it seriously be suggested that this is how the Rajah would today have viewed these obligations? And if they are to be so literally interpreted, is it not clear that the British Government would be no less in breach of them if it were to grant Sarawak independence as part of a Federation of Borneo States?"

British Government a trustee

"We should merely be continuing for a little while longer the present status of Sarawak — with the certainty that in a few years time some other arrangements for Sarawak to join a larger entity would have to be made, and with the probability that it would be on less favourable terms than can be obtained today."

"The British Government is a trustee for the people of Sarawak, and a trustee must, in determining what are the best interests of the beneficiaries, take account of what is happening, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but in that part of the world in which he lives and, indeed, in the world at large."

"In the context of the world of today, can it seriously be contended that Sarawak could survive politically or economically as a nation on its own?"

"Could Sarawak afford to maintain its own army, navy and airforce; its own Embassies and Consulates and the foreign service necessary to support them?"

"Surely there can be but one answer to this question. And if that be so, is there any alternative to Malaysia which is more attractive to the majority of the people of this country? Your vote on this motion will give the answer to this question".

In seconding the motion, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, said that the question of Malaysia and the merger of Sarawak into it was regarded as a matter of "Life and Death" by most of the indigenous people and on which also lie their future survival and well-being.

He explained: "This is because if in case Sarawak should fall or be let to fall, into the hands of the Communists or be subjected to Communist forms of administration, then our fervent hopes and aspirations of continuing to uphold, maintain and enjoy peaceful, free and democratic ways of life as had been hitherto enjoyed by us would be thwarted as to the nil and void.

"Therefore, other than by merger into Malaysia, we cannot find or think of a better alternative more beneficial to our national interests than to grasp this golden opportunity whereby we would be given the chance to govern ourselves under a free and democratic form of autonomous government whilst at the same time enjoying complete independence, guaranteed stability and constitutional safeguards."

The Datu Bandar then expressed "deep concern" at the proposed move made "by certain groups from a certain body" to appeal to the United Nations "on this question of vital national interest in a futile attempt to impress on this world body that the people of Sarawak are against the Malaysia Plan."

Familiar tactics

He added: "Honourable Members are well aware of the familiar tactics of groups who ignore with complete disregard and contempt the majority views and wishes of the people who are in favour of Malaysia and their views are so recorded in the Cobbold Report.

"I do not think it necessary to elaborate in detail as I confidently believe all Honourable Members here understand my inference."

The Datu Bandar next said that the way to achieve Malaysia was by a spirit of "sincere goodwill, common understanding and in an

atmosphere and with an attitude of give-and-take."

"Only by so doing," he said, "will we be able to safeguard the best common interests, aspirations and harmonious relationship of all the various multi-racial communities who sincerely regard Sarawak as their true home."

He also said: "It is popular fact today that the spirit of Malaysia has now flooded throughout Sarawak. This state of affairs is convincingly evident by the apparent majority support the people gave to Malaysia supplemented by the fact that official commitments regarding Malaysia, even though preliminary, have already started to take course.

"Therefore, I would justifiably say that it is now the rightful duty of each and everyone of us to work for the national interests of our country and the people in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation towards the building up of a democratic, free, strong, stable, united and Happy Malaysia."

THE DEBATE

Opening the debate Capt. Gribble (Nominated) said that as a result of a meeting he had had with unofficial members he would confine his remarks to one specific point which not only he, but many others, felt very strongly.

He went on to trace the events from the time the Malaysia proposal was first mooted to the appointment of the Inter-Governmental Committee and said: "For Sarawak the members to sit on the Inter-Governmental Committee have already been chosen. Today, nearly 17 months after the proposal was first made, and after all the events I have mentioned have taken place, is so far as I know, the first opportunity that the Unofficial members of this Council have been given to debate the matter and to express their views.

"These gentlemen have been elected by the people of their Districts and Divisions to represent them at Council Negri, and are relied upon to ensure that the terms on which they live their lives are the best terms possible.

"We are being asked today to welcome the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963 on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded. We are also asked to authorise several honourable members of the Council to

represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee.

"In doing so we are merely being asked to ratify decisions which have already been made. This being the case it appears that the approval of this Council is little more than a formality and it would also appear to be the intention that, when the terms of Sarawak's entry into Malaysia have been finalised, a meeting similar to this one will be called, once again to ratify decisions, major decisions, which have already been made.

"I do not for one moment question the ability or integrity of the Members who have been nominated to represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee. In fact I will go so far as to say that, had the representation been left to election by this Council, it is almost certain that these same gentlemen would have been chosen.

"As this opportunity was not given, however, they cannot be sure that they have the wholehearted support of Council Negri to aid them in their negotiations and this fact, I contend, inevitably adds a considerable burden to their already immense responsibilities.

"I appreciate that additional members will be nominated to serve on the various sub-committees, but these will not necessarily amount to more than a few people, in addition to those already chosen."

Capt. Gribble went on: "On the terms which I have already mentioned the present Council Negri will be faced, in due course, with a major decision concerning the future of this country, for which the members will be held responsible long into the future, but this decision will be one in which they will have very little opportunity to voice their opinions, as things stand at present.

"This being the case I have to request that the Government will arrange for regular meetings of Council Negri, at intervals of not more than two months, throughout the period of the Inter-Governmental Committee deliberations, to enable the members sitting on that Committee, and its sub-committees, to report back to the whole Council and discuss with them the progress of the negotiations.

"I also ask that these meetings be held, if possible, in Committee, to enable all members to speak freely and as often as they wish.

"I should add that, in making this request, I do not make it alone, but with a mandate from the majority of the un-official members

present here who concur with the views I have expressed.

"The arrangement I have suggested will serve a dual purpose. Firstly, by relieving the members of the Inter-Governmental Committee of some of the great burdens of responsibility placed on their shoulders and, secondly, by ensuring that all the members of Council Negri will have a full opportunity to express their views and have a voice in the decisions yet to be made - decisions which must inevitably affect the life and future of every member of the people of this, 'so far, peaceful and happy land.'"

Capt. Gribble's speech was acclaimed by the Unofficials.

Third DAC Accepts Plan

Mr Ling Beng Siew (Sibu Rural) spoke next and told the House that the Third Divisional Advisory Council had just passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution to accept the Malaysia Plan with certain conditions.

He then said: "It is true that one of the Cardinal Principles enshrined in our present Constitution says that the people of Sarawak should be given a chance of governing their own affairs.

"It is also true that it is the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government to help and guide dependent territories to obtain independence and as a result many parts of her realm have, in the past few years, become self-governing and independent states.

"It is incorrect to say that the peoples of Sarawak have lacked aspiration for independence as the Africans or West Indians have. Far from it.

"Nevertheless, let us look around and take stock of what we have been, and are happening in South East Asia today. Will Sarawak in becoming an independent state, be able to stand on its own, defend her own shores and frontiers, and solve her own numerous internal problems? I doubt it and my doubts are shared by many people in this country.

"The Malaysia Plan propounded by Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, descended upon us in May last year like something out of the blue, but it was very timely.

"There is no need for me to describe here the events since then which culminated in the agreement reached at the recent talks in London between the Prime Minister of the

United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963.

"On his return from the London talks, the Tengku stated that the peoples of Malaya would welcome us as their brothers on equal terms. His Deputy, Tun Razak, also stated in Kuala Lumpur recently that the present Malayan rural development scheme would be expanded with a view to extending it to the three Borneo Territories.

"These assuring words were spoken by two great men of integrity and wisdom. I can see no reason why we should dispute their sincerity."

'Much more to gain financially'

Mr Ling continued: "Malaysia must and will be established. We will have nothing to lose but gain. In Malaysia, Sarawak will become an independent state and through Malaysia we will have much more to gain financially and economically.

"It is futile to decry the inevitable or attempt to disrupt it. What is to be done now is to work out constitutional arrangements and special safeguards for the benefit of our country.

"I had the privilege of attending the preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee in Jesselton last month. I was much impressed by the sincerity and tolerance of the British and Malayan representatives on that Committee."

Mr Ling then said: "I would stress that I was born and bred in Sarawak. I live here and will die here. I always call my honourable colleague, Temenggong Jugah my "apai" and he in turn regards me as his "anak" and a true Sarawakian.

"If this Council ratifies our membership on the Inter-Governmental Committee, I can assure members that the five of us unofficial members, who are the true sons of Sarawak, and the three official members will co-operate and work together as a united team. We will not overlook the special interests of Sarawak.

"I do not deny that our task ahead is an easy one, but I am confident that with goodwill and tolerance and a spirit of give-and-take, we will overcome our difficulties and solve our problems.

"The journey to our destination is not long, but curvy. We are, however, not afraid for we

have good and friendly travelling companions. With care, endurance, and vigorous determination we will reach our goal in good time. That goal is the inauguration of Malaysia on August 31, 1963. We all are looking forward to that glorious day."

Next to speak was Mr G.W. Geikie (Miri District) who said that he agreed to the concept of Malaysia with reservations because who had not heard of an alternative plan suitable for the future happiness and prosperity of the people of Sarawak.

However, Mr Geikie pointed out that he fully supported the feeling of the Fourth Division Advisory Council that Sarawak must have the right to secede.

It was his opinion that his right should only be exercised on a country-wide referendum. It would neutralise any to opposition to the Malaysia Plan and would act as a deterrent to any future changes in the Constitution considered to be unacceptable by the people.

Directly after Mr Geikie had sat down, the Resident of the Fourth Division, Mr J.C.B. Fisher, rose to confirm that the Divisional Advisory Council had decided that there should be able to secede but that the suggestion of a referendum had not been discussed.

Mr Fisher then briefly touched on the other main points discussed by the Council — religion, national language, election of the Head of State and the eligibility of the Head of State to become head of the Federation.

Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (Baram) said that he hoped that the proposers of the Malaysia Plan — Britain and Malaya — would see to it that the interests of the people of Sarawak were safeguarded.

He suggested that if Malaysia was found to be impracticable within the next five to ten years, Sarawak should have the right to secede.

The Temenggong then expressed the hope that the formation of Malaysia would result in increased development in the Baram.

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe (Nominated) spoke next and touched on the part played by the Sarawak parliamentarians on the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

He said that their task was only to explore the concept of Malaysia — it never had any mandate from Council Negri to do other than that.

Mr Yeo added: "This motion before the House bears eloquent testimony to what I

have said on so many occasions — that at no time had anyone, least of all myself, signed or sold away our country."

However, said Mr Yeo, now that the House was going to give a mandate to its representatives to negotiate the full terms for Sarawak's entry into Malaysia, it should do so in the careful manner in which Britain was seeking terms to protect the interests of the Commonwealth before joining the European Common Market.

He added: "It is not good enough just to be co-operative. We must not be led into a position where we may find our people pointing an accusing finger at us for having betrayed their trust by not getting the best of bargains. We must see to it that we build a new nation conceived in equality and with discrimination towards none. It is only on such a foundation that any nation can long endure."

Mr Yeo then said that of all the safeguards there was none to compare with that of the right to secede through a State referendum.

He added: "If Malaysia is all that is being painted, there need be no fear of anyone wanting to leave it. But if we burn our bridges and cut of all avenues of retreat, what will our younger generation think of us when things turn from bad to worse? I am afraid they may even dig up our dead bodies and desecrate them."

Mr Yeo then said he supported the motion with this reservation.

Caution against haste

In his speech Mr Chiang Hie Kwong expressed regret that the British Government was not pursuing its plan for a Federation of the Borneo Territories in view of the Malaysia proposal.

However, he said, Unofficial Members now must see to it that the interests of the people of Sarawak were protected. He also appealed to all political leaders to discard their differences and make a joint effort to see how best Sarawak could fit into Malaysia.

Mr Chiang cautioned against haste and spoke of the need for more time in order that the people could be consulted on the arrangements made for Sarawak's entry into Malaysia.

After giving his views on what he thought should be the main terms and conditions, Mr Chiang then formally moved an amendment to delete "the 31st August, 1963" from the

motion in order to allow more time for the consideration of the safeguards, pointing out that the Inter-Governmental Committee had first to start work.

Speaking on the proposed amendment, Capt. Gribble asked: "If this amendment is accepted where do we go from there? Everybody but Sarawak, as far as I am aware, has agreed to Malaysia by August 31, next year." He then asked for a clarification.

Mr James Wong (Limbang) asked: "Supposing that we are unable to obtain the necessary safeguards to protect the special interests of Sarawak to the satisfaction of House by August 31, 1963, what then? Notwithstanding this will Malaysia be rammed through?"

Referring to the agreement that the legislatures of Sarawak and North Borneo would be "consulted" before the terms of Malaysia were accepted by the British Government, Mr Wong asked what the word was intended to mean and what would be the degree of consultation.

Opposition to the amendment was expressed by Mr Chen Kon Ming (Sarikei) who felt that August 31, 1963 would give ample time "for everything to be worked out properly".

He added: "If we should put off the target date this would do a lot of harm."

Not acceptable by Government

In replying to the speeches made on the proposed amendment, the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, said that the Government could be accept it.

He explained: "It seeks, in effect, to vary the decision in principle which was taken in London by the British and Malayan Governments.

"That decision was that Malaysia should, subject to the necessary legislation providing, amongst other things, for the safeguarding of special interests of Sarawak, be brought into being by August 31, 1963.

"No amendment therefore to this motion such as has been moved have any effect on that decision which has already taken place.

"Furthermore, August 31 is the date on which the transfer of sovereignty is proposed and this, of course, pre-supposes that decisions as to the necessary safeguards of the special interests of Sarawak will have been achieved long before that date.

"Indeed, the timing which it is contemplated is that the deliberations of the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees will be concluded by the end of this year.

"I think that all the arguments which could possibly be put forward for obtaining the safeguards we require can certainly be put forward very much sooner than August 31 next year, and that long before then we would have either obtained or failed to obtain all that we wish in the way of safeguards.

"If no agreement is reached then of course, there will be nothing to implement on August 31 or on any other date. Everything will depend upon the negotiations which we are now asking this Council to give — mandate to the Inter-Governmental Committee to enter into."

Referring to Mr Wong's query as to what was meant by the term "consult" when used in relation to the requirement that the Council would be consulted, Mr Pike said: "'Consult' means to ask advice of or to seek counsel from, and that is what we are now doing on this motion and what we intend to do between now and when the negotiations are complete."

As for the assurance sought by Capt. Gribble that Council Negri would be consulted regularly during the period of those negotiations, Mr Pike said: "That assurance I can give him. I would, however, point out that so far no meetings of the Committee or of any sub-committees have yet taken place and there has, therefore been nothing to report.

"The next regular meeting of this Council would be the budget meeting at the end of November or early in December but if the progress of the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees is such that there is something worthy of being reported to this Council earlier than that meeting I have no doubt whatever that the Government would call an earlier meeting of this Council."

Mr Pike then said that he entirely agreed with Mr Chen Ko Ming in thinking it would be a grave mistake to postpone the date upon which Malaysia was to come into being.

He added: "Such as postponement would only provide more time for what I suggested is a small but extremely vocal minority to continue to oppose Malaysia at any price and to continue their resolute opposition and their attempts by whatever means they can make use of to stir up opposition to Malaysia."

Amendment withdrawn

Mr Chieng Hie Kwong then rose to express satisfaction that his doubts had been clarified by the Attorney-General and said that he would like to withdraw his amendment.

The President of the Council said he would seek the permission of the House before allowing this. Since the House did not "pursue" the amendment the President then said that permission had been given by the House to withdraw it.

The debate was then resumed on the substantive motion.

Mrs Tra Zehnder (Nominated), who spoke next, put in a plea for the right of secession.

She said that most of the people in Sarawak knew nothing or little about Malaysia but had agreed to it, because they had been told that it was good for them.

She added: "Now since we are told that Malaysia is good for the people of Sarawak, why are we not being allowed to withdraw from Malaysia, if later we find it not so good as promised. If Malaysia is really good for us, we will not want to withdraw, even though we are allowed to."

Mrs Zehnder also suggested that there should be more members on the Inter-Government Committee and sub-committees adding that Dayak, Melanau and other Native civil servants should be invited to join them because of their special knowledge.

'More support with better understanding'

Mr Chen Ko Ming said that with better understanding of the concept and plan, more and more people had come to give Malaysia their support.

He went on to describe the views of the Third Divisional Advisory Council on Malaysia.

On the subject of representation in the Federal Parliament, he submitted that seats should be allocated on a population and areas basis as follows: Malaya — 95; Singapore — 18; Sarawak — 31; North Borneo — 19; and Brunei — 2. Total — 165.

On secession, Mr. Chen submitted that it was futile because if it were granted Malaysia

would be doomed to failure even before it was realised.

"Evil elements would spare no efforts to create trouble and make things difficult," he added. It was vital that every effort should be made to secure the best possible safeguards for Sarawak, and then work wholeheartedly for Malaysia after that.

Mr Chan also pointed out that the Advisory Council had agreed unanimously that there should be no right to secede.

"Borbrusima' not 'Malaysia'

Mr Dagok anak Randen (Upper Sadong) outlined the new views of his District Council on 18 Malaysia issues.

His Council, he said, wanted the name "Malaysia" to be substituted for "Borbrusima" — Bor for Borneo; Bru — for Brunei; Si for Singapore; and Ma for Malaya. It was also in favour of a right to secede.

Mr Remigius Durin (Bau) said that the people of Sarawak were happy to gain their freedom and happiness in a Federation of Malaysia.

He added: "Our freedom will not only be the freedom of speech, but also the freedom of religious worship. The people of Sarawak will also be treated equally. Regarding education, English should be taught as a medium of instruction in all secondary schools in Sarawak, following the present education policy. There should be no State religion.

Mr Mak Yau Lim (Lawas) began his address by appealing for the preservation of racial harmony and for all to work together with a common aim and strive for the interest of the country as a whole.

He then went on to give a lengthy account of the views of the Fifth Division Advisory Council on Malaysia and hoped the Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee would listen to public opinion and do their utmost to strive for the necessary safeguards.

Datu Abang Haji Openg (Standing Member) reminded the House that he was the only member, appointed by the Rajah now remaining on the Council.

He expressed satisfaction as to the speech made by the Attorney-General but said that if the House agreed he would request that additional members be appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr Tan Chong Meng (Simanggang) said that although agreement had been reached by the British and Malayan Governments the majority of the people in Sarawak were still doubtful that the Malaysia Plan would bring happiness and prosperity and were not yet prepared to accept it.

He added: "It is unjust of this Council to accept this Plan and agree to implement it on August 31, 1963. Our country is still a colonial country and the rights of the people cannot be fully represented until they are given self-government and independence.

"So in order to seek the right views of the people I would suggest a national referendum to finalise the views of the people about Malaysia."

Mr Tan Went on to stress that none of the members of Council Negri had a mandate from the people to accept Malaysia and that it would be wrong for them to make a decision at this juncture in their name.

Another request for assurance

Next to speak was Mr James Wong (Limbang) who said: "Today is the first occasion that we have the chance to debate on this issue, but unfortunately we are not now given the opportunity to ask whether we accept the principle of Malaysia alone, but that we could welcome the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded.

"I must admit that I am gratified by the assurance given by the Attorney-General in his recent answer to the amendment to the motion that this House should be consulted frequently in the course of the negotiations by the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees.

"But I would still, at this stage, seek an assurance that if the necessary safeguards to protect the special interests of Sarawak as a whole are not forthcoming then the deadline of August 31, 1963 should not apply.

"I will add a rider to this request of mine I am not anticipating for a moment that we shall not reach an agreement satisfactory to Sarawak and to Malaya by then, but I would like to be prepared for the worst, in case we do not reach a satisfactory agreement on the question of safeguards.

"I think you will no doubt appreciate our feelings on this issue that we cannot accept Malaysia blindly. The constitutional safeguards to protect the interests of Sarawak must be fulfilled inviolably and not be subject to changes at the whims and caprices of a parliament in which a Malayan majority predominates.

"While there is a need for a strong Federal Government within Malaysia, it is equally important that autonomy given to the states should not be blithely brushed aside by the Federal Government.

"There have been recent changes and amendments to the Malayan Constitution and we should lend credence to my misgivings on this matter.

"There is possibly a need for regional control owing to the size and distance and special problems of Sarawak and Sabah. For instance there may be a need for a State judiciary owing to the peculiar laws and customs we have in this country. On the question of geology, for instance, there is a need of Pan-Borneo representative from the Federal Government, with a regional control over the Borneo States.

"A fair balance must be struck between State and Federal control. How this is very important and fundamental, and I have no doubt that our Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees, will bear this in mind throughout the negotiations with our Malayan counterparts."

'No domination'

Mr Wong continued: "I would like here to second what the Datu Bandar has said that Malaysia must be entered into with a spirit of goodwill and co-operation and that there must be a certain amount of give-and-take, but it is best to leave the actual workings to the respective working committees.

"I would also like to support what Datu Openg has said that if the need does arise there might be a necessity to enlarge, not to the point of unwieldiness, the membership on the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees."

"Malaysia," Mr Wong went on, "must not be used for the domination of one community or race over another nor the creation of a second-class citizenship in Sarawak. That would make a happy and harmonious Malaysia a non-starter from the start.

"Sarawak has been a happy country, and still is. In the campaign for Malaysia, the question of special privileges for the natives and indigenous people has been over-played and over-emphasised.

"I would like to be very brutal, and very frank here in connection with this subject because I feel the interest of Sarawak and its peoples as a whole transcends all else and that we in Sarawak must march forward with one heart and one soul.

"There must be no discrimination towards our progress if we are to catch up with Malaya, otherwise we shall be forever relegated to a second class position. I say again if this country is to forge ahead then she must utilise all resources available in this country.

"Already we are short of men in all spheres. Either we have to use and train all that we have — and this includes the non-native Sarawakians — or we have to get men from abroad. There is no option. We are building a new nation.

"Let us start with the right foundations, let us not discriminate and create seeds of misunderstanding that can be used by the use of ill-intent to evil purposes. Let us say to all the under privileged that they will be helped irrespective of race, colour or creed.

"If per the indigenous people are at the present the most under-privileged, then they should be given all possible help. Put do not reduce this to a mathematical formula of a quota for this, and a quota for that.

"Ours is an expanding economy, and a free one. There is room and opportunity for all in Sarawak who are prepared to work and sweat. No one need rob from anyone.

"We are sure, within the foreseeable future, the interests of the natives will be looked after. The preservation of the customary rights and 'adat lama' in Malaysia would also assure the preservation of native rights."

Continued Mr Wong, "Malaysia, as some members have pointed out, is rather a 'Hobson's Choice' for us in Sarawak. We are not given the option by the British Government to say — 'well we will give you 15 years on that time we shall have independence — because obviously with the world as it is today pressure is building up to give us our independence at the soonest possible moment, or it will be forced upon us.

"Malaysia appears to be the only answer, apart from having independence in our own sweet time.

Much heart-searching

"I am myself now speak as one who has done much investigation and heart-searching in the last year over this matter of Malaysia and as one who happens to have lived in Malaya before the war, and has visited Malaya since then.

"I am myself convinced that subject to the safeguards of the special interests for Sarawak, Malaysia is the best way in which we in Sarawak can obtain independence.

"I have no reservations on this at all. Malaysia will make it possible for us in Sarawak to preserve this form of parliamentary democracy in which today you are sitting in this House — to live a way of life we are used to, and to have an orderly and stable form of government which we are all used to.

"To cite a few advantages of Malaysia, I would say it is common knowledge that in Malaya today you have a very prosperous, stable, happy country — in fact one of the happiest countries, except for Sarawak, if I may say, within Malaysia!

"So when we join Malaysia, we will benefit from Malaya's experience since they obtained independence during the first five years. I feel and hope that apart from substantial financial assistance in the rural development field, "Malaysia will also mean for us" — if the Tengku keeps his promises, which I have no doubt he will, accelerated development for the people as a whole, especially in the rural areas.

"One of the most important things of Malaysia of course is that it will provide for us a mutual security within and without Malaysia.

"In the economic field, of course, it will make this Malaysia unit a more economical and more viable one, for even today we have a common currency bond with Malaya, and traditionally we have always traded with Singapore, and to some extent, Malaya.

"But I must emphasise that it does not necessarily mean that we hope for substantial gain by coming into Malaysia: I believe that we are still one of the few countries in South East Asia that has very good borrowing powers."

Commenting his recent visit to Malaya with two Sarawak Government officials to investigate and to learn how the States and Federal governments operate between them-

selves, Mr Wong said: "I feel the impression we have received is that Malaya is very progressive, and the Government machinery is functioning very well. Above all we have been met by people who have been most helpful in telling us what we wished to know.

"We have come back with the impression that several heads of the departments there seem to be aware of our needs, for a slow gradual transition after Malaysia before we reach parity with Malaya."

Safeguard the safeguards

Turning to the question of safeguards, Mr Wong said: "The greatest need when Sarawak enters Malaysia is not only the question of safeguards alone, but the safeguards to safeguard the safeguards and in this respect I do not know how it can be achieved, but I suppose that there can be no amendment to State and Federal Constitutions without a four-fifths majority."

On the questions of relationship Mr Wong felt that the desirability of having it for Sarawak should be investigated as every other State seemed to have its own.

Mr Wong next made an appeal to the expatriate officers to stay on adding "Sarawak needs them and we cannot afford to let them go even with the golden handshake."

On the subject of scholarships he felt that it was vital Sarawak should be given additional awards and that Britain could contribute by giving direct scholarships during the transition period, and years after, until Sarawak had gained parity with Malaya.

He hoped that Britain would be generous with Sarawak and said he understood (subject to correction) that Colonial Development and Welfare assistance would be still given to the country after Malaysia.

Referring to the Datu Bandar's remarks that Malaysia was a matter of life and death for the indigenous people, he said: "May I add an amendment here that it is a matter of life for all of us in Sarawak."

He added: "Malaysia must mean, in Sarawak, that each and everyone will benefit and enjoy his privileges and have a better and higher standard of living within a happy — and I repeat a happy — new country."

MR ONG'S SPEECH

Last to speak was Mr Ong Kee Hui (Kuching Municipal) who agreed that the

meeting was a historic one in that the Council was called upon to make a decision which would decide the future of the people of Sarawak.

He recalled another historic occasion in 1945 when the Council was asked to approve the Cession of Sarawak by the Rajah to the British Government.

Mr Ong then said: "History seems to be repeating itself. We are asked today to approve a motion which will give a mandate to certain members of this Council to negotiate an agreement which will change the future of this country.

"We are asked to do this under circumstances more or less similar to those which prevailed then — in the face of opposition by a number of inhabitants of this country with haste and perhaps without adequate time being given to allow the people to fully understand the need for and the implications of the proposal put forward.

"Many of those who are said to be in favour of the proposal have very frankly indicated that they are prepared to accept Malaysia because the Government has told them it is the best for them in the same way as that agreed to Cession because that was the Rajah's wish and there was nothing they could do about it.

Feelings in the ulu

"The same uneasy and unhappy feelings prevail in the ulu — that of a child somewhat bewildered and feeling that it has been abandoned by its father on whom it has relied for support and protection.

"Speeches by Honourable Members reflect somewhat a feeling of uneasiness at the grave responsibilities which are being put on our shoulders.

"At a time like this I agree with the member from the Fifth Division, who made an appeal that there should be close co-operation in this House so that in deciding the future of the people of this country we do so with a real regard for their future interests.

"For that reason although members have spoken at length, I feel that I will be failing in my duty if I do not intervene however short my intervention may be.

"First of all there is the difference between the concept of Malaysia and the Malaysia Plan. Many people like myself, while agreeing to the concept of Malaysia are not yet

prepared to accept the Malaysia Plan as originally proposed by Tengku Abdul Rahman i.e. Sarawak and North Borneo entering as states in the Federation of Malaysia on the same terms as Malacca and Penang.

Mr Ong continued: "It is about time that the people of Sarawak and the world at large are told the truth and the real facts concerning Malaysia. There has been so much propaganda both for and against that people are apt to lose sight of the real issues involved.

"On the other hand there are also many people who say that they accept the Malaysia Plan but demand so many conditions that they in fact have also rejected the Plan but are really agreeing to the concept of Malaysia.

"Yet newspapers and propaganda organisations for Malaysia stick a label on one as anti-Malaysia and the other as pro-Malaysia. It is important, that we get this straight. Is there in fact any difference between the concept and the plan or are we merely playing with words?

"To my mind and I believe and to many others, the two (i.e. the concept and the plan) are two different things.

"The concept of Malaysia, as we see it, is the association of the territories in South East Asia within the Malay Archipelago which are under British control or influence to form a bigger political unit.

"Some people in the Federation of Malaya and in Singapore envisage inclusion of other territories within the Malay Archipelago now under the control of the Republic of Indonesia, but this has never been accepted as the basis of the concept of Malaysia as we understand it.

'Closer association' idea

"So far as I am aware no organisation or individual who has expressed views publicly has yet rejected this idea of closer association of these territories of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

"The advantages of such an alignment or association are realised by many people and have in fact been mooted and considered by the British Government from time to time.

"We all know that the merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya has been actively pursued by one side for a number of years and it was the fear of the people of Malaya of the large Chinese population in

Singapore that has kept the two territories apart for so long after the British Government had made up its mind to liquidate its interests in this part of the world.

"Similarly here in Borneo we have been pursuing with varying degrees of enthusiasm on the part of the three territories for the past few years the idea of closer association or federation.

"The concept of Malaysia is therefore not new and has been generally considered by most politically conscious people to be a good idea.

"What people have not thought about, and now that the establishment of a state of Malaysia is proposed, what people in the Borneo Territories are not wholeheartedly prepared to accept, is a plan to bring this about suggested by the Prime Minister of Malaya in May, 1961. The circumstances under which the plan was mooted is well-known.

"The first reaction by the people of the Borneo Territories was that of loud and strongly expressed opposition. Since then there has been departure from the original plan and we are now to be given certain safeguards.

"Had we, when the plan was announced by the Prime Minister of Malaya received it with enthusiasm and without any reservation, would there be talk of safeguards?

"I often wonder to myself whether we would have an Inter-Governmental Committee in which honourable members would be able to negotiate terms on behalf of the people of Sarawak for entry into Malaysia.

"It is easy enough for us and for myself knowing that the British Government is committed to Malaysia and knowing nothing we do here will prevent it coming about to jump in on the Malaysian band wagon and ride to a position of prominence in Malaysia.

"But would we, by thus doing, be reflecting the wishes of the people. Would we not have betrayed the trust they place in us by electing us as their representatives in this Council?

"Reference has been made to the fact that in association with political parties in Brunei and North Borneo the party to which I have the honour to belong has sent an appeal to the United Nations. My answer to the criticism is very simple.

"We do it as a duty we feel we owe to the people of the Borneo Territories to ensure that

all that is done or will be done will be in accordance with the principles to which we as parliamentarians subscribe. Both the British and the Malayan Governments have nothing to fear or to be ashamed of if they give the people of the Borneo Territories a square deal.

For our children, and children's children

"In doing what we did my colleagues and I are of course sticking our necks out and probably courting trouble for ourselves in the days to come. But it is not of ourselves we think, but of our children and of our children's children.

"My honourable friend and colleagues opposite who was Sarawak's leader to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee meetings expressed the fear that we would have our graves dug up and our bones desecrated by them if we should fail in the trust they have given us.

"I have no such fear. As one who believes in some heaven or hell in the hereafter, I fear more meeting my forebears who have lived in this happy land before me. Let not they point an accusing finger at me for having like Judas, sold Sarawak for 30 pieces of silver.

"My approach to Malaysia has always been a constructive one. For that reason that together with some members of this House I attended the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

"In doing so, if I may say so, like my Honourable friends, we have been criticised. We have even been said to have signed away Sarawak for large sums of money. The fact that today this House has before it this motion, which is moved by the Attorney-General, is I think indicative that we have done no such thing.

"With regard to the motion I think that things being as they are, there is no alternative. We must pursue this, we must try, under present circumstances to secure for the people of Sarawak such terms and conditions which would ensure that if Malaysia were to come about the interests of the people of Sarawak would be safeguarded and for that reason I support the motion.

"I would wish my colleagues on the Supreme Council and other Honourable Members who would be appointed to the sub-committees good luck and success. They have

a very heavy responsibility to discharge and I only wish that it was possible for me to render them any assistance in any way."

Government replies

The Government reply was first made by the Financial Secretary, Mr Hepburn, who said: "I don't intend to say anything about the financial implications of Malaysia — there are many financial things to be considered, and it is one of the subjects which the Inter-Governmental Committee through the Fiscal sub-committee will give attention to.

"I am sure that the Committee will bear in mind things said by Members touching on finance. All the members who will sit either on the Inter-Governmental Committee or the Finance sub-committee are sitting in this House today."

Mr Hepburn then said: "Two members referred to the word selling and I myself think that is not the correct approach. There is no proposal before the House to sell anything.

"As I understand it the proposal is to pool resources with other people into the merger of a bigger unit, and I would make that point there is no proposal to sell Sarawak or to sell anything.

"With regard to the specific question asked about Colonial Development and Welfare assistance: so far no country which has attained its independence has continued to receive C.D. & W. assistance, but any commitment outstanding has been honoured.

"It is, therefore, unlikely that Sarawak on attaining independence would continue to receive C.D. & W. assistance."

In winding up the debate the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, referred to Capt. Gribble's complaint that the Council had not been consulted for 17 months and said: "I think it is a little unfair to suggest 17 months. That was the date, in May, 1961, when the genesis of an idea was born with Tengku Abdul Rahman.

"It was not, I think, even a plan at that stage, and certainly we could not have consulted this Council then. Nor indeed, could this Council have possibly been consulted until after the Cobbold Commission had reported because, quite frankly, the Government had nothing to place before the Council.

"It was in possession of little more knowledge than the man-in-the-street. It is possible that this Council might have been consulted a month or so earlier but I believe that to be the

extreme limit at which any useful consultations could have taken place.

"I would also like to remind Members that if they felt this was an advantage in the past 17 months, there are procedures of this Council by which they can force the Government's hand — questions, motions, they could all force the Government to divulge what little information they may have had at that time, but none of these means was adopted.

"It was also suggested that we should call more frequent meetings of this Council to report back to it and I gave an assurance on the amendment to the motion that this would be done if any useful purpose could be served by having a meeting earlier than the December meeting for the Budget."

Mr Pike went on: "I think that the Member also suggested that this Council should meet in committee. I don't think that would be appropriate. If it were thought suitable this Council could, of course, exclude strangers and achieve it in that way. But my own opinion is that if we report back to the Council we should report back to the Council in public. There can always be non-council meetings of members outside of this Council."

Point about secession

As to the point raised on secession Mr Pike said: "I am not going to attempt to say what the Committee is going to recommend on that." He then quoted the Cobbold Report on the subject — "A number of witnesses suggested that there should be a trial period with a right to secede from the Federation after a stated number of years'.

"We believe that inclusion of the secession clause would mean a continuation throughout the trial period of political and perhaps racial divisions.

"We feel that if it is decided to create a Federation the decision should be made wholeheartedly and without reservations. We do not recommend the inclusion of a secession clause.

He added: "For what it is worth that accords with my personal view and I was glad to hear Mr Chen Ko Ming speak somewhat forcibly on the same lines.

"The ability to secede can be a two-edged weapon and could be used in a way in which the people of this country would not wish if a certain type of Government happened to be in power at the time.

"I think one should view it from all angles before you rush into it in and ask for the right to secede. It can operate both ways.

"I am glad that so many Members had taken the opportunity of expressing views on their matter and that they have brought forward all the points upon the Committee and the sub-committees will have to bend their mind in the future meetings which they are to have.

"Perhaps I might have one further point on this Question of secession and that is this if you have a right to secede you presumably wish to secede for some particular purpose.

"Now as I suggested Sarawak could not stand on its own feet at any time in the future in the present conditions of the world today — to what would you be seceding?

As for the suggestion that additional Members should be appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee, Mr Pike said: "Provision is made, of course, in the motion of just that contingency but we already have nominated five unofficial members and three Official members and this is a very large number of persons to add to a Committee which contains membership from H.M. Government, Government of the Federation of Malaya and the North Borneo Government.

"The North Borneo Government has only three Unofficial members, we already have five and it may therefore become difficult to add further members to our Committee."

Mr Wong's fears

Mr Pike continued: "The fears which Mr James Wong has expresses again as to not

achieving the desired safeguards by August 31, 1963 are a little unreal because if we had not achieved what we wish long before that date there would be no possibility of Malaysia being implemented on that date.

"We must achieve it long before that date and indeed if we do not achieve it long before that date, it means it is not achievable.

"I shall not express any views as to the methods by which the safeguards will be safeguarded. We hope that the safeguards will be written into the Constitution. That will be the most satisfactory way of safeguarding.

"State citizenship will no doubt considered and I would point out that it is only those States of the Federation which were the subject of Rulers prior to the Federation of Malaya that have separate citizenship.

"The States of Penang and Malacca did not have Rulers and were not therefore an independent monarchy before the Federation do not have separate citizenship and it is a little alien to one's thoughts to have a separate citizenship of a state which has not got a separate head.

"One cannot very readily be the subject of a Governor. I think that is a difficulty you are up against in trying to achieve a separate citizenship for Sarawak or North Borneo."

The motion was then put to the House and approved by a show of hands.

Tengku 'woos and wins' BORNEO VISIT A BIG SUCCESS

15/11/62 - 24/11/62

Malaya Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, 'wooded and won' the hearts of tens of thousands of people in North Borneo and Sarawak after a strenuous five-day tour which ended in Kuching on Wednesday.

The Tengku, who visited Jesselton, Sandakan, Miri and Kuching where he was welcomed by big crowds, came with a special gift - his own offer of 40 seats for North Borneo and Sarawak in the future Malaysian Parliament.

This would in effect give North Borneo and Sarawak, with a total population of just over a million, proportionately far more seats than the seven-million strong Malaysians and assure them a powerful voice in the running of Malaysia.

"At the moment," the Tengku explained, "the Malayan Alliance with 77 (out of the 104 seats in Parliament) is able to change the law and constitution at any time, but be able to do that unless with the fullest approval of the Borneo representatives."

The Tengku devoted much of his tour to giving the people, including political leaders and Government officers, assurances on Malaysia and to allaying any "doubts and fears" they may have had.

The visit was of particular value to the pro-Malaysia parties which gained much by personal contact and informal discussions with the head of Malaya's leading political party - the United Malay National Organisation.

He expressed satisfaction at the result of his efforts and said he was returning home happier than when he came. He also hoped to make another visit soon to meet the rural people.

Only two incidents marred the Tengku's visit - angry anti-Malaysia demonstrations at Miri and Kuching. The Sarawak United Peoples Party, the First Division Trades Union Congress and Wharf Labourers Union also presented memoranda which called for independence. The Supp petition was presented after the Party had been refused permission to stage a rally at its headquarters.

In Kuching during the Tengku's visit were also the Malayan Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin; a four-man Malayan Alliance delegation headed by Senator T.H. Tan, secretary-general of the Alliance; Tun Lim Yew Hock, a former Chief Minister of Singapore; and Lord Lansdowne, chairman of the Malaysia Inter-Governmental Committee, who left for Jesselton on Wednesday to attend the three-day plenary session of the Committee.

The Alliance delegation is to make a month's tour of the Borneo Territories to organise a link-up with local political parties.

THE TOUR OF NORTH BORNEO AND SARAWAK

The Prime Minister flew to Jesselton on Saturday, November 17, 1962, where he was welcomed by a big crowd of people many of whom wore national costumes.

At the Airport apron the Police Guard of Honour, dressed ceremonially in white uniform with red songkok and cummerbund, looked impressive.

After the inspection of the Guard of Honour and the official welcome were over the Tengku talked to about 200 members of

political parties and organisations and then left for the capital by car, escorted by colourfully costumed Bajau horsemen. The Tengku drove to Government House amidst the sound of jingling bells, cymbals and gongs of the Dragon dancers, through streets lined with smiling schoolchildren, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts and picturesque groups of people in national costumes.

Groups carrying banners of political parties and organisations also lined the route: an arch put up by the Sabah Alliance Party welcomed the Tengku to the town area.

Later, the Tengku went to the Council Chamber and talked with members of the Executive Council and some heads of departments and heard about the development and potential of North Borneo at first hand.

The next function was the reception given by the Sabah Alliance Party at the Community Centre. About 2,000 people were present.

There the leaders of the four parties in the Alliance gave speeches of welcome.

Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, president of the United Sabah National Organisation said: "We here are confident that with Malaysia, Sabah and its people will be safeguarded from the bad elements that are unwanted in this country."

The second speaker, Mr D.A. Stephens, president of the United National Kadazan Organisation, said he hoped that the Tengku would return soon and that "our people will be able to see him and to show him the esteem they feel for someone who is known as Bapa Merdeka in Malaya but who will be known as Bapa Malaysia throughout Malaysia in time to come."

The Tengku's announcement that he was willing to let Sabah and Sarawak have 40 seats in Parliament was great news and a generous gesture, he said, adding: "It shows that we are indeed entering Malaysia as equal partners and that we are given the best guarantee possible that our voice will be heard in the most important body in Malaysia - its parliament."

It would ensure North Borneo's ability to play an active and important part in bringing about a happy, prosperous and peaceful Malaysia, added Mr Stephens.

Mr Lee Yun Hin, chairman of the Borneo Utara National Party, hoped the Tengku would take back to his country "happy memories and the best wishes and greetings

of the people of Sabah."

The last speaker, Mr G.S. Sundang, chairman of the United National Pasok Momogun Party, said that in this part of the world, a thousand miles away from Kuala Lumpur, there were still many who were uncertain of what might be called the most controversial issue of our time.

"But," he added, "I am sure your visit here, representing this country your very delightful personality with your deep understanding of human problems, will help to clear whatever doubts still exist over this Malaysia issue."

Impressed by welcome

Replying, the Tengku said he had been impressed by the greetings and special forms of Sabah welcomes he had received.

He was sorry his visit was too short but he promised to return for a longer period, after his visit to England to sign "the deed for the Malaysia merger."

He said he supported the Borneo Territories' demand for strong representation in the Malaysian Parliament because he thought it would allay all their doubts and suspicions. With that number of seats they could be a real threat to any party that opposed them, and he added: "The Alliance desires to woo and win you over to our side."

He said that with the merger of the territories there would be formed a nation "of which each and everyone of us will have every reason and every right to be proud."

He hoped that the United Sabah parties would join the Alliance which was in control of the Federation Government and would be in control of Malaysia later.

"So far everything has worked well," he added. "We, the people of this region, have the same background, the same administrative system the same more or less common language and the same economic interest - almost the same everything."

"In fact if you travel from one country to the other you do not notice the difference except for the distance. That is all the difference there is and I think the only objection by the communist is they thought that all these areas would fall to them one day and as soon as possible. But with Malaysia it would not be so easy."

"And as a result they introduce in all their charges this bogey of imperialism. But I can

tell you and you can take it from me that there is no imperialism as bad or as vicious as the communist imperialism."

Regimented people

"You live as a regimented person, you are even divorced from your family, your wife and your children - that is the worse form of imperialism, that is the sort of imperialism which we deplore and try to avoid by coming together in the form of merger to establish the Federation of Malaysia."

Speaking afterwards in Malay the Malaysian Prime Minister referred to a suggestion that Malaysia would be a threat to Indonesia.

"How could a nation of 10,000,000 people fight a country of about 100,000,000? We want to be friends with everybody," he said.

Traditional dances

Later the guests were entertained by people from different parts of the country who danced traditional dances wearing colourful native costumes.

Early on Sunday, the Malaysian Prime Minister drove into the country near Jesselton to see the new road now under construction to the town of Papar, some 25 miles away.

At Donggongan (Penampang) which was decorated for the occasion, the Tengku was greeted by groups of children and a 'welcome' archway amidst firing of crackers.

On the journey back, the Tengku spoke to some of the local people. In Jesselton again, the Prime Minister went to the Council Chamber and met Sabah Alliance Party leaders.

Later, he met Government officers at the North Borneo Civil Service Union, where he was entertained to lunch.

Before he left Jesselton on Sunday afternoon for Sandakan, the Prime Minister told the press that he had enjoyed his visit, and wished he had more time to go round and see the villages and other places.

Referring to his meeting with members of the Sabah Alliance Party, the Tengku said he had tried to explain the situation to them and he thought on the whole they were satisfied. From what he had heard, he thought that the people were ready for Malaysia.

The Prime Minister also said he had invited the presidents of the North Borneo Civil Service Union and the North Borneo

Civil Servants' Association to go to Malaya to meet Malayan Establishment officers and discuss with them problems which he had not been able to deal with when he met them earlier.

After his arrival at Sandakan airport, the Tengku was taken on a short tour of the town. Later he met political leaders and attended an all-community reception given in his honour on the town padang.

In a brief address, the Tengku said he was moved by the hospitality accorded him by the people of Sandakan and was glad to have had the opportunity to visit the town for the first time.

Before leaving Sandakan for Miri on Monday the Malayan Prime Minister said he could not see how Brunei could be left out of Malaysia.

He told reporters that a resolution had been passed in the Council of State that the Sultanate should join Malaysia.

The Tengku said although he had heard that a Brunei party had now proposed to bring another resolution into the Council to revoke this resolution, he did not know if it could do this constitutionally.

He said that he believed Brunei must join or be surrounded by a different country. This would mean that Brunei citizens would have to use passports to visit the other parts of Malaysia.

On to Sarawak

The Malayan Prime Minister flew to Miri in a Dove aircraft of the Royal Malayan Air Force, landing at Lutong airfield just before noon on Monday.

First to greet him was the Resident of the Fourth Division, Mr J.C.B. Fisher, and he was welcomed by a crowd of people, including delegations from three pro-Malaysia Brunei political parties.

The Tengku then left for the town to inspect a Police Guard of Honour in front of the main Government Office.

An anti-Malaysia demonstration was staged on his arrival and during the inspection. The demonstrators, who included Chinese schoolboys and girls, shouted slogans but the Tengku waved his hat at them. He then walked to the crowd and shook hands with a number of Malaysia and left for the Residency.

After a game of golf, the Tengku attended a reception at the Gymkhana Club at which about 300 prominent local citizens, Councillors, Government officers and politicians were present.

Before leaving for Kuching on Tuesday morning the Tengku had a message for Chinese school boys and girls in Miri district.

He asked them to concentrate more on their studies and be of use to their parents and themselves. They should not take too much interest in politics which should be left to people who were more mature and knowledgeable. Politics, he pointed out, was a serious matter.

The Tengku also advised them to play more games in order to build up their bodies and minds and so be useful citizens in the future Malaysia.

At Kuching Airport about 2,000 people, a large number of whom were supporters of the Party Negara Sarawak, lined the approach road and ringed the Terminal Building roundabout, to welcome the Tengku.

In bright sunshine, the smiling Tengku alighted from the blue and white Dove in a dark grey lounge suit and wearing a Panama hat. First to greet him was the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, followed by the Resident of the First Division, Mr G. Lloyd-Thomas, and the Commissioner of Sarawak Constabulary, Mr P.E. Turnbull.

Kuching welcome

The Tengku then took the general salute from the smart Guard of Honour mounted by 50 men of the Field Force clad in jungle green and then inspected it. He shook hands with the Director of Music, Mr G.K. Freeth, and also inspected the ceremonially dressed Constabulary Band.

Introductions were next made to the members of the Supreme Council: the Tuan Mufti, Haji Yusuf bin Abdul Rahman Shebli; Canon Peter Howes, the Acting Provost of the Anglican Diocese; and the Rev Father Harry van Erp, the Catholic Vicar Delegate; and to representatives of the five political parties forming the Sarawak United Front.

The Tengku was then given a garland of orchids by a girl and went out to the roundabout to greet his welcomers. The scene was a colourful one dominated by a huge 'welcome' banner.

In the forefront of the circle were Malay women dressed in white 'selandang' and waving paper flags carrying the word 'Panas'. There were shouts of 'Merdeka' and 'Hidup Malaysia' as the Tengku began to greet them personally.

After this he entered the Governor's car and was driven off with Sir Alexander along the route lined with cheering people.

But at the head of the airport road, and standing on high ground, was a strong band of angry anti-Malaysia demonstrators, almost all Chinese, who jeered lustily, shouted slogans calling for independence and shook clenched fists — one demonstrator used his umbrella as if taking aim with an automatic weapon. There were other demonstrators along the main road — altogether there were about 3,000 of them, including many women and children. Riot police stood guard over them.

The rest of the journey to the capital was uneventful. At Pangkalan Batu, another huge crowd of supporters waited to greet the Tengku who, after smiling at them for a while, entered the Governor's 'barge' and was rowed across to the Astana where he stayed during his visit to the capital.

In the afternoon the Malayan Prime Minister went to the Jubilee Hall to attend a tea reception given by the Sarawak Government Asian Officers' Union at which more than 300 members were present.

In his speech of welcome the president, Mr Chua Teck Hee, gave the assurance that when Malaysia came into being Asian Government officers "will pledge ourselves to serve the Government loyally and faithfully to the best of our ability."

Earlier in his address Mr Chua paid tribute to the Prime Minister "as a man of outstanding ability, integrity, understanding and with an amiable character."

He said that it was inevitable that by August 31 next year Sarawak would become one of the states of Malaysia, despite strong opposition from a minority of the people.

Mr Chua then said that although his Union did not participate in politics, he could say with confidence that most, if not all, of the members of his organisation believed that if Sarawak wanted to enjoy permanent peace, security and prosperity it must join with Malaya — "not as a colony but as its equal partner, subject to certain safeguards asked for."

'Vulnerable country'

He continued: "We cannot get away from the fact that Sarawak is a vulnerable country. The answer to this is therefore for Sarawak to participate in the Malaysia Plan so wisely conceived by the Prime Minister."

Replying the Tengku said that when Malaysia was formed all should strive to make it a new and happy nation.

Holding out Malaya as an example in which progress had been made in the social, economic and industrial fields during its five years of independence, the Tengku said that when the Borneo Territories joined Malaya in the new nation of Malaysia, they could together prove to the world that people of different racial groups and origin could live together in peace and happiness.

Refuting allegations made in some quarters that the birth of Malaysia would be merely a transfer of masters, the Tengku said that the rights of every citizen of Malaysia would be safeguarded by its new constitution. There would be freedom of worship, freedom of expression and all other freedoms would be guaranteed according to United Nations Charter.

Assuring that there would be no interference with the work of the Government servants when Malaysia came into being the Tengku hoped that the Inter-Governmental Committee would be able to arrive at a solution agreeable to all in North Borneo and Sarawak.

Referring to the opposition to the Malaysia Plan the Tengku said that he was glad to know that it was a minority from what he had seen and heard.

He said that he could only say that those who opposed Malaysia had been misguided and misinformed, adding that if they could only study the Malaysia project they would find nothing wrong with it.

The Tengku warned his listeners that those who called Malaysia a design of the imperialists were none but the communist imperialists themselves.

He then gave examples of communist imperialism in such places as Hungary and Tibet where, he said, harmless peace loving peoples had been subjected to brutal treatment by the communists.

The Tengku ended by saying that Malaya was not out to become an imperialist power. It

had planned and was now striving to build a happy Malaysia, and he hoped that he would be able to return and explain matters further.

The Tengku then returned to the Astana where in the evening a reception was held in his honour. More than 200 prominent citizens, politicians, councillors and Government officers attended it.

Meeting with Senior officers

On Wednesday morning the Malayan Prime Minister met the committee of the Sarawak Government Senior Officers' Association in the Council Negri Club.

He spent about 30 minutes talking to the members and the president of the Association, Dr F.H. Fitch, later described the meeting as a "constructive exchange of views."

The Tengku then left for the Jubilee Hall to attend the indoor rally sponsored by the Sarawak United Front. Well over 1,000 people were present to welcome and hear him. Present also were the Federation Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin, members of the Malayan Alliance delegation and Tun Lim Yew Hock.

Addresses of welcome were first made by leaders of the five political parties forming the SUF and first to speak was Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, secretary-general of the Sarawak National Alliance.

Touching on Malaysia, Mr Ningkan recalled that there had been "several anxious moments" during the past 18 months about the project — "at one stage it was only a matter of touch and go," he said.

However wisdom prevailed and the project, despite difficulties, moved undeterred at supersonic speed.

Mr Ningkan then said that the overwhelming majority of the people of Sarawak favoured Malaysia and, like the people of Malaya, were anxious to see it materialise, if possible, before the target date.

Mr Ningkan then spoke of two important political developments which had taken place recently — the formation of an alliance between the Sarawak National Party and the Party Pesaka anak Sarawak, and the Sarawak United Front.

He referred to the subversive elements "lurking around the corner" but expressed confidence in the way the Government was dealing with them.

Next to speak was Mr William Tan, president of the Sarawak Chinese Association, who welcomed the Tengku's mission of "clearing whatever doubts are still lingering in the minds of the people about Malaysia."

He went on to say that the five nationalist parties forming the Sarawak United Front represented the overwhelming majority of the people in Sarawak and that since the SUF was pro-Malaysia the vast majority of the people wanted Malaysia. Furthermore Council Negri had been given concrete evidence of that desire.

Assurances welcomed

Mr Tan then referred to the anti-Malaysia group in Sarawak who demanded independence before considering Malaysia.

He spoke of the ideological struggle between democracy and communism and asked how Sarawak could resist the pressure and impact of international communism if it stood alone.

He added: "The shadow of the high cost and bitter fruit of Malayan terrorism is still lingering in the minds of many."

Mr Tan went on to welcome the assurance given by the Malayan Prime Minister that Malaysia would result in improved livelihood for the farmers.

He also welcomed the assurance that all the territories entering Malaysia would do so as equal partners enjoying equal rights, as well as the news that 40 seats would be allocated to Sarawak and North Borneo in the Malaysian Parliament.

"With such a spirit of give and take," he said, "we are confident that there will be solidarity in Malaysia."

As far as the right-thinking people of Sarawak Chinese were concerned, he added, they welcomed Malaysia with safeguards knowing that in it there would be peace, stability and prosperity.

The third speaker was the chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, who hoped that the Tengku's visit would be the forerunner of many others.

The vast majority of the people of Sarawak, he said, supported Malaysia and it was only the communists who opposed it and were still doing all they could to prevent its realisation.

He added: "The people of Sarawak of all races, now realise that the Malaysia Plan is being created for the benefit of all. Independence will be achieved the moment Malaysia comes into being. In short, we realise that through Malaysia we will benefit more in security, defence, economy and other matters."

Referring to the proposal to allocate 40 seats to Sarawak and North Borneo in the future Malaysian Parliament, the Datu Bandar said: "We regard this as a very special contribution from a member of the same family towards another. This will deal a heavy blow to those people who allege that the Malaysia Plan is nothing but neo-colonialism."

The Datu was followed by the president of the Party Pesaka anak Sarawak, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, who expressed the hope that when Malaysia came into being in the new year the Tengku would be able to bring "charm, happiness and strength" to the way of life of the people of Sarawak.

Temenggong Jugah said that there were still many Dayaks, Malays and Chinese who did not understand Malaysia and were saying that Sarawak were being sold.

This, he added, was fallacy and malicious. It was doing the public no good. Those who persisted criticising Malaysia, he declared, were communists. The Temenggong said that if the Chinese wanted to live happily in Sarawak they should rejoice when Malaysia materialised.

Problems ahead

The last speaker was Datu Tuanku Bujang, chairman of the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak, who said that the increasing political turbulence in South-East Asia and the prospect of the forthcoming general elections next year should be the main problems to be considered seriously by all pro-Malaysia parties in Sarawak.

He said his Party was confident that when Malaysia came into being next year the special privileges of the indigenous races would be respected by the Malaysian Government.

Datu Tuanku Bujang continued: "With the provision of these special rights for the natives of Sarawak, we will be able one day to come on an equal footing with the other races of Sarawak. It is then that everyone in Sarawak will be able to live in mutual understanding,

peace and harmony. There will then exist a more advanced and prosperous Sarawak as a healthy member state within a strong, peaceful and prosperous Malaysia."

At the end of the rally the crowd stood up and gave three hearty cries of 'Hidup Malaysia' and 'Merdeka'.

From the rally the Tengku proceeded to the Aurora Hotel where he lunched with about 200 leading members of the Sarawak United Front parties.

PRESS CONFERENCE

After a short rest at the Astana, the Malayan Prime Minister went to the Information Office to give a press conference.

He began by thanking the people of Sarawak for their welcome and for giving him the opportunity of meeting everybody including the leaders of the different political parties and the Government officials.

He said he wished he could stay longer and "go deep into the kampongs to meet the people in their own surroundings, but time did not permit him to do so.

He hoped, however, that he would be able to come back soon when he would take the full opportunity of meeting everyone and "go everywhere" in the country.

The Tengku then said that he had had discussions with the Government servants, both senior and junior officers, some of whom had feelings of anxieties about their jobs and their prospects.

In order to give them the chance to have matters explained to their satisfaction he had suggested that they send representatives to Kuala Lumpur for talks with the Establishment Officers.

The Tengku also said that he had spoken at length to the expatriate officers and tried to explain everything possible connected with Malaysia and he felt he had gone quite far and been able to clear whatever doubts they might have had in their minds.

"Majority of natives support Malaysia"

Referring to the opposition to Malaysia, the Tengku said that he was happy to say that there were not very many who opposed it. Most of them, if not all, were not natives of Sarawak: most of the natives welcomed the prospect of Malaysia.

Asked to comment about the anti-Malaysia memoranda sent to him the Tengku replied he was not bothered about them as they had not come from the natives of Sarawak — it would have been different if this had been so.

Questioned on what would be the future of anti-Malaysia parties, such as the Barisan Sosialis of Singapore and the SUPP, he replied: "I think they have got to look after their own future. We don't disallow opposition. For that reason they have expressed themselves very vociferously. The only thing is they must keep to the law and order and do not try to impose their will on others by using force. They must keep within the pale of law and order and justice."

Asked what proportion of the 40 seats promised to Sarawak and North Borneo would be allocated to Sarawak the Tengku replied that he did not know — that was the task of the Inter-Governmental Committee. He could not prejudge the issue at this stage. He had heard that there had been a request for such a number and he was prepared to grant it.

He went on to refer to the significance of this concession by saying that at present the Malayan Alliance Government, with 77 seats in the House of Representatives, was able to change the law and the Constitution, at any time, but with the 40 seats from the Borneo Territories "we would not be able to do that unless with the fullest approval of the Bornean representatives."

He added: "We would have to make a lot of sacrifice in order to give to the people of Borneo the power we have in our hands today."

In answer to further questions the Tengku felt the question of the division of seats between Sarawak and North Borneo would be left entirely to the Inter-Governmental Committee and to the people themselves.

Asked again what would be the next development with regard to this allocation of seats, the Tengku said that though he would have to go back and explain to the people in Malaya, he hoped to have "some support".

From what he had heard they were "naturally feeling very nervous" as it had not as yet been accepted by the Cabinet and thrashed out in Parliament.

He said he had done more or less everything "off his own bat" adding, with a smile: "It was not quite diplomatic".

Free primary education

As to how Sarawak would elect its representatives, the Tengku said that he himself had not gone into it: the matter would be dealt with by the Elections Commission.

He was next asked whether free primary education would be extended to Sarawak immediately after Malaysia and said that if Sarawak fell into line with the education policy, it would receive this benefit.

Turning to Sarawak's Rubber Planting Scheme he said that some time back Sarawak had asked for about six million clonal seeds on which they had previously to pay tax. Now he had heard from his Finance Minister that the Malayan Government would waive the 10 cents per seed export duty.

He hoped that as a result of this Sarawak would have more and better yielding rubber trees in the future.

Asked if he was returning as happy as he was when he arrived in Borneo, the Tengku replied that he was returning much happier adding: "Everything has been fine." He also agreed with a smile that the "weather had been good to him."

He referred to anti-Malaysia demonstrations at Miri and Kuching and said he was sorry to see "little kids" among the demonstrators.

He added that in his message before he left Miri he had told them that they should concentrate more on their school work and leave the "dirty work" of politics to those who know something more about it.

Malaysia, said the Tengku in reply to another question, would still go ahead even if Brunei did not come in by the date set. He added: "The intention is to form Malaysia with those countries which are in agreement. I would naturally like Brunei to come in with the rest."

Asked whether there was any prospect of advancing the date for Malaysia the Tengku replied that August 31 was a sentimental one (because it was the date on which Malaya itself became independent) but said that if it was necessary to have it earlier he would welcome the prospect.

In answer to a final question the Tengku said he was satisfied that he had cleared the doubts and fears of those who had them. Some still had fears but he felt the natives were keen about Malaysia and appreciated the benefits it would bring.

After the press conference the Tengku went on to Radio Sarawak to make a recorded broadcast.

He said that he was now satisfied that the people understood what Malaysia meant adding: "I have no doubt that the sons of the soil welcome the prospect of Malaysia. On the other hand, there are some people whose origins are from other countries who are not in favour of Malaysia.

'Sarawak will become independent'

"These people, who are in opposition to Malaysia, say that they want to be independent on their own and govern the country themselves. But, as I said, they are all immigrant races who want to rule the country, and because of that if Sarawak becomes an independent country on her own, these people will run the country, sure enough, and will make contact with the powers with whom the people of Sarawak are against.

"The Malaysia which we have in mind is one which will make this country free from the rule of the British and become independent and a partner with the 11 States of Malaya and Singapore.

"This new Malaysia will become a new nation — sovereign and independent — and we will have one Constitution to replace the old Constitution.

"This new Constitution will be drawn up by all concerned in the Malaysian territories and not by the people of Malaya alone. This is being prepared and worked out by the committee in which the people of Sarawak and Sabah have representatives. This is the proof that you will be on terms of equality with the people of the other territories in Malaysia.

"The new Constitution will guarantee your rights — human rights — for the people of this nation wherever they may be, whether in Malaya or in Borneo. This new Constitution will guarantee your freedom of worship, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of movement and the freedom of assembly.

"This Constitution will also provide for the special rights of the States in Borneo — rights in respect of land, immigration, and rights to administer the country and other rights which

you now enjoy. This Constitution, too, guarantees parliamentary democracy, which means in Parliament the peoples of these territories will be represented."

After referring to the offer of 40 Borneo seats in the future Malaysian Parliament the Tengku said: "The power given to the territories of Borneo is a big one. As citizens of this country you will enjoy equal rights and will have all the opportunity to be in the cabinet of Malaysia and can even be a Prime Minister.

"With regard to the Government servants, they will have the right to join the bigger services of Malaysia as well as to represent the nations as ambassadors abroad. There will be no Federation of Malaya, but she will be replaced by the new Federation of Malaysia, whose name will be written in the list of nations in the United Nations."

The Tengku then said: "The people who are opposed to Malaysia are the communists or those misled by the communists. Those people charge that Malaysia is a new form of imperialism invented by the British using the Federation of Malaya as their tool in order to perpetuate their rule here, and it is also alleged that Malaysia means only a change of masters from British to Malayan. I would like to say here that Malaya does not allow herself to be a tool of others.

'The real imperialists'

"This is seen in all our activities in the United Nations. On the other hand if the British want to perpetuate their rule in this country, no one can oust them or drive them out except through their defeat in war.

"There is no ground therefore for saying that we want to colonise Borneo. You will have representatives, in Parliament with places in the cabinet of Malaysia holding high appointments in this new nation, whereas they are not now represented in any British Parliament — much less in the British Cabinet.

"On the other hand the real imperialists are the communists themselves as you can see what happened in Hungary, in Tibet and now in India. This is a clear proof that they are the real menace to the peace of this world."

From Radio Sarawak the Tengku left for the airport where he caught a Malayan Airways Viscount aircraft for home.

MALAYSIA 'BUTTRESS OF FREEDOM' — LANSDOWNE

Lord Lansdowne, chairman of the Malaysia Inter-Governmental Committee, who spent two days in Kuching this week, said that the Committee was working its way through the agenda and getting on quite well.

He was on his way to North Borneo to attend the three-day plenary session of the Committee which began in Jesselton on Friday.

Lord Lansdowne hoped the committee would finish its work before Christmas: he himself expected to be back in Britain by November 28, 1962.

Before leaving London, Lord Lansdowne told a luncheon meeting of the Malayan Commercial Association of Great Britain that Malaysia would mean the creation of a great Asian buttress of freedom in which the people would be privileged to conduct their own affairs in the greatest possible freedom.

This, he declared, was of immense importance not only to the people of the future Malaysian region, but to the whole of Asia and South East Asia.

Lord Lansdowne spoke of the great feeling of co-operation among all participating countries in the Inter-Governmental Committee and said Malaysia did not mean taking over of any territory by anyone — on the contrary all partners would have a fair share.

He said: "If all goes according to plan, and I see no reason why it should not, Malaysia this time next year will be super imposed across territories now bearing the names of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei."

Tribute to Tun Razak

Lord Lansdowne paid tribute to the Malayan Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, for the great help he had given throughout the consultations and said: "For Malaya's far-seeing Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, too, I have nothing but the highest regard."

Lord Lansdowne added: "There is goodwill on the part of everybody which ensures the creation of something wherein all governments will get a fair deal, so that Malaysia will go ahead."

He assured the Association members that they could have the greatest confidence both in Malaya and in territories forming the future Malaysia and said: "There is a feeling of keenness among peoples of the territories concerned which is a very fine thing. It makes for solidarity and good balance in this vital part of Asia."

SARAWAK WILL SAIL

'With Good Ship Malaysia'

From March 4 to March 9, 1963

Council Negri approves terms and safeguards

Council Negri took the vital decision to "sail in convoy with the Good Ship Malaysia" when March 1963 it approved, without dissent, the Inter-Governmental Committee Report.

This was followed up by the endorsement of a proposal to provide that the next Supreme Council will consist of a Chief Minister, three officials and five elected members of Council Negri and to increase the number of elected seats in the next Council Negri from 24 to 36 — a reduction of the originally agreed number of nominated seats from 15 to 3.

The debate on the Inter-Governmental Report took up most of Friday's meeting and no fewer than 17 unofficial members spoke. The Attorney-General, Mr. P.E.H. Pike, who introduced the motion explained many aspects of the recommendations in detail and praised the remarkable degree of tolerance and respect for the views of fellow members by the representatives of the various Governments on the Committee.

He paid special tribute to Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, for his sympathetic approach and understanding of Sarawak's problems.

Economic benefit emphasised

He was followed by the Acting Financial Secretary, Mr John Pike, who emphasised the financial and economic importance of the agreement, which, among many other matters, sought to ensure that \$300 million would be made available for development in the next five years — a total entirely beyond the resources of an independent Sarawak — and to provide for a large and steady increase in State services by 10 per cent a year for the next 10 years.

The eloquent speeches of the unofficials and the issues raised reflected the intense interest of members in seeing that the people of Sarawak would be well satisfied with the terms and safeguards for its entry into the new Federation.

Some anxiety was apparent particularly on the subjects of a federal religion, education, national language and the permanence of safeguards.

And before the Report came up for discussion a petition was presented by representatives of five Christian Churches "beseeching Council Negri to do all within its power to ensure that all human rights at present enjoyed by the people of Sarawak be maintained in Sarawak within the Federation of Malaysia."

Nevertheless, the points of comment and criticism did little to obscure the solid measures of real agreement reached — that Malaysia is the best long-term solution for Sarawak's future.

The resolution on the change in the composition of the new Council Negri took many by surprise. The legislature for which elections will be held during the coming months, will now have 36 elected, not more than three nominated, one standing and three ex-officio members.

This means that the new Council Negri, elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage, will be a completely representative body and it will no longer be possible to contend that the strength of nominated members makes it in effect unrepresentative. From the 36 elected members, 24 will be elected to the Malaysian House of Representatives in Kuala Lumpur.

An unfortunate feature of the debate was the emphasis on the religious problem. Safeguards were carefully explained and misunderstandings corrected, including the mistaken notion enshrined in the petition, submitted by Mrs Tra Zehnder, that the Federation of Malaya does not subscribe to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

Council Negri also took steps to revive the old Sarawak black, red and gold flag for its State flag and the tune of the old Sarawak National Anthem for its State Anthem though fresh words will be sought.

The Deputy Chief Secretary, Mr A.R. Snelus, one of the few officials whose service commenced under the Rajah's Government, delighted Council by singing the melody for

the benefit of those members not familiar with it — and was loudly applauded.

THE MOTION

That this Council — (a) adopts the recommendations contained in the IGC Report; (b) welcomes the creation of the proposed

Federation of Malaysia by August 31, 1963; and (c) authorises the Governor to select such members of the IGC as he may think fit to initial, on behalf of Sarawak, the draft of the agreement for the establishment of Malaysia to be entered into by the Governments of the United Kingdom and Malaya.

Tun Razak urges Sarawak Alliance 'Go All Out To Win' GRAND ALLIANCE CONVENTION A BIG SUCCESS

From March 31 to April 6, 1963

Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Tun Abdul Razak, on Sunday called on Sarawak Alliance leaders to go all out to win the coming general elections to ensure that the plan to form a Grand Alliance (consisting of the Alliance parties of the Malaysian region) would be carried out.

Tun Razak's appeal came at the end of a two-day convention of Alliance parties held at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur.

More than 70 delegates and observers from Alliance parties from Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah attended it and the heads of all delegations declared their full support for Malaysia.

Tun Razak warned that the "new ship of Malaysia" was bound to face storms after it was launched on August 31 and added:

"There will be difficulties, but you must dedicate yourself to the tasks ahead. The new ship will not be sailing in calm waters all the time."

He then told the delegates: "Our very existence depends upon you all winning the elections. The question of survival is most important to any politician. Our survival depends on the support we get from the people."

Earlier, Tun Razak, who was elected chairman of the convention, announced the creation of an ad hoc committee to plan the formation of the Grand Alliance on Malaysia Day. It will consist of two representatives from each of the five Alliance parties in the Malaysian territories.

The convention also gave a mandate to the Malayan Prime Minister to finalise the Malaysia negotiations with the British Government in London.

On his return to Kuching the leader of the Sarawak Alliance delegation, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, said that the convention was most successful.

He also said that the Alliance's election campaign was set and that there was no doubt every effort would be made to achieve success.

Other members of the Sarawak Alliance delegation who attended the convention were: Sarawak National Party: Mr M.K. Menon; Party Negara Sarawak: Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Moasli and Mr Leong Ho Yuen; Sarawak Chinese Association: Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Ting Tung Ming; Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak: Datu Tuanku Bujang bin Tuanku Seman and Mr Alfred Mason; Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak: Penghulu Francis Umpau and Mr Bangau anak Renang.

OPENED BY TENGKU

In declaring open the convention on Saturday, March 30, 1963, the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said that its main purpose "is to enable us to be acquainted with each other and at the same time giving us the opportunity to discuss, deliberate and exchange views among ourselves on major problems concerning the country and

also the possibility of forming a Malaysia Alliance Party comprising all political parties in the new nation."

He went on to speak about the success of the Malayan Alliance Party as well as its "trials and tribulations" and said that it was one of the strongest political parties in South East Asia.

Turning to his own party, the United Malays National Organisation, the Tengku pointed out that there was provision in the constitution to enable non-Malays to become associate members. However, UMNO might consider other indigenous non-Malay people from Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak to join as full members.

Similar opportunity might also be extended to other people in Malaya "who no longer look to other countries but owe their undivided loyalty to this country."

The Tengku then referred to Indonesia's present opposition to Malaysia and its accusation that Malaya was neo-imperialist.

He said: "The main aim of Malaysia is to obstruct the Communists from gaining a foothold in the Borneo Territories, and that is why the Parti Komunis Indonesia has strongly opposed it. What I regret a little is that other Indonesian leaders have been influenced by the Communists.

"Similarly with the Philippines which the Indonesian leaders had managed to influence to oppose the Malaysia Plan, so much so that President Macapagal himself has accused Malaya of being a neo-colonialist in his important speech to the Filipino nation."

He continued: "Despite the fact that the Philippines is still pressing on with its claim on Sabah, we are aware that country has the same stand as we have, that is, anti-Communism."

"Apart from that, the Philippines also has an agreement with us under ASA (Association of South East Asia) which is an organisation to promote co-operation among member-nations for the advancement of the countries and peoples in the organisation.

"I shall be going to Manila on April 1 to attend the ASA Foreign Ministers' conference, and I shall take the opportunity to explain fully the aims and objects of Malaysia.

"I believe my proposed meeting with President Macapagal will bring good and erase the misunderstanding which has arisen over the Malaysian Plan."

As for President Macapagal's proposal to

set up a confederation "of countries of the same stock", the Tengku said: "The motive is good but that question is a very big one and it has many complications which can only be resolved after detailed examination and deliberation which would take a long time."

Indonesia itself, he added, also had its plan, which was mooted some time ago, to establish a Greater Indonesia comprising Malaya and other countries in the Malay Archipelago.

The Tengku went on to refer to those involved in the plan, including Azahari.

He said that the Greater Indonesia plan was not successful because the people of the other countries did not agree to it because the conditions of the people and administration were different from those in Indonesia.

But Malaysia accepted

He added: "On the other hand, the Malaysia Plan has been given support by the people of those territories themselves because the sons of the soil are of the same stock, the language spoken is the same and the system of administration is the same, the currency in use is the same, the economy is the same and the way of thinking is also the same.

"Therefore the people of the territories which would join the Federation of Malaysia have gladly accepted the Malaysia Plan."

He next said that although opposition against Malaysia had now cooled down, the work of those who were against it still went on actively.

He added: "Prime Minister' Azahari and 'General' Zulkifli are being assisted and made a tool of to carry on with the Borneo revolt. We are also aware that other activities are being carried out with the object of making the formation of Malaysia difficult.

"The newspapers of March 29 carried a report of a new warning by Dr Subandrio who threatened that new tension would arise if the Malaysia problem was not settled early. We are not afraid of warnings in whatever form or from any quarters against Malaysia because we are aware that the formation of Malaysia has the support of the people and is for the well-being, prosperity and security of the territories envisaged in the plan.

"Now there are only a few problems left which have not yet been settled in connection with the formation of the new Federation. As

regards Brunei, agreement has been reached on most of the terms for its entry into Malaysia, and agreement could be reached soon, I am sure, on those matters which have not yet resolved.

"As for Singapore, the Working Committee is still holding consultations on matters pertaining to finance and administration. I believe these too could be settled soon.

"As regards Sabah and Sarawak, it can be said all matters have been settled.

"Meanwhile there is also talk in the Federation of Malaya of dissatisfaction regarding the allocation of Parliamentary seats to those territories. In their view, 40 seats are too much for one million people.

"I myself and my colleagues feel that for a start the allocation is very reasonable, in order that the people of Sabah and Sarawak do not harbour suspicion that their position in Malaysia is weak and that they do not have a sufficiently strong voice to safeguard their rights, and to put forward matters which could improve the lot of the people in those territories.

"So I ask of the people of the Federation of Malaya to be more liberal to our new brothers and I am sure there will be some good in return."

Ministers from Borneo

The Tengku continued: "Our brothers in Borneo still lack in many things because they are not yet free from colonialism. Political awakening among the people in those territories has just come into being. It is therefore obligatory in our part to assist them. I believe they will not use in vain the voice and right given to them.

"We hope that when Malaysia has been formed, people from the Borneo Territories will sit in the Malaysia Cabinet as Ministers and give their service for the benefit of Malaysia as a whole. There is one thing I would like to repeat in this assembly and that is the people in the Borneo Territories should not feel that they are being colonised.

"I hope they will give their co-operation to the future Federation of Malaysia Government and that the natives themselves would not hesitate to come forward to hold high posts in Government to replace British officers.

"If they do not do so, our enemies who are always accusing us of being a tool of British

imperialists, would go on making such accusations.

"If the people of the Borneo Territories need the assistance of officers, it is best for them to seek assistance from here and we are prepared to send officers from Malaya. This is better than asking British officers to continue their service there."

Referring to the recent success of the Sabah Alliance Party, the Tengku said it "clearly proves the people's support for Malaysia."

He then said: "Sarawak is not yet able to hold its elections and according to reports, I have received, the anti-Malaysia party in working very hard, and they have claimed that if elections were held victory would certainly be theirs.

"As for the (Sarawak) Alliance Party, although it has many members yet its leaders do not agree with each other. The leaders of the Party are apparently wasting their time quarrelling among themselves, and I fear this state of affairs will weaken the Alliance party.

"I would like to advise them to stop quarrelling and concentrate all their energies and devote their time to strengthening the Alliance Party. Their defeat in elections would open an opportunity for the anti-Malaysia Party to bring the Malaysia question to the United Nations and say they do not agree with the plan. Enemies from without would then take the opportunity to make Malaysia a failure.

"We, on our part, here can assist with advice and resources but only the people of Sarawak themselves can help themselves. The future of Sarawak depends on the result of the elections. Therefore I wish to remind you all that when you go back to Sarawak you should come to agreement among yourselves and work with determination. Otherwise, if anything were to happen you as leaders would be responsible."

SARAWAK LEADER SPEAKS

Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, who spoke on behalf of the North Borneo delegation, said that he regarded the meeting as a "gathering of members of the same family". It could not be delayed much longer for the brothers to come together.

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, who led the Sarawak delegation, said that it was high time for the people of the Malaysian territories to

consolidate their strength and speak with oness of purpose and strength.

All the states in Malaysia, he said, must at all times main as one solid family and strengthen themselves to maintain democratic government.

He went on: "We, in Sarawak, have watched with keen interest what has been taking place in Malaya in the past decade. I admire the Malayan people's unity of purpose, through which they won 'merdeka' in 1957. We were impressed by the determination with which they fought wit communists, and built up a free independent and prosperous Malaya, as it is today. Sarawak feels happy and proud to recall that during Malaya's Emergency, time of our brothers, the Sarawak Rangers, fought 'shoulder to shoulder with Malaysians.

"With Singapore, Sarawak has maintained a close relationship through trade and education, to our mutual benefit. With Brunei and Sabah, we have always been like members of the same family for over a century.

"With this rich historical bond between the peoples in the Malaysian territories, with our bond of friendship mutual understanding and goodwill, with our singleness of purpose to shape and build a strong prosperous and democratic nation, wherein lie freedom and justice for all, we, the political parties of the five territories which support Malaysia are gathered here, preparing to welcome the birth of a new nation — the Fédération of Malaysia, and also to shoulder the responsibilities thereof.

"We are very pleased to have this opportunity to meet all the dignified personalities from Malaysian territories, and we are fully confident that we can achieve our aims by mutual help and co-operation. It is high time that we are united to consolidate our strength, in order that we are able to attain our objectives.

"It is our sincere intention that we must, at all times, remain as one solid family" and strengthen ourselves to maintain a democratic government, and although it is likely that differences of opinion may arise with mutual respect and understanding, I feel that there is nothing which cannot be settled at a conference such as this."

'Challenging time ahead'

In a major speech delivered on Sunday, Tun Razak urged those present and "those who subscribe to our ideals and objectives and who generally believe in freedom and democracy to exert their utmost efforts not only to bring Malaysia into being but also to see that it is a reality and to succeed in becoming a strong, united and happy country."

He said: "We live in a difficult and divided world and for Malaysia in the next few years will be challenging time. There will be problems, there will be difficulties for us to overcome, but I have no doubt that if we are united and if we stand together to defend the ideals and the principles to which we subscribe, we shall overcome all these difficulties. Let us remember that, if there are no difficulties in this world, there will be no triumphs."

Tun Razak then said he was pleased that the leaders of Sabah and Sarawak had been able to accept the Inter-Governmental Committee's recommendations "with a spirit of compromise and goodwill".

He added: "All these arrangements are not intended to be permanent. They should be reviewed from time to time to see whether they meet with our needs and requirements and whether they serve our paramount objective of building a united and happy nation."

Malaya, he went on, welcomed "our brothers and sisters in the new territories as equals" and extended to them the hand of friendship.

He added: "And I hope they in their turn will appreciate that we have nothing but goodwill and understanding towards them and our sole desire is to work together as members of one united nation.

"I hope that in the course of time, it would be possible for the people of these new territories to regard Kuala Lumpur as their capital and not merely as a distant city and to regard the Central Government here, of which they will be full members, as their own Government which is designed to serve not only one part of the territory or one section of the community, but the whole of Malaysia and all the citizens of whatever race, colour, or creed."

Turning to development and defence for which he is responsible, Tun Razak said: "These two subjects, are of vital importance to our new nation. Indeed, they are vitally important to any nation, because if we compare

a country to a river, the two banks must be, on one side, economic development and on the other, defence and security.

"If these two banks can be kept solid and strong, then as the water of the river flows steadily, the country marches forward and prospers."

On development, he said: "Naturally as a new and young nation our people in all walks of life, towns, villages, kampongs and the longhouses, all expect to get development with a change in the status; they expect changes in the ways of life; they expect improvements to their standard of living; they expect better amenities of life.

"Indeed, these are all the rising expectations of a new, independent and developing nation. It would be our duty to meet these needs to satisfy these rising expectations to the best of our ability and resources."

'The real concept of Malaysia'

He continued: "We have got to get our thinking on the subject quite clear and start on a framework free from fear and doubt."

"Fears have existed both in the ranks of our various parties and also in several sections of the community that the formation of Malaysia would be an economic drain on the resources of Malaya and would affect the impetus of both our development programme here in Malaya and each of the three territories.

"I think that these doubts have arisen in the minds of those who have not got a clear picture of the concept of Malaysia.

"The real concept is this: that Malaya itself is a country with considerable development potential in the form of natural resources, both material and human.

"Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore are four territories each with their considerable economic resources and development potential.

GRAND ALLIANCE CONVENTION —

"Therefore, it is logical and it is an undeniable fact that the coming together of these five territories, their harnessing into one viable whole, their economic resources, and the combination of concentrated efforts towards progress and development of Malaysia will result in definite gains to each territory

concerned and will give a greater impetus to our present development programmes which are already well underway.

"There is no need for me here to prove this point at length. I am sure that history would prove it and our children and descendants will realise that we, in establishing Malaysia, have taken the right step for the interest of all our territories and of ourselves."

Tun Razak then recalled "the fears and doubts" expressed by each state in Malaya before merdeka ("each State felt that they were giving up too much to the Federation without receiving sufficient in return") and said: "It is incredible to see how soon they were forgotten and events have proved, in the form of tangible progress, that the concept of Malaya under our present Constitution was correct, that our system of Federation with a strong Central Government was correct, and that it worked well in practice.

"So with Malaysia, the concept is logical and the same principles and practice will prove right and correct. In other words, the teething troubles which we already experienced before and after the birth of an independent Malaya are no different to the teething troubles which we can expect in the first few years after the birth of Malaysia.

"Therefore, it seems to me now the most important task for all of us and indeed our first task is to help everyone to fully understand the correct concept of Malaysia.

"It is essential that in doing so, we can go ahead together on the economic development of the new nation based on a framework for the future which spells hope of progress and prosperity.

'A co-operative society'

"I think that we should regard that the coming together of these territories for Malaysia is the coming together of people each with their own assets to join a co-operative society. The correct operation of that society must, will, and can be of benefit to the individual members of the society.

"But it should also be remembered that for a co-operative society to be a success, to get an advantage from the society, members must be prepared to give, it is to be a 'giving and getting'; there must be give and take, that is the spirit which will make Malaysia and development within Malaysia a success."

Tun Razak continued: "In thinking of Malaysia prior to its actual establishment, some people tend to forget what tremendous national energies will be released which, at present, are either suppressed or non-existent before independence.

"Independence will act as a vitamin for the rejuvenation of the whole nation. We in Malaya have experienced this already and it is the harnessing of this new found vitality which, in my opinion, has helped us to make such strides already since achieving independence.

The memorandum submitted by Temenggong Jugah and the Kapit councillors stressed that the Alliance had always stood, and still stood, for the independence of Sarawak through Malaysia.

The councillors pointed out that the District Council elections were fought on the Malaysia issue, and the results showed that the majority favoured Malaysia.

The elections went on smoothly. Although the urban areas returned a number of SUPP members who opposed Malaysia, the rural areas returned pro-Malaysia members.

The memorandum also stated that the Council considered the result of the elections as the expressed wish of the people and that therefore there was no need for a referendum.

It went on to state that they supported the Malaysia Agreement signed in London. The Constitution of Malaysia, stated the memorandum, "truly reflects parliamentary democracy".

From July 7 to July 13, 1963

Agreement signed in London All Set For Malaysia

Representatives of Britain, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak signed an agreement in London just after midnight on Tuesday creating the Federation of Malaysia, which will come into being on August 31.

Brunei at the last moment decided to stay out of Malaysia for the time being after a failure to agree on the question of the precedence of the Sultan among the Malayan rulers. The Sultan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, and his advisers flew to London for the negotiations.

The simple but historic signing ceremony took place in Marlborough House ten days after the conclusion of intense and complicated negotiations between the Singapore and Malayan representatives over the financial aspects of the merger and later between Singapore and Britain over the question of War Department land.

The news that the agreement had been signed — it was originally fixed for June 27 — was immediately welcomed by several Commonwealth and foreign countries, including the United States.

But in Jakarta, President Soekarno expressed disappointment, accusing the

Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, of breaking his promise. He also doubted the success of the forthcoming 'summit' conference between the heads of state of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia.

'Bold and imaginative development'

At the London ceremony, Mr Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, said that "we are now about to sign the birth certificate."

He hoped that this bold and imaginative development and evolution of "our Commonwealth it will establish a new focus of peace, freedom and stability in South East Asia."

The British Prime Minister said that Malaya and bustling, dynamic Singapore had provided the success story of Asia and that story would continue on a much larger scale with Malaysia.

These territories were blessed with great material wealth with a diversity of human stocks. They provided a pattern, an object lesson, of multi-racial harmony.

"I hope that this will be extended throughout South East Asia and copied throughout the free world," Mr Macmillan observed.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Prime Minister, who flew to London on Sunday specially to sign the agreement, said that Malaysia would be a member of the Commonwealth and would be very proud of it.

He referred to the difficult negotiations which had taken place and said in some quarters Malaysia had been welcome but in others it had been described as an imperialist design.

The Tengku referred to the absence of Brunei but added: "However, we do not despair. We hope that with the states we have here we will make a go of it."

Mr Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, paid a tribute to Mr Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, with whom he had been negotiating and said that Mr Sandys had shown an absolute dedication and zeal which he had never yet met even in the most dedicated communist with whom he had to deal.

Mr D.A. Stephens, Chief Minister-Designate of North Borneo and the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, for Sarawak, welcomed the signing of the agreement with cries of "Hidup Malaysia" and "Merdeka Malaysia".

After the signing ceremony Tengku Abdul Rahman handed the red pens used by his delegation to an aide to be kept in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur.

Tengku intervenes in dispute

The final decision to sign the agreement was reached after the personal intervention of the Tengku over the question of War Department land in Singapore.

This was told to Reuter by Mr Lee Kuan Yew after a long session with the Tengku in his London hotel which ended only an hour and a half before the actual signing.

He said that for the sake of the Tengku he had made concessions on the issue of British War Department land in Singapore.

Britain, he added, had agreed to hand over a total of just over 1,330 acres with a payment of \$10 million for other War Department land held without title.

"This was much less than we wanted (\$5 million) but I settled for the sake of the Tengku," said Mr Lee.

The agreement embodies the final arrangements which have been agreed between Malaya and Singapore and the terms for the establishment of a common market in all the territories of Malaysia.

TEXT OF MALAYSIA AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the agreement relating to Malaysia:

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore desiring to conclude an agreement relating to Malaysia agree as follows:

ARTICLE 1: The colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak and the State of Singapore shall be federated with the existing states of the Federation of Malaya as the states of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore in accordance with the constitutional instruments annexed to this agreement and the federation shall thereafter be called "Malaysia".

ARTICLE II: The Government of the Federation of Malaya will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya of an Act in the form set out in Annexe A to this agreement and that it is brought into operation on August 31, 1963 (and the date on which the said Act is brought into operation is hereinafter referred to as "Malaysia Day").

ARTICLE III: The Government of the United Kingdom will submit to Her Britannic Majesty before Malaysia Day Orders in Council for the purpose of giving the force of law to the constitutions of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore as states of Malaysia which are set out in Annexes B, C and D to this agreement.

ARTICLE IV: The Government of the United Kingdom will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of an Act providing for the relinquishment, as from Malaysia Day, of Her Britannic Majesty's sovereignty and jurisdiction in respect of North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore so that the said sovereignty and

jurisdiction shall on such relinquishment vest in accordance with this agreement and the constitutional instruments annexed to this agreement.

ARTICLE V: The Government of the Federation of Malaya will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment before Malaysia Day by the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya of an Act in the form set out in Annexe E to this agreement for the purpose of extending and adapting the Immigration Ordinance, 1959, of the Federation of Malaya to Malaysia and of making additional provision with respect to entry into the State of Sabah and Sarawak — and the other provisions of this agreement shall be conditional upon the enactment of the said Act.

ARTICLE VI: The agreement on external defence and mutual assistance between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Malaya of October 12, 1957 and its annexes shall apply to all territories of Malaysia, and any reference in that agreement to the Federation of Malaya shall be deemed to apply to Malaysia, subject to the proviso that the Government of Malaysia will afford to the Government of the United Kingdom the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities at present occupied by their Service authorities within the State of Singapore and will permit the Government of the United Kingdom to make such use of these bases and facilities as that Government may consider necessary for the purpose of assisting in the defence of Malaysia, and for the Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South East Asia.

The application of the said agreement shall be subject to the provisions of Annexe F to this agreement (relating primarily to Service lands in Singapore).

ARTICLE VII: (1) The Federation of Malaya agrees that Her Britannic Majesty may make before Malaysia Day Orders in Council in the form set out in Annexe G to this agreement for the purpose of making provision for the payment of compensation and retirement benefits to certain overseas officers serving immediately before Malaysia Day, in the public service of the colony of North Borneo or the Colony of Sarawak.

(2) On or as soon as practicable after Malaysia Day, Public Officers' agreements in

the forms set out in Annexes H and I of this agreement shall be signed on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Malaysia; and the Government of Malaysia shall obtain the concurrence of the Government of the State of Sabah, Sarawak or Singapore, as the case may require, to the signature of the agreement by the Government of Malaysia so far as its terms may affect the responsibilities or interests of the Government of the State.

ARTICLE VIII: The Governments of the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak will take such legislative, executive or other action as may be required to implement the assurances, undertakings and recommendations contained in Chapter 3 of, and Annexes A and B to the report of the Inter-Governmental Committee signed on February 27, 1963, in so far as they are not implemented by express provision of the Constitution of Malaysia.

ARTICLE IX: The provisions of Annexe J to this agreement relating to common market and financial arrangements shall constitute an agreement between the Government of the Federation of Malaya and the Government of Singapore.

ARTICLE X: The Governments of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore will take such legislative, executive or other action as may be required to implement the arrangements with respect to broadcasting and television set out in Annexe K to this agreement in so far as they are not implemented by express provision of the Constitution of Malaysia.

ARTICLE XI: This agreement shall be signed in the English and Malaya languages except that the Annexes shall be in the English language only. In case of doubt the English text of the agreement shall prevail.

The Signatories

On behalf of Britain: The Prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan; the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys; the Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee, Lord Lansdowne; and the Duke of Devonshire;

On behalf of Malaya: The Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman; his deputy, Tun Abdul Razak; the Finance Minister, Mr Tan Siew Sin; the Minister of Commerce, Dr Lim

Swee Aun; the Malayan Ambassador to the United States, Dato Ong Yoke Lin; and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, Dato V.T. Sambathan.

On behalf of Singapore: The Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his Finance Minister, Dr. Goh Keng Swee.

On behalf of Sabah: The Yang di-Pertuan Negara—designate, Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun; the Chief Minister-designate, Mr

Donald Stephens; Mr Khoo Siak Chiew; and Mr G.S. Sundang.

On behalf of Sarawak: The chairman of the Sarawak Alliance, Temenggong Jugah Barieng; the chairman of the Party Negara Sarawak, Abang Haji Mustapha, Datu Bandar; and the chairman of the Sarawak Chinese Association, Mr Ling Beng Siew who are all members of the Supreme Council.

From July 14 to July 20, 1963.

ALLIANCE TRIUMPHS

LEADERS MEET SIR ALEXANDER TO DISCUSS FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT

Chief Minister-Designate



Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan addressing the crowd at Kuching Airport on Thursday.

The Sarawak Alliance emerged triumphant on Monday when the Divisional Advisory Councils elected 23 Alliance members and supporting councillors to Council Negri out of a total of 36.

The way is now open for the Sarawak Alliance to form the Government and it was announced on Thursday, after a two-day

Alliance meeting at Sibu, that 42-year-old Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the Alliance secretary-general, had been designated Chief Minister.

The Alliance Council Negri members and other Party leaders were in Kuching at the week-end to continue their discussions.

On Friday, Mr Ningkan and seven Alliance leaders had a two-hour meeting with the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, to discuss the formation of the Government. Another meeting was held on Saturday. Both meetings were held in the Astana.

Victory for the Sarawak Alliance, which won 16 seats, was assured when seven councillors who stood as Independents in the elections, gave it all-out support.

The coalition between the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and Party Negara Sarawak led to the election of 10 members—five from the Supp and five from Panas, including two pro-Panas Independents. The other three are Independents from the Fifth Division who have so far not declared on which side of the House they will sit.

The Alliance and pro-Alliance Councillors completely dominated the Second, Third and Fourth Divisions, winning all the six, eleven, and six seats respectively. The Supp/Panas coalition won all its seats in the First Division.

The Alliance members of Council Negri are: Mr Tutong anak Ningkan; Penghulu Tawi anak

Sli; Penghulu Story anak Ngumbang; Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan; Mr Kadam anak Kiai; Mr Dunstan Endawie anak Enchana.

Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng; Penghulu Jinggut anak Attan; Mr Tajang Laeng; Mr Sng Chin Joo; Pengarah Banyang; Penghulu Francis Umpau; Mr Francis Bujang; Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu; Penghulu Abok anak Jalin; Inche Kambar bin Bubin; Tua Kampong Isa bin Haji Ali.

Mr Sim Boon Liang; Inche Mohammed Pauzi bin Hamdani; Mr Sandom anak Nyuak; Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau; Penghulu Baya Malang; and Mr Abing Nawan.

Members of the Supp/Panas coalition are: Supp — Messrs Ong Kee Hui; Stephen Yong; Charles Linang; Chan Siaw Hee; and Chong Kiun Kong; **Panas** — Abang Haji Mustapha bin Abang Haji Moasili, Datu Bandar; Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Mustapha; and Mr Leong Ho Yuen.

The two successful Independents in the First Division are: Abang Haji Abdul Rahim bin Abang Haji Moasili, who is a strong supporter of Panas and Mr Dagok anak Randen, who was put up for election by Panas.

The rest, three Independents, come from the Fifth Division. They are: Mr James Wong, Mr Racha Umong and Mr Mak Yau Lim.

The racial composition of the elected members is as follows: Iban — 14 (13 in the Sarawak Alliance and one in the Supp); Chinese — nine (two — Sarawak Alliance; five — Supp; and two — Independent); Malays — three (two — Panas and one — pro-Panas Independent); Kenyahs and Kayans — four (Alliance); Melanaus; three (Alliance); one Land Dayak (pro-Panas Independent); one Kedayan (Alliance); and one Murut (Independent).

Ten of the 36 elected members have previously served in Council Negri.

THE DIVISIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The Divisional Advisory Council elections were preceded by a period of intense political activity with much of the concern concentrated on the Fourth Division, where the Independents were in strength and held the decisive vote.

Directly after the elections, the Alliance and pro-Alliance members of Council Negri

together with party officials met in Sibau to discuss, behind closed-doors, the formation of a Government, the nomination of a Chief Minister and the allocation of ministries.

On Thursday it was announced in Kuching that Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan had been unanimously elected Sarawak's first Chief Minister-Designate.

At Kuching Airport, Mr Ningkan, who was garlanded together with other leaders and given a huge welcome, addressed a crowd of several hundred Alliance members and supporters.

He pledged that the Alliance Government would give proper place to the interests of all communities domiciled in the country and hoped that the people would continue to give their support to the Alliance so that the newly elected Government would be a strong and efficient one. He added: "In return we shall do our utmost to serve the people of Sarawak."

Leaders of all the political parties within the Alliance including Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, also addressed the crowd. Flags and welcome banners fluttered gaily as cries of "Merdeka Malaysia" and "Hidup Malaysia" and Iban gongs filled the air.

Later Inche Abdul Rahman Yakub told reporters that the Alliance Council Negri members now consisted of 23 with the addition of four Independents from the Fourth Division — Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, Mr Abing Nawan, Tua Kampong Isa and Penghulu Baya Malang.

Strong opposition

The new Council Negri, which is expected to hold its first meeting in August, will be the liveliest in its history with such figures in the Opposition as Mr Ong Kee Hui, Mr Stephen Yong, Mr Chan Siaw Hee, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha and Mr Leong Ho Yuen.

The main business of the forthcoming meeting of Council Negri will be to elect six members to the Supreme Council among whom the Chief Minister will be formally appointed by the Governor.

The present Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell will continue to chair the Supreme Council until Malaysia Day — August 31, 1963 — when the Chief Minister takes over. He is also expected to nominate up

to three people as members of Council Negri, with the advice of the Chief Minister. Other members will be the Chief Secretary, Attorney-General and Financial Secretary, Datu Abang Haji Openg (Standing Member) and the Speaker, yet to be appointed.

The next important task of Council Negri will be to elect 24 members to the Malaysian House of Representatives. Under present arrangements the legislature is not barred from choosing those who are not members of Council Negri. Another task is the selection of four Senators — two of whom will be elected by Council Negri and two nominated.

THE DIVISIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The first Division Advisory Council: At its meeting held in the Kuching Rural District Council Chamber, 10 members to Council Negri were elected. Of the 10 members, who were elected unopposed, five belong to the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, three to Party Negara Sarawak and two are pro-Panas Independents.

They are: **Supp** — Mr Ong Kee Hui; Mr Stephen K.T. Yong; Mr Charles Linang; Mr Chan Siaw Hee; and Mr Chong Kiun Kong; **Panas** — Abang Haji Mustapha bin Abang Haji Moasili, Datu Bandar; Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Moasili; and Mr Leong Ho Yuen. **Independents** — Abang Haji Abdul Rahim bin Abang Haji Moasili and Mr Dagok anak Randen, who both support the coalition.

Five of the ten have served in Council Negri — Mr Ong Kee Hui, Mr Stephen Yong, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, Mr Dagok anak Randen and Abang Haji Abdul Rahim.

The meeting began with an address by the chairman of the Advisory Council, Mr R.H. Morris who, after offering his congratulations, said: "You come here backed and supported by the confidence of the electors who returned you and the councils you represent.

"There is, as you will see only one item on the agenda and that is the election of ten members to the Council Negri — ten members who will sit in the Sarawak legislature and represent the quarter of a million people who live in the First Division.

"I am sure you will all forgive me if I enlarge a little on this for it is important that those who are elected to the Council Negri should remember, at all times, that they are the representatives of all the people and not merely the delegates of those electors who may have cast their votes for them.

"It will be necessary for those who are elected to Council Negri to think always of the electorate as a whole, indeed of Sarawak as a whole. This does not mean that you will disregard the policy for which you stood and still stand but it does mean that in your efforts to implement that policy you will have to pay due regard to the interests and the well-being of all the people of Sarawak including those who may have lent their support to some other policy, to a policy with which you may disagree.

"All democratic governments stand upon public opinion and the surest way to destroy a government is to take away the good opinion which is its foundation. A democratic government must fall if it loses the confidence of the people.

"Any government based on sectionalism and concerned primarily with sectional interests cannot and will not retain the confidence of the electorate.

"During the excitement of the recent elections things were sometimes said which caused hurt to good, sincere and honest people whose policy differed from that of their critics.

"I am sure I speak for you all when I say that I hope there will be no more of this type of criticism, that a spirit of tolerance will prevail and that all those who are concerned for the well-being of Sarawak will recognise and accept that different views may be sincerely held.

"The task which lies ahead of us all is a far more onerous one than any we have experienced in the past for independence brings with it greater responsibilities, and these responsibilities will have to be borne by the elected representatives of the people both in the State and Federal legislatures.

'Noisy chattering monkeys'

I should like to tell you of a personal experience. Shortly after the Japanese surrender I was travelling up one of the great rivers of Sarawak.

"On the river bank near where we dropped anchor there was a small group of noisy chattering monkeys. It seemed to me that they were the only inhabitants, but I was mistaken for behind the trees which lined the river bank there was a large village where the hard-working people of Sarawak went quietly about their business.

"There is an object lesson in this for far too frequently one tends to pay too much attention to the noisy few."

Nominations were then called for and 10 were made. The meeting was then adjourned for 15 minutes for Councillors to think more about nominations, but when it resumed no more were made.

The 10 nominated were then declared elected. Following this, addresses were made by the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha and Mr Ong Kee Hui.

The Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, who is chairman of Parti Negara Sarawak, said that he had the full support of his colleagues in as far as his policy was concerned in the Council Negri.

"Our main objective is to work for the well-being of the people and the country," he added.

Referring to the criticism made as a result of the decision to work with the SUPP, he said that the move was "wholly for national interests."

He then said: "I feel that everyone of us here has the same aspiration — that is, to serve and look after the well-being of the people and the country's security."

Mr Ong Kee Hui, who heads the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, said: "I would like, on behalf of my colleagues to thank you and to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by my friend, the Datu Bandar.

"The formation of a coalition between Parti Negara Sarawak and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party has caused quite a few political observers to raise their eyebrows.

"In your opening remarks you referred to monkeys chattering on the river bank and perhaps what has happened between Panas and SUPP has also given rise to the same scene which you have described.

"Those who understand the people of Sarawak and their tradition and spirit of friendly co-operation among all races who dwell here should, however, not be surprised

at such a get together between Panas and SUPP.

"Our one obstacle to co-operation was our different attitude or approach to the subject of Malaysia. If both parties subscribe to the ideals of democracy and accept the principle of self-determination and are willing to let this matter be resolved on this basic principle there is no reason why this obstacle should remain.

'Common bond of loyalty'

"Further, we have a common bond of loyalty to Sarawak and love of our country and its people, and our common desire to do what is best in the national interest. In times of national crisis it is usual for patriots in any country to sink their differences whether personal or sectarian to protect their country.

"This, we in SUPP, have decided to do and we are indeed happy that our friends in Panas have agreed with us to take the same road. We only hope that others will follow this call for national unity and work with us in the national interest of the people of Sarawak.

"We have the courage to face our critics and to ignore the chattering monkeys on the river banks, and we hope that others will also come forward and work in the common task of rehabilitation of our country and its people, which suffered so much during the past year through natural disasters such as floods, and enable us to face the uncertain future as a united people."

The Second Division Advisory Council, which met at Simanggang, elected the following six Alliance Councillors, who are all Ibans:

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (22 votes); Penghulu Tawi anak Sli (20 votes); Pengarah Story anak Ngumbang (14 votes); Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan (13 votes); Mr Kadam anak Kiai (13 votes); and Mr Dunstan Endawie anak Enchana (15 votes).

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan from Lubok Antu, is an ex-Sarawak Ranger, and Penghulu Tawi anak Sli, from Batang Lupar, is a retired Government Clerk.

Pengarah Story, also from Batang Lupar, is a Senior Chief, while Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan (Saribas) is the Secretary-General of the Sarawak National Party and Sarawak Alliance.

Mr Kadam anak Kiai, also from Saribas, is an ex-police inspector, while Mr Dunstan Endawie is an ex-teacher who had also worked as a clerk in the Kalaka District Council.

None of those elected has previously served in Council Negri.

The Third Division Advisory Council, at its meeting held at Sibu, elected 11 members to Council Negri — all members of the Sarawak Alliance.

The eleven, who received 17 votes each, are:

Kapit — Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Penghulu Jinggut anak Attan, Mr Tajang Laeng and Mr Sng Chin Joo.

Kanowit — Pengarah Banyang, Penghulu Francis Umpau, and Mr Francis Bujang.

Mukah — Mr Sim Boon Liang and Inche Mohammed Pauzi bin Hamdani.

Binatang — Mr Sandom anak Nyuak.

Matu/Daro — Abang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu.

The Mukah and Binatang councillors originally stood as Independents.

Only three of the eleven have previously served in Council Negri — Temenggong Jugah, Pengarah Banyang and Penghulu Umpau.

Ten others, who were put up for election, each received 10 votes. They were:

Mr Chong Hua Tong; Mr Kong Kek Mew; Mr Ting Pik Kong; Tuai Rumah Tiboh anak Lantai and Mr Yap Tean Jin (from the Sibu Rural District Council); Mr John Lau Kiing Chong; Mr Chai Then Tueti (Sibu Urban District Council); Mr Wong Chung Hung, Awang Drahman bin Awang Una and Mr Loh Pak Ung (Sarikei District Council). Those from the Sibu councils are members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party while the Sarikei councillors are Independents.

In his address to the Council before the election took place, the chairman, Mr. A.F.R. Griffin, congratulated the new members and said: "Since the last meeting of this Council on February 27 much has happened. The general election went off remarkably smoothly, the credit for this must go to the election officers and their polling teams who put in a lot of hard work and hard travelling.

"The good humour of the voters on the one hand, and the patience shown by the polling

teams on the other hand contributed to making the elections a success.

"There has been a great deal of criticism expressed about the present three-tier electoral college system. While it exists, it is your duty to see that this system works — criticism of the system at this stage will not help anyone.

"The stationing of units of the British Army in the Third Division, followed by the calling in of all firearms in certain districts from non-natives came as a shock to many of the public. It is clear from recent events that these security measures were timely.

"Unlike the First and Second Divisions, we are not faced with the border bandit trouble, but we have our own problems and that is stamping out of the Clandestine Communist Organisation activities in our midst.

"There is plenty of evidence to show that these have influenced a large number of young Chinese — some boys and girls who should be attending school have disappeared. In other cases boys and girls have disappeared from their homes and their parents have no knowledge of their whereabouts.

'Not thinking of nationalism'

"The Clandestine Communist Organisation is not thinking in terms of nationalism, but of making Sarawak a part of Communist China. Unless this organisation is completely eradicated it will destroy the heart and soul of this country.

"If some security measures appeared restrictive, they were done to safeguard the public interest — with the advent of Malaysia, this organisation will have little chance of survival.

"The arguments against Malaysia have been long and bitter — that is over and past. Let us now work for unity and make Malaysia the success it deserves.

"One way in which unity can be achieved is by having a common language. I would urge those Chinese members of this Council, who speak no Malay, no learn Malay, and at least acquire a working knowledge of that language."

The Fourth Division Advisory Council, at its meeting held at Miri elected six members to Council Negri.

They are: Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (18 votes); Penghulu Baya Malang (18 votes); Mr Abing Nawan (18 votes); Penghulu Abok anak Jalin (17 votes); Inche Kambar bin Bubin (17 votes) and Tua Kampong Isa bin Haji Ali (17 votes).

The first three — all Kenyahs — are from the Baram District Council and stood in the general elections as Independents and now support the Alliance; the next two are members of the Bintulu District Council and are Alliance members while Tua Kampong Isa, a Subis District Councillor, stood in the elections as an Independent through he is a member of one of the Alliance parties.

Two Miri District Councillors, Mr Sim Song Chay and Mr Lim Chee Hian, who stood for election to Council Negri polled five votes each.

Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, who is the paramount chief of the Kenyahs and Kayans, was a member of the last Council Negri; Inche Kambar, a Melanau, is a retired Forest Ranger; and Tua Kampong Isa is a prominent coconut planter. Mr Abing Nawan is the son of the Temenggong.

The Fifth Division Advisory Council, which met at Limbang, elected the following three to the Council Negri:

Mr James Wong (Limbang District Council — 12 votes; Mr Racha Umong (Lawas District Council) — 11 votes; and Mr Mak Yau Lim (Lawas District Council) — 8 votes.

They are all Independents. Haji Abu Bakar, who also stood for election, polled five votes.

Both Mr Wong and Mr Mak were members of the last Council Negri. Mr Racha Umong is a Murut and a leading figure in the Borneo Evangelical Mission.

Alliance statement

Following the elections the Sarawak Alliance issued this statement:

"The overall result of the General Elections clearly shows the Sarawak Alliance has the support and confidence of the majority of the people. We are therefore heartened and gratified by the result and would now like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to all who have supported us.

"To the people of Sarawak we give our reassurance that we shall carry out our election pledges. We shall serve with honesty and

dedication for the welfare and progress of the people and the country.

"Our tasks ahead are not going to be easy but we face the future with confidence and optimism. With determination and devotion we, together with the people of Sarawak are prepared to meet the challenges of building a new nation. As long as we strive for the interests of the country and as long as we have the goodwill and co-operation of the people we shall succeed.

"We are glad opposition leaders realised the need for national unity and friendly co-operation. This is what we in the Sarawak Alliance have always stood for. We now hope that they will work in the national interest for the people of Sarawak."

The Sarawak Alliance demonstrated its first show of strength when it defeated two motions tabled by the SUPP Councillors at the first meeting of the Third Divisional Advisory Council at Sibu.

One motion called for a referendum to be held before Malaysia to determine the will of the people and the other urged government to bring all political detainees held under the PSCO court for trial.

The motions were submitted at the meetings of the Sibu Urban and Rural district councils, which are both SUPP-controlled.

The Alliance's chief speakers — Temenggong Jugah and Abang Hipni — both criticised the SUPP for turning the Council into an anti-Malaysia forum.

They said there was no need for a referendum because the results of the general elections in Sarawak demonstrated at the people supported Malaysia.

Referring to the motion on the release of detainees, Abang Hipni attacked SUPP for seeking the release of subversives who were trying to foment armed communist revolution in Sarawak.

He said that it appeared the SUPP was more interested being the spokesman for the subversives than the people of Sarawak and declared: "The Divisional Advisory Council's primary function is the fostering of local government, and it should not be turned into a political forum on subjects which it has power to deal with. The Sarawak Alliance fully supports the continued detention of all communist cadres in Sarawak."

SECTION: 'TASK EFFICIENTLY PERFORMED', SAY GOVT

The Sarawak Government this week expressed satisfaction with the manner in which the general elections to District and Divisional Councils had been conducted by the Returning Officers and all other staff concerned.

A Government statement said that the onerous task had been conscientiously and efficiently performed in addition to formal duties and despite unusual difficulties of communications and added anxieties and responsibilities brought about by flood additions earlier in the year as well as the emergency following rebellion.

It added that this was particularly creditable when the in mind that the electoral

process had been spread over extended period — going back to the preparation of electoral commencing in mid-1962. It had also involved all levels of the Administration, supplemented by the invaluable contribution made by Local Authority and Departmental staff members.

The task represented a much larger commitment than a pilot operation of 1959 on account of the considerably engaged franchise, the statement said.

It observed that the successful completion of the elections had also provided valuable experience to those concerned to set a high standard for emulation in future years and that the task had been facilitated by a further demonstration of the sense and patience of the Sarawak electorate.

From July 21 to July 27, 1963.

New 'Cabinet' Meets Ningkan appointed Chief Minister

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, secretary-general of the Sarawak Alliance, was on Monday appointed to be the first Chief Minister of Sarawak.

The appointment was made by the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, who also nominated three people to the Council Negri and established the new Supreme Council.

The three nominated are: Mr Teo Kui Seng, Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud and Mr Ling Beng Siong.

Besides the Chief Minister and the three ex-officio members (the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary), the Governor, on the advice of the Chief Minister, appointed the following five Council Negri members to the Supreme Council: Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, Mr Teo Kui Seng, Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu, Mr Dunstan Endawi anak Enchana and Mr James Wong Kim Ming.

The Supreme Council met for the first time on Friday and Saturday under the chairmanship of the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell.

Mr Ningkan's appointment was made after the Governor was satisfied that Mr Ningkan "is likely to command the confi-

dence of the majority of the members of the Council Negri."

Mr Teo Kui Seng, managing-director of a shipping company, is the assistant-secretary general of the Sarawak Alliance; Inche Abdul Taib, a barrister, was until his new appointment serving in the Legal Department of the Sarawak Government.

Awang Hipni is a Matu District Councillor and Council Negri member from the Third Division; Mr Dunstan Endawi is a Kalaka District Councillor and Council Negri member from the Second Division; and Mr James Wong, a businessman, is a Limbang District Councillor (Independent) and Council Negri Member from the Fifth Division.

Mr Ling Beng Siong is a company director and Sibu Rural District Councillor.

The appointment of a number of Supreme Councilors to ministries will be made later.

Mr Teo was a founder member of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and was an important member in it until his resignation in November, 1962. He then joined the Sarawak Chinese Association and is now its assistant secretary-general. He is also assistant secretary-general of the Sarawak Alliance executive committee and a member of the

Alliance National Council.

Mr Teo is married and has five children.

Awang Hipni who is a Melanau, served in the last Matu/Daro District Council.

As a Councillor he had taken keen interest in the educational and civil affairs of his community. He is one of the staunch supporters of the Malaysia Plan.

He was returned uncontested as an Alliance candidate for Kampong Seka'an Besar in Matu District and is now vice-chairman of the District Council.

Mr Dunstan Endawi, who is 26 years of age, was born at Saratok and educated at St Peter's School, Saratok, and St Augustine's School, Betong.

He served as a school teacher for two years after which he became a farmer. In November, 1962, Mr Endawi joined the Kalaka District Council as a Revenue Collector.

He stood as an Alliance candidate (Sarawak National Party) in the recent Kalaka District Council elections and was successful.

Mr Endawi is married and has a daughter.

Mr James Wong Kim Ming, 41, was born at Limbang and educated at St Mary's and St Thomas's Schools, Kuching. He was a student at the Serdang Agricultural School in Kuala Lumpur when the Japanese entered the war and forced his return to Limbang where he worked as a padi planter.

After the war he managed his father's rubber estate - and then founded the Limbang Trading Company (general and timber merchants).

Mr Wong has had long experience in the field of local government - he has served as a Limbang District Councillor for 10 years. For several years he has been a member of the Fifth Division Advisory Council and Council Negri. His service to Council Negri has been regarded as one of the most outstanding.

In the recent general elections Mr Wong stood as an Independent in Limbang District and was returned. Later he was elected to the Advisory Council and Council Negri.

For many years Mr Wong has served on the Development Board. He is a member of Rubber Board of Administrators and Rubber Fund, Natural Resources Board and Sarawak Development Finance Corporation.

He has represented Sarawak as a delegate at international conferences and served with distinction on the Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee and the Inter-Govern-

mental Committee (Constitutional Sub-Committee).

He is also widely travelled and visited Britain twice on a local government study course and on a parliamentary procedure course sponsored by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Mr Wong is married with eight children.

Mr Ling Beng Siong (Nominated Councillor)

Mr Ling, 32, was born and educated at Sibul, and is the brother of Mr Ling Beng Siew, a former member of the Council Negri and the Supreme Council.

He is a director of sawmill firms and a bank.

Mr Ling served in the last Sibul Rural District Council and in the recent elections stood again and was returned.

He is a member of the Sarawak Chinese Association; chairman of the Board of Management of the Boi Ing School; and member of the Board of Management of the Ling Chu Ming School.

The Governor has also publicly expressed his appreciation of the services to the country of the following out-going members of Supreme Council who now have relinquished office - Mr A.R. Snelus, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Mr Ling Beng Siew, Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, Mr Ong Kee Hui, Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang, and Mr Chia Chin Shin.

Biographical notes

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan was born at Betong, in the Saribas District, Second Division, in August, 1920, and educated at St Augustine's School there.

For a number of years he worked as a dresser in the Brunei Shell Company hospital at Kuala Belait. He was the chairman of the Shell Dayak Club and founder president of the Dayak Association from 1958 to 1960.

On his return to Betong he became one of the founders of the Sarawak National Party which was formed in April, 1961.

The Party first adopted a strong anti-Malaysia stand but as the benefits of the proposed Federation became clearer, Mr Ningkan became instrumental in changing this policy and turned out to be one of the champions of Malaysia.

Mr Ningkan was also one of the prime movers in the formation of the Sarawak Alliance in October, 1962, and is its secretary-general. Since then he has been working tirelessly for the Alliance and for its victory in the elections.

Mr Ningkan is noted for his strong anti-Communist stand, his non-communal outlook in politics and his determination to see that the Dayak people are given every encouragement to achieve parity with the more advanced communities in Sarawak.

Mr Ningkan is married and has one son. His interests are journalism, law, photography and farming and he has visited North Borneo, Malaya and Thailand.

Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, who is 27 years old, was educated at St Joseph's school in Miri and St Joseph's School in Kuching.

After that he was awarded a scholarship to study law at the University of Adelaide, in Australia. He achieved brilliant success there and after obtaining his degree was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of South Australia. He served as Judge's Associate in the Supreme Court of South Australia in 1959.

On his return to Kuching Inche Abdul Taib joined the Legal Department of the Sarawak Government in February, 1962. He is specialist in comparative religion and Malay literature.

He is married and has a daughter.

Mr Teo Kui Seng, who is 55 years of age, was born in Kuching and attended St Thomas's and the Min Teck Schools. He went to Singapore to complete his education, passing the Matriculation examination for entry into Hong Kong University.

The death of his father forced his return to Kuching in 1972 when he joined the Sarawak Steamship Company Limited as a junior clerk. He achieved brilliant success with the company and is today its Managing Director.

Mr Teo has had long and wide experience in the public and social activities. He is on the Board of Trustees of the Chung Hua Primary and Secondary Schools' Properties; on the Board of Management of the Kuching High School; a member of the Kuching Port Authority and the Brooke Dockyard Advisory

Board; and until recently a member of the Tourist Advisory Committee. He is also president of the Sarawak Badminton Association, a member of the Sarawak Amateur Football Association and the Teochew Association.

He is first served on the Kuching Municipal Council (then a Board) in 1954 as a nominated member and later won a seat in the first Kuching Municipal Council elections in 1956.

On being transferred to Sibü two years later he resigned his seat but stood for election to the Sibü Urban District Council and was returned. He served there until his return to Kuching early last year.

NEW CABINET MINISTERS ANNOUNCED

The ministers allocated to Members of the Supreme council of Sarawak, and approved by His Excellency the Governor, were officially announced on Friday.

They are:

Minister for Natural Resources - Mr Teo Kui Seng; **Minister for Communications and Works** - Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud; **Minister for Local Government** - Mr Dunstan Endawi anak Enchana; and **Ministers of State** - Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu and Mr James Wong Kim Ming.

The Chief Minister is Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan and the Supreme Council also includes three ex-officio members - the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary.

With the exception of Mr Teo Kui Seng, the appointments of the other Ministers take effect from August 1.

Mr Teo will assume office as from October 1 and until then the Financial Secretary will temporarily be in charge of the Ministry of Natural Resources, in addition to his other duties.

Deputy Chief Minister

It was also announced by the Chief Minister on Friday that Mr James Wong would be his Deputy and would be charged with certain special duties.

'Malaysia Day' Fight 'Summit' Conference at crucial stage

Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya were this week, locked in the most crucial and dramatic battle in South East Asia's political history - over the issue of Malaysia.

The venue for this was Manila where since Wednesday the heads of the three Governments concerned, President Soekarno, President Macapagal and Tengku Abdul Rahman, have been holding their "summit" conference. It will end on Sunday, August 4.

Up to Friday, Malay's Prime Minister, while conceding that the United Nations should conduct an "assessment" of its own choosing as to the desires of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the question of Malaysia, was fighting desperately hard to keep August 31 as Malaysia Day.

Indonesia, apparently backed by the Philippines, strongly demands that this "assessment" should be a plebiscite or referendum (which might take months) and that Malaysia Day should be postponed until then.

It was agreed to refer the matter to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, and the problem then became - how he would conduct the assessment and how long he thought it would take.

U Thant replied on Thursday night that the U.N. General Assembly would have to be consulted first and that it did not meet until September. The reply was discussed at a meeting of the three Foreign Ministers who were also dealing with other controversial Malaysia issues.

Brightened suddenly

The prospects for an early Malaysia until then were low but they suddenly brightened on Friday when U Thant sent a second message saying that he might be able to do an assessment without consulting the General Assembly; that US\$400,000 would be required for it; and that he could go ahead and finish the job in about six weeks.

Following Friday's meetings of the Foreign Ministers, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Ganis Harsono, said

that the Indonesian position remained the same - there should be a referendum in Borneo, and it should come before Malaysia was formed.

Conference sources said that in the talks, Dr Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, suggested that in any act of self-determination in British Borneo, the people should have just one choice "Malaysia or independence."

However, a new turn in Indonesia's attitude was brought to light when Mr Khaw Kai Boh, a Malayan Minister who is also attending the conference, said that Indonesia had switched the main line of its attack on Malaysia from the question of a referendum in Borneo to the proposed Federation's defence tie-ups with Britain.

Mr Khaw said that the principal Indonesian objection was to a section in Article Six of the London agreement on Malaysia giving the British Government power to occupy its present bases in Malaya and Singapore, and to use them for the defence of British Commonwealth interests, and "for the preservation of peace in South East Asia."

Indonesia, which has said it regards Malaysia as a British tool, wants British troops off its borders, and is understood to be contemplating an agreement that states that the defence of South East Asia will be the responsibility of Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines.

There is a feeling in Manila that in any case Indonesia is going to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Borneo and conference sources say they believe Indonesia would oppose the presence of any British troops in Borneo while a referendum, or other form of self-determination, was in progress there.

Britain 'wholly satisfied'

In London, Mr Dunstan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons on Friday that the British Government had received no request

about postponing August 31 as Malaysia Day. He said that the British Government was "wholly satisfied" that the majority of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo was in favour of joining Malaysia.

Early on Saturday, it was reported that Malaya appeared to be considering the possibility of deferring Malaysia Day for about two weeks.

The pressures building up around the conference seemed to be growing greater and more complicated at the time of going to press but hopes were expressed that the Foreign Ministers would resolve their differences in time for the meeting of the 'Big Three.'

One concrete achievement of the conference so far was the signing by the chief executives of the "Manila Agreement" providing for the future establishment of "Maphilindo", a loose confederation of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia.

The Philippines Foreign Minister, Mr Salvador Lopez, said the agreement was "a statement of principles to which the three countries subscribe."

BEFORE THE SUMMIT

In Jakarta last week the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, expressed surprise at reports that Malaysia would definitely be established on August 31.

He was speaking to reporters after a discussion with President Soekarno. Later at a mass rally, President Soekarno, in a fiery speech, described Malaysia as "a creation of the imperialists" and said he would go to Manila "for the sake of the Indonesian people to expose this British project of Malaysia."

He said now that the Tengku had sent invitations to a number of countries, including Indonesia, to attend the ceremony of the formation of Malaysia on August 31, the world could see who was the liar - "it is the Tengku not Soekarno", he declared.

In Kuala Lumpur, Tengku Abdul Rahman welcomed the news that President Soekarno had decided to go to Manila and said: "This is good, I am glad he has decided to go. There is a lot we can discuss in a peaceful manner."

Before leaving Kuala Lumpur on Monday for Manila, the Tengku said at a brief press conference: "I am going on a peace mission whether successful or not. It is a good thing to meet and for us to talk things over rather than at a distance. Malaya wants peace and good

relations with her neighbours.

"There will be no discussions on the question of plebiscite at any time. How can I compromise? Why don't they stick to their words? I will stick to my words, I am no more optimistic than they are."

'Willing to see Soekarno before meeting'

On his arrival in Manila, the Tengku said that he was willing to meet President Soekarno before the opening of the summit conference but that he himself would not seek the meeting.

The Tengku was accompanied by the Minister without portfolio, Senator Khaw Kai Boh and the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie.

Manila, Sunday: Philippine officials were today not unduly optimistic about the conference. Originally they had hoped the conference would merely rubber-stamp decisions of the Foreign Ministers' conference last month.

They said that the part laid out for the Philippines in the talks appeared to be that of a peacemaker - if that were possible.

Mr Salvador Lopez, the new Philippines Foreign Secretary, said at an impromptu press conference that self-determination in British Borneo must precede the formation of Malaysia.

He said that this was the implication of the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' last month.

In Kuala Lumpur, usually-reliable Government sources said that Indonesia might demand the removal of British bases from Malaysia during the summit meeting.

They believed that President Soekarno considered the defence clause, and particularly its wording - that Britain may have free use of the Malayan bases for the preservation of peace in the Commonwealth and South East Asia - as offensive.

The Indonesian President was understood to be in favour of a new clause stating that defence of Malaysia and preservation of peace in the area shall be a matter for Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

In Jakarta, the Indonesian Defence Minister and Chief of the Armed Forces, General Abdul Haris Nasution said that the people along the border of Indonesia and British Borneo must get intensive military

training to face the formation of Malaysia.

Jakarta Radio quoted the Defence Minister as saying at territorial claim but said she would foil and crush Malaysia because it was against colonialism wherever it existed.

Subandrio accuses

Meanwhile Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, said in a lecture in Jakarta to police officers that the relationship between Indonesia and Malaya should be clear whether they be friends or enemies.

Dr Subandrio said: "As long as Malaya, Indonesia's closest neighbour, remains a British tool, it will remain the nest of counter-revolutionaries or rebels dangerous to Indonesia.

"The imperialists are trying to form Malaysia as a manifestation that aims to attract a number of regions in Indonesia, so that Indonesia will collapse," he added.

Dr Subandrio accused Britain of trying to create a gulf between Indonesia and Malaya, and declared: "The British have appointed Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Malayan Prime Minister, as the leader in South East Asia to compete with President Soekarno. It proves that the Tengku and his friends such as the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, want Sumatra to join Malaya."

THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OPENS

Manila, Tuesday: President Soekarno and Tengku Abdul Rahman smiled, chatted and shook hands at the opening and closing of the conference today.

The Tengku and President Soekarno also waived their right to speak at the opening public session, fearing a further generation of hostility.

Opening the 'summit' before a crowd of about 500 in the hall of the newly decorated Foreign Office building, President Macapagal said that the Tengku and President had asked him to make the only speech.

He said: "They assured me it would be more auspicious for me to do so. Let us hope that by the time the conference closes, we shall speak with one voice and one aspiration for the Malay peoples."

The President said that Malaysia and "Maphilindo" (the proposed greater con-

federation of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines) were "the short and long term implications of the problems we are confronting today."

"We shall deal with them fully, freely and frankly in the manner of brothers and neighbours, and as such we shall endeavour to solve the deeper issues of which these are the outer manifestations.

The President praised President Soekarno and Tengku Abdul Rahman who, he said, were great leaders of their peoples and leaders of world stature.

We are in the last stages of the liquidation in South East Asia of the last pockets of classical-type colonialism. This has given rise to opportunity for independent countries in the area to begin seeking their rightful share of responsibility for security and stability in this part of the world," he said.

This was the opportunity or challenge facing Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines, he added.

President Macapagal said that the task facing the three countries was admittedly a great one, but it came at a favourable juncture in world affairs, when a partial nuclear test ban had been signed, and there was a favourable climate for the formation of "Maphilindo."

Historic occasion

He went on: "This is an historic occasion. This is the first time in history that three leaders of Malay origin have come together for consultations regarding common problems.

"Behind this occasion lay a history of colonisation and Asia's long struggle for independence, and the dawn of freedom, based on justice and equality of law."

President Soekarno was "one of the chief architects of Asian solidarity and his statesmanship has been instrumental in enabling us to forge a new sense of unity in the Malay people."

"The maintenance of our security, the economic progress of our people, will depend upon the statesmanship of this great leader of 100 million people who respect him," he added.

The Tengku was "a great leader in his own right," the President said. Malaya had gained its freedom, had abundant resources and enjoyed a high degree of prosperity and well being.

Malaya had also solved its racial problems in harmony and co-operation, he said. It was a smaller country than either Indonesia and the Philippines, but true to the saying that "lasting freedom is never granted but must be won by sacrifice", it had had to work hard for preservation of its independence by fighting a communist rebellion.

The President said that the Tengku, by coming to the conference had proclaimed that enduring peace and stability in South East Asia was something that could be achieved.

Another aspect which made the conference historical was that it came at a time when the three countries were involved in great events:

- Indonesia with internal threats to its security and the recovery of West New Guinea, and the achievement of territorial integrity.

- Malaya with threats to its security, the establishment of working democracy, and "now the embarkation on a new federation called Malaysia."

- The Philippines with "the rediscovery of our identity, and reorientation of our foreign policy towards the Asian homeland."

President Macapagal then said that some people asked if the conference was going to be a success. "By taking place at all, it has already achieved a measure of success. The conference is an important milestone for Asia," he declared.

President Macapagal went on: "The world watches this conference with interest. If we succeed in resolving the problems facing us we shall have contributed in a constructive way to the preservation of peace."

All the chief executives were smiling and good humoured. They came together minutes before the formal opening, and the Tengku and President Soekarno shook hands, spoke and smiled. They shook hands again before leaving the hall at the close of President Macapagal's address.

'The right note'

Today's opening was staged in the crowded hall of the Foreign Ministry. The three state leaders sat together beneath an enormous canvas by the Philippines painter-patriot, Juan Luna.

"In this context, after having considered the report, and recommendations of the conference of Foreign Ministers of the Federation

of Malaya, the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of Indonesia held in Manila from June 7-11, 1963, the three heads of Government approved and accepted the same.

The painting, "the Soliarium," depicts dead gladiators being dragged from the Roman Arena, and so meant to signify the brutality and indignity of colonial rule.

Philippines Marines in American-style ceremonial uniforms lined the corridors and stairways of the newly-decorated Foreign Office.

The Tengku and President Macapagal arrived about 15 minutes before the opening ceremony. President Soekarno, dapper and smiling broadly in his grey Commander-in-Chief's uniform, arrived precisely on time.

Asked for comment in the Presidents' speech, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Malayan Ministry of External Affairs, said he thought it had struck the right note.

At night the three leaders met for a State dinner at President Macapagal's Malacanang Palace.

Wednesday: The first closed-door session been today but just before then the Malayan Prime Minister paid a surprise call on President Soekarno. The two spoke together for about 20 minutes before the conference opened.

Malayan officials said the call was a courtesy one, made at the Tengku's own initiatives.

The talks were held in the chamber of the Council of State in the Malacanang Palace, the residence and office of the President of the Philippines.

The three chief executives, attended by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, the Philippines Foreign Minister, Mr Lopez, and Mr Khaw Kai Boh, Malayan Minister without Port-folio, sat round a circular table.

Three-hour meeting

A communique issued at the end of the three-hour session indicated that Malaya was ready to have the summit meeting recommended to the United Nations what steps it should take in giving the Borneo peoples of Malaysia self-determination.

Observers doubted that this meant Malaya would be prepared to postpone Malaysia for a U.N. referendum, as President Soekarno had demanded.

However, until now the Tengku had also said that the method of self-determination in Borneo was something for the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, to decide.

The communique read: "The three heads of Government together with their ministers met this morning in a very cordial and brotherly atmosphere.

"President Soekarno and Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman expressed their sincere gratitude for the untiring efforts of President Macapagal and the Philippine Government to bring about the summit conference in Manila.

"The three heads of Government reaffirmed their determination to establish the closest co-operation among the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of the Philippines, and the Republic of Indonesia.

"The secretary general of the United Nations has been informed of this decision in order to advise him of the role which he would be requested to play in implementing the relevant clauses of the agreement.

The three heads of Government will continue the discussion on Thursday morning, August 1."

In the agreement signed by the Foreign Ministers it stated that Indonesia and the Philippines would welcome Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo Territories was ascertained by the U.N. secretary general or his representative.

Indonesian officials said that they took this as a pledge to hold a U.N. plebiscite in Borneo, and that the Tengku had agreed to postpone Malaysia until a referendum was held.

The Tengku said all that Malaya had agreed to was an "assessment" which could be carried out by officials and in any case Malaysia would be formed as scheduled on August 31.

The "approval and acceptance" of the Foreign Ministers' agreement meant, observers believed, that the chief executives had agreed that there was room for discussion and negotiation in the issue, and that they were prepared to talk.

Friendly and smiling

The Tengku and President Soekarno were again friendly and smiling as they settled round the table.

President Macapagal told reporters the summit "has already succeeded" and added:

"The mere fact that we are holding the summit is an indication of success."

The Tengku said: "We would not be here if we were not optimistic." And President Soekarno said: "We will succeed if we try our best."

The three chief executives called in the press at the close of the session and the Tengku and President Soekarno stood unsmiling as President Macapagal read out the communique.

All the Foreign Ministers expressed themselves satisfied with the morning's proceedings. Philippines official quarters said it was their belief the U.N. was going to be brought squarely into the dispute.

The Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, said: "Soekarno is really a charming man. He can charm anybody. But at the same time there was one bad moment."

It is believed that there was some tension for the first 30 minutes of the talks, but that the meeting then became fairly relaxed.

At one stage the meeting called in Mr Alfred Mackenzie, the official U Thant has appointed as his Liaison Officer at the summit.

After the meeting Inche Mohammed Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Malayan Ministry for External Affairs, had a 20-minute conference with Mr Mackenzie.

M-Day postponed?

Meanwhile rumours circulated that the Tengku had in fact decided that the birth of Malaysia could be postponed.

Indonesian sources claimed the Tengku said in the closed session that keeping Indonesian friendship was more important than August 31 as a date for the founding of Malaysia.

But Malayan officials said that they were content with what had been decided so far. And it was believed they were hoping that U Thant would decide on an "assessment" rather than a referendum.

It was understood that the summit leaders had sent a cable to U Thant asking him to let them know as soon as possible how long he would take to ascertain the wishes of the Borneo peoples.

In the afternoon the Foreign Ministers met, and it was understood they were trying to thrash out a method of granting the Borneo

people self-determination that would satisfy all parties.

Conference sources said that Indonesia had proposed that the self-determination employed by U Thant should be based on a United Nations resolution passed with Afro-Asian backing earlier this year.

This resolution is a guide to the conduct for mergers of former colonial states, and among other things it states that self-determination should be on a basis of universal adult suffrage.

The Tengku was known to have been banking heavily on hopes that U Thant would agree that an "assessment" by U.N. officials over a period of about two weeks should be adequate.

This would mean that Malaysia could come into existence on time - and the Tengku was fighting hard for this.

The Prime Minister was understood to have told his delegate at the talks, Inche Mohammed Ghazali bin Shafie, that he should walk out of the other parties insisted on self-determination through this resolution.

Thursday: The Ministers met for more than three hours in the morning and early afternoon and resumed at 4 p.m.

The Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, told reporters that discussion of self-determination for the Borneo peoples and the Philippines' claim on British North Borneo was finished.

Asked later if this was true, Inche Ghazali said: "No." Asked the same question, Dr Subandrio said the Indonesian Foreign Minister said: "Yes."

Discussion on defence

Also under discussion at the Foreign Ministers' meeting was defence (and in particular Britain's defence relations with Malaya and Malaysia) and "Maphilindo", the proposed Confederation of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Conference sources said that Dr Subandrio raised Indonesia's objections to Article Six of the London Agreement on Malaysia which prolongs the life of the Anglo-Malayan mutual defence and assistance agreement of 1957 and guarantees Britain the right to maintain bases and other military facilities in Singapore.

It also gives Britain freedom after Malaysia is formed to use the bases whenever the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur may consider it necessary to help defend Malaysia, British Commonwealth interests and "for the preservation of peace in South East Asia."

The sources said that Dr Subandrio took the attitude that Article Six was a violation of last month's Foreign Ministers' conference whose report said that Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines shared responsibility "for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation."

Their responsibility to maintain security and peace was to "preserve their national identities" and ensure peaceful development in South East Asia, the report said.

Later conference sources said the message sent to U Thant from the summit asked that he assist in bringing about self-determination in Borneo "in the letter and spirit of resolution 1541" (the Afro-Asian resolution the Tengku opposes).

Officials said it was a generally understood fact that the motion strongly implied a plebiscite. They also said that if U Thant was to act under this resolution he would have to get the approval of the General Assembly which did not meet again until September.

Meanwhile the summit chiefs delayed meeting again until the Foreign Ministers provided them with a solution. Contact was being maintained with U Thant through his liaison officer, Mr Mackenzie. The secretary-general was believed to have cabled asking for more details.

Mr Mackenzie also talked by telephone with a senior U.N. official, Mr C.V. Narasimhan, who has already carried out an investigation in the Borneo Territories. He was asked how long he thought it would take to make an "ascertainment."

Meanwhile President Soekarno received a number of horticulturists and discussed the cultivation of orchids. Later he made a pilgrimage to the home of the late General Emilio Aguinaldo, a patriot.

The Tengku went shopping and bought a shawl for his wife. In the afternoon he played a round of golf with a protocol officer.

U Thant sends reply

Friday: It was learned that the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, had sent his reply to a request sent on Wednesday by the three heads of states. It was under discussion today by the Foreign Ministers of the three countries.

According to Mr Salvador Lopez, the Philippines Foreign Secretary, Thursday's

meeting made "substantial progress" on the crucial question of self-determination for the Borneo States and the Philippines' claim to North Borneo. And Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Prime Minister, told reporters he believed the summit would end satisfactorily "if everyone sticks to his word."

The Tengku described the talks as "so far, so good" and said: "I think everything will be at right."

Call by Sarawak & Sabah

'DON'T DELAY MALAYSIA' STRONG REACTIONS TO MANILA AGREEMENT

Sarawak and Sabah are determined to become independent states of Malaysia — on August 31, 1963.

The elected Government of Sarawak and the Sabah Alliance Party, which will shortly assume power, made that clear this week.

They have also made it clear that they are opposed to a referendum being held in their states under the supervision of the United Nations — as demanded by Indonesia and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party.

But they are not opposed to an agreement reached on Monday at the Manila summit conference that the United Nations Secretary-General (U Thant) or his representative should conduct as assessment of the wishes of the people of Sarawak and Sabah as to whether they wished to join Malaysia. But they want this to be accomplished as soon as possible so that the August 31 date may be kept.

The Manila conference, which was attended by the leaders of Malaya (Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister); Indonesia (President Soekarno) and the Philippines (President Macapagal), ended on Monday with a compromise agreement.

The implications

One of the agreements reached was that the U.N. Secretary General or his representative should, prior to the establishment of Malaysia, send teams to Sarawak and Sabah to settle the question of self-determination.

This has implied that Malaya no longer

insists on August 31 as the foundation date for Malaysia and the Malayan Prime Minister said on Tuesday that he would be prepared to postpone the creation of the new Federation for a few days, if it was necessary. However a Malayan Cabinet statement issued on Wednesday hoped that Malaysia would be established on August 31.

It also implied that Indonesia would stop demanding a referendum and drop its confrontation policy. But President Soekarno, who hailed the Manila conference as an Indonesian victory, said in Jakarta on Tuesday that Malaysia would not come into being before a referendum was held in the Borneo Territories.

In the meantime anti-Malaysia activities are still going on in Jakarta and a spokesman for General Abdul Haris Nasution, the Defence Minister and Chief of the Armed Force said that Indonesia would keep on opposing Malaysia and would "crush" it if it was formed in a manner not in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned. He also said: "Our defence along the border is still on the alert."

On Wednesday the British Government received a formal request from the Malayan Government to permit United Nations teams to visit Sarawak and Sabah and it has been reported that it has agreed in principle to the investigation.

U Thant has in New York, it is learned, already held discussions with representatives of the 'summit' conference countries and Britain.

Telegram to U Thant

During the Manila conference the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, sent a telegram to U Thant, in which he stated that it was unnecessary for a referendum or plebiscite to be held in Sarawak because of results of the general elections clearly showed that the majority of the people supported Malaysia.

He added that the Sarawak Alliance had already formed a new Government.

Later Mr Ningkan said: "We welcome the Manila agreement about the assessment of the wishes of the people on Malaysia by a United Nations team. We will assist the UN team in its work, and we are confident that Malaysia will be established, as declared already, on the 31st of this month."

Mr Stephens explained that the move was to avert any delay in bringing about the country's independence by August 31. If Malaysia was not formed on the scheduled date of August 31, Sabah would exercise its right of self-determination on that date with a view to joining Malaysia at a later specified date.

Mr Stephens emphasised: "We in Sabah cannot agree to a postponement. We have completed our preparations to take over the reins of the Government from the British on August 31 this year."

"We have gone through the democratic process of electing the people to the Federal Parliament and to the Senate. We have elected our Head of State, formed the State Cabinet. In fact, we are prepared and ready for independence."

Mr Stephens told the House that although "We are willing to see the United Nations official or officials here, I cannot honestly say that Sabah would welcome their visit to this country."

It would be, he added, an uncalled for intrusion "which we are willing to tolerate only out of respect for the Tengku."

Mr Stephens continued: "Let us give notice here that we want no other interference in this country, either by the United Nations or our so-called friendly neighbours who pretend to be so worried about our future."

The chairman of the SUPP, Mr Ong Kee Hui, was reported to have said that the holding of a referendum was not "very difficult" — about two weeks would be enough time for it.

On Tuesday, the Secretary-General of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, Mr Stephen

Yong, called for a plebiscite and declared in a newspaper interview that "there is no better substitute than a plebiscite to assess the people's wishes."

Mr Yong said that a team of assessors could not adequately cover the whole country and make a proper assessment adding: "We have had experience of this before" (an obvious reference to the Cobbold Commission).

He also said that the recent elections could not guide the people's feelings on Malaysia and stated: "We know as a fact that many of our supporters were afraid to vote in view of the tense atmosphere caused by the emergency and the unfortunate and unnecessary arrests and detention of some of our candidates."

Mr Yong contended that impartial observers in Sarawak held the view that the elections were not based so much on the Malaysia issue but on racial considerations.

However, the chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, welcomed the Manila agreement for an "assessment" and hoped that it could be completed so that Malaysia could come into being on August 31.

Mr Stephens has also called for an emergency meeting of the Alliance Executive Committee to be held on Friday to discuss the Malaysia issue. It is understood that the meeting will seek to adopt a "tough line" to oppose any postponement of Malaysia.

According to an Alliance source an alternative resolution the meeting is expected to adopt will insist on Sabah getting independence on August 31, this year — with or without Malaysia.

Mr Stephens said: "Those who took part in the Manila talks thought they could do what they wished to do without first consulting Sabah. They are entirely wrong. If they try to force anything on us and we don't like it, all I know is that we will fight against it with all our might."

Call by Legislative Council

In Jesselton on Thursday the Legislative Council agreed that the people of the colony should be given the right of self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

The Council also reaffirmed its earlier decision that Sabah must attain independence by joining Malaysia on August 31.

The motion calling for self-determination, tabled by Mr Donald Stephens, was unanimously adopted after the 16 elected members were sworn in.

The voters' registers were in readiness and could be used again at any time, he added.

'Elections - a referendum'

In a broadcast made on Thursday, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, reiterated that there was no point in holding a plebiscite in Sarawak "because I maintain that the elections were, in fact, a referendum."

He explained: "As you are all aware the election issue was in fact, Malaysia. The election itself was conducted on strictly democratic lines and the defeated opposition knows that they had fought a hard fight on this issues — and lost.

"I do not see any reason why they cannot accept the defeat with grace and good sense, instead of agitating again for a 'general referendum'.

"We do not want the Malaysia date to be delayed. For us that date is very significant, for on that date we will celebrate Malaysia Day or Independence Day.

"I do hope that the United Nations authorities will be able to satisfy themselves soon that Malaysia was in fact an election issue so that the August 31 date may be kept throughout the Federation.

"If, however, there has to be a short delay to allow the Secretary-General's representatives to complete their task, I hope that we shall quickly be informed so that a definite new date can be fixed.

"The terms of reference of the UN team have not yet been made known, and we have to wait and see what course the UN investigators themselves will be prepared to follow.

"Whatever their terms of reference, we do earnestly hope that they will satisfy themselves fully before Malaysia Day so that its significance may not be lost to the generations to come."

'Could wreck Malaysia'

The Sabah Alliance Party also cabled a message opposing any postponement of the Malaysia date.

The telegram, signed by Mr Donald Stephens, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alliance Party and Chief

Minister Designate, was addressed to Tengku Abdul Rahman.

It said that any such postponement could wreck Malaysia as far as the Borneo Territories were concerned.

The cable also reiterated the Alliance's stand that there should be no referendum before Malaysia and that Malaysia must be established on August 31.

Mr Stephens said that President Soekarno who "preached self-determination" did not really want self-determination for the Borneo Territories but only determination by himself.

"The Indonesians refused to accept the verdict of self-determination in Sabah and Sarawak and are now trying to delay Malaysia with the hope that by doing so they will be able to wreck Malaysia," Mr Stephens added.

'Stand up and fight' — Lee

In Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said in a press statement that many people in Malaysia would not be happy if there was any delay in the formation of the new Federation.

Later at a political rally Mr Lee said that Singapore was not bound by the Manila agreement adding: "As far as I am concerned, the date for the formation of Malaysia is still August 31 because we signed an agreement in London saying so."

"The only people who are happy about this talk of the possibility of Malaysia being postponed are the enemies of Malaysia. This includes the communist sympathisers in Singapore who are stooges of the Indonesian Communist Party," he declared before flying to Kuala Lumpur on Thursday to persuade Tengku Abdul Rahman to stick to August 31 as Malaysia Day.

He then said: "This is the time for Malaysia to stand and fight." Mr Lee was also reported to have said of President Soekarno in an interview: "Do you think we should give in to an international blackmailer?"

Manila agreement

The Manila agreement followed a 50-minute private talk on Sunday night between the Malayan Prime Minister and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio. The news came 12 hours before the close of the six-day conference when it seemed that total agreement was out of the question.

The summit chiefs also signed a joint communique which approved the recommendations of the Foreign Ministers' conference last June and the Manila Declaration.

The joint communique stipulated that when U Thant carried out his "ascertainment" he should take no consideration:

1. The recent elections in Sarawak and Sabah but nevertheless further examining, verifying and satisfying himself as to whether —
 - Malaysia was a major issue, if not the main issue;
 - Electoral registers were properly compiled;
 - Elections were free and there was no coercion; and
 - votes were properly polled and properly counted.
2. The wishes of those who, being qualified to vote, would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offences or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak.

The communique, described as a "joint statement", said the three countries would abstain from use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the political interests of any of the 'Big powers'.

At the ceremonial closing of the conference Reuter news agency reported that President Soekarno was in an angry mood when he spoke. Observers believed he was far from happy with the compromise agreement.

The joint communique then said that the three countries would send observers to witness the work of the teams and that Malaya would seek the co-operation of the British and Borneo Governments in arranging for the UN teams to work.

Malaya agreed to ask Britain to co-operate in "seeking a just and expeditious solution" to the Philippines claim to North Borneo by arbitration and conciliation.

The countries also agreed —

- to take concrete steps towards the establishment of a confederation (Maphilindo) among themselves;
- that the peace and security of the area was primarily the responsibility of the Governments and peoples concerned; and

- that the foreign bases "temporarily" in summit countries should not be permitted "directly or indirectly" to subvert the independence of other signatory countries.

Visibly annoyed

He was also visibly annoyed by Malaya's Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who spoke before him to about 500 diplomats, senior Philippines Government leaders and members of the delegations of Malaya and Indonesia.

The Tengku struck a raw nerve with the Indonesian leader when he said in a written speech that "communism is more destructive than imperialism" and that the summit had ended with Indonesia relinquishing its policy of confrontation of Malaysia for a "peaceful approach" to the proposed Federation.

Senator Khaw Kai Boh, who assisted Tengku Abdul Rahman, later denied that President Soekarno was angry.

While the Tengku spoke, Dr Soekarno, in his special blue grey Supreme Armed Forces Commander uniform, slumped in his chair, unsmiling, with his feet thrust out on the red carpeted dais.

The happy buoyancy he exhibited when he entered the Foreign Ministry had dissipated and when his turn came the Indonesian leader spoke out strongly against the "old established order" and the "exploitation of man by man, nation by nation."

His speech gave no indication that Indonesia would change its attitude to Malaysia which it has branded "an imperialist creation."

Imperialism, he said, would be destroyed by the great army of the world's "new emerging forces" — the rising nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Socialist countries.

'Possible catastrophe averted'

In his speech, President Macapagal said that Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines in their agreement had "averted a possible catastrophe in South East Asia".

He said that from now on the three countries would not allow "outside interests" to divide them and that the success of the summit "marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of our countries as independent states".

"In this sense the Manila Declaration is a declaration of independence," he added.

Mr Macapagal said the three nations of Malay stock had agreed to assume their "rightful share of responsibility" in the security of South East Asia.

He said that they were pledged to keep our foreign and communist subversion, and to aid each other in economic development.

The Tengku returns

Back in Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, told a press conference on Tuesday that he would be prepared to postpone the creation of Malaysia on its scheduled date of August 31 for a few days, if it was necessary.

"I don't want to be rigid about this, it is the right thing. We have to allow certain leeway for the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative to work. I don't suppose we can oppose to postponing the establishment of Malaysia for a few days," he added.

The Tengku also said: "We have got to announce a definite date in the Parliament".

He did not think that the ascertainment of the views as a result of the Manila Accord would take weeks and added: "I don't think there is any difficulty in ascertaining the views of the people in the Borneo states."

He referred to the joint agreement in Manila in which U Thant or his representative would look into the recent elections held in the two states and said: "No doubt we have got to seek the approval of the British Government".

Shortly after his hour long conference at the Residency his official home, the Malaysian Premier received Sir Geoffrey Tory, the British High Commissioner, to discuss about the summit meeting.

"In England everybody is for Malaysia. I don't think postponement will worry them," he said.

The Tengku reaffirmed his statements that there was no question of plebiscite or referendum in the Borneo Territories.

The appointment of three observers by Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines with U Thant or his personal representative should not obstruct the United Nations teams' work, he said.

"They are only observers and they will not be directly concerned with investigations. They will only see things and they will not

interfere in the work of the United Nations men, he added.

The Malaysian Prime Minister next said that Indonesia had "very strong feelings" about British and American bases in this region which they considered to be a threat.

"As for Malaya," he pointed out, "we consider that this region is fraught with danger and for this reason we have our defence arrangements with Britain. But our defence arrangements with Britain are not perpetual or permanent. They can be revoked by either party".

He said that Indonesia wanted these foreign bases not to be used to serve the interest of the Big powers and added: "We have to accept it as a fact that Indonesia's policy of confrontation towards Malaysia has been withdrawn although they did not say so."

Soekarno accuses Britain

In Jakarta, President Soekarno said that Malaysia would not come into being before a referendum was held in the Borneo Territories.

He told a mass rally marking the birth of Prophet Mohammed, that Indonesia had gained a victory at Manila.

It was agreed that "Malaysia would not be formed before the voice of North Kalimantan (Borneo) people was heard." To ascertain whether or not the people there want to join Malaysia could be done through a referendum under the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, he said.

Dr Soekarno then declared: "The Kalimantan people possess a flaming spirit. I am confident they will reject Malaysia."

He also accused Britain of trying to wreck the summit meeting.

Meanwhile the official news agency, Antara, reported that the Indonesian Defence Minister, General Nasution, had told a mass rally at Pontianak, West Kalimantan, that Malaysia must be crushed "either through peace or war".

"We cannot sacrifice our principle of anti-colonialism though we want peace," he declared.

The General also denounced the Borneo elections, saying: "A general election under colonialism is not an election at all."

In an obvious reference to the Chinese communists who have crossed the border

from Sarawak to Indonesia, he declared that Indonesia had been training Borneo 'rebels', adding: "It is no longer secret that we give them military training and war equipment to drive the colonialists out of North Kalimantan."

Other Indonesian Views

The General Chairman of the biggest Indonesian Nationalist Party, Dr Ali Sastroamidjojo, commenting on the outcome of the summit conference, said that it was now up to the United Nations Secretary-General to ascertain the wishes of the North Kalimantan people.

"So August 31 — the planned date of the formation of Malaysia — has lost its political significance which has been the main cause of tension between Indonesia and Malaya," he added.

The official organ of the powerful Indonesian Communist Party, *Harian Rakyat* (People's Daily), said in an editorial, "The people of North Kalimantan have actually expressed their voice through the proclamation of December last year and this independence proclamation cannot be ignored."

British reaction

In London, British officials said that Britain would apparently not object if U Thant suggested measures to verify the results of the steps already taken in Sarawak and North Borneo to consult public opinion.

These include recent elections which resulted in majorities for pro-Malaysia parties in both cases, they added.

Britain is not likely to consider holding a referendum in the territories, as requested by Indonesia. Apart from the delay this would cause to the creation of Malaysia — still scheduled for August 31 — it was thought unlikely that the Government would be willing to accept the implication that the Borneo elections were not an honest expression of public opinion.

In addition, agreement of a United Nations — conducted referendum would create an unfortunate precedent, as far as Britain is concerned for direct United Nations intervention in colonial matters which the Government had always resisted hitherto, observers said.

THE UN BILL — SPLIT BY THREE

Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines have already agreed to split the cost of the United Nations investigation in British Borneo, according to Inche Mohammad Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary at the Malayan Ministry of External Affairs.

Malaya at first said that Indonesia and the Philippines should pay since they wanted the investigation, but later agreed to join in.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, has formally presented a Malaysia Bill to the Conference of State Rulers in Kuala Lumpur. The Bill will be brought before Parliament next week.

The Tengku also reported on the recent summit meeting to the Conference.

The South East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato) Council of Representatives may discuss Malaysia and the recent Manila summit agreement at its regular monthly meeting in Bangkok next week.

Diplomatic sources in Bangkok said that the topic was not on the agenda but it might be brought up when current political developments in the area were discussed.

THE MANILA DECLARATION

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, assembled in a summit conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963, following the meeting of their Foreign Ministers held in Manila from June 7 to 11, 1963.

Conscious of the historic significance of their coming together for the first time as leaders of sovereign states that have emerged after long struggles from colonial status to independence;

Desiring to achieve better understanding and closer co-operation in their endeavour to chart their common future;

Inspired also by the spirit of Asian-African Solidarity forged in the Bandung conference of 1955;

Convinced that their countries, which are bound together by close historical ties of race and culture, share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities and to ensure the

peaceful development of their respective countries and their region in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples; and

Determined to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and their neighbours in a world dedicated to freedom and justice.

Do hereby declare.

ATTACK BY LABOUR SPOKESMAN

In a press statement issued in London on Thursday, Mr Arthur Bottomley, Labour Opposition spokesman on Colonial Affairs, said the British Government had got itself into "an absurd position" over Malaysia.

"Last week I put a private notice question to Mr Duncan Sandys (Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary) asking him what he knew about the plan to invite the United Nations to carry out an investigation in the Borneo Territories in order to find out the feelings of the peoples about joining Malaysia," Mr Bottomley said.

"Mr Sandys did not consider the question seriously and now a week has elapsed without anything being done. Neither the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary nor the Commonwealth Secretary are available to give a decision.

"It now appears that, as a result of Mr Sandy's attitude, a decision was taken concerning territories for which Britain has a direct responsibility without Britain's views being made known.

"This may lead to great uncertainty and confusion only three weeks before the Federation is due to come into existence. For this we must hold the British Government directly responsible," he added.

First, that they reaffirm their adherence to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Bandung declaration;

Second, that they are determined, in the common interest of their countries to maintain fraternal relations, to strengthen co-operation among their peoples in their economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote economic progress and social well being in the region, and to put an end to the exploitation of man by an and of one nation by another;

Third, that the three nations shall combine their efforts in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations and for the eradication of the vestiges thereof in the region in particular and the world in general;

Fourth, that the three nations, as new emerging forces in the region, shall co-operate in building a new and better world based on national freedom, social justice and lasting peace; and

Fifth, that in the context of the joint endeavours of the three nations to achieve the foregoing objectives, they have agreed to take initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo.

Manila, August 3, 1963.

Soekarno

President of Indonesia

Diosdado Macapagal

President of the Philippines

Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj

Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT

The following is the full text of the joint statement at the conclusion of the summit meeting.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines, and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya met at a summit conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963.

1. Moved by a sincere desire to solve their common problems in an atmosphere of fraternal understanding, they considered, approved and accepted the report and recommendations of the Foreign Ministers of the three countries adopted in Manila on June 11, 1963 (here after to be known as the Manila Accord).

2. In order to provide guiding principles for the implementation of the Manila accord the heads of government have issued a declaration known as the Manila Declaration, embodying the common aspirations and objectives of the peoples and governments of the three countries.

3. As a result of the consultations amongst the three heads of government in accordance

with the principles enunciated in the Manila Declaration, they have resolved various current problems of common concern.

4. Pursuant to paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Manila Accord the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative should ascertain prior to the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia the wishes of the people of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (15), principle 9 of the Annex, by a fresh approach, which in the opinion of the Secretary-General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination with the requirements embodied in Principle 9, taking into consideration:

- (1) The recent election in Sabah (North Borneo and Sarawak but nevertheless further examining, verifying and satisfying himself as to whether —
- (2) The wishes of those who, being qualified to vote, would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offences or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak.

5. The Secretary-General will be requested to send working teams to carry out the task set out in paragraph 4.

6. The Federation of Malaya, having undertaken to consult the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak under paragraph 11 of the Manila Accord on behalf of the three Heads of Government, further undertake to request them to co-operate with the Secretary-General and to extend to him the necessary facilities so as to enable him to carry out his task as set out in paragraph 4.

7. In the interest of the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government deem it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams, and the Federation of Malaya will use its best endeavours to obtain the co-operation of the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in furtherance of this purpose.

8. In accordance with paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, the three Heads of Government decided to request the British Government to agree to seek a just and expeditious

solution to the dispute between the British Government and the Philippines Government concerning Sabah (North Borneo) by means of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of the parties own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

The three Heads of Government take cognizance of the position regarding the Philippine claim to Sabah (North Borneo) after the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia as provided under paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, that is, that the inclusion of Sabah (North Borneo) in the Federation of Malaysia does not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder.

9. Pursuant to paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the Manila Accord and the fifth principle of the Manila Declaration, that is, that initial steps should be taken towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo, it is agreed that each country shall set up a national secretariat for Maphilindo affairs and as a first step the respective national secretariats will consult together with a view to co-ordinating and co-operating with each other in the study on the setting up of the necessary machinery for Maphilindo.

10. The three Heads of Government emphasised that the responsibility for the preservation of the national independence of the three countries and of the peace and security in their region lies primarily in the hands of the Governments and the peoples of the countries concerned, and that the three Governments undertake to have close consultations (Mushawarah) among themselves on these matters.

Heads of Government further agreed that foreign bases — temporary in nature — should not be allowed to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three countries. In accordance with the principle enunciated in the Bandung Declaration, the three countries will abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

President Soekarno and Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman express their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by President Macapagal in calling the summit conference which, in addition to resolving their differences concerning the proposed Federa-

tion of Malaysia, resulted in paving the way for the establishment of Maphilindo.

The three Heads of Government conclude this conference which has greatly strengthened the fraternal ties which bind their three countries and extended the scope of

their co-operation and understanding, with renewed confidence that their Governments and peoples will together make a significant contribution to the attainment of just and enduring peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

The Thai Foreign Minister, Mr Thanat Khoman, has welcomed the Manila summit agreement and said that he hoped it would be honoured by the signatory countries.

He told reporters in Bangkok that he believed the agreement would not affect the eight-nation South East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato).

(The agreement has a clause which bars the use of collective defence arrangements to serve the particular interests of any Big powers).

Mr Thanat said that Seato was intended to preserve peace in the region and not to serve

the particular interests of any big power.

Mr Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Mr Averell Harriman, United States Under-Secretary of State, have sent congratulatory messages to Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines on their recent agreement on Malaysia.

The American State Department has said in Washington that it wished well to the establishment of Malaysia, as well as to the new consultative organ of Maphilindo, established by the Heads of Governments of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia.

CHIEF MINISTER WARNS TROUBLE-MAKERS

The Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan launched his "get touch with the CCO" campaign this week in two speeches — one made in Sibul and the other in a broadcast from Kuching.

In Sibul where he spent Tuesday meeting Alliance leaders in the Third Division, Mr Ningkan told a crowd of several hundred well-comers: "There is a small number of misguided and disloyal people in this country who continue to dish out communist — inspired lies, trying to fool our people and disturb the peace of our country.

"I urge them to abandon their subversive activities immediately, for if they persist on their destructive course, it will be our duty to clamp down on them so that our people shall live in peace and harmony.

"Therefore to the rumour-mongers and trouble-makers I say: cease your activities forthwith and come and join hands with our people in building a free and prosperous nation. Do nothing to provoke our people."

In his broadcast from Kuching Mr Ningkan said: "I think it is a great pity that

now when Sarawak has already freed herself from the yoke of colonialism, some of her own sons should be misled by false ideologies.

"While my Government is prepared to consider sympathetically the cases of those who were genuinely led astray, I must stress that there is no excuse for those who still shout from roof tops that they were being oppressed by colonialists."

'Hard work and co-operation'

In his Sibul speech the Chief Minister thank "all the people of Sarawak who had supported us", and to those who voted against the Alliance he said: "We extend our hands of friendship and look forward to your co-operation. Help us in the task of building a happy and prosperous nation."

He said: "As we told you during the election, the Sarawak Alliance stands for freedom, justice, security, progress and prosperity. To ensure that our country is free, secure, progressive and prosperous, we shall need from all our people hardwork and co-operation.

"We are aware that the economy of Sarawak depends mainly on agriculture. My government shall see to it that more land will be allocated to the farmers, and more assistance will be given to them. To open up more land for cultivation we shall build more roads. But, you know full well that more roads and more land by themselves will not bring prosperity, unless all of us work hard, and be self-reliant."

Mr Ningkan finally addressed his "Native brethren" as follows: "Live in traditional peace and harmony with our Chinese brethren, do not ever try to take the law into your own hands, for the Government will see to it that law and order is maintained."

In his broadcast on Thursday, the Chief Minister said: "Independent Sarawak has formed its first Government. The names of its ministers have already been announced, and we are now busy trying up the loose ends as it were to consolidate the Government machinery."

"I wish to take this opportunity of assuring the people of Sarawak that this Government will do all in its power to promote the well being of its peoples regardless of race, creed or religion."

"We have a Government based on democratic ideals — a Government that fully believes in freedom of thought and speech."

"In spite of what might have been said in the heat of the elections by the different parties about their respective oppositions, the time has now come for all of us to regard ourselves purely as Sarawakians and to work for the national interests of the country as a whole."

"As a Dayak perforce I will cast a backward glance merely to remind ourselves — you and I — that the present Sarawak owes a great deal to the British pioneers of the early days, especially the Brooke Rajahs."

"It is they who laid the foundations of democracy and the finishing touch had been given during the last 17 years during which Sarawak was a British Colony."

"This has enabled us to imbibe what was best in British administrative methods; in social and public health affairs and to build up an educational system best suited to the peculiar needs of this country."

"Economically, Sarawak is sound in every respect. The blue prints of its long term development plans have already been worked out and with more aid under the

Malaysia development scheme, our country would forge ahead to greater heights."

"Therefore, Sarawak in every respect is prepared to shoulder all its responsibilities as a member nation of the Federation of Malaysia."

On the road to nationalism

"Yes, we are now set on the road to nationalism. It may not be a smooth road. There may be anxious moments ahead and there may be many pitfalls. But I am confident that the good sense of all loyal Sarawakians would prevail in moments of doubt and danger."

"When we say 'Hidup Malaysia' we should not merely pay lip service to Malaysia. It should be an exhortation as well as a prayer and I sincerely hope that Sarawakians of all races would always consider it as their watchword and sincerely co-operate with the forces of law and order in the establishment of peace and security."

"Talking of security, I feel that it is my duty as Chief Minister to also pay tribute to the Security Forces — belated though it may be."

"I do not wish to lull my listeners into a false sense of security by saying that 'all's well in the Kingdom of Denmark'."

"Unfortunately, as a result of the December rebellion and the continuing border raids we are still in a state of semi-emergency."

"Thanks to the vigilance of our security forces, the border raids seem to have ceased temporarily. But there is still an uneasy peace along the border."

"I would urge our security forces — which includes the Police, the Army and our newly-formed Border Scouts — to consolidate their activities, so that lasting peace may be secured."

"While on the subject of security I feel it is my duty to thank the British Army authorities for helping to raise our own Border Scouts."

"This reminds me of the words last Saturday of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, at the unveiling ceremony of the Limbang Memorial. Said Sir Alexander: 'At no time in the history of this country has there been a greater challenge to the spirit of its citizens or a greater threat to its way of life.'"

"Here I must stress that the Border Scouts had been trained and are being recruited primarily to defend their own homes and hearths."

"I repeat, Sarawak at this juncture of her march towards full nationhood needs peace to ensure a prosperous future.

"I would, therefore, like to remind all Sarawakians — and others outside who now seem to evince great interest in our internal affairs — that we are imparting military training to our men not with the intention of creating an army of oppression or aggression, but merely to help preserve peace and strengthen the security of our own country.

No favouritism

"While my Government is prepared to consider sympathetically the cases of those who were genuinely led astray, I must stress that there is no excuse for those who still shout from roof tops that they were being oppressed by colonialists.

"There have recently been rumours that the security and police forces in this territory were being strengthened and increased to oppress those who disagree with the Government.

"I think it is a great pity that now when Sarawak has already freed herself from the yoke of colonialism, some of her own sons should be misled by false ideologies.

"In conclusion I would like to refer to our new Supreme Council. The fact that there are no Malays in it had received unfavourable comments in certain quarters.

"Here, I would like to say to our brothers, the Malays, that there was no favouritism or bias in the allocation but would assure them that the Malays would be truly represented in the Federal Parliament."

At Sibn, the Chief Minister discussed current problems with Dayak, Malay, and Chinese leaders in the Third Division.

The leaders told him of the immediate need for better relations especially between Chinese and Dayaks because subversive elements were spreading false rumours in an effort to create tension between the two communities.

At the end of a full and frank discussion which lasted several hours, it was decided that a public appeal should be made, es-

pecially to the Dayaks and Chinese in the Third Division, in the interests of the country as a whole.

During the discussion, word was received from the Resident, Third Division, (Mr A.F.R. Griffin) that leaders of the Dayak and Chinese communities concerned had met in Binatang and had amicably settled their differences in the traditional Sarawak peace-making ceremony — "Bebunoh Babi".

The assembly was greatly relieved to learn of the efforts by the parties directly concerned to settle the dispute whatever its cause was, but the leaders, however, were of the opinion that the tension that was caused was the work of agitators of the Chinese Communist Organisation.

After learning the facts, the Chief Minister was satisfied that a hard core of communist elements are now actively trying to sow discord among the people of Sarawak who had lived together in friendship and amity from time immemorial.

The Chief Minister, in a statement issued on Wednesday, warned the people of Sarawak, especially those in urban areas, not to listen to rumours, and to always remember that they should not take the law into their hands under sudden acts of provocation.

He urged the people to immediately contact their respective leaders, the police or any Government officer when they suspected the presence in their midst of undesirable elements.

'Threshold of exciting era'

Mr Ningkan then said: "I wish everyone in Sarawak to remember that we are at the threshold of a new and exciting era — an era full of promises for every loyal Sarawakian whatever his or her racial origin may be.

"It is therefore the bounden duty of everyone, young and old in Sarawak, to work together in peace, friendship and harmony to achieve the golden future that awaits this country as a partner in the Federation of Malaysia. Peace be to you all — Hidup Malaysia."

From August 11 to August 17, 1963.

Agreement on UN assessment in Borneo

In - U Thant's Man



About 2,000 anti-Malaysia demonstrators — almost all Chinese — jammed a section of the seven-mile route from Kuching Airport to the Aurora Hotel when a nine-man United Nations team, led by Mr Laurence Michelmore, the representative of the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, arrived on Friday morning to ascertain the views of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak on Malaysia.

Mr Michelmore and his officials arrived after U Thant had agreed to carry out this assessment following a request made by the leaders of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia in Manila recently — and after the reluctant agreement of Britain, Sabah and Sarawak.

The demonstrators who ignored the Government ban published on Wednesday produced placards with the slogans "We do not want Malaysia"; "Malaysia means control by Kuala Lumpur"; "Stop mass arrest and oppression"; "We do not want to recognise



the London talks"; "Plebiscite is the only fair way to ascertain the views of the people."

These placards were kept hidden until the cars carrying the UN official passed by when they were raised suddenly — to the surprise of the police.

The police contingents took a few minutes to clear way for the rear section of the cavalcade of cars carrying the members of the United Nations officials after the slogan-

shouting crowd had surged on to the road.

The crowd began gathering long before the arrival of the aircraft from Singapore — a Malayan Airways Fokker Friendship.

Chinese teenage school boys and girls formed the majority of the demonstrators. Another much smaller crowd numbering about 200 assembled at the 7th Mile Bazaar. These demonstrators had come from outlying areas, some in specially chartered buses. This

crowd moved off after being addressed by Mr Ong Kee Hui and Mr Stephen Yong, chairman and secretary-general of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party.

Altogether seven men were arrested and subsequently released. They will appear in court on charges of obstruction. No one was hurt although stones were thrown at a Government vehicle carrying Malayan Film Unit cameramen and newspapermen.

The situation was controlled by ordinary uniformed police and no riot squads were involved.

The crowd at the 2nd Mile, Rock Road, waited for nearly three hours until the calvacade arrived. Then placards were suddenly produced written on small squares of card board, apparently on the spot.

After the first two cars had passed, the crowd surged on to the road for a few moments. There was some confusion but order was quickly restored.

The Malayan Airways plane touched down at Kuching Airport sharp at 11.15 a.m. The UN team, led by Mr Michelmores, an American who is Deputy Director of the UN Office of Personnel, was met by Mr James Wong, Deputy Chief Minister; Mr Teo Kui Seng, Minister for Natural Resources; and Inche Arni Lampam, a Secretariat official.

Representatives of the world's leading news agencies, television and broadcasting organisations as well as local radio and newsmen were also at the Airport.

At a press conference held immediately on arrival, Mr Michelmores said his group had arrived as a result of the request made by the three Governments of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines to ascertain the views of the people and was anxious to contact groups or organisations.

He added that he himself did not know what the programme of arrangements would be as they would have to first consult with the officials of the Sarawak Government and then report to U Thant.

Specific plans to be worked out

Mr Michelmores said that specific plans would be worked out in a day or two. Asked how long they were expected to stay here, Mr Michelmores replied that he would not be able to answer that question. He said the result of the survey would be communicated to the Secretary-General who would arrive at his

own conclusions before submitting a report to the three Governments concerned as well as the British Government.

He also said that part of his team would leave shortly for North Borneo under his deputy, Mr G. Janacek.

The full list of the UN team (together with officials and staff) is as follows: Representative of Secretary-General, Mr Laurence Michelmores (USA); deputy representative of Secretary-General, Mr George J. Janacek (Czechoslovakia); Administrative and Finance Officer, Mr Jose Machado (Brazil); Political Affairs Officer, Mr George Howard (Argentina); Mr Kenneth Dardzie (Ghana); Mr Neville Kanakarathne (Ceylon); Mr Irshad Baqai (Pakistan); Mr Abdel Dajani (Jordan); Mr Yasushi Akashi (Japan); cameraman and photographer, Mr Marvin Bolotsky (USA); Secretaries Miss Francoise de Billy (Canada); Miss Majorie Richardson (UK); Mrs Leonore Kutz (USA); and Sumon Rovngkuangchai, who arrived from Bangkok on Saturday.

A small anti-Malaysia crowd gathered at one corner of a Central Padang near the Aurora Hotel where the U.N. team booked in, during the lunch period.

At 3 p.m., Mr Michelmores and Mr Janacek, accompanied by secretary, went to the Secretariat where they had discussions with the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the Chief Secretary, Mr F.D. Jake-way, and members of the Cabinet. The meeting lasted for 1½ hours.

No statement was issued after the meeting.

It was learned on Friday that the Sarawak United Peoples' Party had organised a rally to take place at its headquarters in Kuching that night.

Sarawak Alliance issues statement on visit

The Sarawak Alliance in a statement issued on Thursday expressed regret at the decision to send a United Nations team to Sarawak and said:

"We have declared that an ascertainment of the wishes of the people in regard to joining Malaysia was unnecessary. Our people have clearly expressed their wish for Malaysia on many occasions — in various local councils, in Council Negri and to the Cobbold Commission.

"If these were not enough the results of the recent general elections had again shown that the majority of our people supported Malaysia.

"The main issue fought during the elections as everyone here knows was in Malaysia. No one here opposes Malaysia as a concept. It is only those who have evil designs on this country who oppose Malaysia without compromise.

"Within Malaysia and under a liberal constitution we have every chance to progress in peace and prosperity together with our partners, Malaya, Singapore and Sabah. There is no better alternative, for we know Sarawak cannot survive by herself.

"We respect the decision to allow the United Nations team to visit Sarawak because it was designed to remove the threat from Indonesia and any tension within our country.

"We are confident that their findings will show once again that the majority of the people of Sarawak support Malaysia."

The Alliance also commented on a Government announcement that during the forthcoming visit of the representative of the United Nations Secretary-General and his team of Secretariat officials "no permission will be given for processions or meetings in open spaces to which the general public has access."

It said: "Our branches in all the five Divisions had earlier decided to organise public rallies to demonstrate to the United Nations team our determination to see Malaysia through on August 31.

"As we have now been told that such demonstrations would not be permitted, we have notified all our branches to cancel to forms of demonstrations."

However, the Secretary-General of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, Mr Stephen K.T. Yong, strongly criticised the Government ban.

Mr Yong declared in a newspaper interview that the eleventh hour announcement by Government had really put the SUPP in "a very difficult position."

Originally, SUPP had plans to hold a welcome rally at the Airport, said Mr Yong, but now these plans had been called off.

He emphasised that he was greatly disappointed that Government would not allow any form of public meetings and demonstrations and felt that it was being over-cautious.

"Never has the SUPP misbehaved itself or abused the occasion when afforded the opportunity to stage a demonstration," he added.

He said that he could confidently vouch that there would be no clashes between the pro and anti-Malaysia elements if they were allowed to demonstrate their feelings.

Panas statement

The Party Negara Sarawak stated that it would not stage any rally or demonstration during the visit but instead will welcome the UN officials in Kuching.

The chairman, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, said: "It must be made categorically clear that the policy of Panas is pro-Malaysia and that its post-election work together with the Sarawak United Peoples' Party was to enable SUPP/Panas to secure seats in the Council Negri.

"Each individual party has its own policy and each is at liberty to carry it out accordingly. Panas was the first party in Sarawak which supported the Malaysia Plan and had worked hard to implement the creation of Malaysia.

"In view of Panas policy, already stated, it would and could not deviate its stand and so in response to the announcement made by the Sarawak Government, Panas will not stage any rally or demonstration during the visit and stay of the UN representatives and observers in the capital and any part of Sarawak but instead welcome them."

The Datu added: "We therefore wish to ensure the United Nations representatives that we will render them any assistance required so that they could proceed speedily for the accomplishment of their task. We still want Malaysia to be established on August 31, as already declared."

In Kuching on Thursday, a Sarawak Government spokesman said that Sarawak was prepared to accept one observer each from the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya.

This decision has already been communicated to the Governments concerned.

The spokesman was referring to newspaper reports that the Philippines wishes to send two five-man teams to observe the work of the United Nations Mission which will assess the election results and public opinion in Sarawak and North Borneo. Up to Friday no observers had arrived from Indonesia,

Malaya or the Philippines. It was reported earlier this week that the Malayan Government had nominated two observers, one for

Sarawak and the other for North Borneo — Senators Athi Nahappan and Mohamad Zahir bin Haji Ismail.

U THANT'S REPLY TO MANILA REQUEST

U Thant, in acceding to the 'Manila request' for the Borneo verification said that such a United Nations mission could be undertaken only with the consent of the British Government.

This was contained in a letter the United Nations chief sent to the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the Philippines and Indonesia.

After consultations with the delegations of Britain and the other parties in New York, U Thant said that he believed the task could be carried out.

He said: "I intend to set up two working teams under the overall supervision of my representative, one of which will work in Sarawak and the other in North Borneo."

"I wish to make it clear that the working teams working under the supervision of my representative will be responsible directly and exclusively to me," U Thant declared.

When they had completed their task, the working teams would report to him through his representative, and on the basis of this report he could communicate his final conclusions to the three Governments and Britain.

U Thant added: "It is my understanding that neither the report of my representative nor my conclusions would be subject in any way to ratification or confirmation by any of the Governments concerned."

He estimated that the cost of sending officials, plus travel and other expenses, at about

US\$30,000. The three countries have promised to pay for the mission.

The Secretary-General was asked to carry out the job of ascertaining the people's wishes in the two countries, chiefly taking into consideration the recent elections which resulted in majorities for pro-Malaysia parties.

Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya said in their request that he should satisfy himself "as to whether: (A) Malaysia was a major issue, if not the major issue (B) electoral registers were properly compiled (C) elections were free and there was no coercion and (D) votes were properly polled and properly counted."

The United Nations should also ascertain "the wishes of those who being qualified to vote would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offences or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak."

U Thant said that if the mission were approved by all parties concerned, his representative "will of course have every effort to complete the task as soon as possible" and added: "An exact timetable can be worked out and reported to me for approval only after my representative has had the opportunity to discuss the problems involved on the spot with all concerned."

BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREES

A Commonwealth Relations Office statement issued in London on Saturday, August 10, said that the British Government had been requested by the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman to give U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, facilities to ascertain the wishes of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak on the basis of the agreement reached at the recent Manila "summit" conference.

The statement said that the British Government, in common with the elected leaders of North Borneo and Sarawak, considered that the peoples of both these territories had already made abundantly clear, particularly in elections held earlier this year in both territories, their wish to join Malaysia.

The statement added: "Nevertheless, in view of the request of the Government of Malaya, and after consulting the Govern-

ments of North Borneo and Sarawak, Her Majesty's Government has agreed to accord the necessary facilities to representatives designated by the Secretary-General for this purpose."

The statement said that U Thant had assured the British Government and the Government of Malaya that he could carry out his task with the "utmost despatch."

Brief postponement

Well-informed British sources in London said that Britain might accept a brief postponement of Malaysia if it was necessary.

The sources said that technically the target date for Malaysia was still August 31, but there might have to be a short delay of about a week or a fortnight to enable the United Nations to assess the feelings of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak concerning Malaysia.

The sources said any new date would have to be agreed by the five governments which signed the Malaysia Agreement last month — Britain, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak.

In Kuala Lumpur on Wednesday the Malayan Premier, Tengku Abdul Rahman, told Parliament that the United Nations fact-finding missions in Borneo would take 24 days "or less" to complete their work.

'GAVE IT FOR SAKE OF PEACE' — TENGKU

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said in Kuala Lumpur on Monday that he gave in to Indonesian demands at the Manila Conference for the sake of peace.

Speaking on a resolution seeking the formal consent of the Malayan Parliament to the formation of Malaysia, the Tengku said that the reason he agreed at Manila to postpone the date of foundation of Malaysia past the scheduled August 31, was "not to pander to the tantrums, wishes and wiles of others, who under the guise of champions of democracy are bent on hindering and embarrassing the smooth coming into being of Malaysia, but in our sincere desire to work for peace."

He continued: "These people in Borneo are our brothers who have common historical

and cultural ties and have gone through the same experience of administration as practised by the Colonial Government.

"They on their own would never for a long time hope to achieve independence and enjoy the right of living on terms of equality with the free peoples of the world.

"Their continuance as subject people of the colonial rule will expose them as targets to communist designs and would not share with us the joy and happiness, the pride and privilege of being one with us who are free and independent.

"Malaysia would be the bulwark against any communist efforts at capturing these territories and ensure the security of the area and above all Malaysia would bring about the demise of colonialism in this region.

"The only people, I can understand, who have valid reasons to oppose Malaysia are the communists who certainly are against national independence and personal freedom. Malaysia to spread their own form of imperialism over these defenceless and harmless people.

'Communist imperialism worse'

"Communist imperialism is more diabolical, more destructive and more sinister than any imperialism which the world has ever known or experienced. Communism is not simply a political creed but it is an all embracing ideological concept which is religion in itself except that it is a man-made religion for the purpose of destroying religion that is given by God."

The Tengku also said: "When I look at the opposition against Malaysia by those non-communist elements I could not help thinking that this is the first time on the whole history of the world that democratic people are opposed to giving independence to subject peoples.

"The right thinking people of Malaya cannot help but feel that Malaysia is the logical evolution in the political and economic progress of these new emerging States.

"I would emphasise once again that peace and security of our area could only be guaranteed by the eradication of colonialism through constitutional process and providing for these territories a new deal which would make them equal partners in the free nation."

The hopes and destinies of the 10 million people who would become citizens of Malaysia were "sacred matters, and we will

not sacrifice them on the altar of personal glory or political expediency."

The Tengku went on to say: "They have overwhelmingly come out in support of Malaysia, and, come what may. It is our task and our duty to see that we do not fail them. On the other hand we also value the goodwill of our neighbours."

"The people of Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya are bound together by ties of common culture and history. At the same time we share with them, and with other countries in this region the responsibility for maintaining peace and stability."

The Tengku then said that he was confident that U Thant would give this matter every priority, and added: "If, however, the Secretary-General and his representatives were to find themselves unable to complete the task in time, we shall have to accept a slight delay, probably for a few days, in the establishment of Malaysia."

The Premier said that he was sure Britain would appreciate the wisdom of Malaya's action. Malaya had agreed to there being observers in Borneo, along with the U.N. teams, but it was already understood that these would in no way interfere with the work of the teams.

The Tengku also said that he regretted Brunei had balked at entering the Federation but Malaysia would continue to be Brunei's good friend and neighbour.

"We wish them happiness and prosperity in the future," he added.

'Talk and empty boasts'

Sensationalism, he continued, might be a creed with some, but sober thinking and sober politics had brought Malaya to the fore among the happiest and most prosperous nations in Asia.

"Talk and empty boasts which may impress others do not bother us much. All we have set out to do is ask for peace, and we give thanks that has been agreed," he said.

Outlining the advantages he claimed for the existence of Malaysia, the Tengku said it would:

- Unite the resources of small states with identical interests and hopes, and secure peace, stability, prosperity and harmony for their citizens.
- Free people now under colonial rule.

- Act as a bulwark against communism "more diabolical, more destructive, more sinister than any imperialism the world has known or experienced."

The Prime Minister attacked opposition parties which had demanded that he dissolve Parliament and hold general elections before going ahead with the Malaysia debate.

"Their views are unhealthy, and on the Malaysia issue destructive, so much so that they can be branded as enemy agents," he declared.

The Government's motion was: "That this House, noting the desire of the people of North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore to be federated in Malaysia with the existing states of the Federation (of Malaya) in accordance with the agreement signed in London on July 8, 1963, hereby endorses that agreement."

Opposition parties then attacked the Malaysia Bill and an amendment was proposed by Mr Tan Phock Kin of the Socialist Front to delete the words: "Hereby endorses that agreement" and their replacement with the words "is not yet ascertained, hereby defers the endorsement to that agreement."

Mr V. Veerappen, Socialist Front, said that the Government was assuming that the United Nations would find in its favour in Borneo, and there was nothing to indicate this.

"You should not under-estimate the significance of this investigation, or pre-judge the result," he declared.

Mr Verrappen said that the Prime Minister had been badly advised over Malaysia. The Government had made mistakes, and now found itself in an embarrassing position.

Strongly opposed by Tengku

Strongly opposing any postponement of endorsement of the London agreement, the Tengku said it had already been endorsed by the British Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies of Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah.

"I delayed it," the Tengku said, "out of respect for the feelings of our partners in Maphilindo. Because of my respect for them I took the agreement with me to Manila and showed it to them."

"They themselves agreed that there was nothing wrong with the agreement except, of course, the part dealing with British bases in the area."

"I assured them that while danger threatened us from without, we needed the bases. I explained that we could not maintain these bases ourselves because we lack money equipment and so many other things."

The Tengku continues: "For the preservation of peace we have got to have friends to help us, until the day when we are sure that we can live in peace and sleep without disturbance."

"Perhaps when that day comes we can get together with the British again and say to them that we do not need their help any more. Our partners in Manila agreed to this."

Reminding the House of President Soekarno's threatening attitude before the summit, the Tengku said that once he had explained matters to him the President became quite happy.

"We parted the best of friends. In fact, I could say that we become very pally indeed," he said.

"Before I left I said to President Soekarno, 'Now don't you go back and start confronting me again.' You see by this time we were quite friendly," he added.

Earlier, defending the stand he had taken at the summit, the Tengku said: "It has been suggested that I failed to keep President Soekarno at arm's length, as I have done with the Opposition."

"I was told that Malaya has been discredited internationally because I was afraid of President Soekarno's guns."

"A member (Mr D.R. Seenivasagam) suggested that a show of force had done what democratic moves at home had failed to do."

The Tengku said with some emotion: "I have said before that I am not afraid of anybody's guns. A show of force can also be met by a show of force."

"But the fact remains — we do not want war. We don't want trouble. It is my duty and responsibility as a leader of this country to protect the lives and property of the people here."

"Their lives and property are in my care and in my charge. It is for the reason that I sought peace. It is for that reason that I went to Manila."

And he added: "I do not believe that any international body or any country would oppose what I have done, except, of course, the members of the Opposition and those countries which I have said are opposed to us in any case."

Since Cobbold Report

On the question of self-determination of the Borneo peoples, the Tengku said that if the House accepted the amendment but forwarded by the Socialist Front it would, in effect, be denying that the elections in Sabah and Sarawak had been held fairly and squarely and in accordance with democratic principles.

Mr Seenivasagam had referred to the Cobbold Report, which, the Tengku said, was no longer an authority. It had been committed to the archives.

Since the Cobbold Commission, the peoples of these territories had expressed their opinion on Malaysia in a more definite and positive way.

The opposition had inferred that he had spoken "double Dutch" on the question of a referendum, but he said:

"When I said the Borneo people were not ready for referendum, I meant it."

A referendum would not be understood in Borneo and would not represent the views of the Borneo peoples. But an election would.

The Tengku explained: "We held elections there and the Opposition parties had the right and did take it, to explain to the people their opposition to Malaysia. The main issue in those elections was Malaysia."

The result of those elections were convincing proof that in Sarawak 73 per cent of the people agreed with Malaysia and in Sabah 90 per cent.

He dismissed the Opposition suggestion that the elections had been rigged.

"Whatever may be our feelings about the British and the administration," he said "we are all agreed — we have reason to believe — that the elections were properly held."

Replying to charges that he had agreed to the UN Secretary-General's investigation purely to save his face, the Tengku retorted: "If I had wanted to save my face, I would never have agreed to any postponement or delay of Malaysia."

"It was to save the face of my other friends and partners in Maphilindo that we all agreed to defer the date of Malaysia. There was no need for me to save my face."

On the Chinese

The Tengku said it had also been suggested that he had irritated Indonesia and

that if war should come about he would be the only person to blame.

It was the first time he had been called a warmonger and a trouble-maker.

The Tengku then turned to the fears expressed that in Malaysia the Chinese would outnumber and swamp the Malays.

He had always maintained, he said, that Malaysia was aimed at achieving peace in this region.

Whether Malaysia came about or not, the number of Chinese in the area would always be larger than the number of Malays. It was not the Chinese he feared but the Communists, whether they were Chinese or not.

A few of them can do more harm than the large numbers of others whose only desire is to live in peace, security and happiness in the country of their adoption," the Tengku said.

He warned that Malaysia would never achieve peace if they continued to harp on the racial theme. The fact that the Chinese outnumbered the Malays had nothing to do with peace.

"Even in a country with a population composed of only one race, there can be no peace if there is trouble over religion or if there is racial intolerance," the Tengku said.

The House endorsed the Malaysia Agreement on Wednesday.

STEPHENS CALLS FOR POLITICAL UNITY

The Chief Minister-designate of North Borneo, Mr Donald Stephens, has called on all political parties in Malaysia to unite "to ensure that Malaysia is realised despite mounting foreign opposition."

Mr Stephens made the appeal before flying to Jesselton after a three-day visit to Malaya and Singapore during which he had consultations with the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman.

Earlier Mr Stephens said that his Government had agreed to allow a United Nations team to assess the view of the people on Malaysia in North Borneo only out of respect for Tengku Abdul Rahman.

Mr Stephens said: "We see no necessity for a UN team to ascertain the wishes of the Sabah people. They have studied the plan for nearly two years. When it was first put to us we were wary of it, but we soon realised the benefits that could be derived. We are not going into this blindly."

He stated that at least 99 per cent of the people in North Borneo supported Malaysia and hoped that August 31 would still be the date for the birth of the new nation.

Mr Stephens then pointed out that North Borneo regarded sending of the team as "an intrusion into our privacy," and added: "We are strongly opposed to the sending of Indonesian, Filipino and Malayan observers with the UN team."

"This seems to indicate that somebody is not showing a great deal of trust or confidence in the United Nations."

"The UN team should be able to verify North Borneo's support for Malaysia in two or three days — we do not want any postponement and they must be finished so that Malaysia can be formed as scheduled on August 31."

Mr Stephens also said that the Sabah Alliance will stage a mammoth "pro-Malaysia demonstration" in Jesselton when United Nations team arrived.

Transport companies have agreed to provide free vehicles and buses to take down people from rural areas to attend the demonstration. The three-mile long route from the airport to the town centre is expected to be crowded by thousands of people.

The railway authorities will be requested to run extra trains to bring down the kampong folk from outlying districts.

Meanwhile nine British warships arrived in North Borneo waters on Thursday. They will stay until September 2, it was officially announced in Jesselton this week.

The official announcement said the ships were visiting North Borneo to help celebrate the birth of Malaysia.

However, usually well-informed sources said that the mass presence of the British Royal Navy was part of security measures for the forthcoming visit of the United Nations team.

The ships will call at the ports of Jesselton, Sandakan, Tawau, Lahad Datu and Kudat.

INTIMIDATION CHARGE

Commenting, Indonesia's Defence Minister and Armed Forces Chief of Staff, General Nasution, said that the dispatch of the warships was an attempt to intimidate the United Nations assessment team.

In a statement issued by his spokesman, Captain Yusuf Sirath, the General said the warships were part of the "existing terror" Britain had spread in North Borneo and Sarawak.

The statement which coincided with the departure of the United Nations team to Sarawak, said the team should "stick to the spirit of the Maphilindo summit conference" held in Manila recently when carrying out their assessment.

The agreement reached at the summit was partly aimed at ensuring that the North Borneo and Sarawak people could give their opinions of Malaysia "without any pressure terror or intimidation."

He said that the United Nations members should be able to work freely and "not merely

verify the results of the recent general elections in the two British colonies. "Those elections were similar to the ones held in Indonesia during the Dutch occupation."

An advance party of 40 Malayan troops left Kuala Lumpur for Labuan, North Borneo, this week to begin setting up a military camp.

The force will be known as "Liaison Headquarters" Unit, and will be responsible for liaison between the Malayan Defence Ministry and British Army Headquarters in Borneo.

HELICOPTER FORCE PLANNED

Malaya is planning a helicopter task force for the arming and feeding of its army and police in Malaysia.

The Minister for Defence, Tun Abdul Razak, told the Malayan Parliament this on Tuesday in applying for \$6.4 million in supplementary funds.

When Malaysia comes into being its defence responsibilities will stretch for more than 1,000 miles — from Thailand to the Philippines.



UN FLAG OVER SARAWAK, BUT

INDONESIA PROVOKES CRISIS

REFUSES TO SEND OBSERVERS



SELF-GOVERNMENT ON AUGUST 31

Indonesia this week provoked another crisis over Malaysia by refusing to send the stipulated four observers to watch the United Nations assessment teams at work in Sabah and Sarawak.

At the same time it stepped up acts of border terrorism in an effort to create more confusion.

However, these actions have only served to stiffen the determination of the people of Sarawak to achieve independence (through Malaysia if possible) on August 31, 1963. This applied to Sabah as well.

THE CRISIS — Reasons

- Indonesian refusal to send observers to watch UN Mission at work.
- The delay by UN Mission to begin scheduled hearings.
- Further acts of border terrorism by Indonesia.
- Efforts by the Clandestine Communist Organisation to exploit the situation here.

The country's mood on Thursday, after the United Nations Mission had decided to postpone hearings, was summed up by its Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, when he said: "To hell with Indonesia. We do not want to be bullied, but if we are forced, we will fight to the last man."

The crisis resulted in the decision by Mr Ningkan, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew and the Chief Minister Designate of Sabah, Mr Donald Stephens to fly to Kuala Lumpur for talks with the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman — to persuade him to declare Malaysia on August 31.

Mr Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, who flew to Kuala Lumpur from London on Friday, will join in the talks.

The UN team, which postponed hearings since Thursday, has announced that it will begin work on Monday, August 26 — if the observers' dispute is settled. Britain, it is understood, has submitted a compromise plan providing for four observers and four clerical assistants — a response to an appeal from the UN Secretary-General, U Thant. The Philippines has agreed to it but Indonesia has not yet decided.

Self government on August 31

Meanwhile, on Friday night, the Sarawak Government issued a statement announcing that on August 31 a de facto self government in State affairs will exist in the country — whether or not there is delay in the formation of Malaysia.

The statement said: "Sarawak has been looking forward confidently and with satisfaction to obtaining Independence on August 31.

"For reasons already well known and including the desire to maintain peace in the region Malaysia may not now come about on that day.

"Nevertheless, as Sarawak has an elected Government with a Chief Minister and has made all the necessary preparations for the elected Government to assume control of the affairs of the State in accordance with democratic practice and the ideals of freedom to which all nations subscribe the Governor has announced that as from August 31 he will accept unreservedly and automatically the advice of the Chief Minister on all matters within the competence of the State, and for which portfolios have already been allocated to Ministers.

"As from the same date the Governor will direct that all recommendations of the Public Service Commission shall be regarded as decisions. The effect of this will be to establish

de facto self government in State affairs whether or not there is delay in the formation of Malaysia."

The statement ended: "It has been decided that August 31 shall be held as a holiday to mark the inauguration of the State Government. The celebrations for Malaysia will take place when our partners in independence can participate.

Indonesia refused to send its observers unless the British Government, which had agreed to increase the number from one to two for each of the countries concerned, permitted nine in together with an unspecified number of "clerical assistants" and landing rights for their own planes.

The previous demand was for 30. Support for Indonesia came from the Philippines which however, adopted a very much less hostile attitude than Indonesia.

The observer problem cast a cloud over the otherwise successful preparations made by Mr Lawrence Michelmore, Representative of the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, and his team of three to verify the views of the people on Malaysia, and has threatened to disrupt the whole object of the Mission.

In Jesselton, the United Nations team, under Mr G. Janeczek, postponed proceedings indefinitely and well-informed sources said that this was also due to the absence of Indonesian and Philippine observers.

The sources added that the UN team felt that it was no use starting work as Indonesia might reject its report of its observers were not present.

Seats unoccupied

When the UN Mission prepared to hold its first hearing in Kuching on Thursday morning, the seats reserved for the Indonesian and Philippine observers in the Council Negri Committee Room were conspicuously vacant while those for Malaya and Britain were occupied.

This, together with a postponement of Thursday's scheduled hearings and alteration in the programme, aroused the anger of the Sarawak Alliance leaders.

Thursdays' events came to a climax when the Sarawak Alliance delegation headed by its secretary-general, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, made a strong complaint to the UN Mission and demanded that either it began formal hearings as scheduled or returned to New York.

The same day Mr Ningkan, who is Sarawak's Chief Minister, flew to Kuala Lumpur, in the company of the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew and the Chief Minister Designate of Sabah, Mr Donald Stephens, to have talks with the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, on the crisis.

Before leaving, Mr Ningkan, who was accompanied by the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr James Wong, said: "The problems that have arisen since the arrival of the United Nations team are causing great inconvenience and embarrassment to many people. It is our intention to arrive at a settlement as soon as possible during our discussions in Kuala Lumpur.

"I take this opportunity of informing the people of Sarawak that we will observe August 31 as our Independence Day which will be declared a public holiday.

"In the meantime I ask everyone in Sarawak to be calm and patient and not do anything that will aggravate the situation in any way."

Mr Ningkan's decision to celebrate Independence Day was then seen as a move nearer the strong stand taken by Mr Lee Kuan Yew and Mr Stephens who have been insisting that August 31 be declared Malaysia Day.

Earlier this week Mr Lee and Mr James Wong flew to Jesselton for secret discussions after which the text of a cable sent by Mr Stephens, as leader of the Sabah Alliance Party, to U Thant was released.

The cable said: "The Sabah Alliance Party, is very concerned at the unnecessary postponement of the work of your team here. We cannot agree to increase interfering observers. The team should begin its work immediately or be withdrawn. We want Malaysia by August 31, 1963." Identical cables were sent to the British and Malayan Governments.

Alliance cables U Thant

On Friday it was disclosed that the Secretary-General of the Sarawak Alliance, Mr Ningkan, had before his departure for Kuala Lumpur sent a telegram to U Thant.

It read: "SARAWAK ALLIANCE URGE YOUR TEAM BEGIN WORK AS SCHEDULED OR BE WITHDRAWN. WE DISAGREE INCREASE OBSERVERS. WE

WANT MALAYSIA ON 31ST AUGUST 1963."

The telegram was copied by Mr Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary and Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya.

'Over our dead bodies'

At Kuching Airport, Mr Stephens echoed Mr Ningkan's sentiments when he commented on the observers' issue and said: "If they (the Indonesians) were permitted to send more observers, they would have to cross over our dead bodies first."

Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said: "The ball is at the feet of Sabah and Sarawak, and it is up to them to kick it into goal. If the ball was placed at my feet, I would not hesitate to kick it in the right direction. And if there were any balloons flying around, I would prick them."

On arrival in Singapore the three leaders said that they would insist on the formation of Malaysia on August 31 as scheduled.

At a joint press conference they said that they would make a "concrete proposal" to the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, which would allow the Federation to be formed as originally planned. However, they would not give details about their proposal.

When asked about rumours that a provisional government of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo might be formed pending the UN findings, Mr Lee said: "There are lots of possibilities."

Commenting on the postponement of the UN assessment, Mr Stephens said that the postponement was due to Indonesia's demand for more observers adding: "We will not agree to any addition to the number of observers from the Philippines and Indonesia. The only reason why the Indonesians want to send more observers is to try to wreck Malaysia by delaying tactics."

Mr Ningkan said that if the United Nations could not continue their work there was no point for them to stay — they could return home.

Mr Lee, the Singapore Prime Minister, said that the least Singapore could do was to stand by North Borneo and Sarawak, and support them. It was now up to North Borneo and Sarawak to decide on the next move.

A denial by Stephens

In Kuala Lumpur, Mr Stephens denied statements by Tengku Abdul Rahman that he had agreed with Malaya to drop the August 31 date.

"I think the Tengku is mistaken," he told an airport press conference. "We agreed only to accept the coming of the UN teams, although we objected strongly to it. We have our own Government. Why should the UN come? August 31 was still the date demanded by North Borneo."

Speaking to reporters before meeting the Borneo leaders, Tengku Abdul Rahman told them: "If they want to form a provisional Malaysia Government, then as well as have their own Government. What is the use of

Malaysia? Everything is going to be alright. The United Nations teams will start work on Monday."

The Tengku then said: "I have gone a long way to try and achieve peace. It is peace and not war which I am seeking."

"I have to consider the nation, the people, my King and those will be fighting if war broke out. I have humbled myself in order to gain peace."

He hoped there would be no attempt from the side he was on to bring about any showdown and added that "other people might say 'Go on, but we will do the fighting.' We have gone a long way towards peace. I do not think I should desert the people at this stage."

August 25 to August 31, 1963

Malaysia Day — September 16 1963

NEW ERA DAWNS

SARAWAK ACHIEVES SELF-GOVERNMENT

Malaysia will come into being on Monday, September 16, 1963 it was officially announced on Thursday after high level talks in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore between the leaders of the governments of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys.

The announcement was received with great satisfaction in Sarawak and Sabah which on Saturday, August 31, 1963 became internally self-governing states.

In Sarawak the inauguration of the State Government was not marked by large-scale celebrations which have been reserved for Malaysia Day, though its great significance was not lost on the country. The Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, made a nation-wide broadcast just after Friday midnight.

The event had reinforced the determination of the Sarawak Alliance Government and the people to move firmly on to Malaysia Day — and complete independence through the new Federation.

During August 1963 also saw the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission carry

out most of its programme of verifying the views of the people towards Malaysia.

The tour was marred by two brief but ugly riots staged at Sibuan and Miri by communist-inspired Chinese youths and members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party in protest against Malaysia.

Effort to soften crisis

The UN Mission was accompanied by observers from Britain and Malaya but not from Indonesia and the Philippines which apparently have decided not to send any.

The date for the creation of Malaysia was announced as Malaya made another attempt to soften the present crisis provoked by Indonesia by sending its top External Affairs official, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, to Jakarta for talks with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio.

An official announcement of the date was proclaimed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in Kuala Lumpur and announced in Kuching by the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan.

It read: "The Agreement reached in London on July 9, 1963 between the Malayans

Government, the British Government, the Singapore Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak was to the effect that Malaysia should come into being on August 31, 1963.

"However at the Manila meeting the Philippine and Indonesian Governments declared that they would welcome Malaysia provided that the wishes of the peoples of the Borneo Territories are ascertained by the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative.

"The Secretary-General has indicated that he expected to complete the task assigned to him by September 14.

"The Malayan Government, with the concurrence of the British Government, the Singapore Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak and in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 of the Malaysia Act which makes it a statutory requirement to proclaim before August 31 the day for the coming into force of the Act, has decided that Malaysia shall come into being on September 16, 1963."

Indonesia and Philippines informed

The Malayan Government has officially informed Indonesia and the Philippines of the new date.

A statement from the Ministry of Information in Kuala Lumpur said that there was no breach of faith involved in the decision.

Malaysia had not been established — its foundation date had only been proclaimed. Furthermore the ascertainment now being carried out by U Thant's teams was not a condition for the formation of Malaysia.

The stated position of the Malayan Government was that "Malaysia is not conditional upon the ascertainment, which Malaya agreed to only in deference to the request of the Philippines and Indonesia so that they will be able to welcome Malaysia.

"The gesture by Malaya firstly in agreeing to the ascertainment by the secretary-general, and subsequently to deferment of the date of Malaysia Day is only to ensure that Malaysia is born with the support and blessing of the Philippines and Indonesia which have expressed misgivings regarding it.

"As the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, put it: 'I have gone a long way in all

humility to see peace ... The world will know to what extent I have humbled myself for the sake of peace'. It is now time for the Philippines and Indonesia to make their gesture."

A Commonwealth Office spokesman said in London that the announcement had been made because it was essential to fix the earliest date consistent with the timetable of the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant.

It had also been issued in view of the strong of feelings in Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak in favour of the creation of Malaysia and in view of the disquieting effect which continued uncertainty was bound to create.

The spokesman added: "We are confident that the Secretary-General's report will show that the wishes of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak are in favour of Malaysia.

"Numerous processes have been employed to ascertain the wishes of the people of these Territories — the Cobbold Report; resolutions by the Legislative assemblies of both territories; participation of representatives of the peoples of both territories in the Inter-Governmental Committee which drafted their new State Constitution; and the general elections in both territories held this year on the basis of universal adult suffrage which resulted in clear majorities for the pro-Malaysia parties."

Observers: Compromise accepted

Indonesia, which had agreed to send four observers and four clerical assistants to the Borneo States to watch the UN Mission at work, changed its mind because of what it called "technical difficulties created by the British."

These "technical difficulties" boil down to the fact that the Indonesians wanted to use their own military plane to take their team to Borneo and the British Government did not agree to this. Furthermore Indonesia wanted to send four senior officers to help its four observers although it had been agreed that they should only be of clerical grade.

The Philippines, which had also approved the British compromise figure, held back because of a similar disagreement over the status of the "clerical assistants." However

the absence of the observers from the two countries did not deter the UN teams from going ahead.

Britain had announced on Friday, August 23, that it had no objection if any of the observers from Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia wished to be accompanied by a junior assistant of a clerical grade making a maximum total of eight from each country.

The Philippines in accepting this proposal suggested that Indonesia and Malaya accept the British proposal, said the Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Salvador Lopez, the same day.

In Jakarta, the Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, announced that Indonesia had agreed to send an eight-member observer team and told reporters after a meeting on Saturday, August 24, with President Soekarno that the observers would leave by special plane "in a few days as soon as the clearance is arranged".

His announcement followed a series of meetings with President Soekarno over the previous 48 hours amid mounting reports that the Malaysian countries were adopting a tough attitude towards Indonesia's 'stalling' of the UN assessment.

Meanwhile, Mr Duncan Sandys flew into Kuala Lumpur on Saturday, August 24, 1963 for talks with the Malayan Premier, Tengku Abdul Rahman, and the leaders of Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore.

Shortly after his arrival Mr Sandys was closeted with Tengku Abdul Rahman for 90-minute talks and is believed to have told the Tengku:

- A date had to be fixed for Malaysia Day soon;
- Britain was not going back on its figure of four observers and four clerks for the Indonesian and Philippines observer teams;
- Malaya had the support of the United States, Australia and New Zealand on Malaysia.

Mr Donald Stephens, the Chief Minister of Sabah and Mr Ningkan, Chief Minister of Sarawak, in talks with the Malayan Prime Minister, had been pressing for Malaysia to be formed on August 31 — the original date.

'No retreat again' — Tengku

Meanwhile the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, intimidated that he

was not prepared to retreat again in the face of Indonesian and Philippine demands.

He said that if the findings of the UN teams were not adhered to because of a squabble over the observers than "we will carry on with Malaysia, and face whatever may be the consequences."

In Singapore on Sunday, the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said after talks in Kuala Lumpur that the participants of the Malaysia project would agree to a new date instead of the previously announced August 31 for its formal proclamation.

But there should be an advance in the political and constitutional position in Sarawak, Sabah (North Borneo) and Singapore on August 31.

In Jakarta on Monday it was stated that the departure of the observer team had been delayed, at least until the next day. A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said that Britain had not yet given a landing permit in Kuching for an Indonesian Air Force C-47 aircraft.

The plane was due to fly the eight-member observers team to Kuching via Singapore, where the observer team from the Philippines was to have joined the special flight.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Ganis Harsono, said that the delayed departure would also hold up the start of the UN survey.

Visa applications for the eight-man team were lodged with the British Embassy in Jakarta on Monday and an Embassy spokesman said they were being processed by the appropriate authorities.

However, British Government sources in Kuala Lumpur stated that Britain would not permit an Indonesian Air Force transport to fly to Borneo — it was one issue on which Britain was not prepared to give way.

In Manila, the British Government was reported to have refused three senior Philippine officials permission to enter British Borneo as "assistants" of the observer team.

The Philippine Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, in a statement on Monday disclosed that a "last minute problem has arisen" and that he had instructed his observers in Singapore to "stay put" until a settlement had been reached. Indonesia was having the same kind of trouble, he added.

Talks please Borneo leaders

The Malaysia talks in Kuala Lumpur

ended on Tuesday, when the Borneo Chief Ministers left for Singapore saying everything was settled so far as they were concerned and they were quite happy.

In the meantime, the Malayan Government announced that it wanted the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, to come to Singapore to meet the Deputy Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, "with the object of clearing up any misunderstanding that may have arisen over the question of observers and Malaya's stand in connection with this matter."

Tun Razak left for Singapore on Tuesday but before he reached there word came that Dr Subandrio was not willing to come because his health was not good, and he could not travel by air. He hoped that Tun Razak would come to Jakarta.

Dr Subandrio also accused Britain of delaying "the integral implementation" of the recent Manila agreement.

Meanwhile about 800 left wing youth front demonstrators staged a protest rally against racial discrimination in the United States and Malaysia in Jakarta. And it was reported that the Indonesian Defence Minister, General Nasution, had said that Indonesia would continue to "confront" the Malaysian States until the people of Northern Borneo were granted the right to self-determination.

On Wednesday it was learned that Malaya would reopen direct talks with Indonesia on Malaysia and that Inche Ghazalie Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, would fly to Jakarta that day to represent this country in conversations with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio and take a message from the Tengku.

From Jakarta, the official Indonesian news agency Antara quoted "circles close the Government" as saying Indonesia was now not likely to send observers to Borneo because of "technical difficulties created by the British."

The agency quoted the sources as pointing out that "Indonesia will thus eventually reserve the right to determine its attitude towards the results achieved by the United Nations team."

On Wednesday, too, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio warned the leaders of

Sarawak and North Borneo that they should "refrain from adopting a hostile attitude" towards neighbouring Indonesia and Philippines.

Dr Subandrio said that the leaders, Mr Ningkan and Mr Stephens, should not be hostile "because they can rely on the protection of Britain."

In his statement, read to reporters by the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Dr Subandrio did not say why he was giving the warning to the leaders.

But observers thought that he was referring to their declarations that both Sarawak and North Borneo would become self-governing states on August 31, irrespective of whether Malaysia was proclaimed by that date.

Dr Subandrio said that Mr Ningkan and Mr Stephens had "not yet experienced the joy of living in an atmosphere of freedom."

"Indonesia desires to live in harmony with its neighbours but it should be stressed that these neighbours should not adopt a hostile attitude based on the strength of others," he said.

'Little summit' in Singapore

In Singapore the Sabah and Sarawak leaders held secret talks with Mr Duncan Sandys and Tun Abdul Razak, the Malayan Deputy Premier.

Authoritative sources said the "little summit" centred on internal Malaysia matters such as the number of seats for the Borneo States in the Federal Parliament and choosing a Governor for Sarawak.

The two North Borneo and Sarawak leaders then went to Eden Hall, residence of Lord Selkirk, the Commissioner-General for South East Asia, there they had a working luncheon with Mr Sandys, later Tun Razak joined them.

Asked by Reuter to comment on Dr Subandrio's warning to the Borneo leaders, Mr Stephens said: "Dr Subandrio must stop making mischief in my country. We want to live in peace."

United Nations Mission Starts Work

The United Nations Assessment Mission this week visited eight centres in Sarawak and heard views on the Malaysia issue and the recent elections from 18 district councils, groups and organisations, including Party Negara Sarawak.

Besides Kuching, hearings were held at Simanggang, Sibu, Kanowit, Bintulu, Miri, Limbang and Marudi. The assessment ends on Monday, September 2, 1963 after completing hearings in Kuching and visiting Bau and Serian.

This week's tour was marred by brief but ugly anti-Malaysia riots which took place at Sibu and Miri — in defiance of a Government ban on demonstrations and instructions to branches by the Sarawak United Peoples' Party leaders.

The Sibu riots which occurred on Tuesday, was staged by about 3,000 supporters of the Supp, mostly Chinese youths. It resulted in several policemen being injured and three vehicles, including a car in which the UN Mission leader, Mr Laurence Michelmore, had travelled from the Airport, being badly damaged and a police motor cycle smashed.

The Miri riot, which took place on Thursday, saw the police being attacked at two places. Stones, sticks, fists and bottles were used and the police had to fire tear gas shells.

A Government statement deploring the Sibu incident said that the riot organised by members of the Supp was designed to intimidate the supporters of Malaysia despite an undertaking given by the Party leadership that the ban on demonstrations would be observed.

The statement added: "This worthless undertaking must now appear as a hypocritical washing of hands. The inability of the Party chairman in Sibu to control the crowd is further proof, if any is needed, of how unable the nominal Supp leadership is to control its own communist cadres." Another Government statement also commented on the Miri riot.

On Sunday a spokesman for the UN Mission announced that the assessment would begin the following day in accordance with a rescheduled programme.

He issued the following programme: Monday: Morning and afternoon —

Simanggang; Evening — Kuching; Tuesday: Morning and afternoon — Sibu; Wednesday: Morning and afternoon — Kanowit; Thursday: Morning — Bintulu; Afternoon — Miri; Friday: Morning and afternoon — Limbang; Saturday: Morning — Marudi.

Sunday, September 1: Morning and afternoon — Kuching; Monday: Morning — Bau; Afternoon — Serian.

The Mission, accompanied by British and Malayan observers, left Kuching for Simanggang on Monday morning in a Twin Pioneer of the Royal Malayan Air Force.

At the hearings, members from the four district councils in the Second Division — Batang Lupar, Saribas, Kalaka and Lubok Antu — told the Mission that they wanted Malaysia by August 31.

They also said that the recent general elections in the Division were "properly" conducted and that Malaysia was a major issue.

First to see the Mission were the Batang Lupar councillor led by the chairman, Penghulu Tawi Sli, who presented a memorandum.

Penghulu Tawi Sli said that the people had made their choice and were in favour of Malaysia. The electoral registers were properly compiled and if the Mission wished to scrutinise them this could be arranged with the Resident of the Second Division. He added that the elections were free and that there was no compulsion.

Lubok Antu views

Similar views were expressed by the chairman of the Lubok Antu District Council, Mr Tutong anak Ningkan, who led 15 councillors to see the Mission.

The Kalaka District Council, which met the Mission in the afternoon, submitted a memorandum which said: "All of us support and request the birth of Malaysia on August 31. Malaysia was proposed by the British and Malayan Governments and supported by Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore. No other neighbouring countries have a right to interfere in our affairs. At present only the British Government has the right to tell us what to do."

The memorandum also expressed the hope the British and Malayan Governments would implement the recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Committee Report.

The memorandum was signed on behalf of the Council by the vice-chairman, Mr Ella Seman.

Nineteen councillors from the Saribas District were in next. Two of them were members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party who were given a separate hearing.

The Saribas District Council chairman, Inche Ayub bin Yahya, who is a member of the Party Negara Sarawak, said that his Council would like to see Malaysia established on August 31.

The Mission in the afternoon also met ten members from the Simanggang Branch of the Supp. Their leader, Mr William Lonsa, said that the Supp still opposed the Malaysia Plan and that Sarawak should be given self-determination to be followed by full independence. He said that the sovereignty of Sarawak should be transferred to the people of the country and not to a foreign country.

Mr Lonsa stated that a plebiscite should be held in Sarawak and its entry into Malaysia should not be forced upon the people.

Hearings challenged

Another Supp member to see the Mission was Mr Hollis Tini, who said the Mission had no right to begin formal hearings without the presence of observers from Indonesia and the Philippines.

He stressed that if the Mission went ahead with its survey the Supp would not recognise its findings. Mr Tini demanded that a referendum should be held to assess the people's wish to join Malaysia.

Last to see the Mission were six people led by Mr Edward Howell, who said that they were non-political party members but who supported Malaysia.

Mr Howell told the Mission that Malaysia was an attractive and workable project and was in the best interest of Sarawak. He appealed to the Mission to clear the picture of the present state of affairs prevailing in Sarawak, chiefly on the "cowardly, brutal and murderous raids" along the Indonesian border.

He asked: "Will Dr Soekarno give us positive and concrete reasons as to Indonesia's objection to Malaysia?"

The Mission ended its hearings at 4.30 p.m. and flew back to Kuching, where at night it heard the views of a delegation from Party Negara Sarawak, 45 strong, and a delegation from the Lundu District Council.

The hearings were held in the UN office (Council Negri Room).

The Panas group, which included several women members, was led by their chairman, Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, who told the Mission that his Party was the first political party in Sarawak which had declared its full support for Malaysia and that its members had "worked hard and unflinchingly towards its birth until the present time."

Other speakers were Che Lorna Othman for the Women's Section; Mr Wazir M. Khan for the Men's Section; and Inche Senawi bin Sulaiman for the Youth Movement who spoke on aspects of political changes in Sarawak and the aspiration of the people for self-determination through Malaysia.

The Datu Bandar also stressed that Malaysia was the main issue of the elections in Sarawak and said that his members support its formation on August 31.

In presenting a memorandum, the Datu Bandar wished the UN Mission speedy accomplishment of its task. The meeting lasted for about 50 minutes.

The Lundu councillors consisted of five Panas members, three from the Sarawak Alliance and two Independents. The Alliance men were led by Orang Kaya Kalong anak Jumat who submitted a memorandum declaring that the recent general elections were conducted "in accordance with the elections regulations" and "with honesty."

The memorandum stated that the councillors believed and understood that Malaysia was the main issue of the elections. They were returned with "overwhelming majority votes" and therefore had a mandate to state their full support for Malaysia. The memorandum also wished the UN Mission "every success" and hoped that it would arrive at an early verdict.

Support by Independent

The Panas members were led by Inche Bolhi bin Ahmat, who is chairman of the Lundu District Council. A memorandum supporting Malaysia, was also submitted to the Mission. One of the two Independents, Mr Lau Ah Foo (Sematan Rural) submitted a me-

morandum which expressed support for Malaysia.

Two Lundu Councillors who are members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, were outside the UN office but did not see the Mission.

They told their District Officer, Mr Michael Sadin, that they had been advised to join the main Supp delegation at a later date.

'No demonstrations'

It was announced on Monday that the District Officer, Sibü, Mr P. Scanlon had stated that no demonstration, procession or meeting in an open space to which the general public have access is to be permitted during the visit of the UN Mission.

Mr Scanlon added: "There will be no objection to meetings in private premises provided they do not become public meetings through the use of public address systems or other means by which assemblies outside the premises may be attracted."

On Tuesday morning members of the Mission and the British and Malayan observers flew to Sibü.

On arrival at the airport (9.30 a.m.) they were "greeted" by more than 3,000 supporters of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, mostly Chinese but including some Ibans, who shouted "Sa'ati", yelled and jeered.

Some who attempted to display banners bearing the words — "Tengku No, Soekarno Yes"; "We want self-determination"; "We want freedom and justice"; and "Stop mass arrests," were apprehended by the police but later released.

A crowd, which stood five deep for nearly half a mile on both sides of the road from the Airport, was less vociferous.

Strict security precautions and the immediate arrests of those who had surreptitiously tried to display banners, which were written both in English and Chinese, when the UN team passed kept the more exuberant part of the crowd, consisting of boys and girls, under control.

Most of the crowd appeared to be farmers from the nearby rural areas who had never seen such a mass of people and who simply gaped at the motorcade carrying the UN men passed by.

Crowd heads for school

At the Sibü Airport the UN Mission was welcomed by the Resident of the Third Division, Mr A.F.R. Griffin, the District Officer, Mr Peter Scanlon, Mr Khoo Peng Loong, chairman of the Sibü Urban District Council, Datu Tuanku Bujang, chairman of the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Saawak and the Divisional Superintendent of Police, Mr B.R.P. Edwards.

Sibü town itself was calm when the UN team drove in and there were no demonstrations of any kind. No banners were seen anywhere although scores of people sat outside the Sarawak Hotel for hours to catch a glimpse of the members.

Meanwhile the Airport crowd, apparently angry at the arrests, streamed into town and converged at the Methodist Secondary School, in Queensway — the venue for the UN hearings.

The crowd, in front of the school, held up traffic, mobbed the cars carrying the UN Mission leader, Mr Michelmores, and some members of the press. They began shoving banners bearing slogans into the cars.

As the slow moving motorcade tried to get near the gate, the crowd began to stone policemen and the press, but the police managed to keep them under control for a short while.

Meanwhile the UN Mission managed to get to the school and up to the hall in safety. The crowd then attacked three motor vehicles, including a police van. One of the cars belonging to the District Officer, Mr Scanlon, had just taken Mr Michelmores to the school. The mob smashed the glass windows and badly dented it. Another car belonging to Police Inspector Lau S. Kong was attacked while he was in it, and overturned.

Inspector Lau, who was injured managed to free himself and get out after firing a few shots with his revolver. Using sticks and heavy stones the mob heavily damaged the car and overturned it.

The police van, which was also overturned, was badly damaged. A motor-cycle belonging to a traffic policeman was smashed.

However, it was not long before two riot squads and the police managed to get the crowd under control and expel the demonstrators from the compound after warning shots had been fired. Several police officers were injured.

The chairman of the Supp, Sibü branch, Mr Khoo Peng Loong, used a loud speaker and appealed to the crowd to disperse. But instead of dispersing they surged around him and his appeals were in vain. By about 11.30 a.m. police had cordoned off the building and the situation was brought under control.

Road blocks were set up to guard all access to the school.

Free food and drink

Hundreds of demonstrators then went to an uncompleted building in Ramin Way where they were given free food and drinks by Supp supporters. Some Ibans were seen among this crowd.

The Rest House where the Mission members stayed was heavily guarded.

Supp denial

Contacted in Kuching by the Sarawak Tribune on Tuesday night, Mr Stephen Yong, secretary-general of the Supp denied that his Party had engineered the demonstrations.

He said that all Party branches in the country had been issued directives not to stage any demonstrations during the course of the UN Mission's tour.

However, he felt that the Sibü demonstrations were the work of some enthusiasts determined to show their true feelings about Malaysia.

On Wednesday, the chairman of the Party, Mr Ong Kee Hui, paid a visit to Sibü to make an on-the-spot investigation.

Commenting on the Sibü disturbances a Government spokesman said on Tuesday night: "These ugly scenes were not spontaneous. They were designed to intimidate supporters of Malaysia. They were organised by members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party despite an undertaking given by the party leadership that the ban on demonstrations would be observed.

"This worthless undertaking must now appear as a hypocritical washing of hands. The inability of the Party Chairman in Sibü to control the crowd is further proof if any is needed of how unable the nominal Supp leadership is to control its own communist cadres.

"The police are to be congratulated for behaving with very great restraint. It is, of course, the object of the communists on such

occasions to provoke the police into drastic action which can be portrayed as police brutality.

"The senseless irresponsibility of those who organised the disturbances can be appreciated by anyone who reflects what might have happened if the pro-Malaysia parties in their turn had brought several thousand of their Dayak, Malay and other supporters into Sibü at the same time. These other parties had honoured a request put to all political parties by the Resident not to assemble their supporters.

"It is known that the Dayaks seen in Sibü were brought into town by members of the Supp with promises of subsistence and all expenses paid. These Dayaks took no part in the rioting."

Hearings open

When the hearing opened at 11 a.m. in the School Hall the Mission first received a joint delegation from the anti-Malaysia Sibü Urban and Rural District Councils.

The chairman of the SUDC, Mr Khoo Peng Loong, in submitting a memorandum said that his Council reaffirmed its stand against Malaysia because the British Government had not fulfilled its obligation to the Rajah when Sarawak was ceded in 1946. It was promised that the British would adhere to the Nine Cardinal Principles which stated that the people of Sarawak "shall be granted self-government".

Two of the resolutions which were passed at an extra-ordinary meeting of the SUDC on August 9 were also included in the memorandum. One stated that a plebiscite was "the most genuine way" of ascertaining the wishes of the people as to whether they wished to join Malaysia or not. The other said that the Council had not recognised the London Agreement on Malaysia signed by the four Sarawak representatives.

The memorandum also referred to the border incidents and said: "The atmosphere of uncertainty prevailing throughout this country is as a result of Malaysia being forced upon us.

The last general elections, it said, were fought on the issue of Malaysia but all the pro-Malaysia Sarawak Chinese Association candidates were defeated.

All the Supp candidates were successful and the Party controlled the Council which

represented a population of 30,000 and was the second largest urban council in Sarawak.

Others who saw the Mission in the morning included Mr Peter Jong (SUDU Independent councillor), Mr Anthony Teo (Supp. SUDC), Mr Francis Louis Barieng of the Sarawak Alliance and the chairman of the Rural District Council, Mr Wong Kwong Yie.

A party of Sarawak Alliance Iban chiefs was also admitted to see the UN Mission. They were all from Sarikei and included Penghulu Bani, Tuai Rumah Andok, Tuai Rumah Endau, Tuai Rumah Bruang, and Penghulu Silat of Binatang.

A memorandum submitted by Mr Barieng on behalf of the Alliance said that he was speaking in his capacity as an elected councillor of the SUDC.

It said that Sarawak was a small country with a multi-racial population. The loyalty of a certain proportion of the people was questionable and had been established by facts already proved by the Government.

For Sarawak to stand as a single independent country in South East Asia was unwise and fraught with danger. It was tantamount to "a lamb standing amongst wolves."

Mukah and Matu Councils

In the afternoon the UN Mission saw representatives of Mukah and Matu District Councils; Penghulu Jarrau, on behalf of the penghulus of the Sibu division; the Sarawak Chinese Association, Sarikei and Binatang councillors; the Sibu Branch of the Supp, the Binatang Wharf Labourers' Association, the Kai Yew Association; the Sarikei Third Division United Hawkers' Association and the Binatang Agricultural Association.

The Sarawak Alliance Branch in the Third Division in a memorandum submitted to the Mission related how Malaysia came about and gave figures to prove how the Alliance won the elections.

The memorandum went on to say that from the figures quoted the anti-Malaysia Supp obtained only 47,462 votes or 20.35 per cent of the total votes. The pro-Malaysia Sarawak Alliance and Party Negara Sarawak polled between them 114,411 votes or 49.07 per cent of the total votes.

Most of the independents whether successful or not supported Malaysia and many of them had either joined the Alliance or gave their support to it.

This was clearly shown by the fact that the pro-Malaysia independents, Sarawak Alliance and Panas held nearly 88 per cent of the seats in the Council Negri.

Pointing out that the motion on Sarawak joining Malaysia on August 31, 1963 was unanimously passed by Council Negri in September, 1962 and in March, 1963, the memorandum said that the overwhelming majority of the members of the newly formed Council Negri were pro-Malaysia independents, the Sarawak Alliance and Panas.

The memorandum then went to describe how the elections were organised and how the polling was conducted "in such a satisfactory manner that no complaint has been made to the polling authorities."

Touching on the economic and social aspects of Sarawak in Malaysia the memorandum said that the four territories concerned had many things in common.

It added: "If we want to maintain peace to accelerate progress and to have better prosperity, Malaysia is the answer."

The memorandum said that five of the six political parties were in favour of Malaysia. Only Supp was against it. Most of the members in the Supp were Chinese living in town or suburban areas.

Supp was infiltrated by subversive elements and this had been proved by documents captured by the Government.

The memorandum ended by saying that Sarawak was joining Malaysia as a result of self-determination expressed at the last elections.

"We certainly do not need a referendum," it declared.

The memorandum was signed by officials of the Alliance Branch in the Third Division — Bangau anak Renang and Datu Tuanku Bujang, vice chairman; Mr Ling Beng Siew, the chairman; and Mr Ting Tung Ming, secretary.

Information on the recent general elections was also submitted by the District Officers of Binatang and Sarikei giving details of voters and votes cast at the elections.

They were signed by Abang Zainuddin bin Abang Adeh, District Officer, Binatang and Matu/Daro.

Pro-Malaysia Independents

Independent councillors of the Matu/Daro District Council submitted a memorandum to

the Mission.

It said that Sarawak had always been well-known for its racial harmony but that there were some anti-nationalist elements "among our midst who are influenced by foreign ideologies which are unacceptable to our people."

These elements tried to preach hatred "between our brethren of different racial origin" and the memorandum added: "Their aim is to bluff our people and eventually subjugate them under the rule of hostile foreign powers."

"We want Malaysia immediately so our country will no longer be subjected to pressure from Indonesia or from the CCO which exists in Sarawak today."

UN tour

"Sarawak is joining Malaysia as a result of our self-determination as clearly explained during the last election. We certainly do not need a referendum."

"We feel certain that the best way to free ourselves from colonialism, is to ensure that we are not trapped into a new kind of imperialism, and the best way to ensure peace, prosperity, progress and racial harmony is for Sarawak to become part of Malaysia."

A separate memorandum submitted by the Alliance councillors of the Matu/Daro District Council said: "We support the Malaysia Agreement signed in London. We want to rid ourselves of colonialism. We want peace, we want a better life for our people. We believe the best way to achieve this is through the establishment of Malaysia".

The Alliance councillors of the Matu/Daro District Council also stressed that they wanted Malaysia to be formed immediately.

A memorandum submitted by the Sarawak Alliance members of the Sarikei Branch said: "Sarawak is too small, too weak, and too poor to stand on her own feet. From the documents captured by the Government there is a great menace from subversive elements which resort to force to overthrow the Government."

Indonesia had been unfriendly recently by not only creating border troubles. Quite recently a high official had publicly announced that the people of Northern Borneo wanted to join with Indonesia and that Indonesia could not abandon the people of North Borneo.

The memorandum added that this claim was only a pretext — that Indonesia wanted to take over Sarawak should the country obtain independence by itself.

Sarikei Council

The Sarikei District Council at its hearing submitted copies of a resolution recently passed by the Council.

The resolution urged the Mission "to conduct a democratic plebiscite in order to ascertain fully the true wishes of the people of Sarawak with regard to Malaysia."

During the afternoon, eight Supp and seven Independent Councillors from Sarikei and seven Supp and eight Alliance Councillors from Bintang as well as a few Panas members were closely questioned by the Mission whether they campaigned in the elections on the basis of the Malaysia issue.

Some of the Independents told reporters later that they denied that Malaysia was the basis of the electoral platform. They said that the Mission wanted to know whether the voters in their respective wards were pro-Malaysia or not and the Mission satisfied itself that the elections were fairly and properly conducted.

The memorandum ended by saying: "We want to rid ourselves of colonialism; we want peace; and we want a better life for our people. We believe that the best way of achieving all this is through the establishment of Malaysia."

Supp accusations

The delegation of four consisting of one Independent and three Supp councillors representing the anti-Malaysia group in the Kanowit District Council claimed in its memorandum that it represented one-fifth of the total population of the district, numbering more than 41,000.

It said that the people refused to join Malaysia and claimed independence first. The acceptance or refusal of Malaysia, the memorandum argued, "could only be decided by means of a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations."

The memorandum also stated that Malaysia was not the major issue in the recent general elections. Quoting figures of the election results in the Kanowit District, the memorandum stated that although most of the

independents and unopposed candidates did join the Alliance this was only through individual wishes and not the wishes of the electorate.

The memorandum charged that the electoral registers showed a big number of voters but allowed a short time to apply for registration. Many names were submitted for registration but the voters could not find their names at the time of the election and were unable to vote.

The memorandum went on to say that the elections were free only in areas where voters were literate. The illiterate voters in many areas were left in doubt and some nominators and candidates for the Supp were called down by the Returning Officer from long distances for enquiry.

Such enquiries, the memorandum stated "scared the voters and caused the defeat of the candidates for whom they would have voted."

The memorandum ended by saying that the counting of votes seemed to be properly carried out but it did not fully satisfy the people as the counting agents were asked to sit far away from the counter.

Another anti-Malaysia memorandum was submitted by the four-man delegation led by Kapitan China Tan Cheng Swee.

It made the following points:

- that the people did not want Malaysia and claimed independence first;
- that Malaysia was not a major issue in the recent elections; and
- that the people appealed for a plebiscite.

Temenggong Jugah's personal memorandum was addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, through the UN Mission leader, Mr Michelmores.

It was similar in many respects to that submitted by the Alliance members of Kapit District Council.

However, the Temenggong also stated: "There are some anti-nationalist elements in our midst who are influenced and dictated to by foreign ideologies which are unacceptable to our people and who try to breed hatred between our brethren of different racial origins.

"Their aim is to cheat our people and eventually subjugate them under the rule of hostile foreign powers."

Banners along river banks

Some anti-Malaysia banners were placed on both banks of the river by Chinese gardeners who live there in the hope that they would attract the attention of the UN Mission members. But the Mission flew to Kanowit in a Belvedere helicopter.

Many of the banners carried anti-Malaysia slogans and were stuck on tree trunks. They were put up two days ago but heavy rain in the evening and the following morning washed away nearly all of them.

Apart from this, there was no demonstration of any kind at Kanowit and only a small crowd of curious spectators gathered outside the District Office where the hearings were held.

After the hearings, Temenggong Jugah expressed great satisfaction at having met and giving his views to the UN Mission. He said that he had taken full opportunity to explain all he could "of the overwhelming support the people had for Malaysia."

After the hearings, the UN Mission returned to Sibul by Government launch.

On to Bintulu

On Thursday morning the UN Mission flew in two Wessex helicopters from the compound of the Residency to Sibul to the Airport to board a chartered aircraft — a Twin Pioneer of Borneo Airways — for the next leg of its journey to the Fourth and Fifth Divisions.

The road leading from Sibul town to the Airport was quiet and there was no crowd at the Airport itself. The Resident, Third Division, Mr Griffin, saw the Mission off to Bintulu.

On its arrival there, the team was met by the Acting District Officer, Mr Simon Lao. In Bintulu town itself there were no posters or demonstrations. Only a crowd of about 150 spectators gathered outside the Bintulu District Council building to see the members of the Mission arrive.

The hearings, which took place in the Bintulu District Council Chamber started shortly after 10 o'clock.

The first group to see the Mission was from the Bintulu District Council led by its chairman, Mr Nanang anak Entigar, who submitted a memorandum. It said that of the 14 Council words, 12 which contained more than

80 per cent of the total population of Bintulu District, were won by pro-Malaysia candidates.

There were other pro-Malaysia candidates who did not win seats but who had won a large number of votes. From this it was clear that more than 80 per cent of the population in Bintulu District fully support Malaysia and Malaysia was the main issue during the elections.

'No interference'

The memorandum went on to say: "We are sure that in the recent general elections the elections were free. There were no coercion and the votes were properly polled and properly counted in accordance with the Election Ordinance."

The memorandum continued: "Being elected councillors in this district, our firm wish is to achieve independence for Sarawak through Malaysia, and we firmly believe that only in this way can Sarawak's independence run smoothly."

The memorandum urged the Government to stick to August 31 as Malaysia Day, adding "The people in Bintulu resent any interference by any outside country in our fixing of the proudest day in Sarawak's history."

Another group that saw the Mission this morning was from the Sarawak United Peoples' Party led by the Branch secretary, Mr Goh Nyiap Joon. This group did not submit a memorandum but stated that a memorandum had been prepared and would be submitted by the Miri Branch.

Briefly the points in the memorandum were:

- A referendum should be held in order to prove the wishes of the people;
- A referendum should be conducted by the UN Mission and not under any threat;
- Malaysia was not the major issue in the recent elections;
- The register of voters was not satisfactory because many eligible voters were left out.

The anti-Malaysia Supp polled 579 votes out of 5,860 votes cast in the elections in Bintulu.

A Panas delegation of five led by the chairman of the branch, Inche Yaman bin Pedol, saw the Mission next. It also submitted a memorandum giving full support for Malaysia

and reiterated that Panas as a Party was 100 per cent pro-Malaysia.

Another group that saw the Mission comprised 11 people including Penghulu Kana and Penghulu Buan — all from Tatau sub-district. They appeared as an independent group and informed the Mission that they were all out to support Malaysia.

Indonesia attacked

Of six groups, which met the UN Mission at Bintulu, was one from the Sarawak Alliance branch led by Penghulu Jalin, the chairman.

A memorandum submitted stated that Indonesia's interference in the internal affairs of Sarawak had angered the people.

The border incidents, open support and the training of terrorists "to invade our country and kill our people" showed that the policy of Indonesia was not anti-colonialist but neo-colonialist and expansionist.

The memorandum added: "The threats from Indonesia have strengthened our wish to have Malaysia in spite of threats or confrontation from outside we have firmly decided to have Malaysia established on August 31, 1963."

The memorandum went on to say that Malaysia was the major issue of the last elections which were entirely "free and fair."

Penghulu Jalin said afterwards that he was confident that the UN Mission being an international body would maintain justice and confirm our wish to the world that we in Sarawak want Malaysia."

The Mission ended its journey at mid-day and flew on to Miri.

Anti-Malaysia riot

An anti-Malaysia riot, lasting for about 30 minutes, broke out at Miri town early in the afternoon when the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission arrived.

Between 200 to 300 slogan-shouting young Chinese, carrying banners, violently attacked the police at two places, using fists, stones, bottles and sticks, and injured several.

At one place police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd and also charged at the crowd armed with batons. Some shots had to be fired in self-defence by the police.

The situation was brought under control at about 2 p.m. and the UN hearings were delayed for about half an hour. They were due to

start at the Miri Community Hall at 2 p.m.

The UN Mission arrived at Lutong Airfield from Bintulu at 1.15 p.m. and was greeted by the Resident, Mr J.F. Drake-Brockman, and the District Officer, Mr C.A.R. Wilson. There was no crowd present.

As the cars approached Gilbert Estate, a crowd on both sides of the road tried to throw posters at them. Attention was then directed at the police by the crowd which assaulted the police, using fists and sticks.

As the cars passed by the crowd followed them towards the Miri Community Hall, shouting insults at the police. They refused to disperse when ordered. Several tear gas shells were then fired resulting in a commotion.

However, a riot squad which was standing by was not called. The crowd then retreated to Jansen Road where it began throwing stones and sticks at the police. The police then charged, swinging batons. The crowd retreated further and split into small groups.

A few empty bottles were also thrown at the Community Hall but fell on to the compound.

The rioters also threatened to assault several foreign correspondents who were photographing them.

While the UN Mission cars drove towards Miri, 'acid bombs' were thrown at a police van but no policemen in it were injured.

A police spokesman said that stones were also thrown at a number of police vehicles escorting the Mission.

Some of the injured rioters were treated by the Miri Red Cross. It is learned that at least one policeman has been admitted to hospital and that two civilians had bullet wounds of a minor nature.

Ferret armoured cars, which arrived at Miri yesterday, were not called in to quell the riot. The Fatimah Hotel is heavily guarded.

An official spokesman has commented: "It is quite clear that the riot like the disturbance in Kuching and Sibul was well organised.

"The crowd was very aggressive from the start and went to extreme lengths to insult and provoke the police."

More than 10 groups, including a delegation of 12 ex-TNKU Kedays from the Sibuti area led by Haji Esa bin Duhak, met the Mission at Miri.

In an interview afterwards Haji Esa said that the group represented wanted indepen-

dence and not Malaysia because in Malaysia Sarawak would be under the control of a foreign country, namely Malaya.

He went on to say that one of the reasons of the December rebellion was Malaysia. He stressed that the Kedays he represented still insisted on having a federation of Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak.

The first group which saw the Mission this afternoon consisted of three Sarawak Alliance members of the Miri District Council led by Mr G.E. Jolly. He told the Mission that they wanted independence through Malaysia, that no force was used during the recent elections and that voting was free.

He went on to say Sarawak did not want interference by Indonesia on the Malaysia question. No referendum was needed because all the people favoured Malaysia.

Photographs submitted

The next delegation consisted of 21 Alliance members of various races led by the Miri Branch chairman, Mr Chia Chin Shin.

A memorandum submitted stated that the registers were properly compiled and that the voters were happy with the way the elections had been conducted in Miri.

Mr Chia also submitted seven photographs to show that the Supp had raised anti-Malaysia issue at the last elections at Miri.

Members of the pro-Malaysia Subis District Council led by the chairman, Wan Ahmad bin Tuanku Omar, saw the Mission next.

He said that he had told the Mission that there was no reason whatsoever for either Indonesia or the Philippines to interfere with Sarawak's affairs because choice to join Malaysia had been made by the majority of the people.

The only Supp councillor in the Subis District Council, Mr Lee Fung Chew, who is also secretary of the Batu Niah branch of the Supp, also met the Mission.

He said that he had told the Mission: "We cannot sell Sarawak to other countries. Therefore before Malaysia can be formed a referendum should be held.

The chairmen of four Chinese community associations led by Mr James Ting of the Foochow Association was also granted hearing by the Mission.

The Associations were the Foochow Association, Hakka Association, Chawan

Association and the Leong Chon Association Mr Ting said that the four associations had submitted a joint memorandum and he outlined the main points.

Anti-Malaysia views

The memorandum, he said, called for independence first, for the plebiscite; and stated that the recent elections did not reflect "the real decision of the people of Sarawak on Malaysia because of interference by an outside country, namely Malaya, during election time."

He also stated that the Sarawak Government had arrested anti-Malaysia leaders, banned left-wing newspapers and that the electoral registers were unfair and not done properly.

Furthermore, votes were not properly polled. Independent candidates polled more votes than any others and therefore it was hard to know how many of them were pro or anti-Malaysia.

The Supp councillors in the Miri District Council led by Mr Lim Chee Hian also saw the Mission and expressed opposition to Malaysia.

Also meeting the Mission was ex-Tua Kampong Pangis bin Duhak who said he had acted as spokesman for some of the Kedayans who opposed Malaysia.

The Miri hearings ended at about 7 p.m.

On to Limbang

The following morning the Mission left by Twin Pioneer aircraft for Limbang, in the Fifth Division, and was greeted on arrival by the Acting Resident, Mr Malcolm McSporran, the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr James Wong and the chairman of the Limbang and Lawas District Councils.

It then left for the Limbang Court Room to conduct hearings but before then met members of both councils and the district officers.

Hearings began at 10.10 a.m. when the Limbang District councillors led by their chairman, Haji Bakar bin Abdullah, went in and submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum.

Next in was a group of three comprising the chairman of the Sarawak National Party

Branch; Lower Limbang District, Mr Anthony Belayong; Penghulu Madang, representing the Kelabits, Muruts and Tabuns of the Ulu Limbang; and Inche Raham Dolah bin Majid, of Kampong Simpang Tiga. They all expressed views in favour of Malaysia.

Following this a delegation of seven Malays led by Awang Amin bin Bakir saw the Mission. He claimed to represent a number of pro-Brunei Bisayas, Kedayans and Malays and submitted a memorandum which asked for the return of Limbang District to the Brunei Sultanate.

Awang Amin said he had also handed in a petition of containing 760 thumbprints and signatures in support of the memorandum.

Views of Chinese organisations

Mr James Wong and Mr William Geikie, who flew specially to Limbang to see the Mission, were next in.

Then followed a group of three representatives from the Limbang Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Union Club and the Foochow Association.

These representatives submitted a memorandum which in effect said that the associations would like to see Sarawak achieve independence first before joining Malaysia and that a referendum should be held. They said that they did not belong to any political party.

Last in were Mr Yeo Leng Soon, claiming to represent the Bisaya community and Penghulu Ngang, representing the Ibans. They made oral statements in support of Malaysia.

In the afternoon the Mission heard the views of Lawas District Councillors who also submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum, and a pro-Malaysia delegation of three comprising Awang Daud bin Matussin, speaking for the Sarawak Alliance; Tua Kampong Zainal Abidin, on behalf of the Malay community and chairman of the Panas branch; and Penghulu Babut Aram, representing the Muruts in the Lawas/Damit area.

The Mission ended its hearings at 3.30 p.m. and left for Miri where it stayed the night. It conducted hearings at Marudi the following morning after which it returned to Kuching.

Malaysia on September 16 welcomed FIRST VICTORY



Council Negri in session. Left (nearest camera) — the Supp Opposition: Right: Alliance Government.

ALLIANCE TEAM SHOWS ITS METTLE

The Sarawak Alliance Government scored a resounding victory for "independence within Malaysia on September 16" when the newly elected Council Negri held its first meeting in Kuching this week.

Its first motion, asking for reaffirmation of support for Malaysia, endorsement of the recent London Agreement, and welcome for a new Malaysia date, was carried with the unanimous support of the Opposition Party Negara Sarawak Councillors and Independents.

By a show of hands 38 members of the legislature voted for the motion. In spite of this overwhelming support, a division was insisted upon ("for the United Nations") and only five hands were raised against — those belonging to the Sarawak United Peoples' Party bloc.

This victory was even more significant in that the Alliance team rose to every occasion in the debate convincingly to meet and defeat the challenges and criticisms levelled against Malaysia. The new Ministers showed every sign of self confidence and parliamentary ability.

The three-day meeting was ceremonially opened on Wednesday by the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell who, in his address, condemned the "perpetrators" of the recent riots and called upon those responsible for the border troubles "in the name of

humanity" to give the word and stop "this senseless strife".

The meeting was the first of its kind to be held in the country under a full parliamentary system — of Government and Opposition. This immediately produced a stimulating effect and the "cut and thrust" of debate was evident from the start.

In the chair was the Speaker, on this occasion, Mr A.R. Snelus, — the Deputy Chief Secretary. A permanent Speaker has already been appointed — Dr M. Sockalingam.

Members of the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission and some observers attended part of Wednesday's meeting when the legislature cleared all doubts as to Sarawak's decision to join Malaysia.

GOVERNOR CONDEMNS MEN BEHIND RIOTS

The Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, in fiery denunciation of the recent riots at Sibu and Miri declared that those responsible for them were "downright traitors."

In his address to the first meeting of the newly elected Council Negri in Kuching on Wednesday the Governor said: "I utterly condemn the irresponsibility and viciousness of these stupid riots. At any time their conduct would have been outrageous at a time of independence for Sarawak I call them downright traitors."

Said Sir Alexander: "We have seen in these last days disgraceful, shameful scenes

at Sibu and Miri and lesser affrays elsewhere — an indelible blot on our good name for tolerance and amity.

"It is not so long ago that the claim was made that special account be taken of the votes cast in the towns because they were more politically mature and sophisticated. So much for maturity.

"Compare these ugly scenes in which there was no respect for law, no thought of other persons' rights and safety, with the quiet dignity of the rest of the country — the so-called immature.

"It has been claimed that this was a spontaneous expression of feeling, as permitted in democratic societies, and that these were mere enthusiasts.

"Is one asked to suppose that cudgels and staves came spontaneously to hand, that containers were quite fortuitously filled with acid, that rationing depots appeared out of thin air, that the throwing of gathered stones, the vicious attacks on the police, are legitimate democratic processes?

"If one points the finger at the hooligans responsible one is accused of causing prejudice. But surely the facts speak for themselves, and so do the photographs now published abroad.

Apology to UN Mission

"It is inevitable that the irresponsible conduct of the few should gain greater public currency than the restraint and dignity of the vast majority of our citizens.

"The unusual and calamitous is ever, I fear, more notable than the usual and serene but let not these events disguise the soundness and goodness of the people of Sarawak, their law abiding nature, their traditional goodwill and their determination."

Sir Alexander then addressed the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission (which sat through part of the proceedings) and said: "I apologise to them for the conduct of a small minority during their stay here — they will know that all Sarawak is not like that."

Referring to the Mission he said: "I have welcomed this Mission in the spirit in which Tengku Abdul Rahman helped to promote its presence, in the spirit of goodwill, in the hope that it will lead to lasting peace in the region. Moreover, we have nothing to hide, indeed we have a good deal to show.

"The Mission has been given every facility we have to command in pursuing its exhaustive — and I imagine exhausting — research and I for one have the fullest admiration for the manner in which they have tackled the job.

"I am not wholly aware of the extent to which democratic processes of election are current or pursued in other countries in South East Asia but I am confident that the Mission will find that the elections here have been properly conducted in accordance with traditional British practice, on a universal adult franchise, public registers of voters and the secret ballot box in accordance with strict and detailed legislation.

"I have complete confidence in the integrity of the system and its operation and if there be some who have preferred snide allegations the fact remains that the electoral rolls, procedures and results have been open to scrutiny by the public and political parties and to challenge in the Courts of law but apart from two election petitions calling for a recount, where contests were close, no challenge has been made.

"And of the issues at stake there is, in my mind, no doubt whatsoever having viewed the political scene over these last years."

Turning to the "intrusions into our land from across the border", Sir Alexander told the members of Council Negri: "You are only too familiar with the despicable force applied against us, the abusive propaganda to which we have been subjected, the threats, the attempts at intimidation and coercion, the death and destruction which have befallen innocent citizens of this land, people who seek no more than their inalienable right to a future of their own choosing and to live at peace with their neighbours and the enjoyment of their land.

"But in all this Sarawak is not dismayed and is resolute in its own protection."

'Sarawak is not North Kalimantan'

"On this whole business of conflict let me state for those who have ears to hear that —

- Sarawak is not North Kalimantan, never has been and never will be;
- The TNKU is a foreign propagated, and now exploded, myth;

- There is no revolution in Sarawak — only a democratic evolution through universal franchise;
- Sarawak has no need for any one to liberate her. She has made her own choice for freedom;
- Least of all do we have any need for this foreign Azahari and his comic band of self appointed ministers, military governors and generals. They are a joke — albeit a joke in bad taste.
- Sarawak has for generations lived at peace with its neighbours indeed with mutual cordiality and mutual benefit, threatens no one but only desires, and intends, to conduct its affairs in the way of its own choosing.

"If I am wrong in any of these propositions, you, honourable members, of the Government and Opposition will say so.

"All this senseless strife could stop at a given word — that it can be stopped has been shown by the sudden cessation of fresh armed intrusion into Sarawak these last few days. In the name of humanity I call on those who can give the word to do so."

Historic occasion

Earlier in his address Sir Alexander referred the meeting as "a historic occasion when Sarawak has already entered upon internal State Government as a prelude to full independence in Malaysia" and said: "As this is the last occasion on which I shall have the honour to appear before you I intend today to make a personal testimony.

"First, let me welcome to this Council those who take their seats for the first time and congratulate you upon your election.

"In this House there are 36 elected members, three members nominated on the advice of the Chief Minister, three officers of State, and one remaining Standing Member whose place not only gives us an honoured link with the past but also shows how far we have travelled over these last years. From these members we have for the first time a full ministerial Government responsible to this House and to the people.

"Some four days ago I handed over to the Chief Minister the conduct of State affairs and you will all, I am sure, wish him well in shouldering his great responsibilities.

"I have the fullest confident in his ministry and my call to the country is this — if demo-

cracy is to mean anything you must, whether you have won or lost in the elections, give your undivided loyalty to the Government.

"You may not always agree with it, you have the right, indeed the duty if the need arises, to criticize, but you have no right to deny it or to erode its structure for the Government is not a person or group of persons or a political party, it is Sarawak, it is the will of the majority.

"I do not need to remind you that everyone of you is here not for sectional interest, not for personal prestige, not for party advantage but to serve sincerely the people of Sarawak, all the people of Sarawak, all the time."

He continued: "This is not a time for looking back but as I am about to take my leave of you and of the country I cannot but cast my eye back over the plateau of achievement of the last years. In the vista there stand out a number of peaks —

- the great political advance and in particular the development of indigenous political thought and achievement, and the evolution of a full ministerial Government;
- the enormous strides in education nurtured to a great extent by the elected district councils. Much as our educational advance is criticized, it is a fact that we outstrip our near neighbours except for Malaya and indeed the percentage of persons of school age attending school, primary and secondary, is as a matter of interest twice as high as in China.
- Next, the great advance in rural development in agriculture, in road development and the massive impetus of the people themselves in adopting new methods and pushing forward to a higher standard of living, greatly strengthened by the spectacular control of disease, particularly malaria, in recent years.

"We should not, take credit for ourselves. We are on the springboard of development, a springboard created by the skill, care and patience of those who have gone before.

"It is for you to take the next great leap ahead, and you will not fail. You reach the shore of independence with well known, well tried partners at your side.

Blueprint for future

"For the future, we in Sarawak have lived and worked for partnership with our real and

tried friends in Malaysia. We have worked out with them in great detail and meticulous care and with great satisfaction the blueprint for the future — a prosperous stable future.

"We have watched with pride the great progress of Malaya under the leadership of Tengku Abdul Rahman and we rejoice at the prospect of joining in the new Federation and adding to the common weal the strength and particular character of Sarawak while equally drawing with our friends the added strength and prosperity which comes from the corporate whole.

"One hears sometimes of throwing off the yoke of Colonialism. It all depends how you look at it but I suggest the more accurate picture is that you are assuming the yoke of responsibility.

"Beware of catch phrases about colonialism — they are often used by those who have made a mess of independence by bad management, vanity and idleness to mask economic chaos and the frittering away of carefully built up resources.

"After all the purpose of all political systems should be that the people live better, eat better, think better and enjoy themselves more. Unfortunately, slogans and speeches however long, militant or anti-colonial are not edible. Deeds not words are what the people need."

Sir Alexander next stated that the "vital questions" of land use and development would shortly be brought to the legislature and that a development plan "of unprecedented size and scope" was in its final stage of compilation by the Government within Malaysia.

He then paid tribute to the Civil Service saying: "There is none better, more diligent or more loyal and I gladly acknowledge the unfailing support I have had, none more than when the going is rough.

"Adjustments to serve the ministerial system have been made. In this transition no doubt problems will arise, none, however, that cannot be determined with proper understanding, on the part of the service, of the nature of a political government on the part of the Government, of the proper functions of the civil service.

"The principles of this relationship are well established and will I am confident be followed here in order that the Ministers may have the most efficient organ for the prepara-

tion and execution of policy as the centuries of democratic Government have been able to devise."

"We will follow your fortunes"

Finally, Sir Alexander said: "For me this is the end of the road; for you the way stretches clear and wide ahead. My wife and I are profoundly grateful for the privilege of serving you. We will remember with affection the kindly welcome we have always received in the longhouses, kampongs and bazaars and our many journeys on the coast, on the rivers and in the ulu of this wonderful country.

"We take away memories of a rewarding, if sometimes strenuous, sojourn here and will follow your fortunes in the future with personal interest and pride. Our doors, albeit small, in England will be open to you as yours have been to us."

Tributes by Chief Minister

The Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, replying, paid tribute to Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and the Chief Secretary and Mrs Jakeway.

He said: "It is my sad privilege, as Chief Minister, to say farewell today to Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and the Chief Secretary and Mrs Jakeway — Sir Alexander and Mr Jakeway, as you know, are attending Sarawak's Council Negri for the last time."

Thanking the Governor "for his advice, and the kind words he had spoken", Mr Ningkan assured him, "on behalf of this House and the peoples of Sarawak, that the precepts that he and Lady Waddell had set will always be followed in the conduct of our affairs whether in this House or outside."

Mr Ningkan said: "As the last British Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander had occupied the gubernatorial chair for more than three and a half years.

"During this comparatively short period, Sir Alexander, by his wise administrative, had not only helped this country to become self-reliant in many respects, but has the distinction of seeing it achieve independence through the Federation of Malaysia.

"His experiences, gleaned in other British territories where he had served with distinction, have stood him in good stead here in the task of steering Sarawak through its constitutional changes.

"Posterity will remember Sir Alexander as an able administrator who had played a distinguished part in the country's democratic and economic progress, and his discerning wife, Lady Waddell as a woman of no mean resources who has also played her own part besides her distinguished husband, chiefly in the realm of social welfare.

"Everyone in Sarawak, including the honourable members of this House, know all what Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell have both done for this country.

"As Governor, Sir Alexander has encouraged the growth of Sarawak's local government, and the building up of the country's most important social service — education.

"He has also introduced measures for the Borneanisation of the Civil Service, and has, in general injected a new life into the community as a whole.

"The great interest he has evinced in rural development, and the improvement of communications in the country, is already bearing fruit, and the Waddell stamp is clearly imprinted on everything that Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell have undertaken for the benefit of this country."

'Names in letters of gold'

Mr Ningkan then said that one of the institutions that would be cherished by the people of Sarawak was the Sarawak Centre for the Blind, in the founding of which Lady Waddell had played a conspicuous part as patron of the Sarawak Society for the Blind.

He added: "The Waddells have certainly inscribed their names in letters of gold on the pages of Sarawak's history, and I should say, so have the Jakeways.

"Their great qualities of leadership, their examples of devotion to duty, and their impartiality as administrators of justice, inspire in us all sentiments that we should at all times cherish and admire."

Mr Ningkan went on to say that as well as saying goodbye to Mr Jakeway on behalf of the House and the people of Sarawak, it was also his pleasant duty to congratulate him on his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fiji.

Said Mr Ningkan: "Mr Jakeway, who became Chief Secretary of Sarawak in 1958, is one of the most widely experienced officers in the Colonial Service.

"Beginning his career as a cadet in Nigeria in 1937, he rose to be Secretary to the Government of Seychelles in 1946, and was attached to the Colonial Office from 1949 to 1951. He had held the post of Chief Secretary in British Guiana since 1955 before coming to Sarawak.

"As a colonial administrator, Mr Jakeway has already played a distinguished part in helping two other colonial territories on their way to independence — Nigeria which achieved its goal last year and British Guiana which now enjoys complete internal self-government.

"As Sarawak's Chief Secretary, and Sir Alexander's right-hand man, Mr Jakeway has played a part unequalled in the history of colonial administration, especially in Sarawak.

"Like Sir Alexander, he has travelled extensively throughout Sarawak and has come into personal contact with all its peoples. He has closely studied Sarawak's problems, political, social and economical, and his assessments have always proved correct.

"I cannot pay a better tribute to Mr Jakeway than to say that he is a true British democrat — a democrat in the truest sense of the word.

"Accustomed to hold the helm in steering the ship of state through turbulent political waters towards self-government, Mr Jakeway, together with Sir Alexander has brought us to the port of freedom."

'Great tasks ahead'

Continuing Mr Ningkan said that there might be uncharted seas before them as they assumed responsibility, but they did so with confidence — confidence in the fact that they would sail in company and protection.

He added: "We will carry on the good work begun by the men to whom we are paying tribute today. There are great tasks ahead of us, and I hope that the training and experience our officers have gained under the British administrators, and the sense of fair-play and devotion to duty that they had all imbibed, will help us all in the years to come."

Mr Ningkan observed: "It is a pity that the British should still continue to be branded as colonialists. As Mr Jakeway himself said in a broadcast speech before he went on long leave this year: The British colonial record is there for all to see.

'Colonialism has become a dirty word in some quarters but in the sense that the British use it, I am proud to be dubbed a colonial administrator.'

Finally Mr Ningkan said: "There is nothing more eloquent than that Honourable Members. The pledge has been kept, and today it is our duty to thank those who had helped Britain keep her pledge.

"On behalf of this House and on behalf of all the people of Sarawak I wish Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and Mr and Mrs Jakeway many years of continued happiness and prosperity."

Council Negri by an overwhelmingly majority, approved a motion which reaffirmed its support for Malaysia, endorsed the London Agreement signed on July 9 and, "while regretting that the Federation of Malaysia could not be brought into being on August 31", welcomed the decision to establish it on September 16.

The motion was moved by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, and a total of 16 members, including all five members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, spoke.

When the vote was taken after a debate, which occupied most of the meeting, 38 members voted for the motion. Only the five Supp members voted against it.

The debate featured the strong support given by the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, leader of the Opposition Party Negara Sarawak, and the Independents.

Chief Minister explains

In introducing the motion, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, recalled the "complete

agreement throughout the Malaysian territories" reached that Malaysia should be established on August 31 but pointed out that the date had to be postponed because the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, at the Manila talks had agreed to an assessment of the peoples' views in Sabah and Sarawak concerning Malaysia.

He said: "The postponement of the original Malaysia date agreed upon by Britain and Malaya as well as Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, led to the recent meeting at Kuala Lumpur of the leaders of Malaysia and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys.

"After a continuous, three-day talk it was agreed that Malaysia should be established on September 16.

"Announcing the new date, Mr Sandys sent a cable to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, informing him that September 16 had been agreed as the new date on which Malaysia will be established, and that the agreement had been ratified by the States concerned with the approval of Britain.

"It was also officially agreed that in Article II of the Agreement relating to Malaysia (concluded in London on July 9), the date "16th September" should be substituted for the date "31st August", and that the Malaysia Act of the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya should, with any consequential amendments, come into force on September 16.

"At the end of the talks with Mr Sandys, an agreement was signed in Singapore on August 28. It was signed by Mr Sandys, for Britain; Tun Razak, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, for Malaya; the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, for Singapore; the Chief Minister Designate of Sabah, Mr Donald Stephens, for Sabah, and myself on behalf of Sarawak."

THE DEBATE

The motion was then thrown open for debate and the first to speak was Mr Chan Siaw Hee (Kuching Municipal Council) who opposed it.

Mr Chan said that a "great percentage" of the people opposed Malaysia "because they do not want to see Sarawak become a new colony of Malaya". They wanted "real independence."

"Because of their enthusiastic attitude towards this aim and aspiration", he said "they are smeared as Communists by the pro-Malaysia elements and even quite a number of them have been detained without being tried in the courts by the colonial Government."

Mr Chan, in pointing out that Brunei had also decided against joining Malaysia said: "It is clear therefore that those who oppose Malaysia are in fact nationalists."

He continued: "Although the British Government has denied that Malaysia is an imperialist design, it is a fact that the British Government accepted the Malaysia proposal without hesitation, whereupon an early proposal for the closer association of the three Borneo territories, which was in fact the common aspiration of the people of the three territories, was dropped."

"The British Government", he said "believes that Malaysia is the best solution for Britain to preserve her interests in the Borneo territories through her trusted agent."

"And Malaya is regarded by the British Government as her trusted agent, and this is the reason why the British Government, without securing the full support of the people of this country for such an idea, indulges herself in the transfer of the sovereignty of this country to Malaya."

"I do not think the pro-Malaysia members in this House can be certain about the benefits that could be gained by Sarawak after joining Malaysia. These people are short-sighted and imagine that the country will be prosperous after joining Malaysia."

Mr Chan then referred to a newspaper report which said that "of 285,000 people living in central Kuala Lumpur, some 50,000 are — one in six — housed in squatter-type dwellings without benefit of sewerage or proper

drainage; many are without power and water supplies as well."

From this, he pointed out, it was obvious that even within the capital of Malaya, living conditions were still miserable.

How could one believe that when Malaya itself was still making efforts to improve the living conditions of its people, it will be able to help Sarawak achieve prosperity, he said.

Funds from the Malaysian Government, he said, would be in the form of loans with disadvantageous conditions.

He instanced the agreement reached between Mr Lee Kuan Yew and Tengku Abdul Rahman that any loan given to the Borneo Territories should be on condition that 50 per cent of the labour force would come from Singapore.

Turning to external security problems, Mr Chan said: "There are some who might say that it is impossible for Sarawak to exist by the side of a powerful neighbour after its independence. But I would like to point out that even Malaya with its present defence capabilities would still be hardly a match for our neighbour, Indonesia, without the presence of British forces, and this was admitted by the Prime Minister of Malaya."

"So, those who say that Malaya will be able to protect us from any "invasion" are not telling the truth. I do not know if those who advocate this point of view do realise that there are numerous small nations in the world which have existed sedately so long without involving the others in cold war."

Those who sought independence through Malaysia, he said, were "fully aware that without the support of the right-wing Malayan Government, their right-wing elements will have no chance to be in the position to rule the people and to preserve their vested interests."

'The smart chaps'

He recalled that not long ago, people, including a lot of members of the House, had firm convictions that Sarawak was not in a position to achieve independence.

They had said that they preferred Sarawak to remain for some 10 or 20 years

under the colonial rule and one of their excuses was that it was too premature for Sarawak to be in a position to achieve independence, "because the Sarawakians still cannot look after themselves."

Mr Chan then asked: "Why then after such a short lapse of time, are they now advocating a contrary view? Is this because they have become smart chaps able to take over the administration of the Government after a trip to Kuala Lumpur? Or is it because they have found a new boss to replace the old one?"

The answer, he said lay in the latter, "because they say that Sarawak can only achieve independence through Malaysia, and not on its own."

"This is really an insult to the intelligence and dignity of the people of this country," he declared.

Mr Chan then referred to the London Agreement and asked how could the Sarawak delegation have represented the people when one of the delegates was a defeated candidate in the local elections.

He then attacked the agreement and called for "a fairly conducted plebiscite to be held under circumstances which ensure freedom from fear, intimidation and arrest and also freedom of the press and of speech and assembly."

Another attack

Mr Stephen K.T. Yong, speaking against the motion said that it was not true that Sarawak had attained its independence on August 31 as was reported in the press. Nor did he think it correct to say that Sarawak had full internal self-government.

Mr Yong observed that perhaps "it was a good decision that we did not have any celebration on that day because there was nothing to celebrate about. In fact it was nothing to be happy about."

He said that the Malaysian Government must have also thought for the moment that the British Government had in fact given full internal self-government to Sarawak, because according to a recent news item of the British Broadcasting Corporation the Malaysian Government had rushed off a protest note to the British Government over this.

Added Mr Yong: "Apparently now the Malaysian Government is satisfied because we heard later on, yesterday it was, (Tuesday -

Ed.) that there was a meeting with Mr Sandys in Kuala Lumpur, and it was explained — and the explanation has apparently satisfied the Malaysian Government — that what actually happened was the Governor would remain and would take on all the powers that were vested in the Malaysian Government, which of course we know to all intents and purposes, would be the present Malaysian Government.

"Therefore, it does seem clear, I think, that the so-called independence on August 31 was only a mirage. It was a term devoid of any substance, and I think it is fair to say that it was only a stop-gap measure. And all that has actually happened was that Malaysia could not be brought about on that day. And this is a device to try to make the best of a bad bargain.

"Now we all know — we were also told over the press and the radio — that the postponement of Malaysia was because of the desire of Tengku Abdul Rahman to please Indonesia. And for that reason also the Malaysian Government agreed to let the United Nations team come in here.

Mr Yong said it was "rather unusual" while agreeing to a "team of inquiry" to come to this country, to announce a date for Malaysia.

Mr Yong then went on to say that it gave rise to the question whether or not there were any sincerity in the agreement to an enquiry. He said that one cannot agree to an enquiry and then before the result itself is known, take a course which might be contrary to its findings. "If you agree to an enquiry the natural thing to do is to wait for the result of the enquiry," he said.

He added that "the Government line on Malaysia had been talked about, put over the means of propaganda — radio and newspapers — that Malaysia is a good thing for Sarawak and for its people — and all very well done too."

Continued Mr Yong: "When people make more enquiry about it they say 'don't ask too many questions. It is good for you. You will be prosperous once you join Malaysia: the golden era is to be born in Sarawak.

This attitude Mr Yong declared, had been "assumed by many ex-councillors". He said: "From my own experience I found that in the Divisional Advisory Councils when the Inter-Government report was tabled for discussion, it was given, in fact only a day or two before the meeting to the councillors.

"It was not humanly possible to go through this report properly and yet we have reports all over the country of these councillors making recommendations for adoption. Now it does seem to me to be a farce. In any way, I think one must admit the success of Government propaganda in this respect."

'Search your hearts'

Declaring that it was "a very important decision to make," Mr Yong said that all honourable members must search their hearts deeply and say whether the people of this country realised the true implications of Malaysia.

He added: "Do they know what they are going in for? Will the promises held to them be realised?", and added: "We may soon pass away, out our children, and grandchildren would perhaps ask us to account why at that time — 1963 — did we make such a decision."

Continuing Mr Yong said: "I do feel that if we really want to be free, and independent, there is no reason why we must join up with another country which is already independent."

"The terms that had been made known to us, in my submission, are not conducive to true independence of Sarawak. It is nothing but an integration of the country into the Federation of Malaya."

"If we say it is economically a good proposition then we must also realise that phase itself would pass. If we are at the moment poor we have got our natural resources unexploited, we have plenty of land and we are very small population."

"We have got the potentialities for us but we must remember once we go in we cannot get out."

Finally, Mr Yong asked whether they had really brought to the people the pros and cons of the proposals. He said: "Now we have people saying that a lot of trouble was being caused by communists or undesirable elements. One must not put all the blame for any trouble in the country on some sections or some people whom they all think could put the blame on."

"There is no doubt that with the introduction of the proposal of Malaysia we have more tension in the country internally and externally which need not have been brought about at all if the British Government had allowed us to

develop politically along natural lines which the British had pledged to do. In this case I say the British Government has let us down, and have in fact handed us over to Malaya."

'Not something new'

The Deputy Chief Minister, Mr James Wong, speaking in support of the motion, stressed that the question of Malaysia was not something new. For the last two years it had been debated and discussed in this House, in the towns, in the district councils and Divisional Advisory Councils and, in fact, in all villages as well.

He said: "The pros and cons have been weighed, the political parties have made issues of them, and no one can deny the fact that the last elections were fought on one issue alone — the issue of Malaysia."

"The last Council Negri in its discussions on the Inter-Governmental Committee Report, and previous to that, have stated their views, newspapers have carried them all and in fact the people of Sarawak are aware of them."

"Therefore, the last elections have been a referendum to assess the views of the people."

"It is unfortunate for the anti-Malaysia elements that they have been defeated. They have been defeated because the majority of the people in Sarawak after careful consideration, have been told the pros by the pro-Malaysia elements, and the cons, vociferously, by the anti-Malaysia elements — and they, the electors of this country — exercising the rights of universal franchise, and the use of the secret ballot, have cast their votes."

"And their votes have been pro-Malaysia. They supported the Alliance which is pro-Malaysia; they have supported Party Negara which is pro-Malaysia as well as the Independents, who have been accused by the anti-Malaysia elements of being people of no weight, and of no views."

"I would like to assure this House that the Independents believed that being independent they stood the best chance of being elected, and because they knew that the electorate would judge them by what they are, and by what they stand for."

"The issue is quite clear. I would cite an instance — myself. I am an Independent. I have sat on the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the Constitutional sub-committee of the Inter-Governmental Com-

mittee, in the last Council Negri, and spoke for Malaysia."

Mr Wong then admitted "that Malaysia was not a thing which I accepted initially with open arms." He said: "It was not a thing which many people accepted with open arms immediately. In fact it was on record that the chairman of Party Negara himself had been against it initially, and so was the present Chief Minister.

"But in the fact of the matter is as an Independent in the last Council Negri and in a submission of papers to Mr Narasimhan signed by four of the then Council Negri members, we submitted that the issue of the elections would be based on Malaysia.

"And we went back to the electorate: my views as an Independent in this country are known. There have been some who have been rejected. There is a case of one Member who stood in an urban area and who had been rejected by his constituency, because of his pro-Malaysia views. To come back to myself, I was elected, and so were other Independents, on our pro-Malaysia views, which are well known. We naturally sided with the pro-Malaysia party — the Alliance."

Asked Mr Wong: "Is there anything strange in this? Is there anything unprincipled in this?" and replied: "It is because we are principled men and believe what is best for Sarawak, for our children and our children's children, that we have supported Malaysia. We are prepared to stand for it with those who are prepared to support it."

Courage of Independents

Mr Wong then declared: "I say that the Independents of this country should be judged by their stands after they had been elected. If they have the courage to stand with the Alliance, then they had been elected on their pro-Malaysia views. If they have had the courage to voice anti-Malaysia sentiments, then we will say that they had been elected on that vote."

He observed: "Accusations have been made that Malaysia is a British trick, to preserve British interests in this region. This is a very unfair accusation and casts aspersions on the ability and good sense of the people of Sarawak that they are so immature and that they are not able to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, and what is right and what is wrong.

"We maintained that in Sarawak we are quite realistic people. If we had not been, then the people would have been swayed by agents provocateurs; by people who have promised all sorts of things to the electorate such as that if they had independence it would be a very good thing — they would be very strong, and they could stand by themselves."

Mr Wong then said that the people of Sarawak were realists. They had realised that as a small country they could not survive on their own. He added: "One does not have to go very far, or listen very hard, to hear the ominous rumblings — threats by our powerful neighbours that they would like to swallow us up.

"Malaysia has been accused of being that reason for it. The fact which I would like to emphasise is, that even without the issue of Malaysia, the incursions across our border, the threats against our security, against our way of life it would have been the same.

"In fact I would go further and say that without the support of the Malaysia concept, without the support of those who are prepared to support us to preserve our way of life, we would probably today be submerged."

Referring to Mr Stephen Yong's suggestion that "Britain has let us down" Mr Wong asked: "Would he then say that he would like the British to remain as the colonial power in Sarawak for the next ten or 15 years? Would that be possible?"

Here Mr Yong interjected and said: "To give independence to us."

Replied Mr Wong: "The fact of the matter is there is no question of not giving independence to us. The British have now given us independence. The people of Sarawak have chosen what sort of independence they wished to have — independence within Malaysia."

'No illusions'

He continued: "When the people of Sarawak, and members of the councils accepted Malaysia, they did so without any illusions. Malaysia is not going to be any paradise; it does not mean that we will achieve 'Nirvana' immediately.

"There will be difficulties, there will be adjustments, there will be teething troubles, there will be misunderstandings. But we have accepted Malaysia because it is within it that

we stand the best chance of preserving our way of life, our democratic traditions, and in fact even our culture, and preserving among other things a place in the sun for our children and our children's children.

"Some Chinese have been told that Malaysia means a trap and that they would be forced to wear the Malay Songkok. How false this is! It is quite easy for those who have been to Malaya to see for themselves how amicably people of all races are living together there — Chinese, Malays, Indians, in fact every race there is living and prospering together.

"They are free to worship, free to do what they like and they are free to do business. These are no Chinese business taxi licences being cancelled — you find a lot of Chinese taxi drivers and Chinese businessmen. In fact, Malaysia, offers all the Chinese in Sarawak — no other place in South East Asia could offer — all as the best to preserve their right to live and to work together with other races in this country.

"They would also enjoy the privileges of citizenship which has not probably been realised by the Chinese in Malaysia they will have rights, which means a right to vote by secret ballot, and this is the greatest advantage the Chinese can have in Sarawak when they enter Malaysia."

Referring to the question raised by a previous speaker that Mr Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore had made a statement to the effect any loan to Sarawak must carry with it 50 per cent of the labour force from Singapore, Mr Wong said: "I would like here and now to refute this. The fact of the matter is the Malaysia Agreement, which was signed in London between Sarawak, Sabah, Singapore, Malaya and Britain, was signed by these parties concerned, and guaranteed by the Malaysian Parliament that we shall get the money we need for development in this country, which is \$300 million for the next five years."

Mr Wong said: "This money" will come to us not from Singapore, at the discretion of the Prime Minister of Singapore. It will come to us from the Malaysian Government. As to where this money will come from is a matter for the Malaysian Government. We do not have to accept 50 per cent of our labour from Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

"We do not have to accept any loan from them. Any arrangements to be made with the Malaysian Federal Government is entirely

between Singapore, the States and the Central Government of Malaysia.

"As far as we are concerned the Central Government of Malaysia is answerable to us who are keeping the pledge and the promise. Our immigration restrictions and immigration autonomy gives us complete right to prevent anybody within the Malaysian States to come in here without our permission."

Governor's stirring message

Mr Wong then referred to the "stirring message" of the Governor, and said it was "food for thought" for members in the House.

He said: "We are living in difficult times. There are traps from without, there are traps from within. And it is, therefore, incumbent and vital for us, including the members of the Opposition, that we should work together if our love for Sarawak is to see that it remains peaceful and happy.

"This Government, would welcome any constructive criticism from any source."

Continued Mr Wong: "We have achieved our internal self-government on August 31 which is a thing that many people have fought for. It is a matter of great pride and happiness to us that before we achieve full independence within Malaysia we should have a test today to sit here and enjoy the privileges of internal self-government"

On the question of the motion that Malaysia should come on September 16, Mr Wong said this was a matter for all the people of Sarawak, including those who had fought against the Malaysian concept.

He added: "They should accept with good grace their defeat in the last elections and bow to the will of the people of Sarawak that Malaysia should come about on the 16th of this month. This date has not been selected with any disrespect for the United Nations team."

Mr Wong then said that it should be placed on record that Sarawak, Sabah and the State of Singapore, including the British Government, were not apathetic to the summit and the Manila agreements, but out of respect for the Tengku, the Governments concerned, even Britain, had accepted that the United Nations team should come to assess the views of the people of Sarawak.

Continuing Mr Wong said: "Frankly speaking we feel that there is no need for this assessment. The Sabah people feel there is no

need for it because the people have already decided in the last elections as to what they want.

"Already the people of this country have been disappointed that August 31 was not Malaysia Day. Already there has been mounting clamour at all levels by the people as to why we should bow to threats from abroad.

"Well, we have to explain to them that we have to bow because of the Tengku's position and the Tengku's wish to maintain peace and amity with our neighbouring countries with whom we shall have to live."

Wish of the people

Finally, Mr Wong said that the date had been fixed "not out of disrespect to the United Nations but because the wish of the people in the Malaysian region is that we should have Malaysia by that day.

Referring to "reports elsewhere" that there had been accusations in the last elections of intimidation and influences by military forces in this country, Mr Wong said: "I hope these accusations have not been made with any seriousness because it is quite well known why the forces are here. They are here to protect us from external threats to this country."

Another Alliance member, Mr Sim Boon Liang spoke in support of the motion. He said that since Sarawak had already achieved self-government on August 31, the shortest way for Sarawak now to achieve full independence in peace and prosperity was through Malaysia, "for we want to gain freedom without shedding a drop of blood."

Stressed Mr Sim: "We do not want war. We want peace, to protect the lives and property of the people here. We have always maintained that Malaysia is aimed at achieving peace in this region.

"I support Malaysia, because Malaysia is the only country in South East Asia where we Chinese are living happily and are not persecuted, for being Chinese and being industrious, prosperous and successful. You know, in some other countries, Chinese are treated so badly and Chinese shops are burnt and looted."

Mr Sim then referred to the Inter-Governmental Committee report and said that if they had read and studied it carefully, they could have found detailed constitutional arrangements and the form of necessary safeguards,

which would be incorporated in the State Constitution on Sarawak's entry into the Federation of Malaysia. "No one could say, therefore that Malaysia would be established without the necessary safeguards", he said.

Mr Sim ended by saying that when the Federation of Malaysia was established, there would be no reason why Indonesia and the territories of Malaysia should not live side by side with amity, as it would be in the interests of both if the present rulers of Indonesia would realise there was nothing in Malaysia of which they had to be afraid.

Iban support

The next supporter of the Malaysia Date motion was Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng. Pointing out that Malaysia was first discussed as far back as 1961, he said everybody knew about Malaysia before the elections.

Voters were not forced or threatened by the Sarawak Alliance, and the people themselves chose Malaysia, said the Temenggong, adding, "If anybody should have opposed Malaysia, it should have been the Ibans because they were ignorant of it. The realised the benefits of Malaysia — racial unity and prosperity — only later. When they had realised that Malaysia would be beneficial they decided to support it."

Said the Temenggong: "Only one party opposes Malaysia. Members of this party have been going to the longhouses to create agitation against Malaysia.

"But you can see for yourself that many people are now supporting Malaysia.

"People have been saying that the Ibans are aggressive. We are not. We want Malaysia to be established as soon as possible."

Support for the motion also came from the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, chairman of Party Negara Sarawak. Drawing attention to the fact that his was the first political party in Sarawak to give full support for the formation of Malaysia, the Datu Bandar said: "One may wonder as to why I and those Honourable members who are supporters of Panas are taking our seats on this side of the House. The answer is obvious and for me to elaborate this stand will not remedy the whole issue."

He added that his party would "stick and stand fast" in giving its full support for the creation of the Federation of Malaysia.

Referring to remarks by Mr James Wong, the Datu Bandar said: "The Deputy Chief Minister has stressed that my Party supports Malaysia. I accept that compliment with thanks.

"In order to refute some of the misunderstandings and misgivings of the members from my side of the House I would like to bring into the picture what has transpired on the Malaysia issue since May, 1961.

"The important question is 'Is Malaysia acceptable to the people of Sarawak?' Let the House ponder yet another question, and that is 'Was the proposal for the closer association of the two Borneo territories, that is Sabah and Sarawak, ever appreciated and accepted by the peoples of both territories?'

The Datu Bandar said that there were doubts and more misgivings from the latter, and asked, "Where is the proposal today?" He said it had died a natural death when the Malaysia issue became the topic in all the territories concerned.

Those who opposed as well as those who supported the Plan worked hard, the latter to achieve its establishment, and the former to defeat the proposal. When the majority succeeded, then that was the time for the opposition to ponder and make a new move.

'The common cause'

The Datu Bandar emphasised that although he preferred to accommodate himself and his colleagues on the opposite side of the House he did not intend to depart from his Party's firm stand on Malaysia.

Said Datu Bandar: "I have to stand up to defend the common cause. If there is an alternative to Malaysia then let us debate it, with the approval of this House of course.

"The Malaysia issue, was not mooted this morning, or yesterday, or last month or last year, but since May, 1961.

"I repeat once again that Malaysia is almost a household word in this region. Even in the opposition homes, in the padi fields, in pepper gardens, by day and by night, over the radio, this issue of Malaysia has been communicated to the people and talked about by the people.

"The last general elections in Sarawak were decided on the issue of Malaysia. Members of my party stood on the platform of the Malaysia issue. I and several of my members

were returned to the District and Divisional Councils and Council Negri.

"Our desire is to achieve the independence of Sarawak by the quickest means and that is through the merger of Sarawak with the Federation of Malaysia.

"One cannot guarantee that any well prepared food is good to eat, unless and until one eats some or the whole of it."

Urging that this should be applied to the national issue at stake, the Datu Bandar said: "The independence already agreed for Sarawak on August 31, 1963 was stolen away and in its stead we were given self-government. This is in accord with the wishes of the last Rajah."

Touching on the legality of the London Agreement on Malaysia signed in London on July 9, 1963, the Datu Bandar said that at that time Sarawak had not achieved its self-government and the last Government was then the governing power.

He added: "I and several of my colleagues who signed the Agreement brought with us the mandate of the people of Sarawak. Any signatory to that Agreement at that time, was genuine and valid, legally and constitutionally.

"It was an Agreement to establish Malaysia on August 31, 1963. Very unfortunately and bowing to circumstances its implementation had had to be altered.

"The main issue now brought before this House by the Chief Minister is to confirm the date, September 16, 1963, as Malaysia Day and the date for Sarawak to achieve its full independence and sovereignty.

"We have here in this House 36 full elected representatives and the mandate from the electorate demands that we agree to a resolution for the establishment of Malaysia. If the motion is defeated then we have to accept and face the consequence."

Colonial constitution

Next to speak was Kapitan Chong Kiun Kong, a Kuching Rural District Council Supp member. He said that the present constitution of Sarawak, was colonial in nature, although there were some amendments.

Kapitan Chong said that this constitution would remain when Malaysia came into being. Since this was a colonial type of consti-

tution, could they say that Sarawak had independence through Malaysia? he asked.

Describing it as "a form of transfer of power from the colonial office to the Malayan Government at Kuala Lumpur", Kapitan Chong said: "This morning the Deputy Chief Minister said that it was only through Malaysia that the Chinese could have the right and privilege to work and to do business and have citizenship rights."

He added: "This feeling is not shared by us, because it pre-supposes that if Sarawak is on its own, the Chinese in Sarawak will have no right, or privilege to work or to do business or will lose their citizenship rights. That is nonsense.

"The Chinese have made Sarawak their home and are part of Sarawak. They are Sarawakians. As citizens they will have the right and privilege to work and to do business with others whether there is Malaysia or not."

Views of Independents

Six more members then spoke in support of the motion. They were: Mr Mak Yau Lim and Mr Racha Umong (both Lawas D.C., Fifth Division); Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (Lubok Antu, Second Division); Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud (Minister for Communications and Works); Mr Teo Kui Seng (Minister Designate for Natural Resources); and Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (Baram D.C., Fourth Division).

Mr Mak Yau Lim reiterated his views and those of his councillors saying that when the Malaysia question was brought up for debate in the last Council Negri, he was asked by the District and Divisional Councils in the Fifth Division to convey their unanimous pro-Malaysia views to the House.

He did so when the Cobbold Commission visited Sarawak and again a few days ago, when the United Nations fact-finding team arrived in Limbang.

Both the Lawas and Limbang District Councils in the Fifth Division had informed the UN team that they were in favour of Malaysia. They also submitted memoranda to the team, stating their pro-Malaysia stand.

'Be united'

Mr Racha Umong said that his constituents had discussed and agreed with the Malaysia proposal since 1961.

Now that the majority of the people in Sarawak and Sabah supported Malaysia, "we should all be united so that our country can have a strong central Government in Malaysia," said Mr Racha Umong.

Riots deplored

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (Lubok Antu, Second Division) told the House that though he lived far away from Kuching, "hundreds of miles away, very near the border of Indonesia", his elders had given their full support for Malaysia to be established on September 16.

He added that his people strongly deplored the recent anti-Malaysia incidents that took place in Sibul and Miri.

Take your own State of Sarawak, for example. Many of the services you need are already run by the State — through your municipal councils, your local district councils, or semi-government corporations or boards for your benefit — to give your roads, water, postal services, rural services, port services, and many others.

Now that you understand what the State is, what its objects are, and how it tries to achieve its objects, you will understand how necessary the State is to human life, security and progress.

You will also understand how childish and stupid the Communists are when they say that with the victory of Communism the State will disappear. One of the great authorities of Communism, Marx, says this, and his partner, Engels, said, that under Communism, the State will not only disappear but will be placed in a museum.

But as I have shown you — if the State disappears, then security of life disappears; law disappears, health, transport, education and economic action on a countryside scale, they too will all disappear. It is not the State which belongs in a museum, it is the theory of Communism.

PRO-MALAYSIA PARTIES TO CONFER

A conference of pro-Malaysia parties will be held in Jesselton over the week-end (February 16 and 17).

This was at the instigation of the Sabah Alliance Party which felt that the time was

auspicious for a meeting of all political parties which supported the formation of Malaysia, Alliance leader Mr D. Stephens said on Thursday.

Pro-Malaysia parties from Brunei, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya have sent representatives to the conference.

The Sarawak Alliance has sent a four-man delegation consisting of Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Mr Ling Beng Siew, Mr Chia Chin Shin and Haji Su'ut Tahir.

Malaya's delegation is being held by Dr Lim Swee Aun, Minister of Commerce and Industry. Other members of delegation will be Inche Ismail Yusof, Assistant Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr V. Manickavasagam, Assistant Minister of Labour, Senator T.H. Tan, Secretary-General of the Alliance Party of Malaya, and Tuan Haji Khalid bin Awang Osman, the Assistant Minister of Rural Development.

Brunei's delegation comprises representatives of the Brunei National Party, Yang Mulia Haji Abu Bakar (leader), Inche Ahmad Latif bin Buyong (secretary), Inche Morsilin bin

Baik, Inche Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Rahman and Inche Mohammed bin Perit.

The Singapore People's Action Party's delegation of five is being led by Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Toh Chin Chye and includes Mr Rajaratnam, Minister of Culture, and Inche Buang bin Osman Junid, a member of Singapore's Legislative Assembly.

The Sabah Alliance Party is being represented by leaders of component parties.

The conference had been called in order to proclaim to the world that peoples of the states which would comprise Malaysia were overwhelmingly in favour of the formation of Malaysia, said Mr Stephens.

"It will reiterate in no uncertain manner that Malaysia is not neo-colonialism but that Malaysia is something which the peoples' representatives in the five countries which are to form Malaysia, have decided for themselves as the best guarantee they can have for a secure, happy and prosperous future as a nation in South East Asia and to tell the world that they will do everything within their means to see that Malaysia will come about as planned," Mr Stephens added.

1/9/63 — 7/9/63

UN MISSION COMPLETES ASSESSMENT

The United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission ended its hearings on Wednesday afternoon after a 10-day tour of Sarawak to record the views of the people on Malaysia.

During the last three days of the Mission's tour there were more anti-Malaysia demonstrations by Sarawak United Peoples' Party supporters at Bau and Serian.

At Bau the police fired a few tear gas shells to disperse the crowd, and at Serian a crowd of over 100 Supp supporters booed at the members of the Mission as they alighted from the helicopter which flew them from Bau.

Among the groups of people who saw the Mission at Bau was the widow of the late Corporal Remek who was shot dead by Indonesian bandits during the first border raid at Tebedu last April.

The widow, Bohing anak Sator, brought her four children along and complained to the Mission of Indonesian hostility and appealed to the Mission to render assistance to her family.

The Mission's hearings since Sunday evening were attended by observers from Indonesia and the Philippines after a last-minute change of attitude by the two governments.

The observers and their assistants arrived in Kuching on Sunday afternoon from Singapore in a Royal Air Force Hastings aircraft.

The Indonesian delegation of two observers and two "clerical assistants" were led by Mr Otto Abdul Rachman, who is a special assistant in the Maphilindo Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The team for North Borneo left for Jesselton the same day. The Philippine team also of similar size, was headed by Mr Ibanez Melquiades.

'To carry out Manila Agreement'

On arrival the Indonesian leader, Mr Abdul Rachman, told reporters at Kuching Airport that his delegation had not come "as

intruders or trouble makers", but to carry out the Manila agreement.

He declined to comment as to whether or not he and Mr Melquiades would ask for an extension of the survey which the UN Mission had been conducting.

Mr Melquiades said that he and his delegation wished to co-operate with the UN team in the "settlement of the Malaysia issue."

The Indonesian and Filipino delegations were met on arrival by members of the United Nations Mission. They also had discussions with the leader, Mr Laurence Michelmores.

When the UN Mission visited Marudi — Saturday, August 31, 1963 an appeal was made urging it to investigate the border intrusions from Indonesia.

The appeal was presented in the form of a memorandum by the 14 pro-Malaysia members of the Baram District Council.

The two Sarawak United Peoples' Party Councillors met the Mission separately and so did the sole Party Negara Sarawak councillor.

The memorandum urged the United Nations team to stop the Indonesian Government from allowing border-based terrorists from harassing the "peaceful people of Sarawak". It "condemned the border bandits for murdering innocent Sarawakians and fellow Asians."

The Council also condemned the recent riots and demonstrations in Sibu and Miri and the demonstrations in Kuching describing them as the work of "the pro-Communist and anti-Malaysia Sarawak United Peoples' Party consisting mostly of Chinese youths."

The memorandum went on to inform the Mission that the elections were properly conducted and that by joining Malaysia the future stability and prosperity of Sarawak would be assured.

It also stressed that the people were not forced to accept Malaysia but that the majority of them favoured it knowing Malaysia would bring progress to them and the country.

The memorandum was signed by the Council's chairman, Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, and the vice-chairman, Penghulu Enteri. Theirs was the first delegation to meet the Mission when hearings began in the Marudi Rest House at 9.30 a.m.

The Temenggong also submitted separate memorandum on behalf of his people.

'No surer solution than Malaysia'

It stated that it welcomed the Mission for coming to Sarawak. "Last year," it said: "we expressed our views to the Cobbold Commission favouring Malaysia and our views have not changed since."

It went on: "This country has benefitted from the 100 years' rule of the White Rajahs. In our infancy we were unable to appreciate a democratic institution but we are glad to say the Rajahs did introduce a democratic way of life in that they ruled us according our own ways and customs.

"So, if the British Government thinks it is right and proper to withdraw from here and hand over the ruling to the people of this country, then there is no better way and no surer solution for us in Sarawak than to enjoy our independence inside the Federation of Malaysia.

"Independence for this small country is our aim; we wish to join Malaysia as a full grown partner — poor, perhaps but as a full-fledged member.

"This is the only possible solution to solve our problems of safeguarding peace and prosperity and the only way to preserve our identity.

"The union of various states into one federation is to us the safest and the easiest guarantee of our happiness and peace in this troubled world."

The memorandum added that any party that opposed Malaysia was not with the Alliance and stated that such anti-Malaysia party only ignored the views and popular wish of the majority of the people.

In all six groups saw the Mission at Marudi.

With the exception of two Supp delegations all the others expressed staunch support for Malaysia.

One of the Supp delegations, led by the chairman of the Baram Branch, Tama Weng Tinggang, blamed the Government for not giving political detainees a trial in open court.

This delegation told the Mission that the Sarawak Alliance Party had made hostile propaganda against the Supp especially through radio broadcasts. Threats had also been used branding the Supp members as communists and that those who intended to join the Supp would be arrested.

The Supp memorandum alleged that because of the rebellion and the floods the registration of voters was not carried out properly.

The Party Negara Sarawak branch also met the Mission and submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum. The delegation of three men was led by Tua Kampong Serot.

No demonstration

There was no demonstration at Marudi. Only a small group of Supp supporters were among about 100 people who gathered near the airstrip to catch a glimpse of members of the Mission.

No less than 10 penghulus and a large number of tuai rumahs travelled long distances to present their views to the Mission. The represented the Kelabit, Kenyah, Kayan, Berawan, Iban and the Penan people.

The Mission left for Kuching after lunch.

Kuching hearings

Hearings resumed in Kuching on Sunday when the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, as the secretary-general of the Sarawak Alliance Party, led an Alliance delegation of 20 to meet the Mission in the UN office.

The Chief Minister said afterwards that the Alliance had submitted a lengthy memorandum stressing that Malaysia must be established on September 16 and that the majority of the people were pro-Malaysia. It also pointed out that Malaysia was the main issue during the recent general elections.

Mr Ningkan said he felt confident that the Alliance's requests would be favourably considered and expressed satisfaction with the hearing.

Inche Abdul Rahman Ya'kub, an official spokesman of the Alliance, said he was more certain now that Malaysia would be born on September 16.

Touching on an allegation that the Alliance had resorted to intimidation to make the people support Malaysia, he said in fact it was the Supp which had resorted to force as had been proved in the incidents at Sibn and Miri.

Inche Abdul Rahman went on to say that the Alliance had also submitted documentary proof — in the form of photographs, posters

and banners — to show that Malaysia was the main issue in the last elections.

A 15-man Supp delegation led by the chairman, Mr Ong Kee Hui, and the secretary-general, Mr Stephen Yong, saw the Mission just after 11 a.m. when the Alliance group left.

Mr Ong said afterwards that his delegation had submitted aide memoire together with a number of documents, including a list of the names of political detainees and Party members who had been arrested or detained.

He said that during the hearing his Party's secretary-general, Mr Stephen Yong, explained in greater detail the contents of the aide memoire and documents.

Clarification requested

The Mission had asked for clarification of certain contents of the documents and had stated that it would like to meet the delegation again, probably on Tuesday.

Asked for his impressions of the meeting Mr Ong replied that the UN team prepared as he put it "to hear us out."

The hearing of the Supp delegation lasted 2½ hours during which the party also submitted a memorandum which asked the Mission not to give much weight to views expressed through district councils without carefully examining their representation and the size of their respective electorate and without considering whether the views expressed by the councillors were the same as those they publicly put to the electorate when they stood for election.

The memorandum added: "Our views in general terms are that the results of the last elections do not show clearly the wishes of the people on the Malaysia issue because:-

"Firstly, the elections were based on local council elections and local and racial issues tend to mask national issues, such as Malaysia.

"Secondly, only in the towns where the Supp contested against the Sarawak Chinese Association, a partner of the Sarawak Alliance, does Malaysia become a major issue.

"The results in such cases have been an overwhelming victory for the Supp which is against Malaysia.

"We submit the results of the Kuching Municipal Council elections as an example. The same thing happened in Sibn and Miri

and in the town constituencies of Simanggang, Sarikei and Bintang.

Thirdly, in many constituencies where Panas met Barjasa - another partner of the Alliance - both of whom are pro-Malaysia, the electorate had no chance to poll an anti-Malaysia vote. The same predicament faced the voter where there were only Independents standing for election with no clear stand on the Malaysia issue.

"And fourthly, in constituencies where the Supp met either the Sarawak National Party or Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak, these Iban parties side-tracked the Malaysia issue and attacked the Supp with a smear campaign of communist infiltration in the Party, appealed to the racial feeling, and tried to frighten the voters with threats of their shotguns being taken from them if they voted for the Supp."

'Referendum even if victorious'

The memorandum said that as the Supp was aware of all these difficulties, the Party had decided that even if it should win the election it would give the people of Sarawak a chance for self-determination on the Malaysia issue and would not accept the Party's victory as a mandate to get Sarawak out of Malaysia but would call and demand for a referendum or a plebiscite.

This, in the Party's view, was the only way to resolve internal dissension over the issue and satisfy the world that Malaysia was something not imposed on the people of Sarawak but entered into on their own free will.

This stand of the Supp was publicly announced, said the memorandum, and was stated in the Party's manifesto a copy of which was submitted to the Mission.

The Supp hoped that the UN Mission would accept its representation and recommend accordingly.

Other groups

In the evening the UN Mission met representatives from the pro-Malaysia Malay National Union led by Inche Taib bin Mahmud (Minister for Communication and Works); the Panas members of the Kuching Rural District Council; and three Chinese headmen from the Kuching/Serian Road area. The headmen refused to comment later.

The views on behalf of the Panas Councillors were presented to the Mission by

Abang Othman bin Haji Moasili.

Abang Othman said afterwards that the Mission would no doubt understand that the majority of the people favoured Malaysia.

On to Bau

Early on Monday morning the UN team left Kuching for Bau by helicopter.

An anti-Malaysia demonstration staged by a crowd of about 200 took place as the team arrived.

As the helicopter landed at the football field near the Chung Hua School in Bau Bazaar at 9 a.m. the demonstrators showed clenched fists and shouted: "We want independence," and "Sa'ati" (slogan of the Supp).

Shortly after the arrival, the crowd, agitated by people from behind, refused to disperse when ordered.

Police lobbed a few gas shells into the crowd which then retreated to the bazaar. There they were called upon to disperse and go home. They did so.

A Government van was also kicked and anti-Malaysia posters thrown into it.

The van, a vehicle belonging to the Resident's and District Office, had earlier taken the members of the UN Mission and the observers to the District Officer's bungalow where the hearings were held.

On its return to pick up a delegation from the Supp it was kicked by some of the demonstrators who shoved into it some posters which carried slogans reading - "We won't recognise the Malaysia Agreement in London" and "Malaysia means control of Sarawak by Kuala Lumpur."

Roadside posters

The route from Batu Kitang to Bau was lined with anti-Malaysia posters written in English, Chinese and in Romanised Malay but these the UN Mission did not see as it had travelled by air.

During the morning hearings four groups of people saw the Mission including the widow of Corporal Remek who was shot dead during the first border raid at Tebedu last April.

She was Bohing anak Sator who brought her four children along and complained to the Mission of Indonesian hostility and of the killing of her husband who, she said, had

done nothing wrong except do his duty.

She also appealed to the Mission to render some assistance to her family.

The first group to see the Mission comprised seven Supp councillors led by Mr Ong Guan Cheng, who is chairman of the Bau District Council as well as chairman of the local Supp branch.

The delegation submitted a memorandum together with a number of documents demanding that Malaysia should not be formed but that independence should be given to the country first.

The Mission also met another group of young Supp members from the Bau branch.

The next group to see the Mission was a seven-man Sarawak Alliance delegation led by Orang Kaya Pemancha Salau. The delegation spoke in favour of the establishment of Malaysia.

Boos at Serian

The Mission flew to Serian from Bau at 12.30 p.m. by helicopter which landed in front of the Police Station.

A crowd of over 100 Supp supporters gathered near the landing point began to boo at members of the Mission when they alighted from the aircraft.

An hour later a bus carrying a group of youths drove past the Upper Sadong District Council office and jeered. Serian bazaar itself was quiet.

The United Nations Mission was met on arrival by the District Officer, Mr Peter Hwang, and hearings started at about 2 p.m. after lunch in the heavily-guarded Council office.

Road blocks were set up near the Police Station to prevent likely demonstrators from surging in too close.

The first group to meet the Mission in the afternoon was led by Orang Kaya Pemancha Dukau. It comprised five Party Negara Sarawak councillors and five Alliance councillors from the Upper Sadong District Council.

The councillors presented pro-Malaysia views and welcomed the Mission for coming to the district. This group was followed by two Sarawak United Peoples' Party councillors.

Orang Kaya Pemancha Rahun, who said he represented 20,000 Land Dayaks in Serian district, next met the Mission on his own. He submitted oral views stating that all the peo-

ple he represented with the exception of a few were pro-Malaysia.

The secretary of the Supp Serian branch, Mr Soo Moi Sen, led a 13-man delegation during which anti-Malaysia documents were submitted.

The next to see the Mission was a 10-man delegation from Panas led by Inche Mohammed Tobeng bin Tahar, chairman of local branch of the Party.

They were followed by a seven-man delegation also from Panas and led by Awang Rajuli, who is chairman of the Tebekang Branch.

They were followed by a seven-man delegation also from Panas and led by Awang Rajuli, who is chairman of the Tebekang Branch.

These two Panas delegations both submitted pro-Malaysia views to the Mission.

The last group from the District to meet the Mission was led by Mr Stephen Wong Ang Kok, who claimed to be the protom secretary-general of the Sarawak Socialist Party.

He, then questioned, would not say whether he was anti-Malaysia or pro-Malaysia, but declared that he favoured a referendum.

Also meeting the Mission that afternoon in Serian were three delegations from Lower Sadong District. The first group led by Mr Lee Tian Kee comprised eight members of Party Negara and submitted views favouring Malaysia.

The second group consisted of two, both from the Alliance and the last group to see the Mission also comprised of two people, members of the Supp.

Anti-Malaysia posters and banners were put up from the 21st Mile Kuching/Serian Road onwards. At the 30th Mile, three arches were rigged across a bridge bearing anti-Malaysia slogans in Chinese.

Young Chinese boys and girls were also seen putting up the posters along the road in the morning.

Another hearing for Supp

The UN Mission resumed hearings in Kuching on Tuesday morning when the Supp delegation turned up again.

The team asked many questions pertaining to the recent general elections and political arrests and after the meeting the se-

cretary-general of the Supp, Mr Stephen Yong, expressed the hope that inquiries would be made into the recent elections on a wider basis.

Mr Yong said that during the recent election the whole atmosphere was adverse to the Supp as military operations, searches on Party premises and arrests of party members played a major part in stopping voters from voting for Supp candidates.

Mr Yong added that he and his delegation were satisfied with the two meetings with the UN team and might submit more documents and written comments.

Six Panas councillors of the Kuching Municipal Council also met the team and reiterated their Party's stand in favour of Malaysia.

The next group in consisted of 21 anti-Malaysia Kuching Municipal Councillors and 12 Kuching Rural District Councillors belonging to the Supp.

On Wednesday four political detainees — two men and two women — met the Mission.

The men detainees were Tan Chong Meng, a former elected Council Negri member from the Second Division, secretary of the Supp Simanggang Branch and secretary of Simanggang Chung Hua Middle School Board; and Tieu Sung Seng, a former councillor of the Sibü Urban District Council. Tieu was also a member of the Central Working Committee of the Supp as well as general secretary of the Sibü All Trades Employees' Union at the time of his detention.

The women detainees, who appeared before the team, were Tsang Mui Fah, a member of the Trade Union Congress in Kuching who had been on the paid staff of the Supp; and Tiong Kui Sieng of Sibü.

All four were among the 37 people arrested between December 11 and 16 last year under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance.

The hearing lasted nearly two hours during which the delegation's spokesman, Tieu Sung Seng, handed to the team various documents to support their anti-Malaysia stand.

The last group to meet the team — and thus winding up the hearings in Sarawak — was a party of five from the Sarawak Muslim Welfare Association led by its general secretary, Inche Atteallah Zainuddin.

This delegation informed the team of its support for Malaysia and called for its es-

tablishment on September 16.

The memorandum, which the Association submitted, said: "We support Malaysia on grounds that we believe the independence of Sarawak through Malaysia will bring social security, political stability, economic development and higher standard of living for the people of Sarawak."

The memorandum ended by saying: "We want to rid ourselves of colonialism; we want peace; and we want a better life for our people. We believe that the best way of achieving all this is through the establishment of Malaysia."

Supp accusations

The delegation of four consisting of one Independent and three Supp councillors representing the anti-Malaysia group in the Kanowit District Council claimed in its memorandum that it represented one-fifth of the total population of the district, numbering more than 41,000.

It said that the people refused to join Malaysia and claimed independence first. The acceptance or refusal of Malaysia, the memorandum argued, "could only be decided by means of a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations."

The memorandum also stated that Malaysia was not the major issue in the recent general elections. Quoting figures of the election results in the Kanowit District, the memorandum stated that although most of the independents and unopposed candidates did join the Alliance this was only through individual wishes and not the wishes of the electorate.

The memorandum charged that the electoral registers showed a big number of voters but allowed a short time to apply for registration. Many names were submitted for registration but the voters could not find their names at the time of the election and were unable to vote.

The memorandum went on to say that the elections were free only in areas where voters were literate. The illiterate voters in many areas were left in doubt and some nominators and candidates for the Supp were called down by the Returning Officer from long distances from enquiry.

Such inquiries, the memorandum stated "scared the voters and caused the defeat of

the candidates for whom they would have voted."

The memorandum ended by saying that the counting of votes seemed to be properly carried out but it did not fully satisfy the people as the counting agents were asked to sit far away from the counter.

Another anti-Malaysia memorandum was submitted by the four-man delegation led by Kapitan China Tan Cheng Swee.

It made the following points:

- that the people did not want Malaysia and claimed independence first;
- that Malaysia was not a major issue in the recent elections; and
- that the people appealed for a plebiscite.

Temenggong Jugah's personal memorandum was addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, through the UN Mission leader, Mr Michelmore.

It was similar in many respects to that submitted by the Alliance members of Kapit District Council.

However, the Temenggong also stated: "There are some anti-nationalist elements in our midst who are influenced and dictated to by foreign ideologies which are unacceptable to our people and who try to breed hatred between our brethren of different racial origins.

"Their aim is to cheat our people and eventually subjugate them under the rule of hostile foreign powers."

Banners along river banks

Some anti-Malaysia banners were placed on both banks of the river by Chinese gardeners who live there in the hope that they would attract the attention of the UN Mission members. But the Mission flew to Kanowit in a Belvedere helicopter.

Many of the banners carried anti-Malaysia slogans and were stuck on tree trunks. They were put up two days ago but heavy rain in the evening and the following morning washed away nearly all of them.

Apart from this, there was no demonstration of any kind at Kanowit and only a small crowd of curious spectators gathered outside the District Office where the hearings were held.

After the hearings, Temenggong Jugah expressed great satisfaction at having met

and giving his views to the UN Mission. He said that he had taken full opportunity to explain all he could "of the overwhelming support the people had for Malaysia."

After the hearings, the UN Mission returned to Sibul by Government launch.

On to Bintulu

On Thursday morning the UN Mission flew in two Wessex helicopters from the compound of the Residency to Sibul to the Airport to board a chartered aircraft - a Twin Pioneer of Borneo Airways - for the next leg of its journey to the Fourth and Fifth Divisions.

The road leading from Sibul town to the Airport was quiet and there was no crowd at the Airport itself. The Resident, Third Division, Mr Griffin, saw the Mission off to Bintulu.

On its arrival there, the team was met by the Acting District Officer, Mr Simon Lao. In Bintulu town itself there were no posters or demonstrations. Only a crowd of about 150 spectators gathered outside the Bintulu District Council building to see the members of the Mission arrive.

The hearings, which took place in the Bintulu District Council Chamber started shortly after 10 o'clock.

The first group to see the Mission was from the Bintulu District Council led by its chairman, Mr Nanang anak Entigar, who submitted a memorandum. It said that of the 14 Council wards, 12 which contained more than 80 per cent of the total population of Bintulu District, were won pro-Malaysia candidates.

There were other pro-Malaysia candidates who did not win seats but who had won a large number of votes. From this it was clear that more than 80 per cent of the population in Bintulu District fully support Malaysia and Malaysia was the main issue during the elections.

'No interference'

The memorandum went on to say: "We are sure that in the recent general elections the elections were free. There was no coercion and the votes were properly polled and properly counted in accordance with the Election Ordinance."

The memorandum continued: "Being elected councillors in this district, our firm wish is to achieve independence for Sarawak

through Malaysia, and we firmly believe that only in this way can Sarawak's independence run smoothly."

The memorandum urged the Government to stick to August 31 as Malaysia Day, adding "The people in Bintulu resent any interference by any outside country in our fixing of the proudest day in Sarawak's history."

Another group that saw the Mission this morning was from the Sarawak United People's Party led by the Branch secretary, Mr Goh Nyiap Joon. This group did not submit a memorandum but stated that a memorandum had been prepared and would be submitted by the Miri Branch.

Briefly the points in the memorandum were:

- * A referendum should be held in order to prove the wishes of the people;
- * A referendum should be conducted by the UN Mission and not under any threat;
- * Malaysia was not the major issue in the recent elections;
- * The register of voters was not satisfactory because many eligible voters were left out.

The anti-Malaysia Supp polled 579 votes out of 5,860 votes cast in the elections in Bintulu.

A Panas delegation of five led by the chairman of the branch, Inche Yaman bin Pedol, saw the Mission next. It also submitted a memorandum giving full support for Malaysia and reiterated that Panas as a Party was 100 per cent pro-Malaysia.

Another group that saw the Mission comprised 11 people including Penghulu Kana and Penghulu Buan - all from Tatau sub-district. They appeared as an independent group and informed the Mission that they were all out to support Malaysia.

Indonesia attacked

Of six groups, which met the UN Mission at Bintulu, was one from the Sarawak Alliance branch led by Penghulu Jalin, the chairman.

A memorandum submitted stated that Indonesia's interference in the internal affairs of Sarawak had angered the people.

The border incidents, open support and the training of terrorists "to invade our country and kill our people" showed that the policy of Indonesia was not anti-colonialist but neo-colonialist and expansionist.

The memorandum added: "The threats from Indonesia have strengthened our wish to have Malaysia. In spite of threats or confrontation from outside we have firmly decided to have Malaysia establishment on August 31, 1963."

The memorandum went on to say that Malaysia was the major issue of the last elections which were entirely "free and fair."

Penghulu Jalin said afterwards that he was confident that the UN Mission being an international body would maintain justice and confirm our wish to the world that we in Sarawak want Malaysia."

The Mission ended its journey at mid-day and flew on to Miri.

Anti-Malaysia riot

An anti-Malaysia riot, lasting for about 30 minutes, broke out at Miri town early in the afternoon when the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission arrived.

Between 200 to 300 slogan-shouting young Chinese, carrying banners, violently attacked the police at two places, using fists, stones, bottles and sticks, and injured several.

At one place police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd and also charged at the crowd armed with batons. Some shots had to be fired in self-defence by the police.

The situation was brought under control at about 2 p.m. and the UN hearings were delayed for about half an hour. They were due to start at the Miri Community Hall at 2 p.m.

The UN Mission arrived at Lutong Airfield from Bintulu at 1.15 p.m. and was greeted by the Resident, Mr J.F. Drake-Brockman, and the District Officer, Mr C.A.R. Wilson. There was no crowd present.

As the cars approached Gilbert Estate, a crowd on both sides of the road tried to throw posters at them. Attention was then directed at the police by the crowd which assaulted the police, using fists and sticks.

As the cars passed by the crowd followed them towards the Miri Community Hall, shouting insults at the police. They refused to disperse when ordered. Several tear gas shells were then fired resulting in a commotion.

However, a riot squad which was standing by was not called. The crowd then retreated to Jansen Road where it began throwing stones and sticks at the police. The police then

charged, swinging batons. The crowd retreated further and split into small groups.

A few empty bottles were also thrown at the Community Hall but fell on to the compound.

The rioters also threatened so assault several foreign correspondents who were photographing them.

While the UN Mission cars drove towards Miri, 'acid bombs' were thrown at a police van but no policemen in it were injured.

A police spokesman said that stones were also thrown at a number of police vehicles escorting the Mission.

Some of the injured rioters were treated by the Miri Red Cross. It is learned that at least one policeman has been admitted to hospital and that two civilians had bullet wounds of a minor nature.

Ferret armoured cars, which arrived at Miri yesterday, were not called in to quell the riot. The Fatimah Hotel is heavily guarded.

An official spokesman has commented: "It is quite clear that the riot like the disturbance in Kuching and Sibu was well organised.

"The crowd was very aggressive from the start and went to extreme lengths to insult and provoke the police."

More than 10 groups, including a delegation of 12 ex-TNKK Kedayans from the Sibuti area led by Haji Esa bin Duhak, met the Mission at Miri.

In an interview afterwards Haji Esa said that the group represented wanted independence and not Malaysia because in Malaysia Sarawak would be under the control of a foreign country, namely Malaya.

He went on to say that one of the reasons of the December rebellion was Malaysia. He stressed that the Kedayans he represented still insisted on having a federation of Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak.

The first group which saw the Mission this afternoon consisted of three Sarawak Alliance members of the Miri District Council led by Mr G.E. Jolly. He told the Mission that they wanted independence through Malaysia, that no force was used during the recent elections and that voting was free.

He went on to say Sarawak did not want interference by Indonesia on the Malaysia question. No referendum was needed because all the people favoured Malaysia.

Photographs submitted

The next delegation consisted of 21 Alliance members of various races led by the Miri Branch chairman, Mr Chai Chin Shin.

A memorandum submitted stated that the registers were properly compiled and that the voters were happy with the way the elections had been conducted in Miri.

Mr Chia also submitted seven photographs to show that the Supp had raised anti-Malaysia issue at the last elections at Miri.

Members of the pro-Malaysia Subis District Council led by the chairman, Wan Ahmad bin Tuanku Omar, saw the Mission next.

He said that he had told the Mission that there was no reason whatsoever for either Indonesia or the Philippines to interfere with Sarawak's affairs because choice to join Malaysia had been made by the majority of the people.

The only Supp councillor in the Subis District Council, Mr Lee Fung Chew, who is also secretary of the Batu Niah branch of the Supp, also met the Mission.

He said that he had told the Mission: "We cannot sell Sarawak to other countries. Therefore before Malaysia can be formed a referendum should be held.

The chairmen of four Chinese community associations led by Mr James Ting of the Foochow Association was also granted hearing by the Mission.

The Associations were the Foochow Association, Hakka Association, Chawan Association and the Leong Chon Association, Mr Ting said that the four associations had submitted a joint memorandum and he outlined the main points.

Anti-Malaysia views

The memorandum, he said, called for independence first, for a plebiscite; and stated that the recent elections did not reflect "the real decision of the people of Sarawak on Malaysia because of interference by an outside country, namely Malaya, during election time."

He also stated that the Sarawak Government had arrested anti-Malaysia leaders, banned left-wing newspapers and that the electoral registers were unfair and not done properly.

Furthermore, votes were not properly polled. Independent candidates polled more votes than any others and therefore it was hard to know how many of them were pro or anti-Malaysia.

The Supp councillors in the Miri District Council led by Mr Lim Chee Hian also saw the Mission and expressed opposition to Malaysia.

Also meeting the Mission was ex-Tua Kampong Pangis bin Duhak who said he had acted as spokesman for some of the Kedayans who opposed Malaysia.

The Miri hearings ended at about 7 p.m.

On to Limbang

The following morning the Mission left by Twin Pioneer aircraft for Limbang, in the Fifth Division, and was greeted on arrival by the Acting Resident, Mr Malcolm McSporran, the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr James Wong and the chairman of the Limbang and Lawas District Councils.

It then left for the Limbang Court Room to conduct hearings but before then met members of both councils and the district officers.

Hearings began at 10.10 a.m., when the Limbang District councillors led by their chairman, Haji Bakar bin Abdullah, went in and submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum.

Next in was a group of three comprising the chairman of the Sarawak National Party Branch; Lower Limbang District, Mr Anthony Belayong; Penghulu Madang, representing the Kelabits, Muruts and Tabuns of the Ulu Limbang; and Inche Raham Dollah bin Majid, of Kampong Simpang Tiga. They all expressed views in favour of Malaysia.

Following this a delegation of seven Malays led by Awang Amin bin Bakir saw the

Mission. He claimed to represent a number of pro-Brunei Bisayas, Kedayans and Malays and submitted a memorandum which asked for the return of Limbang District to the Brunei Sultanate.

Awang Amin said he had also handed in a petition of containing 760 thumbprints and signatures in support of the memorandum.

Views of Chinese organisations

Mr James Wong and Mr William Geikie, who flew specially to Limbang to see the Mission, were next in.

Then followed a group of three representatives from the Limbang Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Union Club and the Fochow Association.

These representatives submitted a memorandum which in effect said that the associations would like to see Sarawak achieve independence first before joining Malaysia and that a referendum should be held. They said that they did not belong to any political party.

Last in were Mr Yeo Leng Soon, claiming to represent the Bisaya community and Penghulu Ngang, representing the Ibans. They made oral statements in support of Malaysia.

In the afternoon the Mission heard the views of Lawas District Councillors who also submitted a pro-Malaysia memorandum, and a pro-Malaysia delegation of three comprising Awang Daud bin Matussin, speaking for the Sarawak Alliance; Tua Kampong Zainal Abidin, on behalf of the Malay community and chairman of the Panas branch; and Penghulu Babut Aram, representing the Muruts in the Lawas/Damit area.

The Mission ended its hearings at 3.30 p.m. and left for Miri where it stayed the night. It conducted hearings at Marudi the following morning after which it returned to Kuching.

'Borneo States Favour Malaysia' - U Thant

The United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, on Saturday, September 14, 1963 released the report of the UN Malaysia Assessment Mission which found that the great majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak "strongly supported" Malaysia.

The nine-man Mission was sent by U Thant, with the agreement of Britain, to

satisfy Indonesia and the Philippines as to the wishes of the people.

Reporting on what it called a "grass roots" survey, the Mission said it had found "a high degree of unity" among political leaders, chiefs and headmen, and representatives of civil, religious and trade groups that the territories should link up with Malaya and

Singapore in the larger South East Asian grouping.

It had found "little evidence of articulate and organised opposition to the Federation."

The Mission, headed by Mr Laurence Michelmore, a US national, and composed entirely of UN Secretariat members, said it was "satisfied that through its hearings it was able to reach a cross-section of the population in all walks of life, and that the expressions of opinion that it heard represent the view of a sizeable majority of the population."

Principal findings

The principal findings of the Malaysia Mission are that:

- Both Sarawak and North Borneo have reached a stage of self-government that would enable their people to make a responsible choice of their future.
- Their decision to join Malaysia was the result of the freely expressed wishes of their peoples.
- The "great majority" of the people of North Borneo have strongly supported the Malaysia proposals from the time of the elections to the present.
- An analysis of Sarawak election returns showed 634,208, or 61 per cent. in favour of Malaysia; 48,983 or 22.2 per cent. opposed, and 37,136, or 16.8 per cent., neutral.
- Of the 183,191 Sarawak citizens who took a definite stand on Malaysia, 73.3 per cent. were in favour and 26.7 per cent. opposed.
- Sarawak's elected representatives stood in favour of Malaysia, 284 to 123, or 66.2 per cent. to 28.7 per cent. The other 22, or 5.1 per cent., could not be classified in either group.
- In North Borneo, doubts and reservations appeared to be limited to groups, largely in the Interior and may be attributed to "satisfaction with the status quo, lack of information or lack of clear understanding of the proposal or suspicion of unfamiliar ideas."
- Popular support for Malaysia in North Borneo has increased since the elections.
- Questioning of Sarawak's non-political groups, including commercial, trade union, ethnic, religious and social organisations, showed that the Malaysia question was widely discussed among the people and that the majority favoured the merger.

- Malaysia was a major issue in recent elections in both territories and the "vast majority" of the electorate understood the proposal to join Malaysia.
- Electoral registers were in good order "even by standards of countries with larger experience with the procedures and technical problems of voters' registration."
- The elections were freely and impartially conducted with active and vigorous campaigning by groups advocating divergent course of action.
- In North Borneo, almost no complaints of election irregularities were heard.
- In Sarawak, there were complaints of coercion and unfair election practices, but the Mission was satisfied that nothing occurred that could have reversed the election result.
- Votes were properly polled and counted.
- An estimated 800 persons in Sarawak fled to Indonesia but this number was insufficient to affect the election outcome.
- The number of persons detained in Sarawak under the Security Regulations was 62 at the end of May and 103 at the end of June. Of these, 75 to 80 per cent. were of voting age (21) and all opposed the Malaysia Plan, but the number involved was not sufficient to have affected the total result.
- The actions of Sarawak's Council Negri, or legislative body, in welcoming the establishment of Malaysia "may be regarded as the expression of the wish of the people through the established legislative institutions."

The Mission devoted a large section of its report to complaints received from groups in Sarawak, particularly the anti-Malaysia, Sarawak United Peoples' Party. The report said:

"The Mission expresses its considered opinion that though it is satisfied that there have been several instances of unwarranted (and in some cases illegal) manifestations of over-enthusiasm by local government officials to further the interests of the political party supporting the Malaysia Plan, such instances cannot be regarded as indicative of any calculated or sustained plan on the part of the Central Government.

"These instances are regrettable and can only be explained as being inevitable in the

working of all human institutions, being due no doubt to the personal factor.

"The Mission is further of the opinion that the overall picture it has gained throughout its travels in the territories is such as to justify its conclusion that the election was conducted as fairly and as freely as is reasonably possible in human affairs.

"The Mission, therefore sees no reason to find that the wishes of the people were not properly ascertained through normal democratic processes at the elections held in June in Sarawak."

Non-Political reactions

The report went on: "In addition to hearing the views of political parties, the Mission made use of every opportunity to find out the opinions and reactions of non-political groups and organisations on the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"By questioning the representatives of the several commercial, trade union, ethnic, religious and social organisations which submitted written memoranda and also appeared before question of Malaysia was widely discussed among the people and that the majority of the population understood and were in favour of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"The Mission found that the great majority of the people of North Borneo have strongly supported the proposed Federation of Malaysia from the time of the elections down to the present.

"The Mission noted the high degree of unity reflected by national leaders of political parties, members of political parties, chiefs and headmen, representatives of civic, religious, commercial, labour and ethnic groups and other persons who appeared before it...

"There exists an expectation that federation will be conducive to harmony among ethnic groups, and that it will offer better opportunities for educational, social and economic advancement in rural areas."

Having considered the constitutional, electoral and legislative arrangements in Sarawak and Sabah, the Mission said it believed the territories had "attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions," so that its peoples had possessed the capacity to make "a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes."

U Thant said he had concluded that the majority of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak wanted to join Malaysia.

In a separate statement he said: "I have come to the conclusion that the majority of the peoples of Sabah and of Sarawak have given serious and thoughtful consideration to their future and to the implications for them of participation in a Federation of Malaysia."

While regretting that the work of the UN Mission had to "be accomplished within certain deadlines" U Thant said that "while more time might have enabled the Mission to obtain more copious documentation and other evidence, it would not have affected the conclusions to any significant extent."

U Thant said he had been observing "the rising tension in South East Asia on account of the difference of opinion among the countries most directly interested in the Malaysia issue" since the beginning of the year.

He added: "It was in the hope that some form of United Nations involvement might help to reduce tension that I agreed to respond positively to the request made by three Manila power. I would hope that the exercise in which my colleagues and I have been involved in this regard will have this effect and that the coming into being of Malaysia will not prove to be a continuing source of friction and tension in the area."

Final conclusions

The Secretary-General's "final conclusions" on the survey mission said he believed that the majority of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak "have concluded that they wish to bring their dependent status to amend and to realise their independence through freely chosen association with other peoples in their region with whom they feel ties of ethnic association, heritage, language, religion, culture, economic relationship and ideals and objectives.

"Not all of these considerations are present in equal weight in all minds but it is my conclusion that the majority of the peoples of the two territories have taken them into account and wish to engage with the peoples of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore in an enlarged Federation of Malaysia through which they can strive together to realise the fulfilment of their destiny," he declared.

In making his conclusions U Thant said he had given consideration to the circumstances

in which the proposals for the Federation of Malaysia had been disclosed and he had also been aware that the people of the territories "are still striving for a more adequate level of educational development."

He said: "Whatever the origins of the proposals of Malaysia may have been it seems to me in the light of actual events including the present exercise that we have witnessed in Sarawak and North Borneo the same process leading to self-government."

"I fervently hope that the people of these territories will achieve progress and prosperity and find their fulfilment as component states of Malaysia."

The announcement during the inquiry of the September 16 date for the formation of the federation had led "to misunderstanding and confusion and even resentment among other parties to the Manila agreement which could have been avoided if the date could have been fixed after my conclusions had been reached and made known."

U Thant expressed his gratitude to the Governments of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia for the confidence they had placed in him and to the British Government for the full co-operation they had given to the UN Mission as well as to the authorities of the two territories.

He also paid tribute to Mr Michelmores and his staff who, he said, "accomplished a sensitive and difficult task in a relatively short period but at the same time in a thorough and wholly adequate manner."

'BRITAIN IS PLEASED' — SANDYS

Mr Duncan Sandys, the British Commonwealth Secretary, commenting on the Secretary-General's report said this week in Kuching that the British Government had noted with satisfaction the result of the independent enquiry by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

He added: "We are glad to see that this provides final confirmation that the majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak desire to join Malaysia. Before this enquiry, the wishes of the inhabitants had already been conclusively established by various democratic processes extending over a period of two years."

"The investigation of the Cobbold Commission, the studies and negotiations of the Inter-Governmental Committee, on which the peoples of both territories were represented, and finally free elections held on the basis of adult suffrage all produced the same answer, namely, a clear majority in favour of Malaysia."

Mr Sandys said that the British Government hoped that the Secretary-General's findings would put an end to the doubts that had been expressed in neighbouring countries about the true wishes of Sabah and Sarawak and that the peoples of those territories would not be left in peace to follow the path they had freely chosen for themselves.

Continued Mr Sandys: "On September 16, Malaysia Day, British rule in Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore will come to an end and their peoples will achieve independence within the wider ambit of Malaysia."

"If Malaysia should be threatened by outside interference, and her Government should feel it necessary to call on Britain for support, the British Government will, of course, honour their treaty obligations and give Malaysia all the help they can to maintain her independence and integrity."

Mr Sandys ended by saying he was confident that Malaysia would offer her inhabitants widening opportunities for economic and political advancement and would make a positive contribution to stability and progress in South East Asia. Her leaders had made it clear that it would be Malaysia's foremost desire to live in peace and friendship with all her neighbours. It was to be hoped that they would welcome her in this same friendly spirit.

On To Malaysia!



Dato Abang Haji Openg

HEAD OF STATE APPOINTED: FEDERAL MINISTERSHIP FOR TEMENGGONG JUGAH

The first Governor of the State of Sarawak was named on Friday - 61-year-old Dato Abang Haji Openg bin Abang Sapi'ee, a well-known and widely respected figure and a Standing Member of Council Negri.

At the same time it was announced that Temengong Jugah anak Barieng, chairman of the Sarawak Alliance and an elected member of the legislature, is to become Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs, resident in Sarawak.

The appointments, described as satisfactory by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, were made as a compromise solution to the delicate problem of choosing Sarawak's Head of State.

The Sarawak Alliance Government had, ever since it assumed power, strongly favoured Temengong Jugah. But the Malayan Government insisted that since the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, was an Iban, then the Governor should be a Malay.

The situation remained deadlocked until the British Government acting as mediator, took steps to bring about a meeting in Kuala Lumpur.

A special mission of Sarawak Alliance ministers and party leaders, headed by Mr Ningkan, flew to the Federal capital on Wednesday accompanied by the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell and Temengong Jugah. A three-man delegation from Party Negara Sarawak, led by the chairman, Abang Haji Mustapha, the Datu Bandar, also visited Kuala Lumpur at the same time.

There after intensive discussions with the Malayan Government leaders and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys, the compromise agreement was reached.

It broke the last major internal dispute and now paves the way for Malaysia to be established and to be celebrated joyously on Monday, September 16.

On returning to Kuching on Friday in a Royal Air Force Hastings aircraft, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, held a press conference at which he read out a joint statement signed by the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman; Mr Duncan Sandys and Temengong Jugah and himself.

The statement read:

"The London Agreement on Malaysia provides that the first Governor of Sarawak shall be appointed on the nomination of the Queen and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

"The Malayan Government had maintained that since the Chief Minister in Sarawak is an Iban, the first Governor should be a Malay.

"For the sake of unity and goodwill on the eve of the formation of Malaysia, Temengong Jugah has generously asked that his name should not be considered for the first Governorship.

"This has enabled general consent to be given to the appointment of a Malay, it being understood that, when the term of office of the first Governor expires, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong will be graciously pleased to give

favourable consideration to the appointment as Governor of the person whom the Chief Minister may recommend.

"Meanwhile, recognising the outstanding position which he holds in the life of Sarawak, the Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra, has offered Temenggong Jugah a post in the Federal Malaysian Cabinet as Minister for Sarawak Affairs resident in Sarawak, which he has been pleased to accept.

'Happy and fully satisfied'

Following this, Mr Ningkan then read out a prepared statement made by him.

He said: "My delegation and I are very happy and fully satisfied with the outcome of our visit to Kuala Lumpur. The appointment of a Malay Governor for the first two years and the creation of a special post of Federal Cabinet Minister for Sarawak Affairs resident in Sarawak for Temenggong Jugah will now satisfy everybody in Sarawak.

"We are grateful to the Tengku and his Cabinet for their understanding, sympathy and accommodation. We are also grateful to Mr Duncan Sandys, Sir Alexander Waddell, our outgoing Governor, and Sir Geofroy Tory for their good offices for they have contributed immensely to our successful talks.

"Temenggong Jugah, a highly respected leader, will play an active part and a very important role in Sarawak Affairs. He will be our direct line to the Federal Cabinet and the Tengku on all important Federal matters.

"We feel it is more helpful to the people of Sarawak to have Temenggong Jugah as Federal Cabinet Minister for Sarawak Affairs during the transitional period.

"He still can be the chairman of the Sarawak Alliance and also can be very active politically."

Soon after the press conference the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, issued the following statement from the Istana:

"It is announced that in accordance with Article 49 of the Constitution of the State of Sarawak, having been nominated jointly by Her Majesty the Queen and His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Datu Abang Haji Openg, O.B.E. has been appointed by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to be Governor of Sarawak for a term of two years beginning with Malaysia Day."

Crisis recalled

The crisis over the new Governor's appointment came to a head on Saturday, September 7, when the Malayan Prime Minister publicly declared that Temenggong Jugah was unacceptable to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

A special meeting of the leaders of the Alliance was held in the Chief Minister's residence in Kuching to discuss the problem. Present were also the Ministers and Temenggong Jugah.

The deadlock, coupled with Malaya's dissatisfaction over the Singapore Government's declaration of "de facto" independence on August 31, and other problems, necessitated the return to Kuala Lumpur of the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys. Mr Sandys was at the time on a visit to Ceylon and the Maldive Islands.

Mission to Kuala Lumpur

In Kuching it was decided to send a mission to Kuala Lumpur to meet Mr Sandys and Malayan Government leaders.

On Wednesday, the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, accompanied the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, and 12 other Sarawak Alliance leaders, including Temenggong Jugah, left by air.

The other Alliance members in the party were: Inche Abdul Taib Mahmud; Mr Dunstan Endawi, Mr T.Y. Tan; Mr Chia Chin Shin; Mr Ting Tung Ming; Mr Dennis Luat; Mr Alfred Mason; Haji Su'ut bin Haji Tahir; Inche Mohamed Haji Bakri; Mr Jonathan Banggau and Inche Mohamed Mortadza bin Haji Daud.

Also in the same plane, an R.A.F. Hastings were three members of Party Negara Sarawak - the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, the chairman; Mr Leong Ho Yuen, vice-chairman; and Mr Andrew Jika. Before leaving Kuching, the Datu Bandar spoke in support of a Malay being appointed Governor.

The Sarawak United People's Party, through its chairman, said that while it had no objections to the appointment of Temenggong Jugah, preferred a Head of State with no previous political affiliations.

On arrival, the Sarawak delegation went almost immediately to "Carcosa", home of the British High Commissioner, for discussions with Mr Sandys. These lasted seven and a half

hours and neither side would make any comment at the conclusion of the meeting.

The Party Negara Sarawak group did not join in these discussions.

Sarawak joins Malaysia Merdeka! Merintah Diri!

Sarawak achieved its destiny on Monday, September 16, when the country attained independence within the Federation of Malaysia.

It fulfilled the pledge of self-government made by the Brooke Rajahs who ruled Sarawak for 100 years and it fulfilled a similar promise made by Britain which governed the country for about 17 years.

It owed this momentous achievement largely to the initiative of Malaya, particularly to the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, under whose genius, patient understanding and generosity Malaysia was created.

But the State of Sarawak was born amidst internal difficulties caused by a small minority who still refused to acknowledge the tremendous potentialities offered through this great partnership of 14 South East Asian states and by the communists and their sympathisers who seek revolution.

The State of Sarawak was also born amidst external threats to its existence — violent Indonesian hostility which this week was expressed in ferocious attacks on the Malaysian and British embassies in Jakarta and Medan by hysterical mobs.

In spite of this, Sarawak took the decisive final step and became part of Malaysia, backed by a Government dedicated to racial harmony, progress and prosperity and heartened by the news that the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission had confirmed that the people of the country "strongly favoured" Malaysia.

Throughout the country three-day celebrations, starting from Saturday, September 14, were held to mark the occasion in spite of attempts at disruption made over the week-end by the Clandestine Communist Organisation through such activities as pasting a large number of anti-Malaysia



The Governor of Sarawak, Datu Abang Haji Openg, being sworn in on Malaysia Day.

paper strips along the roads of Kuching, nearly all written in Chinese; exploding a hand grenade in the Open Air Market area of the capital; and splashing cars with acid at Miri on Malaysia Day.

The first signal of dawning independence came when the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell and Lady Waddell took leave of the Astana for the last time at 12.30 p.m. on Sunday.

In bright sunshine they were paddled across in their gleaming white and yellow-roofed barge to Pangkalan Batu.

On arrival, Lady Waddell was presented with some beautiful orchids — she is an orchid

lover — by a Brownie, Miss Theresa Chung of the 4th Pack, St Teresa's School, Padungan.

Sir Alexander, resplendent in the ceremonial uniform of a Colonial Governor, moved on to take a salute from the Guard of Honour mounted by the men of the Sarawak Constabulary, the Field Force and the Royal Marine Commandos under the command of Acting Superintendent of Police, Mr Barry Lewis.

The Constabulary Band played as the Governor, accompanied by the Commissioner of Police, Mr P.E. Turnbull and Brigadier F.C. Barton, British military commander in West Sarawak, made the inspection. Later he went over to the Band and had a few words of praise for them.

Lady Waddell then joined Sir Alexander to inspect the detachments drawn from the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Red Cross. Sir Alexander shook hands with several and cracked a joke which made the Girl Guides break out in smiles.

The Governor and his wife then began saying their goodbyes — to the Chief Justice, Sir Campbell Wylie; the Speaker of Council Negri, Dr M. Sockalingam, the Chairman of Public Service Commission, Mr R.L. Wilkes; Government leaders; senior Government officers; and their wives.

They next moved towards the landing steps accompanied by the Governor-designate, Datu Abang Haji Openg, the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs, Temenggong Jugah and others.

Last goodbyes were said but just before boarding his barge, Sir Alexander walked over to a group of journalists to shake hands with them saying: "You have been a very nice and co-operative press."

Back in the barge they waved as "Three Cheers" rang out from the big crowd. The Sarawak River was by this time crowded with sampans forming a thick bobbing circle around the Governor's barge.

Berthed alongside Steamship Wharf was the grey Royal Navy frigate, H.M.S. Loch Killisport, ready to receive the Governor and his wife on board and to take them to Singapore.

The barge was paddled half way and remained still while a 17-gun salute was fired in the Governor's honour.

On getting abroad the Governor took another salute from a Royal Navy Guard of

Honour. The Band of the Royal Marines played as Sir Alexander inspected the Guard.

Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell were next seen high above the bridge waving as the frigate slowly moved off. A 17-gun salute boomed from Fort Margherita. The Governor returned the salute. It was a touching moment, made sadder as the frigate sailed past Fort Margherita where the Constabulary Band played "Auld Lang Syne."

As H.M.S. Loch Killisport gathered speed downriver, the crowd lining the river bank seemed conscious, that as the last of the British governors of Sarawak had departed, one chapter of the country's history — 17 years of benevolent British rule — had closed and a new chapter — independence with its great challenges and promises — had opened.

Message from Sir Alexander

As the Governor took his leave, Radio Sarawak broadcast the following farewell message from him:

To say goodbye is never easy but it is particularly difficult to say goodbye to Sarawak — the more so at a time of historic change and of great events.

On these I will not dwell but you can be sure that tomorrow, Malaysia Day, and in the future, our thoughts, our hearts and our prayers will be with you as you step out on the great high road of independence with the star of hope and promise before you.

But as I go there is a kaleidoscope of colour, life, people and events as I look back over the last three and half eventful years — whether it is the crocodile dance at Long Tengoa, the sprung Murut dancing floor, the floating village at Awat. Awat, the walk from Pa Mein, the strong man feats at Bario; the wonderful view from the fort at Long Akah, Temenggong Lawai Jau's fascinating house, the tremendous regatta at Marudi, the sunset over Logan Bunut, Penghulu Gau's stein of borak, the birthday party for No. 1 well at Miri, the peace of friendly Bintulu, the sago factories and beautiful weaving at Mukah, the charm of Oya and Dalat and the old Melanau longhouse near Matu.

To these reflections are added the bamboo band at Belaga, travelling with Temenggong Jugah and the Pengarah, the Penghulu's party at Kapit, the thrust and bustle and dynamism of Sibul, the lovely coastal villages Rejang, Jerijeh and Paloh, the great new

developments at Sarikei and Binatang, gruelling walks from the ulu Rimbas to the Spak, from Undop to Engkilili, hard hitting brandaus in the Skrang and the Paku, the Malay coastal villages and our own kampong alongside the Astana, the Chinese temple at Muara Tebas, the walk from Lundu to Bau — the gold mines, the Turtle Islands; Chinese New Year and Hari Raya with all their colour and friendly concourse. And of course St Andrew's night.

Those are but a few of the memories that some crowding in — there are millions more — and of gay and tragic events none more than in the last crucial year of endeavour.

But the sum is of a wonderful country with a charm and vigour and tradition that is unequalled in the world, with its peoples of dignity, rugged individuality and warmth of heart.

These things you must not lose for they are Sarawak and you will add immediately to the strength of the new nation upon which you enjoy tomorrow.

'We will repel any threats'

We will withstand and repel any threats from within and from without for our cause is right, based on decent principles and dedicated to the happiness and welfare of all.

It has been my privilege to induct a new Government; it is their lot to shoulder the responsibility I now put down.

The measure of their statesmanship has been shown in the last weeks, a statesmanship derived from the qualities I have described, a statesmanship which, in the tradition of Sarawak, aims at a happy outcome.

You will all I know support the new Government to the full in the days that lie ahead when the State flag, of revered origin, is unfurled tomorrow.

To my friend, Datu Openg, your new Governor, I offer a heartfelt welcome. He is a man of wisdom who has been long in your service and he will be supported by your loyalty and by your prayers as he takes up his high office.

It is the regret of my wife and myself that time and circumstances have not allowed us to visit all stations to say goodbye.

You can be sure that we would have liked nothing better than to see you all again before leaving — but that was not to be. We will remember and if we can be of help or service

to anyone of you or to your sons and daughters in England we would be most happy.

Goodbye and may God bless you all.

Message from the Queen

Later on Sunday, Radio Sarawak broadcast a message from the Queen to the people — a message read by Sir Alexander Waddell.

The Queen said: "On the eve of the memorable and historic occasion of Malaysia Day I send to the people of Sarawak my best wishes for the future.

"You have a unique history in your long administration by the wise and able Rajahs of Sarawak and in your association first through them and more recently with Britain.

"During these years you have won the friendship of the people of Britain and have shown in Sarawak how different races can live together in peace and happiness.

"As you go forward on your chosen way of independence within Malaysia the warm and sincere good wishes of the British people go with you.

"May God bless and guide Sarawak and Malaysia in all the years that lie ahead."

Messages from Mr Sandys

Messages by the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys, who visited Kuching for the celebrations were also broadcast.

In his message to the Chief Minister, Mr Sandys said: "This brings my personal greetings to you and to the people of Sarawak on the eve of the memorable occasion of Malaysia.

"Those of us in the Colonial Office who in the past years have had the privilege and honour of being associated with Sarawak send to you and to the people of Sarawak our sincere good wishes for the future and our welcome to Malaysia."

In a message to the Public Service of Sarawak, Mr Sandys said: "On the eve of Malaysia Day I send on behalf of the British Government to the whole of the Public Service in Sarawak my sincere thanks for the loyal service you have rendered.

"For some of you the service goes back to the days of the Rajah. All of you have served the Crown and the people with devotion.

"Alike to those of you to whom Sarawak is home and to those of you whose home is elsewhere but who will be staying on to serve in Malaysia I send my warm good wishes for the future."

And to the people of Sarawak, he said: "The moment has come for me to say 'Goodbye'. It is Britain's aim and privilege to lead her colonial territories to independence. In Sarawak, our task is now completed. You have become an independent people in the manner which you have chosen for yourselves — as a free and self-governing State in the new Federation of Malaysia.

"For over 100 years, Britain and Sarawak have been associated with one another; first through your Rajahs and, more recently, through the British colonial administration.

"The last British Governor has just sailed away, down the river from Kuching. That marks the end of an era in the relations between Britain and Sarawak. But it marks also the beginning of a new relationship — the special relationship which exists between members of the Commonwealth.

"As partners in this world-wide fellowship of independent people, Malaysia and Britain will continue to maintain close and intimate contact, and will do all they can help one another.

"I realise that in the midst of all this rejoicing there is one thought which casts its shadow upon your minds. And that is the strained relations with your neighbour across the border.

"Now that the United Nations' Report has confirmed that the majority of the people of Sarawak and Sabah wish to join Malaysia, I earnestly trust that all other countries will accept your right to decide your own destiny in the way you think best and will not seek to interfere in your internal affairs.

"In good times and in bad, in peace and in war, the people of Britain and the people of Sarawak have got to know each other and trust each other.

"The mutual affection which has grown up over the years between our countries will not be affected by any constitutional change. As before, Britain will continue to be your friend. I bid you farewell and wish you good luck."

Kuching in festive garb

As Malaysia Day neared, Kuching stood ready, clothed in festive garb. The finishing touches had been made to the triumphal arches spanning the main roads, bunting and flags fluttered and strung along the streets were coloured lights.

But the centre of attraction was the Central Padang where the ceremony marking the advent of Malaysia was to take place. The dais and grandstands stood expectantly for their big function, adorned by elaborately carved and painted designs, of Dayak, Kenyan and Malay origin but blending beautifully with old style Chinese lanterns. A traditional Malay ornamental "gateway" bearing the words "Merdeka Malaysia" stood on the eastern side of the beflagged Padang, giving added charm to the whole scene.

Some business and residential areas, particularly the Malay kampongs, were transformed to give a fairy like appearance at night.

Outside the town itself, Malaysia arches were also standing at the 12th, 15th and 17th Mile, Simanggang Road — areas heavily populated by Chinese.

The arches at the 12th Mile were built by the Javanese community. The others were put up by Chinese and Dayak as a mark of loyalty to Sarawak and co-operation between their communities. The arches were built without any Government assistance.

There were also a Malaysia Rally held by the Sarawak Alliance and addressed by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, and other leaders.

Just before midnight struck, Radio Sarawak played "God Save the Queen" for the last time. This was immediately followed as the new day commenced by the new National anthem — "Negara Ku".

Shortly after midnight the Malay Service linked up with Radio Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur and broadcast a message of greetings from the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mr Ningkan.

The message, delivered by the Chief Minister in Malay, read: Merdeka Malaysia!

On this auspicious morn, Sarawak salutes its sister States in the Federation of Malaysia

Malaya, Singapore, and Sabah — and sends special greetings to all its peoples.

There is a song in our hearts to-day — the song men and women who had won their freedom had sung through the ages.

Our freedom is all the more remarkable because it had been achieved not through strife and revolution, but by evolution and the processes laid down by democratic methods.

Through the Brooke regime, Sarawak and its peoples, for more than a century, had closer relations with those in Singapore and Malaya than with those living across the border in Indonesia.

This relationship was further strengthened during the last 17 years during which Sarawak was ruled by the British Crown.

A stirring call

The formation of Malaysia is therefore a natural culmination of events of the past — social, political and economical.

We have many things in common between us, including the currency, the systems of education and administration and the judiciary, and we feel sure that the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia will be of mutual benefit to us all.

So let us go ahead and build Malaysia on this basis of unity and brotherhood. Let us emerge from the narrow confines of our kampongs and hidebound racial prejudices, and march hand in hand towards that common goal — the building of a Malaysian nation.

As one of the partners in the independent Federation, the peoples of Sarawak now look forward to the challenging future with enthusiasm. These peoples, who include the Chinese, the Malays, the Indians, the Dayaks and other indigenous races, have helped to shape Sarawak's destiny since those early days when Indian and Chinese traders came here in search of gold and spices.

Now, it will be our common endeavour in the years to come to foster that cosmopolitan spirit which has moulded the different races of Malaya so that Sarawak too can play its own part towards full nationhood - *Hidup Malaysia*."

There were other radio relays on Malaysia Day and on Tuesday.

Malaysia Day itself dawned bright, but cloudy in Kuching. Early signs of a wet morn-

ing were dispelled as the sun began to shine through banks of threatening clouds.

Long before the start of the Padang ceremony and parade, at scheduled to start at 8 a.m., thousands of people had gathered at various vantage points around.

The first unit to arrive on the Padang, with its own Pipe and Drum Band, was a detachment from the 5th Royal Malay Regiment clad in white bajus and plaided green sarongs and wearing green and gold songkoks. Then accompanied by the Band of the Sarawak Constabulary came men of 42 Commando, Royal Marines; the Regular Police and Field Force; the Ex-Services Association as well as contingents from the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Boys' Brigade and Red Cross.

People in the grandstands also provided a scene of colour-senior Government officers in neat white uniforms and helmets contrasted with the traditional costume and headgear of the Malaysians. There were also the representatives of eight Commonwealth countries and Malaysian States including the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys.

On the dais

Malaya's Representative, Inche Khir Johari, arrived wearing a Minister's uniform - he is Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives - and took his place on the dais.

On the dais too were the Chief Justice, Sir Campbell Wylie, dignified in his scarlet and black robes and wig; the Chief Minister in a neat light blue morning suit; the Commissioner of Police, Mr P.E. Turnbull, in ceremonial uniform and the Commander of the British forces in West Sarawak, Brigadier F.C. Barton, in full khaki dress.

Last to arrive was the new Head of State, Datu Abang Haji Openg, in a magnificent Baju "Telok Blangah" - a costume of silk sheathed in a short sarong of gold and maroon (Kain Songkit) wearing a silk covered songkok. A 21-gun salute ended just as he stepped out of his Limousine.

On the dais he took a State salute from the Parade and his Personal Standard was broken at the masthead by a Royal Navy Sailor.

Inche Khir Johari then read the Proclamation of Malaysia followed by the raising of the Federal flag and the playing of "Negara Ku." Next the Chief Minister read a pro-

clamation declaring that "Sarawak has this day attained independence as a state of Malaysia." The State flag was hoisted and the State Anthem was played.

Proclamation read by the Chief Minister

Whereas one of the nine Cardinal Principles of the Rule of the English Rajahs was that the goal of self-government shall always be kept in mind and that the people of Sarawak shall be entrusted in due course with the Governance of themselves:

And whereas this principle accords with the policy which Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland have always pursued in the Governance of those territories of the Commonwealth for whose affairs Her Majesty's Government have been responsible.

And whereas in pursuance of this principle Her Majesty's Government by an agreement entered into on the 9th day of July, 1963, with the Government of the Federation of Malaya, the Government of the State of Singapore and the Governments of the Colonies of Sarawak and North Borneo it was agreed that the State of Singapore and the Colonies of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be federated with the Federation of Malaya, and that the said Federation shall be known as Malaysia:

And whereas Constitutions for Malaysia and for the States of Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore have been promulgated:

And whereas by a Proclamation made under Section 2 of the Malaysia Act the 16th day of September, 1963 has been proclaimed as Malaysia Day:

Now therefore I, Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the Chief Minister of Sarawak, hereby proclaim that Sarawak has this day attained independence as a State of Malaysia.

Then followed the swearing-in of the Governor by the Chief Justice after which another State salute the Inspection of the Parade took place.

Thrilling sight

The units on parade then began their march past - a truly thrilling sight. But towards the end the Governor suddenly felt faint and



had to be seated. Two doctors in the audience, Drs Chong Chung Hian and Daniel Kok, went to attend him and it was later decided to send him to the General Hospital for a precautionary check which fortunately revealed nothing serious.

The Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys, called in the Governor before leaving for Singapore.

Shortly after the Governor returned to the Astana where in the evening he held a huge reception attended by hundreds of people drawn from all walks of life.

A fireworks displays took place from the Royal Malaysian Navy K.D. Sri Selangor lying at anchor off Pangkalan Batu.

On Tuesday, the Governor, Datu Abang Haji Openg, and the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, left Kuching for Kuala Lumpur to attend the reading of a Proclamation at the Merdeka Stadium. They were accompanied by their wives.

The four-day celebrations of the founding of Malaysia began in Kuala Lumpur on Monday.

The first official function was the inauguration of Malaysia, at 8 a.m. local time. The main feature of this was the hoisting for the first time of the new Malaysia Flag, at the spot in the Merdeka (freedom) Stadium, the country's biggest sports ground, where the



The First Lady of Sarawak - Datin Masniah, wife of the Governor of Sarawak, she is a keen supporter of the Women's Institutes in the country.

independence of Malaya was proclaimed on August 31, 1957.

The King was present, and the Prime Minister made a short speech.

The Federation of Malaysia was formally proclaimed in Kuala Lumpur on Tuesday. A 101-gun salute was fired to mark the close of the proclamation ceremony — the final act in the formal establishment of Malaysia.

Earlier at the Merdeka Stadium, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong had handed to Tunku Abdul Rahman the Proclamation to be read, "announcing to all the world, to all men of goodwill everywhere that Malaysia today takes place in the comity of nations dedicated to freedom and friendship."

The Tunku began to read the text of the constitutional instrument in a firm, clear voice after which a roar from the crowds repeated "Merdeka" seven times. The ancient music of the nobat orchestra was followed by the National anthem. Then came the first roar of the 101-gun salute from the Federation Artillery guns.

Over 20,000 spectators

Standing beside the Tunku were other Malaysian leaders — the King and Queen, the rulers and their representatives, the heads of states of Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. Over 20,000 Malaysians, including the VIP guests, packed the stadium watching intently undeterred by the drizzling rain.

The King and Queen arrived at the stadium at 6 p.m. There before them were the Singapore leaders — Inche Yusof Ishak, the Yang di-Pertuan Negara and the Premier, Mr Lee Kuan Yew; and the Borneo's leaders — Sarawak's Governor, Datu Abang Haji Openg and the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan and the Sabah's Datu Mustapha and the Chief Minister, Mr Donald Stephens.

After the Royal inspection of the paraders mounted by the military services, and other organisations, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong addressed the crowd. He began by thanking God "through whose benevolence and mercy we can truly welcome Malaysia in peace and harmony."

Joyous Malaysia Day celebrations were also held throughout Malaysia, Sabah and in Singapore.

MESSAGE BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA, TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ

Merdeka Malaysia! The great day we have long awaited has come at last — the birth of Malaysia.

In a warm spirit of joy and hope ten million people of many races in all the States of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah now join hands in freedom and unity.

Firm in our resolve for nationhood the peoples of Malaysia look forward with confidence to a future of peace and prosperity, harmony and happiness.

We do so because we know that we have come together through our own free will and desire in the true spirit of brotherhood and love of freedom.

We have made our decision after much care and thought, finally arriving at mutual consent by debate and discussion, enquiries and elections held over two and a half years.

We can feel proud indeed of the way we have created Malaysia through friendly argument and compromise. The spirit of co-operation and concord is living proof of the desire we share for a common destiny. What better basis for Malaysia can there be, what finer augury for the future?

The road to nationhood has not been an easy journey. Surprises and disappointments, tension and crisis, have marred the way. The peoples of Malaysia, however, have endured all trials and tribulations with confidence and patience, calmness and forbearance, with faith in our final goal — Malaysia.

In the first eighteen months of political and constitutional discussions, beginning from May 1961, things went ahead favourably, because the ideal of Malaysia caught the imagination of all the peoples concerned. We can all recall the remarkable enthusiasm and interest aroused then in the evolution of Malaysia.

Steps taken

Step by step the concept came to life. The activities of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the merger talks between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, the

broad agreement reached in London to establish Malaysia, the appointment of the Cobbold Commission and its exhaustive enquiries in the Borneo Territories, and the subsequent establishment of the Inter-Governmental Committee — all these steps were taken in internal harmony and in full public view.

Suddenly towards the end of 1962 the situation changed. Communist China committed unjustifiable aggression against India. I stood up for democracy and condemned China's attack. One immediate reaction was that Communists throughout South East Asia retaliated by an indirect assault upon me by opposing my idea of Malaysia, and they set about creating every possible difficulty to baulk Malaysia.

Other external complications occurred — the Philippines claim to North Borneo, the sudden and abortive revolt in Brunei, and the startling adoption by Indonesia of a policy of confrontation against Malaya.

All these events projected an international crisis in South East Asia this year, the climax coming in June. The successful meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, followed by my own conference with President Soekarno in Tokyo eased tension considerably and brought new hopes for harmony and peace.

Prospects for a Summit Conference were good, confrontation from Indonesia subsided, so we went ahead with arrangements for the final talks in London on Malaysia.

The Malaysia Agreement was duly signed in early July. Unexpectedly Indonesia reacted most strongly, renewing its policy of confrontation with the result that the Summit Conference of leaders of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines at the end of July began in an atmosphere of doubt.

The Summit Conference ended in an agreement by the three countries to form an Association of States of Malaya origin to be known as Maphilindo. It was agreed that in order that the partners in Maphilindo could welcome Malaysia the United Nations Secre-

tary-General should be asked to ascertain anew the wishes of the peoples of Sarawak and Sabah. That request has now been implemented.

Now finally the peoples of Malaysia are celebrating the establishment of Malaysia. This is the time to think earnestly and hopefully on the future of Malaysia as the whole country resounds with joy. So I pray that God may bless the nation of Malaysia with eternal peace and happiness for our people.

'Unity of purpose'

The Federation of Malaya now passes into history. Let us always remember that the Malayan nation was formed after many difficulties during a long period of national Emer-

gency, yet its multi-racial society emerged, endured and survived as a successful and progressive nation, a true democracy and an example to the world of harmony and tolerance.

As it was with Malaya, so it can be with Malaysia. With trust in Almighty God, unity of purpose and faith in ourselves, we can make Malaysia a land of prosperity and peace.

In doing so let every Malaysian in all the States of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah ensure that our Malaysia is truly worthy of the aims and hopes we have shared, the trials and stress we have endured, in working together to achieve our common destiny.

Merdeka Malaysia!

MALAYSIA DAY MESSAGE TO SARAWAK FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE, MR LEE KUAN YEW

Great nations are born not because a few individuals have willed it but because mighty historical forces reach fruition in a new direction. So it is with Malaysia, the nation of ten million people who can stand on their own feet and claim an honourable place in the family of nations.

However, independence, sovereignty, the strength to defend that sovereignty, economic sinews to give meaning to that sovereignty — these are not gifts that fall into the lap of a people at the fruition of historical forces. These must be fought for, won in the throes of struggle and then defended with courage and resolution. So it will be with Malaysia.

We are familiar with the historical forces which made Malaysia inevitable. Foremost among these was the great revolution for independence and a more just society which has swept Asia and Africa for the past half a century.

The territories of Malaysia also had all those historical and cultural antecedents which propelled them towards the formation of a Federal State.

If the new nation is to inspire among its peoples a fierce patriotism, a noble sense of belonging and the capacity for sacrifice, the

structure and governance of the State must appear fair, just and beneficial to all the varied elements among its citizens.

Given this sense of fair play, the components of a Federal nation should be able to rally round and unite in the resolute defence of the common weal.

For, no nation survives by the sufferance or patronage of other nations. Malaysia has powerful neighbours, some friendly, some not so friendly, some with their own interest which many conflict with those of our dynamic nation.

'We will brook no interference'

Malaysia is also the focus of attention of world powers who have their own ideas of the balance of power in this part of the world.

We must therefore make it plain, that while we wish to live in amity and peace with the rest of the world, we will brook no interference in our affairs, that we will stand up and fight for our new found independence against all odds.

Sarawak has a vital role to play in Malaysia as she stands on one of the most important frontiers of the nation. She has to

contend with the enemy from within and without.

In fact hardly before Malaysia has been formed, the course of events has demonstrated dramatically one of the major reasons that drew the peoples of Malaysia together — the need for united action in the face of a common threat.

Sarawak, as much as the rest of Malaysia, can count on the firm support of a dedicated Singapore in the defence of the nation and in the great task of creating a progressive, prosperous and peaceful Malaysia.

Message from the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, to the Workers of Malaysia

All our people throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia are now celebrating with pride and joy the birth of our new partnership in nationhood.

Most of our ten million people in Malaysia are workers in numerous occupations in either primary or secondary industry, business, trade or commerce, or in Government or public services.

I take the very greatest pleasure, therefore in sending a special message of goodwill to all the workers of Malaysia at this historic time.

It is the workers of Malaysia who tap the rubber, sow the padi, mine the tin, fish the seas, fell the timber, operate the factories, construct the buildings, sell the goods, load and clear the ships, staff schools and hospitals, keep transport moving and communications going, oil the wheels of public and private administration, and generally contribute in a thousand and one ways to the bustling life and activity of Malaysia.

Therefore, I am sure everyone will agree that the future prosperity and economic progress of Malaysia depend basically on the co-operation and efforts of all the people, in particular the manifold thousands of workers.

The rapid all-round development of Malaya in her years of independence is the true pointer to the future of the new Malaysia. This dynamic development would not have been possible without harmonious co-opera-

tion between the Government and the people, the climate of good relations between workers and employers and the maintenance of industrial peace.

Richer standards of life

I am fully confident that the workers of Malaysia will play a full and willing part in repeating this pattern of peace and progress.

The workers of Malaysia are also the great bulk of the consumers, so it is in your own interests as well as those of the nation to ensure that Malaysia can develop all her resources and expand her markets at home and abroad.

There is a tremendous amount of work to be done in the new Malaysia in every sphere of our economic life if we are to take full advantage of the great opportunities ahead of us, and in so doing to reap the benefits of the fuller and richer standards of life we all desire.

As His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong so rightly said in a broadcast on his last birthday, "Let no one think what he can get from Malaysia but only of what he can give."

With unity of purpose among all our people, with a willing spirit of co-operation, with pride and respect in our daily work and with loyalty and devotion to our nation, we can make Malaysia truly a land of peace, happiness and prosperity.

KING'S MESSAGE TO SCHOOL CHILDREN

His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in a Malaysia Day message to school children said that during the six years of Malaya's independence, progress had been achieved in many fields, especially in the field of economy and education.

Students in Malaya he continued, had ample opportunities to study and further their studies to higher levels. Such a progress would now be extended to all other students throughout Malaysia.

He said: "With the country's development now in progress in the Federation of Malaya and that which will be undertaken throughout Malaysia in future, valuable opportunities await you all.

"With the birth of the Federation of Malaysia, the present opportunities for students in this country will be extended to all students of the countries federated to the Federation of Malaysia."

In Malaysia, he said there were seven buildings which acted as reminders of "our stand and of our belief in the principles which direct us to happiness and prosperity."

They were —

- Parliament House — indicating "our strong belief in democracy and a system of government by representatives of the people;

- the Masjid Negara — denoting the National religion, Islam, "but the greatness of the religion depends on the spirit of sympathy and mutual understanding among other religions";
- the University, colleges and schools — "which show our belief that through proper education we will have responsible and useful citizens";
- Merdeka Stadium Negara — "indicating strong belief in the importance of health and, thus strengthening friendship through sport";
- the National Memorial — "reminding us the heroic spirit and of the country's warriors who died in defending peace;
- the Language and Institute — symbolising the richness and sovereignty of the National Language of Malaysia; and
- Museum Negara — preservation of the National culture and arts.

His Majesty added, these would be the principles of the new nation — Malaysia. He concluded by urging the students to practise and uphold their strong belief in the new nation and to prove themselves useful and responsible citizens of the Malaysian nation.

CCO BID TO RUIN MALAYSIA CELEBRATIONS

An obvious attempt to intimidate the people of Kuching and deter them from taking part in the Malaysia celebrations was made late on the night of Saturday, September 14, when a hand grenade was thrown from a coffee shop into the taxi station area near the Open Air Market.

The grenade landed under a taxi and the explosion injured four people — Mr Wee Kang Li, the taxi driver who had a slight face injury; Mr Si Ah Tong, a rubber tapper from Matang who sustained a fractured left leg; Mr A.L. McCorkindale, a Government Education Officer who was injured in the ear (he was

passing by in his car); and Mr Loh Ah Siang, a Public Works Department driver, who had a minor cut in his back.

Fragments of the grenade, which were recovered, are similar to those used by Indonesian terrorists. The base plug is marked with a star of the kind often found on Indonesian military equipment.

The incident forced the cancellation of the lantern and float procession scheduled to take place on Malaysia Night "in order to safeguard the public and to facilitate stronger security measures."

A Government spokesman said later that

"this wanton act of terrorism was undoubtedly carried out by the Clandestine Communist Organisation."

A strong denunciation of the incident was made by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, over the radio.

Mr Ningkan described it as "a cowardly act of terrorism perpetrated by members of the CCO" and said:

"You have heard that innocent civilians have been hurt and that a stationary taxi was damaged beyond repair.

"This incident, the first ever perpetrated in our peaceful town by Communist stooges, is nothing but a blatant and brutal act of terrorism.

"The perpetrators of this cowardly crime seem to imagine that they can force the hands of this Government and the Malaysian Government by resorting to terrorist activities in our midst.

"Evidence of the remains of the hand grenade reveal that the lethal weapon came from Indonesia. This type of criminal and cowardly act which causes injury to civilians — but by the Grace of God not death in this case — is the most despicable form of terrorism.

"This reveals a complete and utter disregard for the safety of civilians, some of whom will never be able to understand why they have been injured or maimed.

"While condemning the perpetrators of this crime I wish to refer to those misled Chinese youths from Sarawak who are now reported to be trickling back after undergoing so-called military training across the border in Indonesia.

"The people of Sarawak I am sure will wholeheartedly condemn these misguided youths as traitors whose loyalty is only to international communism. It is therefore surprising that Indonesia, which boasts of a neutralist system of Government with a

guided democracy, could still lend itself to become a hotbed of communism.

"The Indonesian communists, it is clear, are intent on creating trouble in South East Asia, but they will soon find that Sarawak will prove to be a different kettle of fish.

"It is unfortunate that this incident had led to the cancellation of the lantern procession, organised as part of the Malaysia Day celebrations. The rest of the celebrations will take place as planned, and

"I wish to warn the Communists and hooligan elements of this town that their every move is being watched, and this Government and the Government of Malaysia will take stern action."

'Shameful act' — Ong

Condemnation was also expressed by Mr Ong Kee Hui, (President of the Kuching Municipal Council and chairman of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party) who said that the incident was "very sad, shameful and useless act of terrorism."

He said: "It is sad because Kuching has had up to now, an enviable reputation for peace and tranquility in South East Asia which we value highly.

"It is shameful that innocent people peacefully dining in a public place here should be the victims of an unprovoked act of terrorism.

"It is senseless because we cannot see what purpose can be achieved by an act which must be revolting to all decent people.

"I know that many of you, like myself, may not be happy over constitutional changes which are about to take place in Sarawak.

"However keen our sense of disappointment or frustration may be we cannot condone acts of terrorism like that which has taken place.