



## SPEECHES

BY

THE HON'BLE THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
TUN ABD. RAZAK BIN DATO HUSSEIN, ALHAJ

1965

DI-CETAK DI-BAHARU CINTAK KERAJAAN  
OLEH MOKHTAR BIN HAJI SHAMSUDDIN, PENGUASA  
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## DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

*Text of New Year Message of the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein:*

1964 has been a historic and momentous year for us in Malaysia. It is the first year of the birth of our new nation. It has been a year of stress and strain, a year of great challenge to all of us. Our young nation at the moment of its birth has to face a national crisis, a threat to its independence and security posed by President Sukarno's aggression and confrontation.

Early in the year we saw Indonesia continuing its political, economic and military aggression against us. Indonesia continued to send its armed men, both regulars and irregulars, into our territories in Sabah and Sarawak. Efforts were made to bring about a peaceful settlement but with no success. Later in the year Sukarno intensified these acts of aggression by sending armed men by sea and by air to Malaya, resulting in the landings in Pontian, Labis, Sungei Kesang and lately in Sungei Karang. However, due to the vigilance of our people, the efficiency, courage and bravery shown by our security forces, these landings were immediately repelled and Indonesia's armed men who landed in our territory were either eliminated or captured. Also during the year, we saw clearly the turn of events in the political and diplomatic fields in our favour. When we brought the question of Indonesian aggression to the Security Council, nine out of the eleven countries which are members of the Security Council voted in favour of the resolution deploring Indonesia's acts of aggression. Only two countries, Russia and Czechoslovakia, voted against. This clearly indicates that the opinion of the world outside the Communist bloc is on our side. The world joins us in deploring these acts of aggression by a powerful and militant neighbour against a small and peaceful young nation, Malaysia. We also saw a change in the attitude among many newly-emerging nations in Africa and Asia. My recent visit to the North African countries has shown that the newly-independent nations of Africa have now understood the real situation in South-east Asia. They have all recognised us as an independent and sovereign nation and Indonesia's propaganda that we are a neo-colonialist has now been erased. It is the intention of the Government to strengthen our ties and our relations with these newly-emerging nations in Asia and Africa so that they would come to know us better and they would realise that we, as a young nation, have no other wish than to live in peace and give our people a better deal, a better and higher standard of living and a rightful place in the world and especially in the affairs of Afro-Asia. This is a wish shared by all newly-emerging nations.

Indonesia, however, does not care for economic development. She wants to continue with her revolution and militant attitude. She prefers guns to bread for her people. Obviously an attitude such as this, adopted by a country of the size of Indonesia, is a threat to international peace and understanding. It is important for the world to make Indonesia realise that if she is to retain the friendship of the emerging nations in the world she must change her militant attitude. She must realise that she has no right to invade another country, she has no right to send her troops outside her borders and outside her territorial waters.

Internally we saw during the year that our people in Malaysia of all races have come closer together and have stood solidly behind the Government in the face of this threat from outside. The National Solidarity Week held in the middle of November demonstrated clearly and unmistakably that the people of Malaysia of all races are determined to fight this confrontation and aggression by Indonesia. They have pledged their loyalty to the Government. They have contributed generously to the National Defence Fund. They have expressed their readiness and in some cases have sacrificed their lives for the defence of the country. The Government is proud of the way in which our people have responded to the Government's call for unity and solidarity. No force in the world can dominate or conquer people who are determined to live as a free and independent nation. It is therefore the duty of all of us to continue to solidify the position of our people, to continue to cement this unity so that we would not only be able to fight and triumph over Indonesian aggression but also to be able to continue to progress and to prosper as a free, independent and democratic nation. Our best hope and guarantee for our continued existence and ultimate victory over Indonesian aggression is continued harmony among the races in this country. Harmony and understanding is our salvation. Malaysia will and must succeed if all of us are determined to make it succeed.

In sending this New Year Message I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have supported the Government and the various measures they have taken in the defence of our country. I would like to pay special tribute to the members of our armed forces, Police for their courage, determination and efforts in the fight against the enemy. I would like also to thank our friends in the Commonwealth, particularly Britain, Australia and New Zealand, whose troops are fighting side by side with our men in the defence of our country. I would also like to thank the many friendly countries throughout the world which have shown their understanding, sympathy and support to our cause. We know that our cause is right and just.

We know history has shown that any country that uses force to impose its will on another will ultimately end in itself being crushed and dominated. Our cause is just and our conscience is clear. We have no wish to disturb others. We only wish to live in peace and harmony, to consolidate our newly-won independence.

I wish you all a happy New Year and may 1965 bring a better and a brighter future for all of us in Malaysia.

May God bless all of us.

KUALA LUMPUR,

*29th December, 1964.*



## CHINESE NEW YEAR MESSAGE

*Text of Chinese New Year message from the Deputy Prime Minister, Malaysia, Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein:*

The Year of the Dragon was a historic and momentous year for us in Malaysia: It was the year of the birth of Malaysia. However, our young nation at the moment of its birth had to face a National crisis which was brought about by Indonesian aggression and confrontation. I hope some time in the year of the Snake, a peaceful settlement will be found which will end the Indonesian aggression.

I would like to extend to every Malaysian citizen of Chinese origin my best wishes and greetings for the New Year and I hope, despite confrontation and continued Indonesian aggression, this year's celebrations will be just as happy and gay as in previous years.

It is more than a year now that we have been the object of Indonesian aggression and I am very glad that there has been, since the first time Indonesia violated our integrity, a change in the attitude of many newly emergent nations in Africa and Asia. During my recent tour of North Africa the countries there showed that they have now understood the real situation in South-East Asia and they have all recognized us as an independent and sovereign Nation. This has erased completely Indonesian propaganda that we are a Neo-colonialist country. After the Chinese New Year and Hari Raya I intend to visit a number of countries in East Africa. It has always been the policy of our Government to maintain close and friendly relations with all friendly countries in the World and it is our intention to especially strengthen our ties and our relations with the newly emerging Afro-Asian nations.

As a young nation, we have no other wish than to live in peace and give our people of all races a better deal, a better and higher standard of living and to guarantee everyone a rightful place in this country. This is our dearest wish and aim and we are doing all we can to achieve this. Malaysia is a wealthy country and there are enough resources for everyone who works hard to live a decent standard of living.

Indonesia, in confronting us, expects to disintegrate our people. Their agents are working hard to create racial discord in this country because they know once the Malays and the Chinese start fighting each other Soekarno does not have to lift a finger to crush us. We will be crushing ourselves. It is important that everyone, irrespective of racial origin and who is loyal to this country, must come closer together and must stand solidly behind the Government to face this threat from Indonesia. I was indeed glad to see that the National Solidarity Week held last year manifested fully and unmistakably

that the people of Malaya of all races are determined to fight this confrontation and aggression by Soekarno. I am touched by their pledges of loyalty and their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the defence of freedom and democracy. We are very proud of the way in which our people have responded to the Government's call for unity and solidarity. With this determination and unity, I can say there is no force in the world, much less Indonesia, which can dominate or conquer us. Any people who are determined to live as a free and independent nation can survive any challenge. Let us continue to solidify our strength and to continue building harmony and prosperity in our country. Our unity will see us through Indonesian aggression. Our salvation is unity.

As I said, in Malaysia there is a place for everyone whatever our racial origin may be. The agents of Soekarno are now working very hard to create racial misunderstanding and chaos. I ask you to be always on the alert against these subversive elements who are bent on seeing chaos in Malaysia. They want to destroy the prosperity and harmony that have been achieved by the Alliance Government. They want to destroy, for their own ends, the political partnership among the Malays, Chinese and Indians—a bold concept of racial partnership in the political leadership of Malaysia. This concept has flourished. It must sustain if multi-racial and multi-cultural Malaysia were to survive and succeed. This concept must not only be maintained but strengthened from time to time. To enhance this concept, we must have a spirit of compromise. We must appreciate each other's sensitivity and we must be patient while we have to make adjustments from time to time as we march forward towards one nationhood. We must not rush things and there must be no talk of one race trying to dominate another. We must talk more of our similarities rather than those which divide us. The need for unity and restraint is never more urgent than today when we are facing an external aggression. We must forget sectional, communal and provincial interests and must not magnify imaginary or other grievances or injustice at a time when all our efforts and energies should be utilised in consolidating our nation to fight our enemies. All other interests must be subordinated to our national interest—the survival of ourselves and the maintenance of our way of life. It is only by this means that we can hope to win over the enemies and survive and prosper as a Nation.

I wish you all a very happy and prosperous New Year.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
31st January, 1965.

## UCHAPAN SELAMAT HARI RAYA

*Uchapan Selamat Hari Raya 'Aidilfitri daripada Y.A.B. Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Malaysia:*

1 haribulan Shawal, 1384, Hari Raya 'Aidilfitri, ia-lah satu hari yang sangat mulia dan bahagia bagi semua umat Islam di-seluruh dunia. Pada hari ini kita orang<sup>2</sup> Islam semua merayakan hari kebesaran Islam ini dengan meriah-nya. Ini-lah hari kemenangan dan kebahagiaan bagi mereka yang telah menang dalam ujian iman dengan berpuasa sa-penoh-nya, 30 hari genap.

Bagi kita umat Islam di-Malaysia ini ada-lah tahun yang kedua kita berhari raya sa-telah negara kita wujud dan masok kedua tahun negara kita berada dalam keadaan chemas hingga di-istiharkan dharurat tidak lama dahulu akibat konfrantasi dan pencherobohan Indonesia terhadap ibu pertiwi kita. Walau pun negara kita berada dalam keadaan saperti ini, kita bershukor kapada Tuhan Rabul-alamin kerana negara kita maseh tegoh, berada dalam kema'amoran, ra'ayat-nya hidup aman dan senang. Kerana itu-lah maka umat Islam dapat menyambut Hari Raya 'Aidilfitri dengan besar<sup>2</sup>an dan bagitu juga-lah orang<sup>2</sup> China menyambut Tahun Baharu mereka yang jatuh sama hari-nya dengan Hari Raya kita dengan penoh gembira. Persamaan jatuh hari besar kedua<sup>2</sup> kaum yang terbesar di-Malaysia ini pada tahun ini. Ia menandakan masa hadapan negara chemerlang jika perpaduan dan kerjasama orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan China boleh di-perkuatkan lagi dan segala usaha boleh di-buat bersama, menjadi satu perintis pembentokan satu bangsa dan satu bahasa.

Saya sangat sukachita menguchapkan Selamat Hari Raya 'Aidilfitri kapada seluruh umat Islam di-Malaysia dan merata<sup>2</sup> dunia, khas-nya kapada Ahli<sup>2</sup> UMNO, penyokong<sup>2</sup> UMNO dan Perikatan. Mari-lah kita umat Islam bersama<sup>2</sup> merayakan hari besar Islam ini, bekerja bersama<sup>2</sup> bagi kepentingan dan kesejahteraan ibu pertiwi, ugama dan bangsa dan mari-lah bersama<sup>2</sup> kita berdo'a kapada Tuhan yang amat pemurah lagi pengaseh atas rahmat-Nya dan limpah kemurahan-Nya melindungi kita dari segala bahaya sa-panjang bulan puasa, kerana menetapkan iman kita semua dan juga mengawasi negara dan hak<sup>2</sup> asasi kita dari musuh<sup>2</sup> kita.

Negara kita maseh lagi di-cherobohi oleh Indonesia dengan desakan Party Komunis Indonesia yang mendapat sokongan dari China Komunis. Dr Subandrio, Menteri Luar Indonesia pada masa ini maseh berada di-negara China Komunis kerana mendapatkan bantuan<sup>2</sup> senjata<sup>2</sup> dalam usaha Indonesia hendak mengganyang kita. Nyata-lah bahawa perbuatan Indonesia ada-lah di-sokong oleh China Komunis. Oleh kerana

perkembangan<sup>2</sup> baharu ini, saya menyeru supaya umat Islam pada hari yang mulia ini membaharui tekad dan azam kita untuk menentang habis<sup>2</sup>an pencherobohan Indonesia dan komunis ka-atas kebebasan dan kemerdekaan kita.

Bagi pehak Malaysia kita telah menchari segala ikhtiar dan usaha untuk menyelesaikan sengketa kita dengan Indonesia, tetapi semua-nya telah gagal kerana Indonesia tidak mahu bekerjasama dalam menchari penyelesaian. Kita sentiasa bersedia hendak berunding dengan Indonesia bagi mengembalikan keamanan, perhubungan baik antara kita dengan Indonesia. Kita hendak berkawan dengan semua negara<sup>2</sup> jiran apa lagi pula dengan Indonesia. Tetapi Indonesia tidak mahu bersahabat dengan kita, Indonesia hendak ganyang kita. Kalau mereka gagal mengganyang kita, sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya mereka mahu menakloki kita. Kedua<sup>2</sup> ini telah gagal dan akan terus menerus gagal. Kita sedar Indonesia tidak mampu hendak mengganyang Malaysia bersendirian. Saya menyeru kepada pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Indonesia khas-nya mereka yang beragama Islam supaya, mengambil kesempatan hari yang mulia ini untuk berbaik<sup>2</sup> dan selesaikan sengketa Malaysia dan Indonesia. Saya berdo'a kepada Tuhan supaya Ia membuka hati pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Indonesia pada hari yang besar ini supaya timbul dalam hati mereka hasrat untuk berdamai dan dudok berbaik<sup>2</sup> dengan Malaysia.

Kita bersedia bila<sup>2</sup> pun untuk berunding tetapi sebarang penyelesaian hendak-lah menghormati kemerdekaan, kedaulatan dan maruah negara kita. Ada-lah sangat senang bagi Indonesia kalau ia jujur hendak berdamai dengan kita kerana kunci keamanan berada dalam tangan Sukarno dan Indonesia. Keamanan akan puleh semula dan perhubungan akan kembali baik jika Indonesia memberhentikan pencherobohan terhadap kita dan menarek balek tentera<sup>2</sup>-nya yang banyak di-kumpulkan di-tepi sempadan itu. Kita sedia hendak berunding untuk memulehkan balek perhubungan baik di-antara kedua negara ini jika Indonesia dapat menjunjukkan yang ia itu sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya berkehendakkan damai.

Saya sangat sukachita kerana semua ra'ayat sedar bahawa kita tidak bermusoh dengan ra'ayat Indonesia yang kebanyakan-nya beragama Islam. Kapada mereka bagi pehak kita semua, kita menguchapkan Selamat Hari Raya dan kita bersama berdo'a supaya mereka dapat sekadar mana yang boleh merayakan hari yang mulia ini. Kita hanya bermusoh dengan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang hendak mengganyang kita dan yang di-pengarohi oleh komunis.

Baharu<sup>2</sup> ini kita dengar ura<sup>2</sup> ada dua tiga negara<sup>2</sup> yang suka hendak memberi jasa baik-nya untuk menyelesaikan pergadohan di-antara Indonesia dengan Malaysia ini. Chita<sup>2</sup> dan tujuan<sup>2</sup> yang baik ini kita sambut baik. Kita sedia hendak berbaik dengan Indonesia asalkan

Indonesia sedia hendak menghormati kedaulatan dan maruah negara kita. Keamanan boleh dapat di-chapai kalau Indonesia benar<sup>2</sup> jujur dan ikhlas berkehendakkan perdamaian. Kita sedikit pun tidak bersalah dalam hal ini. Indonesia telah membuat konfrantasi terhadap kita dan mencheroboh negara kita. Kalau konfrantasi dan pencherobohan ini di-berhentikan keamanan akan terchapai.

Tahun Hijrah 1383, tahun yang lalu, ada-lah tahun yang penoh dengan segala chabaran dan tahun yang bersejarah. Malaysia tahu pada tahun itu segala chabaran<sup>2</sup> kita telah dapat di-atasi. Ra'ayat dalam negara kita hidup aman damai walau pun saban hari mereka di-hasut untuk berkelahi antara satu dengan lain oleh ejen<sup>2</sup> musuh. Pada hari yang mulia ini, saya menyeru semua umat Islam supaya sentiasa mengingati pelajaran ugama Islam dan nasihat junjongan kita Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. yang sentiasa menyuruh umat Islam berbaik<sup>2</sup> di-antara satu dengan lain.

Mustahak kita menjaga keamanan negara kita ini. Negara kita ada penduduk<sup>2</sup> daripada berbagai bangsa dan sangat penting bagi ra'ayat negeri ini memelihara perhubungan baik dan perasaan saling mengerti di-antara satu dengan lain. Hanya-lah dengan ini akan terjamin keselamatan dan kebahagiaan bangsa dan negara kita.

Kerajaan Perikatan telah mengambil beberapa langkah<sup>2</sup> yang patut untuk membaiki keadaan hidup ra'ayat dan membawa kemudahan<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki. Kerajaan akan meneruskan ranchangan ini. Bagi penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-bandar<sup>2</sup>, ranchangan<sup>2</sup> sedang di-sediakan untuk membena rumah<sup>2</sup> dengan besar<sup>2</sup>an supaya tiap<sup>2</sup> orang yang berkehendakkan rumah dapat di-beri rumah. Bagitu juga Kerajaan sedang mengatorkan jentera pentadbiran dan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> untuk membaiki iktisad penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar. Kerajaan berazam hendak mengambil langkah<sup>2</sup> yang tegas di-dalam lapangan ini supaya hasrat dan kehendak ra'ayat itu dapat di-sempurnakan.

Sa-lepas Hari Raya, dalam usaha menchari penyelesaian antara kita dengan Indonesia dan untuk menentukan kehadiran kita di-Persidangan Afro-Asia di-Aljeria pada tahun ini, saya akan melawat negara<sup>2</sup> di-Afrika Timur untuk menegakkan kebenaran Malaysia di-sana dan menchari kawan. Sa-telah saya kembali ka-Malaysia kelak saya berharap pada bulan Mach, 1965 Kerajaan Pusat akan memanggil satu Kongres untuk membincangkan kedudukan ekonomi dan sosial orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-seluruh Malaysia.

Saya suka mengambil peluang untuk mengucapkan Selamat Hari Raya dan ucapan ribuan terima kaseh bagi diri saya dan Kerajaan kapada semua umat Islam yang telah bekerjasama dengan pehak Kerajaan dan pehak Tentera dan Pasokan Keselamatan dalam usaha kita mempertahankan negara dari pencherobohan Indonesia dan saya

tujukan ucapan ribuan terima kasih saya yang istimewa sekali kepada semua ahli<sup>2</sup> Pasukan Angkatan Bersenjata kita yang telah menjalankan kewajipan masing<sup>2</sup> dengan ta'at, dengan tabah dan berani itu. Saya menyeru mereka supaya mereka terus-menerus menjalankan kewajipan yang chemerlang ini dan terus-menerus mendapat kejayaan di-dalam segala<sup>2</sup>-nya. Sekali lagi saya ucapkan Selamat Hari Raya 'Aidilfitri kepada seluruh umat Islam di-Malaysia dan di-seluruh dunia.

Merdeka dan Berjaya Malaysia!

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*31hb Januari, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING AND COORDINATION AT INFORMATION OFFICIALS CONFERENCE

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, when opening the First Conference of Information and Broadcasting Officials at the University of Malaya, Pantai Valley, on February 8:*

It is a great pleasure for me this morning to address this Conference of Information and Broadcasting officials.

This is an auspicious day for you to convene your conference, for today is the 62nd birthday of our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra. It is a good augury that you begin your conference on such an auspicious day.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting has outlined to you the tasks before you as officials of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. He has also told you that the present time is the most crucial in the history of our country and nation. It will be for you now as officers to carry out the policy and tasks that your Minister has set before you.

I should like to impress upon you the importance of setting out the policy and tasks before you, and planning to carry out the tasks effectively, as the policy and tasks will be no good unless they are fully implemented by all officials of the Government.

In this conference you will have the opportunity to discuss the problems that face you in carrying your task. I hope that at this conference you will plan carefully what you intend to do.

I have found that in many Government departments, although the staff do carry out their work sincerely many of them have not taken the trouble to set out properly their task, their planning and priorities.

You must plan carefully what you have to do from time to time. It is by careful planning that you will be able to carry out your work successfully and effectively. This is what I would ask you to discuss at this conference—how you prepare to carry out the duties set before you.

We are facing an emergency at the present time. Our neighbour Indonesia is determined to crush us for no reason. We must fully gear ourselves to face this emergency.

You must plan carefully your campaign. Your Minister has said that, in a sense, you are soldiers. You must plan your task like a military campaign. In planning your campaign you must analyse the problem before you and plan to overcome it.

I should like to see in your Ministry an operations room where you set out what your tasks are, what your priorities are, and how you plan to achieve those tasks. This can be very efficiently done. Like what has been done in the Ministry of National and Rural Development. You will be surprised at how much you can achieve by putting your machinery in proper order and by greater co-ordination in your work and duties.

I have noticed in the past that there has not been enough co-ordination in some Government departments. I believe this is a very important thing for you to discuss in your conference—planning for greater coordination in your task. There should be a spirit of urgency and cooperation.

Your first duty is to carry out Government policy to the best of your ability. You have to set an example to others in this regard.

At this conference you should take stock of your capabilities and resources and plan your work carefully and carry it out with a sense of devotion to duty.

We have not only to counter enemy propaganda, we have also to put our case fully to our own people. We must tell our people and the world of the threat to our nation and security.

In this task before you, it is important therefore you should keep your machinery in good order and plan your work carefully.

I thank you for this opportunity of addressing you and declaring open your conference, and I wish you all every success in your deliberations.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*8th February, 1965.*



ADDRESS BY THE HON'BLE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, TUN  
HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN TO THE SINGAPORE  
UNION OF JOURNALISTS AT THE BLUE ROOM, IMPERIAL  
RESTAURANT, SECOND FLOOR, CAPITOL BUILDING  
SINGAPORE ON SUNDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1965

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you, Mr President and members of the Singapore Union of Journalists for your kind invitation to address you all. I wanted to meet you in October last year but I am sorry I was unable to do so because of other commitments. May I say again, Mr President, that I am indeed very happy and honoured to be your guest at lunch here today.

I have been asked to talk about "Malaysia and Confrontation", and it is probably appropriate that we meet today in the *Imperial Restaurant*, that gives me my cue because Confrontation is basically a result of Soekarno's ambitious Imperialism.

It would, however, be more appropriate if instead of lunching in the "Blue Room" of this Restaurant, we could lunch in the 'Green Room', because another reason for Confrontation, is the fact that Soekarno is *green* with envy;—envy of the success of Democracy in Malaysia and the success of our progress in Development and nation-building.

There is no need for me in talking to you learned Members of the Press, to go back and trace the historical background of Confrontation or the historical background of the formation of Malaysia because all of you know the facts.

I would rather, therefore, confine myself more to one or two main points.

I believe that, if after Independence in Malaya, in 1957, we had followed Indonesia's example of continually revolving in revolution; if conditions in Malaya had been chaotic, with no progress, and no Development, then Soekarno and his colleagues would have had no ground for trying to *crush us*, because, we would already have been a crushed, down-trodden people similar to the majority of Indonesians who are suffering under the domination of Soekarno's dictatorship since the Dutch left Indonesia in 1945.

But, it is because, after Independence, with unity of purpose and a deep-rooted determination, we made Democracy work, we made Development a success, we gave proof of progress that Soekarno then knew that his own people, whom he had misruled since 1945, would eventually become jealous of their well-dressed, well-fed, happy and united neighbours.

In Indonesia the people have not benefited at all by the Independence that was achieved. Indeed the condition of the people has gone from bad to worse. They are worse off than they were under the Dutch and even worse off than they were during the war. President Soekarno talked of revolution and revolution for 20 years but the people of Indonesia are revolting in hunger and poverty. Obviously Soekarno's efforts to solve Indonesian problems have failed. That is why he is afraid that the stability and success we in Malaya and Malaysia have achieved will show up his failure and will make the people of Indonesia more and more discontent.

So, therefore, he had to, and still has to continually find *emotional fuel* in order to keep the fire of his dictatorship burning.

I always think, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the difference between a Dictatorship and a Democracy is similar to the difference between driving a bull-dozer and piloting a modern jet aeroplane.

In the first few years of the flight of Democracy, it is like sitting at the controls of a large jet airliner; there are many dials, instruments and pressure gauges that one has got to watch; even more so in the case of a country like Malaysia where there are extra and more intricate pressure gauges which could almost be labelled as Chinese feeling, Malay feeling, Indian feeling, political feeling; all sorts of feelings and if the jet plane of Democracy is to travel smoothly, all these pressure gauges need constant attention and supervision.

But once it has gained speed and momentum, with a true democratic drive, one can almost switch on to an automatic pilot and travel extremely efficiently and fast towards progress.

On the other hand, a Dictatorship like that of Soekarno's which has only one instrument, the heavy hand on a bull-dozer.

It is heavy and cumbersome, and, if badly handled, may fall backwards.

Indonesia has been going backwards since 1945 and it is this jealousy that in the first place stimulated Soekarno to confront us.

In other words, the motivating force behind Confrontation is a fear that our way of life and our progress in Malaysia will become the envy of the subjects of this Dictator and they may rise up and denounce his rule.

Although he has a large standing army, it is unlikely that he could put all his troops into the forefront of battle because he needs his best troops—hundreds of them to protect his own life and thousands of them in every Kampong and every town to ensure the survival of his own dictatorial Government.

How different is the dictatorship of Indonesia and the democratic freedom of Malaysia.

As you know, last week throughout Malaysia all of us Malaysians, Chinese, Malay, Indian and other races celebrated, for four days, the two main religious holidays of the year, Hari Raya and Chinese New Year, and never before, in my life, have I been able to sense, see and feel such an expression of good feeling, goodwill and good relationship between our various communities.

And this, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the first essential in dealing with Confrontation: *National unity and harmony.*

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, there are in Malaysia some reckless political leaders who, merely for their own selfish end, would like to make use of the present crisis by stepping on racial sentiments. By doing this they hope to create the impression among the people both inside and outside our country that there is no unity among the people when, in fact, there is great National unity.

It has also been both a Communist tactic and a Soekarno technique to stir up racial trouble in Malaysia but I am glad to say that all attempts to do this have so far failed and will continue to fail because the ordinary people in the country, irrespective of their racial origin, realise that the future of our country lies in the unity of our people. They realise that although there are differences in character and characteristics between us—Malays, Chinese, Indians, Dayaks and Kadazans—these differences are very much outnumbered by the tremendous similarities shared by us. All of us, whatever our racial origin may be, have only one aim, that is, to live in peace and progress and to ensure that our children and grandchildren have a secure and happy life in our country.

In order to achieve all these, therefore, we must work together in thought, in word and deed, to make Malaysia a success and if need be, by giving our lives. We, responsible leaders of this country, will see to it that our country will survive whatever dangers there may be in our midst.

It has also been alleged by some politicians who should have known better but who did this merely in order to create chaos in this country so that out of this chaos they will come into power, that some of the UMNO leaders are ultra-nationalists and are now trying to turn the Alliance back the clock and are following the communal policy. Such remarks and such allegations could only be made by people who do not have the interest of the country or our people at heart but are merely bent on stirring up trouble. We in the Alliance have shown by our record over nearly ten years that we stand for racial harmony and

unity, for co-operation among all the races who make up this country. Our record has shown beyond any doubt that we have been a fair and a liberal Government, that we have endeavoured to look after the sensitivities of the various races and been able to hold them together. It is only recently that we had seen attempts by political leaders to upset this balance of races when we heard talk of racial tension and racial trouble, of insecurity and what not. As I said I am sure all these attempts to stir up racial trouble will fail and must fail because our people will see to it that they fail.

We in the Alliance sincerely believe in co-operation among the races in this country. That is why we always talk of racial co-operation, of harmony, of unity among our people. All sensible political leaders who sincerely have the interests of the country at heart always stress on communal similarities rather than differences because we know even though today there are differences between the different races, we hope and we wish that day by day these differences will slowly disappear and the more Soekarno confronts us, the more united we become.

I do appeal to leaders of all political parties they are doing great harm to the community by stepping on these racial issues and creating disunity and suspicion. Despite all this and despite confrontation Malaysia will survive and succeed because the ordinary people of this country are practical and have more common sense, will and determination than what these chauvinists credit them with.

With regard to Defence, and our present defence build up, helped generously by our friends in the Commonwealth, Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, history and human nature has proved that the only way to confront a bully is to build up one's strength of Defence.

Bullies as we all know from our own school days will only attack and taunt the *weak*.

So, therefore, our answer to Confrontation is to be strong, not only in the military sense, but strong in our unity, strong in our determination to develop, and carry on with our development programme, in spite of the external threat from Soekarno; and strong in safeguarding our sovereignty.

It is the view of some of the more progressive countries in the West that the problem of Confrontation can be resolved by negotiation and diplomacy.

This has already been tried!

Talks in Manila, Bangkok and Tokyo produced nice words and high-sounding promises but Soekarno, on his return to Jakarta, does his usual *turn-about-face* and has shown consistently by his actions that he cannot be trusted to keep either verbal or written agreements.

And even at the *very time he sits at the Conference table*, he sends more troops to our shores to violate our sovereignty.

Our stand, the Malaysian viewpoint, is quite clear for the whole world to know.

There are two main points.

Firstly, we have no ill-feeling against the Indonesian people, with whom we have many ties and we have no wish to go to war with them!

Our opposition to Indonesia here in Malaysia is confined only to its present leaders who want to crush us and not opposition to the people and leaders who have no malice towards us and who sincerely want to live in peace.

The second point is that no human being anywhere in the World, can talk peace and goodwill to another human being, *when one of them*, is sticking a bayonet into the other.

We will talk, we will negotiate, we will resort to diplomacy *only on one condition*: that Soekarno, in good faith, and in fact, withdraws his bayonets and stops his aggressive acts.

That is the only possible condition under which any form of negotiation could take place.

There is also, Ladies and Gentlemen, a tendency throughout the World to regard Malaysia's Confrontation as a crisis which only affects us here, we Malaysians.

This is not so.

Soekarno's present Confrontation of Malaysia is in fact the problem of every small, new, emerging and developing Nation.

The countries of Africa may think that Malaysia is far off and they only read about Confrontation in newspapers; it does not affect their daily lives; but I say this, that if Soekarno succeeds in his bullying methods to crush Malaysia then every young Afro-Asian Nation will not be able, in the future, to sleep peacefully at night without the fear of aggression and the fear of being swallowed up by other Soekarnos' called perhaps by a different name.

It is essential, Ladies and Gentlemen, that those countries which are Members of the Afro-Asian group should realise, if they cherish their present freedom, that they must join in, full-heartedly, now, in support of the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Concept and principles.

May I remind you of the actual words of this Charter:

**"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
DETERMINE**

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

What is happening to Malaysia today with Soekarno's Confrontation can also happen quite easily to every newly Independent Afro-Asian country and the best and quickest way of stopping this dictator's disease, which could easily spread throughout the World, is for every free Nation, big or small, particularly our Afro-Asian brothers to give us their support.

Those who cannot give material support at least can give moral support as an investment towards their own future security in the World.

Besides military Confrontation the enemies are doing their best to subvert our people by whatever means possible. Recently the Government had to arrest several leading political leaders because they were found to have been working in league with the enemies to overthrow the legally-constituted Government of the Country. The Government has clear evidence to show that these leaders had secretly concluded agreement with our enemies to establish a Malaysian Government in exile. These leaders, because of money, committed treasonable acts against their King and their country. Two of the leaders have since made voluntary confessions in no uncertain terms how they were made to carry out these treasonable acts against their motherland and their own people.

Yesterday the Government made further arrests of political leaders for similar activities. The Government has to take firm action to save the country from these enemy agents. These political leaders have in their speeches pledged to serve the people and claim that they are loyal to this country but we now know that they secretly made agreement with the enemies to destroy Malaysia. They have done this for their own personal interests and because of these they were prepared to hand over the destiny of the nation to alien hands.

These are some of the so-called leaders we have in our country. Ladies and Gentlemen: How can we entrust the destiny of our nation in the hands of these so-called leaders whom we have arrested? The people should now know who are the real leaders of this country and

who are prepared to serve and make sacrifices if necessary in defence of our security and freedom. The Alliance Government is responsible for the security of Malaysia and of maintaining its independence and national integrity. We will not hesitate to take any actions and measures we feel necessary to ensure the sustaining of our democratic way of life. Yesterday, there was an attempt by some people, inspired and instigated by our enemies, to defy the law and the authority. Thanks to the good work of the Police and our Security Forces, the situation is now well under control.

We know, if the enemies were to overrun the country, there will be no place for true and loyal citizens of Malaysia nor any future for our children. It will also mark the end of freedom and democracy in Malaysia and subsequently in South-East Asia. Let us all realise the serious threat which is being faced by our country today. Let us all, whatever our racial origin may be, stand solidly behind the Alliance Government in facing Indonesia and Communist threats against our security and independence.

Thank you, Beryaja and Merdeka Malaysia!

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*13th February, 1965.*

## ANNIVERSARY DINNER FOR OUTWARD BOUND

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the Tenth Anniversary dinner for Outward Bound at 8.15 p.m. February 23, 1965, at Selangor Club, Kuala Lumpur.*

Honourable Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, and Gentlemen, as you know, this function here this evening is in celebration of the end of the first decade of the Outward Bound Movement in this country and the beginning of a second one.

It is therefore appropriate, on an occasion like this, to look back into our achievements in the past as well as to our plans for the future.

But before I do so I should like, on behalf of the Outward Bound Council, to welcome you all and to thank you for your presence and for your support at this our Tenth Anniversary Dinner.

In particular, I am very grateful to our Tunku, the Prime Minister, for his presence here not only in his capacity as Prime Minister but also as Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports.

A nation is a poor guardian of its own interests if it does not encourage its youth, who are the citizens of the future, to become strong, self-reliant and vigilant men and women, to man the watch towers over all it holds most dear.

Malaysia as a young nation and has a young population considers that it is of the utmost importance that we should pay particular attention to our youth and give great accent to our activities.

It was because of the realization of this fact that our Prime Minister, after the last National Election, decided to form the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports and place this Ministry under his own personal charge.

The Outward Bound Trust is one that caters for our youth. The Outward Bound Trust of Malaya was formed in 1953 when this country was facing trouble from militant Communism, as in fact it still is today.

In the face of internal threat as well as in the face of external aggression, more than at any other time, a nation needs men and women with character, courage and self-confidence so that they can willingly act on their own and lead others to play their part in the defence of their country.

Outward Bound achieves this through its own special methods by making young people fit, by teaching them to look after themselves in the open, and by facing them with problems which they have to tackle on their own in every day life.



The need for such an organisation was felt in 1953 when four men; Tuan Haji Mubin Sheppard, Mr Richard West and Mr George Rothery of the Malayan Civil Service and Mr Ted Marsh of Barlows visited Outward Bound Schools in Britain.

They were very impressed with the work which was being done in these schools which all follow the concept that in a democracy you only compel others to do things by example.

On their return to Malaya they sold the idea of founding a school in Malaya to Field Marshal Tun Templer.

Then Tun Templer called a meeting of leading businessmen and Government officials, some of whom are still here with us this evening.

The names of the founders were:

Mr R. B. Carey  
Dato' H. A. Campell  
Dato' Sir Douglas Waring  
Tun H. S. Lee  
Dato' Haji Mustapha Albakri  
Dato' Clough Thuraisingham  
Mr P. L. Fickling  
Mr E. Heinsworth  
Mr J. D. Regester  
Mr C. T. Smith

These men agreed to found the Trust and having done so formed the first council.

Then realising that there would be no real progress in attracting public interest until a school was in existence, Dato' H. A. Campell volunteered to be a Chairman of the Management Committee and personally guaranteed the first \$100,000 towards the cost of erecting the building.

He also offered all the facilities of the Engineering Department of Socfin Company of which he was General Manager to prepare plans and supervise building works.

With this excellent and encouraging start, the Council asked the Outward Bound Trust in London for the services of an adviser and Mr G. W. Fuller arrived in this country in May 1953.

The site at Lumut was chosen and planning commenced shortly afterwards and Mr Fuller was appointed the School's first Warden.

Perhaps the Tunku will remember that in 1954, on his return from London after his first mission for negotiating for Independence of our country, Mr Fuller was his fellow passenger.

Mr Fuller impressed the Tunku on this project and the Tunku offered his whole-hearted support and promised at the time to send his son on the first course.

The school was ready for occupation early in 1955 and the first course started on 30th April.

Needless to say, the Tunku's son was among those who attended the first course.

In 1954 while the school was being built, the Rubber Growers' Association decided to set up a Trust Fund to support the school and to provide scholarships for underprivileged boys.

This fund which is known as the R.G.A. Memorial Fund in memory of all Planters, irrespective of colour or creed, who gave their lives during the Emergency, amounted to no less than \$205,000 and the revenue from this sum has provided scholarships for 170 boys during the past ten years.

Over 4,500 boys between the ages of 17 and 25 from all walks of life in Malaysia have attended the course at this school as trainees.

Boys from Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and even a few from Indonesia (of course, before confrontation started) have also attended courses.

It is a pity that more from Indonesia did not have the opportunity of attending courses at this school because if they did, with the training which they would have received, they might have been able to knock some sense into the heads of their so called leaders.

The Outward Bound Trust now enters its second decade and more than ever it needs the help of well meaning and public spirited people who have the future well being of Malaysia at heart.

As in 1953, when the school was founded, we are now facing open aggression from outside.

Our young nation needs leaders at every level in our walk of life.

We need good and loyal citizens with a sense of responsibility and dedication and a realization of their obligation to their country and to their birthright.

Not only do we need leaders, we need good and loyal followers as well.

The school at Lumut has proved its worth in the progress of our nation and has played a leading part in helping our young men to a realization of the challenging times in which they live.

If this school intended to play this important part, it will need help from more and more people.

Until the middle of last year, the cost of the school remained unchanged from the original figure decided upon in 1955, that is \$250.

This was raised to \$275 last year and even at this figure, the cost at our school still remains by far the cheapest not only in this country but in the world.

This has only been made possible by the generosity of a number of people.

In particular, sponsors who put up the money to send young men on courses, and commercial firms which donated goods and equipment or which sell them to the Trust at special rates.

The Armed Forces have also helped by donating surplus equipment which can be used by the trainees.

I hope that in the years to come, greatly increased help of this sort will be forthcoming and I appeal to all of you here this evening to support the school and press your friends and business associates to do likewise.

Your presence and support this evening has provided funds, some of which will be used to give scholarships to a few young men who have volunteered for service with the Vigilante Corps.

These men, most of whom are untrained, are willingly risking their lives in the interests of their fellow citizens.

Once again, I thank you all for your presence here tonight.

If you support the Outward Bound Movement in Malaysia, you will be helping to strengthen the foundations of our nation and you will be contributing towards the continuance of a firm and enlightened leadership which carries with it, stability, freedom, and a sound future for this country.

Now, gentlemen, may I ask you to rise and join with me in drinking to the health and the continued success of the Outward Bound Trust.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
23hb Februari, 1965.

## DEWAN RA'AYAT—REPLY BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

*Notes of reply by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, on a motion moved by the Member for Batu, Dr Tan Chee Khoo, at the Dewan Ra'ayat today (March 1, 1965) :*

Mr Speaker, Sir,

I rise to oppose the motion of the Honourable the Member for Batu.

At the outset I would like to make it quite clear that it is not correct to say that the Government has rejected in toto the award made by the Government Services Arbitration Tribunal in respect of the claim by the Union of Post Office Workers. Honourable members of this House may have learnt from the numerous Press reports and releases which have been published on this claim by the Union of Post Office Workers that the Union's claim was for a separate and higher salary scale for the clerks in the Postal Department and a higher rate of allowance for those clerks who are in charge of Post Offices. The Arbitration Tribunal which considered this claim made an award which may be divided into three parts, namely, (i) Salary scale, (ii) In-charge Allowance and (iii) Operational Allowances. In respect of salary scale, the Tribunal awarded that the salary scale, which had been offered by Government to the clerks of the General Clerical Service and accepted by the Staff Side, should be applied to the clerks of the Postal Department. The Tribunal also awarded an increase in the salary of the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur. Except for the award on the salary of the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur, the Government accepted the award on the salary scales for the Postal Clerical Officers.

It is true that the Government is not able to implement the award of the Tribunal in respect of In-charge and Operational allowances. Under normal circumstances, the Government would abide by the award of an Arbitration Tribunal as it has done in the past. However, in this particular case, the Arbitration Tribunal has made an award which is in excess of what the Union itself has asked which, if accepted by Government, would have extremely serious consequences on the finances of the country. In these circumstances, Government is forced to the conclusion that the award of the Arbitration Tribunal as it stands cannot be implemented.

Perhaps it is relevant for me to mention briefly for the information of the House the background leading to the award of the Tribunal. The claim of the Union was not only for an upward revision of salaries for the Postal Clerical Service, but also a separate scale from that

approved for the General Clerical Service. The Union also claimed for increases in the In-charge allowance and the extension of the scope for the payment of these allowances to particular grades in the Postal Service. The claim was submitted through the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council and was duly considered by Government. On 18th March, 1964, the Staff Side was informed that there was no case for a separate salary scale to be established but that consideration would be given to the possibility of introducing a special postal allowance to those postal clerks in the Traffic or Operational branch of the Service. On 22nd March, the Union withdrew its claim from the National Whitley Council and issued strike ballot papers to all its members. However, negotiations continued between officials of Government and representatives of the Union which ended in a deadlock. On 8th April, 1964, the Union issued a strike notice, such strike to take effect on 22nd April. The Union deferred its strike to 10th May and again to 16th May as negotiations with Government were continuing in the meantime. On 14th May, the Government made an offer as follows:

(a) Salary Scale according to the scale for clerks in the General Clerical Service which had been accepted by the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council;

(b) the salary of Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur at \$875 per month;

(c) In-Charge allowance as follows:

for Class VII Post Office—\$20 per month

for Class VI Post Office—\$25 per month

for Class V Post Office—\$30 per month

(d) a special allowance of \$20 per month to all Timescale and Special Grade Clerks in the Traffic or Operational Arm of the Postal Service.

Without stating officially whether or not this was acceptable, the Union went on strike with effect from midnight on 16th May, 1964. The Union called off the strike with effect from midnight on 19th May and the claim was then referred to the Government Services Arbitration Tribunal. The Tribunal made an award on 6th November, 1964, as follows:

(a) Salary scale as for the General Clerical Service;

(b) Basic salary payable to the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur, should be \$990 per month and he shall not be eligible for the Postmaster's In-Charge allowance;

(c) Postmaster's In-Charge allowance should be payable to all postal clerical officers at the following rates:

<i>Class of Post Office</i>	<i>In-Charge Allowance Dollars per month</i>
VII ... ..	\$30.00
VI ... ..	37.50
V ... ..	45.00
IV ... ..	52.50
III ... ..	60.00
II ... ..	67.50
I ... ..	75.00

(d) Operational Allowance:

<i>Range of Basic Monthly Salary</i>	<i>Operational Allowance Dollars per month</i>
<i>Probationer &amp; Timescale Division III</i>	
\$140 — 156 ... ..	\$30.00
230 — 260 ... ..	50.00
300 — 420 ... ..	70.00
445 — 535 ... ..	90.00
<i>Special Grade</i>	
\$560 — 620 ... ..	\$120.00
<i>Assistant Superintendent</i>	
\$650 — 690 ... ..	\$130.00

This House will no doubt note that the Tribunal agreed with the Government that there should be no distinct and separate salary scale for the Postal Clerical Service. In respect of the In-charge allowances payable to clerks who are in charge of post offices, the Tribunal extended the scope for the payment of this allowance to all classes of post offices whilst Government agreed to pay the allowances only to classes VII, VI and V. With regard to the Operational Allowance, the Tribunal also extended the scope for the payment of this allowance to include Assistant Superintendents in Division III of the Postal Service and at the same time awarded a variable rate instead of a fixed rate as offered by Government.

In effect the award made by the Tribunal gives an overall increase in the take-home pay of a postal clerk in the Operational or Traffic arm of the Postal Service by approximately 30 per cent more than his colleague in the administrative arm. The high increases proposed for this category of employees will inevitably create an imbalance within the Postal Service itself. Although the Union and the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council have given an understanding that the officers

in the administrative arm in the Postal Department will not claim for similar increases if the award of the Tribunal were to be accepted by Government, it cannot be denied that an imbalance within the Postal Service itself is not a desirable feature. If one section of clerical workers, whatever their specialised duties may be, are awarded overall emoluments that will make them very much better off than their colleagues in other comparable services, repercussions are bound to follow, as the structure of the Public Service is based on certain key scales and the maintenance of relativities between them. It has been estimated that by implementing the award of the Tribunal in toto, it will mean that this particular grade of employees will be given increases averaging approximately 27 per cent of their overall emoluments. Such a percentage increase in emoluments given to one grade of employees will obviously generate dissatisfaction and have wide spread repercussions. The cost of applying a similar percentage increase in pay to the other sectors of the Public Service will be intolerable. This is clear when it is noted that personal emoluments provided in the 1965 Federal Estimates total \$492 million. This does not include the emoluments payable to teachers under the Unified Teaching Service and to employees in the Industrial and Manual Group. A 27 per cent increase applied even to the \$492 million provision means an additional Federal Government commitment of \$133 million per annum. It is obvious that if the Government is to meet these enormous additional increases in personal emoluments, then drastic taxation measures will have to be imposed. The House should note that the yield in 1965 which will be derived from all the tax changes in the recent Budget Session of Parliament is estimated at \$110 million. It is clear, therefore, that further taxation measures will have to be imposed if a similar percentage increase is given to the Public Service. I am sure this House will agree with me that the country is in no position to bear a further burden of increased taxation at this juncture.

I should like to assure the House that Government fully considered the serious implications of not implementing in toto the award of the Tribunal. The fact that Government has not been able to accept the award should not be implied that it has ignored its responsibilities to its employees, but should be taken as an indication of its high sense of duty and responsibility to the Nation as a whole. I would like once again to reaffirm the Government's confidence in the National Whitley Council machinery and its faith in the principle of arbitration as a means of settling differences between Government and its employees. In accordance with this belief, the Government has agreed to accept the award in so far as the structure is concerned, but, for the reasons I have stated earlier, it cannot accept the quantum awarded by the Tribunal. However, Government is prepared to honour the award in so far as the structure is concerned, and an offer was accordingly made to the Union on 16th February, 1965, as follows:

(1) SALARY SCALE:

*Division III*

Probationers	...	...	\$140 × 8-156/Exam. Bar
Timescale	...	...	\$230 × 15-260/Exam. Bar
			\$300 × 15-420/Eff. Bar
			\$445 × 15-535/Vac. Bar
Special Grade	...	...	\$560 × 20-620/Vac. Bar
Asst. Superintendent	...	...	\$650 × 20-690/Vac. Bar

*Division II*

Superintendent	...	...	\$720 × 25-770
Chief Superintendent	...	...	\$820
Head Postmaster, K.L.	...	...	\$875

(2) IN-CHARGE ALLOWANCE:

*Class of Post Office*

VII	...	...	...	\$20 per month
VI	...	...	...	\$25 " "
V	...	...	...	\$30 " "
IV	...	...	...	\$35 " "
III	...	...	...	\$40 " "
II	...	...	...	\$45 " "
I	...	...	...	\$50 " "
Head Postmaster, K.L.	...	...	...	\$55 " "

(3) Operational Allowance (for those in the operational arm of the Department only).

Probationer Clerks	...	...	} \$30 per month
Timescale Clerks	...	...	
Special Grade Clerks	...	...	
Assistant Superintendents (Division III)			

This latest offer of Government will cost in the region of \$490,000.00 per annum.

The Honourable Member for Batu views with grave concern the non-acceptance of the award of the Tribunal by the Government and expresses a keen desire to preserve the good name of Malaysia and its people. The Government is not unmindful of its duties and it desires even more keenly to maintain the good name of Malaysia. It is for this very reason that the Government took the stand that it has taken on the award of the Tribunal. It wishes to ensure that the finances of the country are maintained in a good state. In the final analysis the national interest must be the overriding consideration in deciding whether Government can accept any recommendation or award for the revision of salary scales of the public services.



The Government has done everything possible to meet the claim of the Union of Post Office Workers. It has accepted the award of the Tribunal in respect of the salary scale and the principles of the award. It has offered a revised scale for the special or operational allowance and the in-charge allowances as a step towards implementing in part the award of the Tribunal. It cannot, therefore, be said that Government has rejected in toto the award of the Tribunal. The motion standing in the name of the Honourable Member for Batu must therefore be rejected.

The Prime Minister and myself and other Ministers have had meetings with the Staff Side explaining to them the serious repercussions through the implementation of this award not only on the industrial sector and the Postal Service but on the Public Service as a whole. I appealed to them in view of the State of Emergency and the difficult finances of the country, they should accept the latest Government offer.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*1st March, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK OPENS COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY EXHIBITION

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of the 3rd Exhibition organised by the Malayan Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society on 24th May, 1965.*

Mr President, Your Excellencies, Honourable Members, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today 24th May, is Commonwealth Day and all over the world commemoration functions are being held by people representing over one quarter of the entire population of the world.

Here in Malaysia, thanks to the initiative and foresight of our beloved Prime Minister, who in 1962 suggested the formation of this branch, we are now able to celebrate as full and equal members of the Commonwealth together with our brothers and sisters in the other commonwealth countries.

I am very pleased to be here this evening and I take this opportunity to congratulate the Malayan Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society for its enterprise in presenting yet another Commonwealth Exhibition here in our national capital city. One of the main objects of this Society is to bring about a better understanding among the people of the Commonwealth and I think that an exhibition such as this is an excellent way of enhancing the goodwill and understanding that members of the Commonwealth share with one another. When one is studying the Commonwealth, it is useful to be quite clear in our mind what in fact it is. I do not think that one would have a definition of the Commonwealth because in many ways it defies that definition. One Commonwealth Statesman some time ago described Commonwealth as an unorganised organisation. There is no constitutional or legal tie that binds together countries of the Commonwealth. Countries that form the Commonwealth are spread throughout the entire world presenting a population of over 750 million people. Among these millions are to be found people of every race and creed all held together by bond of friendship and goodwill and belief in common ideals of freedom and justice. As a member of the Commonwealth and as a member of the United Nations, we in Malaysia are proud of the fact that our country symbolises the true spirit of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Our country is one that men and women of all creeds and colours, men and women of all races live in harmony, in justice and in happiness and goodwill with one another. To those who do not agree with our way of life I say "go somewhere else which is more to your liking and leave us in peace to fashion our own destiny. That is all we ask!"

As I said Commonwealth defies definition because it is a group of nations bound together out of their own free will with the common ideals of the people. Therefore to strengthen the ties of the Commonwealth we must fashion goodwill and friendship among the people at all levels, in professions among the business people, among the school children and among people at all levels. All of us realise that if we want to go on in the world today apart from hard work, we have got to live in the spirit of peace, friendship and mutual help with our fellowmen. Unfortunately, much as we wish to, we Malaysians are not being permitted to live in peace. Our nation is being forced to defend its national integrity and independence against blatant and shameful aggression by our unprincipled neighbour Indonesia, the regime in Jakarta without any provocation has for the last two years carried out a policy of political economic confrontations. In this hour of our national crisis we have been fortunate as a member of the Commonwealth, we can look to our fellow members for assistance. Commonwealth forces are standing shoulder to shoulder with our own troops along our borders of Sabah and Sarawak, in the air and on the high seas, beating back and defeating every attempt that Indonesia has made to invade and disrupt our country.

I would like to take this opportunity to once again express our thanks to our friends in the Commonwealth for their help and support at this time of crisis for our young country. Therefore we Malaysians have very good reasons to know from practical experience the full definition from being a member of the Commonwealth and the entire feeling of friendship and co-operation that exist among its members. Hardly a week passes by without some sign of this friendly attitude, in trade, in defence, in cultural exchange, in conferences, in the Colombo Plan, in scholarships and travel and in personal encounters both here and overseas. Probably the most outstanding example to arise from this desire of the Commonwealth countries to help one another is the Colombo Plan, a scheme which has been so successful that today it extends to others outside the Commonwealth. This great plan is designed to prove a channel for the "haves" to help the "have-nots". Malaysia is proud to be both a contributor and receiver member of the plan.

I am very pleased to hear that this Branch in addition to organising an annual exhibition, also organises an annual Essay Competition, open to all young Malaysians of the age of 19 or under.

If there is one field above all others, in which there is a tremendous opportunity for constructive action in the Commonwealth it is in the field of youth. An Essay Competition on a Commonwealth subject is an excellent way to encourage young people to acquire a greater knowledge of the Commonwealth and the advantages which membership brings.

Mr President, I would like to congratulate you and the members of this Branch for your enterprise and enthusiasm. By organising this exhibition you are helping people in this country, who have no chance to travel abroad, to see and to appreciate the arts and crafts of other members of the Commonwealth.

It is my hope that many people will take the opportunity to visit this exhibition and it gives me great pleasure to declare it open.

**KUALA LUMPUR.**

*24th May, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK OPENS SELANGOR GIRL GUIDES HEADQUARTERS

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of a new \$180 000 Selangor Girl Guide Association Headquarters at Jalan Abdul Samad, Kuala Lumpur, at 5.00 p.m. Sunday, May 30, 1965.*

State Commissioner for Girl Guides, Selangor.

Your Excellencies, Honourable Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen and members of the Guide Movement.

It is with great pleasure that I associate myself with the opening of the Girl Guide Building, Selangor.

Looking at the building as I do, I feel that this is an excellent achievement. And the fact that it has been achieved within a short space of five years is remarkable. It goes to prove the quality of leadership the Girl Guide Movement has had in Selangor. It also proves the enthusiastic following the leadership has had. Both are to be complimented for their fine team work which has made this possible.

During the past five years your movement in Selangor has increased in strength from 1,293 to 4,588. Your trainings and activities too have increased and improved.

I myself have seen one of your concerts of International Dances in Stadium Negara in 1962. And I was so much impressed by it. Toh Puan Raha has been associating closely with your activities and I have heard from her the good work you have been doing.

By your own efforts you as guides have been able to earn over \$50,000.00 by having concerts and fun fairs. This is very praiseworthy as it reveals collective self-reliance and team work. Both these qualities are essential for all youths. In themselves these qualities are always important but more so at a time when we are building our nation. They promote civic sense and provide a sense of direction for a good cause.

I understand all these were possible because of the untiring and inspiring leadership of Puan Janaky Nahappan, your State Commissioner.

Both as your State Commissioner and as the Chairman of the Building Committee Puan Janaky Nahappan has rendered excellent service in the field of guiding and in realising your dream of having a new building in place of your old temporary hut.

I understand, your membership in Selangor constitutes more than one-third of the total membership in all Malaysia. This explains your need for a building of this size and scope.

I am glad to note that you will be making use of this large hall to provide various guide trainings, and that Guides from the rural

areas will be brought and housed in this building for weekend trainings. I hope this will be done regularly so that a wide range of rural guides can derive the benefits the Movement has to offer.

Guiding has grown in our country since 1916 and I understand you will be celebrating your Golden Jubilee next year. As the oldest movement for girls in our country, it has become part of our educational system providing very useful trainings that may not be obtained in the school classrooms.

I hope the lead that Selangor has shown in membership drive will be followed in other places so that maximum number of girls will receive guide trainings before they leave schools.

For the young women who have left schools there is always opportunity to serve as guiders to provide leadership.

Parents should encourage their daughters to become guides because it provides such fun and adventure and good character trainings.

I should like to congratulate Puan Janaky Nahappan, as the Chairman of the Building Committee and the Members of the Committee for their excellent work and all those who have helped in one way or the other to make this project a success.

In so far as the Central Government is concerned, in keeping with its policy of encouraging the growth of Youth Organisations, a financial contribution of \$75,000.00 has been made towards the cost of this building.

I hope the public and parents will play their part in helping voluntary organisations such as this, which are vital for the healthy growth of our youths.

I now have great pleasure in declaring this building officially opened.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
29th May, 1965.

## DEWAN RA'AYAT: TUN RAZAK'S SPEECH

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, in the Dewan Ra'ayat today (June 3):*

Mr Speaker, Sir:

We have had a debate on the speech from the throne for the last four days and almost all Hon'ble Members have had the opportunity of expressing their views. Members of the Opposition have had ample opportunities of taking the floor and some of their views were complimentary to the Government while others were not so. However, I would like to say that we on the Government side are grateful to those who have supported our policies in the past and our plans for the future. My colleagues on the Government bench had made suitable replies to most of the points raised by the Hon'ble Members and the Prime Minister feels that there is nothing of any importance left for him to speak in winding up the debate. There is only one thing that he has to reply to and that is on the clarification asked for by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew as to the meaning of the words "the threat from within", contained in the last paragraph of His Majesty's speech.

The Prime Minister has asked me to explain this on his behalf. The royal address is the responsibility of the Government. The Prime Minister and my colleagues in the Cabinet take full and undivided responsibility for every word contained in that address. However, Sir, before I come to this point I would like to reply to certain aspects of Government policy which have not yet been replied to by my colleagues.

The Hon'ble Member for Sarawak, Mr Ong Kee Hui said that the recent crisis in the Sarawak Alliance was due to interference by UMNO.

I would like to say categorically this had nothing to do with UMNO, because the matter is for the leaders of the Alliance and Sarawak. However, as the Sarawak Alliance is affiliated to the Malaysian Alliance Party, it is within the right of the Alliance leaders here to intervene if requested to do so in order to settle any difference.

In this particular case, they were able to settle the differences themselves.

The Hon'ble Member also mentioned that since the formation of Malaysia the people of Sarawak have not received any benefit from Malaysia. Sir, with the establishment of Malaysia, we promised the people of Sarawak and Sabah Independence and with it the possibility of progress and development as we were able to achieve here in Malaya.

However, despite all this we are determined to carry out our development plan. We have now geared the machinery of the Government of Sarawak to undertake work on development. I would like to say that we are determined, with the co-operation of the State Government to do all we can to give the people of Sarawak the benefit from Independence and development.

The Hon'ble Member also made reference that the Simanggang Road Sub-Branch of the S.U.P.P. was proscribed by the Sarawak Government. It was not clear what his intention was in touching on this subject. I believe that he also suggested that since those concerned are officials of the Party, it would be logical, therefore, to arrest only the officials. Let me, therefore, clarify to this House on the grounds why this particular Branch was proscribed by the Federal Secretary in Kuching under the Preservation of Public Security Regulations, 1962. We had information that the establishment of the Party in the first place was engineered by the Communist organisation in Sarawak through one of its leading cadres and that all along the activities of this Sub-Branch were conducted on the lines laid down by Sarawak Advanced Youth Association formerly known as C.C.O. (Clandestine Communist Organisation) for its open front work. Four of the five officials of the Party are now known to be in Indonesia. In short, there is, therefore, evidence to indicate a long-term Communist planning to create, through the medium of an open and legal front organisation an ideologically dominated area where political consciousness could be directed through the Communist policy of struggle through the legal and constitutional means. For the information of this House there was no change in the registered officials since 1959; there had been merely a reshuffling of the key posts amongst the Communist faction. The Communists had all the time been in control. It is ridiculous for Mr Ong Kee Hui to suggest that the officials concerned should be arrested; most of them are in Indonesia now. The branch has to be closed as it is being used by Communist elements as a cover to carry out their subversive activities.

The Hon'ble Mr Lee Kuan Yew has asked the Prime Minister to explain what is meant by "threat from within". He said when he heard this portion of His Majesty's speech he looked around him and it was clear to him it must have meant some sector of this House. It could not be the Members from P.M.I.P. or the Members from Barisan Sosialis. It could not also mean the Member for Batu. So he was left with only one assumption, that is, that it was meant for him and his colleagues whom he said are "loyal Malaysians" gathering together now to establish the Constitution that Malaysia is a Malaysian nation, perhaps, "we were that 'threat from within' ". This statement, coming from him is sheer deceit. The Hon'ble Member knows fully well what is meant by the "enemy from within" the nation. He is the Chief Executive of the State of Singapore. He has helped the Central Government with a lot of information which eventually led to the arrest of enemies from within



Singapore. He knows who they are because when Singapore and the Federation were discussing the question of Merger which led to the formation of Malaysia he was on the Singapore Internal Security Council together with my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs. He produced a book which gave information about the activities of the Communists. He made statements about their danger to the peace and security of this country; now his representative sits in the National Defence Council where matters of internal security and defence are freely discussed. He receives briefings from the Intelligence Branch of the Security Service and knows fully well who are the enemies from without and who are the enemies from within. As executive head of Singapore he receives all the intelligence reports which give information as to the activities of those people whom His Majesty referred to in His speech as the enemies from within. They are the traitors—the Communists. He knows that about 1,500 persons from Sarawak alone have gone over to Indonesia and there are no less than 150 Communists from the mainland and Singapore who likewise have gone over.

With confrontation from Indonesia we have also those who are not Communists, but who either for money or some other form of inducement have rendered service to the enemy in cooperation with the Communists and their object is to hand over this country to Indonesia or to the Communists. Some of these people have been taken in and kept in custody but others are at large who are actively working to undermine the authority of the legally established Government of this country.

The Prime Minister has never thought of Mr Lee Kuan Yew or his party as the enemy from within. In the first place he does not think they have indulged in these activities, at least not so far. They are not trusted enough by the Communists, nor considered important enough or strong enough for the Communists to take them into their confidence. As a Barisan Sosialis member has revealed in this House, that he who works with Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his party must expect to be discarded whenever it suits him. The Prime Minister doubts if Indonesia will make use of Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his party for a take-over of this country unless it be to serve their own end. So it is obvious from here that it was not him whom His Majesty referred to in his speech as the enemy from within. If we had thought of him as such we would have dealt with him as we had done with all the other enemies from within. Our duties and responsibilities are clear. We would not be afraid to act whenever we consider any person a security risk. Mr Lee Kuan Yew would like to hear what explanation the Prime Minister can offer. What explanation does he want? It is clear to all that he is out to make trouble. From the reports which have appeared in the Press and from the visits he has made abroad he had attempted to blacken the image of the Central Government in a way which was so aptly described by the Hon'ble the Minister of Home Affairs the other day.

Not so long ago, according to the Prime Minister, he was asked by a member of the Diplomatic Corps why was it that he hated Mr Lee Kuan Yew. The Prime Minister had always thought of him as his friend and therefore it was a surprise that such a story had gone round. Who was responsible for this story? It could be nobody else but Mr Lee Kuan Yew himself. Why did he invent such a story and for what purpose? Now we are all beginning to understand—it was done for a purpose and that purpose was to give the impression that the intention of this Government is to dominate Singapore and to discriminate against the people of Singapore.

According to the Prime Minister of Singapore this Government is Malay dominated and that the Central Government is trying to foist a Malay rule on the entrapped peoples of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak and that the Government is treating all these other states as inferiors.

That was why he came to see the Prime Minister some time ago and put forward a proposal that his party should share in the administration of this Government in place of the M.C.A. This idea was wholly unacceptable, in fact, most objectionable to the mind of an honest and loyal leader. The M.C.A. had been a partner since the formation of the Alliance and they have been our true friends indeed and together with the M.I.C., who have worked for the independence of Malaya which led eventually to the independence of the other States which now make up Malaysia. It is unthinkable that the Prime Minister could discard the M.C.A. for the P.A.P. He has always regarded the M.C.A. as a true friend to UMNO and as a partner who, together with the M.I.C., has worked together for the well-being, prosperity and happiness of this country. The M.C.A. represents the Chinese views and interest, and so the M.I.C. in respect of the Indians and through the co-operation of these two organisations we were able to work for the welfare and the good of the peoples of this country. This cannot be said of the P.A.P. As has often been said in this House Mr Lee Kuan Yew in fact thinks in terms of the Chinese and his party, in fact, represents that group of Chinese who share his views and he has asked to replace M.C.A. The only Government which will be acceptable to him is the one in which he can have a big say and a big share and ultimately a Government which he alone can have a say without resort to Parliamentary democracy.

Since his proposal is not acceptable to the Prime Minister he has switched on to this new insidious plan of a Malaysian Malaysia. In other words, a break-up of Malaysia as constituted under the agreement signed in London.

Hon'ble Members can now understand the imputation when he said there are some who want secession. We have never talked about secession, at least not by the Prime Minister or by members of the

Government. He also said that probably the people of Penang, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and Malacca could come together. In short he has suggested that Malaysia must be broken up into two—one is as he stated—Malay Malaysia and the other one Mr Lee Kuan Yew's Malaysia or as he calls it Straits Settlement Malaysia. Hence the reason for his bringing this amendment to the Royal address alleging that we in the Central Government consider him a threat to the security of this country. Sir, we do not consider Mr Lee Kuan Yew of that importance to be a threat to the Alliance. We are quite capable of dealing with him. As my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs said, we are quite capable of fighting him democratically and constitutionally so long as he and his colleagues do the same.

As one Hon'ble Member said the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew is like a bride, who was madly in love with a man and having married him, finds the new home unsuitable and would like to go back to the mother—the Old Colonial master. Having married to this new family, the bride is not content with being just a member of the family or having the right to inherit the family property—he wants to dominate and rule the family at the same time.

Now, having had this marriage trouble, Mr Lee Kuan Yew went around the world to tell people of our domestic trouble. What has all this got to do with people outside? If there are differences between Political Parties in this country, these are matters for us to settle internally. We are a Democratic country, in the last resort it is a matter for the people to decide.

I would like to tell our friends in the Commonwealth and outside that these differences we have with the P.A.P. are internal matters. We in the Central Government are quite capable of dealing with them. We have a clear mandate from the peoples to govern this country and we shall not shirk our responsibilities. Now that Mr Lee Kuan Yew has made his stand clear. We will fight him democratically and constitutionally.

There is no use for Mr Lee Kuan Yew to resort to tactics that he is so familiar with, of twisting facts and of casting doubt in the minds of the people that the Alliance Government has an intention of resorting to undemocratic and unconstitutional methods.

Everyone knows, everyone in this country and throughout the world knows that this Government, the Alliance Government has always believed in the principle of Parliamentary democracy and has practised it faithfully not only in our own political parties but also in the Government.

Indeed the only criticism we have heard from friends who have visited our country and from responsible citizens of this country is that we have been too democratic and too liberal in our attitude. This attitude has been interpreted by certain quarters as weakness and some have taken advantage of it.

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Perpustakaan Negara  
Malaysia

It is known to everyone that we in the Alliance Party practise democracy strictly. In the UMNO, ever since our Prime Minister took over the leadership of UMNO in 1951, we practise absolute democracy.

We have held elections to elect leaders of our Party, once a year. Every member of our Party from the branches to the Division and to our General Assembly has a say in the elections of the leader of our Party.

And the same is true with the other parties of the Alliance—the M.C.A. and the M.I.C.

But what of the P.A.P.? The Hon'ble Member from Batu was indeed right when he said that the P.A.P. has never practised democracy.

The leadership of the P.A.P. nominates a number of cadres and these cadres elect their leaders, so that the leadership of the P.A.P. can never be challenged, not even by their own members.

Is this democracy by any stretch of the imagination? How can a leader who does not practise democracy in his own party be expected to uphold the principle of democracy and practise democracy in Government?

The Hon'ble Member for Batu was again right when he said that there is no democracy in Singapore. What is the use of having elected legislators if they are not given a chance to express their views and to criticise the Government if need be.

We, on the other hand, the Alliance Party, have followed the rules strictly. We have held meetings of Parliament regularly and in our State legislatures we have held meetings just as regularly too.

We have in this House allowed the Members of the Opposition full freedom and particularly the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Singapore himself—full freedom to speak and we gave them full hearing.

Therefore, Sir, it is clear to all that we in the Government really practise democracy in this country.

I say clearly that the P.A.P. does not believe in democracy. The P.A.P. believes in one-party Government and in absolute rule by that Party.

There is no need for the Prime Minister of Singapore to impute any motives in the present Alliance Government, because we have shown by our deeds, by our action and by our practice that we are really true democrats.

We have held National Elections three times and had followed not only in terms but also in the spirit of the practice of democracy.

Hon'ble Members of this House will remember that during the last General Elections, we gave the Opposition ample notice of our intention to hold the Elections. And we gave them six weeks in which to campaign throughout the country and put their views to the people.

While in Singapore, the P.A.P. only allowed other political parties nine days to prepare for the Elections. Is this following the true spirit of democracy?

In a democracy we are allowed freedom to speak, freedom to hold meetings, freedom of expression and freedom of thought but there are rules to the game and we cannot practise democracy unless we are prepared to follow the rules.

We on this side of the House know the Constitution of the country because we are responsible for drafting this Constitution. We are responsible for giving the people the Constitution because we strongly believe in the principles of democracy and the fundamental rights of the people.

We have practised democracy in this country for almost ten years and no one can truthfully accuse us of not upholding the true principle of democracy. And not even the Prime Minister of Singapore could produce any evidence to say that we in the Alliance have not upheld the Constitution, both in terms and in spirit.

As of Parliamentary democracy, we welcome constructive criticism. We welcome a responsible and loyal opposition.

But, Mr Speaker, Sir, what have we seen in this new so-called Malaysia Solidarity Convention or Party or Organization, whatever they choose to call themselves—we had the privilege the other day, in the course of this debate, to see Members of this Organization giving a display of their so-called unity or solidarity.

The Prime Minister of Singapore, presumably the leader of this Solidarity group, stated repeatedly and stressed strongly that he would uphold the Constitution, and that he supports Malay as the National Language of the country and he supports Article 153 of the Constitution.

And then we had another Member of this Solidarity Convention, the Hon'ble Member from Sarawak, the leader of the S.U.P.P., who said he did not support Malay as the National Language and would have the other languages recognised as official languages of the country.

Then, soon after that, we had the Member from Ipoh, the leader of the Peoples' Progressive Party, who said, equally strongly, that he does not support Malay as the National Language as the sole official language, and that he does not support Article 153 of the Constitution.

Now, Sir, where is the unity or solidarity or even common grounds among these parties that form themselves into this group or Convention?

Sir, we find another set of strange bed-fellows of the P.A.P. in this so-called Convention, i.e. the U.D.P.

It is interesting to know that the U.D.P. had become respectable socialists to make common cause with the P.A.P.

We all know that the present leaders of the U.D.P. left the M.C.A. because they could not agree on the vital national issues such as the questions of National Language and National Education Policy.

It may be that the U.D.P. now has become supporters of P.A.P. socialism, or it may be that P.A.P.'s attack on chauvinism both Malays and Chinese, only bugles of advance covering a retreat.

They only say they are against Communalism in order to camouflage their continuing dependence for political support on communal and chauvinistic issues.

It seems, Mr Speaker, Sir, from the Opposition bench other than the P.M.I.P. and the Barisan Socialis, only the Hon'ble Member from Batu is left out from the so-called Solidarity Convention.

Although at times we may disagree with the Hon'ble Member for Batu, he is basically a decent man and a man of principle.

If he has been an opportunist, he will be sitting next to the great leader of the Convention, Mr Lee Kuan Yew himself. But the Member for Batu being a decent man cannot swallow this practice of discarding and ditching out of friends however misguided he may think they are.

Even if he disagrees with his colleagues and supporters even in public, he still stands by them.

Now, Sir, having seen the coming together of the strange bed-fellows, it is pertinent to ask ourselves why Mr Lee Kuan Yew, the so-called Socialist who not so long ago had the most utter contempt for all these men that he has now collected as colleagues in arm in a political battle?

The fact is that Mr Lee Kuan Yew's political base in Singapore is being eroded. The people of Singapore are disillusioned with his policies and promises.

The ordinary people of Singapore, the workers, the shop-keepers are questioning his policy and all that he promised them in the past. Therefore he has to find new issues and if there are none, he has to create them to prove that he is still the only man who can rule Singapore.

He has to find a giant to fight with and in this he has found the Central Government which he says is a Malay-dominated Government of the UMNO.

He no longer has Mr Lim Chin Siong to mobilise the mass support for him and to instruct energetic cadres for him. Instead, now, he has to pay the Workers' Bridge, the People's Association and other Government organisations to produce the cheering crowds for him.

He hopes to build himself up as the Champion of the Chinese against the Malays and in this he has his allies—the U.D.P., S.U.P.P. and P.P.P.

Mr Lee Kuan Yew, being a man of intelligence and calculates everything he does, knows and we know that he is playing a dangerous game. He knows that by whipping this anti-Malay feeling he may be pushing the Malays too far and the situation can get out of hand.

Be he believes that as the Tunku is a man of goodwill and a man of peace, the Tunku and the Alliance Government will do everything possible to maintain communal harmony and goodwill. It is this belief that gives him the courage in this reckless adventure—this mad seeking for power.

But I must warn him that although we stand for racial harmony, for goodwill, for peace, for unity but if, as a result of his adventure, troubles should break out in this country we must hold him fully responsible.

I must ask his colleagues in the P.A.P. some of whom are dedicated men whom I have the privilege of knowing to ponder carefully the dangerous road their leader is leading them into.

In politics you can calculate, you can take your pencil and paper and work out various assumptions and presumptions but you can be wrong.

As my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs said, we the leaders of the Alliance do not pretend that we are clever. But we know we are honest and sincere and we play straight politics and in whatever we do we always place the interest, safety of our people in this country uppermost in our minds.

As I said, Sir, in the Parliamentary democracy which we believe, we would not object to the Opposition. But what we resent is this attempt, in this time of our national crisis when we are facing a threat to our independence and sovereignty from outside, to blacken the image of our country in the eyes of our friends abroad, to create doubts and suspicious among the minds of our people, and to undermine the goodwill and harmony among the various races of this country.

The Hon'ble Prime Minister of Singapore is a great expert in creating a situation which does not exist. He is an expert in organising campaigns to create doubts, suspicions and confusion in the minds of

the people so that ultimately there will be chaos and troubles in the country and out of that chaos and troubles, he hopes to emerge as the leader who can save the country.

There is no need for the Prime Minister of Singapore to waste his time in this sort of campaign and underhand activities, because ordinary men and women of Malaysia are practical people as he himself admitted.

They have the common-sense to distinguish what is right and what is wrong. They have enough common-sense to know where the truth lies. There is no need for him to sweeten the feelings of the Malays and the natives by saying that he supports the National Language in Article 153 of the Constitution, i.e. the special position of the natives and of the Malays, when in actual fact he continuously, by words and deeds, undermines these two fundamentals.

In one breath he supports Malaya's National Language and the next breath, he makes sneering remarks about the National Language.

He said how could Malay language help to uplift the standards of living of the Malays? Of course he knows as well as we do that language has nothing to do with the standards of living of the people.

Language is a soul of the nation: Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa. This is not a matter which can be measured in terms of wealth or of the standard of living or of material advantage. We know this and the Hon'ble Member knows this too.

Why make such a remark if one sincerely believes in promoting the National Language in making it the Language for unity of our people. This continual habit of double talk in which the Hon'ble Member is a great expert cannot influence the people in any way because truth and sincerity must prevail.

Then the Hon'ble Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his newly found friends in the so-called Solidarity Convention speak of a 'Malaysian Malaysia'. They put it across to the people as if this is something completely new which has never been thought of before.

But everyone knows this is the object of the formation of Malaysia. Everyone knows that this is the objective in the Constitution of Malaysia. The Hon'ble Member himself knows the Constitution. He accepted it and defended it in the General Assembly of Singapore.

There have not been any changes in the fundamental provision of the Constitution. However, just because the Hon'ble Member is not part of the Central Government and is not responsible for the affairs of Malaysia, he cannot accept the situation as it is.



Malaysia which he supported is no longer the Malaysia that he wanted. That is why he talked about the winds of change. That is why he accused us of not intergrating the various territories together.

If he is part of the Central Government as he had wanted to be, then everything would be all right. The P.A.P. now talks about the winds of change. We had our winds of change in 1957. And it is our duty now to consolidate the independence that we have achieved to give our people of all races a better and higher standard of living and a rightful place in our country.

The truth of the matter is, as my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs said, the P.A.P. in Singapore found that they cannot adapt themselves to the new situation. They cannot accept the fact that they are one of the 14 States of Malaysia.

And that the Prime Minister of Singapore is the leader of the Government of only one of those States. Mr Lee Kuan Yew has found himself like a frog in a big lake. Obviously he has to croak in order to show his presence and to be heard.

As my colleague, the Minister of Finance said we in the Alliance have talked about Malaya for the Malaysians since we first formed the Alliance Party in 1953. When our Prime Minister first mooted out the idea of Malaysia, we told the people of Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore that we would like them to achieve Independence together with us so that they would have the same status as we have enjoyed, the same rights and privileges as we had as an independent and sovereign nation.

We the leaders of the Alliance are now fortunately accustomed to this sort of talk, to smearing campaigns and to double talk ever since the Prime Minister of Singapore came into the political arena of Malaysia.

But we hope and trust the people of Malaysia of all races know this and should be aware of this double talk. We in the Alliance have always tried to be fair. We always like to play the game and although politics is a dirty thing, there are rules to the game and we always want to follow the rules.

The Prime Minister of Singapore spoke as if we in the Alliance have not upheld the Constitution and have prosecuted the people of this country particularly the non-Malays.

Now, I say categorically, Sir, ever since the Alliance came into power in Malaya since 1955, have we ever discriminated against any group of people in this country whatever their racial origins? We have allowed everyone complete freedom to lead their lives. Indeed we have always said and our Prime Minister has always said that it is our policy to make everyone happy.

Those who are poor to be richer and those who are rich, if out of their initiative and enterprise, they can be richer. Let them be so.

For generations in this country the people of all races have lived in peace and harmony. Ever since we achieved Independence in 1957, there have been peace and harmony. Since we established Malaysia in 1963, people of all races have lived in goodwill and harmony.

But why should this sudden talk of racial tension of one race tending to dominate another or of possible trouble, if there is trouble, be now? Why should there be such talk. Mr Lee Kuan Yew has to find some issues to make noise. Otherwise his voice cannot be heard beyond the island of Singapore. As my colleague the Minister of Home Affairs said, he shouts, "Fire, fire" while at the same time commits arson.

This is the tactic employed by a desperate politician who is ready to use any means to get himself some support.

Of course in the happy situation that the people of this country of all races are, the Prime Minister of Singapore finds it difficult to see anything wrong to criticise the Government—the Alliance Government.

He has therefore to create an imaginary situation, the most sensitive issue and one which can easily arouse the sentiment of the people.

What is this racial issue, differences and imbalances among the different races? He therefore decided to throw a wedge between different races. At first in order to make friends with the UMNO and the Malays, he attempted to discredit the M.C.A., stating that the M.C.A. did not represent the Chinese, did not stand for the rights of the Chinese.

When he found that this tactic did not work and was completely rejected by the people at large and found out that UMNO decided to stand solidly with the M.C.A., he switched round his tactics and attacked the UMNO and the Malays.

He hoped by doing this he would get the non-Malays to support him. This is a tactic and that is why he has been whipping up this campaign of anti-UMNO and anti-Malays.

I say, Sir, this is a dangerous way of attempting to gain political support in a multi-racial country like this. This method must lead to racial strife and tension and ultimately to trouble and chaos.

I do not believe the Prime Minister of Singapore cares very much about this as long as he has a chance of getting additional support for himself. But we in the Alliance are responsible people. We have the interest and welfare of the country. We place the peace and harmony, the unity of our people of all races above everything else.

We say whatever we do, we must not upset this goodwill, this harmony and unity among our people. We must assure our people of various races that they have a place under the Malaysian sun.

Our policy is clear. We have made it clear many times that we are determined to maintain harmony and goodwill of our people of all races, to give them a proper place in our country, to help the less fortunate and have-nots so that they will have a decent standard of living and a proper place in our society.

It is our policy to maintain and strengthen the harmony, goodwill and friendship of our people of all races so that ultimately they will regard themselves as members of one nation and not members of various races. This is our policy and our approach as my colleague the Minister of Home Affairs has made it clear.

And our method of unifying our people by a slow and steady process has proved a success in the former Federation of Malaya. There is no reason why they should not prove a success in Malaysia provided the people give us this confidence and their support. Mr Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt the people will continue to give their support to the Alliance for many many years to come.

The gulf that divides the PAP and us, the Alliance, is now wide and clear. We, the Malaysian Alliance Party, stand for unity of Malaysia, of harmony and goodwill among our people of various races, of peace and progress. The PAP stands for division, for partition and for disunity—therefore, in short, Malaysia Alliance Party (MAP) means Malaysia Abundance Progress. PAP means Partition and Perish—dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan PAP means Pechah akan Pudah.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*3rd June, 1965.*

## PERLETAKAN BATU ASAS BANGUNAN IBU PEJABAT RIDA OLEH TUN RAZAK

Pemangku Pengerusi RIDA, Yang Berhormat Menteri<sup>2</sup>, Menteri<sup>2</sup> Besar, Ketua<sup>2</sup> Menteri, Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat, Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan Puan<sup>2</sup> sekalian :

Saya sangat sukachita kerana dapat hadir ka-majlis ini untuk menyempurnakan perletakan batu asas Bangunan Ibu Pejabat RIDA yang baharu. Kebetulan-nya pada hari semalam kita telah meletakkan satu lagi batu asas ia-itu batu asas bagi mengadakan satu rancangan dan dasar yang baharu untuk memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera di-Malaysia ini. Pada pagi ini kita meletakkan batu asas bagi bangunan baharu untuk Lembaga atau Badan atau Majlis yang akan menjalankan rancangan dan dasar yang sedang di-binchangkan oleh Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera itu.

Dalam meletakkan batu asas bangunan RIDA ini, sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya Kerajaan ada-lah meletakkan asas kepada satu bangunan yang baharu RIDA yang akan di-ubah chorak, di-ubah rupa dan di-ubah rangka-nya dan yang akan di-beri nama yang baharu ia-itu yang sesuai dengan tugas dan tanggung-jawab yang baharu ia-itu hendak menjalankan rancangan<sup>2</sup> dan usaha<sup>2</sup> untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera di-seluruh Malaysia ini. Saya sendiri tidak-lah suka hendak menentukan nama baharu badan ini dan saya berharap Konggres yang bersidang pada hari ini akan dapat menentukan nama yang sesuai bagi kehendak dan hasrat mereka itu sendiri. Oleh itu upacara pada hari ini ada-lah besar ma'ana-nya bukan sahaja kepada Lembaga yang mempunyai Ibu Pejabat ini bahkan besar ma'ana-nya kepada sejarah pembangunan negara kita. Upacara pada pagi ini berma'ana ia-itu sejarah RIDA yang telah bertugas lama-nya 15 tahun untuk menolong ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar bagi memperbaiki iktisad mereka itu akan masok kepada bab yang baharu dalam kehidupan-nya. Saperti saya katakan tadi, sa-lain daripada di-beri nama yang baharu, Lembaga ini akan di-beri tugas yang lebeh dinamik dan yang lebeh progressib lagi dalam usaha kita untuk meninggikan ekonomi bumiputera di-Malaysia.

Kemajuan dan kema'amoran negara kita ada-lah bergantung kepada dua aliran pembangunan, yang penting, satu ia-lah pembangunan dalam lapangan perusahaan tanah dan perusahaan tanaman dan kedua-nya aliran mengadakan dan memajukan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> kilang, gedong<sup>2</sup> dan sa-bagai-nya. Dua aliran kemajuan ini-lah telah menjadi dasar dan tujuan yang penting di-dalam rancangan kemajuan 5 tahun Kerajaan Perikatan yang akan di-lancharkan mulai daripada tahun hadapan.

Saperti tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> telah ma'alumkan dalam rancangan pembangunan luar bandar Kerajaan Pusat dalam 5 tahun yang telah lalu Kerajaan telah berjaya mengadakan kemudahan<sup>2</sup> ka-kampong<sup>2</sup> saperti jalan raya, sekolah<sup>2</sup>, tempat berubat, pasar<sup>2</sup> dan sa-bagai-nya. Sekarang sampai-lah masa-nya kita meningkat ka-satu tingkat lagi di-dalam ran-

changan kemajuan kita ia-itu hendak-lah kita menumpukan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> usaha dan tenaga bagi menolong ra'ayat membesar dan meluaskan mata pencharian mereka itu dan bagi memberi mereka itu peluang<sup>2</sup> yang lebeh besar dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan negara kita. Dengan sebab itu chadangan Kerajaan Lembaga baharu ini akan di-beri tugas menolong ra'ayat bagi menjalankan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan terutama sekali Lembaga ini akan memberi pertolongan melateh ra'ayat yang suka hendak mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan perniagaan dan kemudian daripada itu memberi mereka itu bantuan dan modal dan kemudian daripada itu akan di-beri pula nasihat dan pertolongan supaya mereka itu dapat berdiri di-atas kaki-nya sendiri. Kesimpulan-nya Lembaga ini akan memberi pertolongan yang baik dan yang di-fikirkan patut dan mustahak untuk membolehkan tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang bumiputera itu mengambil bahagian yang sempurna dalam lapangan iktisad. Akan tetapi saya suka terangkan bahawa dengan mengadakan Lembaga yang baharu yang dinamik yang mempunyai jentera yang lengkap untuk menjalankan tugas-nya mustahak-lah kita menukar juga fikiran, pandangan dan semangat kita dalam lapangan ekonomi dan perniagaan. Kerajaan dan Lembaga ini hanya dapat memberi pertolongan kepada ra'ayat dalam lapangan iktisad akan tetapi kejayaan tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang boleh di-chapai dalam lapangan ini ada-lah bergantung kepada diri mereka itu sendiri. Hendak-lah mereka itu menggunakan pertolongan yang di-beri oleh Lembaga dan Kerajaan dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya. Ini berma'ana kejayaan bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi ini ada-lah bergantung kepada dua pehak ia-itu kepada Kerajaan dan kepada diri mereka itu sendiri. Jadi, mustahak-lah dua<sup>2</sup> bahagian ini bekerjasama dengan rapat-nya untuk menjamin kejayaan<sup>2</sup> yang kita kehendaki itu. Saperti kata Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri pada masa membuka Persidangan Konggeres semalam ia-itu jika bumiputera hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan iktisad ini mustahak-lah mereka itu mendapat kerjasama daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang sekarang ini telah mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan perniagaan. Jadi, untuk menggalakkan kerjasama di-antara pehak Kerajaan dengan pehak Industrial atau pun perusahaan, Kerajaan telah menubuhkan satu Lembaga bernama FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY. Saya berharap F.I.D.A. ini akan dapat bekerjasama dengan sa-penoh-nya dengan Lembaga Kemajuan Ekonomi Bumiputera yang baharu ini supaya kedua<sup>2</sup> Lembaga ini dapat bekerja, dapat mengadakan kerjasama yang rapat bukan sahaja bagi menubuhkan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang besar bahkan bagi menubuhkan perusahaan yang sederhana dan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang kecil juga kerana perusahaan<sup>2</sup> ini telah bergantung di-antara satu dengan lain.

Saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa Lembaga RIDA ini akan di-beri rupa, bentuk dan nama yang baharu. Kita selalu mendengar pakar<sup>2</sup> ekonomi berkata jikalau kita berkehendakkan kemajuan dalam negeri

kita ini, mustahak kita menggunakan kekayaan<sup>2</sup> yang ada dalam negeri kita ini seperti bijih, getah dan sa-bagai-nya dengan sa-penoh-nya. Akan tetapi pada fikiran saya kalau kita berkehendakkan kejayaan dalam lapangan ekonomi ini kekayaan dan kekuatan yang pertama sekali mesti di-gunakan ia-lah kekuatan tenaga ra'ayat yang ada pada kita. Dengan sebab itu langkah yang pertama yang akan di-ambil apabila menubuhkan Lembaga yang baharu ia-lah ahli<sup>2</sup> Lembaga itu yang bertanggung-jawab bagi menjalankan dasar<sup>2</sup> Lembaga itu ia-lah daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang faham, yang mempunyaī pengalaman dalam hal ekonomi dan perniagaan dan orang<sup>2</sup> yang sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya mempunyaī semangat ingin kepada kemajuan dan semangat bersedia hendak bekerja dan berkorban kerana bangsa dan negara.

Lembaga ini akan mengadakan beberapa pejabat atau bahagian<sup>2</sup> untuk menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup>-nya. Yang pertama ia-lah Bahagian Latehan, yang kedua Bahagian Modal atau Pinjaman Wang, yang ketiga Bahagian mengadakan Pertolongan, Nasihat atau 'contact' dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya, dan yang keempat Bahagian Pertadbiran, yang kelima Bahagian Perusahaan, dan yang keenam Bahagian Pengangkutan untuk mengelolakan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> pengangkutan yang ada sekarang ini, dan yang ketujuh akan di-adakan satu Bahagian Research ia-itu satu bahagian jentera untuk mengeluarkan fikiran<sup>2</sup> dan juga planing<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki dari satu masa ka-satu masa dan bahagian ini juga akan bertanggung-jawab bagi menyemak kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang kita chapai dari satu masa ka-satu masa supaya boleh menjamin kemajuan yang kita chapai itu ada-lah tetap tegas dan sempurna.

Perkara yang penting dalam menjalankan rancangan<sup>2</sup> untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera sa-lain daripada Lembaga ini, Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan, Kementerian<sup>2</sup> dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri ia-lah mengadakan kerjasama yang rapat di-antara satu dengan lain seperti yang mereka telah tunjukkan dalam menjalankan rancangan pembangunan luar bandar. Saya tegaskan di-sini Lembaga ini bertanggung-jawab dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera tetapi Lembaga ini tidak hendak mengambil kuasa atau menjalankan tugas Pejabat<sup>2</sup> dan Kementerian<sup>2</sup> yang lain. Tiap<sup>2</sup> Kementerian seperti Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, Kementerian Pelajaran, Kementerian Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama serta Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri ada tanggung-jawab-nya masing<sup>2</sup> dan mustahak-lah Kementerian<sup>2</sup> dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri itu meneruskan pekerjaan<sup>2</sup>-nya dan mengadakan kerjasama yang rapat dengan Lembaga ini. Kita tidak akan mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini melainkan Lembaga ini, Kementerian<sup>2</sup> dan Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri yang bertanggung-jawab atas hal ini akan dapat bekerjasama dengan satu tujuan, satu hati dengan menumpukan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> usaha dan tenaga. Saya telah sebutkan Lembaga ini akan di-beri rupa, nama dan tugas yang baharu dan akan di-beri bentuk dan rangka yang baharu dan akan di-beri nafas dan jiwa yang baharu.

akan tetapi mustahak-lah Kementerian<sup>2</sup>, Pejabat<sup>2</sup> dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri mempunyai jiwa dan nafas yang baharu juga jiwa dan semangat yang di-kehendaki seperti yang sedang di-tunjokkan oleh Wakil<sup>2</sup> dalam Persidangan Konggres.

Bagitu juga pada hari semalam Dewan Ra'ayat telah meluluskan satu undang<sup>2</sup> bagi menubuhkan satu Lembaga Pasaran Barang keluaran tanaman<sup>2</sup>. Lembaga ini akan mempunyai tanggung-jawab yang penuh dalam hal menjalankan pemasaran barang<sup>2</sup> yang di-keluarkan oleh penduduk<sup>2</sup> luar bandar terutama sekali daripada bumiputera. Pasaran ia-lah satu lapangan yang penting untuk menolong ra'ayat di-luar bandar ia-itu bumiputera ia-itu menambah dan meluaskan pendapatan mereka itu daripada usaha dan tenaga mereka itu sendiri. Oleh itu di-chadangkan Lembaga Pasaran ini akan bekerjasama dengan rapat-nya dengan Lembaga Pembangunan Iktisad itu. Kesimpulan-nya-tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, dalam 3 hari ini ia-itu hari semalam, hari ini dan hari besok, kita ada-lah membuka lipatan sejarah yang baharu dalam lapangan pembangunan. Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, ahli<sup>2</sup> Konggres sekalian telah datang dari jauh dan dekat untuk menghamborkan buah fikiran dan pendapat masing<sup>2</sup> terhadap chara<sup>2</sup> hendak memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera. Pendapat dan pandangan<sup>2</sup> ini akan dapat menggambarkan kepada Kerajaan chita<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat ra'ayat bumiputera sekalian dalam lapangan iktisad ini dan pandangan dan pendapat serta hasrat itu akan memberi panduan yang jelas kepada kerajaan di-atas chara<sup>2</sup> yang kerajaan akan mengambil langkah menolong dan memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera. Bagitu juga pada pagi ini kita telah mula menubuhkan bangunan untuk satu badan yang baharu yang akan mempunyai tanggung-jawab yang penting dalam lapangan iktisad ini. Kerajaan ada-lah berazam hendak mengambil apa jua langkah yang patut untuk memberi peluang yang lebeh lanjut, lebeh luas kepada bumiputera negeri ini. Saya sendiri faham untuk menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi, kita berkehendakkan usaha dan tenaga dan satu badan bukan sahaja progressib seperti yang di-katakan oleh ahli Konggres semalam, bahkan satu badan yang dinamik yang boleh sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat bumiputera dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya. Lembaga ini-lah hendak kita lahirkan hari ini dan Lembaga ini, saya harap Konggres sendiri akan memberi nama yang sesuai dengan kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dan Kerajaan, akan memberi nyawa dan jiwa yang baharu, akan memberi tenaga yang penuh kepada Lembaga ini untuk menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat bumiputera dalam usaha memperbaiki ekonomi mereka itu.

Bagi penutup-nya, saya suka sebutkan chita<sup>2</sup> hendak mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan ini bukan-lah satu perkara yang pelek, susah atau pun luar biasa akan tetapi seperti perusahaan<sup>2</sup> dan perkerjaan<sup>2</sup> yang lain perkara yang penting sekali di-kehendaki ia-lah latehan yang sempurna, pengetahuan dan peng-

alaman supaya dapat bertanding dan berlawan dengan orang<sup>2</sup> yang telah pun mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan ini. Tanggong-jawab Kerajaan saya sebutkan ia-lah terang dan nyata ia-itu Kerajaan akan memberi sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> peluang sama ada latehan dan juga pertolongan<sup>2</sup> lain dengan harapan dan keperchayaan bumiputera sekalian akan menggunakan peluang ini dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya. Saya sendiri yakin dan perchaya dengan kerjasama yang penoh daripada Kerajaan dan daripada bumiputera sendiri dan dengan semangat dan jiwa yang baharu daripada kedua<sup>2</sup> pihak, kehendak dan hasrat ra'ayat dalam lapangan ekonomi ini dengan izin Tuhan akan dapat di-hasilkan.

Sekian-lah sahaja, dengan ini saya sukachita mengishtiharkan letakan batu asas bagi bangunan Lembaga ini dan saya berdo'a kepada Tuhan mudah<sup>2</sup>an bangunan ini akan memberi nikmat<sup>2</sup> dan faedah<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki oleh semua gulongan.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*5hb Jun, 1965.*



## UCHAPAN PENUTUP KONGGERES EKONOMI BUMIPUTERA

*Uchapan Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, dalam upacara penutup Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera di-Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, pada pukul 5.00 petang, 7hb Jun, 1965.*

Yang Berhormat Tuan Pengerusi.

Ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa Pemandu.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan Puan<sup>2</sup> Sidang Perwakilan Sekalian.

Alhamdulillah Shukur Kahadrat Tuhan Rabbul'alamin, chita<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan hendak mengadakan Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera telah-lah selamat di-sempurnakan. Pada 3 hari yang lalu, tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> sidang perwakilan sekalian telah berkumpul di-Dewan ini berunding, berfikir, bertukar<sup>2</sup> fikiran di-atas perkara yang sangat penting bukan sahaja untuk bumiputera Malaysia ini bahkan untuk kemajuan, keamanan dan keselamatan negara kita ini.

Saya suka mengucapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> wakil<sup>2</sup> dari Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri, pertubohan<sup>2</sup> perniagaan, Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Ra'ayat dan Dewan Negara yang telah sudi menerima jemputan Kerajaan untuk menghadziri Persidangan Konggres ini. Saya suka juga mengucapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada rakan saya, Y.B. Enche' Mohd. Khir Johari, yang telah menjadi Pengerusi Jawatan Kuasa Pemandu dan juga Pengerusi Persidangan ini. Bagitu juga saya ucapkan berbanyak terima kasih dan tahniah kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa Pemandu dan juga kepada pegawai<sup>2</sup> yang telah menjalankan pekerjaan beberapa bulan yang lalu untuk mengadakan kesiapan<sup>2</sup> bagi Konggres ini, terutama sekali Enche' Ishak bin Tadin yang menjadi Setia Usaha Kerja Konggres ini.

Konggres ini telah di-adakan oleh Kerajaan Pusat di-bawah anjoran Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar. Saya sendiri telah berchita<sup>2</sup> hendak mengadakan Konggres ini beberapa tahun yang lalu sa-bagai memulakan satu tingkatan dalam usaha Kerajaan hendak memajukan iktisad negara kita ini, terutama sekali hendak memaju dan memperbaiki keadaan hidup ra'ayat yang duduk di-luar bandar. Akan tetapi mustahak-lah kita adakan Konggres semacham ini pada masa dan ketika yang kita fikirkan benar<sup>2</sup> sesuai. Ada sa-tengah orang sa-bahagian daripada ahli<sup>2</sup> Persidangan ini mengatakan Konggres ini sudah lama patut di-adakan. Saya tidak bersetuju dengan pandangan itu sungguh pun kita telah lama ada mempunyai chita<sup>2</sup> hendak mengadakan Konggres ini tetapi masa yang kita adakan Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang julong kali ini sangatlah tepat dan sesuai. Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> mengetahui sa-lepas kita menchapai kemerdekaan dan sa-lepas kita telah amankan tanah ayer

kita ini daripada pengganas<sup>2</sup> komunis, Kerajaan telah menjalankan ranchangan pembangunan luar bandar yang raksaksa bagi memberi kemudahan<sup>2</sup> hidup kepada ra'ayat seperti jalan raya, sekolah<sup>2</sup>, tempat<sup>2</sup> berobat, bekalan ayer dan sa-bagai-nya. Tujuan kita menjalankan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> ini bukan-lah semata<sup>2</sup> untuk hendak memberi kemudahan<sup>2</sup> yang mustahak yang di-fikirkan patut ra'ayat negara ini mempunyai-nya akan tetapi ia-lah hendak menunjukkan kepada ra'ayat bahawa kemerdekaan tanah ayer kita ini berma'ana yang kita semua ra'ayat negara ini bagaimana miskin dan bagaimana jauh mereka dudok daripada bandar<sup>2</sup> dan sungguh pun tak tahu membacha dan menulis, boleh mendapat kemajuan<sup>2</sup> dan kemudahan<sup>2</sup> dan kesenangan<sup>2</sup> yang berlebehan<sup>2</sup> lagi. Oleh itu dengan ada-nya ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang saya sebutkan tadi di-sampaikan ka-kampung<sup>2</sup>, ka-segala cherok rantau tanah ayer kita ini dan dengan ada-nya ranchangan<sup>2</sup> kelas<sup>2</sup> dewasa untuk membasmi buta huruf, membolehkan ra'ayat negara kita ini yang tidak ada peluang hendak belajar membacha dan menulis boleh membacha dan menulis, dapat-lah timbul perasaan di-kalangan ra'ayat ia-itu perasaan dan keinginan kepada kemajuan, kepada perubahan<sup>2</sup> dan kepada taraf hidup yang lebeh tinggi, lebeh bahagia daripada yang ada sekarang ini. Dengan ada-nya ra'ayat jelata seluroh-nya terutama sekali ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera menunjukkan semangat dan perasaan ingin kepada kemajuan, semangat bersedia hendak berusaha dan berkorban, bekerja dan bertenaga untuk mendapatkan kemajuan itu, baharu-lah boleh kita adakan Konggeres yang semacham ini kerana Konggeres ini ia-lah tujuan-nya hendak mengetahui akan hasrat dan kehendak ra'ayat dalam lapangan ekonomi negeri ini dan jikalau ra'ayat tidak dapat hendak menunjukkan perasaan dan kehendak dan hasrat mereka itu tentu-lah Konggeres yang semacham ini tidak memberi faedah yang kita kehendaki.

Dengan sebab itu pehak Kerajaan sungguh pun kita ada chita<sup>2</sup> hendak mengadakan Konggeres ini beberapa tahun yang lalu telah menetapkan sekarang ini sa-bagai masa yang sesuai bagi mengadakan Konggeres supaya wakil<sup>2</sup> daripada bumiputera daripada semua lapisan dapat menghambor buah fikiran dan pandangan<sup>2</sup> mereka dan meng-hamborkan chita<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat mereka itu dalam lapangan ekonomi.

Dalam 3 hari yang lalu, baik dalam Persidangan Penoh atau pun dalam Persidangan Kumpulan Kerja, tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> dapat memikir, memberi buah fikiran dan berunding bersama<sup>2</sup> bukan sahaja untuk menjujuk hasrat dan kehendak tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> bahkan untuk menchari jalan dan ikhtiar bagi mengatasi masalah yang sangat penting dan mustahak ini. Saya sendiri sungguh pun tidak bersama dalam persidangan tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> telah dapat juga mendengar perbincangan baik dalam Persidangan Penoh dan juga dalam Persidangan Kumpulan Kerja dan saya sendiri dapat mendengar kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> dan dapat mengetahui bagaimana kuat dan hangat-nya semangat ahli<sup>2</sup> persidangan sekalian dalam menghadapi masalah memperbaiki iktisad atau ekonomi bumiputera ini.

Pada petang ini saya ada-lah di-kehendaki menutup Persidangan ini yang telah di-buka oleh Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri pada 5hb yang lalu. Saya harap tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> tidak silap faham di-atas tanggung-jawab Menteri<sup>2</sup> dan pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> Menteri<sup>2</sup> bukan semata<sup>2</sup> menutup pintu yang telah di-buka oleh Perdana Menteri dan lagi pada fikiran saya istiadat penutup ini ada-lah silap di-gunakan dengan upacara petang ini. Tutup itu ma'ana-nya kita rentikan pekerjaan kita hari ini, tetapi hari ini ia-lah permulaan pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> dan tanggung-jawab Konggres.

Saperti saya telah sebutkan, dalam 3 hari yang lalu tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> telah memikir dan membincangkan atas beberapa perkara dan telah mendatangkan keputusan<sup>2</sup> yang tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> serahkan kepada saya pada hari ini. Saya dengan sukachita dan besar hati menerima dan saya mengaku dengan sa-berapa daya upaya dengan apa jua tenaga yang di-beri oleh Tuhan kepada saya dan rakan<sup>2</sup> saya. Menteri<sup>2</sup> yang lain dalam Kerajaan Perikatan, kami akan jalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat tuan<sup>2</sup> dan ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> sekalian dengan sa-penoh-nya. Akan tetapi tanggung-jawab bagi menjalankan keputusan<sup>2</sup> itu ia-lah tanggung-jawab bersama, tanggung-jawab Kerajaan, tanggung-jawab Konggres dan juga tanggung-jawab ra'ayat bumiputera sekalian. Dengan sebab itu saya telah berkata yang Konggres ini belum-lah di-tutup, bahkan upacara pada petang ini ia-lah upacara permulaan—permulaan kita bekerja, berusaha dan bertenaga menitekan peloh yang ada dalam badan kita untuk mencapai chita<sup>2</sup> yang kita kehendaki itu. Tiga hari sa-telah berchakap, berunding dan bertukar fikiran, sekarang sampai-lah masa-nya kita bekerja, kita tunai dan laksanakan apa yang telah kita chakap dan apa yang kita telah tulis dalam ketetapan<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-hadapan kita pada hari ini.

Ketetapan<sup>2</sup>, hasrat<sup>2</sup> dan chita<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat tidak dapat di-laksanakan semata<sup>2</sup> di-atas kertas atau dalam buku yang indah rupa-nya atau semata<sup>2</sup> dengan menggunakan pensel dan kertas, kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> ini hanya dapat di-sempurnakan dengan tiap<sup>2</sup> orang, baik Menteri<sup>2</sup>, Pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan, Ahli<sup>2</sup> Konggres dan sa-terus-nya ra'ayat Bumiputera sekalian menumpukan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> usaha dan tenaga untuk menjalankan keputusan ini.

Sa-bagai Kerajaan yang di-pilih oleh ra'ayat, Kerajaan Perikatan sedia hendak mengator akan jentera pentadbiran untuk melaksanakan kehendak<sup>2</sup> kita ini. Sedia hendak mengator dasar untuk mencapai chita<sup>2</sup> kita ia-itu dasar yang boleh mendapat kemajuan dengan sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya. Akan tetapi kemajuan itu bukan ada di-tangan Menteri<sup>2</sup>, Perdana Menteri atau pun Menteri<sup>2</sup> yang lain, kemajuan itu hanya dudok dalam urat nadi dan titek peloh tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang wakil<sup>2</sup> yang hadir di-sini dan tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang ahli bumiputera di-seluruh negara kita. Kemajuan hanya akan terchapai dengan usaha dan tenaga yang penoh daripada segala gulungan ra'ayat.

Dalam persidangan selama 3 hari itu banyak wakil<sup>2</sup> yang telah menyebut tentang kelemahan<sup>2</sup> dan kekurangan di-kalangan bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi ini pada masa yang telah lepas dan banyak wakil<sup>2</sup> yang menyebut kesilapan<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-buat pada masa yang lepas. Sekarang, pada hari ini mari-lah kita lupakan semua perkara<sup>2</sup> yang lepas itu, perkara yang telah jadi itu tak siapa pun boleh membetulkan-nya. Kerajaan tidak boleh menukar-nya, Allah s.w.t. juga tidak boleh menukarkan perkara yang telah terjadi itu. Perkara itu sudah habis, sekarang mari-lah kita pandang ka-hadapan. Kita berkuasa dan berhak dengan izin Tuhan menukarkan kedudukan kita, untong nasib bangsa kita pada masa yang akan datang, bahkan kita berkuasa membentok kedudukan bangsa dan negara kita pada masa yang akan datang. Mari-lah kita bersama<sup>2</sup> mengubah kedudukan kita pada masa yang akan datang, membentok ekonomi kita dengan chara dan keadaan yang baharu. Ini-lah pada fikiran saya, ketetapan yang besar dan penting sekali yang patut kita ambil pada Konggres ini ia-itu kita semua mengaku berazam bukan sahaja hendak memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera, bukan sahaja hendak memberi peluang yang lebeh luas kepada bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi, bahkan kita berazam juga bahawa perusahaan dan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang kita akan chapai dalam lapangan ekonomi bagi negara kita ini ada-lah sama dengan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-chapai oleh negeri<sup>2</sup> yang lain yang telah berkemajuan di-dunia.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa tanggung-jawab Kerajaan ia-lah mengator dan menyediakan jentera untok melaksanakan chita<sup>2</sup> dan kehendak<sup>2</sup> Konggres ini dan untok mengator dan mengadakan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang sempurna, ini saya mengaku<sup>2</sup> yang Kerajaan dan saya sendiri sa-bagai Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab akan menjalankan-nya. Pada hari semalam, pada masa meletakkan batu asas bangunan RIDA yang baharu, saya telah terangkan chadangan Kerajaan hendak mengubah kedudukan RIDA itu hendak memberi-nya rupa, bentok, nafas dan jiwa yang baharu dan pada hari ini Konggres telah memberi Lembaga itu nama yang baharu—MARA. Lembaga ini—MARA—akan bertanggung-jawab menolong dan menjalankan ikhtiar<sup>2</sup> untok memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera. Saya telah mengator ia-itu Lembaga MARA ini akan mempunyai beberapa Bahagian<sup>2</sup> Gerakan atau Operational Division: Bahagian Latehan; Bahagian Perusahaan; Bahagian Bantuan Wang; Bahagian Pentadbiran yang mengandongi satu planning dan research dan Bahagian Pengangkutan.

*Bahagian Latehan:*

Bahagian ini akan bertanggung-jawab mengadakan latehan<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki seperti yang terkandung dalam kertas Konggres ini ia-itu Dewan Latehan yang ada sekarang ini akan di-perbesar dan di-perluaskan supaya dapat memberi latehan<sup>2</sup> yang lebeh sempurna lagi kepada

ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera yang hendak mengambil bahagian dalam perusahaan dan perniagaan. Bagitu juga kita akan mengadakan Pusat<sup>2</sup> Latihan di-tempat<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu di-seluruh negara kita ini untuk memberi latihan dan pengalaman kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan sama ada yang baharu hendak menjalankan perniagaan atau pun yang sudah lama menjalankan perniagaan untuk menambah dan meluaskan pengalaman mereka itu. Kita akan memberi latihan bukan sahaja kepada beberapa ratus orang bahkan kita harap beberapa ribu ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan bumiputera akan di-beri latihan.

*Bahagian Bantuan Wang:* Mereka<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri latihan oleh Lembaga ini akan di-beri pertolongan modal untuk menjalan dan menjayakan perniagaan atau perusahaan dan kemudian daripada itu di-beri pertolongan, nasihat, latihan dan anjoran. Lembaga ini tidak akan memberi pinjaman wang kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang lain daripada mereka<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-beri latihan akan anjoran oleh Lembaga ini sendiri. Pinjaman bagi bumiputera yang lain akan di-sediakan kemudahan<sup>2</sup>-nya oleh Bank Ra'ayat atau Bank Bumiputera yang Kerajaan hendak tubuhkan tidak berapa lama lagi.

*Bahagian Perusahaan:* Bahagian ini akan mencari ikhtiar<sup>2</sup> untuk menubuhkan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> sama ada perusahaan besar, sederhana atau kecil supaya ra'ayat dan bumiputera dapat mengambil bahagian yang sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya dalam lapangan perusahaan. Tidak dapat tiada bagi permulaan-nya Lembaga ini terpaksa menubuhkan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> tetapi di-harap perusahaan<sup>2</sup> itu sa-telah berjalan dengan baik dan lichin, akan dapat di-serah kepada ra'ayat bumiputera dan penduduk<sup>2</sup> luar bandar untuk menjalankan-nya sendiri.

*Bahagian Pentadbiran:* Bahagian ini ia-lah bertanggung-jawab menjalankan pentadbiran Lembaga ini dan juga bertanggung-jawab mengadakan satu Bahagian Rancangan dan Research ia-itu bahagian untuk memikir dan mengator

rancangan<sup>2</sup> pada masa yang akan datang dan juga untuk menyemak pelaksanaan rancangan<sup>2</sup> yang telah dan sedang di-jalankan supaya kemajuan<sup>2</sup>-nya dari satu masa ka-satu masa yang tercapai itu ada-lah tetap, tegas dan sempurna.

*Bahagian Pengangkutan:* Bahagian ini akan bertanggung-jawab bagi mengelolakan perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup> pengangkutan yang pada masa ini ada di-bawah jagaan RIDA.

Saperti saya sebutkan semalam, Bahagian<sup>2</sup> Gerakan ini akan di-ketuai oleh sa-orang Timbalan Pengerusi yang di-beri tanggung-jawab yang baharu untuk melaksanakan rancangan<sup>2</sup> di-bawah bahagian<sup>2</sup> masing<sup>2</sup>. Kita berharap akan dapat mempunyai pegawai<sup>2</sup> yang sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya bersemangat dan bersedia, menumpukan sa-penoh usaha dan tenaga bagi mengetuai bahagian<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut. Tiap<sup>2</sup> bahagian akan di-kehendaki mengadakan Bilek Gerakan masing<sup>2</sup> untuk menunjukkan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang di-chapai-nya dari satu masa ka-satu masa.

Saperti yang saya terangkan semalam sungguh pun Lembaga MARA ini akan di-beri tanggung-jawab khas untuk melaksanakan rancangan<sup>2</sup> untuk memperbaiki ekonomi Bumiputera dan sa-buah Secretariat yang sekarang ini di-bawah Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan akan di-pindahkan ka-Lembaga ini dan Lembaga ini ada-lah dudok-nya di-bawah Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, ia-itu di-bawah jagaan saya sendiri, akan tetapi Lembaga ini sahaja tentu tidak dapat hendak melaksanakan dan menjayakan semua sekali rancangan<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki dalam lapangan ini, melainkan Lembaga ini dapat kerjasama yang penoh daripada Lembaga<sup>2</sup> yang lain saperti Lembaga Pasaran, Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Persekutuan, Lembaga F.I.D.A. dan Lembaga<sup>2</sup> yang lain. Begitu juga mustahak MARA ini mendapat kerjasama yang penoh daripada Kementerian<sup>2</sup>, Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri. Kementerian<sup>2</sup> saperti Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, Kementerian Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama dan Kementerian Pelajaran ada mempunyai tugas masing<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini dan juga Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri ada mempunyai tugas<sup>2</sup> yang penting. Jadi, mustahak-lah semua Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan dan Kementerian<sup>2</sup> yang berkaitan ini bukan sahaja menunaikan kewajipan masing<sup>2</sup> dengan sempurna-nya, bahkan memberi kerjasama yang penoh kepada MARA ini. Kemajuan hanya dapat di-chapai dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini dengan semua Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan, Kementerian<sup>2</sup> dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri menumpukan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> tenaga dengan satu tujuan, satu hati dan satu hasrat untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini. Hanya dengan chara yang semacam ini dapat kita menchapai kejayaan<sup>2</sup> yang chemerlang. Kertas<sup>2</sup> Kerja

Konggres ini dan juga ketetapan<sup>2</sup> yang di-perbuat oleh Konggres pada hari ini akan menjadi panduan kepada Kerajaan dan kepada MARA ini untuk menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup> mereka itu. Saperti saya sebutkan pada pagi semalam sungguh pun dalam usaha memajukan ekonomi ra'ayat ini kita berkehendakkan menggunakan hasil<sup>2</sup> bumi yang ada di-negara kita ini saperti bijeh, getah, barang<sup>2</sup> keluaran hutan dan sa-bagai-nya, tetapi hasil atau kekuatan yang mustahak sekali yang patut kita gunakan dalam lapangan ini ia-lah kekuatan tenaga ra'ayat. Kita mustahak menggunakan orang<sup>2</sup> yang mempunya<sup>2</sup> pengalaman, pengetahuan, semangat dan jiwa kebangsaan untuk menjadi ahli<sup>2</sup> MARA ini dan menolong bersama<sup>2</sup> melaksanakan dasar dan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat kita hendak memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera itu. Saya harap Konggres ini sifatkan MARA itu sa-bagai anak kandong Konggres sendiri. Konggres telah pun memberi nama-nya pada hari ini. MARA ini akan menjalankan kehendak dan chita<sup>2</sup> Konggres. Dengan sebab itu saya sangat sukachita bahawa Konggres telah bersetuju hendak mengadakan satu Secretariat supaya pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> Konggres ini dapat di-teruskan. Saperti saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya pada hari ini Konggres ini bukan-lah di-tutup bahkan baharu mula hendak menjalankan kerja<sup>2</sup>-nya. Saya harap akan dapat kerjasama yang rapat di-antara Konggres dengan MARA dan Konggres akan bersama<sup>2</sup> memerhati, mendidek, mengajar dan memelihara anak kandong-nya sendiri ia-itu MARA.

Pada petang ini saya tidak-lah hendak mengulas satu persatu keputusan<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-perbuat oleh Konggres ini, bahkan tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> sudah berchakap 3 hari lama-nya. Segala ketetapan<sup>2</sup> itu akan di-semak dengan sa-halus<sup>2</sup>-nya dengan serta-merta dan berpandukan kepada keputusan<sup>2</sup> itu Kerajaan akan mengator langkah untuk menyediakan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang sempurna dan terator bagi melancharkan chita<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> Konggres ini dan hasrat ra'ayat bumiputera. Saya boleh menegaskan di-sini bahawa tiap<sup>2</sup> buah fikiran dan pandangan yang di-keluarkan oleh ahli<sup>2</sup> Konggres akan di-beri pertimbangan yang sa-halus-nya oleh Kerajaan, akan di-semak, di-ator supaya di-jadikan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang boleh memberi kehasilan sa-penohnya kepada ra'ayat dan kepada bumiputera sekalian.

Saya menerima dengan besar hati chadangan Konggres, ia-itu RIDA di-tukarkan nama dan di-jadikan MARA atau Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat Bumiputera. Saya fikir nama ini sangat sesuai dengan kehendak dan hasrat ra'ayat bumiputera sekalian. Bagitu juga ketetapan Konggres supaya di-tubuhkan sa-buah Bank bumiputera itu, Kerajaan telah pun menimbang perkara ini dan di-harap bank yang di-kehendaki itu dapat di-tubuhkan tidak berapa lama lagi. Bagitu juga sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> daripada perkara yang terkandung dalam 69 ketetapan yang di-buat oleh Konggres ini, Kerajaan telah pun mula mengambil langkah

menjalankan-nya. Lapangan tanah, umpama-nya, chadangan Kerajaan supaya menchantumkan tanah yang tidak ekonomi dalam kawasan luar bandar itu. saya telah pun melantek satu jawatankuasa untuk menyediakan undang<sup>2</sup> bagi menubuhkan satu lembaga yang akan bertanggung-jawab di-atas hal ini, ia-itu lembaga Land Rehabilitation and Consolidation Authority.

Bagitu juga untuk menyemak dan mengawasi pelaksanaan segala keputusan dan shor<sup>2</sup> yang di-buat oleh Konggeres, saya akan melantek sa-buah jawatankuasa seperti di-kehendaki oleh Konggeres. Dalam persidangan Konggeres ini tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> telah di-beri sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> peluang untuk mengeluarkan buah fikiran yang tulus ikhlas. Ini-lah sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya menunjokkan yang Kerajaan Perikatan berdasarkan demokrasi bukan sahaja dalam lapangan siasah bahkan dalam lapangan iktisad juga. Kerajaan ada-lah menerima pandangan dan buah fikiran yang bebas, yang ikhlas yang di-beri oleh ra'ayat. Saya sentiasa sebutkan Kerajaan Perikatan sentiasa berdamping dengan ra'ayat, sedia hendak menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat. Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> dan ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera sekalian boleh-lah berpuas hati bahawa dalam usaha memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> dan bumiputera sekalian telah bersama<sup>2</sup> mengeluarkan buah fikiran, bersama<sup>2</sup> menyediakan dasar dan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> dan bersama<sup>2</sup> melaksanakan ranchangan itu. Ini-lah chontoh yang sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya menunjokkan kita ini berdasarkan demokrasi dan menjalankan demokrasi dengan betul dan ikhlas.

Dalam negara demokrasi, Kerajaan dan ra'ayat itu ia-lah satu Kerajaan yang di-pilih oleh ra'ayat ia-itu dalam menjalankan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini mustahak-lah ra'ayat dan Kerajaan itu mempunyai kerjasama yang sa-penoh-nya.

Ra'ayat telah memberi mandat kepada Kerajaan untuk menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> mereka. Kerajaan bertanggung-jawab menyediakan jentera dan mengator ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang hendak di-jalankan, akan tetapi dalam melaksanakan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> itu ra'ayat dan Kerajaan mustahak-lah bersama<sup>2</sup> menumpu dan menchurahkan usaha dan tenaga mereka itu. Saya telah sebutkan tadi, kemajuan sesuatu bangsa itu bukan-lah dalam tangan Kerajaan bahkan bukan-lah dalam tangan Menteri, tetapi ia-lah dalam tangan, dalam nadi dan titek peloh tiap<sup>2</sup> orang ra'ayat negara ini. Oleh itu kalau kita semua ada mempunyai keazaman, semangat dan jiwa ingin kepada kemajuan, semangat dan jiwa berani dan bersedia bekerja, berkorban dan ber-tenaga, dengan berkat Tuhan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> akan tercapai. Ini-lah pesan dan harapan saya kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, kepada Konggeres ini dan kepada bumiputera seluroh-nya.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> langkah kita mengadakan Konggeres Ekonomi Bumiputera ini boleh-lah di-bandingkan sama dengan langkah Kerajaan Amerika melancharkan angkasawan<sup>2</sup>-nya ka-angkasa lepas. Kerajaan



dan Konggres ini telah melancarkan angkasawan ka-angkasa lepas ekonomi supaya dapat bumiputera mengambil bahagian yang lebih sempurna, lebih penting dan akhirnya mendapat kejayaan dan kema'amanan yang kita kehendaki. Kita telah lancharkan bukan-nya GEMINI bahkan MARA ka-angkasa lepas dengan penuh harapan bahawa kapal angkasa lepas kita itu dapat membawa kita kepada kesenangan dan kema'amanan.

Sekian-lah sahaja, saya ucapkan kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> selamat balek ka-tempat masing<sup>2</sup> dan saya ucapkan Konggres ini terus maju dan berjaya.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*7hb Jun, 1965.*

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN ADDRESSED THE Y'S MEN CLUB OF SINGAPORE AT A LUNCHEON IN SINGAPORE LAST SATURDAY, THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF HIS SPEECH

I am extremely happy to have this opportunity of meeting and addressing the members of the Y's Men Club and their guests here today.

In fact, every time I came to Singapore, I had always welcomed the opportunity to meet the people of Singapore.

I hope to visit Singapore regularly and I would be even happier to meet more people and, if humanly possible, every single Malaysian living on this island.

I would like to thank the president, committee members and members of Y's Men's Club for this kind invitation to lunch and to address you all.

I am indeed very happy and honoured to be your guest this afternoon. As you know, Ladies and Gentlemen, our country Malaysia is a new nation barely two years old.

Therefore there is so much for all of us to do to consolidate our newly won independence to give people a better deal, a higher standard of living and better amenities of life.

If all of us could devote our energies towards this one aim, towards our immediate task of building a united and happy nation then we all stand to gain so much by it.

If instead of talking of divisions, partitions, disunity percentage of population or percentages of racial proportion we all talk about things we have in common, talk about our similarities, talk about ways and means of bringing our people of different races closer together, then our country and all of us would be much happier.

Our immediate task is to build and consolidate this new nation of ours to face the challenges of the present, Indonesian confrontation as well as disrupting elements within our midst.

That is why it is so important that all of us should do everything possible to consolidate our country and not to allow any section of our community, much less a certain person to say or do anything that would disrupt our country and the unity of our people.

Our country has been an independent, free and sovereign nation barely two years, day by day gaining strength in spite of attempts by Soekarno and his Communist colleagues, opportunists and reckless politicians both from within and without to crush and dominate us.

I am glad that the spirit, solidarity and determination of everyone in all parts of Malaysia is extremely high; their morale is extremely high in spite of anything Soekarno does or says about confrontation.

In spite of Soekarno's infiltration and subversion along the borders of Sabah and Sarawak, in Singapore and Malaya and apparent rather than real political conflict between competing parties, Malaysia remains a united nation, determined to uphold and protect our national security and sovereignty and to forge ahead with progressive and dynamic development towards greater prosperity and a happier life for all Malaysians—irrespective of their racial origin and creed.

The story of confrontation is so familiar to all of you already and suffice, if I just say, that whatever differences we have with Indonesia, whether Soekarno likes our democratic system of Government and policies or not, he has no right nor any business to send his troops to commit acts of aggression against our country.

If there is to be international peace, if the rule of law and respect for each other's national integrity and sovereignty are to be the fundamental basis in which nations regulate their relations with one another, the use of force must be stopped.

I am very glad to say that the world has, to a great extent, realised the real situation in South-East Asia today and we are glad that among the Afro-Asian nations, there is an ever-growing realisation of the danger to peace in South-East Asia as a result of Soekarno's aggression.

Our chances to be present or seated at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers later this month and thus claim our rightful place as a sovereign Afro-Asian Nation at this gathering is indeed good judging from the latest counts and reports we have received.

Most countries realised that we must be there because it is right as an independent Afro-Asian nation to participate in any Afro-Asian gathering.

It would be a great disappointment if we fail to be admitted to Algiers Conference but we can trust the sense of justice and fair-play of our friends in Africa, the Middle East and in Asia that they would uphold the principal in which they believe that in a conference such as this Afro-Asian conference which is strictly geographical in nature, every independent country in the region has a right to attend.

Like all newly independent countries of Africa and Asia we believe in international peace and understanding. We believe in co-operation among nations so that by our united efforts we could give our people a new deal. We could help to give them a better and higher standard of living which they all desire so much having been under colonial rule for so long.

We share the same ideals, hopes and aspirations as all newly developing countries of Asia and Africa.

That is why we have always said we want to live in peace with all nations including Indonesia but international peace must be based on respect of each other's independence and integrity.

In this confrontation by Indonesia against us, African and Asian countries have now realised who are in the wrong.

When I visited Africa recently all the leaders I met expressed the wish that our trouble with Indonesia should be settled peacefully.

I told them we are always ready to talk about peace. Even at the Conference in Algiers if we are admitted we will be pleased to seek any attempt to solve our differences with Indonesia. But I make it clear to our friends in Africa and in Asia that there cannot be peace unless aggression is stopped.

We have been facing Indonesian confrontation politically, diplomatically, economically and militarily for nearly two years and we are getting the better of Indonesia in all these fields.

Politically, we won a great victory at the United Nations when nine out of the 11 nations in the Security Council voted in our favour against Indonesian aggression, and it would be another victory for us if Afro-Asian countries accept us as an independent sovereign nation.

Economically Indonesia suffer much more than we do by this confrontation.

Militarily every attempt by Indonesia to set foot in our territory either by land, sea or air has been foiled by our military forces with the assistance of our friends from the Commonwealth.

Any sign that there is a loophole a slowing down in our determination and our will to face this confrontation as a united people, Indonesia would be encouraged to dominate or crush us.

Indeed if we continue to show disunity then President Soekarno need to do very little to crush us; we would crush ourselves by our own hands.

Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is the utmost importance that the various races in Malaysia should remain united. Our greatest asset is racial harmony; our salvation is national unity.

In a multi-racial society where racial differences coincide with economic differences, where each community has been nurtured to live their own separate cultural and traditional compartments, and in a society like this, it is highly dangerous to experiment with any frivolous theories or pet dogmas of a minority group of people.

While we continue to build Malaysia, our urgent job is to sustain national solidarity and the maintenance of law and order in this country.

What is imperative is the imbibing of a sense of belonging to a common and a national identity and loyalty.

Ironically, confrontation has provided an impetus to this process of nation-building of our various communities.

But recent utterances and doings of some people have seriously undermined our national unity and our progress towards nationhood.

It would take time for the people particularly the people of Sarawak and Sabah who are separated from us many hundred of miles to realise and appreciate that they belong to one nation with us and to regard us as one people with them.

Malaya became independent in 1957. Malaya consists of different States. In 1948 before we had the Federation of Malaya some of these States were independent sovereign States and it took some time for the people from Kedah to accept the Government in Kuala Lumpur as their national Government.

It took some time for people in Kelantan and Trengganu to regard the people of Johore as their own brothers and sisters, members of one nation. It took some years for the administrative set up to be adjusted, for the machinery of Government to be put into a proper working order.

But with patience, tolerance and the spirit of compromise and goodwill we succeeded in establishing a strong Central Government and we succeeded to some extent in moulding the various communities together.

We succeeded in taking away State loyalties and sub-ordinate them to the loyalties to the Central Government.

In the same way, Singapore, although closely linked with the rest of Malaya economically, geographically and historically has been separated constitutionally for 17 to 18 years, will take some time to adjust itself to the new set up.

But we must give time for all this. We must not be impatient and force the pace because if we do we shall disrupt the very thing we intend to establish.

Constitutionally and administratively we are a federation of State. We must therefore give time for the various State governmental machinery to adjust themselves and for the Central Government and the various State governments to work together in harmony and in co-operation.

In a multi-racial society like ours we must continue to make adjustments as we move along the road to one nation-hood.

We must do everything possible to encourage our people through our education policy, through the use of our national language and through one culture to feel that they are one.

We in the Alliance Government and in the Central Government do not pretend to be clever but we know we are sincere and we are practical. We know what our objective is, we know what our concept of Malaysia is because we were the people who conceived and brought this to life.

A new country like Malaysia can be compared to a modern new building. When a new building is constructed with unfamiliar architectural design, a lot of people cry out in protest. But these same people in a few years time will have got over the shock of unfamiliarity.

Indonesia protested against the formation of Malaysia and perhaps in a few years time she will have to accept it and I hope it will be the same with some of our people.

After all our new nation has just been born. Let us give it time to grow to man-hood. Let us all in unity develop and foster its growth.

The western concepts of equality, liberty and democracy must necessarily be viewed in the context of our social organisation.

Man is born free; yet is not free. He is born equal to others and yet not equal to others.

But society changes and with it man comes nearer to the fulfilment of his ideals.

Change implies understanding just as man must evolve a reasonable and workable scheme to make life tolerable; so must Malaysians evolve a workable and tolerable way of life.

No form of society is eternally changeless; it changes with experience and time.

Accepted political concepts change; even the most rigid—Stalinism is an example where the rigidity of Stalinism perceptibly changes with the increase of material wealth of the people.

Capitalism too is no more the unbridled force it once was; enlightened capitalism of the early 18th Century—the workhouse—has given way to cost-of-living allowances, maternity benefits, old age pensions and other benefits of the modern industrial and technological groups.

Planning is a basic feature of modern society; otherwise anarchic production; hence planning and organisation to ensure the most efficient utilisation of wealth of society for the benefit of the greatest number of its members.

Thus we find capitalism incorporating the best that could be found in socialist planning, in organisation and production.

That is the way even in capitalist countries of the West—England, France and closer to us, New Zealand—the essential of the welfare state inherited from past socialist governments, still operate; that socialism is not dismantled merely because a more conservative government is in power.

The Alliance Government is no exception to the rule of the trend prevailing in modern society. We do not only accept the props of democracy—Parliament and judiciary system—but Western techniques of organisation of productive forces in society. We realise that purely capitalist techniques of planning and organisations do not suit conditions in our country. So we find new techniques suitable to our own conditions and our own way of life.

The Rural Development Programme for example incorporated the best features of socialism and adapted to our way of life—the gotong-royong spirit of traditional Malaysian society. Ladies and Gentlemen, equal rights for all citizens—equal rights before the law—that exists in Malaysia; equal rights to vote and to be voted into or out of power; that too exists in Malaysia. Malay special right is distinctly different—it is a means, a legal means, a constitutional means, to rectify economic imbalance in society. But why some people talk and more about Malay right and native right and less of economic inequalities. As far as the Alliance Government is concerned we have served our people and our country. We have shown by our example and by our deeds in the past that we have been a fair and just Government. We shall continue to carry out our duties and responsibilities, that is to build a happy and a united country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I can go on talking for many, many hours on so many of our national problems but I do not wish to detain you too long on this my first occasion of meeting you. It is the duty not only of the Government but of our people to rectify all these inequalities and imbalances. We must endeavour to help the less fortunate of our people by evolutionary and gradual methods but without taking the right of others.

We will do this within our constitutional set up under our system of Parliamentary democracy. Our policy is to endeavour to level up and not level down. We want to give our people of all races the rightful place in our society in our country. That is why Ladies and Gentlemen, it is important for us to look at all our problems through the right perspective. We would be doing a great disservice to our country whoever it may be if we endeavour to draw a wedge between the different communities or to rise to power through communal issues. It has been my great pleasure to meet you all today and it is during moments such as this that I feel proud and happy to know of the abundance of goodwill and the wealth of talents in our country and whatever your professions and inclinations are, you all represent the hopes of our Nation and I am sure that in whatever sphere you are in you will be playing a great part in the shaping of our nation. Ladies and Gentlemen, Malaysia is our country and we must all defend it.

Malaysia is young and as most of its population are also young I have no doubt that it will be continually infused with an idealism—Malaysian idealism—that will always renew its life and its being.

KUALA LUMPUR.  
*23rd June, 1965.*



## TUN RAZAK'S MESSAGE ON U.N. ANNIVERSARY

*The following is a statement by the Honourable the Acting Prime Minister on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the United Nations:*

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations my Government is pleased to reiterate its full support for and faith in the principles, purposes and functions of the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion and maintenance of world peace and security, the protection of freedom and fundamental human rights and above all the stimulation of international co-operation in all fields of human endeavours for the economic, scientific and social progress for the benefit of mankind.

As a small country whose desire is to maintain its independent status in co-operation with all nations, big and small, Malaysia naturally looks towards the United Nations as the protective shield behind which nations like us may work out their own destinies and be left in peace to develop their economies so as to fulfill the concept of political independence with the context of economic well-being.

Despite the disastrous effects of the Second World War spectres of another global war involving the use of weapons whose destructive effects are horrifying even to imagine still loom large. It is most gratifying therefore that through the untiring efforts of the various Member States of the United Nations the Test Ban Treaty had been successfully drawn up and subscribed to by practically all nations of the world. Malaysia believes that this represents only the beginning of a development towards the ultimate objective—the obliteration of destructive weapons of war which might otherwise lead to even the annihilation of mankind itself.

Thus the United Nations has manifested itself as the most important force for peace. It is through the United Nations that peace has been restored in such recent international crises as in the Congo and Cyprus. In upholding the principles of the United Nations, Malaysia has, within the limits of its meagre resources, contributed towards United Nations peace efforts wherever possible, such as in the Congo and Cyprus.

Apart from being an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and differences perhaps one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations has been its contribution towards hastening the process of decolonisation and independence to subject peoples, particularly in Africa. As a newly independent State, Malaysia is most sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the peoples in the non-independent territories. It is therefore actively participating in all efforts in the United Nations to bring about developments towards early independence for the remaining dependent territories.

We in Malaysia have no doubt that peace and prosperity, goodwill and friendship, understanding and co-operation, can be achieved through the United Nations in the interests of further progress and well-being of mankind. It is to achieve this common goal that nations of the world should effectively support the various joint efforts of the United Nations. Embarking as we are on the threshold of the third decade of the United Nations since the signing of its Charter in San Francisco in 1945 and in the rather troubled situation of the present day world, Malaysia joins with other like-minded nations in the relentless appeal for greater support to further strengthen the United Nations in the pursuit of peace, prosperity and security.

Quite naturally, with the passage of the time and the vastly increased membership since 1945, the provisions of the Charter have in certain respects proved to fall short of meeting the need to make it a really effective body particularly with regard to a more equitable representation of Member States in all the United Nations organs. For this reason Malaysia welcomes the steps already taken to expand the Security Council and Economic and Social Council, and will exert all its efforts along with other like-minded nations to bring about where necessary an early and fruitful review of the provisions of the Charter.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*25th June, 1965.*

## MASAALAH PIMPINAN DI-MALAYSIA

*Uchapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Menteri Pertahanan, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, di-Majlis Penyampaian Hadiah Hari Perayaan Sambutan Jubilee Intan Kolej Melayu, Kuala Kangsar, pada hari Sabtu 26hb Jun, 1965, jam 6.00 petang di-Dewan Besar Kolej Melayu, Kuala Kangsar. Tun Razak ada-lah sa-orang murid tua Kolej Melayu.*

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Pahang,

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak.

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup>,

Tuan<sup>2</sup> Yang Terutama Gabnor Pulau Pinang dan Melaka,

Guru Besar,

Guru<sup>2</sup>.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua Persatuan Murid<sup>2</sup> Tua,

Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan Penuntut<sup>2</sup> sekalian yang hadir:

Saya berasa amat bangga di-sebabkan sa-bagai sa-orang murid tua Maktab ini dapat hadir bersama<sup>2</sup> dalam upacara menyambut Hari Ulang Tahun Jubilee Intan Maktab Melayu atau Malay College. Bagitu juga saya fikir tuan<sup>2</sup> dan penuntut<sup>2</sup> sekalian berasa besar hati dan bangga oleh sebab beberapa orang murid<sup>2</sup> tua dari seluruh cheroak rantau negara kita telah dapat hadir bersama<sup>2</sup> di-temasha yang bersejarah ini. Murid<sup>2</sup> tua Maktab ini, termasuk-lah Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup>, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Brunei, Tuan<sup>2</sup> Yang Terutama Gabnor<sup>2</sup> dan juga pegawai<sup>2</sup> tinggi Kerajaan serta orang<sup>2</sup> yang ternama dalam semua lapangan perusahaan dan kehidupan di-negara kita ini.

Maktab ini saperti yang tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian ma'alum, telah di-dirikan 60 tahun dahulu, untok memberi latehan kepada putera<sup>2</sup> Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu, anak<sup>2</sup> orang ternama, pembesar<sup>2</sup> negara, supaya mereka itu dapat menerima pelajaran dan latehan yang sempurna untok menyesuaikan diri mereka itu memegang jawatan mentadbirkan negeri<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu. Pada 50 tahun lama-nya dari tahun 1905 hingga tahun 1955 Maktab ini telah memenohi tugas yang di-kehendaki dengan sempurna dan ramai murid<sup>2</sup> yang keluar dari Maktab ini telah mendapat memegang jawatan<sup>2</sup> tinggi dalam pentadbiran Negeri<sup>2</sup> dalam Semenanjung Tanah Melayu dahulu. Bagitu juga Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia dan tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian, murid<sup>2</sup> tua Maktab ini mengetahui bagaimana Maktab ini di-jaga, di-tadbir dari satu masa ka-satu masa untok memenohi tujuan<sup>2</sup> dan kehendak<sup>2</sup> yang sa-benar. Di-Maktab ini, latehan<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri bukan sahaja semata<sup>2</sup> untok membolehkan murid<sup>2</sup> mendapat sijil kelulusan—Sijil Senior Cambridge atau pun yang lain<sup>2</sup>—akan tetapi latehan<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri di-Maktab ini ia-lah untok membolehkan murid<sup>2</sup>, apabila sudah lulus dari

Maktab ini, menjadi ketua<sup>2</sup>, penganjur<sup>2</sup> di-dalam negara kita ini. Dengan sebab itu latehan<sup>2</sup> di-maktab ini berlainan dengan latehan<sup>2</sup> yang di-dapati di-sekolah<sup>2</sup> yang lain pada masa yang lampau di-negara kita ini di-sebabkan di-Maktab ini sa-lain daripada latehan<sup>2</sup> dan pelajaran yang di-dapati di-bangku sekolah, latehan di-luar bangku sekolah pun di-utamakan juga supaya memberi didekan tengah laku dan tata-tertib untok membolehkan murid<sup>2</sup> yang keluar dari Maktab ini menjelma kehidupan alam dunia dan dapat mengatasi masalah yang di-hadapi-nya. Sa-lain daripada latehan<sup>2</sup> permainan olah raga yang memberi ajaran kepada kita ia-itu jika hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam kehidupan, kita mustahak-lah sentiasa menchuba dengan bersungguh<sup>2</sup>. Murid<sup>2</sup> yang belajar di-bawah Tuan Basell tahu perkataan<sup>2</sup> yang sentiasa di-sebut<sup>2</sup>-nya ia-itu—belum mati lagi mana boleh tak boleh—perkataan<sup>2</sup> ini menerangkan bahawa di-dalam alam kehidupan kita ini, kita mustahak-lah sentiasa menumpukan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> usaha dan tenaga kita jika hendak mendapat kejayaan. Bagitu juga kadang<sup>2</sup> kita di-bawa berjalan masok hutan dan mendaki bukit dengan tujuan hendak menjunjukkan ia-itu kehidupan di-alam ini sentiasa di-hadapi oleh berbagai masalah dan kesukaran saperti kita mendaki bukit juga. Akan tetapi kalau kita tekun dan bersungguh<sup>2</sup> mendaki bukit itu, kita tetap akan sampai ka-kemunchak. Bagitu juga kehidupan di-dunia, kalau betul<sup>2</sup> berusaha dan sentiasa menumpukan tenaga kita dalam apa jua pekerjaan dan perusahaan, kita akan sampai ka-kemunchak yang tinggi sekali.

Pada tahun 1955 saya telah dapat hadir di-temasha yang bersejarah bagi Maktab ini ia-itu Temasha Jubilee Emas. Pada masa itu saya menjadi Menteri Pelajaran. Dalam upachara yang saya telah buat di-upachara itu pada masa itu, saya telah sebutkan ia-itu menurut peredaran masa, di-sebabkan kita telah mengadakan pilihanraya kebangsaan dan tidak berapa lama lagi negara kita akan menchapai kemerdekaan, mustahak-lah kedudukan Maktab ini di-ubah menurut dasar demokrasi yang kita amaikan ia-itu Maktab ini bukan sahaja di-untokkan kepada putera<sup>2</sup> Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia dan anak<sup>2</sup> pembesar<sup>2</sup> negara bahkan kepada murid<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang lain yang mempunyai kelayakan supaya Maktab ini sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya terus menjadi tiang seri bagi pelajaran anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini. Oleh itu dengan dasar yang baharu ini Maktab ini telah di-perbesarkan dan mengandongi beberapa kali ganda ramai-nya murid<sup>2</sup> daripada masa yang telah lalu. Sukachita saya mengetahui bahawa sungguh pun ada perubahan, perubahan kedudukan Maktab ini dan dengan bertambah ramai bilangan murid<sup>2</sup>-nya, Maktab ini maseh lagi menjalankan dasar<sup>2</sup>-nya yang asal dan terus memberi latehan<sup>2</sup> dan didekan kepada anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera untok mereka itu mengambil bahagian yang penting dalam pentadbiran dan perusahaan negara kita ini.

Nyata-lah, Maktab ini ia-lah bertanggung-jawab bagi mendidik ketua<sup>2</sup> dan penganjor<sup>2</sup> negara kita dan sekarang ini menjadi penganjor<sup>2</sup> yang berdasarkan demokrasi berparlimen. Pada fikiran saya, menjadi penganjor dalam lapangan siasah dan pentadbiran; penganjor dalam lapangan tentera ada mempunyai kesenangan<sup>2</sup> dan kuasa<sup>2</sup> yang penting—tentera<sup>2</sup> di-bawah-nya ada-lah menurut tata-tertib dan mustahak sentiasa menerima perintah<sup>2</sup> yang di-berikan. Kuasa penganjor tentera tidak dapat di-tentang oleh sesiapa asalkan Kerajaan ada kepercayaan kapada-nya dan tidak payah mengambil hati ketua<sup>2</sup> di-bawah jagaan-nya. Akan tetapi sa-orang Perdana Menteri dalam negara yang berdasarkan demokrasi mustahak sentiasa memujok dan tidak boleh sa-tiap masa memerintah rakan<sup>2</sup>-nya, Menteri<sup>2</sup> yang lain dan sa-tiap masa ia kena memandang kapada pengundi<sup>2</sup>, ra'ayat jelata, kerana dalam beberapa tahun—lima tahun sekali—ia terpaksa pergi menemui ra'ayat untok mendapatkan perintah atau mandat yang baharu. Oleh itu nyata-lah penganjor<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan siasah dan pentadbiran ada mempunyai tanggung-jawab dan terpaksa menghadapi masalah yang lebeh penting, lebeh susah daripada penganjor<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan tentera.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian, murid<sup>2</sup> yang sedang dalam bangku sekolah tidak berapa lama lagi akan menghadapi kehidupan dunia yang senang senang dan akan menjadi ketua<sup>2</sup> dan penganjor<sup>2</sup> dalam berbagai<sup>2</sup> lapangan kehidupan di-negara kita ini. Kapada murid<sup>2</sup> tua yang sudah pun menjadi bukan sahaja murid tua Maktab ini bahkan murid tua dunia, tentu-lah masalah ini tidak berbangkit lagi. Akan tetapi murid<sup>2</sup> tua yang maseh muda tentu ada peluang lagi untok menunjukkan kebolehan mereka itu di-dalam berbagai lapangan sama ada dalam jawatan atau pun lapangan perusahaan yang mereka itu jalankan pada masa ini. Sungguh pun dunia berubah dan keadaan turut juga berubah, tetapi syarat<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki bagi sa-saorang yang hendak menjadi ketua dan penganjor itu tidak berubah. Kesimpulan-nya ia-lah 3 perkara: satu, kepercayaan atau dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya 'faith', kepercayaan kapada kebolehan diri sendiri dan kepercayaan kapada kehasilan kapada perkara yang hendak di-buat-nya itu; kedua, semangat tulus ikhlas, kejujoran atau 'sincerity'; ketiga, keberanian atau 'courage'. Ini-lah 3 rukun yang mustahak di-punyai oleh sa-saorang yang hendak menjadi penganjor. Ia mustahak mempunyai sikap pendirian yang boleh menarek pengikut<sup>2</sup>-nya supaya menurut anjoran-nya dan ia mustahak tahu ka-mana hendak di-bawa-nya pengikut<sup>2</sup>-nya itu dan apa sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya chita<sup>2</sup> dan tujuan-nya. Ia mustahak mempunyai kepercayaan yang penoh bahawa chita<sup>2</sup> dan tujuan-nya itu baik dan boleh di-hasilkan.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian, kita sekarang berada dalam alam yang huruhara yang mempunyai fahaman dan pendapat atau ideoloji yang bertentangan antara satu sama lain. Bagitu juga kita sekarang berada dalam negara

yang muda, yang baharu sahaja mencapai kemerdekaan dan mengambil tempat-nya sa-bagai suatu negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat di-samping negara<sup>2</sup> yang lain di-dunia. Dengan itu tidak dapat tidak kita mempunyai masalah<sup>2</sup> yang banyak dan kusut dan penganjor<sup>2</sup> kita pada masa yang akan datang mempunyai tanggung-jawab yang berat, lebeh berat lagi daripada penganjor<sup>2</sup> kita pada masa yang telah lalu. Kita bertanggung-jawab mengisi kemerdekaan yang telah kita chapai itu dan kita bertanggung-jawab membena suatu bangsa yang mempunyai ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bahagi kapada negara kita ini daripada ra'ayat negeri kita yang berasal dari berbagai bangsa itu, menjadi tanggung-jawab kapada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu atau bumiputera untuk menarek orang<sup>2</sup> daripada bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing yang telah menumpukan ta'at setia-nya kapada negara ini supaya bersatu padu dan bekerjasama dengan sa-penoh-nya. Kita tahu masalah hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa atau kebangsaan yang semacham ini ada-lah mengambil masa. Akan tetapi mustahak kita menjaga perhubungan baik di-antara penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-negeri ini supaya kita dapat menjamin keamanan dan kemajuan negara kita. Bagi pehak Kerajaan Perikatan yang ada sekarang ini, Kerajaan faham bahawa dengan ada-nya kemerdekaan politik mustahak penduduk<sup>2</sup> negeri ini terutama orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera mendapat peluang<sup>2</sup> dan bahagian<sup>2</sup> yang lebeh luas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad, perniagaan dan kemajuan negara kita. Dengan sebab itu sa-lepas sahaja kita mencapai kemerdekaan dan sa-lepas sahaja kita mengamankan tanah ayer kita ini daripada pegganas komunis, Kerajaan telah menumpukan usaha dan tenaga-nya untuk kemajuan negara, untuk memberi kemudahan<sup>2</sup> hidup kapada ra'ayat terutama sekali yang dudok di-luar bandar dan di-kampong<sup>2</sup>. Dan sekarang ini Kerajaan telah meneruskan usaha<sup>2</sup>-nya untuk meninggikan taraf hidup, hendak memberi ra'ayat peluang<sup>2</sup> yang lebeh dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera di-negara kita ini tidak mempunyai kekuatan dan kebolehan untuk menjalankan usaha<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan, dengan sebab itu mustahak-lah Kerajaan dan juga orang<sup>2</sup> dari bangsa asing memberi pertolongan kapada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera supaya mereka itu boleh mendapat kemajuan dalam lapangan ini. Kerajaan ada-lah berazam hendak menjalankan dasar<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu dan hendak menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat supaya ra'ayat negara kita ini dapat mempunyai taraf hidup dan kedudukan yang sempurna sa-imbang dengan ra'ayat negeri<sup>2</sup> lain yang telah merdeka dan telah mendapat kemajuan. Dengan itu tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian, kesimpulan-nya masalah<sup>2</sup> yang di-hadapi oleh orang<sup>2</sup> yang hendak menjadi ketua dan penganjor pada masa yang akan datang, saperti tuan<sup>2</sup>, ada-lah berlainan daripada masa yang telah lalu.

Saya suka beruchap sadikit berkenaan dengan pimpinan negara Malaysia pada masa hadapan. Peluang untuk memimpin atau menjadi pemimpin Malaysia pada sekarang ini tidak ada sempadan dan saya

berharap murid<sup>2</sup> Malay College akan sentiasa bersedia untuk menerima lathahan pimpinan dan pada suatu hari kelak memimpin negara ini. Ini ada-lah chabaran saya kepada murid<sup>2</sup> semua. Pimpinan dalam Malaysia pada hari ini oleh kerana perubahan politik dan ilmu alam negara kita tidak-lah chara traditional lagi. Pimpinan hari ini mesti-lah dinamik, jujur dan tegas jika pimpinan itu untuk menghadapi dan mendapat kemenangan dalam perlawanan siasah ekonomi, tipu helah dalam politik dan juga kenyataan politik dan bentok Malaysia hari ini. Kita terpaksa bersedia untuk menghadapi keadaan<sup>2</sup> ini jika kita mahu kemajuan, kema'amoran dan memimpin negara kita yang di-chintai ini.

Masaalah pimpinan Malaysia ada-lah amat penting kerana sama ada Malaysia terus hidup atau tidak terletak-lah pada sifat<sup>2</sup> pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Malaysia pada masa akan datang dan yang ada sekarang. Sama ada Malaysia terus menerus hidup subur, sama ada demokrasi akan terus hidup subur atau mati, sama ada kebebasan persaoangan akan terus menerus hidup di-negara kita dengan bebas-nya, terletak di-atas chorak pimpinan yang akan mengendalikan pemerentahan Malaysia.

Saperti tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> m'alum, parti<sup>2</sup> siasah berlawanan antara satu dengan lain untuk mendapat sokongan dari ra'ayat untuk memimpin mereka. Bagitu juga ideoloji<sup>2</sup> politik berlawanan antara satu dengan lain untuk mendapat sokongan dari ra'ayat. Negara kita ini terletak di-suatu tempat yang sangat penting dari segi ketenteraan dan politik. Kerana negara kita di-tengah<sup>2</sup> dua benua, Tanah Besar Asia di-utara dan Benua Australia dan New Zealand di-selatan. Negara kita berkurun<sup>2</sup> telah mendapat pengaruh<sup>2</sup> politik, ugama, kebudayaan dari negara<sup>2</sup> China, India, Arab dan juga Eropah. Penduduk<sup>2</sup> negara kita yang berbilang bangsa ini manjadi masalah pimpinan yang penting dalam negara kita sekarang.

Soal pimpinan negara saperti negara Malaysia sa-buah negara yang baharu munchol dan sedang maju dan baru sahaja menchapai kemerdekaan sangat-lah penting. Chorak pimpinan Malaysia akan menentukan untong nasib negara kita ini pada masa akan datang, akan menentukan chara hidup ra'ayat dan bentok bangsa dan negara kita. Apa-kah chorak pimpinan yang akhir-nya akan menguasai kuasa politik di-negara kita ini? Di-sebabkan kita berdasarkan demokrasi dan kita mempunyai penduduk<sup>2</sup> daripada berbagai bangsa yang mustahak menunjukkan ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bahagi kepada negara kita mustahak-lah chorak pimpinan itu menentang tekanan<sup>2</sup> politik dan kebudayaan di-sekeliling kita di-Tenggara Asia ini. Dalam masa kita di-jajah soal pimpinan tidak timbol. Di-sebabkan tidak mustahak kita mengambil berat di-atas perkara ini kerana pimpinan Malaya pada masa itu di-serah bulat<sup>2</sup> kepada Kerajaan British dan pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan. Waktu itu kita tidak mempersoalkan perkara politik—masing<sup>2</sup> menjaga kehidupan bersendirian dan kita tidak di-pengaruh<sup>2</sup> oleh kuasa<sup>2</sup>, anasir<sup>2</sup> atau pengaruh<sup>2</sup> dari luar oleh sebab kita di-lindongi oleh British.

Gerakan<sup>2</sup> kebangsaan waktu itu pun pada umum-nya tidak ada. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu membuat hal<sup>2</sup>-nya sendiri, dudok berkeadaan sendiri bagitu juga orang<sup>2</sup> China dan orang<sup>2</sup> India dan bangsa<sup>2</sup> lain. Soal hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa yang meletakkan ta'at setia-nya kepada tanah ayer kita sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya tidak timbol. Saling mengerti dan perasaan persafahaman di-antara satu bangsa dengan lain tidak timbol dan tidak di-galakkan. Akan tetapi sa-telah peperangan dunia kedua, perasaan kebangsaan telah timbol dan chita<sup>2</sup> berkehendakkan kemerdekaan juga timbol dan dengan sebab itu soal menubuhkan suatu bangsa daripada penduduk<sup>2</sup> daripada berbagai<sup>2</sup> bangsa di-negara ini pun timbol. Ra'ayat di-negara ini di-kehendaki menumpukan ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bahagi kepada negeri ini dan bersama<sup>2</sup> membena satu negara yang baharu yang merdeka dan berdaulat.

Apa-kah chorak pimpinan yang di-kehendaki pada masa ini? Pelajaran tinggi pada umum-nya hanya boleh memberi permulaan kepada kita dalam lapangan hidup dan jika sa-saorang hendak menjadi pemimpin mustahak-lah mempunyai pengetahuan, pengalaman dan kelebih<sup>2</sup> yang lain. Sa-baik<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dan pimpinan ia-lah pelajaran dan pimpinan yang di-gunakan semata<sup>2</sup> untuk berkhidmat dan mengorbankan diri kepada negara bangsa dan ugama. Sa-saorang yang berpengetahuan tinggi tidak boleh mendakwa diri-nya sa-bagai sa-orang pemimpin melainkan ia menggunakan pengetahuan itu untuk menolong membetulkan masharakat yang kurang betul atau kurang adil. Mustahak-lah ilmu pengetahuan itu di-gunakan untuk mengatasi masaalah<sup>2</sup> kemiskinan ra'ayat di-kampong<sup>2</sup>. Pengetahuan dan pimpinan itu mesti-lah di-samakan dengan chita<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat negara kita ini untuk menchapai kema'amoran, kebahagiaan hidup yang lebeh sempurna dalam hidup mereka. Ini-lah chorak pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang negara kita berkehendakkan ia-itu negara yang baharu menchapai kemerdekaan dan yang ingin kepada kemajuan.

Malaysia berkehendakkan sa-banyak<sup>2</sup> pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang tulus ikhlas, tekun dan ta'at setia yang bersedia berkhidmat untuk kebajikan dan kesenangan ra'ayat dan kema'amoran negara. Kita berkehendakkan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang menjuarakan perpaduan baik dan perasaan muhibbah di-antara bangsa<sup>2</sup> di-negara kita ini. Kita tidak mahu pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang berchakap pechah belah atau partition. Kita mahu pemimpin yang jujur yang sentiasa berchakap menguatkan perpaduan baik antara kaum dan menchari akhtiar untuk menyelesaikan masaalah<sup>2</sup> di-negara kita ini dengan chara baik dan realistik. Kita mahu pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang mengetahu<sup>2</sup> bagaimana masaalah<sup>2</sup> kaum di-Malaysia ini dapat di-selesaikan berdasarkan kepada keadaan yang ada pada masa ini. Mereka yang menggunakan perkauman untuk mendapat sokongan dalam politik tidak akan kekal lama dalam medan siasah kerana saya yakin ra'ayat Malaysia ada-lah praktikal, mereka cherdek, pandai dan tahu mana perkara yang benar, perkara yang jujur dan ikhlas. Saya tahu



penduduk<sup>2</sup> negeri ini, termasuk kawan<sup>2</sup> kita orang<sup>2</sup> China tidak akan membahayakan kedudukan politik dan keamanan negara ini untuk sa-saorang politician atau pemimpin yang menggunakan taktik yang tidak sesuai dan terkeluar dari saluran politik kebangsaan kita. Kerana saya perchaya mereka itu sedar jika mereka itu menyokong puak<sup>2</sup> yang semacham ini neschaya akan timbul pechah belah di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> di-negeri ini dan dengan itu perpaduan negara akan hanchor dan kita tidak boleh hidup rukun damai dan negara kita akan juga hanchor.

Murid<sup>2</sup> sekalian yang ada pada hari ini akan menjadi pemimpin pada suatu masa kelak dan akan mendapat jawatan yang tinggi baik dalam pentadbiran, perdagangan dan perusahaan dan lain<sup>2</sup> lagi. Kapada mereka yang berchita<sup>2</sup> hendak masok ka-medan politik dan juga pentadbiran, saya suka menyatakan bahawa ada-lah keadaan telah berubah daripada masa<sup>2</sup> yang lampau. Keadaan pentadbiran awam kita pun ada-lah berubah kerana chara di-bawah penjajah dahulu tidak sesuai lagi. Segala procedure yang ada pada civil service tidak lagi sesuai di-gunakan. Mustahak kita adakan chara bentok pentadbiran yang sesuai dengan negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat dan menurut kehendak dan hasrat dan jiwa ra'ayat kita. Kita sunggoh bernasib baik sebab dapat mempunyai Public Service yang di-tinggalkan oleh Kerajaan British yang baik, tegap, berseh, akan tetapi mustahak kita baiki lagi jentera pentadbiran kita supaya bersesuaian dengan keadaan negara kita yang merdeka ini. Kita berkehendakkan pegawai<sup>2</sup> yang progresip yang sedia bekerjasama dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya dengan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> politik untuk menjadikan Malaysia negara kita ini sa-buah negara yang maju, ma'amor dan bahagia.

Kita berasa shukor Kahadhrat Tuhan kerana dalam lima tahun yang lalu Kerajaan kita dengan kerjasama yang di-berikan oleh pegawai<sup>2</sup> pentadbir, dapat menjalankan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pembangunan dengan jaya-nya dan dengan sempurna. Akan tetapi kita berazam hendak meneruskan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> ini, hendak memberi ra'ayat kebahagiaan hidup yang lebeh lagi. Dengan sebab itu kita berkehendakkan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> dan pegawai<sup>2</sup> yang penoh dengan semangat dan sedia mengorbankan usaha dan tenaga untuk bangsa dan negara. Saya sangat-lah sukachita pada hari ini mendapat peluang beruchap kapada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> sekalian dan berpeluang berada balek di-Maktab tempat saya belajar buat beberapa lama-nya. Pada masa bagini-lah saya rasa terharu kerana saya berasa sa-olah<sup>2</sup> saya muda semula dan dalam perasaan ini-lah saya berharap murid<sup>2</sup> di-Maktab ini betul<sup>2</sup> mempunyai chita<sup>2</sup> yang besar kerana tuan<sup>2</sup>-lah yang akan mencherminkan apa-kah chorak Malaysia pada masa akan datang. Saya perchaya murid<sup>2</sup> di-Maktab ini akan terus menerus saperti murid<sup>2</sup> tua lain memainkan peranan yang besar dalam pimpinan negara ini. Pada tuan<sup>2</sup> semua-lah terserah untong nasib Malaysia—sama ada Malaysia akan maju jaya atau tidak,

terpulang-lah kapada tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian sebab pada suatu masa kelak tuan<sup>2</sup>-lah yang akan menggantikan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> negara yang ada sekarang. Negara kita negara muda dan separoh daripada penduduk<sup>2</sup>-nya ada-lah daripada orang<sup>2</sup> muda maka kapada pemuda<sup>2</sup> dan pemudi<sup>2</sup>-lah negara kita bergantung nasib pada masa akan datang. Saya berharap dan saya berseru kapada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan murid<sup>2</sup> sekalian supaya menyahut dan menerima seruan daripada ibu pertiwi kita sebab kita berkehendakkan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> yang jujur dan ikhlas dengan banyak-nya.

Dengan negara kita mencapai kemerdekaan mustahak kita memandang dengan pandangan yang lebeh luas kerana sekarang ini negara kita bukan sahaja Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bahkan telah menjadi Malaysia dan penduduk<sup>2</sup> negara ini daripada bumiputera di-Sabah dan Sarawak ada yang sama sa-bangsa dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan kita mustahak memberi pertolongan dan timbangan yang sama dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Bagitu juga di-negara kita ini ada penduduk<sup>2</sup> daripada bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing yang telah menjadi warganegara negara kita ini dan telah bersetuju hendak menumpukan ta'at setia mereka itu kapada negara ini, mustahak-lah kita memberi timbang rasa dan layanan kapada mereka itu dengan sewajar-nya menurut Perlembagaan negara kita. Kita berdasarkan demokrasi dan kita mempunyai Perlembagaan yang menjaga hak<sup>2</sup> dan hak<sup>2</sup> asasi yang tertentu dan Perlembagaan itu mempunyai tujuan yang membolehkan kita memberi kelebihan<sup>2</sup> kapada ra'ayat negeri ini dengan tidak mengambil hak orang lain. Oleh itu di-bawah Perlembagaan negara kita, ra'ayat negeri ini daripada semua bangsa boleh hidup dengan aman damai dan boleh mempunyai tempat yang sempurna. Dengan sebab itu, tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian, anjoran yang tuan<sup>2</sup> akan beri pada masa yang akan datang bukan sahaja kapada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu bahkan kapada bumiputera yang lain dan kapada ra'ayat negeri ini yang berasal daripada bangsa<sup>2</sup> lain. Ini-lah kesimpulan-nya saperti saya katakan tadi, sharat<sup>2</sup> bagi sa-saorang yang hendak menjadi penganjor itu tidak bertukar, akan tetapi tanggong-jawab-nya bertambah dan keadaan berubah. Dengan sebab itu saya ucapkan kapada tuan<sup>2</sup> sekalian selamat maju jaya dan saya berdo'a dengan tamat-nya usia 60 tahun Maktab ini akan bertambah maju dan akan dapat mendidik dan mengeluarkan ramai lagi penganjor<sup>2</sup> yang mashhor pada masa yang akan datang.

Sekian sahaja, terima kaseh.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
25hb Jun, 1965.

## EXHIBITION OF MALAYSIAN ART

*Text of speech made by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, when opening the Exhibition of Malaysian Art selected for the Commonwealth Arts Festival at the National Art Gallery at 12.00 noon today, Tuesday, June 29, 1965:*

The Chairman and Members of the Special Joint Committee, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very pleased indeed to be here this morning to declare open for the delectation of the Malaysian public this Exhibition of Malaysian Art that has been chosen especially as Malaysia's contribution to the Commonwealth Arts Festival, this year.

This festival, the first of its kind, will cover all aspects of the visual and performing arts. Because it is being presented in London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Cardiff simultaneously, the Festival has earned another name, "The Festival of the Four Ports."

The object of the Festival is to show the world the artistic talents of the whole of the Commonwealth. It is intended that the Festival should be held once every three years in a different Commonwealth capital.

When the Malaysian Government was asked to take part in the Festival, it was decided, mainly owing to the expenses involved due to confrontation, to limit Malaysia's contribution only to the fine arts.

The fact that we have done so is a great tribute to the remarkable creative developments that have taken place in the fine arts in Malaysia since independence.

The Malaysian Government is greatly honoured that the work of our artists should be recognised by an official invitation to display the best of our paintings and sculptures. In fact, this is the first time that Malaysian art will be seen extensively in the United Kingdom.

It is our hope that the presentation at the Festival will be the first phase of what will become the first world tour of Malaysian art. After the exhibition has been shown in Glasgow, Dublin and London, we hope to be able to present it in various cities in Europe.

To this end I would welcome particular interest being shown in this Exhibition by the various Embassies accredited to Malaysia, so that we can begin to make plans for Phase Two—in the capitals of Europe.

Later, I know that the organisers are looking forward to the possibility of this Exhibition being shown in North America and the Far East on its return journey home.

Finally, I would like to say that as the Minister responsible for National Development, I want to take this opportunity of congratulating the artists of Malaysia for their great achievements in the cultural field. In doing so I take very great pleasure in declaring open this splendid display of the fine arts of Malaysia.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*29th June, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK LAUNCHES NATIONAL DEFENCE BONDS DRIVE

*Statement made by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at a Press Conference held in Kuala Lumpur on July 6, 1965:*

Gentlemen:

I wish to speak to you this evening on a subject which is vitally important to us all—the financing of our efforts to protect the sovereign integrity of our country. You all know that Indonesian confrontation has not achieved any of its objectives. To date, every act of aggression has been met firmly and with complete success. Unfortunately, however, the protection of our borders and coastlines costs large amounts of money and this is strikingly shown by the fact that the Federal Government is currently spending \$1.6 million per day for defence purposes.

This figure shows the extent of the resources we must divert from development projects to ensure that we retain our own prosperous and democratic way of life.

To assist in the expansion of our security forces without cutting back drastically on development expenditure because it is just as important that the war against poverty must also be fought and won, the Federal Government, through Bank Negara, will be issuing Defence Bonds on July 14, and I am therefore appealing to you all to support whole-heartedly this issue. I direct my call especially to the rich people, business firms and those who are thankful and grateful for political stability and good government to contribute generously. This is a good chance for the rich and wealthy in this country to manifest their loyalty and appreciation to the government. I know and therefore cannot expect everyone in Malaysia to become a soldier but I know everyone can give money for the defence of Malaysia. I appeal to the fortunate class of Malaysian society to do their bit to the defence of our country. I would like to thank everyone who has helped the government in its efforts to defend this country in the past and I hope each is going to do even better this time.

I will not go into all the details but I can say without hesitation that the Bonds will be a very attractive proposition and because as little as \$50 may be subscribed, they will be within the reach of the great majority of Malaysians. The rate of interest will increase from 5% to 5½% over the life of the Bonds and the capital value will also increase. The Bonds will be issued at a discount of 2 per cent and this capital gain on redemption will be free of tax. In addition, after April next year, the Bonds may be cashed at any time at a price guaranteed by the Federal Government. This guaranteed price together with interest must be greater than the amount you paid, which means

that regardless of stock market conditions, you cannot lose by investing in these Bonds. You will be able to obtain details from the Press and from any post office, commercial bank or stockbroker throughout Malaysia.

Because of the most attractive conditions, a limit of \$50,000 has been placed on subscriptions from individuals and companies, but I repeat that as little as \$50 will be accepted as this is a chance for all of us—loyal Malaysians—to show that we value our country and are determined to show that we are one people with one aim. We must show our security forces who have conducted themselves so magnificently that the people are fully behind them and proud of them.

This is therefore an opportunity for you to help your country and, at the same time, to help yourself. I know that you will do your utmost to make this issue a great success.

**KUALA LUMPUR.**  
*6th July, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK MELANCHARKAN PENGELUARAN BOND<sup>2</sup> PERTAHANAN NEGARA

*Kenyataan oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Tun Abdul Razak, di-Persidangan Akhbar yang telah di-adakan di-Kuala Lumpur pada 6hb Julai, 1965.*

Saya amat sukachita pada malam ini kerana dapat berchakap dengan tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> berkenaan dengan pengeluaran Bond<sup>2</sup> untuk membiayai pertahanan dan keselamatan negara kita menentang konfrantasi Indonesia. Pada hari ini kita terpaksa, akibat konfrantasi dan kerana hendak mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan kita, menggunakan wang sa-banyak \$1,600,000 tiap<sup>2</sup> hari kerana pertahanan dan keselamatan negara ini.

Ini perlu kita membelanjai-nya kerana untuk keselamatan kita dan untuk menjaga chara hidup kita. Sungguh pun bagitu, pembangunan negara kita mesti-lah juga di-jalankan walau pun konfrantasi berada di-samping kita. Ada-lah sangat mustahak pembangunan negara dan luar bandar itu di-teruskan kerana kita mesti menentang konfrantasi Indonesia bukan sahaja di-medan tentera tetapi dalam lapangan ekonomi juga. Untuk mencapai tujuan ini, Kerajaan Pusat melalui Bank Negara, akan mengeluarkan Bond<sup>2</sup> Pertahanan pada 14hb Julai, 1965. Saya menyeru kepada semua ra'ayat yang ta'at setia kepada negara ini, apa lagi mereka yang kaya dan gedong<sup>2</sup> perniagaan yang besar supaya membeli Bond<sup>2</sup> ini. Ini-lah suatu chara yang baik bagi tiap<sup>2</sup> warga-negara ini dan sahabat<sup>2</sup> Malaysia menunjukkan ta'at setia mereka kepada negara ini dengan membeli Bond<sup>2</sup> ini. Saya ketahuī dan sedar bahawa bukan semua orang dapat memikul senapang untuk mempertahankan negara Malaysia, tetapi tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang boleh memberi sumbangan masing<sup>2</sup> dalam mempertahankan negara Malaysia dengan membeli Bond<sup>2</sup> ini. Saya berterima kaseh kepada mereka yang telah memberi sumbangan bagi mempertahankan negara Malaysia pada masa<sup>2</sup> yang lepas dan saya berharap ramai lagi ra'ayat yang ta'at setia kepada negara ini akan memberi pertolongan mereka kepada pertahanan negara kita.

Dengan tidak payah saya menerangkan dengan sa-luas<sup>2</sup>-nya, Bond ini ada-lah suatu ranchangan yang sangat menarek untuk tiap<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat menyimpan wang dan juga dalam masa ini menolong membiayai negara-nya untuk mempertahankan diri dari pencherobohan dan konfrantasi. Tiap<sup>2</sup> Bond ini akan berharga sa-kecil<sup>2</sup>-nya \$50.00 dan tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang boleh membeli hingga \$50,000. Faedah tiap<sup>2</sup> tahun ia-lah sa-banyak 5% dan akan meningkat hingga 5½%.

Pada bulan April tahun hadapan Bond<sup>2</sup> ini boleh di-tukarkan kembali dengan wang dan harga-nya ada-lah di-jamin oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Dengan ini tuan<sup>2</sup> semua sedia ma'alum bahawa Bond<sup>2</sup> ini sangat-lah menarek<sup>2</sup> kerana sa-lain daripada tuan<sup>2</sup> dapat menyimpan wang dengan mendapat faedah, tuan<sup>2</sup> juga memberi sumbangan untuk perbelanjaan mempertahankan Malaysia. Bond<sup>2</sup> ini boleh tuan<sup>2</sup> beli dari Pejabat<sup>2</sup> Pos, Bank<sup>2</sup> dan Stock Broker di-seluruh Malaysia. Saya harap sa-ramai<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat yang ta'at setia kapada negara ini akan meng-ambil peluang yang chemerlang ini.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*6hb Julai, 1965.*



## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES DEBATING UNION, UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

*Text of speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the Debating Union, University of Malaya, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur, at 8.00 p.m. on Tuesday, July 20th 1965:*

Mr President, Faculty Members, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am extremely happy to have this opportunity of meeting you all here tonight. I have always welcomed the opportunity to address our students wherever they may be. Whenever I went to London I never failed to take the opportunity of addressing our students there. Next week I shall be addressing the Students' Union of the University of Singapore. I would therefore like to thank the President and Committee Members of the Debating Union of the University of Malaya for this invitation to speak to you tonight.

Ladies and Gentlemen, standing here, looking at you and talking to you, makes me feel many years younger, not only because you have a rejuvenating effect on me, particularly the girl students, but also it brings back to my mind the student days when I led a similar life and under similar circumstances that you are experiencing today. The only difference between my days as a student and your days is that during my student days we were under British Colonial Government and our country was not independent. Therefore the main topic of conversation during my time, both at Raffles, Singapore and the Inns of Court at London, apart from talks on work and games, was that of Merdeka or the independence movement of our country.

We are now in a much happier position in that our country is now a free and independent sovereign nation, day by day gaining in strength, in spite of attempts by President Soekarno and the Jakarta regime, assisted by their agents inside our country, to crush us. I am happy that at this time, when our very existence is being challenged by enemies from without, our people of all races have shown the will and determination to face the enemies and to defend our independence. Despite everything that Indonesia does or say about confrontation, our people, even those living in far away places on the Sabah and Sarawak border, have shown high spirit, courage and determination to stand up against the enemy. For the last two years both in the economic and political fields, we have got the better of the enemies in this confrontation. Every attempt by the enemies to invade us, either by land, by sea or by air, our soldiers, assisted by our friends in the Commonwealth, have been able to eliminate or capture them, or drive them back to their country. So long as our people show a united will to fight and defend their country and show a determination to survive, then no force or power can break or crush us.

Tonight, I propose to talk to you all on matters affecting our country, in particular on development and defence—two principal subjects for which I am ministerially responsible. I have always compared a country to a river. The two banks of the river are economic development and defence and security. If these two banks are strong the water of the river flows easily, the country marches forward and prosper.

Since we achieved independence in 1957, Malaya and now Malaysia, had made tremendous progress in the field of development. Independence has acted as a vitamin for the rejuvenation of our whole nation. In seven years as an independent and free nation we have achieved more and developed more than could be attained in seventy years of rule by a colonial power. In each and every corner of our country today, there is on the land in our kampongs, in our new villages, in our towns and in our cities, hundreds of projects.

We can rightly be proud of what, as a new and young nation, we have achieved in the years since independence. All of you will remember the period before independence when critics and doubters said that we were not yet ready to govern ourselves and that independence would probably be the beginning of the end of prosperity and stability in Malaysia. Men are born to succeed not to fail.

Merdeka to all of us has meant the beginning of the beginning of bigger and better days, the foundation and furthering of our stability and security within our shores; steady progress towards a better way of life in both the rural and the urban areas. All these things have amazed and brought praise from every other free nation in the world today. The countless visitors to our country have been warm in their appreciation and admiration of what we have achieved in the years since independence.

In Malaysia our Second Five-Year Development Plan has been implemented with complete success. Indeed when we launched this Plan in 1961, most people then thought that the target as set for ourselves, that is \$2,100 million expenditure on the public sector was too great to be implemented. However we were able to gear the machinery of Government and co-ordinate the work of Government departments and offices in all its branches. Today even before our fifth year of the plan comes to an end we have already exceeded our target. At the end of this year, that is the last year of the Plan, we shall have spent in the region of \$2,600 million or \$2,700 million. It is clear that in implementing our development programme, the Alliance Government has successfully applied the right principles and followed the right methods. We have now applied these principles and methods to Sabah and Sarawak and it is hoped that in the next few years our people in Sabah and Sarawak will be able to obtain the same benefits from development as our people in Malaya.

Now what are these principles which we apply in the implementing of our national development, particularly our rural development programme? The foundation for positive action was based on the principle of partnership between the Government and the rural people themselves. If you look at the map of Malaya and on it compare the distance separating the Federal capital from the remote village and kampongs in our rural areas, we remember that many kampongs are far away and that a journey to them by road, by rail or by river would take many, many hours. However, in keeping with the tempo of modern travel the Alliance Government made it possible to make a journey into the heart and soul of the development needs of any kampong in record time; this journey takes less than one minute: it is a mental journey made possible by the use of "Red Book". The Red Book was conceived, designed and put into practice by the Alliance Government for the purpose of ensuring that, no matter how far away any kampong or village may be, nevertheless the hopes and needs of its people are forever near to the heart of Government. Similarly, let us look at a map of Malaysia and I feel with confidence, in the future, that what the Government had already done in Malaya, not only can they do in the development of Malaysia but can do so even better, from the experience in practice which we have already gained.

On the economic aspect of our development I feel we must be cautious in accepting theories and practices which apply in other countries, and although our main aim is faster growth and better prosperity, let us remember that prosperity in both the rural and urban areas should not always be judged by the same material gains which are the yardstick of progress in the more advanced nations of the world. Economic growth is a necessary goal for Malaysia, but it must not be considered to outweigh all others, nor should it be assumed that every action that increases wealth is necessarily right. The increase of wealth, the raising of our overall standard of living, is an essential factor in our economic development. But such economic development will only be satisfactory if it acts to preserve the meaning of life, not destroy it.

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

Our objective is to level up, that is to help the less fortunate of our people to enjoy better amenities of life, indeed to get full benefits in all that a civilised society can give.

It is not my intention to go into the details of our development programme. As has often been stated, the emphasis in that programme has been to help the less fortunate of our people or what are commonly known as "have-nots". Our rural development programme is planned and implemented with zeal and enthusiasm. One important aspect of our rural development plan is land development. We have now throughout the country sixty-two land schemes of 4,000 acres each and each scheme land is alienated, jungle trees felled, roads built, water supply laid on, houses built for settlers and each family is alienated with 10 acres of land of which seven acres are planted with either high yielding rubber or oil palm and the rest is utilised for residential purpose as well as for the planting of fruits and vegetables. A monthly subsidy is given to each family by Government on loan. Amenities such as schools and health clinics are also provided. On each lot it is estimated that a family will earn a basic income of about \$350 per month at a fairly conservative estimate of the price of rubber or oil palm. A few of these schemes have now produced income. As and when the land produces income a settler is expected to pay the Government loan by easy instalments. In one instance, where Government has asked the settlers to pay about \$40 a month, the settlers themselves volunteered to pay double that amount because they are earning such a good income. The settlers are given permanent titles to their land.

In addition to the sixty land schemes I have mentioned we propose to start our biggest land scheme in the centre of Pahang which is known as "Jengka Triangle", and here it is hoped to develop about 200,000 acres of land to be given to our people who need land in the same way as our other land schemes.

Now what can be more socialistic than these land development schemes of ours. In the communist countries people are made to work on the land. Our emphasis will be, on the one hand, to help the rural people to increase their income and to give them greater share in the economic and business life of the country, and on the other, to build houses and homes for people in the urban areas, who are without homes. We will also assist the less fortunate of our people in the urban areas with amenities in the same way we are doing for the rural people. In this way, as I have always stated, our national development plan is national in scope and character, designed to help our people of all races, whoever they may be so that the "have-nots" in our society will have a share in the progress and development of our country and will enjoy a standard of living compatible with life in a decent and civilised society.

In my view the great thing we must remember in development and the future problem of Malaysia is that there is also a law which we can apply, a law which has not been drafted or made by mankind,

it is a law of nature of what we can call the law of cause and effect. The law of cause and effect is roughly this—in the world nothing really happens automatically, even crops do not grow automatically; if a farmer wants to grow a crop he has got to clear the land, sow the seed and work hard in tending the crop, to get results. So it is with development. Just talking about development, just making development plans, just hoping for development will never in fact result in development. To achieve development, to achieve economic growth, to achieve a happy and highly developed Malaysia, means hard work, harnessing of all our energies and ability and the ability of our leaders to convert emotion and plans into motion and action towards sound economic development of a happy and stable Malaysia.

### *Defence*

Now coming to the subject of defence. As a small developing nation quite obviously we are in no position to have armed forces, that is Army, Navy and Air Force, of sufficient strength to defend ourselves adequately against external threat or aggression. That is why since independence in 1957 we decided to maintain our defence expenditure at a low level so that we could devote our resources to economic development, to give the people a better and higher standard of living and better amenities of life they have wanted for so long. Until the establishment of Malaysia in 1963 our defence expenditure was only eight per cent of our total budget. However with the establishment of Malaysia, with a bigger territory to defend and a longer coastline to protect, we have to increase our defence forces. The establishment of Malaysia brought with it confrontation by Indonesia and we had to expand our armed forces further. With the result that in the last two years our expenditure on defence and security had more than doubled and it will continue to increase. It is, I must say, regrettable that for a developing country like ours where so much can be done in the field of economic development, we have to divert certain of our resources to defence and security. However, if we value our independence and integrity, our freedom and our way of life, then we must take appropriate measures to defend ourselves.

As I said, as a small nation we have no means to defend ourselves adequately against external threat or aggression, particularly against a bigger and stronger neighbour, such as Indonesia. Therefore, on the day we achieved independence in 1957 we signed a Defence Treaty with the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom supported by Australia and New Zealand undertook to defend us against external aggression. This Treaty was entered into by us voluntarily and freely of course we are grateful to our friends, Britain, Australia and New Zealand for assisting us not only in the expansion of our armed forces, but also with men, ships and planes to help defend our territorial

integrity. This defence arrangement can only be temporary and the time must come when we have to provide for the defence of our country and ourselves.

Indonesia started this confrontation against us because she said Malaysia constituted a threat to her security. Now how can a small nation like ourselves, with a population of just under eleven million be a threat to a big country with a population of more than one hundred million and a strong standing army, such as Indonesia? But what constitutes a threat to Indonesia is not our size and strength, but the ideals for which we stand. Now we in Malaysia stand for freedom, democracy and justice. Malaysia carries with it ideals which are dynamic and positive providing for our people democracy, freedom and justice and economic stability, and these ideals provide great contrast to Indonesia's so-called guided democracy, which has only empty slogans and has provided nothing for the people. Indeed Indonesia's so-called guided democracy means that the people have to suffer more and more.

These ideals that I have mentioned are enshrined in our Constitution. Our Constitution has been so drafted so as to make Malaysia a meaningful and purposeful concept within the needs of our people of all races, in order to make them all happy and contented. The whole concept in our Constitution is based on the idea of "give" rather than "take". To give to those who have not without taking from those who have.

Many of you must have heard lately of allegations against the Alliance Government, that we believe in the supremacy of one race over the other and that we have not provided for equal rights to all our citizens. I would like to rebut these allegations because clearly our Constitution does not provide the supremacy of any single race or community. All Malaysians of all races are equal under the Constitution and their rights and privileges are zealously guarded. The Constitution however provides for the safe-guard of the special position of the natives. This does not mean supremacy or privilege but rather a special position which requires special attention. The Constitution recognises that where there is disparity, a system of parity is provided in order to make everybody happy. It is known to everybody that the natives are economically backward and therefore in order to give them a fair chance to compete with other races they are given this special attention in the Constitution or in plain language a handicap. This handicap gives the natives a chance to have a share in the economic and business life of the country.

As I said, by giving this special attention to this particular section of our community, the Constitution will not take away the rights and

privileges of others and this arrangement serves to unite and promote solidarity between the natives and the other Malaysians.

Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is clear that under our Constitution which the Alliance Government formulated and which it has repeatedly pledged to uphold there is a fair place for every Malaysian in our country. The Constitution is so formulated as to be fair and just to all sections of our people so that they can move forward together in harmony, goodwill and friendship. The Alliance Government has always believed in the unity and harmony among our people of various races so that ultimately they can be welded together into one united nation. Of course the process of bringing this unity may take time because only a small section of our people, i.e. those who were educated in English schools are able to know and understand each other. The great majority of the people have lived under colonial rule in separate communities and therefore we have to give them time to understand each other, to feel that they are friends and brothers. But the ultimate objective is clear. It is the firm intention of the Alliance Government whatever others may say, to move forward bringing our people of various races together in harmony and friendship, so that ultimately they will regard themselves not as members of different communities but as members of one nation. We have said this is the cardinal principle of our policy many, many a time and it does seem hardly worth repeating but there are some people who for reason of their own refuse to understand what we said. Therefore it is necessary for us to continue repeating this vital important policy of our Government.

I have no doubt that the majority of our people have a deep sense of loyalty to our country and know that they must live together in harmony, friendship and unity because on this alone can we look forward to the future with real hope and confidence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have spoken to you at great length on various matters affecting our country and our people. Despite what a few politicians have said about tension or division which have no basis and do not exist, I am happy and proud at the way in which our people of all races have stood together solidly in the face of the present national crisis. I have no doubt that if we continue to show our determination to live together and exist as a nation we shall come through the present Emergency and confrontation triumphantly and that Malaysia will emerge as a happy and prosperous country in which its citizens of all races will have a just and proud place.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
20th July, 1965.

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES ARCHITECTS ANNUAL DINNER

*Text of address by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the Architects Dinner at the Lake Club, Kuala Lumpur, at 8.00 p.m. Friday, July 23, 1965:*

Mr President, Your Excellencies,

Honourable Ministers,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

First let me express my very warm thanks to the Federation of Malaya Society of Architects for inviting me to be the Guest of Honour at this Annual Dinner. This is the first time I have had the pleasure of attending your Dinner, but it is not my first active association with you, as I recall opening your Architects Exhibition in 1959.

I understand that this Dinner holds a special sentimental interest for all members of your Society because it will be the last function of its kind under your present Constitution.

For fifteen years your Society has been the only official body of qualified architects in Malaya. Before the year is out this Society as at present constituted will be incorporated in a Pan-Malaysian group to be called the Malaysian Institute of Architects. I extend my warmest congratulations to you and to the Singapore Institute of Architects for your initiative in planning a new national body which will embrace architects throughout Malaysia, with Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur and branches in the Borneo States, Singapore, and North, Central and South Malaya. This is indeed a most progressive move and one which will surely benefit your profession as a whole and the nation as well.

When Malaysia was in the process of evolution most people tended to think of the new nation only in constitutional and political terms. More farsighted people realised that the formation of Malaysia would entail a kind of social revolution affecting many organisations and groups in many fields of life, in business and commerce, in sport and culture, in voluntary and charitable service, all of which would have to think in the wider terms of nation and organise themselves accordingly. For instance, the Red Cross is now nationwide, so is the Football Association of Malaysia. The fact that the architects of our country are preparing to think and act on a national basis is a typical example of the social changes that are taking place in the pattern of nationhood in Malaysia. Within the space of a few more years many more such adaptations will necessarily occur in the new Malaysia.



In my capacity as the Minister responsible for National Development few men know better than I or appreciate more the vital importance of the role which your profession plays in the development of the country. In a truly literal sense you are among the builders of the nation. Ever since Merdeka the architects of Malaya have contributed their skills and talents to construction in a wide variety of fields, setting high standards both in design and performance. Many distinguished visitors to Malaysia have been deeply impressed by the originality and quality of architecture in this country in public, commercial and domestic buildings. They have also expressed amazement at both the rate and the volume of the work achieved. The success of the Second Five-Year Plan, particularly in its visible and physical aspects, owes a very great deal to the energies and abilities of our architects and, of course, to your brothers in construction, the engineers and surveyors.

Great demands have been made of you, but even greater ones are in store, because the scope and range of the First Malaysian Five-Year Plan due to begin next year is far more extensive and comprehensive. I can predict most surely that the architects of Malaysia are going to be among the busiest professional men in the nation for years to come. From your past performance I have every confidence that you can be counted upon to keep pace with the tempo of the nation's progress.

I am afraid in our First Malaysian Five-Year Plan with expenditure on defence and security continuing to mount, we shall be short of money. Therefore, in order to implement a bold and imaginative plan of which we have decided the level in the region of \$5,900 million, it is necessary for us to affect economy in the implementation of the project as well as in all Government expenditure. It will mean that we cannot afford any luxury in our buildings, and other projects and that we shall have to go wherever possible for standard plans. I know you all architects may find it hard to follow this policy as you would like to see buildings, etc. are constructed in accordance with architectural taste. However, as our people want results, they want as many projects as possible. The Government has to satisfy their needs and aspirations with our limited means. I would, therefore, ask you to give the Government your wholehearted co-operation in carrying out this policy. It is clear that with present resources, we cannot afford to follow the standard in developed countries. We have to be content with our own standard than that of developing Asian country.

In our rapidly developing country, architects will be in great demand, and no one realises more than yourselves the importance of establishing facilities for producing trained personnel. In this regard, I wish to pay a very high tribute indeed to the tireless, patient and hard-working efforts your Society has made in the interests both of

your profession and the nation. I refer in particular to the elaborate report you have prepared on the setting up of a School of Architecture for the University of Malaya as well as the Report on Architectural Education you have sent to the Higher Education Planning Committee. Both these Reports are of the greatest value, and the Government and all Authorities concerned are most grateful for the earnest thought and fruitful ideas they contain.

I am quite astonished that the members of your Society who are going flat out in planning and building should be able to find time to produce such Reports. The fact that you have done so reflects a high sense of civic and national responsibility. At present you are engaged on another important task at the request of the Minister of Works, Post and Telecommunications. This is to help draft a new Building Ordinance for the whole country with appropriate Bye-laws and Regulations. At the moment different Municipalities and Town Councils have their own Bye-Laws, and it is obviously important and of great value that these Bye-Laws should be uniform throughout Malaysia.

I also understand that your Society is working actively together with your professional brothers in engineering and surveying to put forward to Government a Joint Architect, Engineer and Surveyor Bill, which you consider essential to regularise and maintain the standard of practice in these three professions in Malaysia. I can assure you that the Government will give your proposals very sound consideration.

It is quite plain to me that in its fifteenth and last year of its existence as an autonomous body, the Federation of Malaya Society of Architects has been tremendously active and you are to be congratulated on your many achievements. It therefore gives me very great pleasure now to ask all present to rise and drink with me a toast to the Federation of Malaya Society of Architects and to wish all members of the profession every success in the newly-planned Malaysian Institute of Architects which I am sure will render equally great service to the nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast "The Federation of Malaya Society of Architects".

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*23rd July, 1965.*

SPEECH FOR STUDENTS' UNION AND FACULTY  
MEMBERS, UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE  
6.00 TO 7.00 p.m. 24TH JULY

Mr President, Faculty Members,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel both happy and honoured to be here tonight at your invitation.

On my way flying down from Kuala Lumpur I had some doubt in my mind as to whether tonight I am supposed to give you an address, a speech, or a talk.

I cannot give you an address, at least not an address that would be of any use to the *male* Members of your Union because it is a long time since I myself was a student, here, at Raffles College, and even if I found my old address book I am sure you would find it already outdated, by which I mean no longer dateable!

Therefore, I cannot give you an *address* and I am equally reluctant to give you a *speech*, I merely want to *talk* to you, because I am beginning to agree with the philosopher who, many years ago, said that "Children should be seen and not heard"; I think the time has come to add to this dictum and apply it also to *politicians*.

It is my view that politicians should not be judged on their continual utterances, their speeches, their oratory, and their ability to hold the limelight in the same way as film stars!

You cannot possibly run a country the same way as an actor; you cannot possibly govern and hold a country together in unity merely in the same way as an actor on the stage holds his audience, by continually being in the glare of the footlights!

In a nation of sensible people, such as Malaysia, with good government and good political leadership, it is not so much *front stage* that matters, more important is the hard work, sound thinking and action which is carried out *back stage*.

Take our neighbour for instance—Soekarno—who since 1945 has been trying to run a country; keep it together, and develop it, without success, on one method alone—on speeches, empty slogans, words, promises; all *shallow and hollow*, with no action, and no results!—except a *reduced* standard of living for his people.

I know that the great Greek philosopher, *Plato*, said that "Rhetoric is the art of ruling men" but you must remember that in the days when *Plato* was alive there were no universities which produced people who could think for themselves; and it is my view that to *rule by rhetoric* as suggested by *Plato*, and as practised by *Soekarno*, one can only *succeed* with illiterate, ill-educated and down-trodden masses.

But we as a nation, Malaysia, are fast becoming a highly educated set of people with a first-class educational system, *good universities* and, with plans to double and treble the output of our university education.

So therefore, we are not a nation that can be misled and misguided merely by words and slogans but we will continually be guided by good sense and logical thinking!

And with the application of this good sense and balanced thinking, with the application of sound principles of democratic Government, time will tell, and with the help of God we will prove that a country like Indonesia cannot be run on a diet merely of megalomania and rhetoric, and most certainly cannot crush us!

Soekarno's irrational rantings and ravings have led his country to starvation with an inadequate *diet* for the poor Indonesian people.

Let us hope, as we go forward in unity, that the day will come when Soekarno and his colleagues will have to live on an unsavoury staple diet of *eating their own words*!

But although the people of Indonesia have got to *live on words alone*, we here in Malaysia, have got to be continually on the alert, and be forever *on our guard* in listening to both the *spoken and printed words* of selfish politicians.

I think it was Kipling who said that "*Words are the most powerful drug used by mankind*" and drugs in the modern world nowadays are mostly *synthetic*!

This word *synthetic* needs no explanation throughout Malaysia, because, it has been repeatedly said by economists and financiers that, one of the greatest threats of Malaysia is the production of synthetic rubber which in time could kill the market for *natural* rubber.

I think that at this very moment in Malaysia, there is another threat *not from* the production of *synthetic rubber* but from the production of *synthetic* racial differences and tension.

Our *natural* national tendency since the days of Hang Tuah and the days of the old Kapitan<sup>2</sup> China has been a natural tendency towards harmony, unity and goodwill between all races.

Since "Merdeka Malaya" and "Merdeka Malaysia", we have gone further, and further forward, towards becoming a united people; with the differences between our racial groups *diminishing from day to day*.

And I say quite openly, frankly and categorically that anyone who tries to divide us, disrupt our *natural* national unity is merely creating a *synthetic* problem, a *synthetic* separation, a *synthetic* racial difference which at present does not exist but is a *synthetic* creation to win popular personal political power.

So, therefore, I say to all of you and to all true citizens of Malaysia, beware and be *on your guard*.

It is the duty of our soldiers, our airmen and our sailors to guard our boundaries, our shores and our beaches, but it is also the duty of every true citizen of this country to be *on his guard*, not to be misled by a *wanton wedge of words* about racial disharmony, words which can only *widen* the way for Soekarno's subversive schemes to sabotage our sovereignty!

Before coming here recently I spent two days in Malacca and every time I go there I cannot help feeling and believing that Malacca is a "Microcosm of Malaysia".

In other words "a Malaysia in miniature" where all races, Malays, Chinese, Indians and Eurasians have blended over the last 400 years into a very happy peaceful and peace-loving people and I say to anyone who doubts the success, harmony and unity of our Malaysia to go to Malacca and see for himself.

Given patience, time and tolerance on everyone's part, and with the grace of God, in a few years to come we will all have forgotten our original racial origin and all be true Malaysians.

Let us now look to the future.

My Government is determined, in spite of Confrontation and, in spite of having to spend more money on Defence, that Development will go on ahead with the same speed, the same energy, and the same determination, as has been applied to our present Five Year National Development Plan (1961-65).

As you know, preparations are in hand now, for the launching of the First Malaysia Five Year National Development Plan, which will commence beginning of next year, 1966.

It will be ambitious but realistic in spite of any threats by our neighbour across the Straits.

The target figure of expenditure will be in the region of approximately \$6,000 million.

With the lessons we have learnt, the techniques and skills we have developed, and experience gained in the implementation of this present Five Year Development Plan, I am sure, and I know, that with the support of the whole nation, the implementation of our first Malaysia Five Year Development Plan will take our country further forward in economic progress so that it may win its rightful place in the economy of the Free World.

The main aims of the Plan will be to advance on two main roads to progress—*intensified agricultural diversification* on the one hand, and *intensified industrialization* on the other.

The underlying principle of our policy is one of levelling up the imbalance of the various sectors of our economy, and of *levelling up* the standard of living of all our people.

We do not agree with the Communist Socialist system that you rob the rich for the poor; neither do we agree that we deprive individuals of their private property.

One of the mainstays of our Constitution is the protection of the rights and property of every single Malaysian citizen and we stand by our Constitution.

We aim at a property-owning Democracy, and an example of our success so far can be seen from the many land development schemes throughout the Federation where the settlers, on these schemes, of all races, have been given their own land, their *own homes* and the opportunity of a higher standard of living; with *pride* in their *hearts*, *pride* in their *homes*, *pride* in their *property* and *pride* in the results of their *own efforts* to better themselves!

I am sure this way of life is a much better and happier existence than living in a *Communist Commune* or working in a Communist factory, because our development programme not only includes the development of our economy, and the development of a higher standard of living, but also includes the development of other things essential to the people of a *happy nation*—the development of a *free personality*, free to smile, free to worship, free to talk, free to choose one's own way of life, and free to advance by the application of one's own effort and ability!

From my student days I remember a poem answering the question of what is a Communist.

What is a Communist, One who hath yearnings,  
For equal division of *unequal* earnings,  
'Bodoh', or bloody fool, or both, he is willing,  
To contribute *his cent* and pocket your shilling!

Have no doubt in your minds, Malaysia is *not* going to be *dominated* by Communism, Soekarno-ism, or any other form of dictatorship, as long as we, *all of us*, loyal Malaysian citizens, have blood flowing in our veins and energy to fight for freedom!

We are a new nation and *immediately* after our birth we were confronted by aggression from outside.

Let not this deter us, but let us determine to turn the present situation to our *own* advantage.

Let me explain!

Take for example the modern industrial process of converting *iron-ore* into the *strongest metal* in the world—high quality steel.

The purest ore, and the highest quality steel, is produced from the *hottest* furnace.

In other words, adversities and difficulties which face us now as a new nation need not throw us into an attitude of despair or despondency. No.

They present to us a challenge!

We as a Nation can go through the *furnace* of adversity and come out after the process *stronger*, more *resilient* and of a higher quality beyond our greatest expectations!

Who knows, but perhaps the Historians of the future will record in their history books, that Soekarno in disguise, was not an *enemy* of Malaysia, but rather a *benefactor* in so much as, the *words of his wrath and anger against Malaysia* can be compared to the *fires of a furnace* producing *high* quality steel, and that he, by this *stupid Confrontation*, made us as true Malaysians, steel ourselves; strengthen ourselves; determine to succeed; and develop, *in spite of* any adversity which besets us whether it be internal or external.

However, if we are to become a Nation of the same quality of a strong resilient metal like steel, the ingredients necessary for making a strong and united Nation must all be of the very purest quality and it is imperative that this process of nation-building must not be polluted, as we go through the fires of adversity and Confrontation; it must not be polluted or weakened by the production of synthetic racial differences!

Thank you, — Good night.

SPEECH TO THE STUDENTS' UNION AT  
THE ROSEE D'OR AT 8.30 p.m. ON  
SATURDAY, 24TH JULY

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is a saying in Malay:

"Pisang ta' akan berbuah dua kali", which, as you know, means literally that a banana tree bears fruit only once.

But its deeper meaning, as a proverb, is that seldom in life does exactly the same thing happen twice.

This proverb has a limited application in life.

It can probably be applied to Tunku, our Prime Minister, who has just suffered from the infliction of 'shingles', and I understand from my Doctor that if you have once in your life been afflicted by shingles, you are safe and can never have it again.

So therefore to shingles and the Tunku you can apply this proverb of "Pisang ta' akan berbuah dua kali".

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, this proverb cannot be applied to my visit today to Singapore.

Don't blame me; blame the President of your Union or whoever drew up the programme because you suffered at 6 o'clock this evening from the *affliction* of my giving you a sort of oratorical ordeal and here now, within a short period of an hour or two, you have got to suffer *infliction* again from the same *affliction*.

I do apologise, and I hope you will suffer with patience and tolerance.

What I object to about making a speech here tonight, is that it is not so much a waste of ordinary time, but a waste of *dancing* time, because I always associate the Rosee D'or with dancing, joget, twist, and rhumba.

I think the fact that we can dance to any tune in Malaysia, the fact that we can twist if we like, we can joget if we like or we can rhumba if we like; and the fact that we can enjoy ourselves, be happy and dance and smile, is significant of the freedom of Malaysia!

There is, however, only one tune in the world to which we will never dance; and I sincerely hope that all of you will determine never to dance to this particular tune—the tune of that great modern "Pied Piper" and hit Rats-Soekarno!

Soekarno, apparently, in Jakarta, has banned the twist!



This is *tantamount* to creating a complete *monopoly* for himself, because he is the biggest *twister* in the world, and obviously likes to reserve all twisting for himself.

As I have said earlier this evening, we will never succumb to Soekarno's dictatorship and I hope we will never become a nation of 'yes men'.

Sometimes you know, I cannot really understand this English language.

In English one talks about a 'yes man' implying that they say yes to everything.

But looking around here tonight at you all, particularly these very charming and beautiful lady students, with their grace, their charm, and their good looks, sometimes I think although one does not want a nation of 'yes men', it would be very nice to have a country of 'yes women'!

I believe Soekarno succeeded also in this respect—perhaps the only field in which I really envy him.

It is nice to see you all enjoying yourselves here tonight away from the University campus, and I think that one of the essential elements of a University education, is not that one should be buried in books, and studies the whole time, but should enjoy yourselves, mix freely with society, and learn as much from human contacts, as from contact with the written academic word.

And I have always felt that a University education is one which has a fine balance between academic activities on the one hand, and sporting and social activities, on the other, provided of course that one does not overdo the *pleasure* aspect!

I do not wish to say anything rude about your University, but I must tell you a story I heard about one of your graduates the other day.

I heard of one of your graduates the other day who walked into a restaurant in Kuala Lumpur, and I *overheard* two people talking about him!

He was a *private student*, his fees paid by his parents, and he took *seven to eight* years to obtain his degree because he enjoyed life, particularly the *rosiness* of the *Rosee D'or*.

Let us call him Lim!

The first speaker said, "Do you see that chap over there, Lim. He has just graduated from the Singapore University."

The second speaker replied, "I know, he comes from my kampong. He also comes from a very poor family."

The first speaker then said, "*Nonsense*, how can that be. You say he comes from a poor family, because he was at Singapore University for 8 years and he has just got a degree. His family cannot possibly be poor."

The second speaker replied, "Exactly; 8 years at Singapore University, with a degree in Extra Mural Studies, out every night, *that is why* his family is now *very poor*. He spent all their money!"

If you do not believe the story about your University, there is a similar story of an undergraduate at another University.

The only difference is that his story is supported by bills sent home to his parents, every month, for his University expenses.

His parents were fairly illiterate and did not understand the bills.

All they knew was that he was studying modern languages and a typical example of his monthly expenses for tuition fees read something like this:

French	—	\$50.00
German	—	\$50.00
English	—	\$50.00
Scotch!	—	\$250.00 (at \$15.00 per bottle).

Perhaps, to keep the balance, and to show that I am not prejudiced against undergraduates, I will also tell you a story against politicians!

This is a true story.

There were 4 people travelling down from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore, by train; all sitting next to each other; and after a period of silence between them, with no one talking, one of them said, "We have got a long journey ahead of us sitting together here. It is only right that we get to *know each other* and declare ourselves."

He said, "I will introduce myself".

"I am in Government!

I am married!

I have a son at University!

*and I am a Minister.*

The second one said, "What an incredible coincidence."

"I am in Government!

I am married!

I have a son at University!

*and I am a Minister.*

The third one said: "This is amazing, here we are, three of us together."

"I am in Government!

I am married!

I have a son at University!

*and I am a Minister.*

The fourth person, very quiet, was sitting in his corner and did not say a word!

So the other three said, "*Look here, we have declared ourselves, we have introduced ourselves, we are trying to be friendly, why can't you join us in the spirit of friendliness and say, what you are, and who you are*".

The fourth chap said, "*I will tell you*".

"I am in Government!

I am *not* married!

But I have got a son!"

Then the three politicians said, "Incredible, you are not married and you got a son and *what* is your son?"

The fourth chap said, "A Minister!"

However, the object of this story is not to imply that all politicians and Ministers come from "bastard stock". No!

It is really intended to show you that in a democracy we can joke about ourselves and I think if anyone in Jakarta tells this story to Soekarno, he would only tell it once on earth, and would only have an opportunity of repeating it again in the next World!

Some of us, politicians, are sincere, and fairly humble people, although occasionally our public image is distorted by the Press and by our opponents.

I am extremely happy, and I mean this sincerely, to be able to meet you all here tonight, for the second time not so much the first time, earlier in the evening, when I was *stuck up* on a stage like one of your lecturers like a Member of your Faculty!

I am happy to be here with you in the Rosee D'or, where we can relax and make use of our *other faculties* which are much more *pleasant faculties* than those in your campus!

I am not being insulting to your professors or lecturers!

All I am saying is, that if I had to finish my speech with a prayer, I would say, "God give us good faculties in our Universities to teach us to learn and to be better and more intelligent people."

I would also add:

God give us the finest faculties necessary for a happy Malaysia!

— the faculty of knowing how to enjoy life,

— the faculty to be able to mix with each other.

— the faculty to be friendly to our fellowmen (and women!)

and — the faculty to preserve our freedom as free Malaysians!

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is one thing I cannot understand, and that is, why this place is called the Rosee D'or?

Every time I come here to the Rosee D'or I try and remember a quotation from Shakespeare who said something about a name of a rose!

I cannot remember the exact words of Shakespeare and I am a bit embarrassed in front of such an intellectual and academic assembly, but, nevertheless, I will try and *better* him.

"What's in a name; *that* which we call a rose,

By any other *name* would smell as sweet,

The Rosee D'or,

Where *dame* and Undergraduate meet!

The *degree* to which, each other they, do adore!

And come together without much difficulty,

Is granted by this place, the Rosee D'or,

And not conferred on them by the Campus Faculty!

Therefore, Gentlemen, only, male Members of your Union, perhaps the Rosee D'or is the address I should have given you earlier this evening!

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

*Text of address by the Deputy Prime Minister, Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the luncheon given by the Foreign Correspondents Association of South-east Asia at the Adelphi Hotel, on July 26, 1965:*

Mr President and Gentlemen,

I am indeed grateful to you all for inviting me to this lunch and for giving me the opportunity of meeting and speaking to you today. I would first like to thank you all for the interest and understanding you have shown in our country and our problems and problems in this part of the world.

I believe in a function like this it has been customary that the most important item of the proceedings is what you will ask me after I have spoken. Therefore, I do not intend to speak very long and I can assure you I will be prepared to answer any questions you would like to ask me afterwards. We in this country believe in the freedom of the Press and indeed there is probably no need for me to reassure you that we intend to maintain the freedom of the Press in this country consistent with the principle and practice of parliamentary democracy which we firmly believe in. Please do not regard me as something fragile and must be handled with care; after having such a nice meal I am prepared to be twisted by you as much as you like so long as you do not twist the facts that I am giving you.

Our young Nation—Malaysia—has now been in existence for almost two years. We know when we decided to establish this new Nation there will be problems and difficulties. Any Federal system of Government has problems, problems between the Central Government and constituent State Governments. One has to look at countries like United States, Australia or Canada to realise that even after years of working a Federal system of Government, problems do still arise. In Malaysia we not only have problems of endeavouring to work a Federal system of Government to adapt Governments under a colonial power to that of an independent Nation. We have also the problems of the multi-racial society. Fortunately for us, our Constitution has been drawn up from experience obtained in experienced federated countries and also the 11 States of the former Federation of Malaya have many years of experience working successfully under a Federal system of Government.

There are 14 component States of our Federation. It is therefore necessary that we should look at the problems of our country from the points of view of Malaysia as a whole rather than one or two

States. The Alliance Party is in power in all States in Malaysia, except Kelantan and Singapore. In all the States in which we the Central Government are in control, there are no problems in State and Central Government relations. Kelantan is controlled by the P.M.I.P and until recently they showed great reluctance to co-operate with the Federal Government. It is only now that they have realized the necessity to do so and the results are already evident. Singapore is under control of another opposition group, the P.A.P. Singapore has had no previous experience of working in a Federal system of Government. Singapore, being a city state, has problems peculiar to its own and therefore we cannot solve the problems of Malaysia from the angle of Singapore only and we cannot employ the same methods of tackling problems in Singapore as tackling problems in our other States of Malaysia. In a Federal system of Government there must be a spirit of give and take. The Federation cannot work on the basis of only taking and not giving. Though the progress of Singapore may be important to Malaysia, by the same token the progress of Malaysia as a whole is equally vital to Singapore. I know it will take time for the new States of Malaysia—Sabah and Sarawak and Singapore—to adjust themselves to the new setup. However, with patience and understanding and co-operation I have no doubt that difficulties can be resolved.

As I said Malaysia is just two years old and on the day of its birth has to face threat from outside. However, despite confrontation and aggressive acts by our neighbour, I am proud of the way in which our people of all races have stood together in unity and with harmony and goodwill. We in the Alliance Government have from the start made our concept of Malaysia clear; indeed our Prime Minister, the Tunku, made the announcement about the establishment of Malaysia at your Association luncheon meeting on May 27th, 1961. He made it clear that our concept of Malaysia is to bring together the peoples of the various territories of Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Malaya in political and economic co-operation. We wanted them to be brought together so that they would regard the new country Malaysia as the sole object of their loyalty. The Tunku stated that he wanted all our people—Malays, Chinese and others—to regard themselves as Malaysians. This concept of ours is embodied in our Constitution. Our Constitution provides a place for every Malaysian and protects and guarantees his rights and privileges. There is no question of discrimination or dominance of one race against the other under our Constitution. Our Constitution is so drafted that it provides the idea of "GIVE" and not "TAKE" that is to say, it allows us to help the less fortunate of our people, the "HAVE-NOTS", without taking away the rights of the "HAVES". It is true there is a provision in the Constitution giving special position for the natives or Bumiputeras but this is a special provision to meet a special situation and is not intended in any way to provide for supremacy or privilege. In other words,

because there is definite economic disparity between the natives and the other Malaysians, the Constitution provides a system of parity in order to correct the economic imbalance.

It is clear in the Constitution, Malaysia is for all Malaysians. Therefore I often wonder why some people have brought out this slogan of Malaysian Malaysia. It may be that they want a Malaysia which is not in accordance with our Constitution which we all agreed to or it may be they want a Malaysia which is not based on the principle of parliamentary democracy and rule of law. As I told the University students of Singapore the other day, at this stage of our progress all of us must devote our efforts and energy towards building a united Nation, towards strengthening the harmony and goodwill of our people. We must beware of slogans or words attempting to create tension, problems or racial differences which do not exist and which have no basis. Our people of various races have lived together in peace and harmony for generations; indeed in Malacca for instance, the Malays, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and others have lived as a happy and peace-loving people for more than 450 years. This is the natural tendency of our people and it is our duty as responsible leaders to sustain and strengthen this harmony and goodwill so that our people will, in due course, feel themselves as one, as one people and not as members of different communities. This process must necessarily take time because we want to achieve it through democratic process. We should not force the pace but rather allow this process of uniting our various races together to come about naturally and peacefully. But our objective is clear.

We in the Alliance Government are confident that whatever difficulties we have to face now Malaysia will emerge as a strong, happy and united Nation. The natural tendency of our people as I said is to live together in peace and harmony and any attempt to disrupt this peace and harmony will not be supported by the vast majority of our people, because our people are practical and have enough commonsense to realise and appreciate where the true interest of the country lies.

Gentlemen, I took time to explain all this although I have done so many times before, in order to illustrate to you my belief and our belief in the Alliance Government that the only solid way to build a Nation is by sure and steady progress linked with patience and understanding. I wish particularly to appeal to foreign correspondents to keep this belief in mind. The tremendous changes, politically, economically and socially have taken place in this Nation in a very short period of time—changes which in older countries have taken hundreds of years. I have no wish whatever to object to criticism which is fair but I do not think that it is right to judge us at all times and in every aspect by the highest standards that may apply elsewhere. We are not God but Man and like all men are capable of making mistakes at times.

All we ask for is more consideration of the difficulties and dangers that confront Malaysia, and not too much stress on internal differences and opinions which after all occur in every country. This is the way democracy works but the general picture should be viewed as a whole and not in flashes or closeups which can only result in a disjointed image.

No one can possibly object to statement of facts or fair comments but it is surely reasonable to expect that comments based on facts or personal opinions should be balanced and fair. There are always two sides to a story. There may even be half a dozen. The correspondent who works hard to give all sides to a story is most worthy of respect and performs a valuable service. When difficulties arise it is always found that they spring from reporting that is partial. Naturally those who have other views that are unreported are inclined to object. There was one bad case recently when a correspondent attempted to relate the proposed closure of a Bank of China with supplies of rice. No efforts since have been made to find out the facts and figures relating to banks operated by foreign Governments. I must say so-called stories like this are happily rare but when it does occur it is most unfortunate.

I would also like you all to realise that we are in a state of emergency. Times are not normal in Malaysia today. Our Constitution provides for special powers against subversion and for emergency powers. This is incorporated in the Internal Security Act. The powers are extensive as you probably know but consider this and the fact that we are in times of emergency the Central Government has been extremely tolerant and restrained in applying its authority. I am mentioning this merely to illustrate that we are in a state of Emergency. Because we have so successfully dealt with the confrontation, some people tend to forget that a state of Emergency does exist. Under the Emergency there are many additional duties and obligations for citizens and naturally these same duties and obligations apply as do the laws to foreigners travelling or residing or working in this country.

I know that practically all foreign correspondents are based in Singapore as this is the centre of South-East Asia. You have to move about and gather events in surrounding countries. I have noted there is every tendency to congregate in Singapore and to cover Malaysia from here. I know you have often visited Sabah and Sarawak quite a lot but generally speaking visits by resident correspondents in Singapore to the States of Malaya including our National Capital, Kuala Lumpur, are not as frequent. I would like you to know that you are most welcome to Kuala Lumpur our National Capital. We would like to see you all as often as it is possible for you to make it.

Thank you.

KUALA LUMPUR.

27th July, 1965.



## PEMBUKAAN PERTUNJOKAN MAHA

*Uchapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, di Upacara Pembukaan Pertunjokan MAHA pada pukul 5.00 petang, Khamis 29hb Julai, 1965:*

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Tuan<sup>2</sup> Yang Terutama, Y.B. Menteri<sup>2</sup>, Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan Puan<sup>2</sup>:

Saya ucapkan berbanyak<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa MAHA kerana sudi menjemput saya hadir di-sini pada petang ini dan juga di-atas kehormatan yang di-beri kepada saya untuk mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pertunjokan MAHA pada tahun 1965.

Saya mengetahui, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Naib Yang di-Pertua dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa MAHA dan juga pembantu<sup>2</sup>-nya ada-lah orang<sup>2</sup> yang telah dengan sukarela-nya mengorbankan masa dan tenaga untuk mengadakan dan menyediakan Pertunjokan MAHA pada tiap<sup>2</sup> tahun. Saya tahu tuan<sup>2</sup> semua ada mempunyai pekerjaan yang banyak pada tiap<sup>2</sup> hari dan saya sangat menjunjong tinggi dan mengucapkan tahniah kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> semua di-atas usaha yang tuan<sup>2</sup> tunjukkan bagi mengorbankan masa mengadakan Pertunjokan MAHA yang begitu besar faedah-nya kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> negara ini dan juga kepada kemajuan negara kita.

Pada tiap<sup>2</sup> tahun kita telah kebiasaan melihat pertunjokan MAHA yang bertujuan bagi membawa kampung ka-bandar untuk menunjukkan ia-itu perusahaan<sup>2</sup> dan kehidupan di-kampung<sup>2</sup> dan luar bandar itu ada-lah mustahak kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-bandar dan juga kepada negara kita. Kemajuan negara kita ini maseh bergantung kepada perusahaan<sup>2</sup> tanah, dengan itu mustahak-lah kita menunjukkan kepada semua bahawa perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang di-jalankan di-serata daerah negara kita ini dan di-luar bandar ada-lah mustahak. Jikalau keadaan di-luar bandar itu maju, perniagaan<sup>2</sup> di-bandar pun turut maju. Bagitu juga perusahaan<sup>2</sup> di-bandar pun mustahak bagi kemajuan negara kita.

Sa-bagai sa-orang Menteri dan Ahli Kerajaan, saya sentiasa bangga bila saya lihat Kerajaan telah berjaya melaksanakan sesuatu pekerjaan atau perusahaan dan berjaya mencapai tujuan dan chita<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan. Akan tetapi lebih daripada itu, saya fikir, sangat besar kejayaan-nya jika kejayaan itu di-sebabkan oleh perkhidmatan sukarela yang di-berikan oleh anak<sup>2</sup> negeri sendiri.

Bagitu juga saya berasa lebih bangga lagi melihat chara-nya tuan<sup>2</sup> pada hari ini telah berjaya menyedia dan mengelolakan MAHA ini dengan usaha dan tenaga sendiri dan ini-lah semangat yang sangat mustahak kita tanam dalam hati semua penduduk di-negara kita ini

supaya mereka itu dapat menjalankan usaha dan tenaga dengan kekuatan dan kuasa sendiri dan tidak bergantung kepada pertolongan daripada Kerajaan.

Ini-lah semangat yang akan menjadikan Malaysia ini suatu negara yang kuat dan maju yang boleh berdiri di-atas kaki-nya sendiri, yang mempunyai penduduk<sup>2</sup> daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang boleh berfikir, boleh bekerja dan boleh berkhidmat dengan bersungguh<sup>2</sup>. Oleh yang demikian kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> yang datang hendak melihat beberapa barang<sup>2</sup> yang elok dalam pertunjukan ini, ada satu lagi, pada fikiran saya, pertunjukan yang tersorok ia-itu suatu benda yang tak nampak di-mana<sup>2</sup> tempat dalam kawasan pertunjukan ini ia-itu semangat perkhidmatan sukarela yang di-tunjokkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa dan juga pekerja<sup>2</sup> di-MAHA ini kepada negara kita.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, tauladan yang di-tunjokkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Jawatan Kuasa MAHA ini dan Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap dapat di-tiru oleh tiap<sup>2</sup> orang daripada apa juga peringkat di-negara kita Malaysia ini pada ketika negara kita sedang menghadapi pencherobohan dari luar dan pada masa kita terpaksa menumpukan tenaga kita kepada pertahanan negara kita. Dalam keadaan yang semacam ini, dalam masa kita sambil menghadapi keadaan dharurat, kita terpaksa juga meneruskan rancangan<sup>2</sup> kemajuan negara kita. Kerajaan berkehendakkan tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang ra'ayat negeri ini bukan sahaja menjalankan tugas masing<sup>2</sup> pada tiap<sup>2</sup> hari bahkan mengadakan usaha yang lebeh daripada biasa. Malaysia ia-lah suatu negara yang kecil mempunyai isi negeri hanya 10 juta orang dan kita sekarang sedang di-ancham oleh President Sukarno yang hendak menghanchorkan negara kita. Kita ada-lah di-ancham oleh suatu negara yang mempunyai penduduk lebeh kurang 100 juta orang. Ada perbezaan besar antara 10 juta dengan 100 juta, akan tetapi kita boleh dapat mengadakan usaha dan tenaga yang sama juga dengan 100 juta orang jikalau kita ra'ayat Malaysia yang 10 juta, tiap<sup>2</sup> orang bekerja dan mengeluarkan usaha dan tenaga 10 kali ganda daripada yang kita biasa jalankan pada tiap<sup>2</sup> hari. Jadi,  $10 \times 10$  juta ini akan menjadi sama dengan pekerjaan yang di-buat oleh 100 juta orang. Pada fikiran saya tidak ada jalan dan tidak ada sebab yang kita pada masa kechemasan semacam ini tidak boleh berazam hendak bekerja 10 kali ganda daripada biasa dan menumpukan masa lapang kita kepada pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> yang mustahak untok negara kita.

Pada fikiran saya kalau-lah boleh Pertunjukan ini di-buka bukan oleh saya sendiri bahkan oleh President Sukarno dan Jawatan<sup>2</sup> Kuasanya, boleh mengishtëharkan pembukaan Pertunjukan MAHA ini, President Sukarno tentu boleh dapat mengetahui sendiri bahawa kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang di-tunjokkan dalam Pertunjukan ini bukan-lah tanda suatu negara yang di-ancham atau pun suatu negara yang tidak lama

lagi akan hanchor. Bahkan Pertunjokan ini ada-lah menerangkan dengan nyata bahawa Malaysia ini suatu negara yang tetap hidup, maju dalam semua lapangan dan dari suatu masa ka-satu masa ada beberapa kejayaan yang besar yang terchapai dalam usaha<sup>2</sup> hendak meninggikan taraf hidup ra'ayat di-seluruh Malaysia. Kejayaan di-Pertunjokan ini ada-lah menerangkan bahawa Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri, termasuk Sabah dan Sarawak ada-lah memberi kerjasama yang penoh untuk menjayakan Pertunjokan ini. Dukachita saya hanya suatu negeri yang tidak mengambil bahagian dalam Pertunjokan ini ia-lah Singapura.

Pertunjokan MAHA ini saperti tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> ketahui ia-lah dengan tujuan hendak menunjukkan kemajuan negara kita dalam lapangan iktisad dan tanaman dan pada tahun ini tajok Pertunjokan ini ia-lah Menuju Ka-arrah Kema'amoran Luar Bandar Yang Lebeh Besar atau "Towards Greater Rural Prosperity". Oleh itu Pertunjokan<sup>2</sup> dalam MAHA ini telah terhad kepada barang<sup>2</sup> tanaman dan barang<sup>2</sup> yang di-keluarkan dari kawasan<sup>2</sup> luar bandar. Akan tetapi patut-lah kita ingat juga bahawa bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan Pertunjokan MAHA ini ada satu lagi pertunjokan yang di-anjorkan di-Kuala Lumpur ini oleh Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan ia-itu Pertunjokan Barang<sup>2</sup> Yang di-Perbuat di-Malaysia. Oleh itu kedua<sup>2</sup> pertunjokan ini menunjukkan kemajuan negara kita dalam semua lapangan. Kedua<sup>2</sup> pertunjokan ini dapat menerangkan tujuan dan hasrat Kerajaan yang terkandung dalam Ranchangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia yang sekarang ini sedang di-sediakan dan akan di-lancharkan pada awal tahun hadapan. Dalam Ranchangan Lima Tahun kita yang kedua, kita telah mendapat kehasilan dan kejayaan yang sangat memuaskan hati, akan tetapi kita yakin dan perchaya pada masa melancharkan Ranchangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia yang mempunyai tujuan ia-itu hendak menjalankan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar dan membelah-bahagikan hasil bumi, dan satu lagi ia-lah hendak menambah dan meluaskan lagi pembenaan kilang<sup>2</sup> dan perusahaan<sup>2</sup>. Ini berma'ana penduduk<sup>2</sup> negara kita baik di-kampong<sup>2</sup> dan juga di-bandar<sup>2</sup> akan bersama<sup>2</sup> mendapat faedah daripada pembangunan negara kita.

Saya yakin dan perchaya dengan sokongan yang penoh daripada semua gulongan ra'ayat jelata negeri ini dan dengan menggunakan chara<sup>2</sup> pelaksanaan yang kita telah jalankan pada masa yang lalu dengan mendapat kehasilan yang memuaskan hati, saya yakin dan perchaya Ranchangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia ini akan memberi kehasilan<sup>2</sup> lebeh daripada yang kita anggapkan dan akan membawa ra'ayat negeri kita ini kepada taraf hidup yang lebeh tinggi dan chara hidup yang lebeh baik dan lebeh sempurna. Dasar kebangsaan kita ia-lah bukan semata<sup>2</sup> hendak menambah mata pencharian ra'ayat sa-bagai tujuan yang utama akan tetapi kita berkehendakkan juga memperbaiki chara hidup ra'ayat, melanjutkan dasar demokrasi,

perasaan saling mengerti di-antara bangsa<sup>2</sup> di-negeri ini dan perasaan fahaman yang baik di-antara penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-negara kita. Oleh yang demikian, tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup>, saya ucapkan Pertunjokan MAHA Tahun 1965 ini selamat maju jaya dan MAHA akan bertambah maju dan pertunjokan<sup>2</sup> akan bertambah banyak dari sa-tahun ka-satahun. Saya berdo'a bahawa pada tahun ini Pertunjokan MAHA ini tidak-lah tergendala oleh sebab chuacha yang tidak baik dan saya berharap beribu<sup>2</sup> orang akan dapat menyahut seruan tuan<sup>2</sup> semua "Mari Kita Berjumpa di-MAHA". Dengan ini saya dengan sukachita-nya mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pertunjokan MAHA ini.

**KUALA LUMPUR,**  
*29hb Julai, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK OPENS FACULTY OF MEDICINE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

*Speech by the Acting Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein at the Opening of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, on August 2, 1965 at 10.30 a.m.*

Mr Pro Chancellor, Mr Acting Vice Chancellor, Dean Danaraj, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Distinguished Guests from overseas and Malaysia, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Both as a Malaysian and Deputy Prime Minister I am very proud indeed to be at the University of Malaya this morning to take part in two special ceremonies. I say this with the greatest pleasure because it gives me a personal opportunity to pay tribute to the remarkable developments that are taking place here in Pantai Valley.

During the last 7 or 8 years there has been, as the Minister of Education said, a phenomenal growth in our University here. In 1956 the whole of this Pantai Valley was nothing but tree-clad hills, largely rubber trees. Today it is clustered around with a whole complex of buildings, of faculties, of administrative blocks and students' hostels. The growth of this University is one of the many examples of the tremendous progress that this country has made since independence. I would like to associate myself with my colleague, the Minister of Education, in paying a very warm tribute to Dato Sir Alexander Oppenheim who, as the Minister of Education said, was the midwife, watching this baby while it was conceived and then was responsible for the delivery, later for nursing into its present lusty boyhood. We are all sorry that Dato Oppenheim will be leaving us very soon but I am sure he will have the satisfaction to know, wherever he may be, that this University is a monument to his energy, ability and farsightedness.

In this place where we are, two years ago, there was nothing but jungles and hills. Today a whole complex of buildings newly risen from the ground, are in active occupation and use by the Faculty of Medicine: a Teaching Hospital is in construction soaring to the sky; and bulldozers are busy day and night clearing sites for new developments already planned and worked out for this great Medical Centre. This is a typical example of the progress that has taken place in this University for the last 7 or 8 years.

The fact that these acts of inauguration are belated is for me, however, a fine tribute and a splendid compliment to the tremendous achievements of all concerned.

I am sure that everyone who has had a part to play in what has been done here, in what is being done, and in what will be done, will agree with me that the construction of this medical centre is a splendid

example of the close co-operation and continual liaison consultation among officers of various ministries and departments concerned and the University of Malaya. In this respect I would like to pay my tribute to Professor T. J. Danaraj, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. From the very moment of his appointment two and half years ago after having made a special study of medical schools and teaching hospitals in the United States, Professor Danaraj immediately started work on the establishment of this medical centre with enthusiasm and boundless energy. His will and his drive and leadership have translated the aims and the hopes of the Government and the University of Malaya into real concrete result.

I doubt if ever before anywhere in the world a Medical Centre such as this, combining all aspects of teaching, research and patient care, has been erected to such an unusual building timetable. This is a schedule to prepare for all consecutive phases of development of a brand new medical course in such a way that each aspect of construction is completed in time to meet the needs of the next stage of tuition. The daring and foresight displayed and the effective execution of all the problems involved have brought into being, and are still doing so, a medical institution that is completely modern and in many ways unique, not only in Asia but in the world.

A creative spirit has been in evidence throughout the whole concept. These buildings are not just concrete and steel, but pregnant with meaning, because they are the physical aspects of an all-round philosophy of medicine. This Medical Centre is aimed to teach and train not only students of medicine, but of dentistry and nursing, and also laboratory staffs. In addition, it will provide for post-graduate medical education and for medical research, especially in Malaysian problems.

Tremendous changes and developments have taken place in medicine in recent years, and in this medical Centre Malaysia has drawn on the best of modern experience everywhere, adapting ideas to local needs. Whereas in the past, for instance, it was the practice in medical schools for the students to come to the staff, here the staff will come to the students working in an intimate tutorial system.

The philosophy of medical education which this Centre will interpret embraces in its thinking not student training only, or the young doctor only, but the whole profession, their need for dedication, and their need for renewal from time to time, and above all their place in a developing country. In short, this philosophy envisages the medical man not as a doctor only but as a social scientist with a definite and special responsibility and feeling for the community. Therefore, in the first four years of the medical course special attention will be paid to social and preventive medicine.

This is of particular importance to Malaysia with its large rural population. It is the intention that the medical student will gain his practical experience not only in this Teaching Hospital but in other hospitals and rural health centres as well. In this way the Medical Centre of the University of Malaya will be in close and continual contact with the people of Malaysia.

In this Medical Centre a major task of the Faculty will be in the field of post-graduate and continuing medical education. General practitioners and specialists will be able to participate. There will be short-time refresher courses, major full-time courses in basic medical sciences, and advanced courses in certain fields, all with the object of further developing specialisation, which is urgently needed in Malaysia.

As an earnest of this appreciation of medical education, this new Faculty of Medicine has organised an international conference to begin this very day on the theme of "The Education of the Medical Student for the Social and Preventive Aspects of Medical Practice". Distinguished professors and experts in medicine from nine countries and from Malaysia are already here in Kuala Lumpur and present in this gathering. On behalf of the Government of Malaysia I welcome them most warmly, for in these new and inspiring surroundings they will realise that this nation of Malaysia is paying paramount regard to the fundamental importance of all aspects of medicine and health.

In doing so this Faculty will answer the problem of our future needs for doctors. But to meet the difficulty arising from the shortage of doctors at present—a state of affairs which is a worry of other countries—we have to consider what is to be done between now and until the time when this Faculty is producing doctors in a steady and increasing stream. The question of recognition of degrees in medical science from other universities other than those which we have depended upon in the past consequently arises. It is not so much the question of recognition but of adjustment. Just as we have drawn on the best of experience in creating this Faculty, we intend to follow the best standards of practice applicable elsewhere in recruiting and appointing doctors. In this regard the Government will make a decision in the next few months but the policy of the Government in this respect is clear that is, Government will treat all universities, other than our own university, on the same basis and purely on merits. Whatever difficulties that may arise in coming to this decision will be resolved and if it is necessary to amend our laws and regulations they will be amended.

It is now my very pleasant duty formally to declare open this Faculty of Medicine in the University of Malaya. This ceremony and this Medical Centre open up new vistas of hope and achievement for the health, betterment and happiness of the people of Malaysia.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
2nd August, 1965.

## FIRST MALAYSIAN YOUTH CHAMPIONSHIPS

*Text of speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, when declaring open the First Malaysian Youth Championships at the Merdeka Stadium Kuala Lumpur, on August 6, 1965.*

Mr President—Dato Sardon, Ladies and Gentlemen and Members of the Youth Council.

I am indeed pleased to be here this evening to declare open this First Malaysian Youth Championships.

I am equally glad to note that athletes have come from the various States of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah to partake in this National Championships. I for one, have had contacts with the Youth Council as early as 1949, when I had the privilege to represent the then Federation of Malaya at the formation of the World Assembly of Youth where I became a signatory to the charter of the World Assembly of Youth with nine others representing nine other countries.

It has always been my desire to keep in close contact with youth and their activities. I never get tired being in their company and am always willing to assist all youth irrespective of their origins in building them up into fine young men and women. What our country needs is healthy, intelligent, disciplined and dedicated youth. Any effort in this direction by any youth organisation has my blessings and support.

Knowing that the youth of today will be leaders of tomorrow, our Government has spared no effort to encourage and promote youth organisations and activities. The creation of a special Ministry to look after such affairs is a clear indication. I am confident that with the efforts of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports there should be better understanding and co-operation between the Government and the voluntary youth bodies. I do not think it out of context to pay special compliments to the numerous youth leaders in the country who have and are still actively engaged in youth circles which as every one knows is voluntary and often work pertaining to youth activities have to be done during leisure hours. I am hopeful that those youth leaders will continue helping in the building up of youth organisations and will also help in training their fellow members in leadership so that they may be able to take over when the time comes. I appeal to all, both the public and those in authority to continue encouraging and helping youth leaders in their various tasks to serve and lead the youth of the Nation.



As I said earlier, I am very happy to see so many of you from different States and representing different Organisations getting together at this meet. Apart from the fact that you will be actively concerned in giving your best in each of the items you are participating, knowingly or unknowingly you will also be cementing good relationships which is so much needed in our present context.

Our neighbour Indonesia who has become hostile is confronting us not because we are a danger or threat to them, but because they cannot remain quiet seeing us progressing so rapidly and realising that despite our cosmopolitan background we are a bunch of 'happy brothers and sisters'. I am sure we are not willing to quarrel among ourselves nor do we want to remain static in our progress. It is necessary we have to be united at all costs.

**KUALA LUMPUR.**  
*August 6, 1965.*

## KURSUS PENGHUIJONG MINGGU UNTUK PEGAWAI<sup>2</sup> KANAN KERAJAAN BILANGAN PERTAMA

GENTLEMEN,

You are, all of you, the top layer of our national civil service; I do not want you to regard this course as an attempt on the part of the Government to send you back to school!

"Course" is probably the wrong word; this week-end gathering is more a "getting together" for an exchange of ideas, and an exchange of thoughts, particularly with the focus on new thinking with regard to the present position of the Civil Service within the framework of our independent democratic country.

I think we can be proud of ourselves, all of us, Ministers and Civil Servants together, that since Merdeka Malaya, and now Malaysia has gone forward with force and made tremendous progress.

But, quite frankly, I am not satisfied with one or two aspects of our national progress as a Nation!

Legally, and constitutionally, we are independent.

To the outside world we are now regarded as a Nation which has thrown off the chains of Colonialism!

However, as the last vestiges and traces of the Colonial Civil Service are disappearing from Malaysia, and a new Service, reflecting the true needs of our country, is emerging, there are still, nevertheless, traces of the old colonial system deep-rooted in our service structure, our administrative methods, our files and our day to day techniques of dealing with our work!

I feel, and I shall be quite honest and blunt with you, that there is still "an old Colonial skeleton" remaining in some of the cupboards and filing cabinets of our offices throughout the country and this is a skeleton which must be removed and thrown out if we are going to have a Civil Service and a Government organization, fit to fulfil the needs of our fast progressing Nation.

Let me go back a little bit in history.

Pre-independence, this country was run by a Colonial Civil Service, and I myself can speak from experience, because I was at that time part of that Colonial Civil Service!

In the pre-Merdeka days the Civil Service had two functions.

Not only did they administer the country but they also ruled the country.

In the old days, a British Adviser, a District Officer or an Under-Secretary was both Administrator in so much that he had to execute policy from day to day, but at the same time he was a sort of ruler, a sort of Governor, taking his orders from a distant and remote control of Whitehall in London.

This tradition seems to have lingered on within the Service—after Independence.

We must get rid of it!

Nowadays the position has completely changed!

And you, as Civil Servants must change in keeping with the changing times.

There must be a change of methods and a change of thought, and a change of attitude towards your work.

This is essential if our new nation is to take its rightful place in this modern world.

We have got to re-examine the position!

We cannot prepare the Civil Service for a progressive future if we continually live in the past, applying past methods, out of date systems, and going about our daily duties with an old-fashioned approach.

The time has come when you have got to look ahead, think ahead, with a focus on the future and to do this we must continually re-examine the whole structure of Government.

This is the object of your being here this week-end.

Let me explain further.

We are an independent country with full sovereignty; run by a system of free democracy in which you have three very clear-cut divisions of Government:

- the Electorate,
- the Elected Government, and
- the Administration

— The Electorate decides in what direction it wishes to go by electing the type of Government it wishes.

— It is for the Elected Government, for the Politicians, to give words to these desires of the Electorate and to turn them into a policy.

— It is *then* the *duty* of the Civil Service, to give that *policy form*, to give it action, and to *implement* it in the shortest possible time with the maximum application of energy!

According to your programme, when I have finished this speech, and we have a break for coffee, the next speaker will be my friend, Enche Senu, who will talk to you on the Political Manifesto.

Let us be frank: let us not call it a Political Manifesto; it is the Alliance Manifesto.

And talking now, not as an Ex-Civil Servant, but as a Politician and a Minister, I will say this.

On the night of political victory in a National Election, looking ahead, five years to the next Election seems a long time ahead!

On the eve of Polling Day, when Ministers are holding their breath, doubtful of victory, looking back over the previous five years, it always appears that time has evaporated into thin air and the many things in the manifesto which should have been done, they realise, with a rude shock, have not been done!

A Minister of Finance can control National expenditure and prevent wastage of funds.

Can a democratic Government prevent wastage of time in the implementation of its manifesto?

To a democratic Government, time and its correct use, is as equally important as the correct use of money; and no matter how sound are the deliberations and decisions of Cabinet, they will be *useless*, if left to lie moribund on files *and not implemented* with impact on the electorate!

We have inherited, to a considerable extent, the British Civil Service system.

This system has much merit but also a few defects which were also inherited.

It seems therefore necessary now to review our own present system with new ideas and new thinking based on logic!

This new thinking must also take into account the difficulties of governing a "Federation" because the slowness of implementation and the cause of many delays are traceable not only to the Federal Capital but also, in many cases traceable to the State Governments.

What is required is a new method which will enable *political push and punch* from Cabinet to penetrate through the thick and cumbersome veil of the Federal and State Administrations so that the maximum impact on the electorate is achieved.

Written into our Constitution are safeguards to protect Civil Servants from the Politicians so that their selection, their terms of service, their promotion, and their confidential report are not in any way interfered with by a politically elected Government.

Unfortunately, however, the Constitution was not drafted to protect the Politician, or an elected Minister from the defects of bad Civil Servants.

If a Minister finds he cannot implement policy because of a dead beat Secretariat; if a Politician finds that time in the implementation of political policy is being wasted by the unnecessary minuting of files, slowness and lack of action on the part of the Civil Servant—he has very little redress under the present system.

I have no wish to change the system of the Civil Service—I do however wish to change the thinking of the Civil Service—that is why we *meet here today!*

As you know, I travel a lot around the country, and every time my duties in Kuala Lumpur permit me to get *out* of Kuala Lumpur and visit every State. I waste no time in getting on an aeroplane, a boat, or a car, to go and see for myself *how our administration* is running and how our Development Plan is being implemented!

But I must say, *quite frankly and honestly* to you all here today that I suffer *also* from frustrations!

When a clear-cut policy decision is made in Cabinet, a decision to do *this* or to do *that*, has been agreed to; *I as a Minister*, expect *these decisions* to be implemented with the least possible delay.

*And yet*, on my travels, from Perlis to Sabah, when I ask what is happening, what progress is being made, I find *policy decisions lying dead on the file* of some senior (or junior) Officer, *massacred* by *minutes* on the file, and the decision has never been implemented as far as the people on the ground: the people for the benefit of whom the decision has been made.

Frankly, the people who elected this Government!

So therefore I have given much thought to this.

Why is there this blockage, a slowness between policy making decisions and their implementation?

Like a Doctor I have got to make a diagnosis.

You may disagree with me in my diagnosis, but I put it to you quite frankly and honestly, that the first requirement in this new image of our Civil Service is a requirement of *leadership at the top*. Leadership to get things moving! To get Results!

The *First Requirement* is that there must be full understanding of policy, a full understanding of the wishes of the *Elected Government*, and a system to make sure that each and every Officer *right down the line*, understands what that policy is and implements it.

This is your job as leads of the Civil Service.

Are you doing your Job?

This is a question I would like you to ask yourselves—and give yourself an honest answer!

The *Second Requirement*, which is also the ability of leadership, is for Secretaries to Ministries and Heads of Departments to be able to delegate, *not only their authority* but to delegate the power to make decisions on matters, detail.

Too many of our top men are wasting their time,

- and *their time* in terms of the overall picture of an Elected Government,
- is *our time*, as Politicians, and our time,
- *our time*, as Ministers,
- is the *Nation's time*, on its path to progress!

We cannot afford any longer to waste this valuable time in the implementation of our policies.

Therefore, I put it to you that we want a new image emerging whereby those who are put in a position of supreme responsibility for running their Ministry or Department must also be in a position to be free to supervise, free to think, free to stand aside and check up and judge on the performance of their organization, and free to diagnose and detect inefficiency in the implementation of our National policies; free to save the Nation's time.

This, I think, can only be achieved by a complete re-organization within each Ministry and within each Department and the responsibility for carrying out such re-organization falls squarely on the shoulders of the man who has been put in charge of that Ministry or Department and who is drawing the salary of the post he holds.

I suggest to you today that, after this week-end get together, you go back to your respective post, stand aside, re-organize, delegate, give clear-cut instructions to your Deputy Secretaries, your Principal Assistant Secretaries, your Assistant Secretaries and give them all a clear picture, written in words not only with regard to their duties but also with regard to their powers within their delegated responsibility, to decide things themselves, within the framework of policy, without wasting time of going up and down the Civil Service line seeking minor decisions on petty matters.

Since Independence we have not in any way lowered the standard of entry to any of our services and I feel myself, from my travels around the country, that the very many young University graduates, who have since Independence, joined the service in replacement of Expatriate recruitment; these young men are all of an extremely high quality and it is my opinion that they also have latent ability of great merit!

But in the Civil Service, and I mean all Government Departments, this ability of our youth and the brains of these intelligent young men will not be tapped to the full; full advantage will not be taken of their capabilities unless they get leadership from the top and are given a fairly free hand to get on with the job!

As you know, I am also Minister of Defence and let me give you an example from my experience as Minister of Defence.

Our military forces which, in its day to day execution of duty, in the face of our national crisis of Confrontation, are doing a first-class job both in the States of Malaya and also on the borders of Sarawak and Sabah; they do this job well because, I think, of good leadership within the Army.

Not only good *leadership*, good *organizations* as well.

For example the Army is divided into Platoons, Companies, Battalions and Brigades, commanded overall by Generals, but the *great secret* of the efficiency of our Army is delegation of authority, of command! :

- A Platoon Commander is given the responsibility of commanding his Platoon;
- A Company Commander is given full responsibility of commanding his Company;
- A Battalion Commander is given entire responsibility of commanding his Battalion; and
- A Brigade Commander is given entire responsibility to run his Brigade.

No General in the Army descends to the depth of trying to dictate to a Battalion Commander as to how to run his Battalion.

No! A General sits back and keeps his mind fresh :

- (a) to keep in touch with the battle and
- (b) to be able to *plan ahead, think ahead* and *get ahead*.

In fact, according to military principles a General is armed with only a revolver to protect his own life; he does not go around the battle field with a rifle, a machine gun or any other heavy weapon

getting involved in the detailed business of fighting in the battle front; No, he has either a cane, a little bit of wood or a mere revolver to make sure that he is in a position to stand aside and command and not do the job which privates, soldiers, sergeants, captains, majors, and others are supposed to do—a General's job is to keep himself in the overall picture of the battle and not get involved, emotionally, in the fight; otherwise he would be a bad Commander!

This is the secret of *delegation, command, and leadership*, which must, in my opinion, be applied to the principles of running our Civil Service.

Sometimes Head of Departments, Secretaries to Ministries become so muddled and befuddled with details of petty little routine daily decisions, such as leave for clerks, duty rosters for peons, travelling claims for officers and all sorts of other small minor details.

Delegate! delegate! delegate! is my motto to you but *delegate with discipline*; the first requirement of discipline is respect for one's leader.

You must prove yourselves as leaders in order to gain respect and good leadership means the ability to delegate!

If, in running your Ministry or Department you have succeeded in the art of delegation, then you will be free to do three things which are three of your main duties:

- (a) to ensure that your Officers are working properly and fulfilling their duties;
- (b) to ensure that the functions of your Ministry are working correctly, *on the ground*, and giving the correct service to the people, our people, who in the first place elected us as a democratic Government and pay for you as their Civil Service, dedicated to serve them—the people of our country;
- (c) also you will be able, in a position, to be so free from detailed work that you will be able to think ahead, plan ahead and put up suggestions to your Ministers for such future progress as befits a young dynamic developing Nation like Malaysia.

Now, Gentlemen, I have talked at considerable length and let me finish with a few human points nearer our heart.

To be a good Civil Service we must have an *Esprit de Corps*, a feeling of belonging within all members of the service and it is my view, that a Civil Service job is not finished at 4.30 in the afternoon when his Office closes; he must play a full and active part of human contacts, of human relations with all layers of our society throughout the country.



So therefore I like to see two things happening.

Firstly, the formation of an active and vigorous Civil Service Club where you can go after office hours, provided your wife permits you, or better still bring your wife with you, and mix freely with each other including elected Members of this Government and the other sectors of our community—the private sector, the business sector or the industrial sector,—so that you can, from day to day, acquire a broad outlook on life and a reasonable sensitivity to the aspirations of all sectors of our country.

The other thing I would like to see is a realization on the part of all Civil Servants that you must not think entirely of promotion, of salary, and of allowances—that is your right in any case, but, combined with this right you must develop yourselves, educate yourselves, and be, within the dictates of your own conscience, fit for promotion—let me give you another motto: "The bigger the job, the bigger the Man required to fill it".

And when I say big I do not mean big size; I mean big in heart.

You, as your promotion develops and your work develops, have got to develop with it.

You cannot put a round peg in a square hole and you cannot put a small man in a big position.

So all I ask of you is to measure up to the responsibility in the service to which you have been entrusted.

Your jobs are not only a trust given to you by the Government of the day, they are the trust given you by the people of our Nation, who expect the best of you, and the best of the Officers in your Ministries and Departments for which you are the leader.

I know that the Civil Service is regarded as a "silent" Service but I hope that over the period of this week-end, you will not be silent but will talk a lot and express your views without fear or favour, views expressed towards an even greater improvement of the Civil Service, of which I and all Malaysians are proud!

## OPENING OF THE CENTRAL WELFARE COUNCIL CONFERENCE

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein,  
at the Science Faculty of the University of Malaya at 9.30 a.m.,  
August 13, 1965:*

Mr President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very glad to be here today and to be given the honour of opening your Conference.

I am sorry, however, that I am only here merely to open the Conference, and wish that I had time to spend the next three days taking part with you all in your discussion groups, because I can see from your programme that the subjects under discussion are not only of tremendous interest to me personally, but are of vital importance in this day and age of development.

The main theme of your Conference—Urban Development—and its implications for Social Welfare, is well chosen, and timely.

Perhaps I can take this opportunity of clarifying in your minds the policy of my Government—the Alliance Government—with regard to development.

We are now coming towards the end of our present Five-Year Development Plan and the public seem to have got the impression that this present Plan was entirely a Plan for rural development.

I think this impression was obtained from the fact that we did lay particular emphasis on development in the rural areas because the rural areas has been neglected during 12 years of the last Emergency and there was a definite attempt in our present Plan to rectify the imbalance between rural and urban development.

This does not mean that my Government's policy was in any way designed to neglect urban development, and, as can be seen from the tangible results of expansion of Petaling Jaya and other industrial sites throughout the country such as Tasek at Ipoh, Tampoi in Johore, Sungei Mak Mandin in Province Wellesley, the new industrial site near Klang and many others throughout the country are proof that urban development has been moving ahead at the same time as our rural development.

With these new industrial sites as a nucleus there are great opportunities for sound urban development planning around them, so that the workers in these new factories will have all the social amenities as befits people of a modern developing nation such as ours.

Also, last Saturday, I spent the entire day touring around the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur and was much impressed at the progress made by the Selangor State Development Corporation in its attempt to solve the squatter problem by setting up new housing schemes, by means of planned urban development in such places as Selayang, Lembah Jaya and also new low-cost housing projects in Petaling Jaya.

Our next Five-Year Plan, the First Malaysia Plan, will lay tremendous emphasis on many more new, urban, housing projects so that the urban development around our main towns throughout the country will go forward with pre-planned progressive schemes to ensure that our workers in the towns, and in industrial sites, have not only satisfactory employment, but also have the opportunity to live a satisfactory life under the best conditions that we can offer them within our country.

Also, in our next Five-Year Development Plan there will be some \$14 million for the improvement of the services given by our Social Welfare Department and this contribution by Government towards social services will be further increased by contributions made to help voluntary services from funds raised by the Social Welfare Lotteries Board.

In a Communist country, all social services become the monopoly of the masters of the Communist dictatorial system of Government.

The perfect Communist State is a State in which *everything* is done for the people by Government, even their thinking is done for them.

Everything is supplied for them by the State, from false teeth to other false things, normally of a fairly poor quality and low standard—that is probably why no Communist country enters for the Beauty Competition of Miss Universe!

When I think of a Communist-run country, I am always reminded of a species of bird called the "Dodo" bird which is now extinct.

I believe it used to exist in the islands of Mauritius, and it existed before any human being had arrived on the islands, but at that time everything that these Dodo birds wanted, such as food and other things, was so easy to obtain that the birds did not even have to fly and use their wings.

All they had to do was walk around and pick up food where and when they required it.

The result of this, the result of having everything supplied so freely, and without any effort on their part, was that they eventually lost the use of their wings and their ability to fly.

Then when the first human beings arrived on the islands and these birds tried to fly away, they could not, because by having everything all round, and an easy life in a Communistic Socialist Bird State, the ability to strive for their own existence had been lost, and they became extinct, and only one stuffed Dodo bird remains in a museum somewhere in the World.

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, in a free and flourishing democracy such as ours all of us have equal opportunities to strive, to live and better ourselves.

We have opportunities, not only to help ourselves but also opportunities, by voluntary service, for helping our fellowmen, day by day, towards a better and more progressive life.

Your Central Welfare Council is an example of this free and voluntary service, and such voluntary organization as yours, of which there are many throughout the country, are essential institutions in our democratic way of life; your activities are a free expression of the wishes and the goodwill of our people towards each other.

I hope therefore that your Conference will be a success; I hope that your discussions will be fruitful in bringing our many good ideas for the furtherance and improvement of social services in our urban areas and, lastly, I hope that you will not stop on the third day of this Conference and leave your ideas merely as words on paper to rest hidden away in books and files!

But I do sincerely hope that this Central Welfare Council will follow up this Conference and translate your words into action, and your action into results for the benefit of the development of our country.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*13th August, 1965.*

## FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN 1966-70

*Address by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National and Rural Development, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, to Permanent Secretaries/Secretaries to Ministries, State Secretaries, State Financial Secretaries, State Development Officers, and Heads of Federal Departments at Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman on Thursday, 19th August, 1965.*

Honourable Minister of Finance,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am very glad indeed that you have been able to come here from all over Malaysia in response to an invitation from Dato Jamil, the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department and Chairman of the N.D.P.C. Just over a year ago in this very same Hall, I spoke about the preparation of the First Malaysia Plan. Since then events and developments have moved pretty fast. It is gratifying to know that proposals prepared by you for the First Malaysia Plan have been vetted at all levels. The comprehensive Plan which is now being drafted is about to be finalised. This morning, I propose to discuss with you the tasks which lie in the years ahead in connection with the implementation of the Plan.

The good work carried out by you all in the execution of the existing development plans and the really magnificent manner in which you have responded to the call of public duty in producing results are deeply appreciated by the Government. Now that we are on the threshold of launching, in the next few months, a bold and dynamic development plan for Malaysia for the period 1966-70, I consider it appropriate to meet you all again. I know that you will give the same high degree of cooperation, dedication to hard work and service required of every single Government officer to develop our country and meet the challenges and opportunities for the fulfilment of the aspirations of our people for higher levels of living.

In this connection you will also wish to know what possible impact the separation of Singapore from Malaysia will have on our Plan.

It is inevitable that necessary adjustments will be made to accommodate the changed situation resulting from Singapore's separation from Malaysia and resolve new problems arising therefrom. I am conscious of some anxiety over the separation of Singapore from Malaysia and of the effects it will have on the rest of the country politically and economically. You can be assured that the separation of Singapore was the result of mutual agreement between the Governments

concerned. It was taken because it is considered to be the best solution available under the circumstances. It was a sad parting but we should be comforted by the fact that we parted as friends imbued with the desire to keep as close together as possible in matters of defence, economic development, trade and commerce—matters which are essential for the survival, progress and prosperity of both nations. We would promote close cooperation with Singapore for the mutual benefit of Malaysia and Singapore and in the national interests.

The separation might affect the natural and healthy development of both countries if close co-operation and harmonious relations are not maintained between us. It is our sincere hope that Singapore will respond positively to our gesture of goodwill and friendship and work for the good of our peoples.

We are deeply conscious of the difficult problems in the years ahead; problems arising from external aggression, sabotage and internal subversion mounted by Indonesia and Communist agents. These are compounded by the problems associated with the need to accelerate the rate of development of the country. Recognising these problems is not enough. We must tackle them imaginatively and not let them simmer or be concealed underneath.

We have made impressive economic progress in the past several years and the pressing development problems we face are not new to most developing countries of this region. Recognition of these problems and attempting to resolve them is more than half the battle won and we will go onward and upwards. What are our pressing problems? They are those arising from the rapid increase in the Malaysian population and labour force with consequent signs of growing unemployment and the increasing need to provide education, health, housing and other social services. On top of these there is the urgent requirement to improve the standards of living of our people particularly in those areas where living standards are low relative to the rest of the country: e.g. the Borneo States, the north and east coast of the Malayan mainland and some of the urban slum areas. Extensive programme of rural development, land settlement, education and housing will be needed over the next five years to cope with these needs.

As these problems become more pressing, our prospects for further income growth are clouded by uncertainties in world markets for natural rubber and some other traditional export products although on present indications, natural rubber will continue to yield a reasonable return on investment and an adequate income to smallholders for the foreseeable future. This problem points to the need to diversify our agriculture and to make progress in developing alternative sources of income and employment.

The Government, as I stated earlier, has recognised these problems and is making major efforts towards economic diversification and industrialisation. More will be done in these directions but the central problem as regards the First Malaysia Plan is the financial constraint upon the total level of public investment. We have the capacity to develop and administrative and technical capacity are no longer the main bottlenecks as they were during the early part of the decade. In the light of this financial constraint the Government is reviewing the investment target or size of the First Malaysia Plan which will be imaginative and bold but not excessively ambitious. A decision on the revised investment target will soon be announced.

The problems are not insurmountable though challenging and crucial. We are deeply committed to the people, particularly those in the rural areas and the States of Sabah and Sarawak and recognise a clear mandate to accelerate the pace of development. I would like to assure the people concerned that we shall do as much for them as possible and in fact much more than the present plans of the constituent States. At the same time, however, we will need their full cooperation in helping the Central Government to meet some of the problems involved and to mobilise the necessary men, money and material resources for development, defence and security.

There is scope for the States to increase their revenue and hence employment and income through largescale alienation of land to the private sector to reinforce the good work done by F.L.D.A. in land settlement. I am glad that the State Governments which have vast areas of suitable land for cultivation will proceed speedily with alienation of land in accordance with the recent decisions of the National Land Council.

Development and Defence are the two pillars to uplift our economy and safeguard our sovereignty. The assistance we are receiving to ensure peace and progress in this country from friendly countries in supplementing our own development and defence efforts is deeply appreciated. But external aid cannot be substituted for our own basic responsibility for economic development, defence and internal security.

These inter-related and indivisible tasks must essentially be carried out by us. The tasks ahead are therefore made that much and perhaps more difficult. Malaysians themselves must show their own initiative and redouble their efforts to help themselves, for 'God helps only those who help themselves.' If we are not prepared to make sacrifices for the good of the Nation and work hard to overcome the problems confronting us, we shall then have failed by our own default.

Fortunately in the past two years since the establishment of Malaysia, we have been able to make remarkable growth and progress and with public support I am sure we can overcome all difficulties.

The question is how should we meet the situation and tackle the problems of development? What are the essential action that should be adopted in the years ahead in implementing our First Malaysia Plan? I shall suggest a few important requirements basic for efficient implementation of the Plan. Approach these problems calmly but firmly. Tackle them with a singleness of purpose tempered with perseverance and coolness rather than with recklessness and inconsistency. Remember that as a new and growing nation, we will continue to find ourselves in situations which often are difficult and where we simply will not have easy choices or ideal solutions. We therefore must not yield ourselves to frustration and disappointments over stresses and strains which are bound to arise. What is important is that we must consolidate our position, strengthen our unity and dedicate ourselves to the job of nation-building. Let not our difficulties or problems deter our determination to accelerate the economic and social development of Malaysia.

The major emphasis in the First Malaysia Plan will be given to agriculture, rural and industrial development, health and education. Malaysia's marketing system will become more effective with the operation of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority whose principal objective is to ensure fair and reliable returns for farmers' produce. The credit needs of our farmers and indigenous people will be met through a re-vitalised co-operative movement and the establishment of Bank Bumiputera, while extension services and the provision of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, better seeds and pesticides will be stepped up concurrently with provision of essential infrastructure facilities—roads, transport and communications, power, schools, housing, etc. Rural, industrial and urban development will receive a greater impetus through the activities of MARA, F.L.D.A. and F.I.D.A. These constitute concrete evidence of Government's efforts at modernisation of our society throughout Malaysia.

Government's finances will be severely limited during the next five years but the needs of our people for increased employment and higher levels of income are great. For this reason, first priority under the First Malaysia Plan has been given to projects which directly increase productivity and incomes and those which create new jobs. Projects which merely provide social amenities and do little to raise incomes or employment in the long run have had to take a second place in the Plan. Only by rigidly limiting ourselves to productive projects can we best serve the long-run interests of all Malaysia's people.



When Government development efforts are tending to expand with the launching of the First Malaysia Plan under conditions of financial stringency, we should take all possible care in preparing and implementing our programmes. In this connection, I would suggest what appear to me to be some of the essential steps for action. First, there should be advance planning of projects with proper estimate of costs. I suspect that constant revision of costs exceeding the approved provision in the Development Estimates is the result of inadequate planning and also partly reflects the desire to have elaborate frills and fittings designed to suit the aesthetic value of architects or consultants. This seems to indicate that much more careful and advance planning is required. My colleague, the Minister of Finance, and you all would, I am sure, agree that this state of affairs which may be permissible under conditions of affluence should not continue. Instructions have been issued that plans and designs for projects should be estimated properly and worked out in advance. They should be based on functional needs. A Committee on Standards and Costs will be set up under the auspices of the N.D.P.C. to check on plans and designs of projects, materials, and quality before they are put out to tender. The specifications should be such as to conform with the utmost economy. Federal and State Government departments will be requested to adhere to this policy strictly. If tendered prices should exceed the provisions voted then the plan might have to be re-designed.

Another important reason for advance planning is to ensure the completion or fulfilment of our plan. To a greater extent our Plan will depend on external financial assistance. We must have in our portfolio sufficient projects, properly studied and planned in advance to qualify for foreign aid. Failure on the part of Departments to produce a sufficient number of planned projects suitable for foreign financing might jeopardise the chances of getting funds for their implementation. I have asked the E.P.U. in consultation with the Treasury, Bank Negara and Ministries and State Governments concerned to press on with the preparation of such projects and explore all possible avenues of foreign assistance.

I would hasten to emphasise that advance planning need not necessarily imply rigid planning. Very often the Plan must be modified or adjusted because of changes in circumstances and conditions since it is impossible to foresee all contingencies. To meet these circumstances, a Contingency Development Vote will be created to be jointly controlled by me and my colleague, the Minister of Finance for allocation which can only be granted on full justification.

Secondly, the Economy Drive Committee, which has already been established, will help to ensure that we get the best value for every dollar spent on development and recurrent expenditure. I am advised

that there is scope for minimising expenditure by reviewing present establishments and exercising stringent economy in expenditure by Federal Ministries and Departments. It is essential that at this moment of Emergency, Federal and State Governments as well as Public Authorities should work in unison in carrying out this policy.

Although the State Governments might have funds of their own for development projects under the State lists, I hope they will adopt the rigorous standards as outlined above. Officers are reminded that expenditure should be directed to economically productive projects and the so-called prestige projects and public buildings will be eliminated or reduced to the minimum. The same stringent standards of economy and the same criteria as apply to Federal Departments will also apply to State Departments and it is my earnest hope that State Governments will co-operate fully with the Central Government when implementing development programmes under the First Malaysia Plan.

Thirdly, steps will be taken early next year to designate a group of "expeditors" who will not only assist co-ordination and expedite action on projects on the ground but also evaluate the results and progress made. The administrative machinery will be strengthened and further streamlined to achieve the necessary co-ordination, speed of action and full utilisation of completed projects.

In this connection I would like to see greater delegation of authority in the discharge of responsibilities. Detailed and excessive minuting upwards, and downwards and even sideways should be minimised. A relatively high degree of discretion should be given to individual officers to carry out their planning and implementation of programmes.

It is important to increase efficiency and improve the services to the public. Officers are aware and conscious of this need and I am glad that they adopt a human approach to all problems with a spirit of service and leadership. Without these even the best trained officer and the best prepared plan or programme will fail to evoke public response and participation.

Development planning, let it not be forgotten, is not an end itself. It is essentially a means to an end—which is to promote a higher standard of living and a happier and more prosperous society. This end can be achieved only if those entrusted with the task of plan implementation undertake this work in a spirit of public service and conduct themselves in a manner which inspires peoples' confidence and co-operation.

It is gratifying to note that our public service is one of the best in the developing countries in the region but there is room still for improvement—any country which is satisfied with the status quo will

eventually lag behind. One cannot be complacent with the achievement thus far attained but must strive for greater goals and achievement in the years ahead. For this reason the Government has invited a two-man team of public administration experts provided by the Ford Foundation to make recommendations for increasing efficiency and performance in the development administration of this country.

Malaysia is one of the few countries in Asia and South-East Asia which is committed to the basic political form of parliamentary democracy and a democratic system of government dictates that we must inspire popular public participation in the important task of development and meet the aspirations of the people for a better standard of living. This is the surest means of warranting the country's democratic future.

Well, Gentlemen, once again thank you for coming here this morning and in concluding my address I would like to congratulate you all for successfully completing the ground-work for the launching of the First Malaysia Plan. I am confident that you will respond to the challenge and opportunities in implementing the Plan and helping to achieve the objectives of building a peaceful, prosperous and progressive Malaysia.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*19th August, 1965.*

## OPENING CEREMONY OF NATIONAL MOSQUE

*Speech by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the Opening Ceremony of the National Mosque on 27th August, 1965.*

Peace and the blessing of Allah be with you. In the name of God the Almighty and the Merciful and may the benediction and peace of God be upon our leader Mohamed, His chosen messenger.

Your Majesty and Your Highnesses.

May it please Your Majesty and Your Highnesses.

As Chairman of the Committee for the construction of the National Mosque, in a spirit of deep respect, I offer my thanks to Your Majesty for having graciously consented to perform the official opening of this mosque. I also offer my thanks to Your Highnesses for having consented to grace the historic ceremony this morning; I offer my special thanks to His Highness Al-Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, the Sultan of Brunei for having consented specially to come to Kuala Lumpur to be present at this ceremony.

May it please Your Majesty and Your Highnesses. To begin this ceremony I beg leave to address the distinguished guests and all present.

Your Excellencies the Governors, the Honourable the Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

First and foremost, I would like to express my thanks on behalf of the Government and the people of this country to Their Excellencies the Governors for their presence and to Their Excellencies, the Distinguished Guests, especially the representatives from 14 friendly nations who have kindly come to our country to be with us at the historic opening ceremony of the National Mosque. To all of them I extend my welcome to Malaysia. Their presence at this ceremony will not only bring honour to us but will also strengthen the tie of friendship between the Government and the people of this country and the Government and people of the countries they represent. It is hoped that they will take the opportunity of their visit to know more closely and more intimately about our newly independent country. We are a nation who always strives for the friendship and the peace of the world. We are desirous of having friendly relations with other countries each respecting the other's sovereignty and independence. We are people who believe in the Greatness of God. Although our people embrace different faiths they strongly believe that we are all human and that we are weak and must always strive for unity. It is on this

principle that we desire to maintain peace by making friends with other countries especially Muslim countries which you all our guests represent.

On behalf of the Government and the people of this country I take the opportunity to convey my special thanks to the Government of the Republic of India which has generously and sincerely presented a valuable silver chair of very fine workmanship for use as the seat for the Imam of this Mosque. For Malaysia such a gift is a mark of sincere friendship which we greatly value.

Gentlemen and Friends:

On this holy day, that is Friday, when all Muslims throughout the world forget their differences and enmity and assemble in mosques to perform the "Friday Prayer", we the people of Malaysia offer our thanks to God the Almighty for having blessed us with a majestic and historic National Mosque. We are also thankful to Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong to have graciously consented to perform the opening ceremony of this Mosque.

The desire to build this big Mosque for this country was first mooted out after our country achieved its independence on 31st August, 1957. It was intended to be a permanent monument of the independence of the then Federation of Malaya and as a gift from the people and the Nation to the Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj as a token of our gratitude and appreciation for his services and wisdom in guiding the Federation of Malaya towards independence. Thus the money spent for the construction of the National Mosque does not only come from the Central Government but also from the State Governments and the people generally.

It is my personal desire and wish and also that of the organisers of the National Mosque that this Mosque be named "Masjid Tunku Abdul Rahman", however the Tunku himself suggested that it was more appropriate to call it "Masjid Negara". Thus today's ceremony is of great significance in the history of our Nation for the National Mosque will be an everlasting tribute to our Great National Leader and the father of our Nation and a monument of our National independence.

As Chairman of the Committee for the construction of the National Mosque I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all members of the Committee, its Secretary Tuan Haji Ismail bin Panjang Aris and members of the State and District Committees for their efforts in collecting funds for building of this Mosque. I also wish to thank the donors from the various races who have generously contributed towards the mosque building fund amounting to \$1,007,000. I am unable to mention all their names as there are thousands of them. But many of those who donate a large amount are present here this morning.

Also I would like to offer my sincere thanks to their Highnesses the Rulers and His Excellency the Yang di-Pertuan Negara, Singapore and Their Excellencies the Governors for having generously presented a chandelier each which we now see in this Mosque.

A large portion of the contribution came from non-Muslims. This is a clear evidence that the multi-racial inhabitants of Malaysia from various creeds and religions do have goodwill and understanding among themselves and they are ever ready to help one another. It has always been the policy of the Malaysian Government to strengthen further the spirit of goodwill and friendship among the various communities drawn from various religious groups in this country so that every person has his or her rightful place in this country and that one day they will regard themselves as members of one nation irrespective of their religious belief. The contributions received from the non-Muslims are clear evidence that the people generally accept and uphold the policy of the Government. As provided in the Constitution i.e. that though Islam is the official Religion, the Government has guaranteed the freedom of worship and the right to profess any religious belief to all in our country.

I would also like to thank and congratulate the architect i.e. Enche Baharudin bin Mohd. Kassim who has shown an extraordinary skill in designing a Mosque which is not only in conformity with the requirements of our religion, Islam but also well-suited to the climate of this country and in keeping with our national architectural taste. I would also like to thank the engineers, especially the Public Works Department, for the work they put in supervising the construction of this Mosque. I would also like to express my thanks to the contractors, workers and others who have also contributed their share in the construction of this Mosque.

A mosque in the true sense of the word is not only a place of worship, but as we know from the history of the evolution of Islam, especially during the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his Disciple, it is also a place where Muslims congregate to discuss and resolve problems of day-to-day life including problems pertaining to religious tenets, public welfare, social and academic affairs.

This Mosque stands on 13 and-a-half acres of ground, five acres of which is taken up by the building itself. The Grand Prayer Hall is 22,500 sq. ft. and can accommodate not less than 8,000 worshippers. In addition there is another all-purpose hall which can accommodate 500 persons. This Mosque also has a library and offices. Adjoining it there is a mausoleum for our National heroes. As a National Mosque and the biggest in the country it is hoped that this mosque will serve as a centre for the research and development of Islam. Similarly it is

hoped that a centre for higher Islamic studies will be established in this mosque so that it will become a symbol of the importance and the progress of our religion Islam and the beacon of Islam through the Nation Malaysia.

Before I invite His Majesty The Yang di-Pertuan Agong to declare the National Mosque open I would like to call on the Honourable the Prime Minister to give his address.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*27th August, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA GRADUATES SOCIETY

*Address of the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, to the University of Malaya Graduates Society on September 1, 1965, at the Arts Lecture Theatre "A", University of Malaya, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur:*

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy and honoured to be your guest speaker tonight.

I do not really know why politicians are always expected to make speeches and be judged on their speeches.

After all, when any of you want to buy a car you judge a car on the smooth running and silence of its engine.

You do not judge a car by the sound of its exhaust pipe!

I wish you would judge politicians on their silence.

However, I am sorry to inflict you this evening with my verbal *exhaust*; but in the words of a current television programme all I can say is "You Asked For It".

The last few weeks have been a momentous period in the history of our Nation.

It has also been a sad period, with the withdrawal of Singapore from Malaysia; but nevertheless, we must not be despondent, and it is my belief that provided both Singapore and Malaysia maintain a harmonious and co-operative relationship in defence, trade and our respective national economies then the people of both nations will benefit and go forward to a brighter and better future.

After the decision was made that Singapore should leave Malaysia, my Government was accused of lack of consultation leading up to the reaching of the decision.

But it must be remembered, and sometimes here in Kuala Lumpur far away from the fighting on the borders of Sabah and Sarawak it is forgotten, that we are in the midst of an Emergency—an Emergency in which our very sovereignty and independence is threatened by external aggression.

The first essential to win through this battle of Confrontation is internal national unity.

We must put ourselves above thoughts of personal power and selfish aims so that we are strong within the shores of our young nation.



Therefore, under the circumstances of this Emergency, events leading up to the separation of Singapore, were kept as secure and secret as possible.

A decision made by a select few top leaders is not undemocratic if in fact such a decision is designed for the definite good of the nation's citizens, designed to protect the sovereignty and security of the country in time of national crisis.

Some diplomats were upset that their countries had no part and were not consulted before we make this momentous decision.

But although we ask our friends in the Free World to help us in Defence and in Development, we are an Independent sovereign Nation, determining our own future and in coming to this major decision we take full responsibility. We had to bear uppermost in our minds the interest and well-being of our people and our country and we cannot now be accused, even with the greatest stretch of the imagination, of being neo-colonialist puppets.

Soekarno has coined a new word "Ne-colim" with which he accuses us of being neo-colonialist imperialist which we are not and never have been, and facts are available to the Free World to prove this.

However, let me coin a new word which I think sums up the Soekarno regime "Ne-comcolim" because his Government, puppets of a Communist party which he cannot control, is now a Government of neo-Communist colonial imperialism—short "Ne-comcolim".

However, to return to the question of Singapore, consultation was confined to the minimum number of people so that false rumours and despondent speculation would not be given the chance to lower our national morale.

Some say that this action was undemocratic but if you read the history of Democracy in the Free World you will find that other nations before us in similar states of Emergency and national crisis have used exactly the same technique, in the interests of the Nation's security.

The majority of major decisions during World War II by a great democratic leader like Churchill were in fact made, in close conclave, by Churchill and his own few selected Ministers.

Similar cases can be quoted relating to the wartime President of the United States and other democratic leaders in times of national crisis.

It is in fact easy, as a democratic leader, to shirk one's responsibility and spread it by greater consultation because the responsibility to decide also carries with it the responsibility for the consequences; but in a Democracy it takes a big man to make big decisions and then take entire responsibility on his own shoulders.

Such shoulders must be strong and firm and Tunku, our Prime Minister, although too old to practise body-building has nevertheless got the strongest set of shoulders of any democratic leader in the Free World and will use his shoulders to take the burden of responsibility of any decision that is for the benefit of his beloved country, his beloved Malaysia and the people to whom he has given up his entire life to serve and serve well!

Let us not regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as the two components of an unhappy marriage who, after being divorced, have recriminations, and each fight for the maximum alimony or compensation for their own support, after the breaking of their life together!

No, let us regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as similar to the separation of two "Siamese twins"!

The separation of two children born together as one body in the womb of Malaysia, but who after two years, tied so closely together and after sound diagnosis, decided to perform the operation of separation, both for their own good.

The operation of separating "Siamese twins" is delicate and intricate and is a great feat of modern science in this modern world.

One has got to think of the nerve system, of the bloodstream, of the bones and everything else by which they are joined!

But modern science can now successfully separate two "Siamese twins" so that they can walk independently, act independently and prosper independently.

And yet throughout the World you will find every case of the separation of Siamese twins, there remains a mental bond between them, after purely physical separation.

They are still brother and sister, or still sister and sister and have an instinctive bond which is thicker and deeper than the skin which originally joined them together!

This is how I like to think of Singapore because although there have been differences, there is still a bond that unites us in our

differences, and there is no reason whatsoever why we should not walk forward, firmly, together towards the future and progress in harmony and in goodwill like a couple of separated twins!

Since the separation of Singapore from Malaysia the horizon of our hopes for the success of Malaysia are in no way clouded!

No!

In fact the clouds and doubts have dispersed and have revealed a new un-darkened dawn, a new determination, and a new decade in our Development; all pointing the way towards an even brighter future for Malaysia, and for Singapore and her people, as sister shareholders in our future security and our pre-planned prosperity—partners in peace, prosperity and protection from aggression!

In this spirit, and in this spirit alone, will the peace and prosperity of our part of South East Asia be secure for centuries to come.

The separation of Singapore from Malaysia and the silence of the announcement had naturally produced anxiety and uneasiness in the minds of certain section of our people including those in Sabah and Sarawak. It is hoped that these anxieties and disappointments will soon die away as the two countries, Malaysia and Singapore settle down under the new set-up and with the removal of tension and strain there will emerge closer understanding and co-operation between the two countries for the mutual benefit of our respective people. As regards Sabah and Sarawak, we have firmly assured the people of the two territories that we are determined to stand by them through thick and thin. They joined Malaysia out of their own free will and have fitted well with the other States of Malaysia. We shall do all we can to help them in their developments. They need our help and our assistance and we shall do our best to fulfil their needs.

Our Prime Minister, Tunku, in his Merdeka Anniversary Message to the people, spoke of the foreign busybodies who are spreading out feelings of apprehension over the situation in this part of the world abroad. These busybodies also, who are thinking mainly of their own interest and the interest of their countries and not the interest of Malaysia and her people have imported the idea that the separation of Singapore will also mean the breakaway of Sabah and Sarawak from Malaysia. We have made it very clear that this will not be allowed to happen. However, we must ask these foreign busybodies while we allow them freedom to write things of our country they should not interfere with our internal affairs. The internal affairs of our country are our concern, the concern of our people.

What of the future of Malaysia?

I sincerely believe that we have a great future, and that the potential of our future progress is almost unlimited; but there are certain conditions which must be fulfilled if we are to progress in the way which we all, as sincere Malaysians, earnestly desire.

The main condition is unity—racial unity, unity in our attitudes, unity in our loyalty and unity in our determination—to make Malaysia maju.

But you must remember that there are in our midst, political opportunists who will always try to disrupt this unity!

Opportunists who, with an eye on the main chances of obtaining personal political power to the detriment of Malaysia, will mislead us, and our people.

I do not think that you, my audience tonight, all fully-fledged graduates, launched into life with the benefit of a first-class education are likely to be misled by these opportunists; but, as members of a new Nation, you must remember that there are many layers of our social structure, ranging from the sophisticated graduate to the uneducated labourer.

Tonight, I talk to graduates; tomorrow, I may be talking to an Adult Education Class of Good genuine Malaysians who have been denied, because of our colonial heritage, the benefits of a first-class education but nevertheless are determined, even later in life, to learn to read and write.

Communism and political propaganda thrives on illiteracy, whereas Democracy thrives on an intelligent electorate,—a Nation of voters free to think for themselves and decide for themselves the type of Government by which they wish to be governed.

Political opportunists such as the Communist-influenced leaders of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and other extremist parties are making use, not only of Confrontation and our National Emergency but are also making use of that proportion of the electorate who are misled by sweet words and poisoned propaganda to further their own interest.

Let me explain what I mean.

Really, to understand what I am trying to say, I should like you all, if you have not already been there, to go and see our National Zoo; because in that Zoo is the finest education, not entirely an education of wild life, but also an education on "political wild life" as practised by opportunists.

These poor animals which previously roamed the jungle, with freedom of will, freedom of action, and freedom of voice, lost their freedom because they were trapped by sweet words, sweet food and tit-bits from the animal "menu"!

Then having been lured by these nice things, the door of the trap is closed, and for the rest of their lives they live in complete captivity.

So it is, with subversives, ultra-socialist, and Communist opportunists.

They use the same methods.

Their technique is exactly the same as the Game Warden, catching his game, both big animals and small, to lead them into captivity!

Nice words, slick slogans, and fiery speeches is all that these political opportunists can offer but, so many of our people are misled and caught politically, the same as animals in the jungle; they fall for these nice words and promises, forgetting that after falling for the bait of Communism and the bait of political opportunists, they too, like the animals in the Zoo, will spend the rest of their lives either behind a bamboo curtain or a permanent iron curtain!—suffering under the yoke of drab socialism with no more freedom, no more opportunities to express themselves and their individuality.

It will take time—even with the maximum funds we, as a Nation, can afford for education and—even with the most progressive education programme we can plan and implement.

It will take time to produce that real basis of a sound Democracy—an electorate which can reason and think for itself.—an electorate which is immune to the distortions of disruptive political opportunists!

So therefore, and I would like to make this absolutely clear, we are, at this moment of National crisis, defending our sovereignty on two fronts.

On an external front of physical aggression by Soekarno, and on an internal front of subtle subversion by those within our shores who are disloyal to the concept of Malaysia and who are determined to undermine our concept of Parliamentary Democracy.

You as graduates are not expected to take up arms and fight like troops in the jungle, but have an equally important part to play in the battle for our sovereignty and independence.

You have a part in applying your professional ability to the task of nation-building, but you also have an even greater part to play in your own human contacts, from day to day, in spreading the right spirit of Malaysia, the spirit of sensible stability which will make all of us immune from subversion from within.

Dictatorial Regimes like Indonesia and others, pride themselves in having the finest propaganda machine available to back-stop the criminal, aggressive action of their leaders.

Their propaganda, they think, penetrates the hearts and minds of our people and eventually Malaysia will collapse from inside!

This is not true; this is not possible; and with the grace of God, will never be possible, because we here in Malaysia have a propaganda machine which, by the law of human nature,—and time will tell—will completely outpace the propaganda of Indonesia or any other Communist puppets.

Our propaganda machine is not mechanical, is not the blare of radio, of television, of films—that is publicity, not propaganda.

Our strength lies in the hearts and minds of our own people, passing from word to mouth, their own inward conviction that we are proud to be Malaysians, proud to live in a free World, proud to progress and use our own abilities to the best of our knowledge, proud, above all, to be free and democratic!

This is our democratic propaganda—a human machine—greater than any machine invented by man!

Democratic propaganda lies in the sincerity of saying what you believe whereas the propaganda of subversion and Communism lies in the mistaken ability of believing what is said to you.

And this Ladies and Gentlemen, tonight is my message to you and also to all right-thinking Malaysians.

Let us forget, in this time of crisis, our political aims, our personal aims, and our personal ambitions, and let us resolve here and now to spread the true spirit of Malaysia, and when the time comes that we have overcome the crisis of Confrontation, and the difficulties which now beset us, and I know we will, then, and only then, we can revert to the normal lives of thinking of ourselves and our own future, because our future is intricately tied up with the future of Malaysia, and if we are disloyal to Malaysia we are in fact being disloyal to ourselves!

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*1st September, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK'S BROADCAST OVER RADIO MALAYSIA, SABAH

*Following is the text of Tun Abdul Razak's broadcast over Radio Malaysia, Sabah, Jesselton, on September 10, 1965:*

As you already know, since my arrival in Sabah last Sunday, I have been on the move non-stop visiting as many towns and villages as possible to explain the present position of Malaysia since the declaration of the separate independence of Singapore. In actual fact there is no change in the concept and position of Malaysia. Malaysia still exists. Malaysia is still a horizon of scope and prosperity.

However, before my coming to Sabah I was informed—perhaps misinformed—that there were doubts in the minds of the people of Sabah—doubts about the future of Malaysia and doubts whether Malaysia is still a viable and independent nation. These doubts were born from false rumours from trouble makers and from other people who for their own personal gain tried to “cash-in” on the crisis which they thought had been created by the separation of Singapore. However, now that I have seen and heard for myself, now that I have met and talked to so many hundreds of Sabahans I find—and my findings are based on hard facts—that in reality the feeling of the great majority of the people of Sabah is that they not only stand by Malaysia and the concept of Malaysia but also—since the separation of Singapore—have renewed and redoubled their support and are determined as all true Malaysians are to be united together and to move forward towards the creation of an even happy and prosperous Malaysia. I have also found that the doubters and those who wish to destroy our unity are very few in number and are nothing more than (political) opportunists who can in no way be regarded as loyal to our country but who could—if they persist in trying to mislead our people—destroy the harmony of our unity. They are not only working against the true interests of Malaysia but, knowingly or otherwise, actually helping our enemies.

The Central Government is convinced that a time of national crisis, such as we are now passing through when on the one hand we face aggression from across our borders and on the other are faced with subversion and destruction from within, is not a time for politicking, it is not a time for personal political gain; it is not even a time at which we should think of ourselves. This is a time for sincere and honest loyalty. This is a time to unite and in uniting to understand and in understanding to make sure that all those with whom we come into daily contact—whether they be in urban areas or in remote villages—also understand the true position.

And the true position is this. The separation of Singapore from Malaysia is neither the end of the world for us nor is it the end of Malaysia. It is in fact the beginning of the beginning. The position which arose with Singapore and Singapore's incompatibility with the rest of Malaysia is quite unrelated to the position of both Sabah and Sarawak. Already since the 9th of last month when the decision and declaration—agreed to by both the Singapore and the Central Government—for Singapore to leave Malaysia was made public there has been a tremendous improvement in all our relationships and in all our activities which has bound us closely together as two separate nations, Singapore and Malaysia.

If Singapore had remained in Malaysia with tempers high and with feelings and jealousy increasing in tempo from day to day—the result would have been detrimental to the future of Malaysia and to the concept which is the very foundation of Malaysia—the concept of communal harmony—this would have been lost for ever. As it is, Singapore and Malaysia were like a couple of Siamese twins and after the delicate but successful operation of separation both these twins are now standing on their feet and beginning to walk together towards a more prosperous and certainly a more happy future.

There is one doubt I would like clearly to dispel and that is that for Sabah and Sarawak Malaysia means government and control by the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur. This is not so. We are—as every one knows—a federation of States or indeed it would be more true to say a partnership, the coming together of individual states each with its own State Government running and administering its own area and at the centre a Federal Government composed of representatives of all the constituent States whose task is not to direct with dictatorial control but rather to co-operate, co-ordinate and give the maximum help to each individual State within the Federation.

As I have said many times before, and will repeat now, the first and foremost aim of the Central Government is to do everything possible towards the development and benefit of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak. Next year, 1966, we launch the First Malaysia Five Year Plan which is a blue-print for progress and is a plan of action for improvement of the standard of living and way of life of all Malaysians and I can assure you that this plan is designed for the best benefits we can give to the people of Sabah and Sarawak within the bounds of our budget.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on the subject of development I would like to say that the expenditure of Government funds in itself does not produce development. The essential of sound development apart from funds is not only to have a good practical economic development plan but also to have the technical, professional and administrative



ability to implement that plan. With the setting up of Malaysia and the working out of the practical mechanics of the relationship between the Central Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak there have been what I might call administrative teething troubles. From time to time there have been delays in communications and this has resulted in occasional frustration both in State Headquarters and at Federal Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

There has however been a steady improvement in the administrative machinery, but so that there will be even greater improvement, greater co-ordination and greater co-operation, I propose sometime later this year to hold either in Jesselton or Kuching or perhaps in Kuala Lumpur a Malaysian Government Seminar lasting several days. At this seminar each one of us who has the responsibility of administering the Government will be able to meet and discuss with our counterparts any problems we may have connected with our work and to discuss, suggest and devise ways and means whereby we can speed up and streamline the whole machinery of Government. We shall place particular emphasis on the development programme machinery so that the people of Sabah and Sarawak—no matter whether they live in urban areas or in remote rural areas—will get the best service and the quickest service that we as true Malaysians can give to our fellow Malaysians.

I have been extremely happy with my visit and I would like to thank all those who have helped to make the visit so pleasant and useful. I am grateful to community leaders at the various places I visited for the way they received me. I wish the people of Sabah good fortune and Berjaya Malaysia.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*10th September, 1965.*

## LAUNCHING OF BANK BUMIPUTERA AND FEDERAL AGRICULTURE MARKETING AUTHORITY

*Address of the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, when launching the Bank Bumiputera and the Federal Agriculture Marketing Authority on 30th September, 1965, at 10.00 a.m. at the National Development Operations Room, Kuala Lumpur.*

You will recollect that the Government held the Konggeres Ekonomi Bumiputera in June for the purpose of getting ideas, positive suggestions and views on how to help the Bumiputera to participate actively and effectively in the economic life of the country, especially in the field of commerce and industry. The Konggeres, sitting for 3 days in succession, went through all the aspects of the problems and suggested certain steps to be taken so as to enable the Bumiputera to achieve full participation in the economic life and development of the country. The steps suggested are embodied in the 69 resolutions adopted by the Konggeres. I have accepted all the 69 resolutions, and at the closing session of the Konggeres, I made it clear that the Government will take active and appropriate steps to implement them.

I am determined to see to it that all the 69 resolutions are implemented. I will also see to it that the implementation of those resolutions is carried out with the vigour and enthusiasm with which the Second Five Year Plan particularly has been implemented.

I have, therefore, as required by one of the resolutions of the Konggeres, appointed a Standing Committee on the implementation of the resolutions of the Konggeres. This Committee, under my chairmanship, will co-ordinate, direct, and spot-check the progress of implementation of the resolutions of the Konggeres. The Committee, consisting of members and experienced people from the business community and in the field of economics will act as a brain trust, idea-originating body, on matters pertaining to the implementation of the resolutions. The Committee has so far had its inaugural meeting and I am happy that a lot of ideas have come forward from members of the Committee with regard to not only the implementation of the resolutions but also to matters relating to the economic development of our country.

At the State level, I have already asked the Menteri<sup>2</sup> Besar/Chief Ministers of the States to form similar Committees with a view to co-ordinating the activities directed towards obtaining effective participation by the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry. The State Committee will liaise with the Federal Committee on matters and problems of implementation of the resolutions.

One of the main resolutions of the Konggeres was on the re-organisation of the old RIDA and establishment of the Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat. The re-organisation of RIDA is about to be completed and MARA, when the new legislation has been passed by Parliament, will supersede the old RIDA. Although the new legislation has not been passed, I have already directed that MARA should operate in the way that will give maximum impact on the economic development of the country. MARA is now operating in an entirely new way i.e. they operate in 7 semi-autonomous divisions which are responsible for the execution of policy directives and decisions without having to get bogged down by excessive red tape.

I have also directed that MARA should give emphasis on assisting the Bumiputera in the fields of commerce and industry. I am sure that when MARA is properly established, it will be able to cope with the main responsibility entrusted upon it by the Konggeres.

However, MARA needs not only a good public image and vigour but also talents. Steps towards recruiting young and qualified people into MARA and to pool talents from the business community of this country and from overseas are now being taken. The United Nations Agencies, the Colombo Plan, and other bodies have been approached for the necessary talents, experience and knowledge for the successful running of the MARA. In this respect, I have been most impressed with the response given by such bodies.

I am, therefore, proud to say that hardly 4 months have elapsed since the resolutions of the Konggeres were taken, and while the echoes of the words uttered at the Konggeres are still ringing in the ears of the people in this country, the Government has implemented a substantial number of resolutions. Today, I am going to announce the fulfilment of yet two more important resolutions of the Konggeres i.e. the formation of the Bank Bumiputera and the establishment of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority. These two Organisations will form one of the main bridge heads from where the assault on imbalance of life in this country is carried out. The Bank Bumiputera will remedy the lack of capital among the Bumiputera so as to enable them to improve their existing business and encourage them to undertake new enterprises which are expected to accelerate the development and increase the wealth of the country.

In other words, the objectives for which the Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited is established are to carry on in Malaysia and elsewhere the business of a Bank with such branches or agencies as may from time to time be determined; to carry on the business in all the branches and departments, and to provide assistance to enterprises within the agricultural sector of the national economy and to the

fishing industry in Malaysia in general. The Bank will assist in the creation, expansion and modernisation of such enterprises, encourage and promote the participation of capital, both internal and external, encourage and promote agricultural and fishing industries and ownership of investments therein, and in particular provide finance and credit in the form of loans and advances and make funds available for investment for such enterprises.

The authorised capital of this Bank will be \$25 million and the Government has already agreed to give a launching grant of \$5 million. It is hoped that the Bumiputera of this country will contribute to the authorised capital of the Bank by purchasing its shares. I also hope that they will make full use of the opportunities provided for through the establishment of this Bank. I am sure that the Bank will operate successfully if it is used not only for the purpose of borrowing money as capital for the promotion of their ventures and undertakings but also as a saving institution so that the savings could be used and utilised for the purpose of developing this country.

I have already appointed Enche Raslan bin Dato Abdullah as Managing Director of the Bank. He is highly qualified and is a man of experience, and I am sure he will be able to cope with the responsibilities of managing the Bank. Here again, I wish to stress that the Bank will seek for talents from the business sectors of the country as well as from overseas. The Board of Directors of the Bank will not only be from members of the Bumiputera community but also from non-Malay communities. They are as follows:

(i) Enche Mushir Ariff; (ii) Enche L. E. Othman; (iii) Enche Wan Yahaya bin Haji Mohamed; (iv) Y.M. Tengku Razali; (v) Enche John Yue; (vi) Enche Robert Kuok; (vii) Senator S. O. K. Ubaidullah and (viii) Enche Raslan bin Dato Abdullah.

The other point that I wish to mention here is the establishment of branches of the Bank in this country. I am sure that the Bank will establish its branches at appropriate places in this country.

With regard to the operation of the Bank Bumiputera, I must emphasise that the Bank will operate on business and commercial lines just like any other banks in the country. But the unique feature of the Bank is that it will be registered as a Malay under the Malay Reservations Enactment and can hold lands in Malay Reservations as securities.

Apart from the establishment of the Bank Bumiputera and the Federal Agriculture Marketing Authority, the Government is now preparing the necessary legislation for the establishment of the National Land Rehabilitation and Consolidation Authority to look after the rehabilitation of uneconomic holdings.

And MARA now is going ahead with the preparation on the establishment of the First National Corporation on Forest Produce. This Corporation will deal with the working out and marketing of timber produce on a joint venture basis with Bumiputera companies.

The Loans Division of the MARA will also be strengthened and its capital outlay increased. Provision for this has been made in the First Malaysia Plan.

MARA is now preparing plans for the establishment of a new multi-million dollar training college in the new industrial area of Kuala Lumpur which is at the 4th mile, Klang Road.

#### FEDERAL AGRICULTURE MARKETING AUTHORITY

With effect from today the Federal Agriculture Marketing Authority is officially established in accordance with the Marketing Act that has been passed by Parliament recently. The Government has appointed Y.B. Enche Hanafiah bin Hussein, M.P., as Chairman of the Authority. As regards the appointment of Deputy Chairman, the Government is still in the process of looking for a suitable Government official to fill this post. The name of the Deputy Chairman will be announced in due course.

The other members of the Authority have also been appointed as follows:

- (i) Professor Ungku Aziz
- (ii) Y.B. Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
- (iii) Y.B. Enche Kam Woon Wah, J.P.
- (iv) Enche Mansor bin Osman
- (v) Enche Ma'arof bin Sheikh Ahmad of the Ministry of Rural Development
- (vi) Enche Thong Yaw Hong of the Economic Planning Unit
- (vii) Enche Abdul Ghani bin Mohd. Noor of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry
- (viii) Enche Arshad bin Ayub of the Treasury
- (ix) Tuan Syed Zahiruddin bin Syed Hassan of the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives
- (x) Y.B. Dato Ganie Gilong from Sabah
- (xi) A representative from Sarawak will be appointed.

The Government expresses its thanks to the persons mentioned above for accepting the invitation to serve on the Authority.

The establishment of FAMA will serve as a turning point in effecting marketing improvement programme in this country which is aimed at providing suitable and adequate facilities for efficient marketing of agricultural produce. The FAMA will also undertake research and

investigations in order to provide guidance for planning marketing schemes and establishing agricultural prices to ensure fair return for farmers' produce.

The establishment of FAMA marks the 3rd phase of our 2nd Five Year Plan. The new Authority will supervise, co-ordinate and improve the marketing of agricultural produce. This will certainly result in raising the income of rural producers whereby they get a fair and just share of their toils.

Increased irrigation facilities, improved conditions of land tenure, effective agricultural credit institutions, and adoption of better methods of husbandry, including use of high yielding seed and fertilizers under the 2nd Five Year Plan have resulted in an increase in output. As a follow-up action, FAMA will give further incentive to an increase in the production of the rural people. It will help the producing farmer to get a greater share of his produce.

The establishment of FAMA will certainly remedy some of the defects of the existing marketing system of rural produce. It will remedy the rural indebtedness and the credit system, the lack of know-how and market information, lack of grades and standards, and rigidities in buying and selling operations, middle-men monopoly, cartels, price ring, etc.

One fundamental problem in effective marketing of agricultural produce is the predominance of small subsistence farmers, mainly engaged in producing food crops for their own consumption and for the payment of rents and debts in kind. Surpluses available for sale are of limited and insignificant quantity, uneconomical to warrant the provision of marketing facilities including transporting, processing etc. and the small and broken holdings cause much difficulties in collection and assembly for market. One of the main tasks of FAMA will be in the direction of solving these problems.

Other serious obstacles to efficient marketing which the Authority will also be concerned with are the lack of uniformities of weights and measures, poor transport facilities, absence of standards and grades of quality of agricultural produce and absence of market information. At present, subjective and arbitrary methods of grading give rise to dissatisfaction and disputes between buyers and sellers, particularly in paddy marketing. Arbitrary deductions are also widely practised in rubber and copra marketing. With regard to weights and measures, it is found that in the rural areas, the balance stick is commonly used and its accuracy varies over a wide range. Under-weighing and other malpractices often take place in marketing transactions in the rural areas.

Because of the above factors, the Government has found it necessary to solve the problems by establishing the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority charged with the responsibility of introducing, where necessary and desirable, ways and means to improve existing markets and marketing methods. It means therefore that before the Authority can introduce any marketing scheme or institute a marketing board, it will have to carry out careful research and investigations into conditions prevailing in the marketing of particular commodities and it may well happen that the best course in the circumstances is a judicious distribution of existing marketing organisations, individuals or firms. For instance, in a specific area the best marketing arrangement might be to increase the number of private dealers; in other instances it might just mean an improvement in the packing, processing and transport facilities; yet in others it might mean establishing proper standards and grades etc., etc.

It should be stressed here however that it is not the intention of the Marketing Authority to eliminate the existing free market economy as the Act under which this Authority is set up contains so many safeguards that the rights of private individuals and organisations are fully protected. The main functions of this Authority are to find ways and means in improving existing marketing methods including the co-ordination of activities of various organisations and individuals which are concerned with any aspect of the marketing of agricultural produce and also collaboration with existing organisations and individuals to promote efficient and effective marketing.

It should also be pointed out that marketing is only one of the essential factors in the whole complex and inter-related process of agricultural development. Equally important and necessary is easy access to credit on reasonable terms. They are so inter-related that it can be said that the provision of adequate and cheap credit is a necessary corollary to proper development of efficient marketing. The integration of marketing and credit should be seen as a cornerstone without which any attempt to bring about a substantial improvement in the economic position of the farmer must necessarily yield only limited results. It is also for this reason the Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited is established with effect from today.

With the establishment of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority and Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited, the Government has now broken new grounds in its endeavour to bring about a situation whereby the economic imbalance between the rural and urban sectors will be further reduced and consequently the rural producers will get a greater share from the fruits of their labour.

However, I must state it frankly here that these two Organisations, and for that matter any other organisations, would not be able to function properly and achieve its objectives if the people themselves, the Bumiputera themselves, the rural people themselves, are not helping themselves. The people should look upon these amenities as opportunities and they must come forward to make use of these opportunities to the fullest.

On the Government's part, we are providing the necessary help and creating the necessary conditions which will enable our ra'ayat to enjoy better amenities and facilities of life. It is the intention of the Government to help the ra'ayat of this country to stand on their own feet, able to face the competition of every day life. To achieve this end, as you are well aware, the Government has launched the Second Phase of the Rural Development Plan which emphasises on the promotion of gotong royong (self-help) spirit through ra'ayat participation in gotong royong projects and extension services.

The Government has launched the Second Five Year Plan and the Rural Development Programme successfully. The Government is now in the final stage of preparing the First Malaysia Plan which is aimed at increasing the productivity of the country and raising the standard of living of the people; to better social services for the people. The Government is implementing with vigour the resolutions of the Konggeres in order to obtain maximum effective participation by the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry. In fact, the Government has by now implemented some of the major resolutions of the Konggeres, and is still actively implementing the other resolutions. With all these, I hope that the people of this country will take all the opportunities offered them and better their standard of living and their way of life. The Government will carry out all the necessary projects designed to help the people. But the people themselves should avail themselves of opportunities that are being extended to them.

I hope to get one or two members from Sabah and Sarawak to serve as the Board of Directors of the Bank Bumiputera. Our approach should be to change the hearts and minds of our people so that they will have the spirit and attitude of self-reliance and self-respect.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*30th September, 1965.*



## SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF MALAYSIA—MESSAGE FROM THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

*Special Message commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Birth of Malaysia from the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein:*

The Second Anniversary of the birth of Malaysia as a nation will go down in history as a most eventful and unforgettable year. When Malaysia was established two years ago, Indonesia decided to confront us politically, economically and militarily, however, due to the support and loyalty of our people, with the help of our friends in the Commonwealth, we have been able to contain Indonesian confrontation in its many manifestations.

However, just a little more than three weeks ago, it was found necessary by both the Central Government and the Singapore Government that Singapore should be separated from the rest of Malaysia. It was a sad and heartbreaking decision, but the leaders of the two countries were convinced that this was the only solution in the circumstances. Since the establishment of Malaysia it was found that Singapore could not fit in into the Federation and the Central Government and the Government of Singapore, due to many reasons have found it impossible to work together. Lately there was almost a deadlock and what is more the differences between the political leaders in Singapore and in Kuala Lumpur have brought racial tension. The leaders of the P.A.P. Government in Singapore had accused the Central Government of favouring one race against another and that it was a Malay-dominated Government. These unfounded criticisms spread throughout the country and overseas and have led to racial tension and racial troubles. The separation of Singapore may be a sad event but we should be happy in the thought that both the leaders of the Alliance Government and the P.A.P. Government of Singapore have pledged to work together closely on all matters affecting the people of the two territories in particular defence, security, commerce and industry. The two territories are linked together so closely that it is desirable that the two Governments should work together closely for the good of their respective people.

As far as the Alliance Government is concerned, we will do everything possible to work together with the Singapore Government. We in the Alliance Government, in our concept of Malaysia have always believed in the unity of our people of various races. Though Singapore is separated from the rest of Malaysia our concept of Malaysia has not changed. We shall continue to uphold the principles of parliamentary democracy and of maintaining harmony and goodwill among our people

so that they will ultimately become members of one nation rather than of different communities. Our ultimate aim is clear, that is the formation of a united Malaysian nation but this must necessarily take time. As we move along the road of nationhood we will have to make adjustments and re-adjustments in order that our people of various races should have a rightful place in our society. We know that a large section of our people are economically backward and it is our determination to do everything possible to help them. The peoples of Sabah and Sarawak who have joined Malaysia out of their own free will need assistance and we shall do everything possible to provide them with the benefits of independence. Our Constitution while guaranteeing the rights of all our citizens provide; a special position for the natives i.e. the Ibans, the Dayaks, Muruts, Kadazans, Malays and others. They all need special treatment in order to be on equal footing with the other races who are economically more advanced.

In celebrating our Second Anniversary, let us all, Malaysians of all races, pledge ourselves to do all that we can to strengthen the harmony and understanding among our people, to minimise racial differences and to talk of things that would bind us together more closely. Let us make all efforts to eradicate any differences or imbalances which could cause suspicion or friction among our people. Let us move forward steadily and surely on the road to true unity of our people.

Indonesia has proclaimed that she will continue with her confrontation and aggression against both Malaysia and Singapore. We are therefore determined to do everything possible to defend ourselves, however, despite confrontation the Alliance Government has decided to maintain the tempo of development we are about to complete. With the formulation of our First Malaysia Development Plan, which will be launched at the beginning of 1966, the level of expenditure in this plan would be higher than in the previous plan and it is our intention to provide our people with greater development and higher standard of living. Our First Malaysia Plan will lay emphasis on agricultural diversification, economic upliftment of the rural people and construction of houses in the urban areas. We also intend to give greater attention to Sabah and Sarawak whose people, particularly the natives require urgently, assistance and the provision of the amenities of life and assistance in raising their standard of living.

We are confident that Malaysia will continue to move forward in strength and in unity. For the last two years we have been able to contain threats to our existence from within and without. We are faced with Indonesian aggression as well as internal threat of Communist subversion. But if our people always continue to stand together solidly in support of the Government, we shall overcome these triumphantly in the end. However, most important of all, the people of Malaysia of all races must continue to live together in peace and harmony. We must

resist racial extremism in whatever form. We must avoid bringing up issues which could heighten racial tension and differences. I consider that people who indulge in sensitive racial issues are working against the true interest of Malaysia and of our people. The Alliance Government have ruled this country for 10 years and have been able to maintain racial balance. We have been fair and just to all sections of our people. We have a Constitution that protects the rights of all citizens and a Constitution based on principles of freedom, justice and fair play. Because of all these, Malaysia has been able to forge ahead with solid and steady progress. Our years of independence have seen tangible developments at home and the steady rise of our prestige abroad. In International field we believe in friendship with all nations, particularly those within the Afro-Asian region. We have geared our policies towards greater co-operation with newly emergent nations of Asia and Africa. We are pleased to say that our friends in Asia and Africa have come to know us more closely.

Our young nation is therefore gaining in strength day by day and co-operation and friendship with other countries of the world. I have no doubt that with greater loyalty and dedication from all loyal citizens of Malaysia, our country will continue to progress and to prosper. I wish you all Malaysians good fortune in the third year of our independence.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*28th August 1965.*

## OPENING OF NEW HEADQUARTERS OF THE TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION OF MALAYA

*Speech by Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, in declaring open the new Headquarters of the Technical Association of Malaya, Petaling Jaya, on 28th August, 1965, at 10.00 a.m.*

Mr President, and Gentlemen,

I am very pleased to be here with you this morning.

Oddly enough, the last thing I did in my office before I gave thought to the few words I am to say to you was in fact to read some parts of the draft of our First Malaysia Five Year Development Plan, which will be launched next year.

It may be a coincidence that in the sequences of work at my office desk, these two subjects, your Technical Association, and the draft National Development Plan, actually met, both on my table and in my mind at the same time.

This lucky coincidence may also be a token of good luck, a sign of future prosperity for the future, because there is no doubt that there is a very close relationship between your Association and the future development of our country.

I remember, away back in 1960, when we launched the present Five Year Plan, the doubts that existed in many minds that we could not possibly hope to achieve such an ambitious development programme, because, said the doubters, our new Nation did not have, although we had the funds for development, sufficient technical capacity to implement the many thousands of projects which were envisaged in the Plan.

The Plan, they said, was certain to fail.

Time and results have proved that those who doubted us were wrong, and Ladies and Gentlemen, I am glad, and proud, to say that throughout the length and breadth of our country, wherever you go, you will see, mile after mile as you travel, new schools, new water-works, new road-works, new electricity supplies, new buildings of all sizes, shapes and uses and many hundreds of other projects completed by the technical and professional skill of many Malaysians.

All these projects, planned and designed for the benefit of our people, are in fact a tribute, a tremendous tribute to the technical capacity of our country, a capacity which has been growing from strength since we gained Independence in 1957.

And I should like to take this opportunity this morning of thanking all of you here, both Members of Technical Association and also all the other Engineers, Architects, Town Planners, Surveyors, and the many other professionally and technically trained Malaysians to whom, because of their skill, hard work and dedication, our country owes a debt of gratitude because, without them development in this country, would be dead.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, Development in this country is very much alive.

It is a throbbing, thriving aspect in the progress of our new Nation.

Thousands of people from many countries throughout the World have visited our shores, in the last few years, to see for themselves the amazing progress we have made in the field of development since Independence.

And I say with modesty that our fame as a Nation of developers has spread throughout the Free World and, if "Imitation is the highest form of flattery", then we have been flattered because many other developing countries had sent teams to Kuala Lumpur to imitate, learn, and copy our methods of development.

In fact I will be prepared to lay a bet with you that if, in addition to having beauty competitions, such as Miss Universe and Miss World, there was a "Miss Development" competition, and by that I do not mean a competition of "busts and breasts"; I mean a competition in which all developing countries in the World are judged as to which had made the greatest progress in the last few years in the field of development, I am sure that our country would return from it with a crown of glory and by rights that glory should be shared equally by all the hardworking technical and professional officers who have served our country so well.

Now, you technical men, before you sit back on your laurels, after the praise I have given you, think for a moment the reason that I am praising you.

I praise you not to boost up your pride; I praise you in order to prepare you for the future;

In 1966, we will launch the First Malaysian Development Plan.

This is an ambitious Plan designed to fulfil the further needs necessary for the greater progress of our country.

If it is to succeed, if our hopes are to be fulfilled, then the burden of this fulfilment will lie fairly and squarely on the shoulders of our technical services, both in the public and private sector; on your shoulders.

Therefore, I say, "lie not back on your laurels" ponder not on the praise I have given you, but determine today, that during the next five years to come, you will redouble your efforts and put up an even better show than you did over the last five years.

As you know our country is facing external aggression from without, combined with the threat of internal subversion from within.

Therefore in order to defend our sovereignty, in order to guarantee our Independence, much more money than before has now got to be diverted towards the maintenance of our Armed Forces and our Police Forces, and yet, and in spite of this threat, the Alliance Government is determined that the pace of development of our Nation will not slacken.

That, briefly, is the position in words but what is the position in action; what is the action required to fulfil this double aim of Defence and Development.

This means that in order to keep up the tempo of development we have got to get maximum value out of every single dollar and every single cent that is allocated for our development programme.

This means that we need the highest standard of sincere co-operation from every single Engineer, Architect, Surveyor and other professional men to ensure that there is not one drop of financial wastage in any single project.

This may also mean, professionally to some of you, that in dedication to our National aims you have got to sink a little bit of your professional pride.

If we build hundreds of schools, clinics and other buildings they must be constructed sufficiently well to be functional but they must not be designed and built so lavishly that valuable money is wasted on fancy designs and unnecessary extras.

It also means that there must be the closest supervision of construction on the spot to ensure that government funds, the taxpayers' money, go into the bricks and mortar, the walls and roofs, of these buildings.

I am not suggesting that over the last Five Year Plan there has been excessive, lavish designing or excessive wastage of funds but I do think there is a tendency to try to imitate the designs and construction carried out in Western countries, where conditions are different from that in Malaysia.

I do not want to step on the toes of Architects or other professional men but, take for example, if a house is built in Switzerland the walls and roofs have got to be strong enough to withstand 6 to 8 feet of snow and survive the storms of many winters.

We here in Malaysia therefore, without lowering our standards, have got to adjust them in keeping with our needs because, as I see it, we have got to do some re-thinking on the implementation of our First Malaysia Development Plan and see if we can build the majority of our development buildings out of local products, out of local timber, so that from the same amount of money we can get perhaps double the quantity; admittedly these structures will not be as pleasing to the eye as brick and concrete buildings but, in this phase of our development, we do not want beauty so much as utility; we do not want luxury; what we need is to fulfil our necessities.

A great task lies ahead of us and from day to day as we develop we need more and more technically and professionally trained Malaysians.

And I am glad to see that in your plans for the future there is a Secretariat and a publication of a booklet on "Careers of Technical Employment".

I congratulate you on this excellent idea.

I think you could go further than this by your Association, working closely in hand with the Ministry of Education and arranging lectures and exhibitions to students in our secondary schools to sow the seeds of ambition in the hearts of our youths so that they may be motivated and inspired to take up a technical career and thus fill the ranks of the mainstay of a mature Malaysia—more and more Malaysians trained in modern technical professional skills!

Considering the great number of secondary school students who live in Petaling Jaya it might be a good idea to use this fine new building on occasions to have an "open technical evening" so that students who wish to enquire about taking up a professional technical career could come here and consult and seek advice from Members of your Association who belong to these various professions.

Lastly, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to praise the President, and your Association, on the fine idea of planning for the future of establishing a "Central Research Library of Technical Literature".

Normally when I praise anything like this; within two or three days I get a letter with my own words thrown back at me, saying that because I have sponsored it, I should therefore also sponsor the allocation of Government funds!

I think in this case many of the international educational foundations, and many of our friendly Members of the Commonwealth and others, who give us technical aid under the Colombo Plan, will probably consider very favourably a request for assistance to equip this library, which has a vital part to play in the future of technical advancement in our country.

And now it is time for me to do what I really came today to do and that is to declare open this fine new building! I do so now with pleasure.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*28th August, 1965.*



## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES ENGINEERING SOCIETY, UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy and honoured to be here with you tonight.

This has for me, as a layman, been a very "technical day".

Earlier today I declared open the new Headquarters Office of the Technical Association of Malaya and had to be brave enough to stand up and face a great number of Engineers; and here this evening as a non-technical layman, I have got to summon up courage again and face all of you budding Engineers of the future.

However, I like your profession and the thing I particularly like about Engineers is that, as compared to members of other professions, such as my own profession of law, very few Engineers seem to have been misled into dissipating their University degrees by wasting their time standing for politics!

I wish the same could be said of my fellow politicians who unqualified as they are in your science and art, nevertheless, are always "engineering" something or other and in most cases "engineering" the wrong thing!

Perhaps you could ask the Institute of Engineers to add a special clause to the Draft Engineers Bill to prevent Politicians from "engineering".

I should like to say how pleased I and my Cabinet colleagues are with the success of this new Faculty of Engineering and with the speed with which it became established and also established a name for itself and the reputation of producing Engineers of quality.

I should like to congratulate Professor Chin Fung Kee and Members of the Faculty of their great success.

Our country needs an almost unlimited number of Engineers, young Malaysians, dedicated to the application of modern technical skills, and as Professor Chin Fung Kee pointed out in his address last year, we also need an increasing number of technicians and craftsmen.

I am interested to note his figures, that it is reckoned for developing countries like ours that there should be about 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen to every Engineer.

I understand that the Technical Division of the Ministry of Education are tackling this problem of the production of human technical talents so that our future development will not be hampered by lack of technical skills.

If these trained technicians and craftsmen are not produced quickly you young Engineers will be like an Army of Generals with no troops to command!

However, my Government is giving full attention to the matter.

When eventually, you members of this Society leave the University and start practising your profession, you will find plenty of scope and opportunity in playing your part in giving your contribution to the development of Malaysia.

As you know we are coming to the end of our present National Development Plan and next year we will launch the First Malaysian Development Plan.

This is an ambitious Plan designed to fulfil the needs and progress of our country.

It is a Plan forged like a knife with a double blade, cutting on the one hand the path of progress in the agricultural sector of our economy, in the diversification of crops and in the opening up of new land in the rural areas.

On the other hand, the other blade is designed to carve out a place for Malaysia, a rightful place, so that we may eventually play our part and reap the benefit of our share of industrialization in the Free World.

So therefore there will be ample opportunities for many years to come for young engineers after graduation to choose a career in Government where you will help in the great task of implementing our National Development Programme.

If on the other hand you prefer to join the private sector in industry you will find an equally satisfying career lies ahead of you.

I am glad to know that this Faculty of Engineering has been so orientated in the education and training of young Engineers. (and also orientated the conduct of your research), to meet the special needs of our country, Malaysia.

I actually stressed this very same point in a different context earlier today when I said that we must not be too concerned with international standards designed for the needs of countries placed in different circumstances and different climatic conditions.

And I hope that this process of orientation in training of graduates will be kept constantly under review so that the needs of our country will always be put, first and foremost and eliminate the tendency of acquiring academic knowledge purely for the sake of being academic.

We are facing external aggression from without, and at times, internal subversion from within.

Therefore, in order to defend our sovereignty, in order to guarantee our independence, much more money has now got to be diverted to the maintenance of our Armed Forces and Police Forces and yet, in spite of this threat, the Alliance Government is determined that the pace of development of our Nation will not slacken.

This means that in order to keep up the tempo of development we have got to get maximum value out of every single dollar, and every single cent, that is allocated for our development programme.

This means that we need the highest standard of sincere co-operation from every single Engineer, Architect, Surveyor, and other professional men to ensure that there is not one drop of financial wastage in any single project.

This may also mean professionally, to some of you, that Engineers will have to sink a little bit of their professional pride and yet not lower their standards.

Because if we are to get the maximum value for our money the development projects we are to construct in the next Development Plan must be constructed sufficiently well to be functional but they must not be built and designed so well that valuable money is wasted on fancy designs and unnecessary extras.

Your Faculty of Engineering has an excellent record of student co-operation and assistance with Government development planning and implementation, such things as the survey and re-design of the road to Bentong Town, survey and design of the Sungei Dua Road in Pahang and the survey of the Ulu Langat-Kachang Road and the laying of pipeline for the Federation Military College.

This is the right spirit, when the University Faculty takes such sincere interest in, and applies itself to assisting our National Development.

Perhaps you young budding Engineers will also assist further by applying your engineering minds to suggesting ways and means whereby Government can standardise plans for building and cut down costs to basic utility and function-ability so that we can stretch our allocation of National Development funds to obtain the maximum benefit, for the maximum number of our people.

Also we must make the most use of local products such as local timber and other products so that we can save on foreign exchange—perhaps by having more schools, clinics, offices, etc., made from timber.

Admittedly, such standardised structures will not be as pleasing to the eye as brick and concrete buildings but in the phase of our development we do not want beauty so much as utility, we do not want luxury; we want to fulfil the necessities of our National existence as a progressive young nation—let us leave luxury to the far future!

I was very glad to hear your President saying that "you must not only think, when you leave your University, of your degree, but you must also be conscious of your responsibilities to society and that in addition to your academic studies, you should participate actively in debates, in the Students' Union, the Territorial Army, in Sports and other extra mural activities."

This is a subject which is very near my own heart!

I am not here to give you a full lecture, and advice, on extra mural studies and social activities, because I am greatly restricted tonight, in the presence of my wife, but perhaps if you want a full discussion on the subject next time you might like to invite me alone, and do not invite my wife!

I know that as University students you have got to have a balance between hard work and must not let your extra mural studies interfere with your work but it is not difficult to strike the balance.

It can be overdone, of course.

I remember the story of a visiting Professor to a certain University who congratulated the Vice-Chancellor and said:

"Permit me to congratulate you and your University which has in recent years become a store-house of knowledge".

The Vice-Chancellor replied:

"That is true, but I do not deserve the credit for that. It is simply that freshmen bring so much knowledge in, when they arrive in the University and the graduates, when they leave, take so little knowledge out of the University, when they graduate, because they spend all their time on social activities! Therefore we have a great store of knowledge left in the University!"

However, quite seriously, recently exercises for recruitment of graduates both to Government service and to the private sector, commercial firms, have shown that there is a tendency on the part of those seeking employment after they leave University to think that they are only judged on the quality of their degree and the standard of their academic qualifications!

I think all of you here tonight should, and must remember, that when the time comes for you to be conferred with your degree and then enter the very competitive stream of selection for employment, your potential employers do admittedly, in the first place look for a high standard of academic qualification; but also these selection boards,

whether they be Government, or private, are like the story of a Buddhist Lama in Tibet who is gifted with a third eye!

The first two eyes judge professionally, academically, and the third eye sums you up as a potential personality that will fit in to the mosaic and the structure of the organization in which you are seeking employment!

And even although you have the finest academic qualifications in the World, but have no personality, no potential qualities of leadership, (unless of course you are applying for a back-room job of research), you will not be given the appointment to which you think, with your academic qualifications alone, are able to fill.

I do not wish to disparage the system of higher education in Universities but it has happened on occasion, and let us face facts, that the men with lesser qualifications, who used their opportunities in University to mix socially, to take part in sports, and in debates and, by so doing, has become a balanced, pleasant and positive personality; in other words, to develop into a potential leader—quite often get better jobs than those who spent their University days buried entirely in books.

To illustrate what I mean, let me go back to Professor Chin Fung Kee's figures when he said that behind each Engineer there must be 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen to every Engineer.

You must remember that when your potential employer interviews you as a new graduate Engineer, he does not think of you remaining, for the rest of your life, as an Engineer at the bottom of the ladder of your profession, with only 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen, under your control.

No!

At the interview he tries to think of a mental picture of you in 10 years time, having been promoted, not with only 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen behind you but with another 25 Engineers under your control.

And if each one of these 25 Engineers has 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen then you, as leader of that Engineering team, must not only have engineering qualities, but must also have qualities of leadership to be able to get the maximum amount of work, co-operation and co-ordination from

(a) 25 Engineers

(b) 25 multiplied by 5 technicians equals 125 technicians and

(c) 25 multiplied by 25 craftsmen equals 625 craftsmen.

And therefore you, in 10 years time, will be a leader of a total team of 775 human beings from which you have got to obtain the maximum efficiency in your engineering project.

Your training as an Engineer gives you the ability to handle machines but, looking to your future prospects, your job and technique of handling human beings, and obtaining from them the best results, on your engineering project.

So therefore your President was so right when he said that Members of your Society must take part in social activities of your University so that you will be equipped, when you leave the University not only to advance yourself, in your own career, not only to advance in your own profession, but also to make a contribution towards the advancement and progress of Malaysia because Malaysia needs leaders in every sphere at every level and in every way of life.

And finally, before I close my speech tonight I want to make a confession to you.

When I realised I had to speak to Members of this distinguished Engineering Society, the first thing I thought of was that I must find a definition of an Engineer.

My research into this subject produced a standard definition which you all know and which has been repeated so often, dating back to 1828.

But you as undergraduate engineering students know this definition by heart, I then did a little more research to find another definition of an Engineer.

This definition was written by some obscure person who obviously had not the benefit or the honour of being a member of your Society.

Probably, like myself he was a layman, with no technical training whatsoever.

However I will tell you what he said; how he defined an Engineer.

He said: "An Engineer is a person who can construct anything for one dollar which a fool can construct for two dollars".

You may not like that definition but if you think about it, it probably has a message for you when you graduate because when the time comes for you to apply for employment either, in Government service or the private sector, and if you can better this definition and be an Engineer who can construct any given project, and instead of constructing for one dollar where a fool uses two dollars, if you can construct it at fifty cents per dollar, then not only are you welcome in Government service, not only are you welcome in private engineering firms but your promotion is guaranteed for life!

KUALA LUMPUR,  
28th August, 1965.

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS

*Text of address by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the Dinner of the National Union of Journalists, Malaysia at 8.00 p.m. on October 9, 1965 at Majestic Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.*

I am grateful to you Mr President and members of your Committee for having kindly extended this invitation to my wife and myself to attend your dinner here tonight and for giving me this opportunity of meeting and addressing you.

During the last few months there have been several thought-provoking events in our country as well as countries in this region of Asia and South-East Asia. Therefore it will be useful for us to cast our thoughts back and to ponder soberly on these happenings which naturally have consequences in our country. It is a good thing from time to time, for us as a nation to take stock of our position, to look into the past so that we can plan carefully into the future and look ahead with care and confidence.

Exactly two months ago on the 9th August, we had to take a sad but desirable decision to separate Singapore from Malaysia. That action on the part of our Government with the agreement of Singapore Government was a shock to the country and to our people. However as the two countries, Malaysia and Singapore settle down after the operation of separation and the leaders of the two countries have realised the desirability of maintaining close co-operation in all matters namely, defence, security, economic and trade, our people have recovered from the shock and have realised that the separation of Singapore from Malaysia would be in the best interest of peace and security of our two countries and in the interest of our two people.

Sometime back when I addressed the Graduates' Association of the University of Malaya, I said Malaysia and Singapore were like a pair of Siamese twins, born out of the wedlock of Malaysia in September 1963. After two years it was found necessary to carry out an operation to separate the twins. Now, although the skin that binds them together has been cut off there are still ties of blood and of parenthood. Therefore the two countries must move forward together like a pair of twins, independently but working close together for the mutual interest. I have also just visited most of the important areas of Sabah and Sarawak and had the opportunity of meeting the leaders of the various communities at various levels and I am firmly convinced that the people there as well as the people here in Malaya have understood the reason for the separation of Singapore from Malaysia and rallied solidly behind the Government at this time of National Emergency to defend our country as well as to make Malaysia succeed.

We in the Central Government here have stated many a time that we shall do everything possible to work together with the Government of Singapore for the benefit of our two countries which have so many things in common and which are linked together so closely. If leaders of the Government of Singapore will give us that same co-operation and are prepared to work sincerely together in close co-operation then clearly there will always be a happy and friendly relation between Malaysia and Singapore.

After this important event in our history, trouble broke out between India and Pakistan. For a few weeks there was fighting on the borders between these two countries with whom we had friendly relations. Both these countries are members of the Commonwealth together with us Malaysia. Therefore we considered it was our duty to do all within our power to try and bring peace so that whatever differences they had could be settled by negotiations and by peaceful means. From the very start we made it clear that we took no side in the quarrel. We were neutral and that our only wish was to see that the two friendly countries of ours would stop fighting each other. As a member of the Security Council our duty was clear, not only to ourselves but to all member countries of that august body—United Nations—to restore peace. Our representative at the U.N. Security Council was given a clear mandate to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a ceasefire between India and Pakistan and to bring an end to the fight. That was our objective. Naturally in a situation like that we could not please either side but as I have said, it was our duty to bring an end to the fighting. We consider it our duty not only to the people of the two countries involved in the quarrel but to the whole world to bring about this ceasefire. However in our sincere efforts to do our duty to these two friendly countries and to do our duty as a member of the Security Council we were misunderstood. Pakistan had accused us of taking side just because certain of the words said by our representative in the Security Council did not please them. Pakistan went on as far as to break diplomatic relations with us. As I said, we had not done anything against Pakistan. We were merely trying to do our duty to bring peace, to bring a halt to the fighting between India and Pakistan. It is not fair or just for Pakistan to take such action against us? Let the world judge. Let the Security Council and the U.N. judge our action and our attitude.

During our trouble with Indonesia, Pakistan had clearly shown a partisan attitude. They had actively sided with Indonesia on a number of occasions. At the preliminary Afro-Asian Conference in Jakarta, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr Bhutto tried his best to stop our admission, also representatives of Pakistan in Afro-Asian countries had been carrying out propaganda against us in support of Indonesia. Also at the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference,



Pakistan Foreign Minister did his best to stop the Conference from making a statement condemning Indonesian aggression. In our trouble with Indonesia it was clear Indonesia was the aggressor. In the U.N. Security Council a vote of 9 to 2 passed a resolution condemning the use of force by Indonesia against us and yet Pakistan still supported Indonesian action. It was clear that we are being made the scapegoat for Pakistan's interest. We are being made use of perhaps to please Pakistan's big brother, Communist China. We know that the action of the Government of Pakistan and in particular that of her Foreign Minister does not have the support of the majority of the people of Pakistan as in that country the people have no real say in formulating Government policies and actions. Pakistan Foreign Minister thought Malaysia is a small nation, our friendship is of no value to Pakistan. In international affairs it is not the size of the country that counts, it is what the country stands for. We stand for peace and co-operation, for freedom and justice and for friendship among nations. We always believe in justice and fair play and in international affairs, respect the integrity and sovereignty of other nations. Time and the course of events will prove that we have been right, we have been sincere in all our efforts and activities. We have no ambition to dominate any territory or country, our only wish is to live in peace, to be left alone to carry out our own way of life, to bring happiness and prosperity to our people.

Since Indonesia carried out its policy of confrontation and aggression against us, peace-loving countries of the world, particularly those in Afro-Asia have come to realise that we have been the subject of unprovoked aggression. During my visit to Africa and Asia early this year, to about 20 countries, I found that the leaders of these countries have now understood what Malaysia is, a peace-loving nation and that we have been subjected to aggression by Indonesia. Our image and prestige in the world has been enhanced. We have shown to the world in the past that we are always ready to play our part and to contribute our small effort for the maintenance of the peace of the world as shown by our action in the Congo and also our action in the Security Council.

Now coming to internal affairs. Our young nation—Malaysia—is two years and two months old. We know when we decided to establish Malaysia that there will be problems and difficulties but we also believe that we can face and overcome all these problems giving the co-operation, loyalty and understanding by all citizens.

Of all the problems, the one that appears to be the most difficult is the problem of endeavouring to build a strong, united and independent nation with one loyalty in our multi-racial society. This problem of multi-racial society at times comes under great strains and stresses and often it threatens peace and harmony in this country due to careless utterances and actions of extremists which are found in our communities.

But fortunately for us and Malaysia, our Constitution has been drawn up by persons of knowledge and experience to bear on the problems of our country. Also the former Federation of Malaya had many years of experience working successfully under a federal system of Government. I have no doubt that with patience, understanding and co-operation all these difficulties can and will be resolved if we want Malaysia to succeed and become a happy country for all our people.

As you know our country was threatened out of its existence the very day of its birth. However, despite Indonesian aggression and confrontation I am proud of the way in which our people of all races have stood together in unity and with harmony and goodwill. We in the Alliance have from the start made our concept of Malaysia clear. Our concept of Malaysia is to bring together the peoples of various territories under one flag so that they all regard Malaysia as the sole object of their loyalty. We want all our people, Malays, Chinese, Dayaks, Dusuns, Indians and others to regard themselves as Malaysians and this concept of ours is embodied in our Constitution. Our Constitution provides and guarantees everyone a place in this country and protects his rights and privileges. There is no question of discrimination or dominance of one race over the other under our Constitution.

Of course in a multi-racial society like ours there are problems, there are sensitive issues which may be brought up from time to time. However, let us all realise that in everything we do, we must put the real and true interest of our country and people above everything else. We must always endeavour to look at things in their true perspective, to look at the substance rather than the shadow. Before we achieved independence in 1957 for Malaya, we knew we had a number of sensitive issues to be settled, i.e. the question of citizenship, religion, language and economic position for our people. That is why we decided to ask persons of knowledge and experience from outside to help formulate our Constitution, to help find out the solution to these problems. The 5 members of the Constitution Commission from friendly Commonwealth countries came to our country to help draft our Constitution and that Constitution which was accepted by all races in this country when we achieved independence in 1957 and which was also accepted by Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak with minor adjustments in 1963, provided the legal and constitutional framework for us to establish a united, free and democratic nation and to give our people a measure of happiness and prosperity which they desire.

Therefore I say if we have any doubts on any fundamental issue, let us go back to the Constitution. Lately there was some discussion in the Press and outside over the question of language. In a free and democratic country such as ours, people have the right to express their views publicly and openly, and in any society there are extremists and

on this question of language there are extremists who believe that after 1st September, 1967 when Malay becomes the sole official language the use of other languages would not be allowed. There are extremists on both sides but let us look at the Constitution. The Constitution clearly says: That after a period of 10 years after Merdeka Day, Parliament may, by law, provide for Malay to be the sole official language, but the use, the teaching and learning of any other languages should be permitted and encouraged. The Constitution Commission in its report says that they decided to recommend Malay to be the National Language and they do not consider it necessary that any other languages should become as official language except that English can be used for a period of 10 years after Merdeka as an official language and thereafter it will be left to Parliament to decide when the change should take place.

The Constitutional experts had made proposals which they consider fair and just in the light of circumstances pertaining to our country. However, in deciding to effect the changes as allowed by the Constitution, it is necessary for us to do so in the manner fair and just to all communities so that the measure we take will have the support of everyone. As the Tunku stated, it is the last thing we want to have any bloodshed or trouble in this country over the language issue or any issue. Indeed, there is no reason whatever that there should be any trouble or even differences of views.

It has always been the intention and policy of the Alliance Government to be fair and just to all sections of our communities. During the last 10 years since we have been in power, although we have endeavoured to help the various sections of our communities to give them better and greater amenities of life and standard of living we have not taken away the rights or privileges from any group or section of our community.

We have different types of schools and different languages, while endeavouring to carry out our National Education Policy we have endeavoured to be fair to the various types of schools. We have given a place to Chinese Education in this country that it did not enjoy under the British colonial government. In 1954, which was the first year before the Federation first General Election, when the Alliance came into power for the first time, the amount spent on Chinese education was \$11.7 million. The amount spent on education as a whole was \$99.9 million. In 1963, and I have taken 1963, because after this year we will be dealing in Pan-Malaysian figures and from a comparison—the figures were \$46.4 million and \$283 million respectively. In other words while the amount spent on education as a whole increased by 183% in 9 years the amount spent on Chinese education increased by 282%.

Therefore as I have said, we wish to be fair to all sections of our community as it is our policy to give everyone of our citizens of whatever racial origin a rightful place in our country. While Malay will assume the role of our official language in our country it is clearly provided in our Constitution and it is the declared policy of the Alliance Government that the growth of the other languages will be fostered and encouraged. In fact, I wish as many Malaysians as possible to know as many languages as possible and we should endeavour to learn the principal languages of our country.

I would therefore ask all our people, Malays and non-Malays, to be fair and just to each other. The Malays must be fair to other communities in order to have their support of Malay as the official language and the other communities, particularly the Chinese, to realise that their languages and education will always have a place in our country in return for their support for the National Language.

As I have said, I have just visited Sabah and Sarawak and I am very pleased to see that despite confrontation and aggression by the enemies across the border, the people of these two territories had maintained high morale and have stood up to the Indonesian aggression with complete loyalty and devotion. I am confident with loyalty, co-operation and sincerity of purpose from all concerned, we shall be able to make Malaysia a happy and united country.

It is true that there is a small body of persons who are not happy over Malaysia in Sarawak, particularly members of the communist-dominated S.U.P.P. But even in S.U.P.P. there is now a division and a section of that party seems to be supporting Malaysia. In Sabah there are one or two politicians who are making use of the separation of Singapore as a political capital to further their own political interests and personal ambitions. I would like to repeat that the Tunku has always stated, that all we wanted from Malaysia is that our people, Malays, Chinese, Indians and others to regard themselves as Malaysians and this is what our Constitution provides and guarantees. It is the duty of all our people to work towards building a united nation with one undivided loyalty but this must necessarily take time and I am sure that with patience and co-operation and goodwill we will be able to achieve this ultimate objective.

There is one current topic which I am sure is of interest to all of you, Ladies and Gentlemen, and that is the recent development in Indonesia. The situation there seems to be still confused and it is difficult for me to make any intelligent comment. However I do hope out of all this will emerge a Government which will work for the good of the Indonesian people and which will be conscious of the need for peace and co-operation in South-East Asia.

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have dwelt at length on some topics of current importance and events taking place during the last few months. As we look out around in this region of the world there are dark storms blowing and tales of misfortunes, murders and treachery filling our newspapers daily. However, in Malaysia if our people of all races continue to show their goodwill and unity and their will to survive against this dark background, there is clearly a bright gleam of the fulfilment of our ideals and the achievement of our concept of a happy and united country.

Thank you.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*9th October, 1965.*

## SECOND COURSE FOR SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICERS

*Address by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of the second of a series of courses for senior Government officers at the Senior Officers Training Centre, Petaling Jaya, October 7, 1965.*

This is the second of a series of courses for senior Government officers arranged by the Establishment Office Malaysia and I hope that you will take full advantage of it. You will notice from the course programme that one of the objectives of the course is to bring together senior officers in the various Ministries and Departments for an active exchange of views on Government policy and its administration. From this it can be implied that this is not a course in the strict sense of the word. It should not be regarded as an attempt on the part of Government to send you back to school to study about administration. It should however be regarded merely as a get together of senior Government officers for an exchange of views, ideas and thought with regard to the present position of the Administration and the civil service and to suggest ways and means of meeting it, as to make it fulfil the needs of a progressive nation like Malaysia.

The civil service has contributed a great deal towards the efficient running of Government machinery in this country after Merdeka. Despite increased responsibilities and new problems arising out of complexity of the administration of an independent sovereign country, the civil service has been able to carry their responsibilities efficiently and loyally resulting in the tremendous progress achieved by this country in such a short period. However, the civil service should not adapt itself to the present situation of the country, if Malaysia is to take its rightful place in this modern world. As you all know our civil service system is based on the British civil service system. This system has much merits but also has a few defects. Moreover the old colonial system in this country was based on the situation prevailing before Merdeka which is entirely different from that in an independent Malaysia. In the old days the British civil servant in this country was an administrator and at the same time a ruler taking orders from a distant and remote control of White Hall in London. After Merdeka this situation does not exist and it is therefore necessary that the past methods should be re-examined and reviewed to meet the need of a progressive independent nation.

After Merdeka the last vestiges and traces of the colonial civil service are disappearing from Malaysia and a new service reflecting the true needs of the country is emerging. However, there are still traces of the old colonial system deeprooted in the civil service structure and administrative methods. These vestiges of the old colonialism

must be removed if the civil service is to become an effective instrument of an independent nation. There should be a change in the approach, method and attitude towards performing the duties of the civil service. In the old colonial days the Government could afford the time in writing long minutes in files before action was taken to implement the decision. However, in an independent progressive nation like Malaysia today we cannot afford to waste much time in writing long minutes. When a clear-cut policy decision has been made by Government it is imperative on the civil service to implement it with the least possible delay so as to obtain maximum impact on the electorate who elected the Government.

There are also rules and regulations, legislations and procedures which are the carry-over from the old regime rules and regulations still being followed. If the civil service is to fulfil the needs of a progressive Malaysia, it is necessary that a thorough examination be made of these rules and to recommend deletion or amendment if they are no more appropriate to the present day situation. In the meantime where discretion is given to the appropriate authorities discretion should be exercised in the light of the present circumstances and requirements. Wherever possible a more liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations should be given towards the same end.

It is also necessary that the present machinery of administration should be streamlined and strengthened to meet the present situation. There should be more regular discussions within the Ministries or Departments and amongst the interested Ministries or Departments. This will reduce the amount of minutes and correspondence involved and thereby reduce the time taken to implement any policy decision. In conferences or meetings the representatives of Ministries and Departments should as far as possible have delegated authority to make decisions on the spot so that decision may be taken with the least possible delay. It is also necessary that records and decisions and agreements reached at meetings should be kept and acted on immediately as far as possible without waiting for the official minutes to arrive. In addition to the above there might be other ways of streamlining the administration and it is up to you to point to the appropriate authorities so that appropriate action could be taken to implement it.

Malaysia is an independent democratic country and its system of Government is based on Parliamentary rule. In this system we have 3 clear-cut divisions of Government:

- (i) The Electorate;
- (ii) The Elected Government, and
- (iii) The Administration.

The Electorate consists of adult citizens who elect the Government once in every five years. It decides in what direction it wishes to go by electing the type of Government it wishes. The Electorate has its desires and aspirations which the elected Government is expected to fulfil. It is for the Elected Government and the politicians to give words to the desires and aspirations of the Electorate and to turn them into a policy. The Administration consists of the Cabinet and the civil service. The Cabinet makes decision and gives direction towards the implementation of a policy and it is up to the civil service to give that policy a form and to implement it in the shortest possible time with the maximum application of energy and effort. The civil service may be required to give advice in the formation of a policy and in this respect it is the duty of the civil service to bring to the attention of the Cabinet the advantages and disadvantages of the policy to be formulated. The Elected Government is entitled to receive such an advice since the policy once formulated may affect the very livelihood of thousands of people. The civil service is expected to give an honest and sincere view based on its knowledge and experience without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the Government views. The final decision on the policy of course lies with the cabinet. But once the policy decision has been made, it is the bounded duty of the civil service to execute it even when a policy runs counter to its advice. The Electorate expects benefits to be derived from the Government it elected and it is therefore the duty of the civil service to implement the policy decision made by the Cabinet with the least possible delay.

When I addressed the members of the first series of this course, I advised them to follow the military way of organisation. In the Army there is delegation right from the top to the bottom. There is the General, the Brigade Commander, the Battalion Commander, the Company Commander and the Platoon Commander. The General does not do the work of a Battalion Commander or a Platoon Commander. The General sits back and keeps his mind fresh to be in touch with the battle and to be able to plan ahead, think ahead and get ahead. The General does not go round with a stengun or with revolver, he goes round with a baton to get to know his men, to see how things are getting on and to keep himself in the overall picture of what is going on. This is the secret of delegation, command and leadership which must, in my opinion be brought to the members running the civil service. Some Heads of Departments, Secretaries to Ministries and senior officers become so muddle and befuddle with details of routines and daily decisions such as leave for clerks, duty rosters for peons, travelling claims for approval and other small details that they have no time to think of policies of big things, to plan ahead and to look ahead.



Another example of good organisation is in the many autonomous bodies that we have set up under the Government that can get things done much more effectively and quickly than many Government departments. This is because they are not tied up with rules and regulations. I do not mean we should not have rules and regulations to govern our administration but we must not allow rules and regulations to delay our decisions and our actions. We must see that rules and regulations are there to help and guide us, not to misappropriate funds or to make bad decisions. Rules and regulations were made to help to smoothen and straighten out administrative machinery and not to put a clog in the wheels.

I consider that the first requirement in order to achieve that aim is good leadership at the top which will get things moving and get results. It is necessary that the leadership should have a full understanding of the Government policy and the wishes of the Elected Government. It is also its duty to ensure that every officer down the line in his Ministry/Department understands what that policy is and implements it without delay. Since independence large number of University graduates have been recruited into the civil service in replacement of the expatriates. These young men are generally of an extremely high quality and have a latent ability of great merit. However, full advantage of the capabilities of these young men cannot be obtained unless they get good leadership at the top. The second requirement is the ability of the leadership to delegate to its subordinates not only the authority but also the power to make decision on matters appropriate to their responsibility. Secretaries to Ministries, Heads of Departments and those who are put in a position of supreme responsibility for running their organisation should not waste their time on petty matters as it will mean wasting the time of the Government and the nation. They must be in a position to stand aside and judge on the performance of their organisation and to diagnose and detect any sign of inefficiency. Every officer in the organisation should be given a clear cut picture not only of his duties but also his power within the delegated responsibility to decide things for himself within the framework of the policy without wasting time of going up and down the line seeking minor decision on petty matters.

As a member of the civil service, it is your duty to give your best in the performance of your duties which have been entrusted to you by the Government, the people and the nation. I therefore hope that after this course you will be able to give a thought as to the ways and means of improving further the civil service of which we all are proud.

KUALA LUMPUR.

7th October, 1965.

## TUN RAZAK COMMISSIONS POLICE LAUNCHES

*Address by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, to the crews of police launches, Hulubalang and Maharajasetia on the occasion of their commissioning at Port Swettenham at 10.00 a.m. on October 18, 1965.*

It is with pleasure that I address you on the occasion of the second Commissioning Ceremony held in the Royal Malaysia Police. The commissioning of ships in the Naval Forces throughout the world is traditional, and it is fitting that Police launches presently engaged in off-shore patrol tasks and working in close liaison with our Naval ships in the waters off Malaysia, should be accorded similar traditional rites.

The Marine Branch of the Royal Malaysia Police was formed on 1st September 1947. Some of you now present are original members of the branch formed at that time and during the past eighteen years, you have witnessed its growth from an initial small pool of launches to the present day large establishment, which is still in the process of expansion.

With the outbreak of the Emergency in June 1948, the Marine Branch was still in a formative stage. Despite this initial handicap however, the branch was able to meet all the extra and unexpected duties imposed upon it. During the twelve years of the Emergency the Marine Branch was expanded and in addition, built up a satisfactory operational and maintenance organisation.

With the ending of the Emergency in 1960, the Marine Branch began a period of consolidation and long term planning for the policing of the Malayan coast, offshore islands and Territorial Waters. By September 1963, with the advent of Malaysia, a considerable amount of re-planning had taken place. The need for launch constructions to fulfil the long term planning however, was hastened by Indonesian Confrontation.

Since September 1963, more than 200 personnel from Sabah and Sarawak have been trained in the Marine Police Training School, Tampoi, Johore. The instructors and staff at Tampoi have carried out a most difficult task with great efficiency and, in the years to come, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they were largely responsible for the efficient build-up of the Marine Branches in Sabah and Sarawak. In addition, many Marine Branch personnel from Negeri<sup>2</sup> Tanah Melayu have carried out tours of operational duty in both Sabah and Sarawak during the past two years. This assistance has allowed the completion of a large recruitment and training of Marine personnel to provide crews for new launches now in service in East Malaysia.

I know too, that since September 1963, in conjunction with Naval Forces the crews of Police launches, ably assisted by crews and launches from the Marine Department have given their maximum effort, continuously watching for and guarding against the infiltration of enemy forces. The patrolling by Police and Marine Department launches, is most vital to the well-being and security of this country and you should not allow yourselves to become discouraged if you see no immediate results from your arduous duties.

I have been given to understand that the working up trials of the launches HULUBALANG AND MAHARAJASETIA have proved to be successful. The constructors, Messrs. United Engineers (Singapore) Limited, are to be congratulated for the building of these very fine launches.

Finally, to you the crews of these two launches, I wish you good hunting and good speed.

## DEEPAVALI MESSAGE

*Deepavali Message from the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein:*

Deepavali is a day of joy and happiness for all Hindus, the time of the year when they forget their past sufferings and resolve to live a better life.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the Malaysian people is that we all enjoy and respect each other's festival days, no matter whether it be Hari Raya or Christmas or Wesak Day or Deepavali or Chinese New Year. Whatever the occasion may be we all enjoy it together and as a result of this, our people of many racial origins have been able to live in harmony and happiness. It is well for all people, all Malaysians, to remember on this happy religious day of Deepavali the importance of mutual respect for one another's beliefs. This we have had for generations, and this is the spirit we should always have and strengthen in Malaysia.

We in Malaysia, people of many creeds, believe in God though each in his own way, and we are given complete freedom to do so, though the official religion of this country is Islam, and I am a devout Muslim myself. Not only is this freedom written in the Constitution, but the Alliance Government has done a good deal further by providing places of worship and schools for non-Muslims and giving aid for Mission schools.

Let us all join together to make this Festival of Deepavali a day of joy and gladness. In doing so let us always remember that we must have respect for each other's religions, customs and ways of life. In the past we have never had any troubles arising from race or religion; and let us resolve to prevent such occurrences. I am very satisfied with the loyalty of Indians of Malaysian citizenship to this country and I hope they will continue together with citizens of other racial origins to serve our country.

To everyone on this joyful day, I send my warmest greetings especially to faithful Hindus, for a happy Deepavali.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
22nd October, 1965.

## TUN RAZAK OPENS ORIENTALISTS CONFERENCE

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of the Cultural Conference of the Malaysian Society of Orientalists on Friday, 22nd October, 1965 at the Library Room, University of Malaya.*

I am very glad to be here today and to be given the honour of opening your conference. I am sorry I am only here merely to declare open this conference. I wish that I had time to spend the next three days with you taking part in all your discussions.

The subject of your conference "the Cultural Problems of Malaysia in the context of South-East Asia" is one, not only of tremendous interest to me personally but also of vital importance to the people of Malaysia and the future development of this country.

Malaysia, as most of you well know, is a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural country. It is a melting place of the great cultures of the great countries of Asia—of India, China and the Polynesian region of Asia. Also in comparatively recent history, Malaysia has been the subject of cultural impacts and influences by countries of the Middle East and by European countries. Therefore Malaysia can truly be said to be the melting pot of the cultures of the great countries of the world. You will therefore agree with me that cultural problems of Malaysia will make a very interesting study as Malaysia represents various cultures of Asia, the Middle East and Europe.

I must say this conference that you are now holding on the Cultural Problems of Malaysia is indeed timely. Since independence Malaysia has undergone rapid changes and development in various fields of activities. Our main problem and one uppermost in Government's mind is the welding together of the various racial groups that have made this country their home and the object of their undivided loyalty. It has always been the policy of this government, the Alliance Government, to maintain and strengthen goodwill and understanding and friendship among our people of all races so that ultimately they will be able to regard themselves as members of one nation, as one people. This process must necessarily take time but it must be the unshakeable determination of all of us to move ahead towards this ultimate goal so that we can build a happy, prosperous and united country. Therefore in our task of building a united nation, development of culture is a problem to which we must pay due attention.

As I have said, Malaysia is a melting pot of the most important cultural traditions in human history. Here the cultures of China, India, the Middle East, Europe and the indigenous Malay-Polynesian culture have come together into one area as nowhere else in the world.

Therefore the challenge that faces the leadership of this country today is the development, and harmonization of these various cultures, so that we can evolve a truly national culture. That is why ever since our achievement of independence, the development of our culture has been the subject of discussion and thought, not only by the Government but by various voluntary bodies. I am indeed happy that there has been established now a Malaysian Society of Orientalists which I have no doubt will play a great part in helping to promote the study of cultures and languages of our multi-racial society.

In the development of our society our policy must be not to change existing patterns of our culture in the sense that we impose a new pattern of culture on our people but we should rather develop existing traditions and the way of life, evolve them into a way of life that is compatible with modern development and with the National aspirations of our people.

The various parts of Malaysia had been subject to Colonial rule for over a century. Fortunately under the British colonial rule our traditional way of life, our customs were allowed to remain and in many cases undisturbed. Therefore with independence there came a general awakening among our people to evolve our own cultural identity as opposed to political and cultural domination by the colonial power.

Ever since we achieved independence, we have endeavoured to carry out development, to give our people greater opportunities in the various fields of activities and to give them a higher and better standard of living. Our development programme does not only include the development of our economy and the development of a higher standard of living but also include the development of other things essential to the people of a happy nation; the development of a free personality, free to smile, free to worship, free to talk, free to choose one's own way of life and free to advance by the application of one's own effort and ability. We have to carry out all these developments through democratic processes. We have a democratic Constitution which not only guarantees everyone of our citizens a rightful place in our country but also protects his rights and privileges. We believe in the ideals of freedom, justice and fair play and these ideals are embodied in our Constitution.

It has therefore been the cardinal policy of the Alliance Government within the structure of our democratic constitution to direct all our efforts in all our National policies towards creating strong, united and loyal citizens from the various races in our country. Our National Education Policy is aimed at bringing our children of all races together, learning the same things in the same way and under the same roof so that they will feel they share the same ideals and the same destiny.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we in the Government are most interested to know your views, your assessments, your findings of the various problems in the cultural development of our country. We will be interested to know the cultural impact on nation building in a multi-racial society such as ours. We will be interested to know the ways in which we can change the attitude of our people, their approach to life so that they will be inhabited with a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect. Our policy is not only to build a united people but also to make them stand on their own feet particularly those in the rural areas so that they will have self-reliance and self-respect necessary for civilised and progressive nation. The progress of a nation is the sum total of the efforts of all its citizens and we must therefore be able to exert everyone of our citizens to do his or her best to make this country a happy place for our people and for our children in the years to come. Ladies and Gentlemen, having posed these various problems facing our country and our people, I have great pleasure in declaring your Conference open and wishing it all the success that it deserves

Thank you.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*22nd October, 1965.*

## PEMBUKAAN RASMI PERTUNJOKAN MINGGU PERPADUAN NEGARA

*Uchapan pembukaan rasmi pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan Negara oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, di-Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, pada 2hb November, 1965, pukul 5.00 petang:*

Saya sangat sukachita kerana dapat hadir di-sini pada hari ini untuk mengisytiharkan pembukaan pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan Negara ini. Saya ucapkan berbilang<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada Jawatan-kuasa Minggu Perpaduan Negara kerana telah sudi menjemput saya hadir ka-majlis pertunjukan ini.

Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan ini ada-lah di-adakan pada kali yang pertama-nya. Saya suka, bagi pihak Kerajaan, mengambil peluang di-sini mengucapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada semua gedong<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dan perusahaan yang telah sudi memberi kerjasama kepada Kerajaan untuk menjayakan Pertunjukan ini. Saya harap Pertunjukan sa-bagai ini dapat di-adakan pada tahun<sup>2</sup> hadapan dengan lebeh besar dan lebeh meriah lagi dan dapat-lah semua gedong<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dan perusahaan—baik yang besar mahu pun yang kecil—bersama<sup>2</sup> mengambil bahagian dalam Pertunjukan yang mustahak ini. Pertunjukan ini ada-lah bertujuan hendak mencherminkan dan memberi gambaran segala perusahaan<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat Malaysia dalam semua lapangan dan bidang kehidupan mereka sa-hari<sup>2</sup>, dalam pekerjaan, pelajaran, sukan dan juga chara mereka itu menggunakan masa lapang mereka itu. Bahkan Pertunjukan ini hendak-lah menggambarkan dasar dan chita<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan dan ra'ayat negara ini hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa yang bersatu padu yang terdiri daripada ra'ayat di-Negara ini yang berbilang bangsa, ugama dan keturunan itu. Dalam Pertunjukan ini dapat-lah kita semua mengetahui usaha<sup>2</sup> yang telah dan sedang di-jalankan untuk menguatkan perpaduan di-antara ra'ayat di-negara kita ini dan untuk membena suatu bangsa yang mempunyai ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah-bahagi. Dengan itu dapat-lah kita membaharu<sup>2</sup> azam kita untuk menguatkan lagi perpaduan kita dan untuk membesar dan meluaskan lagi usaha<sup>2</sup> kita supaya chita<sup>2</sup> kita hendak membena suatu bangsa yang kuat, maju dan ma'amor itu dapat di-laksanakan dengan lebeh jaya dan sempurna lagi.

Tahun ini ada-lah tahun yang kedua kita mengadakan Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan kita. Pada hari semalam di-seluruh negara kita ini, di-ibu kota di-sini, di-kepala<sup>2</sup> negeri di-seluruh Malaysia ini, telah di-adakan istiadat melancharkan Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan kita. Dalam minggu ini hendak-lah kita semua ra'ayat negara ini daripada semua lapisan bersungguh<sup>2</sup> menguat dan memperkukuhkan semangat perpaduan kita. Mustahak-lah ra'ayat di-negara kita ini bukan sahaja



menumpukan ta'at setia yang penuh kepada tanah ayer kita ini bahkan menaruh kepercayaan bahawa dengan kekuatan kita sendiri kita akan dapat membena suatu negara yang maju, aman dan ma'amor. Mustahak-lah kita menunjukkan bahawa kita ada-lah suatu bangsa yang ada mempunyai keazaman hendak hidup sa-bagai suatu bangsa yang merdeka dan berdaulat, mustahak-lah kita menunjukkan keazaman yang kita akan mempertahankan kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan dan kehormatan bangsa dan negara kita ini dengan seberapa daya upaya. Semangat perpaduan ini mustahak bukan sahaja pada masa kita sekarang sedang menghadapi ancaman dari luar dan juga dari dalam bahkan mustahak untuk kita membena negara kita untuk masa ka-hadapan.

Negara kita yang muda ini telah mencapai kemerdekaan sudah lebih 8 tahun lama-nya—Malaya telah merdeka semenjak tahun 1957 dan Malaysia semenjak tahun 1963. Dalam masa kita memperjuangkan kemerdekaan negara kita baik pada tahun 1957 dan juga pada tahun 1963, ra'ayat negara kita daripada semua bangsa telah menunjukkan perpaduan yang kuat dan semangat serta kerjasama yang rapat untuk mencapai kemerdekaan. Sa-telah mencapai kemerdekaan, kita semua bersama<sup>2</sup> bekerja, membena, memaju dan mempertahankan kemerdekaan yang telah di-chapai itu. Sekarang, kita sedang di-ancham oleh musuh dari luar dan sudah lebih daripada dua tahun lama-nya ra'ayat Malaysia telah mempertahankan negara kita daripada serangan musuh. Ra'ayat negara kita, terutama mereka yang dudok di-sempadan dengan Indonesia di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> Sabah dan Sarawak, telah menunjukkan yang mereka itu setia dan berani mengorbankan tenaga dan jiwa mereka untuk mempertahankan kehormatan dan kemerdekaan negara kita. Dalam masa kita melancarkan Minggu Perpaduan ini mustahak-lah kita mengingatkan perajurit<sup>2</sup> dan mereka yang telah terkorban kerana mempertahankan tanah ayer kita ini supaya kita semua dapat hidup dan negara kita terpelihara, patut-lah pengorbanan mereka itu menjadi tauladan dan perangsang kepada kita untuk meneruskan perjuangan kita bagi mengekalkan kemerdekaan dan menguatkan perpaduan ra'ayat negara kita. Semenjak kita mencapai kemerdekaan negara kita telah meningkat ka-arah kema'amoran dan kebahagiaan daripada negara yang tidak di-ketahui oleh dunia, sekarang Malaysia telah menjadi bukan sahaja negara yang terkenal bahkan sa-buah negara yang di-hormati oleh negara<sup>2</sup> asing terutama sekali negara<sup>2</sup> di-wilayah Afro-Asia. Semenjak kemerdekaan kita telah dapat mencapai kemajuan dalam semua lapangan, lapangan ekonomi, lapangan kehidupan ra'ayat, baik di-bandar atau pun di-luar bandar, lapangan masharakat, lapangan sukan dan kebudayaan. Negara kita sudah mendapat tempat yang istimewa dan mulia di-mata dunia. Kejayaan<sup>2</sup> ini semua tidak dapat di-pisahkan dengan pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan di-bawah pemimpin kebangsaan kita Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Perdana Menteri.

Dalam masa kita menyambut Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan ini, dalam masa kita menunjukkan kemegahan kita kepada negara, patut-lah sangat kita menghormati pemimpin kita, Tengku Perdana Menteri, ia-itu Bapa Kemerdekaan negara kita, Bapa Perpaduan ra'ayat kita. Tengku-lah yang telah bersungguh<sup>2</sup> bekerja dan berusaha untuk menimbulkan fahaman yang baik dan saling mengerti di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> yang dudok di-Malaysia ini. Tengku-lah yang telah mengasaskan pergerakan untuk melahirkan suatu bangsa yang ta'at setia kepada negara kita.

Kerajaan kita ada-lah berdasarkan demokrasi, kepada keadilan dan perasaan timbang rasa kepada semua pehak. Ra'ayat di-negara kita ini daripada semua bangsa ada mempunyai hak yang sama dalam Perlembagaan kita. Kita berharap saudara<sup>2</sup> kita dari Sabah dan Sarawak yang baharu sahaja menchapai kemerdekaan dapat mengingatkan yang mereka itu sama taraf dengan kita. Kita sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya hendak menolong mereka itu supaya dapat bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan kita menerima nikmat<sup>2</sup> daripada kemerdekaan tanah ayer. Saya sangat sukachita dan bangga kerana semenjak Malaysia di-tubuhkan dan semenjak konfrantasi dan pencherobohan dari Indonesia, ra'ayat di-negara kita daripada semua bangsa terutama mereka yang dudok di-Sabah dan Sarawak, telah menunjukkan semangat dan ta'at setia yang kuat kepada negara kita ini. Saya yakin dan perchaya kalau semangat ini dapat di-kekalkan dan di-kuatkan, Malaysia akan menjadi negara yang aman dan ma'amor. Akan tetapi maseh ada di-negara kita ini pehak<sup>2</sup> dan anasir<sup>2</sup> yang chuba hendak memecah-belahkan perpaduan antara kaum<sup>2</sup> di-negara kita, mereka tidak suka ada-nya perpaduan baik di-antara bangsa<sup>2</sup> kerana mereka itu memikirkan hanya-lah dengan pechah-belah antara kaum<sup>2</sup> di-negara ini dapat mereka itu berkuasa di-Malaysia ini. Tetapi sa-bahagian besar ra'ayat Malaysia telah mempunyai pandangan dan fikiran yang waras dan boleh membezakan di-antara baik dengan yang tidak baik, yang jujur dengan yang tidak jujur. Dengan sebab itu-lah segala perchubaaan hendak memecah-belahkan ra'ayat negara kita ini akan gagal. Sa-bahagian besar ra'ayat negara ini ada-lah mempunyai fahaman yang sama dengan Kerajaan bahawa jikalau timbul huruhara dalam negara ini di-sebabkan oleh perselisihan faham di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> maka akan rosak binasa-lah negara Malaysia yang kita kasehi ini. Dengan sebab itu mustahak-lah kita semua bersama<sup>2</sup> mengambil langkah bukan sahaja menguatkan perpaduan di-antara ra'ayat bahkan mustahak sama<sup>2</sup> menghapuskan anasir<sup>2</sup> yang chuba hendak memecah-belahkan ra'ayat dan yang semata<sup>2</sup> bertujuan untuk kepentingan diri dan untuk faedah diri mereka itu, bukan untuk faedah dan kepentingan ra'ayat.

Mari-lah kita bersama<sup>2</sup> mengingatkan bahawa kita semua ra'ayat negara ini daripada apa keturunan sekali pun ada-lah mempunyai ta'at setia yang satu ia-itu kepada negara kita Malaysia. Mari-lah kita bersama<sup>2</sup> menjaga dan mempertahankan negara kita ini. Mari-lah kita tunjukkan kepada dunia terutama sekali kepada musuh<sup>2</sup> yang chuba

hendak menghanchorkan kita yang kita ada mempunyai keazaman yang penoh, hendak hidup sa-bagai satu bangsa yang merdeka dan berdaulat dan yang ingin kapada kebebasan dan keadilan. Ini-lah dia perpaduan yang kita kehendaki. Ini-lah dia semangat dan keazaman yang kita hendak tanamkan di-hati semua ra'ayat negara kita ini. Dengan semangat dan keazaman dan perpaduan ini, saya perchaya, dengan izin Tuhan, Malaysia akan terus maju dan berjaya.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*2hb November, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES N.U.J.

*Speech by Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister to the National Union of Journalists on Saturday, 6th November, at Hotel Merlin.*

This is the second time in a month that I have the pleasure of addressing the members and friends of the National Union of Journalists. I am very grateful to the National Union of Journalists for the honour and kindness they have given to me personally for inviting me again to speak and meet their members at such a short interval. I am also grateful to the Union for the kindness and hospitality they have extended to members of the Government.

This special luncheon today, I am advised, is to mark the end of the Berjaya and National Solidarity Week. I would therefore like to compliment the National Union of Journalists for their sense of civic consciousness and their sense of duty to our people and our country in holding this special celebration for our National Solidarity Week. I know members of the Union have shown their loyalty and support to the Government in our efforts to bring our people close together and to build a strong and united Malaysian Nation from our people of different racial origins.

As we have stated many a time in the past the establishment of a united Malaysian nation is vital to the peace, happiness and prosperity of our country. The Government will do everything possible to fulfil this aim and this national objective of ours can be fulfilled in a much shorter time if all of us, citizens of this country, exert all our efforts towards this end and if organisations, patriotic organisations such as the National Union of Journalists, play their part. I am glad to note that the National Union of Journalists is devoting their time equally between helping to foster civic and national consciousness among the people and among their members and fighting for better wages, better working conditions for journalists in this country.

We in the Alliance Government fully sympathise with the aspirations of Malaysian journalists for greater opportunities of advancement and greater facilities of training in journalism. We would be pleased to help in whatever way possible the National Union of Journalists to achieve these aspirations. The National Union of Journalists also strives for better salaries and for better standard of living. We also sympathise with them if and when they make fair and reasonable demands, as I hope they always do.

As your President had said, this week we are again celebrating our National Solidarity Week to renew our determination to defend our independence and sovereignty and to strengthen and solidify the unity among our people. It is of course customary on an occasion like this to take stock of our position, to look back into the past and see our achievements and our successes and our mistakes, if any, in order

that we can look to the future with greater faith, greater confidence, and greater determination. During the last two years since independence, Malaysia, our young nation, despite confrontation and aggression by the enemy, has forged ahead in all fields. In the economic field our stock has risen tremendously particularly among the Afro-Asian countries. We have gained the respect of most nations of the world. At home, internally, our people have demonstrated in clear terms, particularly during the last few days since we launched the Second Solidarity Week, their loyalty to Malaysia, their confidence in the future of our country and their determination to defend our independence and our integrity. Our people of all races including those who live in Sabah and Sarawak, whether they live in the town, in the village, in the kampong or in the longhouses have a sincere desire to live together as one people. They have shown that they are more and more conscious of their national unity. It is therefore the duty of all of us to encourage, stimulate and strengthen this spirit of unity so that we will be able to inculcate in the minds of the various races a true spirit of Malaysian-consciousness and loyalty. During this Solidarity Week, I am really impressed by the determination shown by our people to assist the Government in forging a spirit of unity among the various races in this country. All in all this second Solidarity Week has been a success and I do hope that next year's celebration will be on a grander scale with greater participation by our people at all levels. I do also hope that this spirit of unity and determination will be reflected by our people in their daily activities. It is only continuing to fan this spirit of unity and loyalty to our country can we really succeed in building a strong and united people.

I would like to see greater manifestation of loyalty by our people, by their coming forward voluntarily to join the various civil defence organisations and other auxillary agencies to support our Armed Forces in the defence of our country and in protecting our ideals and our way of life. I would also like to see more of our people in all walks of life taking part in various charitable and welfare and educational institutions in our country.

We in the Government will do everything possible to foster this spirit of loyalty and unity among our people. As you all know, our national educational policy has been geared towards this end, to make our children of all races learn the same thing in the same way, under the same roof and learn things about our country. Our development programme also has this objective in mind. In implementing our economic development programme, we have always emphasised that the ultimate objective must be to make our people self-reliant, to make them stand on their feet, to do things on their own initiative and efforts. We cannot be a great nation unless our people have that spirit of self-reliance and self-respect.

Many people who have visited our country have talked of Malaysia as a model of multi-racial society—as an example to the world how people of various racial origins, of different cultures and religions can live together peacefully and happily. As the President has said, the people of this country have lived together as one happy family for generations, respecting one another's religion, language, customs and thought. Our people have a lot of goodwill, tolerance and respect for one another. We have therefore the basis and the ingredients of building a really happy and united multi-racial society. It is therefore the duty of all of us in order to achieve this objective of ours to help eliminate any inequalities or any imbalance—politically and economically or otherwise, so that our people of all races can have a rightful place in our country.

We in the Alliance Government, both strongly and firmly believing in this ultimate objective of building a united Malaysian nation, think that we must give our people time to adjust themselves, we must give time for us to correct any imbalances or inequalities. It is only until then that a truly, happy and united people will emerge. In Malaysia our population is nicely balanced and with the basic characteristics of our people of tolerance and goodwill and moderation, I am confident we shall be able to build up a truly united nation. In the past we have been able to establish a strong and stable Government because we believe in the principles of democracy, justice, freedom and fair play. Now with the spirit of tolerance, patience and goodwill, I am confident that we shall build a strong happy and united nation.

However, I would like to appeal to all of you, in particular to the members of National Union of Journalists to help to promote this feeling of oneness or unity among our various races. There are some political leaders who are still making use of this racial issue, playing one race against another for the sake of gaining political power. These leaders clearly have not the real interest of our people at heart and I do hope that speeches that are not conducive to racial harmony and goodwill would not be given prominence in our newspapers. If we sincerely believe in the creation of a real Malaysian nation and not merely using these words as political slogans to gain political support then we all must avoid making statements that would upset any group or section of our community. We must always stress something that we have in common that can foster and encourage a sense of unity among our people. Mr President and Gentlemen, I thank you very much for your hospitality and I pray to God that the National Union of Journalists will continue to serve its members and to serve our people and our country for many, many years to come.

## DEWAN RA'AYAT (MARA BILL)

*Ucapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, ketika menandatangani rang undang<sup>2</sup> Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat di-bachakan bagi kali yang kedua di-Dewan Ra'ayat hari ini, 10hb November, 1965.*

Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Saya dengan sukachita dan bangga-nya mengemukakan ka-Dewan ini untuk pertimbangan dan persetujuan suatu rang undang<sup>2</sup> yang sangat penting dan mustahak bagi kemajuan negeri ini ia-itu rang undang<sup>2</sup> untuk menubuhkan suatu Perbadanan yang di-namakan Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat atau MARA.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tujuan dan chita<sup>2</sup> hendak menubuhkan suatu perbadanan seperti yang tersebut ia-lah supaya ada sa-buah lembaga yang boleh menjalankan dasar Kerajaan untuk memperbaiki iktisad ra'ayat di-luar bandar dan memberi mereka itu peluang yang lebeh besar dan lebeh luas lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Sa-hingga hari ini tugas itu telah di-jalankan oleh Lembaga Kemajuan Kampong dan Perusahaan atau RIDA akan tetapi RIDA telah di-tubuhkan pada masa penjajahan dahulu dan tidak mempunyai bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang boleh menjalankan tugas yang penting ini—sesuai dengan hasrat dan kehendak<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat dalam negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini. Dengan sebab itu di-fikirkan patut-lah lembaga RIDA itu di-gantikan dengan lembaga yang baharu yang mempunyai bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang baharu. Penubuhan lembaga Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat ini telah di-persetujui oleh Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang telah di-adakan pada bulan Jun yang lalu dan 69 ketetapan telah di-luluskan oleh Konggres itu.

Oleh yang demikian, rang undang<sup>2</sup> ini sa-benar-nya untuk memansuhkan lembaga RIDA dahulu—mengkebumikan dan di-gantikan dengan lembaga yang baharu ini—MARA. Segala pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-perbuat oleh RIDA dahulu ada-lah di-tamatkan dan dasar RIDA dan perjalanan-nya dahulu di-berhentikan sama sekali. MARA ada-lah perbadanan yang baharu dengan mempunyai chara perjalanan yang baharu, bentuk periaadbiran-nya pun baharu. Dengan itu di-harap apakala lulus-nya rang undang<sup>2</sup> ini segala perkara<sup>2</sup> yang berkaitan dengan RIDA dahulu di-lupakan sama sekali dan kita mulakan dengan perbadanan yang baharu ini, MARA. Kerajaan ada-lah mempunyai harapan yang penoh supaya chita<sup>2</sup> dan hasrat ra'ayat di-kampong<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar untuk mendapat bahagian yang lebeh sempurna dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan itu dapat di-laksanakan dengan lebeh giat dan sempurna lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sambil membentangkan rang undang<sup>2</sup> ini, saya suka menerangkan bahawa dalam pelaksanaan rancangan pembangunan negara dan luar bandar Kerajaan, kita telah sampai kepada tingkatan yang baharu ia-itu tingkatan kita menjalankan usaha<sup>2</sup> untuk meninggikan taraf hidup ra'ayat di-luar bandar dan menolong mereka itu membesar dan meluaskan mata pencharian mereka itu. Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah<sup>2</sup> yang tegas untuk menolong ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera dan penduduk<sup>2</sup> luar bandar supaya mereka itu dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebeh berkesan dan lebeh sempurna lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Masalah memperbaiki iktisad penduduk<sup>2</sup> yang mundur dan berkeadaan dha'if ia-lah masaalah kebangsaan di-sebabkan mustahak kemajuan dan kema'amoran negara kita itu di-sampaikan kepada ra'ayat sa-hingga hari ini tidak dapat peluang menerima nikmat<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut.

Dalam bulan Jun tahun ini Kerajaan telah menganjorkan satu Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera dengan tujuan hendak mendapat tahu daripada wakil<sup>2</sup> bumiputera sendiri bagaimana chara<sup>2</sup>-nya mereka itu hendak mengambil bahagian yang lebeh chergas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad di-negara ini. Konggres itu telah bersidang 3 hari lama-nya dan telah berbincang dengan panjang lebar-nya di-atas perkara ini dan telah meluluskan 69 ketetapan<sup>2</sup>. Ketetapan<sup>2</sup> ini telah di-serahkan kepada Kerajaan dan Kerajaan telah memberi akuan bahawa Kerajaan akan chuba dengan sa-daya upaya-nya untuk melaksanakan ketetapan<sup>2</sup> ini. Sa-hingga hari ini 4 ketetapan yang penting daripada 69 ketetapan itu telah pun di-laksanakan oleh Kerajaan.

Kerajaan telah tubuhkan Bank Bumiputera; Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan (Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority); dan sa-buah Sharikat Kebangsaan (National Co-operation). Dan sekarang saya membentangkan rang undang<sup>2</sup> untuk menubuhkan Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat atau MARA.

Sungguh pun rang undang<sup>2</sup> bagi menubuhkan MARA ini hanya dapat di-bentangkan dalam persidangan Dewan Ra'ayat pada hari ini, akan tetapi MARA telah di-tubuhkan semenjak sa-lepas sahaja Konggres Ekonomi Bumiputera bersidang dan jentera pertadbiran MARA telah pun di-ator dan MARA telah pun mula menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup>-nya. Tugas MARA ia-lah hendak menjalankan apa juga langkah yang di-fikirkan patut untuk memajukan iktisad<sup>2</sup> dan masha-rakat ra'ayat Malaysia, terutama sekali mereka<sup>2</sup> yang dudok di-luar bandar. Tanggong-jawab dan kuasa Majlis ini ada-lah di-sebut satu persatu dalam Fasal 6 rang undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Sungguh pun rancangan<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-jalankan oleh MARA akan memberi nikmat dan faedah kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera negara ini di-sebabkan mereka itu-lah sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya berkehendakkan pertolongan bagi mendapatkan bahagian yang lebeh besar dan lebeh luas dalam lapangan iktisad dan perusahaan.



akan tetapi MARA akan memberi pertolongan juga kepada warga negara Malaysia yang lain yang mundur dalam lapangan iktisad ini dan berkehendakkan bantuan<sup>2</sup> seperti ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera juga.

Saperti saya telah sebutkan, MARA ada-lah mempunyai dasar dan tugas yang penting. Dengan sebab itu langkah yang pertama yang telah di-ambil ia-lah mengator jentera pertadbiran MARA ini. MARA ada mempunyai sa-orang Pengerusi yang bertanggung-jawab bagi melaksanakan dasar<sup>2</sup> MARA, akan tetapi di-bawah Pengerusi itu ada beberapa bahagian<sup>2</sup> yang di-ketuai oleh sa-orang Pengarah bagi tiap<sup>2</sup> bahagian. Pada masa ini telah di-tubuhkan 7 bahagian:

- (1) Bahagian Pertadbiran
- (2) Bahagian Kewangan dan Kira<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Bahagian Latelyan
- (4) Bahagian Pinjaman Wang
- (5) Bahagian Pengangkutan
- (6) Bahagian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, dan
- (7) Bahagian Perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup> (Advisory Services Division).

Tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang Pengarah bahagian<sup>2</sup> ini di-beri kuasa yang penoh untuk menjalankan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> dalam bahagian masing<sup>2</sup> di-bawah pandangan dan jagaan Pengerusi MARA. Pengarah<sup>2</sup> bahagian ini telah pun di-pilih, melainkan Pengarah Bahagian Perkhidmatan. Pengarah<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang di-fikirkan mempunyai semangat dan kelayakan untuk menjalankan tugas masing<sup>2</sup>. Saya telah pun memberi perintah kepada Pengerusi, Pengarah<sup>2</sup> dan Pegawai<sup>2</sup> MARA yang ada sekarang ini bahawa mereka itu ada-lah di-kehendaki menjalankan tugas masing<sup>2</sup> dengan chergas, dengan penoh semangat dan keikhlasan dan mustahak segala pekerjaan yang di-jalankan itu akan mendapat hasil dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya. Saya telah memberi arahan juga bahawa tiap<sup>2</sup> ranchangan yang di-jalankan oleh MARA mustahak-lah berjaya dan tiap<sup>2</sup> pertolongan yang di-beri oleh MARA mustahak memberi kehasilan dengan sa-penoh-nya. Tugas yang akan di-jalankan oleh MARA ada-lah di-bahagi kepada 3 bahagian yang besar.

#### *Yang Pertama.*

MARA akan memberi latelyn kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dari pehak bumiputera yang di-fikirkan mempunyai semangat dan kemahuan hendak menjalankan perniagaan. Mereka itu akan di-beri latelyn, kemudian, jika perlu, di-beri pinjaman wang untuk modal dan sa-lepas daripada itu di-beri didekan dan nasihat sa-hingga ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan itu dapat menjalankan perniagaan masing<sup>2</sup> dengan sempurna dan dapat berdiri di-atas kaki-nya sendiri. 'Alam perniagaan ia-lah 'alam yang penoh dengan perlawanan dan orang<sup>2</sup> yang hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam perniagaan mustahak-lah, sa-lain daripada mempunyai modal

yang chukup, mempunyai pengetahuan dan pengalaman serta semangat dan jiwa yang kuat. Dengan sebab itu-lah mustahak di-adakan latehan dan latehan akan di-beri bukan sahaja kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang hendak menjalankan perniagaan dengan bersendirian bahkan kepada mereka<sup>2</sup> yang suka hendak bekerja dengan gedong<sup>2</sup> yang besar untok mencari nafkah masing<sup>2</sup>. Dewan Latehan RIDA di-Petaling Jaya dahulu akan di-besar dan di-luaskan lagi supaya dapat memberi latehan kepada pemuda pemudi dari kampong<sup>2</sup> dengan lebeh ramai lagi. Dalam lapangan ini, ketiga<sup>2</sup> bahagian MARA ia-itu Bahagian Latehan; Bahagian Pinjaman Wang dan Bahagian Perkhidmatan, ada-lah bersama<sup>2</sup> mengambil peranan masing<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Yang Kedua.*

Lapangan yang kedua bagi MARA menjalankan tugas-nya ia-lah lapangan pengangkutan. Di-sini RIDA dahulu dan sekarang MARA telah memberi pertolongan<sup>2</sup> kepada sharikat<sup>2</sup> bumiputera untok menjalankan perkhidmatan bas dan juga teksi di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> luar bandar. Pertolongan<sup>2</sup> ini akan di-teruskan dan sekarang dasar-nya telah pun di-ubah. Pada masa akan datang ini segala perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup> bas di-luar bandar hendak-lah, pada permulaan-nya, di-jalankan oleh MARA dan MARA sedia hendak memberi peluang kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> tempatan untok membeli saham<sup>2</sup> yang mereka itu kehendaki. MARA akan menjalankan perkhidmatan bas itu dengan memberi latehan kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> tempatan supaya apabila perkhidmatan bas itu telah berjalan dengan sempurna dapat di-serahkan kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> tempatan untok menjalankan-nya. Dengan chara yang demikian, di-harap tiap<sup>2</sup> perkhidmatan bas itu dapat di-jalankan dengan sempurna dan terator dan tidak mendatangkan kerugian kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar yang hendak mengambil bahagian dalam perusahaan ini. Pada masa<sup>2</sup> yang lalu ada sharikat<sup>2</sup> yang telah menjalankan perkhidmatan ini, tetapi di-sebabkan tidak mendapat latehan dan jagaan yang sempurna, sa-bahagian daripada sharikat<sup>2</sup> itu telah tidak berjaya dan kebanyakannya mendatangkan kerugian kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar. Sa-lain daripada itu pehak RIDA dahulu dan MARA sekarang ini terpaksa menolong memperbaiki sharikat<sup>2</sup> yang rugi itu dengan mengadakan 'gerakan menyelamat' kerana sharikat<sup>2</sup> itu hendak tenggelam dan lemas.

#### *Yang Ketiga.*

Lapangan yang ketiga ia-lah lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Di-sini MARA berharap dapat menolong ra'ayat di-luar bandar mengadakan perusahaan yang kechil atau pun sederhana dan memberi pertolongan kepada perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang sedang di-jalankan sekarang ini. MARA harap dapat memberi bantuan dan pertolongan supaya perusahaan<sup>2</sup> itu berjalan dengan jaya dan maju. Satu ranchangan yang sedang di-ator dalam lapangan ini ia-lah penubohan satu Sharikat

Kebangsaan atau National Co-operation seperti yang dikehendaki oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera dahulu. Langkah telah pun diambil untuk menubuhkan satu Sharikat Kebangsaan dalam lapangan perusahaan hutan kerana lapangan ini ada-lah di-fikirkan ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera di-luar bandar ada mempunyai peluang<sup>2</sup> yang luas untuk mengambil bahagian dengan sempurna, dengan tidak berkehendakkan pengalaman atau pengetahuan yang dalam. Ini-lah tiga lapangan MARA akan menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup>-nya dan MARA berharap akan mendapat kerjasama dan sokongan daripada semua pihak.

Seperti saya sebutkan tadi, dasar MARA ada-lah berlainan dengan dasar dan perjalanan RIDA dahulu. Sunggoh pun MARA ada mempunyai Bahagian Pinjaman Wang, akan tetapi MARA hanya akan memberi pinjaman wang kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang mana MARA telah beri latihan dan kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang MARA fikir boleh berjaya dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perniagaan. Dan lagi orang<sup>2</sup> yang berkehendakkan pinjaman wang daripada MARA mustahak-lah menurut didekan dan ajaran serta nasihat daripada MARA sa-hingga MARA puas hati yang mereka itu boleh berdiri di-atas kaki-nya sendiri. Orang<sup>2</sup> yang lain yang berkehendakkan bantuan wang terpaksa-lah mereka itu pergi kepada badan<sup>2</sup> yang lain terutama sekali kepada Bank Bumiputera yang telah pun di-tubuhkan.

Bagitu juga dasar MARA bagi menubuh dan menggalakkan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> dan perdagangan dan menjalankan perkhidmatan ia-lah hendak memberi faedah kepada sa-bahagian besar daripada ra'ayat negara ini atau dalam bahasa Inggeris "to broaden the base of economy" supaya tiap<sup>2</sup> perusahaan itu dapat memberi faedah kepada sa-bahagian daripada ra'ayat di-luar bandar atau ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera terutama sekali.

Dasar Kerajaan hendak menolong ra'ayat di-luar bandar atau ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera terutama sekali supaya dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebeh besar dan lebeh luas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan ia-lah supaya mereka<sup>2</sup> yang mundur, yang miskin dan yang tidak mempunyai peluang dapat di-beri peluang dan dapat meninggikan taraf hidup mereka itu dan jikalau mereka itu mempunyai taraf hidup yang lebeh tinggi dan pendapatan yang lebeh besar, tidak dapat tidak ini akan memberi faedah kepada negara dan memberi faedah kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-bandar<sup>2</sup> atau ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan di-bandar<sup>2</sup>. Jikalau ra'ayat yang pada masa ini miskin dapat di-beri pendapatan yang lebeh tinggi lagi, neschaya mereka itu mempunyai kekuatan membeli atau "purchasing power" yang lebeh besar lagi. Dengan itu akan menambah lagi kema'amoran kepada pemodal<sup>2</sup> dan ahli<sup>2</sup> perniagaan di-bandar<sup>2</sup> juga. Dengan sebab itu-lah dasar Kerajaan dalam lapangan ini ia-lah hendak mengadilkan pembahagian iktisad di-negara kita ini di-antara penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar dengan penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-bandar atau dalam bahasa Inggeris: "to correct the economic imbalance between the urban

and rural people" supaya kemajuan dan kema'amoran negara kita dinikmati oleh semua pehak penduduk<sup>2</sup> negara ini. Begitu juga seperti saya telah sebutkan, MARA akan memberi bantuan bukan sahaja kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera bahkan kepada ra'ayat negara ini daripada bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing juga yang mempunyai keadaan seperti ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera yang berkehendakkan pertolongan dan bantuan dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan penubohan MARA ini, ada beberapa bahagian<sup>2</sup> yang akan bertugas untuk memperbaiki iktisad ra'ayat. Kerajaan telah tubuhkan Bank Bumiputera dengan tujuan hendak memberi bantuan kepada ra'ayat luar bandar dan ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera terutama sekali bagi menjalankan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Begitu juga Kementerian Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama telah menubuhkan Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan (Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority) dengan tujuan hendak memperbaiki pemasaran barang<sup>2</sup> keluaran dari daerah<sup>2</sup> luar bandar dan lagi dalam Persidangan ini rakan saya Menteri Hal Ehwal Tanah dan Galian akan mengemukakan satu rang undang<sup>2</sup> untuk menubuhkan satu lagi lembaga yang bertujuan hendak menolong menjayakan tanah<sup>2</sup> yang di-punya<sup>2</sup> oleh ra'ayat di-luar bandar supaya tanah<sup>2</sup> itu dapat mengeluarkan hasil yang memuaskan hati dan dapat memberi sa-penoh<sup>2</sup> faedah kepada mereka<sup>2</sup> yang memilik-nya. Oleh itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nyata-lah dengan langkah<sup>2</sup> yang telah dan sedang di-ambil oleh Kerajaan itu, Kerajaan ada-lah bersungguh<sup>2</sup> berusaha hendak menjalankan apa jua ikhtiar<sup>2</sup> dan langkah<sup>2</sup> yang patut untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup ra'ayat yang mundor dan untuk memberi pertolongan kepada ra'ayat yang berkehendakkan pertolongan bagi membesar dan meluaskan mata pencharian mereka itu. Akan tetapi dalam semua perkara<sup>2</sup> ini yang penting sekali ia-lah ra'ayat sendiri terutama mereka yang dudok di-kampung<sup>2</sup> dan di-luar bandar hendak-lah menunjukkan usaha dan kerjasama. Mereka itu hendak-lah menzahirkan semangat atau jiwa yang betul<sup>2</sup> ingin kepada kemajuan dan kema'amoran. Kerajaan hanya-lah dapat memberi pertolongan kepada mereka<sup>2</sup> yang mempunyai jiwa atau semangat yang berani berkorban dan bekerja untuk menchapai kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang mereka itu kehendaki. Kesimpulan-nya: kemajuan dan kebahagiaan bagi ra'ayat hanya-lah dapat di-chapai dengan usaha dan tenaga ra'ayat sendiri, di-bantu dan di-tolong oleh pehak Kerajaan. Bagi pehak Kerajaan, seperti saya telah terangkan Kerajaan akan mengambil apa jua langkah<sup>2</sup> yang patut bagi menolong ra'ayat, di-negara kita, yang mundor, yang miskin dan yang dahaga kepada kemajuan. Saya yakin dan perchaya kalau mereka itu sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya menunjukkan semangat dan jiwa dan sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya berani berusaha dan bertenaga untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup mereka itu, saya yakin dan perchaya ahli<sup>2</sup> bumiputera dan ra'ayat di-luar bandar akan dapat meningkat kepada kemajuan<sup>2</sup> di-lapangan iktisad yang mereka itu chita<sup>2</sup> dan kehendaki.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak menerangkan satu persatu butir<sup>2</sup> dalam rang undang<sup>2</sup> ini kerana tujuan dan dasar yang terkandung di-dalam-nya ada-lah terang dan nyata. Saya hanya berchadang hendak melantek wakil<sup>2</sup> dari Sabah dan Sarawak di-mana chawangan<sup>2</sup> MARA telah di-tubohkan. Saya sekarang ini dengan sukachita-nya mengemukakan rang undang<sup>2</sup> MARA ini di-bachakan bagi kali yang kedua-nya.

KUALA LUMPUR,

*11hb November, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK'S REPLY ON BUDGET DEBATE

*The Deputy Prime Minister's reply to the Opposition Members' speeches in the Budget Debate in the Dewan Ra'ayat today:*

The Honourable Member for Batu when speaking on the expenditure on defence spoke about the wasteful expenditure on defence. I am afraid Sir, it is difficult to understand the logic of the speeches of the Honourable Member for Batu and his colleague, the member for Dato Kramat, of the Socialist Front. They are against conscription to assist in the defence of our country and they are against increase of our Defence Budget. Sir, how else can we look for the defence and security of our country? With Malaysia, we have a bigger area, and longer coastline to defend. We are at present the subject of aggression by a bigger and stronger neighbour. Clearly it is the duty of this Government to take appropriate and adequate measures to defend our country. We have to expand our Armed Forces, our Army, our Navy. We have to station troops on the Borneo Territories as well as in the Peninsula here to defend our independence and our sovereignty. We have to have patrol crafts and naval ships to patrol our coasts. We have to have our Air Force to transfer our men and to provide supplies, etc. It is true because of confrontation our defence expenditure has to be increased at an accelerated rate, but even in normal peace time we have to have enough men to help maintain law and order and to defend our country in case of invasion. We have to have ships to patrol our coastline and we have to have an Air Force. These are inevitable commitments for an independent sovereign nation. In an uncertain and disturbed world which we live, we have to maintain a certain size of defence force if we value our freedom, our independence and our sovereignty. It is the policy of this Government not to embark on a huge defence expenditure or unnecessary expansion of our Armed Forces. We only aim to have a sufficient force to protect our shores and our coastline and our boundaries. We intend to have a highly trained force, mobile and assisted by a large reserve of trained men in our volunteer service and also our call-up reserves.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong remarked that one of the ways of getting the defence expenditure down is to have a large reserve of volunteers. This is exactly what we are doing. As Honourable Members are aware, we have the Territorial Army, the Local Defence Corps, the size of which is kept under constant review from time to time. We are also expanding the training of our call-up boys so that we have a large reserve of men available for active service whenever we require.

The Honourable Member for Batu as usual, in his support for his theory of socialism, is very often out of step with current events. He alleges that the Alliance Government refuses to use the Budget and all

the administrative power attached to re-distribute the nation's income in such a way that the peasants, workers and farmers can get a decent living. The course, Sir, is not possible for the distribution of wealth in the ordinary re-current budget. The re-distribution of wealth is carried out in our Development Budget. In our Development programme in the past 5 years and also in the next 5 years, we give priority to the have-nots, to the poor and under privileged in the kampongs, villages and in the towns. In the past 5 years we have provided these people with amenities of life such as roads, water supplies, medical services and so on. And also we have helped them to increase their income. In our Development Budget for the next 5 years we intend to continue with this policy to extend our programme of assisting the have-nots. Our policy, Sir, in a newly independent and under-developed country is to level up and not level down. We must expand our economy. We must encourage the flow of capital so that opportunities will be provided for our people to obtain employment. We tax the rich so that with the money we help the poor to get a better standard of living and a better way of life. This is our policy, and this policy has produced results and we intend to continue with this policy whatever the members from Socialist Front choose to say. The people in the kampongs and the new villages and in the semi-urban areas know what we have done for them and what we intend to do for them and is for them to judge whether our policies are right or not.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh stated that the Alliance Government policies were becoming more and more dictatorial and that the Alliance Government is suppressing and crushing the Opposition. Sir, this is an old tune which has been played again and again in this House. Everyone knows, the people of this country know that the Alliance Government believes in democracy and we uphold our democratic constitution strictly. Indeed, if there is any criticism at all against us it is because we have been too liberal. Opposition parties have complete freedom to say anything against the Government, to criticise the Government and indeed many of the Opposition members have made full use of this freedom. We can take pride in the fact that since we achieved independence for the last 8 years, we have been able to make democracy work in this part of the world. And I must say not many countries of this region have been able to do so. The Honourable member in his speech said that he still draws inspiration from the leadership in the government of the country south of the Johore causeway. I hope he would know what it will be like to be a member of the opposition party under that government. We have never interfered in the work of the Opposition. We believe in loyal opposition and so long as they uphold the Constitution as we do, all members of the Opposition should have no fear. I suggest to the Honourable Member for Ipoh it is no good turning the old record again and again. We stand by what we do. We allow the people to judge our actions

but we trust that the Opposition should not blame the Government for their own ineffectiveness.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong stated as he chose in 1959 to go into Opposition to the Alliance Party because he wanted to prepare for what he calls just such a moment of truth that will come to the Alliance and the people must look for the dynamic and positive leadership. We knew he left the Alliance because he had differences with the sincere and loyal leaders of the M.C.A. and with the majority members of the M.C.A. The Honourable member talked of his great concern for the problem of unity of purpose in our multi-racial society. We on this side of the House have stated Sir, that we are sincere and strongly believe in the unity of our people in welding together our people of various racial origins into one united nation. But we have also said, being practical men, that this process must necessarily take time. We cannot be theoretical or idealistic as the Honourable Member for Tanjong is. We must be realistic and face the facts as they exist today. The Honourable Member for Tanjong wants all the people of this country of various racial origins to accept themselves as equal members of our national community and think, plan and act as Malaysians. The Honourable Member should know that our people, under the Colonial rule have lived as different communities, were allowed and even encouraged to follow and respect their way of life and attended different types of schools. Under those circumstances, it is not possible Sir, and let us not pretend that we can, all of us in a matter of few years think ourselves as Malaysians and completely forget we belong to different racial origins. Our people must be given time to adjust themselves to sink their differences. Our people must be given time to foster their spirit of goodwill, understanding and friendship with one another. It is not possible for us to think of ourselves as one nation when there are still inequalities and economic imbalances. These problems must be solved and adjustments must be made so that our people of various races would feel that they have a rightful place in our country. This is what the Alliance Government is doing and has been doing. We laid down the framework in our Constitution and within that framework we have worked in harmony and friendship towards the ultimate goal of a real national unity. This goal must be achieved and will be achieved if all our people, particularly leaders, do sincerely work towards this end and completely refrain from making use of sensitive communal issues in order to gain political power or a few seats in the election. If we all do this, and I ask members of the Opposition if they sincerely believe in this not to capitalize on political slogans then we will be able to reach this goal much more quickly. We in the Alliance Government are not in a habit of shouting slogans, empty slogans, but we are practical and sincere people who always carry out what we believe is in the true interest of our people. Our record is



open for everyone to see. People can judge us, history can judge us, whether what we have done and are doing is right or not. Our main desire and concern is to serve the people, to make this a happy and united country. We have been in power for over 10 years but we have used that power solely to serve our country and we have not sought power mainly for the sake of personal glory or for personal importance. We place the welfare of our people and the interest of our country above everything. We place the peace and harmony, goodwill of our people above our own personal desires. We draw inspiration from no one but from our hearts, from our sincere desire to serve our country and people.

Now I come Sir, to the Honourable Member for Bungsar. Again Sir, the Honourable Member for Bungsar sings the old record that we have not helped the poor and only make the rich richer. Sir, the Honourable member is not qualified to speak for the have nots, particularly those in the rural areas. The Honourable member in his speech said that we have not provided electricity for the rural areas. But Sir, electricity is not an item of great priority in the kampongs or villagers. There are other things of far more importance and far more necessary which we have provided and are continuing to provide for the have nots in the Kampongs and villages. There are Schools, health facilities, prayer houses, roads and such amenities of life. We have also helped the have nots as I had already said, to increase their incomes so that they will be able to live the decent life of a civilised society. The Honourable Member talks of electricity supplies just because Taiwan has vast rural military programmes providing electricity which we should also have. I say Sir, it is our intention to provide electricity supply to the kampongs and villages. We have done so in a number of cases but we have our priorities. We know the needs of villages because we lived, we were brought up, in the villages, most of us, all of us in this side of the House. Our Second Five Year Plan was prepared by the people themselves, by their own elected representatives. They told us what they wanted and we merely carried out their wishes and their desires. This is how we work and how we implement our development programme. It is not our policy to impose town life on rural areas or to impose a foreign way of life on our society. Our policy is to improve the existing social life so that our people will enjoy the amenities of life which they desire.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar has a lot to say about the Budget and I have no doubt the Minister of Finance will give him adequate reply. The Honourable Member spoke that at the height of the Emergency, we held our heads with pride. What does he mean? At the height of the Emergency, we were under British rule. We were a colonial territory. Does the Honourable Member mean that we held our heads with pride when we were a subjected people and now when

we are an independent and sovereign State we do not hold our heads with pride? He talked of us, of our country being a nation of rejected beggars. Sir, there are very strong words which are completely unjustifiable. As everyone knows, despite the fact that we have to shoulder the burden of increasing defence and security expenditure and at the same time carry out an ambitious development programme, our economy is still strong. We are still held in great respect by the financial and banking world. Of course, as a developing nation and because we have to shoulder these three burdens of defence, security and development we naturally have to seek aid from outside. Which country in the world Sir, does not have to ask aid, not even a rich country such as America. The Honourable Member is fond of using strong words, fond of using slogans, empty slogans which for the last two years we have heard so much and naturally we become sick of them. We in the Alliance Government do not believe in words or in slogans. We believe in results, in achievements and success.

We have produced results in our development programme. We have shown to the people that in time of national Emergency we are prepared to defend the country. We are also held in high respect by nations in the world particularly the Afro-Asian nations because we do things with dignity, because we always have our national pride. The Alliance Government stands by its record as I said, for all to see; of course we do not expect appreciation from opposition members. But we know the people of this country expect and have confidence in us and we know that countries of the world hold us in high esteem. These are our main concern Sir, and we shall continue to serve the people and the country in a way that we think best.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*25th November, 1965.*

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND  
MINISTER OF DEFENCE, TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN  
HUSSEIN, AT THE PRIZE GIVING CEREMONY OF  
THE FEDERATION MILITARY COLLEGE, SUNGEI  
BESI, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1965.**

I am very happy to be here today and to give away the prizes. I had wanted very much to attend this occasion of the Federation Military College last year but owing to unavoidable circumstances I was not able to do so. However, for the last several years, ever since I became Minister of Defence in 1957 I have been following very closely the progress of this College year after year in both fields of studies and sports. The Secretary of Defence who is the Chairman of the Board of Governors of this College has been keeping me informed of the activities of the College and its achievements.

I have always been very happy and delighted to note the tremendous rate of success that has been achieved by this College, both in the academic field and in the field of sports. This reflects the fact that the military staff and the teachers have been putting in extremely hard work for the College and the students are also working equally hard and co-operating with the staff. Indeed, ever since it was established this College has always been in safe keeping. I would like to express my sincere congratulations to all those who have been responsible for the success of this College and for its great achievements in the past.

For those of you who are prize winners, I wish to offer my congratulations for your success and for your achievements. I hope you will continue to work hard and to build on the success that you have so far achieved. To the others I wish to say, do not be discouraged but continue to work hard and try to excel your friends in the future. There is no doubt that a College like this which maintains a high standard of discipline and gives equal emphasis to academic as well as sporting activities and encourages the students in the true spirit of real competition has a great part to play in the life of our nation.

Our young nation needs more and more capable and intelligent young men to be its leaders in the various fields of activities. Our Armed Forces are being expanded very rapidly. The Cadet Wing of the College has in fact been training a large number of officers and short service commission officers for the Army and for the Royal Malaysian Air Force.

This College has a high reputation not only among Government departments but also in the business circles. Therefore all of you, if you do your work well and pass your examinations, are assured of a bright future. However, I am given to understand that in the Cadet

Wing of the College although the students are very successful at games, there has been a tendency among some of them to pay less attention to academic work. And those of you who are in this category I would like to remind you that although health and physical fitness are important, particularly in your career in the Armed Forces it is equally necessary for you to have the academic qualification, the knowledge and the training to enable you to have a start in your career.

All of you Cadets here have a difficult and challenging task ahead of you as our country is still facing Indonesian confrontation. The officers who have graduated from this College before you have maintained a high tradition and have played a great part in the defence of our country and I therefore look forward to you to maintain the same high standard. I know there is not much money in a career in the Armed Forces just as in the Public Service but it is a great inspiring task as you are serving our country and our people. If you do your work in the right spirit you will get a greater satisfaction.

I am told that in the Cadet Wing there are two Brunei and eight Singapore cadets. I would like to say to them that they should make full use of the facilities available here so that when they graduate they will be of service to their country which are our neighbours.

I am so pleased to note that from next year it is proposed to have a re-organisation of the regular Cadet Training cycle. In this re-organisation, there will be a concentration of academic efforts on Term 2 to Term 5 and military training from the First and the last Terms. I hope and trust that with this re-organisation the Cadet Wing will be able to produce even better results in future years. Now, with regard to the Boys' Wing, I am also pleased to note that there is an increasing number of boys seeking admission into this Wing. This undoubtedly reflects the growing reputation of this College. I am happy to hear that the Boys' Wing has continued to achieve high rate of success in the academic field as can be seen from the continually high standard of passes in the Cambridge School Certificate and the Malaysian Certificate of Education as well as in Higher School Certificate. The Cambridge results for 1964/65 and the Higher School Certificate results in the various certificates examinations have been the best ever obtained by the College. Last year there were 25 boys who succeeded in getting scholarships and have joined various universities while 21 boys were selected for officer cadet training. In this connection I would like to pay a special tribute to Mr S. C. Wallwork, the previous Director of Studies. Under Mr Wallwork's guidance and devoted service the College has been able to achieve such a high degree of success in the academic field year after year for the last several years. I would like therefore to place on record our appreciation for the services that he has rendered to the College and to the country.

Before I conclude, I would like to say how happy I am to see that expansion of this College to meet the requirements of our expanding Armed Forces has been completed. And I do hope that this College will continue to fulfil the role for which it was founded, to train leaders for our country both in the military and in other fields.

Malaysia as I said, is a young nation. We have people of various racial origins. It is of the utmost importance that our people of all races continue to live in peace, harmony and goodwill and should regard themselves as members of one nation. It is important that you who are still at school should cultivate this spirit of unity while you live and work together. Students of various races should cultivate the spirit of unity and solidarity so that when you take your places as leaders of our country in the years to come, you will be able to play your part in promoting the aim and aspiration of our people to build a strong, united and happy nation. Malaysia as a developing country, is a country of opportunities. We are expanding in all the fields of our national lives and therefore we require as I said, leaders who have a world-balanced training as you all have had in this College. Therefore I ask you all students of this College to work hard and prepare yourselves fully for the task that I have given you. You should make full use of the opportunities now given to you at this College so that you will be fully equipped to serve your country loyally in whatever field of activity you choose for yourself. Our young nation looks towards the young men and women of today to lead us to the path of unity, happiness and prosperity. I wish all of you Cadets and others good luck.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*25th November, 1965.*

## PRESS CONFERENCE—FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN

*Statement at the Press Conference by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National and Rural Development, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, on the First Malaysia Plan, 1966-70 held on Thursday, December 9, 1965, at 10.00 a.m. at the National Operations Room, Kuala Lumpur:*

I am very happy indeed to meet with you this morning and give you gentlemen of the Press a digest of the First Malaysia Plan for economic and social development during the period 1966-70. The Press, Radio and T.V. will play an important part in informing the public about the development objectives and programmes embodied in this Plan. I understand that an embargoed copy of the Plan is being distributed by the Department of Information in order to facilitate general publication on Friday, December 10. The Plan, when it has been tabled before the Parliament, will also be released for sale to the general public by the Government Printer.

### **Progress During 1961-65.**

Malaysia has made impressive strides in social and economic development in recent years. The achievements are spelled out in detail in Chapter II of the First Malaysia Plan. There is no need for me to elaborate on these except to invite your attention to Chapter II and various sections setting out the progress made during 1961-65 in the sectoral chapters in Part II of the Plan.

Substantial attainments were made in both the public and private sectors of the Malaysian economy. In Malaya, the private investment target of \$2,900 million set in the Second Five-Year Plan has been achieved and the public sector development expenditure target of \$2,150 million was considerably exceeded and will reach a figure of about \$2,650 million. Output and income grew more rapidly than planned while employment increased at about the projected rate.

The facts and figures given in Chapter II, especially from page 28 onwards and in Table 2-6 of the First Malaysia Plan, indicate the fulfilment of the public sector targets under the Malayan Second Five-Year Plan. You will note that apart from a moderate shortfall of about 10-15% in agriculture and social services, the other programmes have far exceeded their targets.

### **Significance of the First Malaysia Plan.**

The Government is, however, not prepared to rest on its laurels and be complacent. In a developing country like ours, there are many complex social, economic and political problems which do not lend themselves to easy solutions. They pose a challenge to the efforts and

ingenuity of the people. The Government is determined to accept the many-sided challenge and discharge its responsibility as reflected in the launching of this bold, imaginative and comprehensive First Malaysia Plan which is designed to make further progress over the next five years. This Plan is a blue print for a better life and a higher standard of living for all Malaysians, especially those in the rural areas, irrespective of race, creed or political affiliation. It also represents the initial phase in a 20-year Perspective Plan of long-term development designed to lay a firm foundation for dynamic and accelerated development for many years to come.

#### **Objectives of the Plan.**

The main objectives of the Plan are—

- (i) To promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia by embarking upon a development plan explicitly designed to promote the welfare of all;
- (ii) To provide steady increases in levels of income and consumption per head;
- (iii) To increase the well-being of Malaysia's rural inhabitants and other low-income groups, primarily by raising their productivity and thus their income-earning capacity;
- (iv) To generate employment opportunities at a rate sufficient to provide productive work for new entrants to the labour force and lower the rate of unemployment;
- (v) To stimulate new kinds of economic activity, both agricultural and industrial, so as to reduce the nation's dependence on rubber and tin;
- (vi) To educate and train Malaysians from all walks of life in order to equip them for effective participation in the process of economic and social development;
- (vii) To lay the groundwork for less rapid population growth by instituting an effective programme of family planning;
- (viii) To open for development sufficient new land to keep pace with the formation of new farm families and reduce the number of landless people desiring land for agricultural purposes;
- (ix) To provide electric power, transportation facilities and communication services adequate to keep ahead of foreseen demands;
- (x) To progress with health and social welfare development, low-cost housing and a wide range of other projects.

The first objective of promoting greater national unity and integration of the various groups and states in Malaysia through development is the focal point of our efforts.

Successful achievement of all the above objectives will mean that income per capita will rise from about \$930 in 1965 to some \$980 by 1970 (see page 51 paragraph 124 and Table 3-5). Such a rise will be a substantial achievement in the face of the high rate of population growth at 3% per annum. About 460,000 job opportunities will be created and the rate of unemployment will be brought down from estimated 6.0% at present to 5.2% (see page 80 paragraphs 188-190 and Table 5-1). Disparities in private income and public services between the "haves" and the "have-nots" will be reduced considerably.

More important than any of these short-term objectives is the fact that a firm basis for development in the long run will be established. The emphasis given in the Plan to education and training, to rural development and the diversification of economic activity, to family planning and to applied agricultural and industrial research, will yield sizeable returns in the years ahead. Looking 20 years into the future, it is possible to foresee a per capita income level of \$1,500 or more in 1985 if the First Malaysia Plan is implemented successfully and if the nation can maintain a rising tempo of development in subsequent Five-Year development plans.

#### The Size of the Plan.

Although it is bold and ambitious in scope the Plan is nevertheless capable of achievement. Despite the financial stringency caused by the increased needs for defence and internal security expenditure, the target for development outlay in the public and private sectors over the next five years has been set at \$10,500 million. The public-sector share of this total is \$4,550 million, which is 46% more than the amount spent over the previous five years while projected expenditure by the private sector amounts to \$5,950 million.

The composition of planned public-sector development expenditure is as follows:

	(\$ millions)
Agricultural and Rural Development ... ..	1,086.6
Mining ... ..	1.3
Industrial Development ... ..	114.5
Transport ... ..	546.0
Communications ... ..	205.5
Utilities ... ..	786.3
Education and Training ... ..	440.8
Health and Family Planning ... ..	189.4
Social and Community Services ... ..	315.1
General Administration ... ..	126.4
Defence ... ..	600.0
Internal Security ... ..	139.0
Total ... ..	\$4,550.9



This pattern of allocation reflects important development priorities. Top priority is being given to directly productive economic activities in agriculture and industry. Education and the improvement of economic facilities in the Borneo States also receive high priority. Certain areas in which a relatively high standard has already been attained, such as roads and health facilities in Malaya, will receive somewhat less emphasis than in the past. Social amenities will not be permitted to take up a large proportion of total expenditure at the expense of productive economic projects.

Special emphasis will be given under the Plan to the needs of the Borneo States, the rural population and the low-income groups in the urban areas in order to redress the economic and social imbalance existing among different regions and between urban and rural areas. Public development expenditure (including the cost of accommodation facilities for the armed forces and police) in the Borneo States will total about \$374 million for Sabah and \$464 million for Sarawak respectively. These sums are both more than 80% greater than the comparable amounts spent in 1961-65.

In making these development allocations to the Borneo States, the Central Government is more than fulfilling its promise to accelerate development in Sabah and Sarawak. It will be recalled that in the Inter-Government Committee Report and during the I.G.C. negotiations before the establishment of Malaysia, the Central Government undertook to make its best endeavours to allocate funds amounting to \$200 million for Sabah and \$300 million for Sarawak's development over a five-year period. You will note that the allocations now made under the first Malaysia Plan far exceed the amounts envisaged in the Inter-Governmental Report. The relevant figures are given below for ease of reference:

		(\$ millions)
I.G.C. Report		First Malaysia Plan allocations (including Defence & Security)
Sabah	\$200	\$373.5 (of which \$75.9 m. is for defence and security)
Sarawak	\$300	\$463.7 (of which \$63.5 m. is for defence and security)

Towards these allocations, Sabah's own contribution amounts to \$60 million while Sarawak's contribution totals \$38 million over the five-year period. Therefore, the people in the Borneo States may take comfort from these allocations which demonstrate that the Central Government is doing its utmost to help promote economic development and raise the standard of living in these States.

With regard to the sectoral allocations, by far the largest area of public development expenditure under the Plan amounting to well over \$1,000 million will be for agriculture and rural development. Substantial increases in expenditures on drainage and irrigation and on land development are planned. The sums to be spent in these areas are approximately \$333 million and \$376 million respectively. Expenditures on agricultural research and education, animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry and rural credit and marketing will also be increased considerably.

Among social services, the heaviest emphasis will be on education and training, for which \$441 million has been allocated. Most of this money will be used to expand and improve secondary and higher education throughout the country, so as to enable it to play a vital role in the nation's economic and social development.

Housing is to receive much greater emphasis than it has hitherto. Nearly \$190 million is to be spent on low-cost and public housing, over twice as much as in the past five years, and private housing developers are to be given additional encouragement.

The promotion of industrial development will be given added impetus with the establishment of the Federal Industrial Development Authority, National Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research and a Standards Institute and the acceleration of public activity in the building of industrial estates and the financing of industrial investment.

The rapidly growing demands for expanded and improved transport, communications, power and water-supply services will be met. In addition, the other social and economic services provided by the government will be broadened and improved.

### **Problems of implementing the Plan.**

The task of mobilising the large volume of financial and human resources needed to implement the Plan will be a formidable one. Intensive efforts will be required to raise the funds expected from internal sources to finance public and private investment. The amount of \$1,900 million to be sought in foreign grant and loan assistance to help finance public investment, is also much greater than amounts obtained from these sources in the past. Although it will be difficult to raise the amounts of finance envisaged in the Plan, it is essential that maximum national effort be made to achieve the financial targets since the projects in the Plan are vital to the nation's development. My colleague, the Minister of Finance has already done excellent work in paving the way for the mobilisation of adequate internal resources and for obtaining external assistance required for the successful implementation of this Plan. The response to his recent address to the

"Aid Malaysia Consultative Group" in Washington has been very encouraging. The Government hopes that with the launching of this Plan, countries friendly to Malaysia will respond positively and assist us in ensuring the success of the First Malaysia Plan. Malaysia is one of the few remaining democratic countries in this part of the world dedicated to preserving the freedom and dignity of man and we feel that if our friends are prepared to assist us, aid should be extended to Malaysia in this hour of need and not when it is too late.

We appreciate that the success of the Plan will also demand a concerted national effort and hard work by everyone in this country. There are serious bottlenecks especially shortages of skilled manpower in carrying out development projects. Attempts will be made to break these bottlenecks. The administrative and technical resources of the Government, which have already achieved a high level of efficiency, will be geared to implementing the Plan. Malaysians should think in terms of what they can do to contribute to making this a happier and more prosperous nation and not in terms of what they get out of the country and the Government. I am confident that the effort, support and co-operation of all Malaysians for the implementation of the Plan will be forthcoming to make the Plan a success.

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, I should like to thank you all for coming here this morning. The Press has made a valuable contribution to our national development effort by promoting better understanding and appreciation of the problems, needs and tasks ahead. I am sure that you will continue the good work by keeping the public informed of the efforts required for further progress and by helping them to appreciate that prosperity and a better life can only be obtained through hard work, self-reliance and determination to make progress.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*9th December, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES M.T.U.C. CONFERENCE

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, when declaring open the Fifteenth Malaysian Trades Union Delegates' Conference at the Selangor Girl Guides Building, Brickfields, Kuala Lumpur, on Friday, December 10, 1965, at 10.30 a.m.*

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I understand I have two tasks to perform this morning. One task is to declare open your Conference, and the other to lay the foundation stone of the new M.T.U.C. building. As it is possible sometimes to kill two birds with one stone I hope I can perform these two tasks with one speech.

I am happy to be here this morning to declare open your Fifteenth Annual Delegates Conference. The same honour was accorded to me last year when I was invited to open your Fourteenth Annual Delegates Conference. I would like to thank you very much for this invitation, particularly because this gives me an opportunity again to meet so many leading trade unionists who represent different vocations and who have come from various parts of the country to attend this Conference.

This Conference is another milestone in the development and progress of your Congress and also of the trade union movement as a whole in the country. This Conference should be an important occasion for you to take stock of the activities of the Congress, to reflect on its activities over the past year and to assess its effectiveness in discharging its specific task as a Central co-ordinating and advisory body for the trade union movement as a whole. I am sure that during the deliberations at this Conference you would be able to evolve guide posts for your future development.

The trade union movement in Malaya today has not only established its own position and status within the economic and social structure of this country, but has also earned for itself international recognition and prestige. This, I can say, is due in no small measure to its leaders who believe in the concept that trade unions should be formed on the basis of independence, responsibility and the principle of democracy. Unfortunately, and notwithstanding the progress made, the movement still has a long way to go before it can be said that it speaks with one voice for the whole body of workers engaged in various trades and industries. The number of workers in the country remaining unorganised is still very large. Multiplicity of unions and inter-union rivalry continue to pose a major problem. In a great number of cases, trade union membership and funds are limited and these appear to place severe limitations on the adequacy of the services provided by such trade unions to their members and their ability to undertake research

and other activities. I am glad to learn that the leaders of the M.T.U.C. being fully conscious of this position, are endeavouring to advise other workers' groups for a more effective consolidation of the trade union movement generally. The Government, on its part, will continue its policy of giving every encouragement to the development of a sound, strong, responsible and independent trade union movement in the country.

A strong trade union movement is not, in itself, an adequate manifestation of our social structure. A sound industrial relations policy is very necessary so that workers and employers may be able to pull their weight in full in the tasks of economic and social development of the country. In so-called under-developed and developing countries, capital resources and technological skill are generally severely limited and our country is no exception. We must, therefore, welcome outside capital for our various development projects and industrial diversification with which we hope to provide more employment opportunities for our country's rapidly expanding population. To achieve this objective, the right labour climate must be created and maintained. I am glad to note that labour generally has played its part in the process of maintaining such a climate.

The Alliance Government fully realises that the rights of industrial workers must be fully protected as development takes place and their protection should be left in the hands of responsible trade unions. However, trade unions do not represent everyone in the country and the Government, representing the whole country, has a responsibility not only to the workers, but also to those who have no work and to the whole of our people. The Government's responsibility to those who have no work is to increase our industrial output and productivity and create a climate for greater investment so that there will be more jobs for the people. So, therefore, while the Government recognises the need for a responsible trade union movement, nevertheless, the Government must also look to the interests of the rest of the people of the country, in particular to the large number of less fortunate people who may not have work. That is why it is most desirable to have sound industrial relations between employers and workers so that there will be more development, more trade in the country and more employment. I do hope that it is one of the aims of trade unionism to increase development and trade. The Nation's welfare depends on increased productivity, an expanding economy and on hard work. I do hope that it will be possible for trade unions to concern themselves also with training programmes, with apprenticeship programmes, workers' discipline and productivity. Indeed, I hope it will be possible for responsible trade unions to go further than this and take an active role in organising co-operatives, generating savings for development, promoting co-operative housing development, and generally making workers aware of their contribution to the development of the nation.

I am sure that if our trade union movement can put forward, from time to time, constructive suggestions for higher production and faster development, then, when the time comes to bargain with the Government or employers for better wages, the unions will be in a very much stronger bargaining position and will have the support not only of the Government but of the Nation as a whole.

Perhaps, therefore, in laying the foundation stone of this building today, we can also lay the foundation stone of a Malaysian Trade Union movement truly Malaysian in spirit, dedicated not only to the welfare of the workers, but also to the development of our country as the future prosperity of our workers is dependent on the development of Malaysia.

I feel it is important that while endeavouring to obtain increased benefits and better standard of living for your members, you should realise the need for a sound attitude towards the problems of production and development, and try to acquire a better understanding on the broader aspects of industry and its development in the country.

Today the Government has just published its First Malaysia Plan. This Plan is a bold and imaginative blue-print for the future economic and social development of our country despite the continuous threat to our territorial integrity and independence. This Plan is a clear evidence of the determination of the Government to forge ahead with development, to give our people a better and higher standard of living. The implementation of such a gigantic Development Plan will throw a challenge to our people at all levels, a challenge to industries, to employers and to workers. The successful implementation of this plan will carry our people a big step forward towards greater stability and prosperity. I would ask all of you, members of the trade unions, who undoubtedly have a great part to play in the implementation of this Plan, to give your utmost co-operation, as this Plan will not only provide greater employment opportunities, but also greater benefits to our people, particularly the have-nots and the workers.

One of the most effective indicators of success of an organisation or institution is its ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances. Organisations have been known to disappear because they were too rigid in structure or too doctrinaire in outlook. Trade unions are not a mere collection of organisations but a movement, not a piece of machinery whose processes are unchanging, but a body of voluntary associations which must adapt themselves to new situations and be ready to grapple with changing problems. I have no reason to doubt that our trade unions will show themselves capable of adjusting their thinking and methods of action to the needs of the economic development and progress of the country. That you have a part to play is not

disputed. How you play that part is vital and I see, particularly in our present time, no alternative approach but one of mutual trust, co-operation and support.

The system of industrial relations in this country has all along developed on the basis of voluntary arrangements between the parties themselves with a minimum of Government intervention. A lot of people now appear to be taking a critical look at this system, not because of any inherent weakness in the system itself, but because there has been a radical transformation of the environment in which the system functions. Economic conditions, social changes, the character and attitude of the main participants and, most of all, the economic and political needs of the country have undergone considerable changes. Public expectation of rapid development, stability and proper conduct have been more and more keenly felt. When the Government acted in May this year to promulgate the two Essential Regulations, these considerations were foremost in our minds. The amended Regulations which came into effect on 23rd September are in many ways an important step and an experimental phase in the evolution and the readjustment of the system of industrial relations to meet the demands and circumstances in this country. They provide, for the first time, for the Government to take a more direct and active role in the field of industrial relations. The Government is watching closely the working of these Regulations and seriously studying the adequacy of our system of industrial relations to see what new features can be adopted to bring it more in line with the needs of our national development and the realities of the labour situation in the country today.

I realise that you have a heavy programme ahead of you and I should, therefore, hesitate to take up any more of your time, but, no doubt, amongst other matters, you would like to know what Government contemplates doing in the field of industrial training. I am aware that the situation is not quite satisfactory at this moment and, there are more and more of our young men and women as well as those of other age groups, who are not employed or who are under-employed, because of their inability to supply the technical skill that is required by present day industry. Unemployment is not necessarily confined only to this particular field of activity but, in an era of industrialisation, it is incumbent upon all of us, whether in Government or in industry or amongst the workers groups to identify ourselves with the need of industrialisation and provide the services so required by industry. Government is, therefore, contemplating action through the Ministry of Labour to establish a Department of Employment and Training which will cover fields such as all forms of industrial training, placement services on the completion of training and labour market research and information. To cater for the needs of this Department and also to be in a better position to analyse this statistical

data that need to be compiled if we are to understand more accurately the labour market problem, the Statistical Division within the Ministry of Labour is also being expanded.

In the field of social security, you are aware that, in the Ministry of Labour, we presently have a very experienced officer very kindly seconded to us by the Government of India. This officer has embarked on a very close examination of a Pension Scheme on account of Invalidity and its inter-related aspects. His services may be required in other fields of social security and the rate of his progress in the Invalidity Pension Scheme would determine the extent of his participation in these other fields.

I would like to add finally a brief comment in connection with labour problems in the States in Eastern Malaysia. Labour is as important to the Malaysian Government, whether it is in the States of Malaya or in the States of Sabah and Sarawak. We are, however, mindful of the provisions of the Inter-Governmental Committee Report in this respect but I am happy to say that there is general acceptance that the Central Government shall be responsible for labour matters within the geographical limits of these two States and there is already a considerable degree of integration of the Department of Labour in Sabah and Sarawak with the Ministry of Labour here in Kuala Lumpur. This integration shall be continued apace and we hope that in the near future the working population in these two States of Eastern Malaysia and those in the States of Malaya would be able to come together as one integrated whole, working for the same cause.

I need only, in conclusion, give you an assurance that this Government would continue to do everything possible to advance the living conditions of all the workers in the country. There are pieces of legislation presently under examination and, I agree, under examination for some time but, these things do take time and there are always different points of view which need to be reconciled. Legislations which are outstanding and which are under immediate review are those concerning the Extension of Collective Agreements, those affecting the safety, health and welfare of workers in factories, the conditions of employment of children and young persons and the improvement and control of housing provided to workers.

And, finally in declaring your Conference open, I sincerely hope your deliberations and discussions will not only include efforts to give the workers a better way of life, but will also include ways and means whereby workers will be able to assist in the development of Malaysia, to assist in the greater productivity, progress and prosperity of our country.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*10th December, 1965.*



## FIRST CONGRESS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of the First Congress of Physical Education Association for South East Asia Peninsula countries at the Malayan Teachers' Training College, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur, on Friday, December 10th, 1965, at 7.30 p.m.*

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to be with you all this evening. It is indeed opportune that this Congress on Physical Education should be held now since at this time we are holding a mini Olympics—The Third South East Asian Peninsula Games.

We in Malaysia are very happy and very proud to be the host country for the Third SEAP Games as we sincerely believe that there is no better way of strengthening friendship among nations than in the friendly rivalry of sports held in the true spirit of sportsmanship. It is in the field of sports that men and women from different countries, of different race or classes can meet freely on common ground. In the field of sports there is no money to be made or gained but instead honour and glory can be achieved only through personal efforts and success.

I would like to extend a very sincere welcome to our friends from other countries in South East Asia who are taking part in this Congress. We sincerely welcome them and trust that they will completely feel at home in Malaysia and in Kuala Lumpur, our capital city. I do hope during your stay here, beside attending this Congress you will also have the opportunity of meeting our people informally in their homes and in their place of work so that you will realise and appreciate that the people of Malaysia are imbued with a real desire to live in peace with their neighbours and to have strong ties of friendship and goodwill among countries in this region. It has always been our dearest wish that countries in the world, particularly in this region should live in peace with one another, respecting each other's independence and way of life so that more countries can progress happily together.

I would like to congratulate those responsible for organising this Congress and it is indeed very fitting that the theme of the seminar should be "International Goodwill through Sports and Physical Education." We in Malaysia are a young nation. As a young nation we have many problems to face. Our people having been under colonial rule for more than a century are desirous of improving their standard of living, of obtaining amenities of life necessary for decent living. It

is the intention and the policy of the Government here to give our people these amenities and to carry out economic and social development so that our people will really have a proper and rightful place in our country.

As you know, today we announced the launching of our First Malaysia Plan. For the last 5 years in Malaya and also in the two new territories, Sabah and Sarawak, great strides have been made in the field of development. Indeed, our people, particularly the have-nots in the towns and the villages have seen a quiet evolution of progress in their lives. This First Malaysia Plan will carry them forward further in this field of development. That is why in order to meet this challenging task our people must be strong in body and mind. We would like to encourage sports and physical education not only among men and women but also in our schools so that our boys and girls will grow up to be strong and useful citizens.

I hope and trust this Congress will inspire our physical educationalists and sports specialists in carrying out the task of strengthening the national character of our people by exposing the youth to the challenges inherent in the field of sports.

I am sure our friends from overseas will also agree with us that they and their people would wish also to encourage sports and physical education, as I say there is no better way of fostering friendship among nations than through sports. I do hope that with effective leadership it may be possible in the years to come to develop a regional concept of physical education for countries of the South East Asian region.

By regularly holding the SEAP Games and by having common concept in physical education we will have done a long way towards bringing our countries in this region closer together.

I wish you all success in your deliberations. I am glad to note the interest taken by Rothmans & Co. in projects of this nature and I do hope that other business enterprises will also take interest in projects of this nature. I have therefore great pleasure in declaring this Congress open.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*10th December, 1965.*

## STATE DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS CONFERENCE 13TH DECEMBER

Firstly, let me congratulate you as State Development Officers for the hard work, energy and enthusiasm which all of you have given in making our last Five-Year Plan a success.

I would like to thank you all for your contribution to the progress and prosperity of our country.

I know that the chairs of this Development Operations Room are comfortable, but it does not mean that, after having been praised and congratulated by me, you can sit back complacent and comfortable in these chairs.

I do not know how many of you understand how an internal combustion engine works but I am sure all of you know that the sparking plugs in a motor-car have got a "gap" across which the electric spark must cross in order to ignite the petrol to make the car go.

If that gap is too wide, the electric spark cannot cross it and, as a result, you get no combustion in the car and therefore you get no motion and no speed.

In order to implement our First Malaysia Plan, we need both motion and speed, in the next five years, to make the development of Malaysia as successful as it has been in the past five years, and one of the first essentials is to close, as with a sparking plug, the gap between State and Federal government in our concerted action on development.

The main object of this Conference of State Development Officers is to recharge your development batteries, to brace you ready for the New Year, when we start action in implementing our new Plan and to obtain these vital sparks necessary to ignite our Plan and to produce that combustion essential to motivate motion towards further Malaysian development.

I want this Conference to be a regular monthly meeting, so that all State Development Officers, including Sabah and Sarawak, can come to Kuala Lumpur with their problems and have them solved, and, at the same time, to be briefed on Federal development policy so that all of you are completely in touch with the intention and aims of the Federal Government, and thus be in a better position to work in your State to close any gaps to the point at which that spark jumps freely and gives the kick to the two administrative arms essential to the acceleration of development in our nation.

We in Malaysia have acquired the art and technique of translating a Plan from paper into action resulting in dynamic development; and our new Plan, not only calls for an investment of funds but, even more important, calls for an investment of human effort.

You as State Development Officers, are in fact the spearhead of this effort in so far as positive action on the part of Government is concerned in producing tangible results on the ground in the public sector of our Plan.

Leadership is not the monopoly of Ministers and if our new Plan is to succeed on the keynote of productivity then there must be more leadership right down the line throughout our land at all levels. Leadership from our legislators, the Members of Parliament, leadership from all Government Officers and leadership on the land at kampong and village level.

Governments can make laws but the one law which will make Malaysia prosperous and great—the one law which will make our Plan a success, is a law which no Parliament can pass on paper—it is the Universal Law of Cause and Effect.

Applying the Law of Cause and Effect to our new Plan means that we will only get out of the Plan progress and prosperity in the same measure and in direct ratio to the amount of human effort we expend to execute our Plan.

In this modern day and age of automation, automatic telephones and many other automatic machines, there is still one thing in the world which is not automatic and that is National Development.

We cannot expect Malaysia to develop further by merely sitting back hoping and wishing for a better way of life, a higher standard of living and greater prosperity.

No. All of us, all peoples in Malaysia, must be persistent in the pursuit of prosperity.

And there is only one prescription which will make our Plan work and that is more and more hard work towards greater productivity.

It is your job as State Development Officers, a job in which you are both expected to be loyal to the State and loyal to the Federal Government, to ensure that there is the closest co-ordination on development matters not only between State and Federal Governments but also between each and every Government Department in the State whether it be a Federal Department or a State Department, because without a high standard of co-operation and co-ordination in all aspects of the Government machine we cannot hope for complete success in our development Plan.

But, on the other hand, as we have proved in the last five years, with co-operation, co-ordination, and dedicated effort, we in Malaysia are capable of pushing our country forward towards further development progress. We are capable of implementing a Plan even beyond the expectations which we have at the planning stage.

The first essential for co-ordination is for everyone, at all levels throughout the machinery of Government, to clearly understand the clear-cut aims of our National Development and the policy behind each aspect of Government so that they can understand where they and their work fit into the overall whole.

It is my intention next year to send out, from time to time, to the States, Federal Heads of Departments such as Health, Education, Agriculture, and others to talk to a gathering of all Officers in the State concerned with development, clearly defining the workings and policy of his Department, to ensure that right down the line of the Government machine, each and every Officer fully understands, not only his own task in isolation but also in relationship to the complex structure of a modern Government in a modern country such as Malaysia.

I have often said before, that half the frustrations of Government servants and half the inefficiency of the administration of any Government, lies in the fact that many Government officers themselves do not know how Government works. Their knowledge is sometimes limited to the narrow confines of their own jobs.

If a Government officer himself does not know how Government works how then can we expect the public to know, and yet Government officers are paid to serve the public and it is therefore essential that we take more intensified steps to ensure that all our officers know the complete workings of Government, so that they will be in a position to put life into implementation of our Development Plan and at the same time help the public and prevent frustration, and stop what I call "bureaucratic ping-pong" where a member of the public seeking something goes to one office, then told it is the wrong office, then to another office and so on!

The Development of any country is not merely the development of the public sector and what Government does in the form of building schools, roads, hospitals and other things.

Development, in this modern world, also includes the private sector.

Private sector development means investment on the part of Malaysians and investment on the part of external investors who have faith in our country, and are prepared to bring in funds to set up factories and industries; because, we are living in a world international market and the policy of my Government is not to isolate Malaysia from this world of free trade and free enterprise.

Therefore it is important that every effort be given to put both the public and private sector of development in correct perspective.

If someone wants to invest many millions of dollars in our country, by allowing this investment we are not giving up one inch of our independence but we are contributing towards the development, diversification and industrialisation of our country.

If we increase our trade with the outside world, increase our exports, increase our foreign exchange, and our export-trade output, we are helping, at the same time, to increase the standard of living of our people.

Therefore it is important that the Government's image, both towards our own Malaysian public and to the public from overseas, is an image worthwhile, and that image, our national identity, may start, in the case of overseas investors, at the Airport.

The way they are treated by Immigration and Customs, the way they are treated by the Civil Servant in each and every Government office they go to.

Conversely, in the rural and urban areas our own fellow Malaysians who may wish to set up their own businesses or open up their own land have, in the first instance, to overcome the first stumbling block in their applications, their contact, with the Government officer doing a routine job; he can be helpful, he can be co-operative but in some cases he may be obstructive because he does not see the whole picture of development and may not try to help those participants in the private sector who wish to contribute in money and energy towards the future development of our country.

Out-dated bureaucratic obstruction is a relic of Colonialism. We are no more colonial.

We are an independent sovereign nation and yet sometimes, lurking in the minds of the Government Service throughout the country there are still traces of colonial bureaucracy and colonial attitudes.

Let us shed these attitudes with the birth of our new Plan, and it is your job, each one of you as State Development Officers, to help change the attitude of District Officers, of Settlement Officers, of all other officers right down the line of our administrative machinery, to put life, energy, enthusiasm, and dedication into their action and approach for the development of Malaysia.

In the next few years, I, as Minister of Development, will spend as much time as I can to go around the country to ensure that our Development Plan is being properly implemented.

But it is my aim to maintain and sustain a system of development implementation that will run automatically by itself whether or not I have time to travel myself.

We have moved a long way towards achieving this aim in the present system and machinery of development implementation, of Development Committees at National, State and District level with each Committee supported by an Operations Room, of which we have no less than 114 at present in the country.

I am determined, in the implementation of our new Plan, to make these Operations Rooms continue to work efficiently and to ensure that the Members of these Development Committees continue to co-operate and co-ordinate in overcoming difficulties and delays in development.

A great help towards the achievement of this is the correct attitude, understanding and ability on your part as State Development Officers to understand your real function.

Your function, first and foremost, is a function of a "breaker of bottlenecks".

You must get out and around to every district looking for frustrations, looking for departmental disagreements, looking for delays, and when you have found them, you must diagnose them and then:

- (a) try on your own behalf to solve them;
- (b) if you cannot solve them yourself then report to the officers of my Ministry and ask them to solve them; and
- (c) when all else has failed then they will be brought to me and I will try and solve them.

So often, over the last five years in travelling around the country, I have found that there have been delays, there have been disagreements between Departments, and there has been a tendency to sit waiting for me to arrive to sort them out in briefings at State and District level.

What I want to see in the next few years is even a closer co-ordination between Departments, a closer co-ordination between State and Federal Governments, a closer relationship between all officers concerned with development and an even higher standard of dedication to development on the part of every single officer who is paid from public funds.

I am aiming at a completely self-propelled system of development administration.

Our Plan for the development of our people, patiently prepared, meticulously made, is based upon the wishes and aspirations of the various races which comprise Malaysia; the Plan can, and will, succeed!

To succeed, it must depend on the undivided efforts of our people, diverse in origin but united in intention, guided by you, and all other Government servants, with no thought of personal gain, no thought of personal advancement or personal advantage, but with one dominating thought—the development of our country towards a more progressive, productive and prosperous nation—Malaysia!



# SPEECH OF THE HONOURABLE MINISTER ON THE ORDINARY ESTIMATES, 1966, HEAD 63—MINISTRY OF NATIONAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (COMMITTEE STAGE)

Mr Chairman, Sir,

## FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MINISTRY

Before I go into the detailed explanations on the various provisions appearing under my Ministry, Head 63, the Ministry of National and Rural Development, I would like to inform the House briefly the function and responsibility of my Ministry. As in the past five years, the function of my Ministry is mainly in the field of co-ordinating the activities of the various Ministries, Departments and quasi-Government bodies involved in the implementation of the Second Five-Year Development Plan. I am happy to report to the House that as a result of effective co-ordination, the machinery charged with the responsibility of implementing the Second Five-Year Plan has worked so well that we have been able to achieve the desired results.

In addition to carrying out the co-ordination of the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan, my Ministry is responsible for the implementation of the Adult Education Programme, and for the overall policies of the Federal Land Development Authority, the Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat and the Muslims Savings Corporation.

The Emergency Development and Re-housing Schemes in the Borneo States also come under the responsibility of my Ministry because it is the intention of the Government to implement them as development projects rather than as pure and plain Resettlement or Regrouping Schemes which had been carried out in the States of Malaya during the days of the Emergency.

You will observe, Sir, that since my Ministry is mainly responsible for co-ordinating the implementation of the Development Plan, unlike the Estimates of other implementing Ministries, the total provision required by my Ministry is comparatively small.

## THE REDUCTION

However, coming to the Estimates proper, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the overall reduction of \$2,267,133 in the total provision required by my Ministry in 1966. The substantial reduction is mainly due to, as explained earlier by my colleague, the Honourable Minister of Finance in his budget speech of 17th November, the transfer of a provision of \$3,560,000, the normal provision required for administrative expenses of RIDA (now MARA), to the Development Estimates.

However, the transfer or the deletion of \$3,560,000 is offset by the addition of provisions related to ordinary expenditure on development and Emergency Development and Re-housing Schemes in the Borneo States. It is also offset by the addition of the proposed expenditure on subvention to the National Association of Women's Institute under sub-head 28, and on management and maintenance of three Taman Asohan Wanita in Kuala Lumpur, Malacca and Kepala Batas.

In 1965, the ordinary expenditure on Emergency Development and Re-housing Schemes in the Borneo States was provided for in the Estimates of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Since my Ministry is now responsible for the implementation of the Emergency Development and Re-housing Schemes in the Borneo States, the relevant posts which hitherto appeared under the Ministry of Home Affairs have now been transferred to my Ministry. They are shown under items 66 to 74 in sub-head 1.

Similarly, the new provision under sub-head 28 represents a mere transfer of the provision under the Ministry of Social Welfare to my Ministry. The transfer is necessary in order to co-ordinate the activities of the Association of Women's Institute in the rural areas and those of the Adult Education and Community Development Division of my Ministry.

With regard to the provision under sub-head 28, it is an entirely new item of expenditure. It is for the purpose of running and maintaining the three Taman Asohan Wanita which my Ministry has taken over from MARA early this year. The taking-over of these Taman Asohan from MARA is related to the integration of the activities of these Taman Asohan with the Adult Education Programme of my Ministry. They are now used as centres for the training of teachers for the Home Economics classes in the rural areas.

#### PERSONAL EMOLUMENTS—\$1,205,599

The increases in the provision under Personal Emoluments i.e. Head 1, are mainly due to the creation of posts under items 9, 12, 75, 76 and 77 and the transfer of posts connected with development work from the Office of the Federal Secretary, Kuching, and also the transfer of posts connected with emergency development and re-housing from the Ministry of Home Affairs to my Ministry. Two additional posts of clerk and one machine operator under items 9 and 12 in the main division of the Ministry are mainly for the purpose of strengthening the present staff of the Ministry doing the work of disbursing welfare grants. The new posts appearing under items 75 to 80, and under items 85 to 90 are meant for the branch offices of the Adult Education Division in Sabah and Sarawak. These branch offices were established early this year on the extension of the Adult Education Programme to the two Borneo States.

The other increases under Personal Emoluments represent the normal annual increments on the salaries of the staff of my Ministry. Honourable Members will note that only token votes are requested under items 23, 24, 25, 26, 50 and 51. These token votes are purely for the purpose of covering the pension rights of the Government officers seconded to the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (now the Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat) and the Federal Land Development Authority.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

Sir, in order to meet the increasing demand for adult education classes, my Ministry will open about 4,000 new classes in 1966. However, this will not affect the ceiling of 12,700 classes in any one year, because, by the end of this year, students of about 4,000 advanced classes will have completed their three-year course.

While on the subject of adult education, I wish to report that there is now about 270,000 students at all stages of the Adult Education Programme. The total expenditure for the Adult Education Division, as compared with that of last year, shows an increase of \$715,572. This is mainly due to the establishment of adult education classes in Sabah and Sarawak, consequent upon the extension of our Adult Education Programme to the two States. My Ministry has, up to date, established 727 adult education classes in the two States and this total will be increased to 1,400 classes in 1966.

This House is aware that the Adult Education Programme of my Ministry is not only aimed at wiping out illiteracy in this country, but it is also for the purpose of producing functional literates, in that the students are taught not only the 3Rs but also subjects such as civics, religion for the Muslim students and Home Economics for the women students. In the field of Home Economics, my Ministry has so far established 2,030 classes. In 1966, my Ministry plans to increase the total to 2,500 classes.

#### OTHER CHARGES ANNUALLY RECURRENT—\$10,069,433

With regard to Other Charges Annually Recurrent, the increase in sub-head 13 is due to the employment of an additional number of supervisors for the purpose of reinforcing the present number of supervisors. The recruitment of additional supervisors is important because some districts, owing to their size and the difficulty of communications require more than one supervisor to carry out the supervision work effectively. The increase in sub-head 14 is due to the increase in the number of teachers caused by the establishment of adult education classes in Sabah and Sarawak. In spite of these increases and of the new item of expenditure under sub-head 10, a substantial reduction has been made in transport and travelling expenses as provided for under sub-heads 7 and 18. The Ministry might find it difficult to function with the reduced amount for transport

and travelling under these 2 sub-heads. But every effort will be made to run the Ministry within this amount.

#### SPECIAL EXPENDITURE—\$981,175

Now I come to special expenditure which shows an overall increase of \$101,055 over that of last year. This increase is mainly due to the introduction of the adult education classes in Sabah and Sarawak and the transfer of responsibility in the implementation of Emergency Development Schemes in Sabah and Sarawak to this Ministry. The subvention to the Malaysian Muslims Pilgrims Corporation under sub-head 32 has been reduced by \$10,000. The subvention is required by the Corporation for defraying its administrative cost for the year 1966. I would, however, like to take this opportunity to inform the House that the Corporation has, up to date, managed to register 18,640 depositors and has collected \$1,947,845. These savings are being invested by the Corporation in worthwhile ventures. I wish also to state here that this Corporation has so far indicated every sign of success. I have no doubt that it will play a valuable and positive role in the economic development of our country especially in the rural areas.

The provision of \$280,000 under Other Charges Special Expenditure, sub-head 34—Production of Text Books, is required for the printing of text books including follow-up materials for use in the adult education classes. These text books are sold to the students at 25% of the total cost of production. The provision of \$280,000 under sub-head 35—Teachers and Staff Training Courses is required for the training of teachers and staff of the adult education classes. The provision is necessary for the purpose of training the newly recruited teachers and organisers on methods of teaching adults and civic subjects; they will have to be reorientated to the new spirit of development; and they will have to be made conversant with the objectives of the Adult Education Programme of the Government. The provision will also be utilised for conducting refresher courses for the earlier groups of teachers.

The provision of \$38,000 under sub-head 41 is intended for the purchase of 3 land rovers to be turned into Field Information Units of the Adult Education Division. Two Units will operate in the States of Sabah and Sarawak. Mr Chairman, Sir, these Units are expected to carry out publicity campaigns on rural development particularly in respect of the activities of the Adult Education Division.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Estimates of my Ministry have not shown substantial increases compared with those of 1965, and are kept to the lowest level possible in conformity with the current Government's economy drive.

Sir, I beg to move.

# UCHAPAN Y.A.B. MENTERI, ATAS ANGGARAN PERUNTOKAN BIASA, 1966, KEPALA 63—KEMENTERIAN PEMBANGUNAN NEGARA DAN LUAR BANDAR (PERINGKAT JAWATANKUASA)

Tuan Pengerusi,

## TUGAS DAN KEWAJIPAN KEMENTERIAN

Sa-belum saya menerangkan satu-peratus berbagai peruntokan yang terkandung di-bawah Kementerian saya, Kepala 63, Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, saya sukachita hendak mema'alumkan sa-chara ringkas kepada Dewan ini tentang kerja<sup>2</sup> dan kewajipan Kementerian saya. Dalam masa lima tahun yang lalu, kerja Kementerian saya terutama-nya ia-lah di-dalam lapangan menyatu-padukan tugas<sup>2</sup> dan tindakan<sup>2</sup> dari berbagai<sup>2</sup> Kementerian, Jabatan<sup>2</sup> dan Badan<sup>2</sup> yang mengambil bahagian dalam melaksanakan Rancangan Pembangunan Lima Tahun Yang Kedua. Saya dengan sukachita-nya melaporkan kepada Dewan bahawa hasil dari perpaduan yang berkesan itu, jentera yang di-tugaskan dengan kewajipan melaksanakan Rancangan Lima Tahun Yang Kedua itu telah berjalan dengan chukup sempurna sa-hingga kita dapat menchapai kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki.

Di-samping mengusahakan dan menyatu-padukan pelaksanaan Rancangan Lima Tahun Yang Kedua, Kementerian saya juga ada-lah bertanggung-jawab bagi melaksanakan Rancangan Pelajaran Dewasa, dan semua dasar<sup>2</sup> Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Persekutuan, Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat dan Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal<sup>2</sup> Haji.

Rancangan<sup>2</sup> Pembangunan Dharurat dan Perumahan Semula di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo ada juga termasuk di-bawah tanggong-jawab Kementerian saya, kerana tujuan Kerajaan ia-lah melaksanakan-nya sa-bagai projek<sup>2</sup> pembangunan dan bukan semata<sup>2</sup> sa-bagai rancangan penempatan semula atau penempatan beramai<sup>2</sup> saperti yang telah di-jalankan di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Tanah Melayu dalam masa dharurat dahulu.

Tuan Pengerusi, telah sedia ma'alum, bahawa oleh kerana Kementerian saya terutama-nya bertanggung-jawab bagi menyatu-padukan serta melaksanakan rancangan pembangunan, maka jumlah peruntokan yang di-kehendakki oleh Kementerian saya ada-lah sangat kecil, tidak saperti anggaran peruntokan biasa bagi Kementerian<sup>2</sup> lain yang melaksanakan rancangan<sup>2</sup> mereka sendiri.

## PENGURANGAN

Walau pun demikian, berhubung dengan soal peruntukan biasa, saya ingin menarek perhatian Dewan tentang keseluruhan pengurangan \$2,267,133 dalam jumlah peruntukan yang di-kehendakki oleh Kementerian saya dalam tahun 1966. Pengurangan yang banyak ini terutama ada-lah di-sebabkan, sa-bagaimana yang telah di-terangkan oleh teman saya Y.B. Menteri Kewangan dalam ucapan anggaran perbelanjaan Negara pada 17hb November, pemindahan peruntukan sa-banyak \$3,560,000, ia-itu peruntukan biasa yang di-periukan bagi belanja<sup>2</sup> Pentadbiran RIDA (sekarang MARA), pada anggaran peruntukan pembangunan.

Walau bagaimana pun, pemindahan atau pengenejian \$3,560,000 ini tidak memberi kesan kerana di-sebabkan oleh tambahan peruntukan<sup>2</sup> yang lain saperti tambahan peruntukan berkenaan dengan perbelanjaan pembangunan biasa dan perbelanjaan Pembangunan Dharurat dan Perumahan Semula di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo, wang bantuan kapada Persatuan Perkumpolan Perempuan Kebangsaan di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 28 dan perbelanjaan bagi mentadbirkan dan menguruskan tiga Taman Asohan Wanita di-Kuala Lumpur, Melaka dan Kepala Batas.

Dalam tahun 1965, perbelanjaan biasa mengenai Pembangunan Dharurat dan Perumahan Semula di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo telah di-adakan di-bawah anggaran peruntukan Kementerian Hal-Ehwal Dalam Negeri. Oleh kerana Kementerian saya sekarang bertanggung-jawab dalam perkara ini, segala jawatan<sup>2</sup> yang berkaitan dengan ranchangan ini telah di-tukarkan daripada Kementerian Hal-Ehwal Dalam Negeri ka-Kementerian saya. Jawatan<sup>2</sup> itu ada-lah di-tunjokkan di-dalam Butiran 66 hingga 74 di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 1. Sa-terus-nya pula peruntukan baharu di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 28 ada-lah merupakan pertukaran peruntukan daripada Kementerian Kebajikan 'Am. Peruntukan<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah mustahak kerana hendak menyamakan dan menyatukan gerakan<sup>2</sup> Perkumpolan Perempuan Kebangsaan di-dalam kawasan<sup>2</sup> luar bandar dengan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang di-jalankan oleh Bahagian Pelajaran Dewasa dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Kementerian saya.

Berhubung dengan peruntukan di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 10, sukachita saya menyatakan bahawa peruntukan ini ada-lah satu peruntukan baharu bagi menjalankan dan menyelenggarakan tiga buah Taman Asohan yang telah di-ambil oleh oleh Kementerian saya mulai awal tahun ini. Taman<sup>2</sup> Asohan ini terpaksa di-ambil oleh daripada MARA oleh kerana tujuan Kementerian saya hendak menchantumkan kerja<sup>2</sup>-nya dengan Ranchangan Pelajaran Dewasa Kementerian saya. Taman<sup>2</sup> Asohan ini ada-lah di-gunakan sa-bagai Pusat<sup>2</sup> Latehan bagi melateh Guru<sup>2</sup> Urusan Rumah Tangga yang mengajar di-dalam kelas<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar.

Tambahan<sup>2</sup> di-dalam peruntukan di-bawah gaji, ia-itu Pechahan Kepala 1, ada-lah terutama-nya di-sebabkan oleh pengadaan jawatan<sup>2</sup> di-bawah Butiran 9, 12, 75, 76 dan 77, dan juga oleh sebab penukaran jawatan<sup>2</sup> yang berhubung dengan kerja<sup>2</sup> pembangunan daripada Pejabat Setia Usaha Federal, Kuching. Tambahan<sup>2</sup> itu juga ada-lah di-sebabkan oleh penukaran jawatan<sup>2</sup> yang berkaitan dengan Pembangunan Dharurat dan Perumahan Semula daripada Kementerian Hal-Ehwal Dalam Negeri kepada Kementerian saya. Dua jawatan<sup>2</sup> Kerani dan satu Juru Meshin Operator di-bawah Butiran<sup>2</sup> 9 dan 12 di-bawah Kementerian saya ada-lah terutama-nya dengan tujuan menguatkan lagi kaki-tangan<sup>2</sup> pekerja di-Kementerian saya bagi mengeluarkan pemberian<sup>2</sup> welfare. Jawatan<sup>2</sup> baharu yang di-bawah Butiran<sup>2</sup> 75 hingga 80 dan di-bawah Butiran<sup>2</sup> 85 hingga 90 ada-lah bagi Jabatan<sup>2</sup> Pelajaran Dewasa di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak. Pembukaan Jabatan<sup>2</sup> itu telah di-laksanakan pada awal tahun ini bagi meluaskan rancangan pelajaran dewasa di-kedua<sup>2</sup> Negeri Borneo ini.

Lain<sup>2</sup> tambahan di-bawah gaji ia-lah tambahan<sup>2</sup> tahunan atas gaji kaki-tangan Kementerian saya. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum bahawa peruntukan bagi tanda sahaja (token votes) ada-lah di-kehendakki di-bawah Butiran<sup>2</sup> 23, 24, 25, 26, 50 dan 51. Peruntukan<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah semata<sup>2</sup> bertujuan melindungi hak<sup>2</sup> penchen pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan yang di-pinjamkan kepada Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat dan Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Persekutuan.

### PELAJARAN DEWASA

Tuan Pengerusi, bagi menemui kehendak<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat, Kementerian saya akan membuka 4,000 kelas baharu dalam tahun 1966. Sungguh pun demikian, ini tidak-lah akan memberi kesan kepada had 12,700 kelas yang boleh di-buka dalam sa-tahun kerana menjelang akhir tahun ini pelajar<sup>2</sup> di-dalam 4,000 kelas Peringkat Tinggi akan menamatkan kursus tiga tahun mereka.

Berkenaan dengan kelas pelajaran dewasa, saya suka menyatakan bahawa sekarang ini ada lebih kurang 270,000 pelajar di-semua peringkat rancangan pelajaran dewasa. Jumlah perbelanjaan Bahagian Pelajaran Dewasa, jika di-bandingkan dengan perbelanjaan tahun yang sudah ada menunjukkan tambahan sa-banyak \$715,572 dan ini ada-lah di-sebabkan oleh penubuhan kelas<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dewasa di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak, apabila rancangan pelajaran dewasa di-lancharkan di-kedua<sup>2</sup> buah Negeri itu. Hingga sekarang Kementerian saya telah menubuhkan 727 kelas pelajaran dewasa di-kedua<sup>2</sup> Negeri itu dan jumlah ini akan di-naikkan kepada 1,400 kelas dalam tahun 1966. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum bahawa rancangan pelajaran

dewasa Kementerian saya ini bukan-lah bertujuan hendak menghapuskan buta huruf sahaja di-dalam Negeri ini, tetapi ada-lah juga bertujuan hendak mengadakan ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> yang tahu-menahu serba sedikit di-dalam ilmu<sup>2</sup> pengetahuan yang kena-mengena dengan kehidupan mereka sa-hari<sup>2</sup>, ia-itu pelajar<sup>2</sup> bukan-lah sahaja di-beri ajaran di-dalam membacha, menulis dan membuat kira<sup>2</sup>, tetapi juga di-ajar mata<sup>2</sup> pelajaran seperti tata ra'ayat, ugama bagi pelajar<sup>2</sup> Islam dan juga urusan rumah tangga bagi pelajar<sup>2</sup> wanita. Di-dalam lapangan Ekonomi Rumah Tangga Kementerian saya telah menubuhkan 2,030 buah kelas dan dalam tahun 1966 Kementerian saya ada membuat rancangan bagi meninggikan jumlah ini kepada 2,500 kelas.

#### RANCHANGAN<sup>2</sup> BELANJA PENGULANGAN TAHUNAN— \$10,069,433

Berhubung dengan perkara ini, tambahan seperti yang terdapat dalam Pechahan Kepala 13 telah di-sebabkan oleh pengambilan beberapa Penyelia tambahan untuk menguatkan lagi jumlah Penyelia<sup>2</sup> yang ada sekarang. Pengambilan Penyelia<sup>2</sup> tambahan ini ada-lah perlu kerana sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> Daerah, di-sebabkan oleh kesulitan<sup>2</sup> perhubungan, ada-lah di-kehendakki lebeh daripada sa-orang Penyelia bagi menjalankan pekerjaan mereka yang boleh memberi kesan. Tambahan dalam Pechahan Kepala 14 ada-lah di-sebabkan oleh tambahan jumlah guru<sup>2</sup>, hasil dari penubuhan kelas<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dewasa di-Sabah dan Sarawak. Sunggoh pun ada-nya tambahan<sup>2</sup> ini dan juga tambahan bagi perbelanjaan baharu di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 10, pengurangan yang besar telah di-perbuat di-dalam peruntokan "Pengangkutan dan Perjalanan (Transport and Travelling)" di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 7 dan 18. Dengan pengurangan peruntokan wang bagi "Pengangkutan dan Perjalanan" di-bawah dua<sup>2</sup> Pechahan Kepala ini, Kementerian ini mungkin mendapat kesulitan bagi menyelenggarakan tugas<sup>2</sup>-nya. Tetapi segala usaha<sup>2</sup> akan di-buat bagi menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup> Kementerian ini dengan peruntokan ini.

#### BELANJA KHAS—\$981,175

Sekarang saya sampai pula kepada soal perbelanjaan khas yang menunjukkan tambahan bagi keseluruh-nya sa-banyak \$99,055 ia-itu lebeh daripada peruntokan pada tahun 1965. Tambahan ini ada-lah terutama-nya di-sebabkan oleh pengadaan kelas<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dewasa di-Sabah dan Sarawak dan juga penukaran tanggung-jawab dalam melaksanakan Rancangan Pembangunan Dharurat di-Sabah dan Sarawak kepada Kementerian ini. Wang bantuan kepada Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal<sup>2</sup> Haji di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 32 telah dikurangkan sa-banyak \$10,000. Wang bantuan ini ada-lah di-kehendakki oleh Perbadanan tersebut bagi menyelenggarakan belanja pentadbiran bagi tahun 1966. Bagaimana pun, saya suka mengambil kesempatan



memberitahu Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat bahawa Perbadanan ini hingga sekarang telah berjaya mendaftarkan sa-ramai 18,640 orang penyimpan dan telah mengumpulkan wang sa-banyak \$1,947,845. Wang<sup>2</sup> simpanan ini telah di-jadikan tanaman modal di-dalam lapangan<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dan perusahaan yang berfaedah. Saya sukachita juga menyatakan di-sini bahawa Perbadanan ini hingga sekarang telah menunjukkan tanda<sup>2</sup> kejayaan. Saya tidak shak lagi bahawa Perbadanan ini akan memainkan peranan yang sangat berharga dan berkesan di-dalam pembangunan ekonomi Negara, terutama sekali di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> luar bandar.

Peruntokan \$280,000 di-bawah perbelanjaan khas Pechahan Kepala 34—pengeluaran buku<sup>2</sup> text, ada-lah di-kehendakki bagi mencetak buku<sup>2</sup> text termasuk-lah buku<sup>2</sup> bacaan tambahan bagi kegunaan kelas<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dewasa. Buku<sup>2</sup> text ini ada-lah di-jual kepada pelajar<sup>2</sup> dengan harga 25% daripada harga jumlah mengeluarkan-nya. Peruntokan sa-banyak \$280,000 di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 35—Kursus Latehan Kakitangan dan Guru<sup>2</sup> ada-lah di-kehendakki bagi melateh guru<sup>2</sup> dan kakitangan<sup>2</sup> kelas<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dewasa. Peruntokan ini ada-lah perlu bagi melateh guru<sup>2</sup> yang baharu di-ambil dan kakitangan<sup>2</sup>, berkenaan dengan chara<sup>2</sup> mengajar orang<sup>2</sup> dewasa dan tata ra'ayat; mereka akan di-beri kursus supaya menimbulkan semangat baharu pembangunan; mereka akan di-beri pelajaran dan di-lateh supaya chukup mengetahui berkenaan tujuan<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan terhadap ranchangan pelajaran dewasa. Peruntokan ini juga akan di-gunakan bagi mengadakan kursus<sup>2</sup> ulangkaji untok guru<sup>2</sup> yang baharu.

Peruntokan \$38,000 di-bawah Pechahan Kepala 41 ada-lah bertujuan bagi membeli 3 buah land rover yang akan di-gunakan oleh Pasokan Kereta Penerangan bagi Pelajaran Dewasa. 2 buah akan di-tugaskan di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Sabah dan Sarawak. Tuan Pengerusi, kereta<sup>2</sup> ini di-jangka akan menjalankan kempen<sup>2</sup> penerangan berkenaan Pembangunan Luar Bandar terutama sekali berkenaan dengan tugas<sup>2</sup> Bahagian Pelajaran Dewasa.

Akhir-nya, saya sukachita menyatakan bahawa anggaran peruntokan biasa Kementerian saya ini tidak-lah menunjukkan tambahan yang banyak jika di-bandingkan dengan peruntokan dalam tahun 1965 dan peruntokan ini telah di-kurangkan sa-rendah<sup>2</sup> yang boleh, bagi menyesuaikan dengan gerakan ekonomi Kerajaan yang sedang berjajan sekarang ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, dengan hormat-nya saya bantangkan anggaran ini.

## SEAP GAMES: TUN RAZAK'S SPEECH

*An English translation of the speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the opening of the 3rd SEAP Games at Stadium Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur, on Tuesday, December 14, 1965.*

Your Majesties the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong.

The Honourable Prime Minister,

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I, as President of the SEAP Games Federation, wish to convey our unlimited thanks to Their Majesties for having graciously consented to attend this historic event this evening. I also wish to thank His Majesty for having graciously consented to declare open this meet.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today is really a historic day not only for Malaysia but for the whole of South-East Asia and this ceremony is a radiant one in the world of sports and evidence of the existence of goodwill and mutual friendship among our neighbour countries.

We see athletes from Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia line up smartly in front of us today. They will compete shoulder-to-shoulder in the 3rd SEAP Games. I believe all of you who are present here feel happy and proud.

As the President of the SEAP Games Federation, I gladly wish to welcome you all to Kuala Lumpur, the venue of the Games.

The idea of holding the Games among the countries of South-East Asia was first mooted in Tokyo when the Asian Games were held in 1958. Representatives from South-East Asian countries taking part in the Games agreed to hold their own small Olympics in South-East Asia biennially. This proposal received great support and the first meet was held in Bangkok in 1959, the second in Rangoon in 1961.

The SEAP Games which start today are the third in the series. Phnom Penh was scheduled to be host of this meet in 1963, but Cambodia was unable to organise and make arrangements for the Games then, and the honour was given to Malaysia. We received the honour with happiness, open arms and heart.

We in Malaysia are very happy to play host to this historic Games because we fully believe that the best way to express friendliness among the various races is through the field of sports, with the feeling

of goodwill and understanding together in the true spirit of sportsmanship. In the field of sports men and women athletes from the various countries will meet, get to know one another and exchange views among themselves, forgetting differences, in race and ways of thinking. Here it is not money that is wanted or sought after, but honour of achievement and success. Each person or team realises that winning or losing depends on the endurance and ability of the person or team.

We in Malaysia are trying our best to look after and to make our friends taking part in the Games feel at home during their stay in Kuala Lumpur. We hope our friends will have a happy and enjoyable time in this country. We also hope that during their stay they will come to understand that we the citizens of Malaysia truly wish to live in friendliness and understanding with the other races of South-East Asia. We in Malaysia always desire to live in peace with our neighbouring countries, honouring each other's independence and way of living so that all the countries can move forward in close co-operation and friendliness towards progress and happiness.

I now gladly call upon His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to declare the 3rd SEAP Games open.

**KUALA LUMPUR,**

*14th December, 1965.*

SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTER IN MOVING THE ADOPTION OF  
THE FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN 1966-70—CMD. 45/65  
IN DEWAN RA'AYAT ON WEDNESDAY, 15TH  
DECEMBER, 1965

Mr Speaker Sir,

I beg to move this motion: "This House recognising the need to promote the integration of the peoples and states of Malaysia and to build a more united, secure and prosperous nation, approves the objectives, priorities and programmes of the First Malaysia Plan as set out in Command Paper No. 45 of 1965. In adopting the Plan, this House calls upon Malaysians from all walks of life who have the welfare of the country at heart, to strive to accomplish the challenging task of meeting the aspirations of all our people for a better life and a higher standard of living by fulfilling the objectives and goals of the Plan".

I. ALLIANCE POLICY FOR UNITY AND PROGRESS

Sir, I rise to propose no ordinary motion! I rise to move before this Parliament, this symbol of our democracy, a plan for economic and social development for the next five years—a plan of purpose and determination to enable our country to travel yet further on the road to accelerated progress and prosperity—a plan to give Malaysia its rightful place in the international, economic community of free nations of the world.

We in Malaysia are seasoned travellers on the path of progress. We have been envied by other less fortunate nations for breaking the development speed barrier in this international race towards economic progress and stability.

We have quietly forged ahead from strength to strength on a firm foundation of sound security, stability, good economic planning and even more important, the determination and ability to translate our plans into action.

Mr Speaker, Sir, almost every developing country in the world has a Five-Year Plan, but a plan in itself does not mean anything. A Plan on paper without the will and energy to put it into practice does not bring any benefit to the people and to the country. However, I am glad to say, Sir, that as this historic day heralds the launching of our Plan for the future, it also records the success in the implementation of the previous Five-Year Plan which, inspite of defence commitments in countering confrontation and aggression has nevertheless achieved the targets which this Government set to achieve in 1961.

I am proud to say that in many sectors of the 1961-1965 Development Plan, we exceeded the aims we set ourselves.

The Opposition, particularly those who are blind followers of outdated doctrines and political philosophies formulated many years ago—by such people as Karl Marx and Engels, allege that the Alliance Government has no political philosophy and therefore any development plan without a philosophy cannot possibly succeed and cannot benefit the people. To those intellectuals who are so philosophically conscious, I say categorically that the Alliance has a philosophy, a philosophy that is bearing fruit in actual practice and the evidence of its success lies in the progress that we, as a young nation, have achieved since independence.

We have achieved results from Merdeka to Malaysia, from stability to success, from peace to prosperity and the Alliance philosophy is Progress.

We are, Mr Speaker, Sir, a progressive Government, our ideas and our thinking aptly meet present day needs and the needs of our people whom we put foremost in our minds before any selfish aim or political gain. But we are not in the habit of misleading the electorate with cries and slogans of outdated doctrines taken out from outdated philosophies or torn away from text books.

We are essentially, both in our philosophy and practice, a Government elected by the people, close to the people and representing the wishes of all sections of our people. We believe that it is for the electorate, for the people to decide what direction it wishes the country to progress. It is then for the politician to create a vision of this progress and to make the people see his vision as he sees it. It is for the politician to give words to this vision and turn it into policy. It is then for Government servants to give form to policy and to translate political wishes into reality. This, Sir, is our philosophy of democracy and this is our definition of democratic practice for development and progress which we have applied over the last ten years with success.

Let us go back to the years leading towards independence. None of us in those days, even with the greatest optimism could have dared visualize a prosperous Malaysia as she is today. Mr Speaker, Sir, public memory is short. It very soon forgets. Sometimes, worse still, the memory of the Opposition is even shorter and I am not quite sure whether they maliciously forget or will not admit the progress that we in the Alliance Government have achieved since we took over the reins of Government from the days of colonialism.

I ask this House to compare the memory of the days of under-development before Merdeka and the difference between our country

as it was ten years ago and as it stands now today as a prosperous nation to which all of us are proud to belong. This present day prosperous Malaysia is in fact the vision which the Alliance saw through the clouds of colonialism and that vision was formed in all its aspects. And that has been given form, formulated in terms of the administrative machine of our country and put into practice in our schools, in our villages, in our factories, on our land and in our homes.

We the Alliance are proud to have the honour of leading our nation on the march of progress towards the fulfilment of this vital vision of a vigorous and prosperous nation. The vision of the future is even more hopeful.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to give credit to those many Members of Parliament on the correct side of this House who entered into the spirit of creating this true vision of independence and worked day and night, travelling tirelessly around the country, putting force and realism into our vision and the implementation of our development aspirations. I thank each one of them for their unselfish services to the country over the last five years in putting development and national progress before selfish gain. It would not be out of place if these Alliance Members of Parliament were allowed to applaud themselves because they deserve it.

Secondly, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to give particular credit to those who have no voice in this House even when their devotion is discredited by some members of the Opposition. I would like to give credit and high praise to the many thousands, who cannot applaud themselves, the Administrators, Engineers, Doctors, and all the other Civil Servants, too numerous to mention, for the loyalty, dedication, hard work and enthusiasm which they have given as a major contribution towards the development progress of our country during the implementation of our last Five-Year Plan.

It is not my intention, Mr Speaker, Sir, before introducing this Plan, to give a lecture on Alliance philosophy, because any Member of this House can quite easily learn much more about it merely by having the good sense to pay a small subscription to an office somewhere along Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman and join the most progressive and sensible party in this country, and a party which serves the people well and truly and has succeeded in translating the vision of a happy and prosperous Malaysia into a reality.

We are a nation of many races, many cultures; a country in which all are allowed to practise many religions, and Alliance philosophy and policy have facilitated us to advance coolly, continuously and with good conscience; and the practice of our policy has never been done

in the heat of passion, spasmodically or under the threat of subsequent remorse; and it is only with this cool, sensible and unemotional Alliance leadership will we weld together our various races and cultures into a stable, happy Malaysia living in harmony and progressing in unity.

To do this and to enable us to develop—in order to achieve unity and economic progress, we need a heavy dose of nationalism as a necessary stimulant, but let us, and this is Alliance philosophy, always think of our nationalism within the correct and balanced context of internationalism.

We have the basic assets of sound democracy, a great potential of natural resources and a people, who, in the last five years have shown themselves capable of advancing faster than our own expectations.

We have also the most important stimulant for development—national unity—which has been forged by the Alliance Government.

Sekarang Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum saya menerangkan butir<sup>2</sup> Pelan ini, patut saya menerangkan kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan ini apa sebab-nya Pelan ini belum lagi di-terjemahkan ka-dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Pada bulan Ogos apabila Pelan ini hampir siap di-susun, Pelan Negeri Singapura pun termasuk juga, akan tetapi dengan perpisahan Singapura dari Malaysia, Pelan ini hendak-lah di-susun sa-mula. Oleh sebab itu Pelan baharu ini terlewat di-sediakan dan tidak ada masa untok di-terjemahkan ka-Bahasa Kebangsaan sa-belum di-bawa ka-hadapan Dewan ini. Walau pun demikian terjemahan-nya akan di-siapkan dengan seberapa segera yang boleh.

The Government and people of Malaysia can rightfully be proud of the achievements of our country during the last few years. Malaysia itself was established only two years ago. Since that date it has had to contend with incessant aggression from a much larger neighbour, but it has withstood this danger successfully. Besides this external threat to her independence, Malaysia has also had to contend with internal political difficulties which finally led the separation of one of its States. Many waverers and our enemies were of the opinion that this would lead to the disintegration of the Nation. But they have been proved wrong. Separation with Singapore was effected constitutionally and peacefully. Malaysia remains united and strong.

The problems standing in the way of the economic progress of the country have also been formidable. But the advances which have been made in the campaign against poverty, illiteracy and disease too, have been significant. Malaysia embarks upon its future with a stronger foundation for bringing about greater unity and a more prosperous and happier life for its people than they have ever known before. It is with this paramount objective in view that the Government has formulated the First Malaysia Plan which I now commend to this House.

## II. PROGRESS DURING 1961-65

The dramatic progress achieved in the economic and social development of the country is indeed a credit to the Nation especially when account is taken of the many economic and political problems which confronted us. In fact it can be said with justification that the way in which we have forged ahead in developing this country and the consequential changes which have been brought about can be said to be a "silent revolution."

In the last five years, average income in the country has risen by almost 15% despite the fact that population has been growing at one of the highest rates in the world, and despite the fact that the country's earnings from the production and sale of natural rubber—its principal product—have been falling. This is indeed a notable achievement. The rate of growth of income achieved is high by international standards, especially in comparison with other developing countries with rapidly growing populations.

Employment has also increased significantly. In Malaya, where the problem of unemployment is serious in comparison with the Borneo States where it is negligible, about 345 thousand jobs were created. As a result, the rate of unemployment of the male and female labour force remained at about 6%. This rate compares not unfavourably with other nations which are at the same stage of development as Malaysia.

Concurrent with these increases in national income and employment, a transformation in the character of the economy has also been initiated. Although there is still a long way to go, the evidence of the change that is occurring is clearly discernible. The first steps have been taken in the process of reducing the dependence of the economy on rubber and tin. Agricultural production has begun to be diversified. The production of oil palm, livestock, fish and forest products has increased rapidly. A beginning has also been made in the industrialisation of the economy. As a result, locally manufactured goods of many types have begun to replace imports. The development of petroleum refining in Malaya is a good example. In 1960, all imports of petroleum fuels entered in product form, by 1964 only 41% entered as petroleum products, while the remaining 59% entered as crude petroleum for domestic refining.

These achievements are testimony to the efforts of our farmers, industrialists, technicians and administrators, who, by their hard work and enterprise have made it possible for this country to offer an improving standard of living to our people. These achievements also attest to the size and effectiveness of this Government's economic and social development programmes—expenditure on which was about two and a half times as great as the amount spent during 1956-60.



In fact, as the country's export earnings grew only very slowly because of falling rubber prices, the rapid increase of public investment during the last five years was one of the principal causes of the high rate of growth in income which was achieved. But more important than this immediate benefit, is the fact that a firmer base for future economic and social development has been laid. In Malaya about 2,300 miles of roads were constructed, compared with about 600 miles during the 1956-60 period. Port capacity was expanded at Port Swettenham. The number of telephones installed increased, trunk lines were extended into new areas and the quality and capacity of existing trunk lines were raised. Electricity generation capacity expanded by 64% while the average daily output of water increased by 54%. With all these achievements, a reasonably sound economic infrastructure of transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems has been created.

The development effort of the Government has also resulted in improving the long-run productivity of our natural and human resources, particularly in the rural areas. About 145,000 acres of virgin land were opened up by the F.L.D.A. for the settlement of twelve thousand families. The completion of several irrigation and drainage projects raised the acreage of padi land capable of being double-cropped fivefold from 38,000 acres in 1960 to 193,000 acres in 1965. Total planted acreage increased from 941,000 to 980,000 acres. An estimated 760,000 acres of land belonging to smallholders were planted or replanted with high-yielding rubber, bringing the acreage under high-yielding rubber to 890,000 acres or about 50% to total smallholder acreage. In the field of education, Sir, an additional 6,000 classrooms were constructed in primary schools and 3,000 in secondary schools. As a result, primary school enrolments increased from 980,000 to 1,200,000 and secondary school enrolments rose from 100,000 to 275,000. During the same period, the school-leaving age was increased from 12 to 14 years and a re-organisation of the secondary school system was effected with the introduction of the comprehensive system of education. Rapid progress was also made in college and university education.

In addition to the efforts of the government in building up the Malayan economy, Honourable Members will note that social and community services have been improved and expanded, particularly in the rural areas. Hospital capacity was raised and a total of 31 main health centres, 132 sub-centres and 645 midwives clinics was constructed in the rural areas. The number of rooms available through public housing schemes tripled between 1960 and 1965, thus helping to meet the heavy demand for housing created by the rapid increase in urban population. Electricity and telephone services were extended to many rural areas. With all these projects, the already high standard of social and community services in Malaya was further improved. What is also

important is the fact that whereas in the past these facilities were negligible in the rural areas, they are now becoming numerous. No one can dispute that a radical change for the better has been effected in the face of the rural countryside.

In Sabah and Sarawak, almost 35% more was spent on the development effort than was the case in the two previous years before the establishment of Malaysia. The rapid increase in Government's development activities has not only contributed to the enlargement of incomes in these States but has also strengthened and broadened their base for future economic and social development. The Government would have liked to have done much more for these States. But the time which has elapsed since the establishment of Malaysia has been too short to bring about striking changes. Nevertheless, taking the period of the last five years as a whole, some concrete advances have been made. The initial steps in the creation of an adequate economic infra-structure in Sabah and Sarawak have been taken. Road mileage expanded by 72% while electricity generation capacity increased by 84%. In the field of agriculture, measures were taken to promote an efficient system of settled cultivation. Many new land settlement schemes were established. In Sabah, oil palm as well as rubber is being grown on such schemes. In both States, increased attention was also given to extensive replanting of low-yielding rubber with high-yielding material.

Looking back on the progress which has been achieved, we can justifiably draw satisfaction from the efforts which we have made. We have toiled, struggled and sacrificed and our efforts have been amply rewarded.

### III. FIRST MALAYSIAN PLAN: OBJECTIVES

Now looking forward into the future, we need to consolidate our successes, learn from our mistakes and re-dedicate ourselves to even greater efforts. We certainly cannot afford to be complacent. Our attainments in the last five years constitute only the initial step in the process of bringing about a truly developed Malaysia. Much more remains to be done and the First Malaysia Plan is our blue-print of what must be done by the Government and the people during the next five years.

The First Malaysia Plan has four primary objectives. The first is to promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia by embarking upon a development plan explicitly designed to promote the welfare of all; the second objective is to provide steady increases in levels of income and consumption for our people and those in other low income groups; the third objective is to generate employment opportunities at a rate sufficient to provide productive work for new entrants to the labour force and to lower the rate of unemployment;

the fourth is to continue to stimulate new kinds of economic activity, both agricultural and industrial, so as to reduce Malaysia's economic dependence on rubber and tin.

#### IV. PROBLEMS AND TASKS AHEAD

The attainment of these objectives is a difficult task for there are many problems which we have to face. The most serious of these problems are the prospect of a continuing decline in the price of rubber and the depletion of known tin reserves. The production and marketing of these two export commodities constitute at present our major source of income and employment. As their immediate prospects are not particularly bright, the task of progressively increasing our national income become challenging. It is crucial that we find new sources of income and employment.

A second major problem which confronts us is our extremely high rate of population growth. At about three per cent a year, this rate is one of the highest in the world. It is staggering to realise that if this rate of growth is not checked, Malaysia's population, which is now about nine-and-a-half million people, will double in twenty-five years' time. While there are possibilities for reducing the rate of population growth in the long-run, in the short space of the next five years, no substantial reduction can be effected. The population of Malaysia will grow to about eleven million by 1970 and this presents a serious challenge indeed to the effort to provide rising income levels and improved social services.

#### V. STRATEGY FOR PROGRESS

Sir, in order to attain the objectives of steadily increasing income and reducing unemployment during the period when our population is increasing rapidly and the value of our traditional exports is likely to grow only slowly, the Plan calls for the development of new patterns of economic activity. It calls for the development of new export products, in particular oil palm and timber, for which there are bright prospects. But traditional export commodities are not likely to earn enough foreign exchange over the next five years to pay for our import needs. Therefore the Plan accords top priority to the production within Malaysia of an accelerated volume of those commodities which are at present imported. There are favourable prospects for substituting domestic production for imports in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors. The production of foodstuffs and other agricultural commodities for which reliance on imports is heavy must be increased. Most important of all, the extremely good opportunities which exist for increased output of manufactured goods for the domestic market must be exploited. Only if all these possibilities are seized will it be possible to sustain the growth of the economy in the long run.

To bring about the exploitation of all immediate possibilities for increasing production, to strengthen the base of our economy for future growth and to provide social and community services for all our people, and in particular those in the low income groups, it will be necessary for the country to spend a sum of \$10,500 million on development during the next five years. The public sector's share in this total is \$4,550 million and that for the private sector is \$5,950 million. If these targets are reached—and the Government is confident that they will be—average income in the country will rise by over five per cent. Although this rate of increase is modest, it will be a considerable achievement, in the face of relatively unfavourable external factors, to protect per capita income levels from declining and help them to rise, at the same time to lay the foundations for a new economic structure. Moreover, the anticipated rise in income levels will accumulate to substantial improvements in a few years' time. As far as employment is concerned, nearly 380,000 new jobs are likely to be created in Malaya and 80,000 in Sabah and Sarawak making a total of 460,000 new jobs for Malaysia. This will reduce unemployment from its present rate of six per cent of the labour force to about five per cent in 1970—a rate comparable with that of even some of the most developed countries in the world. This will indeed be a considerable achievement and will result in the creation of sufficient employment to match the growth of the labour force.

Even more important than the immediate income and employment goals of the Plan are the preparations it embodies for accelerated development in the long-run. The emphasis given in the Plan to education and training, to rural development and the diversification of economic activities, to family planning and to applied agricultural and industrial research, will yield sizeable returns in the years ahead. The First Malaysia Plan has been formulated as the initial phase in a 20-year Perspective Plan of economic and social development, which envisages the attainment of a level of income per capita of \$1,500 by 1985. The achievement of this long-run target will require that the First Malaysia Plan is implemented successfully and that a rising tempo of development is attained in subsequent Five-Year development plans.

## VI. ROLE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

A major share of the responsibility for attaining the income and employment objectives of the Plan will lie with the private sector. In the past, private enterprise has served the cause of development in Malaysia with considerable effectiveness. It has injected into the economy a degree of vigour and initiative which is one of our greatest assets. The Government is confident that Malaysia's entrepreneurs, whose number and quality is increasing daily, will continue to render significant service in the solution of the challenging economic tasks ahead.

## VII. ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

For its part, the Government will provide whatever technical and capital assistance are necessary. It will expand and orient its educational system to train the men and women required to modernise and energise the Malaysian economy. It will strengthen in Malaya and expand considerably in the Borneo States, our transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems—all of which are the physical foundations of our economy. And it will continue to improve the already high level of social and community services available in the country so that all Malaysians will have the opportunity of leading a fuller, better and more satisfying life.

For its part also, the Government will continue to strive for equality of economic opportunity for all Malaysians. It is all too evident today that despite the massive efforts of the Government in recent years, there are still insufficient opportunities for low-income groups to better themselves. Under the First Malaysia Plan, therefore, the Government will intensify its efforts to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population and other low income groups in urban areas to improve their levels of economic and social well-being. Our work in this direction will not slacken until we are completely satisfied that every Malaysian has the opportunity to participate in the development of his country and to receive in return the fruits of his efforts.

## VIII. DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE

For all these economic and social development programmes, the Government will spend some \$3,810 million during the next five years. The bulk of this allocation will be for economic projects. Of this allocation, over \$1,000 million will be for agricultural and rural development. The remainder will be for roads, posts, communications, power, water supplies and other economic services. More than \$800 million will be for social services, of which education expenditure will take up more than half. Housing will take up \$190 million largely for low-cost housing and accommodation for public employees in the industrial and manual group. This programme will enable an intensified phase of housing development to take place so that the most immediate problems posed by the housing shortage will be met. The allocation for social services also provides for a large programme of family planning to be initiated. Family planning will be popularised and family planning services will be made available to those who desire them. I have already referred to the serious problem posed by the country's very rapid rate of population growth. The family planning programme will enable the groundwork for less rapid population growth to be laid. Action in this regard is of the utmost urgency for if the current rate of growth of our population is not checked, it will be difficult for this country to provide increasing incomes and adequate education and social services to future generations.

All the Government's economic and social development efforts will complement the programmes of the private sector and together they will provide substantial benefits to the people in the rural as well as the urban areas, particularly to those in the low income groups. Besides the \$1,000 million to be spent on agriculture and rural development projects, which will directly benefit the rural people by raising their productivity and income levels, expenditure in many other areas will also contribute to rural development. Much of the expenditure to be incurred for education, health, transportation and water supplies will be made in the rural areas. Malaysia's urban sector will also share in the development of social and economic services which will take place during the Plan period. Additional housing, education, health, transport and power facilities will contribute to making urban life more pleasant and productive.

On a regional basis, the allocation for economic and social development expenditure by the Government (excluding that for Defence and Internal Security) will be about \$3,110 million for Malaya, \$300 million for Sabah and \$400 million for Sarawak. The target for Malaya is about 32% more than similar expenditure in the last five years, while the targets for Sabah and Sarawak are greater by 47% and 57% respectively. The targets for Sabah and Sarawak are also substantially greater than those which the Central Government endeavoured to allocate when subscribing to the Inter-Governmental Committee Report prior to the establishment of Malaysia. Difficult as our financial position will be over the next five years, the Government is determined to ensure that as much as possible is spent in the development of these States. This is essential if their level of development is to be brought closer to that of Malaya. The targets for the Borneo States do provide for this. In fact, if the cost of accommodation facilities for the armed forces and police is taken into account, the total sums allocated to the Borneo States are more than 80% greater than the comparable amounts spent in 1961-65. They constitute the maximum amount of funds that can be used for the development effort within the technical and administrative capacities of Sabah and Sarawak.

#### IX. DEFENCE AND INTERNAL SECURITY EXPENDITURE

The development expenditure programme of the Government of \$4,550 million during 1966-70 also provides for \$740 million to be spent on expanding the nation's military and police capabilities so that with the help of our friends abroad, Malaysia will be able to withstand any potential threat from its enemies in and outside the country. It is unfortunate that expenditure of the scale envisaged for military and police requirements is necessary. But we have no choice in this matter. For so long as any threat against our existence and ideals is imminent, we must be prepared to meet it. All our efforts at

building up an independent, democratic, happy and prosperous Malaysia would come to nought if we were to be defeated by those powers and forces which are unceasingly attempting to subjugate this nation, its people, its ideals and its spirit.

## X. FINANCING OF THE PLAN

Mr Speaker, Sir, the First Malaysia Plan is indeed a bold programme. And its financing will present a challenging task to the Government for, in addition to the cost of the development effort, the Government's need for recurrent expenditure is also rapidly mounting. Every endeavour will be made to curb expenditure for recurrent purposes through intensified attempts to minimise the cost of Government operations. Even then the increases that will be required in recurrent expenditure will be sizable in view of the expanding and widening responsibilities of the Government particularly in the fields of education, health, communications and defence and internal security.

It is therefore unavoidable that the Government has to seek additional financial resources through taxes and charges of various kinds and further domestic borrowing. In this endeavour, we call for full co-operation from all Malaysians who have the interest of their country at heart. The Government will be constrained in its endeavour to promote economic and social development if Malaysians themselves do not continue to play their part in shouldering their responsibilities. The Government appreciates that Malaysians are already contributing in taxation a portion of their income which is comparable with that in many other progressive countries. We ask simply that all Malaysians accept the responsibility of contributing in taxation the same proportion of the country's national income throughout the next five years as they are doing today. We also ask that individuals, businesses and institutional investors increase their purchase of government securities. Honourable members will, I am sure, agree that in terms of the substantial benefits that will accrue to us and our children, these sacrifices will be worth making.

The Government will supplement resources obtained through taxation and domestic non-bank borrowing by running down its accumulated assets and by borrowing from the banking system. The amount which it is planned to obtain from the latter source has been very carefully considered for we are determined not to create inflationary conditions which would undermine this country's financial stability. Such a situation would prevent the attainment of our investment targets. It would also bring about much suffering for most of us since it would lead to progressive reduction in the purchasing power of our incomes.

After allowing for the recurrent expenditure needs of the Government during the next five years, the funds which will be available for public development expenditure will amount to \$2,650 million. As the development expenditure programme requires \$4,550 million, the government intends to finance the remainder of \$1,900 million by seeking foreign loans and foreign grant assistance. We will justify such support through continued financial policies which are sound and development policies which take every possible advantage of favourable opportunities for private and public economic progress.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Malaysia has received some assistance from many countries in and outside the Commonwealth in the last five years. For this we are indeed very grateful. In the next five years, when our problems and difficulties will multiply, it is our hope that our friends abroad will respond to our requests for much greater assistance than we have received in the past. We are confident that our requests will not go unheeded for they, as much as we, firmly believe that there is much the developed nations can do to help the poorer nations in their endeavour to obtain a higher standard of living. But if, for one reason or another, our confidence in their professed intentions is misplaced, then we shall have no alternative but to trim our development programmes. This would indeed be unfortunate, to say the least, for the programmes incorporated in the First Malaysia Plan have already been severely pruned and the level we have set is the minimum necessary for maintaining the tempo of development.

#### XI. SHORTAGE OF SKILLED MANPOWER.

Another problem which will affect the rate of economic progress in this country is the shortage of trained and skilled manpower. This will affect the development efforts of the Government as well as the private sector. The problem is particularly serious in Sabah where there is an acute shortage not only of skilled but even of unskilled manpower.

These shortages have resulted in a rate of development in the recent past which is lower than might otherwise have been achieved. Although significant progress has been made in increasing the output of trained and skilled personnel, the problem is still of sizable proportions. It will continue to constrain the development of the economy in the next five years. And if bold measures are not taken to step up the development of this nation's human resources immediately, the deficiency of skilled manpower will continue to plague us far into the future. This is predicament which we must avoid. In this age of science and technology, the rate of Malaysia's economic development will be determined not only by our material resources but also by our success in developing and in utilising effectively the intellectual capacities of our people. It is for this reason that high priority is being given



in the First Malaysia Plan to education and training. It is also for this reason that our education system is being re-fashioned. We want to meet not only the objectives of nation-building and universal literacy but also the economic goals of the country by producing an increasing number of Malaysian teachers, agricultural specialists, engineers, technicians, economists, doctors and administrators.

## XII. CONCLUSION

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have already indicated to this House the nature of the many economic and social problems which confront this Nation. We cannot and must not underestimate their gravity. Malaysia is too dependent on rubber and tin. Our population is growing much too rapidly. There are still wide disparities between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Our supply of skilled and trained manpower is much too low. By their very nature, these formidable problems cannot be solved over-night. But if they are not progressively attacked and ultimately resolved, then the Malaysian economy will in time come to an awful standstill. We have no time to lose. We must intensify the onslaught on our basic problems now.

We the Government and the people of this country must brave ourselves to this challenge. We must undertake all that is required of us to meet it. This Government commits its energies and its resources to this task. In turn, each and every Malaysian must similarly dedicate himself to do all that is within his power and his means for the development of his country. Only in this way will national prosperity be progressively achieved. Only in this way will all our people—in Malaya, in Sabah and in Sarawak—be provided with the opportunity of an increasingly better and happier life. The stakes are high. If we fail, national unity will be jeopardized and our very existence as a nation will be imperilled. If we succeed, and succeed we must, we will have taken a major step forward towards the creation of a more united, secure and prosperous Malaysia.

Sir, I beg to move.

## OPENING OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION

*Speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein at the Opening of the Malaysian Progress Exhibition at A.I.A. Building, Kuala Lumpur on Wednesday, December 15th 1965.*

Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I take very great pleasure in welcoming you at this opening of the Malaysian Progress Exhibition, which is being presented during the South East Asia Peninsula Games.

This occasion could not have occurred on a more appropriate day for two reasons. First, the debate on the Malaysian Five-Year Plan began in Parliament this morning, and second, because the SEAP Games, after the official opening yesterday, are now in the full swing of activities of the first day of competitions.

In officially opening this Exhibition of Malaysian Progress I am performing a double duty, as the SEAP Games Council is presenting another Exhibition at the Muzium Negara—an Exhibition of Malaysian Art and Crafts which will be open to the public during this great festival of sport from tomorrow until the end of the month.

These two Exhibitions, taken together, present a broad cross-section of the efforts and achievements of Malaysia at the present time—a panorama of national development, social progress and cultural advance.

Since 1957 the Government—first of Malaya and then of Malaysia—has launched and completed two Development Plans, and next month an even vaster programme of all-round development—the First Malaysian Five-Year Plan—will be initiated, making great demands in both the public and private sectors in more construction, greater investment and higher productivity.

This Five-Year Plan will be a tremendous challenge to the whole Malaysian nation, calling for all our energies, talents and skills, all our initiative and enterprise, and all the co-operation and team-work upon which a rapidly developing nation must depend if we are to achieve successfully the goals we are aiming for. Going by past experience, there is no doubt at all that Malaysia will meet and master the challenge.

In this Exhibition at the Balai Ampang the exhibits portray in photographs, charts and models many aspects of our past achievements as well as numbers of projects we intend to undertake. You can see here the improvements achieved in health and education, agriculture

and rural development, communications and transport, power and mining, as well as the vast expansion of trade and commerce, the extension of industry and manufacture, and of course, the greatly increased production of our basic primary commodities—in short, the life and work of a nation, determined to develop all its potential resources of natural and human wealth to achieve ever-rising standards of living for the betterment of all our people.

In tackling and achieving these manifold material ambitions, we have also reason to take pride in our cultural progress. The corollary exhibition at the Muzium Negara will give visitors and viewers a colourful survey of the ideas and interests of the artists and craftsmen of Malaysia.

But even these two Exhibitions do not tell the whole story of our nation in progress. The upsurge of Malaysia is tangible and visible all around us everyday, the feeling of forward impetus is part of our daily life. Each and every one of us has an active part to play in giving reality to all our aspirations and efforts, both in the present and in the future.

I am very pleased now to declare open for the information and interest of the public this Exhibition of Malaysian Progress today and the Exhibition of Malaysian Art and Crafts tomorrow.

KUALA LUMPUR,

*15th December, 1965.*

## DEWAN RA'AYAT

### 1966 DEVELOPMENT ESTIMATES—TUN RAZAK'S SPEECH

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House resolves that a sum not exceeding \$879,884,370 be expended out of the Development Fund in respect of the financial year 1966, and that, to meet the purposes of the Heads and Sub-heads set out in the 2nd column of the Statement, laid on the Table as Command Paper No. 32 of 1965, there be appropriated the sums specified opposite such Heads and Sub-heads in the 7th and 8th columns thereof."

In the last few days Honourable Members have debated on the new First Malaysia Plan. We are gratified by the response shown by Honourable Members and are also mindful of some of the constructive suggestions made. The Government is equally thankful for the various expressions of support and appreciation about what we are doing and will continue in our determination to uplift the economic and social wellbeing of Malaysians throughout the country.

The Development Budget for 1966, now presented to this House, represents the first phase in the implementation of the First Malaysia Plan. The total amount requested is about \$880 million and this is 10% more than the allocation for 1965. Of this amount about \$650 million is for economic and social development expenditure; another \$181 million is for defence and internal security purposes and the balance of \$40 million for the Contingencies Reserve required to meet urgent and unexpected supplementary allocations during the year.

It is considered that the total allocations of \$880 million will be adequate to meet the requirements for the first year of the Plan.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the formulation of this year's Development Budget has been guided by the twin considerations of economy and progress. By economy I do not mean a standstill budget. Rather and as in the past it involves the elimination of unnecessary expenditure on less essential projects and the minimisation of costs so that the funds released thereby can be used to meet other important programmes.

In the last quarter of the year the Government initiated an economy drive which is designed to keep the increases in recurrent and development expenditures within reasonable bounds consistent with the economic and financial position of the country. In other words the objective is to ensure that the financial resources that we obtain through taxation and other measures are effectively and prudently utilised. This calls for vigorous pruning down of expenditure proposals submitted by Ministries and Departments especially with regard to those items where substantial reductions could be made without jeopardising the purpose for which the projects were designed to meet.

At the same time, this is a budget of progress. The emphasis on economy in the use of public funds does not mean stagnation or a refusal to look upon new problems, new challenges and new opportunities that present themselves to this generation of Malaysians. Far from it. We in Malaysia will continue to work for a larger increment of progress. The efforts so far we have been making and will continue to make in the years to come will enable this country to move forward economically, socially and culturally.

The provisions entered in this Development Budget are concrete steps in this direction. They provide for strengthening and building up of our defence capability to meet the threats of external aggression and internal subversion. In the present circumstances no one can deny the necessity for these expenditures in order to safeguard the safety and sovereignty of this nation. The quest for national security and the maintenance of peace is costly. We are grateful for the assistance we have and will continue to receive from friendly Commonwealth countries. We thank them for their support in strengthening our own forces by providing additional men, materials and training facilities for Malaysian military personnel.

In the economic field, the Development Budget provides for the progressive development of our land and agricultural resources. We will continue with our rubber replanting programmes and will intensify the diversification of Malaysia's economy. The Budget also provides for the construction of new roads and bridges that will result in the opening up of new land development schemes besides making it possible for our farmers and traders to move their goods more speedily and at less cost.

Special mention should be made of Sabah and Sarawak where infrastructure development such as roads, ports, civil aviation and telecommunications has lagged behind the progress achieved in Malaya. It is our aim that the imbalance in the provision of such basic services should be rectified as speedily as possible and these receive priority attention in the First Malaysia Plan. A government that is progressive and democratic and that has served this country consistently for a decade cannot and will not tolerate conditions of dualism that exist between urban and rural areas and concerted efforts will continue to be made to remedy these.

In the education field, the provisions for Malaya are geared to providing the facilities needed under the new comprehensive schools system. The allocation for education this year amounts to about \$96 million against the total Plan allocation of \$440 million. Through this single endeavour we ensure to our young ones a good start in life which will prepare them to play a useful and meaningful role in society.

There are other areas which require active government assistance. One of these is in respect of the establishment of training facilities for skilled workers, apprentices, specialised research workers and technologists who are urgently required by government departments, private enterprises and firms.

The needs for housing of all types are admittedly very great and the Government's effort will be directed to alleviating the shortages experienced among lower income groups where the needs cannot or are not being met by private housing developers. Nevertheless, the efforts in the private sector are praiseworthy and it is my hope that property developers will also look to the needs of the lower income groups and in this way complement the activities of the Government in providing low-cost houses.

Government revenue is growing slowly, mainly because of the decline in the prices of our major export commodities. At the same time recurrent expenditure is increasing as a result of defence commitments and the rising level of development activities. The next few years will therefore be a period of some considerable financial strain although it is expected that by the early 1970s the fruits of our present development efforts will begin to be felt. In order for us to continue with the task of laying down the foundation for further economic growth, we will need very considerable amounts of external assistance more than ever before. The target that we have set for external assistance is \$1,900 million i.e. about \$1,000 million to be obtained in the form of loans and \$900 million by way of grant assistance. Clearly, the needs are great and the task important since the success of the Plan will depend on whether or not we can obtain this level of foreign assistance which represents about 40% of the total expenditure under the Plan.

In order to meet these targets the attention of all Ministries and Departments will be focussed on identifying projects that may be available for foreign financing and on assembling the necessary information needed for the preparation of projects briefs for transmission to potential donor countries and international agencies like the World Bank.

I should now like to touch upon the question of the phasing of development expenditure over the Plan period. The aim is to ensure a steady rise in the rate of development expenditure consistent with the availability of construction and supervisory capacity in order to avoid any tendencies towards inflation or deflation. For this reason the allocations for 1966 have been set so as not to exceed more than about

1/5 of the total amount of development expenditure under the Plan. It is particularly necessary to watch very carefully the inflationary situation in Sabah where it has become more noticeable in recent months. Otherwise the Government will continue to pay very high prices and get less value for the amount expended.

The government's activities under the First Malaysia Plan are only a part in the overall effort to raise incomes and are mainly designed to provide the impetus for the activities of the private sector. This country offers the promise of a vigorous nation; it has a favourable investment climate; a fast expanding economy and a potential market for a great variety of agricultural, manufactured and industrial goods. Very generous incentives are being offered to industrialists to establish their firms here. There are skilled and semi-skilled workmen to work in factories, estates and mining and there is a record of good industrial relations. Within this framework, I see the possibilities for a wide range of industries that can be set up to cater for the domestic market as well as overseas markets.

It is up to our industrialists to take advantage of these opportunities and together build up and expand the base of Malaysia's industrial production. A government that is dynamic becomes impatient if the free play of economic forces proves inadequate to the task or too slow in its response. This government has an array of policy instruments that can be used to assist and reward those that are willing to pioneer in fresh fields of activity and penalise the recalcitrant and the nonconformists. My hope is that we shall not be forced to resort to drastic measures as the costs will be very high.

The success of the Plan will depend on the extent to which all of us get ourselves involved in this process. I therefore ask from each and every citizen of the country, from all walks of life, to give his or her best in this effort. Much of the day to day administration and the leadership at the local district level will fall on government servants who in the past have shown a remarkable sense of urgency and purpose. The developed countries today are in the throes of the nuclear and space age. Ours belongs to an age of development revolution and our people must not be contented with what the government is doing for them. The ra'ayat must equally be development conscious and we seek their full co-operation to participate in welding a strong and vigorous nation. This government also asks that in the pursuit of the policies and programmes under this Plan the whole public service should maintain a high level of efficiency and excellence, should reduce red tape, break down traditional barriers and prejudices. Only with such an indomitable spirit can the country become truly progressive.

Mr Speaker, Sir, and Honourable Members. This Budget when approved will:

- (i) *meet* the requirements for the first year of Malaysia Plan;
- (ii) *Provide* for the strengthening of the defence capability of the nation against the threats of external aggression; against internal subversion and the maintenance of public security;
- (iii) *accelerate* the provision of basic and essential services e.g. roads and bridges, education and health facilities; water supplies, community centres, etc., particularly in the rural areas in order to redress conditions of imbalance between the town and the countryside;
- (iv) *advance* the development of the nation's human resources and welfare through education and training, to provide the skills and manpower requirements for an expanding economy;
- (v) *ensure* the economic and efficient use of public funds by enforcing severe pruning down of non-essential items of expenditure and through other cost reduction procedures.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
17th December, 1965.



SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTER AT THE GRADUATION DAY, DEWAN  
LATEHAN MARA PETALING JAYA, 18TH  
DECEMBER, 1965

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am glad to be here today and I am pleased to have the opportunity of presenting certificates to those of you who have successfully completed your studies in this College.

As you know, recently in Parliament I introduced our new Five-Year Development Plan—the First Malaysia Plan and I stressed the fact that if our new Plan is to succeed, and if our nation is to move forward to greater prosperity, then we need more investment; not only financial investment, but *investment in human resources*.

This can be done by increasing *tremendously* the output of skilled personnel, trained and capable of applying their skills with energy and efficiency, towards the main aim of our Plan—*greater productivity* on all fronts of the battle for economic development.

This Dewan Latehan is one such investment that my Government has made to increase our national output of human skills and as you know plans are being made to enlarge this Dewan.

I am glad to say that the proposed site for the new College, covering a hundred acres, has already been approved by the Selangor State Government and I would like to take this opportunity of thanking the Menteri Besar of Selangor and his Government for their generosity and co-operation on this matter.

Furthermore as you all know, although there was *no funeral ceremony*, the former RIDA *passed away* and has been replaced by a new completely reorganised, more vigorous MARA. Again with the object of stepping up our *investment in the human sector* of our Plan this new MARA has a special division for training and I hope that with intensified effort, hard work and sound plans, this Training Division will soon be able to show results in increased training, particularly for the Bumiputera.

I want to make it absolutely clear to everyone, everywhere throughout the whole country, even if it means my repeating it in every speech I make on development, that our new Development Plan will *not* succeed merely by the expenditure of funds on the part of Government, we will only succeed and we will only reach a high standard of economic development and prosperity if, combined with Government expenditure there is an *increased expenditure of effort* on the part of

all our peoples, and that effort in the case of people like yourselves, who are trained in this College to go out into the various walks of life and earn a living, your *effort* and *hard work* does not *stop on graduation day*, but must continue right on throughout your life in applying all your energy and ability the knowledge and skills that you have learnt here, and this application of hard work in your jobs is *your contribution* to the future development of Malaysia.

To those of you have not yet graduated and are still studying, and this applies to any Malaysians studying in any Malaysian educational institution, we must make the fullest use of every *single vacancy* that exists in our colleges and fast developing Malaysia has *no place for people* who do not take full advantage of the educational facilities given to them and if it is found that some are not working hard enough, not applying themselves with sufficient diligence, then those lazy ones *must remember*, that outside the walls of every college there are plenty other deserving students less fortunate because they were not given the opportunity of admission to the College but who are ready, waiting to take your place should you fail and have to be sent out of the College.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I know these are *hard words* but the keynote of our new Plan *must be hard work*, and the ability to face hard facts, and the realisation by all of us that only by the *application of an effort of the highest possible standard* can we ever hope for a *higher standard* of living and a *higher tempo* of national economic development.

As I said the other day, we are living in a modern world in which, with new inventions and new discoveries, more and more things become automatic, from the operation of telephones to the piloting of aeroplanes. But ladies and gentlemen, I like this to be fully understood by everyone of us, there is one thing in this modern world *which is not "automatic"*, and that is national development!

Our success in development over the next five years, in translating our First Malaysia Plan *into a physical reality, into tangible results*, will be measured by one thing alone—it will be measured in *direct ratio* to the amount of effort each and everyone of us puts into hard work, put into our own particular task as our own personal contribution to the development of our country.

Another aspect of Development Plan stresses the need for greater financial investment both by Malaysian and foreign investors and we must do everything possible to encourage investors throughout the free world to come to our shores and invest funds in factories, in industries and other commercial undertakings which will help the development of the industrial sector of our economy and so raise the standard of living of our people.

At the same time as we do this, it is my Government's policy to encourage the Malayanisation of firms financed by foreign funds.

But Malayanisation does not just mean substituting a Malaysian face for that of an expatriate.

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

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

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

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the many firms, business houses and agencies that they are responding to our appeal to have students of this College trained during their vacation by being attached to business organisations for short periods, from time to time.

And I would like to say how pleased I am that there already exists an extremely high standard of co-operation between the activities of all business firms in the private sector, and the activities of Government in the public sector.

One aspect of this high standard of co-operation which the private sector has given is in response from both local and foreign commercial firms to accept and implement my Government's policy to achieve greater participation by the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry.

By participation of the Bumiputera I do not mean "*Participation as passengers.*" I mean positive participation towards increased productivity.

As I have said before, there is nothing mysterious about commercial practice, but like any other form of work, training and the acquisition of the knowledge and skills is necessary if Bumiputeras are to take their correct place in the commerce of our country.

This Dewan Latehan has proved conclusively that you young people coming from the rural areas, if given the correct training and the correct skills, can with equal ability and with equal opportunity, be as successful in obtaining good jobs in commerce, and be as successful in business as any of your friends who have an urban education and background.

So, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel the spearhead of our policy for Bumiputera participation must be launched from the firm foundation of good and sound training programmes, both in this College and in the Training Division of MARA; and in addition to the Government effort in this field, I would like to see more private firms setting aside a little of their own profits and getting together to set up small business training institutions on their own initiative, so that they too, in the private sector, can play their part in helping our country in this great aim of human investment and skills so necessary for the future economic advancement of Malaysia.

Standing here today, I can almost hear the echo of the wit, humour, and sound commonsense of your last Principal, Enche Basha Merican who retired in September this year and I must pay tribute to him for the tremendous contribution he made to this College; I am sure that all of you will join me in giving him our heartfelt gratitude and thanks.

Also I would like to welcome your new Principal, Enche Arshad bin Ayub who has only recently joined the College as Principal, and I hope you again will join me in wishing him the best of luck and success in his important task as your Principal!

Lastly, I would like to congratulate the teaching staff of your College for the hard work and energy which they have put into the running of the College and the production of fully qualified graduates as we are proud to see passing out today.

You have all done a very great service to your country, and have done excellent work but nevertheless do not let us become complacent with praise, and I hope it is not expecting too much of you in the next five years to ask you to *even redouble* your efforts as your particular and personal contribution to our Malaysian Plan of human investment!

## TUN RAZAK ADDRESSES THIRD SEAP GAMES CLOSING CEREMONY

*Speech by the President of the SEAP Games Federation, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, at the closing of the 3rd SEAP Games at the Stadium Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur, at 7.30 p.m. on December 21, 1965:*

Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong dan Raja Permaisuri Agong.

Ampun Tuanku Beribu<sup>2</sup> Ampun. Patek sekali lagi menjunjong kaseh yang tidak terhingga kapada Ka-bawah Duli Tuanku dan Seri Paduka Adinda Raja Permaisuri Agong kerana sudi berchemar duli ka-Majlis yang bersejarah pada petang ini.

Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri,

Your Excellencies,

Honourable Ministers,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege this evening as President of the South-East Asia Peninsula Games Federation to make this final address at the ceremony which brings to a close the Third SEAP Games.

I do so with feelings of both pride and regret, with pride because these Games have achieved brilliant success, and with regret because this is the time for parting between friends.

For seven days we have seen sporting stars both men and women, even boys and girls, from our six neighbour nations competing in happy and friendly rivalry. The all-round performances they have given, the standards they have set and the records they have produced are truly astonishing. These SEAP Games have established new records in 37 events and of these no less than six were better than Asian Games figures, and one shattered the world mark.

To all the record breakers we extend our praise and congratulations, but all the other winners, and all the losers too, rightly share in the glory and success for each and every individual and they have contributed to the splendid spirit of sportsmanship that has prevailed throughout these Games from beginning to end. All competitors throughout these Games have displayed a genuine sense of honour and respect for the traditions and glory of sport.

The thrills and excitement are all over now, but the memory of this great festival of sportsmanship will linger in our hearts for a long time to come.

I would like to express to each and every person associated with the organisation of these games my sincere thanks for the great efforts and sacrifices that they have made and to say to them that our gratitude is their reward and the success of these games has been entirely due to them.

Soon the flame that has symbolised these games will be quenched, soon the SEAP Flag that has flown throughout these games will be lowered and all the participating teams will shortly be returning home. It is my hope that all will retain in their hearts the happiest memories of these Third South-East Asia Peninsula Games which we in Malaysia have had the honour of holding in Kuala Lumpur.

It is my humble duty, on behalf of all who have taken part in this memorable week of sport, to ask His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to declare that the games are ended, and in doing so to thank His Majesty and Her Majesty for the honour of their presence here on this unforgettable day.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*21st December, 1965.*

## TUN RAZAK'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN RANGOON

*The following report was received from Enche Vic Nayagam of Talivishen Malaysia in Rangoon.*

The Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, has stressed that Malaysia and Burma "share the same view on the solution to international issues". Tun Razak said this in a press conference last night to Burmese and foreign journalists following his return here from an upcountry tour. Tun Razak, winding up his five-day visit is scheduled to leave on December 28.

Tun Razak's statement in full reads as follows:

I am very happy to have made this visit to Burma at the kind invitation of the Burmese Government. We in Malaysia have always been conscious of the traditional ties of friendship existing between Burma and Malaysia and of the need to strengthen these ties and to develop closer friendly, cultural and economic relations between our two countries.

In the course of this visit I called on His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers. I feel greatly honoured that His Excellency General Ne Win showed me so much warmth, cordiality and friendship. We played golf together on two afternoons, and this gave us many opportunities to discuss matters of common interest in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

In our discussions which ranged over a wide field we touched on economic and political developments in South-East Asia. We agreed that such an exchange of views on vital matters of mutual interest is beneficial to both countries. The goodwill visit has provided us with the opportunity to learn more about each other's efforts to improve the standard of living of our respective peoples.

Burma and Malaysia being developing countries are anxious to devote their entire resources to economic development and national consolidation. In this respect there is a strong conviction in both countries that all nations should have the right to choose freely their own economic and political systems in keeping with their national interests and aspirations.

I was happy to have been explained on certain aspects of Burma's foreign policy. On the solution to international issues Malaysia shares the same view with Burma that such issues should be resolved through peaceful negotiations on the basis of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of each country.

During the tour I was most impressed with the tremendous effort and encouragement to revive, sustain and develop the rich cultural heritage of this country. As we are also engaged in similar effort it is my view that we can foster better understanding and friendship between our peoples by greater cultural exchanges. Similarly, there should be more exchanges in the sports, economic and cultural fields.

Malaysia has long trading relations with Burma but lately the trade has declined. As developing nations, efforts should therefore be made to increase this trade which would be mutually beneficial. To this end there should be more frequent visits by trade missions between Burma and Malaysia.

I delivered an invitation from the Prime Minister of Malaysia to His Excellency General Ne Win to visit Malaysia. I am happy that His Excellency has accepted the invitation and I hope that he would be able to visit Malaysia soon.

I wish to thank the Burmese Government for affording me and my delegation the opportunity to visit several places of interest such as Thauγγgyi, Inle Lake, the Defence Services Command and General Staff College at Kalaw, Mandalay and the Air Force Training School at Meiktila.

Where I went I was touched by the sincere and unreserved expressions of welcome and goodwill. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to the Burmese leaders, military officers and other government officials who have made this visit such a fruitful, enjoyable and memorable one.

KUALA LUMPUR,  
*28th December, 1965.*