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MALAYSIA

**THE ROAD
TO INDEPENDENCE**



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TO INDEPENDENCE**

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA

Introduction by
BRUCE GALE



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CONTENTS

Introduction

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Programme of Action
(9th August, 1955)23
2. Explaining the Budget
(30th November, 1955).31
3. The First Budget
(4th December, 1955)37
4. The Rubber Industry
(28th February, 1956).55
5. The First Development Plan
(6th March, 1957).59

II. THE COMMUNISTS

6. The Amnesty Offer
(10th September, 1955)72
7. A Letter From Chin Peng
(7th October, 1955)76
8. The Baling Talks
(30th December, 1955).81
9. No More Negotiations
(2nd April, 1956)87
10. The Death of Yuong Kuo
(30th August, 1956)90

I. MALAY LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND NATIONAL UNITY

11. Malay Culture
(2nd November, 1955)94
12. Malay Special Rights
(22nd April, 1956)100
13. National Unity
(12th May, 1956)106
14. The Rumi Script and the National
Language (30th June, 1956)112
15. Standardising the National
Language (16th September, 1956) . . .115

IV. INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATIONS

16. A Difficult Job As Chief Minister
(24th October, 1955)121
17. The Merdeka Mission Part 1
(20th February, 1956)129
18. The Merdeka Mission Part 2
(22nd February, 1956)138
19. The Federation of Malaya
Constitutional Conference
(14th March, 1956)147
20. More Talks In London
(26th December, 1956)164
21. The Final Journey
(9th May, 1957)169
22. A Successful Trip
(3rd June, 1957)171
23. A New Constitution
(10th July, 1957)175

V. THE PATH AHEAD

- | | |
|--|------|
| 24. Problems And Policies (28th August, 1957) | .214 |
| 25. Freedom At Last (30th August, 1957) | .225 |
| 26. Creating A New Nation (31st August, 1957). | .230 |



Introduction

It is not often that a single event in history marks a clear dividing line between the end of one era and the beginning of another. The study of human affairs rarely permits such clear cut distinctions. Historians writing about developments in the mid-twentieth century face a particularly difficult task. Despite the increasing sophistication of modern scholarship, events are too recent to determine their true significance.

Future historians, however, will almost certainly concur with contemporary writers in seeing the end of colonial rule in Southeast Asia after the Second World War as one of the great turning points in the region's history. At the beginning of the twentieth century the European colonial powers had never seemed so strong and irresistible. As Tunku Abdul Rahman noted in a radio talk to

the Malayan people in June 1957, "Both ourselves and our grandparents once believed we would be colonised forever under one or another colonial power". By the late 1950's, however, most European colonies in Asia had become independent nations. Many of those that remained under foreign domination were fighting anti-colonial wars. Probably no great political change, affecting so many peoples and nationalities, has ever taken place so quickly.

For Malaya the turning point came on 31st August 1957 at the Merdeka Stadium in Kuala Lumpur when Britain formally handed over the reigns of power to a multi-racial Alliance government headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman. In the years that followed Malaya dealt with its social and economic problems with a vigour rarely seen in postwar Southeast Asia. Agricultural diversification was encouraged while government experts worked to improve rubber production and maintain exports at a time when there was increasing competition from synthetics in world markets. Schools were built and great advances were made in the provision of rural health clinics and electricity supplies to the rural areas. Highways were also constructed linking farms to urban markets.

One of the most significant aspects of this development was that the new nation was able to rely almost completely on its own resources. Apart from a few small loans from the World Bank and the British Commonwealth, Malaya was almost completely self-reliant. One reason it was able to

do this was that, despite latent racial tensions and the difficulties involved in maintaining a delicate racial 'balance' between the nation's Malay, Chinese and Indian communities, the Alliance was able to maintain a relatively efficient and stable government.

Many of these policies, however, were not new. Several of the Tunku's speeches reprinted in this book serve as a salutary reminder that the Alliance had begun to implement similar policies as early as 1955 when Malaya moved towards internal self-government. Indeed, it may well be argued that if one is looking for specific dates with which to mark the beginning of a new era, the year 1955 must be considered a strong contender. In that year general elections for the whole peninsula were held for the first time in Malayan history. 1955 was also the year in which the MCA, UMNO and the MIC - representing the three major races in Malaya - came together to form the Alliance and present a single political platform to the electorate. The success of this strategy, which involved political parties representing the different races settling their differences on sensitive racial questions privately in the interests of national unity, has survived (albeit in a slightly amended form) to the present day.

The period 1955 to 1957 is probably best seen as a transitional stage in which the Alliance government, although not completely in control, began to grapple with the problems of nation building. The Federation of Malaya Agreement,

which came into force in 1948, was the framework within which the 1955 elections had been held. Under this Agreement ultimate authority lay with the British High Commissioner and the Sultans, not the Chief Minister.

Explaining his position at a press club luncheon at the Selangor Club in October 1955 Tunku Abdul Rahman revealed that he had been specifically instructed not to refer to the government as "my government". Every act and word of the Chief Minister had to be carefully weighed by the parties to the Agreement.

As the head of a government elected by Malaysians, however, the Tunku felt an obligation to those he represented:

"The position I find myself today, to say the least, is awkward. We have made promises in our manifesto which we must carry out. Each Minister has been instructed to carry out these promises. If, however, success in the way the people expect from us is to be achieved at all, we must try and find a new constitution more in keeping with political developments . . ."

It was in this context that the *Merdeka* talks, which began in London in January 1956, ultimately led to an agreement on a new constitution and the declaration of independence in the following year.

Malaya was swept towards independence largely as a result of a powerful tide of Malay nationalism. This nationalism developed in response to the growing power and influence of the British colonialists and Chinese immigrants during the early decades of the twentieth century. The 1931 Census, for example, revealed that for the first time in Malayan history the Chinese outnumbered the Malays in their own country.

To a new and steadily growing Malay elite in the 1920's and 1930's' these events were particularly disturbing. Soon, these Malays began to abandon state loyalties in favour of a wider pan-Malayan nationalism. Under Japanese rule (1941-1945) the position of the Sultans, the traditional state Rulers, continued to decline. Japanese encouragement of Malay nationalism during the later years of the war also contributed to the growing importance of the new elite. It was not long before tensions developed between the two Malay groups over which could best represent Malay interests.

Malay nationalism, as it existed before the second World War, can be generally divided into three streams. The first stream was influenced by the Islamic renaissance in the Middle East in the late nineteenth century. Pilgrims and reformist Islamic scholars returned from Cairo and other centres of Islamic culture having been exposed to anti-colonial ideas. These scholars were particularly influential in the urban centres such as Penang and Singapore. They also gained supporters

amongst religious teachers in the rural areas but were opposed by the traditional Islamic hierarchies of the various states.

The second stream consisted of English-educated aristocratic administrators. Sir Cecil Clementi, who served as High Commissioner between 1930 and 1934, provided important new opportunities for English educated Malays to enter the lower levels of the civil service. This was an area which had previously been the almost exclusive preserve of the Chinese and Indians. The resulting inter-ethnic competition encouraged these English educated Malays to feel that, as members of the indigenous community, they deserved better.

The third stream was made up of Malay educated teachers and journalists attracted by the concept of a "Greater Malaysia" or "Greater Indonesia". These nationalists were of peasant origin and had no love for either the traditional Rulers or the increasingly influential English educated groups. Malay educated leaders became important during the Second World War as a result of the Japanese sponsorship of paramilitary groups such as PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air*-Defenders of the Fatherland). However, these nationalists were not mere pawns of the Japanese. In order to achieve their goals some leaders attempted to conclude clandestine alliances with the Chinese-led MPAJA (Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Army) as well as the traditional Malay elite.

In July 1945 the Japanese, faced with imminent

defeat at the hands of the Allies, sponsored a new Malayan nationalist organisation which aimed at achieving independence and uniting with parts of modern Indonesia. This organisation, called KRIS (*Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung*), was led by Ibrahim Yaacob and Dr Burhanuddin Al-Hemy. However, it was soon obliged to cancel its plans when Japan surrendered unexpectedly in the following month.

Many of the racial problems which faced Tunku Abdul Rahman's Alliance government in 1955 owed as much to the results of Japanese policies during the occupation as they did to the fact that the British had allowed large numbers of Chinese and Indian immigrants to enter the country in the early years of the century. The Japanese pursued racial policies based on expediency. The Indians, for example, were not treated as well as the Malays, although the Japanese did attempt to take advantage of Indian nationalist aspirations. In July 1943 Subhas Chandra Bose (a former president of the Indian Congress) was brought to Singapore where he proclaimed a Free Indian government and enlisted Indians in the pro-Japanese Indian National Army.

It was the Chinese who felt the full effects of the Japanese occupation. China and Japan had been at war since 1937 and the Chinese in Malaya had actively supported China's war effort. In the first week of the Japanese occupation of Singapore thousands of Chinese males were systematically rounded up and massacred. Not surprisingly

therefore, the wartime resistance movement in Malaya and Singapore consisted mostly of Chinese.

Of importance to later developments was the fact that the most well-organised of the anti-Japanese resistance groups was the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). This organisation, in turn, comprised by far the largest component of the MPAJA. The MCP was formed in 1930, having previously been part of the Malayan branch of the Kuomintang. The depression of the 1930's gave the party a chance to increase its influence by championing the cause of workers in the export industries. In 1937, when full scale war broke out between China and Japan, the MCP gained still greater influence among the Chinese by its sponsorship of Anti-Japanese National Salvation Associations.

Anti-Japanese resistance during the occupation had several characteristics which were similar to the postwar communist insurgency period. The MPAJA's most committed members were generally Chinese communists, although there were also a few Malay radical groups. The MPAJA also had a civilian wing, the Min Yuen, which supplied recruits, and food. In addition, the MPAJA developed close relations with the orang asli (aboriginal) people and employed both friendship and intimidation to achieve its aims among civilians.

When Japan surrendered to the Allies in August 1945 the MPAJA was the only armed and well organised group on the peninsula. For a brief

period the returning British were forced to rely on it to maintain law and order. Not unexpectedly the MPAJA promptly used the opportunity to settle old scores with collaborators. Given the preferential treatment with which the Japanese had treated the Malays during the occupation, many of those considered 'collaborators' by the MPAJA were Malays. The resulting executions thus developed into bloody racial clashes which polarised ethnic relations as never before.

The enthusiasm with which the Chinese in Malaya had fought the Japanese during the war years encouraged the British abandon their policy of maintaining the political primacy of the Malays as the indigenous community. The policies of Japanese sponsored organisations such as PETA and the refusal of the Sultans to leave with the retreating British army also contributed to a decline in the standing of the Malays in British eyes.

The British attitude changed despite the fact that two Malay battalions had fought with the British in 1942. Some Malays, such as Tunku Abdul Rahman, had also helped supply recruits to other anti-Japanese groups such as Force 136.

The British returned to Malaya with plans to reorganise their colonial administration. Under the Malayan Union proposals the old cumbersome system of federated and unfederated Malay states was to be ended and the sovereignty of the Malay Sultans transferred to the British Crown. Generous

citizenship provisions also allowed a considerable number of non-Malays to participate in the political process and there were proposals that the non-indigenous communities be given greater access to civil service positions. In effect, the British had abandoned the fiction that they were merely assisting the Malay Sultans govern their territories. At the same time, they tried to ensure that in any future Malayan government non-Malays would be able to participate as equals.

The only concession made to Malay sensitivities was the exclusion of the predominantly Chinese island of Singapore. Apart from being a major centre for entrepot trade, Singapore was also important to the British because of its powerful naval base.

By abandoning their commitment to the privileged position of the Malays at a time of heightened racial tensions, the British virtually assured the rejection of the scheme. Sir Harold MacMichael, the British representative sent to secure the consent of the Sultans for these constitutional changes, was accused of intimidation. He had the power to recommend the removal of a Sultan if his behaviour during the Japanese occupation was considered unsatisfactory.

Under the leadership of Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, the *Menteri Besar* (Chief Minister) of Johore, a Pan-Malayan Malay Congress was held in March and May 1946. This led to the creation of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)

which began a vigorous campaign of rallies and demonstrations against the proposals. Not only was the English educated Malay leadership in UMNO able to secure the cooperation of the Sultans in boycotting the installation ceremony of the Malayan Union's first Governor, they also obtained the support of retired British administrators in London. In effect, a mass Pan-Malayan political party had been created through which the Malays were eventually able to obtain national power.

Faced with this unprecedented opposition, and the general reluctance of non-Malays to unite in support of the Malayan Union, the British backed down. The Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948 was essentially a compromise. The British succeeded in creating a strong central government. However, sovereignty was returned to the Sultans and citizenship provisions made more restrictive. The new central government was made up of a British High Commissioner, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The Legislative Council consisted of both official and unofficial members. The unofficial members, who were appointed by the High Commissioner, were to be replaced later by elected members.

Within a few months of the formation of this Federation the peninsula was plunged into a new crisis. In June 1948 the MCP rose in armed revolt. The Emergency, which got its name from the Emergency Regulations promulgated by the British in order to deal with the insurrection, lasted from

1948 to 1960.

Immediately after the surrender of the Japanese in 1945 the MCP had decided against making a bid for power. Apart from the difficulty they would have in dealing with the returning British army, MCP leaders also knew that they might have to face the 100,000 strong Japanese occupation force. This latter army would not have hesitated to use force against their old enemies had they been asked by the British. Added to this were the policies of the communist parties of Britain and China, which also advised moderation. The MCP therefore disbanded the MPAJA and concentrated instead upon gaining control of the Trade Union movement through the General Labour Union (GLU). By March 1947 the GLU (renamed the Pan-Malayan Federation Trade Unions) directly controlled an estimated 85 per cent of the unions in Malaya.

Several reasons have been suggested for the change in MCP policy in 1948. Some historians, such as K.G. Tregonning, have contended that the MCP, together with all the other communist parties in Southeast Asia, received instructions from abroad to begin an armed struggle. These instructions were allegedly given at the Asian Youth Congress in Calcutta in February 1948 by Russian agents. Supporting this theory is the fact that, apart from Malaya, communist uprisings also began in Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines in the same year.

Other scholars have argued that the MCP resorted to armed violence because of its failure to gain control of the trade unions by peaceful means. In 1947, in a move aimed at reducing MCP influence, the government amended the Trade Union ordinance in order to place restrictions on the eligibility of union officials to hold office. Another factor of importance was the disappearance of MCP Secretary-General Lai Teck who had advocated moderation. He was replaced by Chin Peng amid allegations that Lai Teck had been a double agent.

The Emergency posed serious difficulties for the British government, not the least of which was the fact that the population as a whole showed no particular enthusiasm in supporting government efforts. In December 1950 the government implemented the Biggs Plan which involved resettling Chinese squatters living along the jungle fringes into fortified New Villages. The idea, which was largely successful, was to starve the communists out of the jungle by preventing them from obtaining supplies. Many Chinese were known to have given food to the guerillas either voluntarily or as the result of intimidation.

The Emergency also exacerbated communal tensions. Although it was not exclusively Chinese organisation, many people regarded the MCP as basically Chinese. Most of those in the government security forces, however, were Malays. Many rural Malays resented what they saw as the favoured treatment of the Chinese in the New Villages

who were provided with health centres, schools, electricity and water supply. In this way, the ideological conflict developed increasingly communal overtones. The Biggs Plan also reduced opportunities for social interaction between the various races by creating an even greater concentration of Chinese in the urban areas.

In October 1951 the communists scored a major success when they succeeded in assassinating the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Gurney, while he was on his way to Fraser's Hill outside Kuala Lumpur. However, the MCP was unable to take advantage of the resulting low morale in government ranks because it was itself becoming increasingly divided over questions of strategy. Other factors working against the insurgents in Malaya included the lack of a common border with a communist state across which supplies and reinforcements could be sent. The MCP also failed to become a truly national organisation since its members were overwhelmingly Chinese.

Instead of delaying the achievement of independence, the Emergency actually encouraged it. Malaysians argued that if Malaya attained independence under a democratic government the claim of the MCP that it was fighting an anticolonial war would lose force. The British, however, were concerned to ensure that any future British government represented all the major races in the country.

Dato Onn, in an apparent attempt to meet this

British condition, tried to get UMNO to accept non-Malays as members. He resigned as president in 1951 after UMNO members had rejected the proposal. Later he formed the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) and the Party Negara.

Tunku Abdul Rahman replaced Dato Onn as UMNO president. He was one of the sons of the Sultan of Kedah and had spent some time studying at Cambridge University in the 1920's before returning to work as a District Officer in Kedah. After the war he went back to England to complete his law degree. Back in Malaya once again he moved to the Federal Attorney-General's office. Observing the momentous events taking place in the country, however, the Tunku increasingly felt that he should be politically involved.

After taking over the leadership of UMNO Tunku Abdul Rahman set about looking for the answer to the problem of creating multi-racial government that had eluded Dato Onn. In 1952 a possible solution presented itself when the Kuala Lumpur branches of UMNO and the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) organised an electoral truce in order to contest the Municipal elections of that year.

The MCA had been formed in February 1949. It aimed to unite the Chinese, form an alternative focus for Chinese loyalties in opposition to the MCP and represent Chinese interests. It was initially supported by middle-class Chinese businessmen

and professionals in the major urban areas but its appeal soon widened to include the New Villages. It was led by Tan Cheng Lock, a respected leader of the Chinese community from Malacca.

The Alliance proved to be such an electoral success that it was extended throughout the country. After some negotiations the new British High Commissioner, Sir Gerald Templar, agreed that elections for the whole of Malaya would take place in 1955 in which there would be fifty-two elected seats. In effect, this meant that elected members would out-number non-elected members in the new Legislative Council.

During the 1955 election campaign, UMNO and the MCA were joined by the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) to present a united 'Alliance' platform to the electorate. The most important Alliance promise was that it would attain *Merdeka* within four years. It also promised to Malayanise the public service, "establish a type of national school acceptable to the people of Malaya" and adopt Malay as the national language. The Alliance also committed itself to press for the setting up of a Special Independent Commission to study constitutional reforms. Referring to the Emergency, the Alliance planned to offer a general amnesty to the communist guerillas. Should this fail, however, the struggle was to be continued vigorously.

The only serious opposition to the Alliance came from Dato Onn's Party Negara. The leaders of this party re-emphasised Malay interests after

having failed in their earlier attempts to move UMNO, and later the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP), in a non-communal direction.

The Alliance won convincingly, gaining 51 of the 52 seats. Much of its success was due to the coalition's promise of early independence. However, other factors were also important, such as the financial strength of the MCA and the influence of UMNO in the Malay dominated rural areas.

The period 1955-1957 is covered in Tunku Abdul Rahman's speeches reprinted in this book. The amnesty was proclaimed in September 1955 and the Tunku even met Chin Peng, the communist leader, in an effort to convince the insurgents to lay down their arms. However, the Baling Talks remained deadlocked until Chin Peng agreed that if the Tunku secured independence from the British and gained control of the internal security forces the MCP would end the struggle.

The communist leader failed to keep his promise and the Tunku refused to meet him for any further negotiations. During the independence negotiations with the British the Tunku's bargaining position had been considerably strengthened by Chin Peng's assurance. Once independence had been guaranteed, however, further discussions with the communists were of little use to the Alliance. Some historians have speculated on whether the Baling Talks could really have resulted in an 'honourable' peace for both sides. It is

generally agreed that the differences between the MCP and the Alliance were so fundamental that no solution, short of the elimination or unconditional surrender of one side, could have brought the fighting to an end.

Speaking over Radio Malaya on 30th December 1955 Tunku Abdul Rahman declared the amnesty at an end with effect from 8th February 1956. He had no intention, he said, of meeting the communist leader again:

"We have come to a point whereby either the MCP surrenders or my party surrenders. But if I were to surrender I would betray the people of Malaya to the communists.

Our ideologies clash very violently. The MCP's ideology is an ideology of violence and hatred while ours is one of peace and goodwill. Theirs is a foreign movement directed from without and has very little support from within. On the other hand, ours is a powerful Malayan nationalist movement backed by the people of the country. It is obvious that their ideology and ours cannot exist side by side . . ."

Deprived of its anti-colonial slogans, the MCP never became a serious threat to the government after 1955.

The *Merdeka* talks began in January 1956. Four

representatives of the Alliance and four representatives of the Sultans met with those from the British government in London. The talks proceeded smoothly, largely because the representatives of the Alliance and the Sultans had come to an earlier agreement among themselves and thus presented a united front to the British. They wanted Malaya to be a fully self-governing democratic nation within the British Commonwealth. The Malaya delegation agreed with the British government that an independent Malaya would give Britain the right to maintain forces in Malaya in order to allow the former colonial power to fulfil its international obligations. Full internal self-government was granted immediately and independence was to be proclaimed by 31 August 1957, if possible. Reprinted in this book is a speech given by the Tunku in the Legislative Council in March 1956 in which he gives an account of these talks.

Soon afterwards, the Reid Commission was set up to draw up a constitution for an independent Malaya. It was instructed to prepare a Federal constitution with a strong central government and a bicameral legislature in which the prestige of the Sultans would be safeguarded. There was to be a common nationality for the whole country, but at the same time the 'special position' of the Malays was to be given due recognition.

The Reid Commission began inviting written submissions from concerned organisations and individuals in June 1956. The Alliance submitted

a detailed memorandum on the structure of government and the distribution of powers, fundamental rights, citizenship, the special position of the Malays and religion. In preparing the Alliance submission the component parties showed that they were willing to compromise with each other. UMNO agreed to the principle of *jus soli* for those born after *Merdeka* while the MCA and the MIC accepted the special position of the Malays and Malay as the national language.

Several groups were opposed to the Alliance memorandum. Many Chinese Guilds disliked the retention of the special position of the Malays and objected to the fact that Chinese would not be given official recognition. On the other hand, there were many Malays who believed that UMNO had conceded too much, particularly regarding citizenship.

The draft constitution drawn up by the Reid Commission was not entirely accepted by the Alliance. For example, the Commission suggested that the principle of dual citizenship within the Commonwealth be recognised. The Alliance rejected this proposal, insisting on single citizenship. The Alliance also opposed the Commission's recommendation that Mandarin and Tamil be permitted in the legislative. In addition, other amendments were made regarding citizenship registration.

The main features of the new constitution were outlined in detail by Tunku Abdul Rahman in a

speech he gave in the Legislative Council in July 1957. The speech, although quite lengthy, has been reprinted in this book because of its importance to historians looking for a contemporary account by one of the leading participants in the independence negotiations.

Another section in this book contains a selection of the Tunku's speeches on economic problems and financial affairs. These speeches show clearly the difficulties which faced the Alliance in planning social and economic development programmes at a time when a large proportion of the government's expenditure had to be devoted to financing the war against the communists. In a speech over Radio Malaya in December 1956, for example, the Tunku estimated that the war effort was costing the government almost \$150 million per year.

Economically, 1955 was a bad year for Malaya. The price of rubber had still not recovered from the depressed conditions which followed the Korean War boom. Moreover, the rubber trees on the peninsula were very old and there was increasing competition from synthetics. Low prices were also being obtained for tin exports.

In these circumstances the refusal of the British government to provide a direct government to government loan must have seemed a serious blow. However, the Tunku did not react with bitterness. Speaking in the Legislative Council in March 1957 he pointed out that if the British government gave

such a loan to a newly independent Malaya it would be morally bound to give one also to the Gold Coast and other nations on the verge of independence such as Nigeria and the West Indian Federation. "In fairness to the British Government, which is giving us much generous help with the cost of the Armed Forces and the Emergency," he said "we must appreciate their difficulties at this time too".

Stirred by the promise of elections and the prospect of independence, Malaya in the mid 1950's was a nation whose time had come. Indigenous arts and crafts, supported by the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA) experienced a revival while Malay literature, stimulated by Indonesia, also flourished. At the same time an increasingly self-conscious and growing middle class was helping to lay the foundations of a new political system in which the interests of Malaysians, rather than those of a foreign power, would be paramount. A new era had begun.

Bruce Gale

I. ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT



1

Programme Of Action

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 9TH
AUGUST 1955

This is my first broadcast after I have been called upon to form the Government but I do so in my capacity as the Leader of the Alliance. The people have been asked to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council and they have shown their faith and reposed their trust in us by electing to serve them and the country. On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I wish to express our gratitude to the people for giving us this opportunity. My colleagues and I, fully conscious of our heavy responsibilities and duties, will spare no effort in giving of our best to the people and the country.

The people appreciate the fact that this Council is not fully elected, nor is it yet in any sense a true parliamentary democracy, but a definite step has been taken towards full, responsible self-

government and independence. Therefore, our position at this moment is as prescribed by the Federal Constitution. This, in effect, means that the powers of the High Commissioner in relation to the Ministers and the Legislative Council remain as they were before the Federal Election. There is however, one factor which points in our favour, and that is that we are elected by the people and responsible to the people. And this fact is recognised by the High Commissioner, who will no doubt give our considered opinion and advice its due weight.

The interviews and discussions which I have had with the High Commissioner since the Election, both with regard to the appointment of Ministers and the subjects in their portfolios, and other matters affecting administration, have been most cordial. This clearly indicates that the High Commissioner appreciates our position. We on our part wish to maintain the maximum of goodwill and understanding between the High Commissioner as representative of Her Majesty's Government and ourselves as representatives of the people. This is consistent with our firm resolve to obtain self-government and independence in a constitutional way.

The Ministers are collectively responsible for any decision reached in the Federal Executive Council. This is a matter of principle. There can, therefore, be no disagreement on any matter once a decision has been made, and if any Minister feels conscientiously that he is unable to support

a decision taken in this Council, he has only one course open to him and that is to resign. I, too am bound by this same principle. If as Chief Minister I am unable to maintain my position as leader of my party, I would have no choice but to resign. It is my hope, therefore, that the occasion will never arise when the Ministers will be in disagreement with one another.

My Ministers have worked with me most loyally and faithfully for these last few years. They have given me no cause for any anxiety. On the contrary, they have given me every reason to be proud of them and their *esprit de corps*. With them around me and constantly giving me advice and help, I am confident that my party will not fail to carry out the pledges which we have made in our manifesto. We trust that the people will continue with the support and confidence that they have consistently given us in such magnificent measure, which is unprecedented in the history of free elections. We have won not only the Federal election but also state, settlement, municipal, town and other council elections so far held. This is a record that any political party can be justly proud of, and it is due to the enthusiasm, loyalty, patriotism and courage of the people, who have given us a clear mandate, that is to achieve independence. We are aware of our difficulties but knowing the support of the people for the cause, these difficulties will spur us in our determination to achieve our object.

The election has shown that all those loyal to

this country, no matter what their race or creed may be, are prepared to sink all differences in the cause of Malaya as a whole. This is truly a healthy sign, which augurs well for the future independent Malaya, quickly qualifying her for her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

There are certain things that we have to do first. One of our duties is to try to bring about peace, prosperity and happiness in this country. We have been living under the cloud of the emergency for nearly eight years, and it will be in our interests to try to end the emergency by whatever means possible. Therefore, as guns have not brought peace to the country, it was my hope to try to find an alternative measure and I hope will provide the means for a ceasefire. With peace and tranquility much more work can be done for the good of the people and the country. Money that is used to fight the emergency can then be diverted and spent on schools, social services, etc.

In the field of education, it should be the first duty of the Alliance Government to re-examine the provisions of the Education Ordinance, 1952. The existing types of national schools have not been found popular. We will therefore, examine other systems of national education which we hope will meet with the needs and aspirations of the people. There are still a large proportion of children of schoolgoing age denied education. We must try to find places for them, and in the attempt, we shall look to quantity rather than to quality of school buildings. It will be necessary

for us to build schools with jungle rollers and at-tap, or go to the extent of providing open air classes. We shall also examine the condition of religious schools. In view of the proposal that Malay is to be the national and official language of independent Malaya, we will try and set up a committee as soon as possible to recommend how to achieve this.

With regard to labour, it is proposed to pay greater attention to the living conditions of the working classes. These plans range from the question of housing conditions to the provision of education for the children of labourers where this has been neglected. Some sections of labour may desire to settle on the land, on either part-time farming or permanently. We shall seek to provide them with every opportunity for this.

The portfolio of Natural Resources will give immediate attention to the land policy outlined in the Alliance manifesto. We shall give consideration to the establishment of an authority to implement land settlement schemes and to work in agreement and in close association with State and Settlement Governments. This authority should consider not only developing new land but also seek to improve already developed land. It should give due regard to such problems as the alienation of land in economic units, establishing marketing and processing facilities and supplying electricity and piped water. Greater efforts should be made to set up Malay Reservations in urban areas in order to give the Malay people opportunities to

enjoy the amenities of town life. In rural areas, Malay Reservations should be developed as far as practicable in order to give the Malays an economic return for their labour.

In the sphere of medical, health and social welfare, the Alliance has mapped out a very extensive programme which we shall endeavour to implement, but in view of financial limitations, we shall have to decide on priorities. We shall place special emphasis on health and welfare problems of the rural communities. Consideration will be given to the increase of rural health centres and travelling dispensaries so that an energetic country wide attack will be made against disease.

In regard to road transport, it is the intention of the government to implement the policies passed by the Federal Legislative Council to encourage Malay participation in the industry. It is proposed to pay special attention to the resettlement of discharged special constables. Applications for loans from RIDA, as promised before the constable were demobilised, will be examined with a view to granting early loans. In this connection, the Minister for Natural Resources will be working in close collaboration with the Minister for Agriculture. Small farmers, including paid planters, will be given opportunity to increase their income, and specific schemes are being planned.

The Alliance is aware that hundreds of thousands of people live in the rural areas in the Federation, in kampongs and villages, with popu-

lations varying between 2,000 and 10,000 people. These kampongs and villages are sometimes five or ten miles from the nearest Post Office, even further in some cases. Mail reaches these people but there are no parallel facilities for the purchase of stamps, postal orders, etc. The Alliance would look into this need, and take the necessary action. There should also be long-term planning for better telephone facilities, and the Alliance Government proposes to liaise closely with housing authorities to ensure that the provision of telephone facilities keep pace with housing development.

In the Ministry of Works, the chief task of the Alliance Government will be to build roads, bridges, houses, etc, economically so as to eliminate wastage of public funds. I think there is a fear among some government circles about victimisation by the Alliance Government. To them, I say: "Cast away such fears". The Alliance has gained its strength through fairness and fairplay and under no circumstances would we depart from this principle. There will be no victimisation of government servants nor for this matter of any other people who were opposed to our party, nor will there be any attempt on the part of the Alliance to use any pressure on them either in their work or outside. At the same time, we ask them to give us their fullest support and cooperation in the discharge of their duties. Regarding Malayanisation, the aim of the Alliance is to examine this question thoroughly and carry out its policy based on justice and fairplay, while at the same time accelerating the process of Malayanisa-

tion of the public service.

I want to end this broadcast with a special message of thanks to the Alliance workers — men, women and youth alike who had put in so much time, energy and sacrifice in the interest of their party. It is in so small measure due to their most selfless work and loyalty to the cause that the Alliance victory was assured. With such men, women and youth in our organisation, I have great cause to be proud and grateful. With them and the electorate behind us, Malayan independence will assuredly be won. *MERDEKA.*

2

Explaining The Budget

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 30TH
NOVEMBER, 1955

The Alliance Government this morning in the Legislative Council announced its first budget and I would like to say a few words about it. In the first place we have been in office for too short a time to permit us to include in the estimates all the schemes for improvement and development which we promised the people during the election. Many of these schemes will take several years to complete but we intend to start on them as quickly as possible and as soon as I and my fellow Ministers return from the London Talks we will get to work on a supplementary budget which we will take to the Legislative Council and ask it to provide the money required.

But although the time has been short we have managed to include some items from our programme. In particular we have made arrangements

for about 8,000 more pupils to be admitted to schools next year than was planned when we took office. I am sure that the public will accept this first step as an earnest of our serious intentions to redeem to the full our election promises about education. My honourable friend the energetic Minister for Education is giving the matter his close and continuous attention.

The Federation has had a good trading year. Prices of our main exports — rubber and tin — have improved. Trade has been brisk and the government was pleased to be able to announce that the revenue this year will exceed the expenditure by over \$40,000,000/-. This surplus will bring our reserves up to nearly \$350,000,000/-. The prospects for next year are not so good and the Budget for 1956 will show expenditure exceeding revenue by nearly \$50,000,000/-.

This is an unhappy position as the Financial Secretary¹ said this morning in the course of his speech when introducing the budget for a newly elected government which has come into power with a mandate to affect many changes and improvements. He told the Council that as his colleague the Honourary Financial Secretary of Singapore told the Singapore legislature at its budget meeting recently both of them did consider whether the two territories both facing budget deficits next year should agree to increase

¹ C.J. Thomas

those joint taxes such as income tax which must be kept at the same level throughout Malaya. The Federation's Financial Secretary said the Alliance Government, after careful consideration, decided that it could not consent to any increase in taxation until it had time to review the whole field of fiscal policy and to make at least a start with some of the measures of improvement which it has promised the electorate. The Federation's Financial Secretary added, and I quote him: "With the propriety of that decision I am sure this Council will agree. It was not an easy decision to make for it is already clear that we shall need to find more money to finance new projects and services but it was, I feel sure, the right one in the circumstances."

It is quite clear from what I have quoted that the Alliance does not decide on policies hastily and that we do plan carefully before we embark on any new policy because we felt that the responsibility of running the government is upon our shoulders. We have been entrusted with the very important task of running the budget by raising taxation but we have chosen not to as a matter of principle. We would rather draw the \$50,000,000/- out of our reserves included in the sum of over \$138,000,000/- for fighting the terrorists. Without this emergency expenditure the budget would have shown a surplus of over \$8,000,000/-. So long as the emergency continues the plans of the Alliance Government for the improvement for the lot of the people will be slow-

ed up. Not only does the emergency cost a lot of money but it also takes up the time of a large number of experienced government officers who could otherwise be employed in more profitable ways.

We were told in the Legislative Council this morning about the increase in the number of people who have opened accounts in the Post Office Saving Bank. In 1950 there were about 250,000 people who had accounts in the Saving Bank whereas today the number has increased to over 475,000, who between them have deposits amounting to nearly \$122,000,000/-. Every year since 1950 has shown an increase in the number of depositors and in the amount standing to their credit. This is a very healthy sign and I do hope that everybody who is able to save will do so. The Post Office Saving Bank as well as the commercial banks welcome deposits on which they will pay you interest and if you need the money at any time you can draw it out quickly without fuss. The savings of the people add to the financial stability and prestige of the Federation of Malaya and of its government. The Employees Provident Fund, which is another important body of saving continues to grow. At the end of September there were nearly 800,000 contributors who between them had accumulated over \$170,000,000/-. The whole idea of the Provident Fund is that it shall provide security for old age.

While the Alliance Government is anxious to maintain the character of the fund it has promi

ed to inquire into the possibility of allowing contributors who are in urgent need and have no other resources to fall back upon to withdraw at least part of the amount standing to their credit. The Minister for Labour² and the Financial Secretary, who is also chairman of the Employees Provident Fund, are at present investigating this matter and I hope it will be possible to make an announcement without much delay.

A significant feature of this morning's address of the High Commissioner in the Council was the assurance made by His Excellency when he said, "Her Majesty's Government would see no reason to regard the continuance of the emergency as an obstacle in the Federation's advance towards self-government and I have their authority for saying that it is their intention to enter the London Talks next year on that understanding".

His Excellency also told the Council that the original message of Her Majesty's Government to the effect that the termination of the Emergency should be a condition precedent to the granting of self-government was made four years ago when conditions in the Federation were different and the shooting war was at its worst. The declaration was made as a reprisal for the murder of Sir Henry Gurney. But

² V. T. Sambanthan

now here I quote the High Commissioner, "Thanks to the great degree of assistance afforded by the general public there has been a change of heart on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Hence this assurance".

His Excellency also mentioned that these last few years had seen great strides in constitutional developments. These advances, he said, had been made possible by the measure of trust which had been established within the Federation government between the political parties and Her Majesty's Government, "It is this spirit of trust," I quote, "and this spirit of goodwill that has made possible these advances".

I am sure the people are happy to hear the assurance coming as it did from Her Majesty's representative in his address to the Council. I am sure that the people of Malaya will join with me in an expression of thanks to Her Majesty's Government.

3

The First Budget

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE DEBATE
ON THE SUPPLY BILL IN THE FEDERAL
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, KUALA LUMPUR
ON 4TH DECEMBER, 1955

Though this Budget has been referred to as the budget of the Alliance Government, in fact it is a standstill budget because the Alliance Government has not had time to prepare its own Budget for the year 1956. But we intend to work out list of priorities as quickly as possible. These will be considered in a Supplementary budget to be placed before this Council who will be asked to provide the money required. Although this is a standstill budget, we have managed to include some items from our programme. In particular, we have made arrangements for about 8,000 more pupils to be admitted to schools next year. I am sure the public will accept this first step as an earnest endeavour on our part to redeem some of our election promises on education. I myself have spoken over the radio and have made statements to the effect that the Alliance Government will, if necessary,

build jungle roller schools in order to accommodate all schoolgoing children at the age of seven plus. It appears now that this is not necessary as the Minister for Education has decided to provide accommodation for all these children by using classrooms in the schools in the afternoons. It is hoped that this will bring some satisfaction to anxious parents as regards accommodation in vernacular schools the Minister is at present investigating this matter. If it is found that there is no accommodation for the children concerned, then the jungle roller schools which I mentioned will be built for them.

Another matter of interest relates to the education of Malaya. It has been found that most Malay boys have no opportunities for higher education and no prospect of getting employment when they leave school at such a tender age, twelve years. The government has decided therefore to establish a number of residential schools to absorb a number of these pupils and give them five years' secondary education. This type of school will be started early in 1956. The Alliance Government are also preparing to provide higher academic qualifications for Malay teachers in order to fit them for the teaching of advanced Malay, as it has been agreed that Malay will be the national language of this country. The Indonesian Government has agreed to arrange the exchange of language experts with the object of ensuring the parallel development of two languages and it is hoped also to set up a Language Research Institute with the object of enlarging and broad-

dening the Malay language.

The government is examining the future general educational policy of this country and it is also doing all it can to assist in the legitimate expansion of the various Chinese schools. In the 1956 Estimates there is an increase of about \$1 million in the granting-aid to Chinese schools. I have been asked by the Chinese Teachers' Association to provide a grant of \$2 million and we have agreed that where schools are concerned, money should if possible be made available, but the Association have not been able to demonstrate how such a large sum of money should be expanded, and until they are able to do so to the satisfaction of the Minister for Education, the government can do no more than to provide the \$1 million which I have just mentioned. This consideration applies to Indian schools as well. If there is need for expansion of the Indian vernacular schools, the government is willing to give it our attention. It is expected that the question of increased grants-in-aid to Chinese and other vernacular schools will be one of the matters to be considered by the Education Committee which is at present sitting.

I have no need to dwell on other matters in the Budget because His Excellency has gone to great lengths to inform this Council as to what it is proposed to do next year. All I can say is that we would welcome any suggestions from members for consideration of the Alliance Government and if found acceptable I can assure the Honourable

Members that action will be taken to implement them.

In his address to the Council, His Excellency stressed the importance of finding a solution to the problem of the Emergency. This is indeed a pressing problem and one which has occupied the minds, not only of this government, but also of the people of Malaya. Apart from the menace to the peace and security of Malaya, it also involves a serious drain on the country's finances. You will see from the budget that \$130 million has been spent this year unprosecuting the war against the communists and \$895 million have in all been spent in the last six years. \$138 million are set aside for this purpose in next years budget; and possibly similar sums may be needed for the following year unless the Emergency ends.

As the High Commissioner¹ said, I lost no time in fulfilling the promise I made to the electorate that I would offer an amnesty to the communists. Indeed, as soon as I assumed office, I immediately discussed the subject with His Excellency and the Director of Operations, and an Amnesty Working Party was set up. The Working Party spent considerable time working out the terms of the amnesty which we considered fair and reasonable. It was never intended at any time that we would treat with the militant communists or negotiate with them for peace, and I never at any

¹ Sir Donald MacGillivray

time had so promised the electorate. All I said was that the Alliance would offer them pardon for any crime they had committed prior to the date of the amnesty and they have indeed committed many. I had hoped that they would accept and help to bring an end to this war, and end the life of hardship they were leading in the jungle. It was an amnesty offered on those terms which were broadcasted and publicised by all possible means, including the distribution of millions of pamphlets by airdrop.

It must clearly be understood that there are to be no negotiations for peace as some people appear to think. When the offer was made no one doubted that it was a correct move on my part. It was only subsequently that opinions were voiced in certain circles that we should go further, and negotiate peace with the communists. If we did so it would amount to an admission of defeat on the part of the government and an admission on the part of the Alliance Party that the militant communists were right, and all the atrocities they have committed have been perpetrated in the cause of righteousness and justice.

That is not so, for the truth is that the government has never found itself in a stronger position than it is today. Our armed forces have carried the offensive deep into the communist jungle bases and had driven them as far as it is humanly possible to do, in view of jungle conditions which afford the communists natural and ready protection. The Armed Forces are anxious to engage

them and are confident that they can do so with the aid of all the modern weapons of war at their command and by adapting themselves to jungle conditions. I am satisfied that military success will be attained in this way but it would result in further loss of life and suffering. Our aim and intention is to stop bloodshed by peaceful means. Our party is opposed on principle to the wanton destruction of human life for any purpose whatsoever. We believe in peace. Our objective is to uphold the principle of Human Rights, to wit, to establish, protect and uphold the freedom of worship, the freedom of thought and expression either oral or written, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of movement and association and the freedom of men to reconcile and compose their differences through amicable and legal channels.

I am moreover of the opinion that if the amnesty was accepted, it would bring the war to an end, and would prevent further loss of human life and suffering, and it would also give great satisfaction and happiness to the people. Let them, the communists, see reason and come out and leave their future to the people in the belief that they will be treated as human beings, provided of course that they will agree to take their place in society as good, peace-loving and law-abiding citizens. Chin Peng agreed to meet Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan, Mr. Marshall and myself and accordingly sent his emissary, Chen Tien, to make arrangements for the meeting. It is hoped that the meeting will be held some time before I leave for London. Let there be no mistake however, I am not

meeting him to sue for peace but to clarify the amnesty terms. On the other hand, I would be prepared and willing to listen to what he may wish to suggest in order perhaps to make the terms more liberal.

With regard to the Emergency, the position has improved to such an extent that many areas have been declared "White" and some of the inhabitants have been allowed to return to their original homes whence they had been previously moved for settlement. The war could end very much sooner too were it not for the acts of certain people who provide the communists with food, either from fear or sympathy, and by doing so have helped to prolong this war.

You might well ask what the position would be if Chin Peng proves unreasonable, and refuse to accept the terms. I will seek the counsel of the party who no doubt will give me definite instructions as to how we should proceed in this matter. There are also people representing various political parties and organisations who have now come forward and have asked that they too be allowed to participate in this talk with Chin Peng. Though I appreciate the co-operation offered, it would be wrong for me to allow them to join in the talk as their presence might put a different complexion on the meeting. Being members of different political parties they naturally hold different views from those of the Alliance and they might instead put forward proposals that are not in conformity with our policy which is started in our mandate. I

have invited the Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. David Marshall, to join this talk because he is the Leader of the government made up of the Labour Front and the Alliance. There is therefore mutual interest between his government and our government, but I do not think it necessary to include other people. I have therefore decline these offers to attend the talk. The responsibility for holding the talk falls fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Alliance Government.

Whatever may be the result of this meeting with Chin Peng, our plans for self-government and independence will not in any way be impaired but will proceed as planned. Their Highnesses and Her Majesty's Government have promised that self-government will be given to Malaya. Malaya is now ready for it, as the elections have demonstrated. The main plank of the Alliance platform is self-government and independence. It is because of that the people have returned us to this Council and into all the other Councils at all levels with unprecedented majorities. We have carried the day with this promise made to the people, and that promise we intend to keep whatever may be the consequences. Their Highnesses the Rulers and Her Majesty's Government, true to the promise made in the preamble of the Federation of Malaya Agreement have agreed to have talks with representatives of the Alliance in London. The first meeting will be held in the middle of January next, and will continue until a satisfactory conclusion is reached. On the other hand, if it appeared from the beginning that such a conclusion

is not possible, then no useful purpose would be served by our remaining longer in London.

It must be appreciated that we are going with a begging bowl in our hand but to ask to be given back to us that which by right is ours. The representatives whom Their Highnesses have appointed to represent them are men of outstanding ability, foresight and understanding. We have in a short time reached agreement whereby we will place the interest of Malaya above all else. With that in mind, we have set out hearts on the task before us. There are several issues involved in the talks in London, all of which are the essence and prerequisites of self-government in Malaya, and if they are resolved satisfactorily it will mean that Malaya will reach the maximum degree of self-government well within our target date. In effect it will actually mean that what we have promised to get in two years we shall get very much earlier.

His Excellency the High Commissioner in the course of his address to this Council has stated that Her Majesty's Government sees no reason to regard the continuance of the Emergency as an obstacle to Malaya's advance towards self-government. His Excellency also gave the assurance that he has the authority for saying that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to enter the London talks next year on that understanding. This is truly an encouragement and having obtained it we feel, and in fact we have every reason to hope, that the London Talks will proceed very smoothly. I hope that on my return I shall be able

to announce the date of Malayan Independence, as one of the main aims of the Alliance delegates will be to obtain from Her Majesty's Government declaration of that date, otherwise the people of Malaya will be left in a state of uncertainty, a situation which can easily lead to feelings of frustration.

I had on occasions mentioned before that such feelings are highly dangerous as the movement for independence in this country has gained such momentum that the people will not tolerate any act which might be regarded as a move to defeat their objective. As His Excellency mentioned, a spirit of mutual trust between our party and Her Majesty's Government has always prevailed. It will be in this spirit that we shall approach all questions connected with self-government and independence. From our short term of office we are able to study this question from the administrative and political angle and we have no reason whatsoever to doubt that we are able and capable to undertake the task of administering self-government in Malaya with absolute confidence. Therefore our Mission to London will be to ask for immediate control of all matters affecting finance, internal security and defence, Malayisation of the public service, and to ask for an appointment of a commission which will be given terms of reference wide enough to make recommendations for such constitutional changes as are necessary to give us self-government. Those are matters which we regard as necessary to secure for us the respect of our neighbours and

confidence of our people in our progress towards complete independence.

In the matter of finance, it is imperative that in guiding Malaya towards full independence the elected government should have a clear and complete understanding of the financial problems involved, which are inter-linked with our future economic development plans. At the present moment the Financial Secretary and the other Ministers concerned are carefully examining these complicated questions, and the deputation will go to London armed with all available information. There are long standing arrangements between the Federation of Malaya and the United Kingdom and the rest of the Sterling Area on financial matters, and we shall have to consider how these arrangements may need to be modified to meet the changing circumstances of the future. A further matter which will require consideration will be the establishment of a Joint Central Bank to which subject the Report of the International Bank Mission has already referred.

In the matter of defence, according to the Federation of Malaya Agreement, the whole question of defence is the control of Her Majesty's Government. We can well understand the reason for it, Malaya being a dependent territory, the whole defence of this country, both internal and external, must be the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, but with self-government, the position must change and it is in those changed circumstances that we propose to exercise com-

as necessary and are only a drain on the country's finances. His Excellency has informed this Council that "in connection with the policy of Malayisation, consideration is being given by the government to the position of the overseas officer". In somewhat similar circumstances in other territories opportunities have been given to overseas officers to leave the service on fair and reasonable terms when constitutional changes affecting their terms of appointment take place. The position of these officers will be protected in that employment will not be terminated without proper consideration; if that course should be found necessary, either at the request of the officers concerned or as the needs of the country warrant, they will be adequately compensated and those officers who remain to assist the country along the road to self-government and independence will be welcome and can be assured that their interest and future will be fully safeguarded.

The Constitutional Commission which we have in mind to appoint is to examine the present Constitution and to propose reforms which will be in accord with the progress of this country towards independence. You will appreciate why the appointment of such a Commission is necessary. The present Constitution which was drawn up in 1949 is entirely inadequate and incompatible with the functions of the present elected government. For example, under the present Constitution the High Commissioner has the reserve right of veto. It would be appropriate for the High Commissioner to exercise that right in a Nominat-

ed Council but with a partially elected Council, the exercise of such a right would lead to a serious difference of opinion between the High Commissioner and the elected government. Under the existing Constitution the High Commissioner can act against the advice of the Executive Council but here again it would be highly dangerous under the present form of ministry for the High Commissioner to exercise that right. According to the Constitution, the internal and external defence of this country is vested in Her Majesty's Government, but with self-government this power must be transferred into the hands of the government of the Federation.

In fact the existing Constitution regards Malaya as a Colonial territory and therefore is not compatible with the present political thought existing in this country. With this move towards independence, the Constitution that must be re-written must be one which will make Malaya a self-governing and independent territory. I was asked in this Council recently at question time to define "self-government". The proper authority to do so will be this Commission which we propose to set up, and Honourable Members will have the opportunity to debate its reports when it comes before this Council some time next year.

On the question of independence, I earnestly hope that Their Highnesses the Rulers will not entertain any feelings of uncertainty and insecurity as to their position in an Independent Malaya, because the Alliance is sincere in the declaration of

loyalty to Their Highnesses made originally at our National Convention on the 23rd August, 1952. The Alliance will maintain the position of Their Highnesses as Constitutional Rulers of their respective States. Since that time, the Alliance of the UMNO-MCA has been further strengthened by the inclusion of the MIC and a further pledge was made at our second National Council on the 10th April, 1955, which pledge was subsequently embodied in our Federal Election manifesto.

This was not an idle promise or an empty pledge. It was not made with the object of winning the Rulers to our side. We meant it in all seriousness and sincerity. This is the first time in the history of Malaya that Malays, Chinese and Indians have joined together in common loyalty to Malaya and to Their Highnesses. There is no doubt that if the Rulers agree with our plan for the achievement of independence, the path towards it will be smooth, and the going will be easy. On the other hand if for some reason the Rulers cannot bring themselves to agree with us, the path will be rugged and the going stormy and difficult. Nevertheless, I am confident that the Alliance will in the end achieve our objectives despite it for history tells us that the will of the people must prevail. I reiterate the assurance of my party that Their Highnesses should entertain no doubt whatsoever as to the security of their position and their dignity and prestige. We will guard it with all the strength that lies within our power.

I have no reason to believe that there is any

ground for disagreement on the matter of our claim for self-government and independence. Their Highnesses and Her Majesty's Government have agreed that there should be constitutional changes in the light of political developments in Malaya, and they have expressed a desire that these changes should be made to meet with the just aspirations of the people. The declared intention of Her Majesty's Government was clearly manifested in the address of His Excellency and in no uncertain terms. He reaffirmed the intention of Her Majesty's Government to give Malaya self-government and independence.

With this assurance I can expect that the talks in London will proceed smoothly and in an atmosphere of goodwill and cordiality. Their Highnesses likewise have shown support for our mission by appointing their representatives to go with us. The fact that Their Highnesses have allowed their representatives to travel in the same boat with the representatives of the Alliance show the maximum of goodwill and confidence which Their Highnesses repose in us. This is truly a happy augury for the future of Malaya. I would like to assure Honourable Members that we are not travelling by boat just for the purpose of having a pleasure cruise. We will in fact be working harder than ever for there is so much work to be done before we get to London. We will leave the boat at Karachi and emplane for London by which time we shall be sufficiently prepared to begin our talks. All this is highly encouraging and I can only ask members of all parties to pray with us that the

mission which has been appointed for the first time in the history of this country will meet with resounding success. Further as I have said before, I hope to be able to announce definitely the date of our independence on my return to this country.

4

The Rubber Industry

SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF
THE FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE COUNCIL OF MALAYAN
SMALLHOLDERS' ASSOCIATIONS,
KUALA LUMPUR ON 28TH FEBRUARY, 1956

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to open the First General Meeting of the Smallholders' Association. The founding of this association reflects very great credit on those responsible for this is indeed a step forward towards the co-ordination of smallholders' activities. I am certain that through this Council much good work will be done for the smallholders. There are problems facing rubber growers in general and large estates with their efficient management, connections abroad and organisation are able to tackle the problems, the smallholders in the past have had to toe the line whether they liked or not. Today with this Association you will have a great opportunity to play your part in the rubber industry and I hope you will play it well.

I have no need to stress the importance of rub-

ber in the economy of Malaya, everybody knows that, but what everybody forgets is the importance of rubber smallholdings. The government has not overlooked this fact and it has always given first place to the interests of smallholders, and it intends to do a lot more for them. In the past there was no channel of communications between the government and the smallholders. Now that you have this Association you have provided this channel. There are many things which government would want to do for smallholders from time to time. There are matters connected with improvement in planting or growing techniques, marketing and other kindred matters. Indeed I do on behalf of the government welcome this organisation as satisfying a long-felt need both of the smallholders and of the government. I congratulate most heartily those responsible for the founding of this Association.

In the course of my visit to England I also took up matters affecting rubber. I refer to the embargo of rubber to China. This is a policy which has caused the exporters in Malaya heartache, extreme annoyance and dissatisfaction. The policy of preventing the export of rubber to China is unrealistic and unworkable. Malayan rubber finds its way into China by devious routes. It is exported to the British market and finds its way to Russia and from Russia to China. While other exports are able to reap the benefit of sending rubber to China, Malayan exporters are denied the right and advantage. Ceylon, who is a member of the United Nations, is reaping the advantage of di-

rect shipment to China. It has a way out because at the time Ceylon made a treaty with China, she was not a member of the United Nations. I personally feel that the embargo is a big mistake and it must be corrected. I took this matter up with the Prime Minister at the first opportunity I had and he promised to take it up with the President of the United States. I did not have the opportunity of seeing him again before I left England but according to reports in the British Press he did take the matter up with the President and all we can do at this moment is to wait patiently for the result.

Another matter which I took up in England is the import of synthetic rubber into England. You have heard that England now imports synthetic rubber from America to the extent of 70,000 tons. This to my mind was a direct challenge to the Malayan industry. Not only that but these people intended to manufacture synthetic rubber in England. These importers met me and explained that synthetic rubber was required for a certain purpose and in no case would it be a danger or competitor to the Malayan industry. Nevertheless, I was not convinced by their arguments and I left Mr. Spencer¹ to take it up with them and he spent some time with them.

However, do not let that disturb you. Your duty is to carry on with your industry with greater

¹ Federation Minister for Economic Affairs.

effort, for the government depends on you for the economy of the country. We have based our income for the year largely on the price of rubber being maintained at \$1 per lb. It has gone below that price at the moment but I feel confident that it will rise again but that is a prayer rather than a hope. I wish your Association every success and pray that your strength will grow as you go on from day to day. For both the government and the smallholders stand to benefit by your success. I take great pleasure in declaring your meeting open.

5

The First Development Plan

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

Mr. Speaker,¹

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

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

¹ Dato' Abdul Malik bin Yusuf.

Development Plan on the general
lines set out in Council Paper
14 of 1957.

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

However, I appreciate that some Honourable Members may have difficulty in understanding all the terms used in the White Paper. I have therefore translated the major part of my speech in Malay in order to explain certain aspects more clearly to Members who may have had difficulty in understanding the White Paper itself and have circulated them to the Malay members.

The outline plan of Development which the Government has put before the House today re-

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

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when my colleagues and I returned from the London Constitutional Talks a year ago we realised that we had secured Independence for our country, God willing, on August 31st 1957. We therefore turned our minds immediately to the second task before us, that of preparing this outline plan of Development. We established an Economic Committee of Executive Council and this called for every Minister to draw up draft plans covering the most important

schemes and projects which he felt should be undertaken in the next years. This task was not approached in any negative spirit, or in any desire to break with the past or to undermine or destroy any of the good things which had been done before. On the contrary, we accepted from the outset a large number of projects and policies approved by the previous Government and Legislative Council and we have incorporated these in our own plans.

But when the plans of all the individual ministries were added up it was clear that in the aggregate it represented far more than any department in this country could hope to carry out in a period of five years. We have set these out in the White Paper itself so that Honourable Members may be able to get an idea of the magnitude of the problem for themselves. These initial Plans to which I am referring are set out in the second broad column of Appendix I to the White Paper under the heading "Plans as proposed by individual departments early 1956 for the period 1956/60". Honourable Members will see that to do everything which Ministers felt to be important would have required Capital Expenditure of no less than \$1,560 millions. This figure included no less than \$180 millions for the Armed Forces which is what the Armed Forces Council thought we ought to spend immediately on raising our own Army, Navy and Air Force to the size necessary to support the dignity and sovereignty of an independent country. In addition to this, there would be an increase in Annually Recurrent

Expenditure of no less than \$142 millions a year of which \$55 millions would have been for the Armed Forces. These figures are far beyond anything which the Government could hope to raise in five years or so, either by loans or any other way. Indeed, as shown in paragraph 14 and Appendix 11 the figure of \$1,560 millions would not have represented the whole picture, for there are certain other items of Capital Expenditure which we have to meet over and above our needs for the Development Plan.

But even if we could have raised the money needed for such a Plan, it would have been beyond our physical capacity to carry out. This is illustrated by the column called "PWD Share" in Appendix 1 which shows that to carry out this Plan no less than \$690 millions of work would have to be done by the Public Works Department. This is roughly double the rate of work which that department could carry out as things stood in the middle of last year before we were faced with the problem of losing large numbers of experienced engineering officers under the Malayisation Scheme, under the column headed "PWD Share" of the table which shows how much of this proposed plan will have to be carried out by the Public Works Department. Allowing for a small Unallocated Reserve to meet unforeseen needs the total Capital programme has thus been reduced from \$1,560 millions to \$1,138 millions including \$140 millions for the Armed Forces. The additional Recurrent Expenditure programme has been reduced from \$142 millions a

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

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

This does not mean that we are going backwards or anything like that. All that was necessary was for the plan to be recast and reduced to more practical dimensions. On the contrary the Plan which we are now proposing would involve an increase of roughly, 50% in the Government's rate of Capital Expenditure compare either with what the International Bank Mission recommended or with what has been actually achieved in the past. If our plan does not involve going ahead as fast as we would like, it does mean nonetheless that we

intend to go ahead faster than any government before us. I know of course that many members of this House will see directions in which they would like the government to undertake more ambitious scheme than those now contained in the Provisional Plan attached to this White Paper. I would like to assure such Members that they are not alone in these feelings. I and every other Minister, could easily propose a much larger plan and many more schemes in almost every direction than those which we now put before the house. We do not so because we wish to be practical. We must limit our targets and our plans to something which we have a reasonable chance of carrying out in five years or even longer:

The revised Plan as reduced and reshaped is now set out on the right side of Appendix I in the columns headed "Provisional Plan now proposed for 1956/60". It takes the form of provisional allocations of Capital money to the various Ministers and departments for the period 1956-60. It shows how much of this proposed expenditure has already been voted in 1956 and how much new Capital Expenditure is envisaged in and after 1957. The column headed "Increase in Annually Recurrent" shows the amount of additional Annually Recurrent Expenditure which the Government contemplates by 1960 on the extension of existing services and the introduction of new services.

I would ask any Honourable Member who proposes to criticise the Plan and in particular any

member who wishes to press for more to be done in this or that direction to bear this truth in mind.

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

I will now turn to the London Talks.

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

some help mainly by way of a direct government-to-government loan towards the cost of our Development Plan itself.

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

tion.

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

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

To return to the question of the help offered by the British Government: they have also promised us some help with the Emergency. We shall get—again as a free grant and without any strings attached—\$25 millions a year for the three years beginning in 1957. In 1959 the position will be reviewed if we can satisfy them of the need for it, Her Majesty's Government has promised to be prepared to give us further help up to a maximum of \$94 millions, that is nearly \$120 millions in all. This will be a most valuable help to us at a critical time when our recurrent expenditure on the

Development Plan will be expanding rapidly.

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

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

If the United Kingdom Government gave a direct development loan to an Independent Malaya in 1957 then it would be morally bound to give one to the Gold Coast —or Ghana as it is now called—too; then there would be one for Independent Nigeria soon and then the West Indian Federation. Singapore presumably would qualify for one too some time and so would every other Colonial territory. The British people are already the highest taxed in the world and they accept without grumbling taxes far higher than those which we imposed last November and which so many people complained about. In fairness to the British Government which is giving us much generous help with the cost of our Armed Forces and the Emergency we must appreciate their difficulties at the present time too. I feel sure Honourable Members will join with me in thanking them cordially for the help which they have felt able to offer to us on the eve of our Independence.

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

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

II. THE COMMUNISTS



6

The Amnesty Offer

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 10TH
SEPTEMBER, 1955

It is two days since the offer of amnesty was made. Though millions of pamphlets have been dropped from the air and delivered through other human agencies throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is too early as yet to expect mass surrender. I am optimistic that there will be surrenders but in what numbers they will come it is difficult to predict. I have just received news that four have surrendered already. It must be understood, however, that these people have been in the jungle for many years and however much they may wish to accept the amnesty they must naturally feel doubtful of the good intentions of the government and are naturally shy of the people with whom they have not been in contact for many years. Nevertheless I would say to them that the promise which the government has made for their safety is sincere and I, as Chief

Minister, representing the government of the Alliance will do my utmost to see that they will be properly treated and to see that investigations, which will take place, will be conducted in the most humane and understanding manner; and above all, to see that every fairness and justice will be done.

It is expected that they will surrender in different places and at different times. They will not be put to the strain of investigations immediately on surrender and I am sure they will be allowed to rest and take their own time and each man will be asked as to when he will be ready to answer questions. As representative of the people, I will see that every man who surrenders will be fairly and justly treated. Whenever it is possible, I shall myself attend the investigations, or if I am not able to do so then I shall ask some of my Ministers to assist or deputise for me. Therefore no one need fear of any unfair treatment. The women will be given a special place and will be looked after by women.

My advice is that the communists should take advantage of the amnesty and surrender as soon as they can. It will be for their own good to surrender now and it will be for the benefit of the country and the people if they do. The quicker they surrender the quicker will the Emergency end. With the ending of the Emergency the government can devote all its attention and effort and all its resources for the well-being of the people of this country.

With regard to those detained there can be no question about their release. Once the country reaches the stage of normalcy emergency regulations or whatever part of them found unacceptable will be repealed. Some of the people have been detained for the last seven and the half or eight years and it is inhuman to detain them any longer. On the other hand, you will understand that while the state of emergency lasts we cannot allow these people to be at large and carry on subversive activities against the government.

In advising the High Commissioner to make this declaration of amnesty, the Alliance Party is acting in accord with the wishes of the people of this country. Everyone of us sick of the situation created by the emergency. It involves unnecessary waste of money and loss of human lives, and there is no hope whatever of the people in the jungle gaining anything by it. So why continue this useless and fruitless struggle? Why not give up? By coming out they will be doing a service to the country and the people. The Alliance is fighting for freedom and independence and we are going about it the right way, the way which is accepted and approved by all the democratic peoples of the world. If the communists really love Malaya as they say they do and really consider Malaya their home, then they should come out. They will be entitled to take part in politics but not as communists. They must first belong to any one of the political parties recognised by the government, but if they intend to turn this country into a land of turmoil and strife, then they

will be making the biggest mistake of their lives.

The millions of people here, to whichever walk of life they belong, are happy. They enjoy themselves by going to the theatres, cinemas, amusement parks, attending football games, sports, by going fishing, hunting, rounds of picnicking, mountaineering, hiking and disport themselves in other forms of pleasure. But if the communists were to tell me that by living in the jungle they are happier than we are here, then I will say that they have a strange and unnatural attitude towards life. The jungle has its beauty but the beauty of the jungle can be enjoyed only for a short period. They have lived for nearly eight years in real hardship and deprivation and I say that they must come out now unless they are to become completely estranged from human society.

There will be local ceasefire in places where they have indicated their intention to surrender. They can surrender to whoever they like and whenever they like and those of them who do not wish to make a home in Malaya and wish to go to China, their applications will be duly considered.

I would like to reiterate what I said before. I am prepared to meet the communist leaders, not to negotiate but with the object of persuading them that the amnesty is a sincere and fair attempt to end the emergency and that their wisest course would be to accept as this amnesty declaration has been made because of the sincere desire of the people for peace.

7

A Letter From Chin Peng

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON
7TH OCTOBER, 1955.

This is the third time I have spoken to you about the general amnesty offered to the communists since last month. What has happened during this time? Almost 30 million pamphlets concerning the offer have been scattered in the jungle to inform the communists. The Security Forces have been instructed not to fire if they meet them. Instead they are to appeal to the communists first. The Security Forces have followed this instruction. Many places all over Malaya have been declared secure. Up to now 21 people have surrendered, including 6 Malays. I am very happy because it is not often that Malays surrender in such numbers in such a short time.

I believe these people realise that under my leadership, *Merdeka* has been achieved in a way that I can be proud, that is by constitutional means.

Since this amnesty was declared, until now, I am proud to have obtained firm support from the *rakyat* concerning the general amnesty as well as other matters. I myself have taken part, in rain and sun, in processions held everywhere by the *rakyat* whenever I have had the opportunity. I have also made speeches and held informal discussions with thousands of people regarding this general amnesty. I am certain that the people agree with the step I have taken. As the leader of a political organisation I am very fortunate to have obtained such support.

This general amnesty is an important step by the Alliance government. I have complete faith that this move will be successful judging from the support it has received. However, I feel that it is not enough. I need full support so that food will not reach the communists. If you know that the communists are obtaining food, please inform the authorities in your area. Formerly, the government could only obtain this information from the police. Now, this government is the government of the *rakyat*. The people have a responsibility to assist the government by telling what they know about food being given to the communists.

I have received an important letter from the communist party headquarters. The letter concerns a ceasefire and asks for an improvement in the conditions of the amnesty. The communists recognise the honesty and sincerity of Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan and myself in the political struggle in Malaya. Because of this they have

agreed to meet with Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan and me in Kuala Lumpur.

This development has given me great hope the communists desire to make peace. I agree to meet with Chin Peng¹ together with Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan² and Mr David Marshall³ but before that, I require a letter from him to inform me of the time and place to meet. If possible, I will send an officer to accompany him to that place. I would like to inform him of the amnesty that I have announced and also my activities in the Malayan political scene. I believe that he is not well informed about the changes that have taken place. I would like to tell him that this offer is fair and in line the general amnesty so that those who surrender can come out and mix once again in society.

At present, those who have surrendered are free to move around with few restrictions. Eight of them have been interrogated and set free.

They have been treated well and given temporary financial assistance until they can earn a living. Concerning the ceasefire that has been suggested as a condition for meeting with Chin Peng, I cannot agree. The only thing I can accept to would be a ceasefire in the area of the meeting. The reason is that the Johore communists are

¹ Chairman of the Communist Party of Malaya

² The MCA president

³ The V

very fierce. People have been killed, rifles stolen from the Home Guard and property destroyed. If a general ceasefire is implemented, what guarantee is there that they will not continue to carry out terrorist activities? The government must keep the peace and maintain public safety.

I speak as a leader whose party has won convincingly at all levels in the elections for the Legislative Council. I also speak as one who sees the rise of a free and sovereign nation. I appeal to the communists to help in the development of this nation by stopping all riotous activity. The money we spend on the Emergency can be used for the benefit of the people and the prosperity of the country. Don't interfere with our march to independence and the achievement of an equal place in the world of free nations.

If I meet with Chin Peng, I will tell him that the general amnesty does not come from a colonial government, but from a government of the people, following the wishes of the people. If the communists wish to continue fighting it will mean that they want to become the enemies of the people. To the people of Malaya I say that I am aware of the responsibility and trust which has been placed on my shoulders and I will carry out my duties without stint. God willing, *Merdeka* and peace will be achieved in this country.

I will inform the *rakyat* about whatever happens. If there are times when I do not do this it is not because I wish to hide anything from the

rakyat. It is only because there are some matters which have to be kept secret because of the national interest. I appeal to the people whom I have pledged to serve to pray with me that peace and prosperity will return to this country once again.

• Translated from Bahasa Malaysia by Bruce Gale from original copies supplied by the Akrib Negara (National Archives)

8

The Baling Talks

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 30TH
DECEMBER, 1955

The talk between Chin Peng and the Chief Minister of Singapore¹, Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan² and me has now concluded. The result may appear to some as unsatisfactory but my colleagues and I expected no other result apart from the one which was reached. The talks began on the 28th December, 1955 at Baling and ended at noon of 29th December. Chin Peng had made it quite clear to my colleagues and me that he would not surrender unless we were prepared:—

- (i) to recognise the communist party,
- (ii) not to hold investigations, and
- (iii) not to detain them for such investigations.

As to No. (i), that is to recognise the communist

¹ Mr. David Marshall.

² President of the Malayan Chinese Association.

party, I made it quite clear to him that I cannot recognise the communist party because their activities have been absolutely un-Malayan. For the last eight years they have been trying to impose their will upon the people by committing atrocities and murders. If we were to recognise the communist party the people of Malaya who have suffered on account of their activities would certainly not countenance it.

The object of holding investigations, I explained to them, is to ascertain their loyalty. I made it quite clear to them that before they can be allowed to take their place in society they must first undertake to be loyal to this country and to give up their communist activities. They objected to being examined and they demanded to know what the tests to ascertain loyalty to Malaya would be. I explained to them that the test is pretty simple. It is a test of loyalty to the Rulers and the established government of the country and the abjuration of all communist activities. In order to carry out this investigation, it would be necessary to keep them in a certain area. They suggested that to be kept in any area would in fact mean detaining them and they would refuse to be detained. They would prefer to carry on the life they are leading today, free to roam about as they like in the jungle. I also explained that it is only necessary to hold them for the period it would take to carry out the investigation in order to ensure their loyalty to this country. Still they refused.

Then Mr. Marshall and I asked them as to their purpose in carrying out these futile acts of terrorism to which they replied that they do so in order to implant the communist ideology. At first they were trying to make out that they were fighting to liberate Malaya from the yoke of colonialism but I told them that this is unnecessary in view of the assurance given by His Excellency in the Legislative Council that independence is promised to Malaya and we will get it as soon as arrangements and details have been worked out to effect the transfer of power. Moreover, the UMNO General Assembly backed up by the Alliance National Council have agreed that if possible independence of Malaya should be declared on the 31st August, 1957. It is quite clear, therefore, their argument that they are fighting to end colonialism is absolutely groundless.

I am now going to England in order to work out details for self-government and independence. My mission has the backing and support of the Rulers and of all the organisations in this country. I told Chin Peng and his colleagues that I am not sitting here in judgement over them but I am here to talk to them in plain and sincere language. Both the Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. David Marshall, and Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan were of the same opinion that the communists must give up this useless struggle and place themselves in our hands: they could depend on us to do what is right by them.

The third and last session of the talks which

took place the next day, 29th December, 1955, brought out a very important declaration from Chin Peng which is to the effect that the Malayan Communist Party would lay down their arms and stop fighting as soon as the elected government of the Federation of Malaya has got control of internal security of this country. He further said that the Communist Armed Forces which are called the National Liberation Army would have no cause then to exist or to carry on with their armed struggle. I asked whether the Malayan Communist Party would agree to an unconditional surrender. The reply was in the negative as according to them it is undignified to surrender. Mr Marshall then pointed out that there are 7,000,000 people in Malaya whereas there are only 3,000 communists. Chin Peng should consider the welfare of the 7,000,000 people and should sacrifice his pride in the mild humiliation which is implied in the surrender terms. It was then that Chin Peng stated that he had no mandate to accept it. In fact he went on further and said that rather than suffer the ignominy of a surrender they would fight to the last man. I pointed out that if that was their attitude there was nothing further I could do for them.

We have come to a point whereby either the Malayan Communist Party surrender or my party surrender. But, if I were to surrender, I would betray the people of Malaya to the communists. Our ideologies clash very violently. The Malayan Communist Party's ideology is an ideology of violence and hatred while ours is one of peace and

goodwill. Theirs is a foreign movement directed from without and has very little support from within. On the other hand, ours is a powerful Malayan nationalist movement backed by the people of the country. It is obvious that their ideology and ours cannot exist side by side because what happened in China, Korea and Vietnam is an indication as to what would happen here. I told Chin Peng that China is his own country but the Chinese nationalists have been driven out by the communists. Korea had to be divided into two halves, one half to accommodate communists and the other half the South Koreans. The same thing happened to Vietnam but Malaya is too small to be divided into warring factions and the people of Malaya refused to allow themselves to be so divided. Chinese, Malays, Indians and others are contributing their share in the building of a Malayan nation. This new nation must not be destroyed by the communists. The issue is clear either the Malayan Communist Party surrender or I surrender. I will not surrender and therefore the Malayan Communist Party must surrender.

Since the Malayan Communist Party refused to accept the amnesty terms I, as the Chief Minister of the elected government of the Federation of Malaya, with the concurrence of the High Commissioner and General Bourne do hereby declare that the amnesty declared on the 9th September, 1955 will be withdrawn with effect from 8th February, 1956 and also with effect from the same date any other surrender terms which have

been in force prior to the amnesty declaration.

I have no intention of meeting the Communist leader again unless the Communists indicate before hand their desire to see me on the ground that they want to make a full and complete surrender. I regret having to resort to this course of action but my government and my party are convinced that no half measures would ever bring an end to this struggle which has been going on for the last eight years. The people are sick and tired of this state of emergency and the communist leader has turned down our offer to end this struggle. They indicated that our ideology of peace and goodwill cannot exist side by side with their ideology of violence and hatred. The war must be intensified until one or the other must give in and it is certain that I will not give in and betray the Malayan people. So the Malayan Communist Party must give in.

I have every confidence that the people of Malaya will give their fullest support and cooperation to the action I have taken.

MERDEKA!

9

No More Negotiations

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 2ND
APRIL, 1956

The Malayan communists have written another letter offering to reopen negotiations to end the Emergency. This letter has been sent to a number of people and organisations but not to me. It was written in English and Chinese, signed by Chen Tian. The letter offers to make peace terms acceptable to the communists but they do not say what the terms are. All that they say is that they want terms which will not cause them to suffer political indignity or personal retaliation.

This latest overture has been made to several people and several organisations to bring pressure to bear on my government to reopen negotiations with them. The reason they give is that the MCP has an obligation to raise this alarm "in front of the whole nation" because they consider that the British, "by giving slight concessions to the

Malayan authorities, are in fact materialising their malicious fraud of directing Malaysians against Malaysians". They urge on all communities and organisations to force government to offer them reasonable terms. My particular comment on this is that this approach of theirs is in fact another way of trying to justify their refusal to lay down their arms as they had promised to do at the Baling Talks. You will remember that on that occasion they said that as soon as I had control of internal defence they would lay down their arms.

Since the Baling Talks certain public organisations have made public utterances urging me to offer peace to the MCP on any terms. This has been taken by the communists to mean that they have the sympathy of the people of Malaya. Hence this letter.

The only peace term which this government is prepared to offer them is one which would guarantee the country everlasting peace and security and not one which would give the MCP the opportunity to carry out subversive and other un-Malayan activities, highly dangerous and detrimental to the well-being of the people and the peace of the country. It was for this reason that I said they must surrender their arms and they must agree to be loyal to the country before they would be allowed to re-enter society. Those of them who feel they cannot agree to these terms must make their choice to return to their country or countries of origin. I am prepared to talk to the communists but only to make arrangements

for their unconditional surrender. But before this can take place the communists must state specifically that they will accept my terms for complete surrender. I refuse to be deceived a second time by carrying on talks when they have not the slightest intention of coming to any form of agreement. Their method is to start a talk on any subject and before a decision can be reached they start on another subject. That is what happened at Baling.

Finally at Baling when they found that my patience was about to be exhausted, they agreed that when I got control of internal defence they would lay down their arms. I was not convinced of their sincerity and it was then that I asked Mr. Marshall to write down on a piece of paper, have it attested by the communist and published to the world so that the world could bear witness to this document. I was right.

So now in order to avoid fulfilling this promise they made they are trying to enlist public sympathy in order to force my government to make peace with them. They don't deserve the sympathy of the people of Malaya. I therefore have great pleasure in rejecting their offer. To the communists I say 'Lay down your arms as you had promised and leave it to my government to honour the promise we made, i.e as soon as you surrender and prove yourselves law abiding and loyal to the country you will be released and will be free to rejoin society. To those of you who wish to return to your country of origin I will offer every opportunity to do so'.

10

The Death Of Yuong Kuo

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 30TH
AUGUST, 1956

A most satisfying event connected with the Emergency occurred on the morning of the 26th August, I refer to the death of Yuong Kuo whom the Security Forces have always considered as a most dangerous and cunning member of the communist party and who had always managed to elude them. His death will cause a severe blow to Chin Peng and in general to the communist cause because he was admittedly the man who organised the communist terrorist resistance movement. He had been elusive and time again eluded capture by outmanoeuvring and outwitting the Security Forces. I for one feel exceedingly happy that he is now out of the way and with his death I am certain that many of the plans which he had prepared will not be executed or if executed will miscarry.

Yuong Kuo started with Chin Peng to lead the MCP into armed terrorism and they were virtual dictators in the communist party carrying out the acts of terrorism without compunction, but Yuong Kuo actually was the brain behind the MCP movement. Without him Chin Peng is now left to fight the battle alone. It is difficult for him to choose an assistant of the calibre, courage and cunning of Yuong Kuo to help him. Not only did Yuong Kuo plan the active warfare but he also planned the subversive part of the MCP policy in order to offset the communists' mounting losses.

People will still remember the incident at Semenyih where so much public indignation was aroused on the way the Security Forces were alleged to have examined the inhabitants of that village by stripping them. It was Yuong Kuo's own idea to bring the government and Security Forces into disrepute and contempt. He would have succeeded had the government been slow in appointing a committee of inquiry whose report ultimately helped to a great extent to clear the air and the misunderstanding to which the incident gave rise. It was obvious that it was Semenyih which he was raking for food and it was also the confidence he had in his helpers in the area of Semenyih that had brought about Yuong Kuo's downfall.

It was a very creditable achievement on the part of the Rifle Brigade in co-operation with other Security Forces in bringing about the death of this man and it is also a proof of the great

measure of public support for the government that such a tip off was obtained from their members. The effect of Yuong Kuo's death on the MCP will not lead to any immediate or noticeable change of policy by the MCP. But in Selangor at least, where the communists have just only recently lost Chen Lou, the State MCP leader, and ten others of his Headquarters, the loss of Yuong Kuo's leadership will add to their many reverses and will prove a very serious set back to their cause. Similarly the effect of his death may well be felt throughout South Malaya. The death of Yuong Kuo has given the Security Forces and the loyal citizens of this country a feeling of elation and confidence that victory is in sight.

Yuong Kuo was a Hokkien born in Fukien Province about 1912 and came to Malaya in 1926. He was educated at a very good Chinese School in Penang. Early in 1930 he was one of the founders of the Penang Students Union and it was through this and other student activities that he became interested in communism. He moved to Singapore and continued his MCP activities directing students and influencing labour movement whilst he was a correspondent in one of the leading newspapers in that city. He returned to Penang and worked on the staff of a weekly paper called *Shio Poa* and became a member of the Penang MCP Town Committee. In 1940 he was banished to China but returned to Malaya in 1941. He was a very active leader of the MPAJA in Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang during the Japanese occupation. In 1944 he was one of those who was

wounded and captured by the Japanese at Kepong but as his luck would have it he managed to escape to carry on the fight. After the war with the Japanese he directed the dumping secretly of large quantities of arms and it was with these arms that he was able to carry on the communist activities against government right up to the present day. Before his death he was the Vice Secretary-General of the MCP and until his death he led a very charmed life.

The people must not be led however into believing that his death will lessen the activities of the communists so as to induce us to lapse into a state of complacency. On the contrary I feel that the communists will go on fighting but without the brain behind it is my hope that their struggle will suffer reverses with the result that the Emergency will come to a speedy end. We have had enough of this war and will welcome the end of it.

III. MALAY LANGUAGE,
CULTURE AND NATIONAL
UNITY



11

Malay Culture

SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF
THE INFORMATION OFFICERS' ANNUAL
CONFERENCE, KUALA LUMPUR ON 2ND
NOVEMBER, 1955

In the course of the last few months of your work you must have met and have come across quite a number of people from all walks of life and I must compliment you on the considerable success which you have achieved. In the electioneering campaign you brought to the minds of the people how necessary it was for them to vote and you achieved a great success in that you got more than eighty per cent of the people to go out and vote. Then again, the other success which you achieved was in bringing information to the people which the government wanted you to bring to them.

The government now has changed from a nominated government to a partially elected government and with that you must expect also a change in the policy. There won't be a major change nothing to disturb you but nonetheless a

change. In the course of your work you have spoken to people quite a lot and you have discussed matters of common interest to them and matters of common interest to government. The change which I now propose and which I would ask you to undertake is one which I consider is well within the province of your calling and one which is well within your fields of activities. You are Information Officers and as such you have to give the people information. What I propose now is that you serve as a two-way channel between the government and the people.

Apart from that there is another thing I want you to undertake and that is something which I have discussed with your Director. It is about Malay culture, arts, music, crafts and various other things. This culture is at the moment in the portfolio of the Minister for Education¹ but I would like that particular subject to be transferred to the Department of Information.

It will entail, I suppose, a lot of expenditure but that I think will be easily met because at the moment government feels that the Malay arts, music and other forms of culture should be encouraged because it is sad to see that sort of culture dying out under the impact of modern civilisation. There are certain things which are in our interest to revive. I have in mind, for instance, *Makyong*. It is very difficult to get *Makyong* to perform anyway, you can't find it, but if you do

¹ Dato' Abdul Razak bin Hussein.

lay your hands on one you will find it is joget modern. It is again very difficult for us to get a real Malay *runggeng*, dressed up in the real old-style dress. Another thing is the *Memorah*, *Wayang kulit*, *Wayang kulit Siamese*, *Wayang kulit Malay* and *Hadrah*. I think those of you who come from the north will understand, because to tell you the honest truth I haven't seen any of them for a long, long time.

Again another thing that I have been at difficulty to explain is a little game we call *Solai awai*. I think those from Kedah know it. Those are the games which are, I think, easily comparable with cricket because they are played with teams on both sides. That is the sort of thing which I feel we should try and encourage *sepak raga*, games, art, music and other cultures. It is up to you to seek them out and make your report and recommendations. I have asked your Director to call a meeting of the state representatives. We are writing to each state and asking them to send to Kuala Lumpur their representatives and we hope to have a meeting with them and to find out from them the talents which they have in the department. Then the next thing would be to ask the State Information Officers to convene a meeting of the people whom they feel would be able to contribute a lot in this direction, discuss with them and finally put up to me an estimate as to what they think it will cost.

There is another thing which is on the way to dying out and that is boat racing in the old Malay

style as you see in Kedah; racing boats carved out from one trunk of a tree. It is a beautiful thing to see how they row in such rhythm and race with such fervour. It is a wonderful, exciting thing. But today you hardly see those boat races. Last time I went to Kedah and even spoken to His Highness the Ruler because my father in the old days had all types of boats and boat racing was held regularly about there or four times a year. Today all that thing is dying out and the boats, I understand, are cast away on one side, exposed to rain and sun. And as a result of that all these things are being destroyed and nobody now will take the trouble of carving from the trunk of a tree a boat that could accommodate from twenty-eight to thirty paddlers. This is the sort of thing I would like to see revived. I don't know how much it would cost but it is well worth spending the money on things like that.

Your Director has also spoken to me about your various achievements in the past and also the difficulties with which you are, I understand, faced today. I suppose in the course of the next few months we shall have to put our heads together and see how we can overcome those difficulties. One of the things which he has mentioned to me is that you feel yourselves worried over the prospects of your employment. You feel perhaps that your employment will last as long as the Emergency lasts. Let me assure you that's far from the truth because one of the most important departments in the Federation today is the Information Department. Whether there is emer-

gency or whether there is no emergency your department must function. The only change is for you to be a two-way channel between the government and the people. With information about the people's needs, their circumstances, I feel we can do quite a lot. After all we are government of the people and our duty first must be to the people. Conditions in this world change and change very much indeed. Unless we are able to do what we can for the people we must expect trouble in this country and there is going to be trouble in galore.

Don't think that when the Emergency ends communist activities will end. Whether the shooting war goes on or whether it stops there is a danger that in the course of the next few months we shall get quite a lot of communist activities and I am sure if you will open your eyes you will see it. At this moment we are free from the trouble but on the other hand what has happened in our neighbouring countries may easily happen here. We have to be on our guard. The aim of this government, as must be the aim of any other government, is to seek peace and happiness for this country and for that we must bank on your help and your support. I am hoping that you will do your work and do it well.

The other matter which I would like to impress upon you is that you have got to travel far and

wide. If you sit in your office you can carry out the routine but if you travel far and wide, you will be helping this government a lot and the people a lot, and I feel very strongly that this government can function and function well only if the people are happy and satisfied. We are lucky in more ways than one; in the first place there has been prosperity in this country. At this time last year we were running the government on a deficit of something like \$100 and something million, but today, thanks to God, we are running this country on a surplus of several millions; now and at the end of the year if rubber keeps to its price, there will probably be an increase of \$150 million over the estimated revenue for the year. With that money I know we can do a lot.

We have promised quite a lot of things in our manifesto, promises we hope to carry out, but you must inform the people not to expect miracles from us. Everything has to be planned and it has to be worked out and then finally put into practice. Therefore it must take time. Tell them that everything we have promised in the course of our election campaign will be carried out. The Information Department has a major part to play and as I said before you have done your work very well indeed and I hope you will continue as well in the future. I appreciate your services to the Department before and to your Chief before and all I ask of you now is to give the same measure of loyalty to me as to your Boss before and I will be quite happy.

12

Malay Special Rights

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 22ND
APRIL, 1956

When the subject of *jus soli* was first broached in public, I was asked if I would like to make any comment. I refused on the ground that nothing good could come from it at this juncture. A number of prominent people, including my good friend Dato' Sir Cheng-Lock Tan were persuaded to join in the discussion. I presumed that he took part in it in the belief that some useful points might be brought to light. Then he later realised that the discussion was likely rather to confuse the issue than to serve any useful purpose and he accordingly withdrew from the scene. I was again and again approached by newsmen to make my comments but I decided to maintain my silence. However, so much publicity has been given to the subject without regard for the unfortunate and serious misunderstanding that might arise in consequence, that I feel a word from me might

perhaps be of some help, particularly as the heat generated by the controversy has I hope, now begun to die down.

Let us recall the fuss that was made when the Federation of Malaya Agreement was signed. There was very stiff opposition to the Agreement then and even a 'hartal' was declared for one day. But after the Agreement was implemented nobody saw any ground for worry, and non-Malays continued in undisturbed and unquestioned possession of their mines, their rubber estates, their business houses, their shops, their stalls, and their predominant interests in the road transport industry and in the whole commerce of this country. None of these have been lost to the Malays in spite of the special rights guaranteed by the Federation of Malaya Agreement, and so far the Federal Government has functioned without anybody losing a night's sleep over it. Except for the acts of terrorism by the communists, there is absolute peace amongst all men.

Some time has elapsed after the Federation of Malaya Agreement was first signed, and it was agreed that the moment for the changing of the form of the administration of this country from that of a Colony to that of an Independent State had arrived. The Malays, under the banner of UMNO, rose from their humble political status to demand this change. In keeping with the spirit of the day, we offered to share these newly found political advantages with other who are willing to make this country their home. The MCA answer-

ed our call to join forces, and then the MIC follow suit.

Together we swept onward from success in the field of politics and finally in the last Federal Elections we astounded the democratic world by our unprecedented election victory. We were then asked to form the government and we did so with a Ministerial set-up consisting of six Malay Ministers and four non-Malay. It is worth remembering also that seventeen non-Malay candidates were returned by an electorate the vast majority of whom were Malays and without the loss of a single seat. Therefore, the suspicion about the Malays' sincerity cannot, to my mind be justified. If anything was ample evidence of goodwill and friendship for all. It would be a thousand pities if anything were to happen to disturb this happy relationship that now exists.

There are certain people who demand equal rights now with the Malays. If they would only look around them, they would find that all the big businesses, mines and estates are in the hands of non-Malays having no share or any right whatsoever in them. The Malays' only chance of keeping our identity in this country alive is to insist on the retention of our inherent rights guaranteed by the Federation of Malaya Agreement, by treaties made between the British Government and the Rulers. Under the changes visualised by the new constitution, the Malays are prepared within reason to share those rights with others who owe loyalty to this country. I must ask non-Malays to

be fair and be considerate and not to make unreasonable demands, for it is well to remember that no natives of any country in the world have given away so much as the Malays have done. No natives have been as friendly to immigrant people as the Malays have been. Nobody need have any fear as to their future well-being in independent Malaya.

On the subject to the constitution of independent Malaya, the Malays have agreed to the appointment of a Commission made up of men of vast political knowledge and experience, completely unbiased and free from local prejudices. This was regarded as a dangerous move by some people as there will not be a single Malay on that Commission. The terms of reference which have been given to this Commission are both very far-sighted and very broad. We went even so far as to suggest a common nationality and have left it entirely to the Commission to make recommendations as to what form this nationality is to take. We are prepared to allow the Commission to use its judgement in order that a proper constitution for independent Malaya can be prepared quickly so that we might have an independent Malaya by the 31st August, 1957. I have suggested to organisations, political bodies or associations that they should submit memoranda to the independent Commission if they have any useful points to put forward, and I have no doubt that is the course that responsible bodies will adopt. The alternative of noisy advocacy of particular views at this stage is no way to impress the Commission

and can easily do harm by stirring up racial distrust.

I have worked very hard to build up goodwill and understanding between the people of Malaya, and I was quietly complimenting myself on the measure of success I have so far achieved in fact, the whole world has marvelled at the wonderful harmony that exists in this country between the peoples of the different races and religion. They gasped in wonder at the good progress that has been made in Malaya's march towards self-government and independence. Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his parting speech paid a very great tribute to the people of Malaya by saying that "Britain recognises that Malaya is entitled to independence not only because of the sense of responsibility of her leaders." Now let the leaders live up to it. When the Mission returned from England, we were received with enthusiasm of a kind hitherto unknown in this country. Our mission was acclaimed a success by all, no matter to which political party they belonged, except of course the communist and those opposed to independence.

Let me tell those who are opposed to independence that communism thrives under a colonial administration and if the communist were to gain the upperhand, such people could not expect to live here in peace and in prosperity. On the other hand, the Malays do not covet riches or wealth which do not belong to us. All that we have asked for is to be given the respect due to us as the sons

of the soil. Therefore, I would ask those who hope to obstruct the progress towards independence by creating dissension amongst the people of this country to think again, and think hard lest their plans miscarry and boomerang against them. To them I say, know your friends from your enemies and remember that the real bulwark and defence against communism are the Malays, and also remember that if it is God's will that independence will come to Malaya in 1957 nothing can stop it.

To the Malays I say that it must be remembered no country in the world has won independence without sacrifices being made by the people. I have no doubt that the Malays are prepared to make this sacrifice and to live up to our reputation of tolerance, hospitality and courtesy. In the past, these qualities had worked against us but in an independent Malaya these qualities can be turned into a potential asset. I ask all the people to practise tolerance and to maintain the spirit of co-operation which has carried the Alliance so successfully on our march towards independence.

MERDEKA!

13

National Unity

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 12TH
MAY, 1956

I have very great pleasure indeed to wish all my Muslim brothers throughout the Federation and Singapore my best wishes for a *Selamat Hari Raya* and to those others in Malaya I send you also my greetings. This is the first *Hari Raya* since the Alliance Government has come into power and also the first *Ramadan*. The change of administration was significant too in that Muslims are able to fulfil their obligations with less hardship than in the previous years in that the offices break up in the afternoon and they are able to rest after heavy work in the morning. The non-Muslims are also able to share in the advantage enjoyed by Muslims. This is a happy situation which we find in Malaya: Men of all creeds and races grow up together and live together in happy surroundings. The fun and conviviality of one race no matter whether it is celebrated in observance of religious

or cultural festival are always shared by the others of different races and different creeds.

It is well that on this significant day we take stock of our achievements in the advance and political development since the day we took office. You all know that self-government is now given to us and steps are already being taken to work out the multifarious problems which still remain to be done before the final handing-over of the sovereignty of Malaya to her people. We have had to work very hard to get to where we are today and I am happy to think that we are able to get so far is due to the help and cooperation received from men and women, and even children, and from Malays, Chinese, Indians and others. It was nice however to recall the rejoicings of the people on the result of our first national election. We see successful candidates being chaired by their Malay voters and paraded in the streets without regard as to what nationality they are so long as they are members of our Party.

This big hearted gesture on the part of the Malays clearly shows the goodwill which we bore towards our non-Malay friends. It was in this happy spirit that the Alliance Government was formed and it is in this happy spirit we run the government of the Federation of Malaya today.

The Alliance Government have fulfilled many of the promises made to the people since we came into power. We can only do it in the only possible way we know of and that is by gradual, systematic and methodical way. It is of course impossible for us to satisfy the whims and fancies of individuals but we feel that so long as the bulk of the population recognise the work we are doing, we are contented and happy. It is of course too much to hope that our party, or for that matter any political party in the world, can please everybody. Let me assure you all that every member of the Alliance Cabinet, be he a first rank Minister or a junior Minister, is trying his best to work for the good of the people of the country as a whole.

One thing I would like to do at this moment is to ask you all to be calm, confident and reasonable in your judgement and in your thinking so that peace and harmony in this country will not suffer adversely. It is the practice that on this *Hari Raya* day, as on every *Hari Raya* day, for Muslims the world over to greet their brethren with messages of goodwill and to exhort them to do good, to exercise tolerance and to bear goodwill towards all men. I hope that this practice will be even more pronounced than in the past years for we are now on the threshold of independence. An independent Malaya must have absolute harmony among her people, no matter what their race or creed may be so long as they are the people of Malaya and loyal to the country.

I am happy to say that the vexed controversy

over the question of *jus soli* which had raged with such tempo has now subsided. It seems that the people have recovered their equilibrium and are tackling this question in a proper and sensible manner. The Committee set up by the Alliance of the UMNO/MCA/MIC are burning their midnight oil in order to find a satisfactory solution to this question. Not a sound emanates from the closed room in which they work. On the other hand the people who have been making the most noise have been brought to task by me for an overt act of disloyalty to our country and insincerity to the people, who bear them goodwill and friendship, by publicly professing and protesting allegiance and loyalty to another country. I am glad however to say that the great majority of non-Malay Malaysians do not share their views or sentiments.

There is yet another threat to the prosperity of this country and it is from the labour quarters. I do not know how legitimate is their claim for increase of pay and for better terms of employment and I do not know how obstinate are the employers about meeting their demand. One thing I do know and that is this is not a matter which cannot be settled amicably. I do hope that both sides will try their very best to come to an honourable term, but if they cannot, then the government must step in and make available our services in order to effect a settlement.

I am a great believer in the adage that "Where there is a will there is a way". To my mind no

problem is too big or too difficult to tackle provided there is a will to do so. There is a will in Malaya to achieve independence and to put Malaya on the map of the world as a free nation. Nothing in the world can stop it however.

There is one problem which worries me. That is, how to bring the emergency to an end. Because of it, scores of people, men and women, are confined in the Ipoh detention camp. It is sad to see them so treated, but, what else could be done for them when they are all known to be terrorist supporters? If we release them they are bound to help increase the tempo of communist activities and terrorism. We realise it is inhuman to detain them indefinitely. But in the interest of public security such a course is necessary. We are, however, releasing them as fast as circumstances permit. There is now only one detention camp left and that is in Ipoh. The hard core communist sympathisers remain shut up until such time as the emergency ends. It can only end if the terrorists would lay down their arms. We have tried to persuade them to do so and are prepared to make peace with them. The report of the Baling Talks will soon be before the public and the people will be able to judge for themselves to what length we were prepared to go in order to persuade Chin Peng and his gang to lay down their arms. We can do no more than that as otherwise it would bring discredit to the government and the party we represent.

I would like now to say a few words to the

Muslim members of the forces who are performing the vital role of maintaining peace and security of this country. On this day when you brother Muslims are celebrating *Hari Raya* in festive moods you are patrolling the streets in the towns and villages, and deep in the jungle you are keeping the communist terrorists at bay. I know how you must be feeling today and my thoughts and sympathies are with you. I have one little item of good news for soldiers of the Federal Army. Those of you who are married and on operation duty will be paid additional allowance of seventy-two cents per day and this payment will be retrospective as from 1st January, 1956. I am only sorry I have not got a similar packet for the police. I am certain that the people of Malaya will join with me in my greetings to you. May *Allah* bless you all. To those of you who are listening to me now, I have great pleasure to wish you a happy and a *Selamat Hari Raya* and may *Allah* bless you all.

MERDEKA!

14

The Rumi Script And The National Language

SPEECH OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 30TH JUNE, 1956

I am glad to have this opportunity of speaking about "Learning Rumi through Radio," which begins today. The lessons will take about ten weeks to complete. These lessons are meant for those who are not versed in Rumi but are able to read and write Jawi. Here I should like to point out that the Alliance government has decided to make Malay the national language of the country and the scripts used are Jawi and Rumi. Now I would like to explain the uses of Rumi script. The reasons why Rumi script is necessary are, firstly, that the non-Malays are used to writing Roman characters and hence they can learn Malay better with Rumi. This is one of the ways we can encourage them to learn Malay. Secondly, Indonesia which is using Malay as its official language has decided to use Rumi only. So it is better for us to use the same script also.

During my visit to Indonesia I was taken around the universities and libraries. At the universities there are many graduates taking up various courses of studies, some engineering, some agriculture, medicine, law, etc. All the graduates are Indonesians, Chinese and Eurasians. But they all use Rumi. When our country achieves independence, a number of our children would like to take up higher studies. They may go to Indonesia and with the knowledge of Rumi script they can easily enter the Indonesian universities. In the libraries are books in Rumi which will be a great help to us here. But if we do not know Rumi, how can we read them?

One peculiar thing about our Rumi and that of the Indonesians' is the difference in spelling. This should be amended. But how can we do this even if we have the cooperation of the Indonesians when we have not officially recognised the Rumi types and most of the printing is also done in Rumi. If we officially recognise the Rumi script, then we can easily print or type letters. Turkey is another Muslim nation which has recognised the Rumi script. The aim of the Turkish government in using the Rumi script is to propagate and widen the scope of its language is one that can easily adopt the Rumi script. Thus I can see no reason why we should not encourage writing and reading Malay in Rumi.

I should like to congratulate the Adult Education Association which has prepared this scheme

for their valuable work and success from 1952 to 1955. During those years 49, 325 illiterate people have learned to read. Now the Association is going ahead with Radio lessons in Rumi. These lessons are free except that learners must have a book "*Belajar Rumi di Radio*" and also a radio or are able to listen from their neighbour's set. I hope those who have wireless sets will invite those without so they can have the opportunity of listening together. Stationery can be bought from the Association's offices and headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

I hope those who want to avail themselves of this opportunity will continue diligently until the last lesson and not give up half way. Lessons take only half an hour daily except Thursdays and Fridays.

To close my talk I wish you all success.

15

Standardising The National Language

SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF
THE THIRD MALAY LANGUAGE AND
LITERARY CONGRESS, JOHOR BAHRU ON
16TH SEPTEMBER, 1956

I would like to thank the committee which is responsible for holding this congress and to say that I feel very glad and honoured to be afforded the opportunity of declaring this Third Malay Language and Literary Congress open today and I feel proud that the Singapore and the Federation Ministers of Education, Mr. Chew Swee Kee and Dato' Abdul Razak are also present here.

Before I declare the congress open I would like to say something about such a congress as this and its aim of raising the standard and developing the Malay language which is used in the Malay Archipelago. Therefore it is fitting that this congress is being attended by a large number of Malay language experts from the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia and the other neighbouring countries.

Before Malay takes its primary place it is the duty of the Malay scholars to improve their own language because among not more than three million Malays in Malaya different dialects are being used and some words have different meaning attached to them. For instance, the common every day word *semalam* which in the north and east of Malaya means "last night" in the southern and central parts of Malaya means "yesterday". As for the word *kemarin*, in the north it means "day before yesterday" but in the southern and central parts of Malaya it means "two days ago" or "long ago". The Indonesians use them like the people in the north and so more than eighty million people use the words *semalam* and *kemarin* as the people in the north use them. Only a few hundred thousands use the words as used in central and south Malaya. Similarly, newspapers in the north and those in the south use these words with different connotations.

Similarly, with the word *bebal*. In the north it means "to show temper" but in the south it means "stupid". In the north the word *kacak* means "ugly" but in the south on the other hand it means "handsome". In the south the word *rejam* means "to throw at or throw away" but in the north it means "to drown". Thus there are hundreds of other words used with dissimilar meanings in the north, south and on the east coast. If even in our own country one word is used with dissimilar meanings in different parts of the country, then the dissimilarity in meanings would be more marked between Malaya and Indonesia.

One of the main responsibilities of the Malay language experts is to improve the Malay language in Malaya and secondly, to standardise our language and the language of our brethren in Indonesia and throughout the Malay Archipelago. Malay is not a backward and outdated language. It is, on the contrary a living language which one day will be fit to be used as the "international" language in South-East Asia. This is because Malay is a language in this world which can use Romans, Arabic, Greek or Russian alphabets for spelling. Only Japanese and Chinese characters cannot be used because in Chinese spelling there is no letter "R" and in Japanese there is no letter "L" thus the Japanese would pronounce my name ABUDURAMAN which sounds like the preserved fish, ikan Budu. The Chinese would pronounce my name ABULOLAMAN which sounds like *bulu* (meaning hairy person). Apart from these two all races can spell a Malay word in their way of spelling.

We are fortunate because the aliens in our country and in Indonesia can learn our language quickly and they converse with one another in Malay. Therefore when we decided to adopt our language as the national and official language there was no great opposition

from the aliens; they merely asked that their language not to be killed. By making Malay the official and national language the languages and cultures of the other races will certainly not be killed.

The people who feel otherwise are the narrow-minded because in spite of the fact that English has been the official language for scores of years in Malaya and Singapore and hundreds of thousands of people here learn English their languages and cultures have not been killed. So what are they to be afraid of if Malay replaces English here?

In my opinion the congress is held at an opportune time. The duty of all of you will take part in the deliberations of this congress is to endeavour to improve, develop and unify the Malay language not only in Malaya but also in the Malay Archipelago. To achieve this important object the Malay language experts must work very hard. A literature agency will be established under the direction of the Ministry of Education to draw up schemes for developing and standardising the Malay language. Another work of the literature agency will be to discover and collect all the old Malay literature and annals so that they can be revived.

When I visited Indonesia last year I was greatly impressed by the efforts made to encourage the

people to use the Malay language, which is called the Indonesian language there, with the result that within a short time it became the medium of instruction in the universities. So with Indonesia having made such an advance and carried out a research on the language the work of our language experts here will certainly be made easier, but we have to work hand in hand with the Indonesians. Any notion by our language experts here that we should ignore Indonesia and make our own planning will, I am afraid, make the Malay language to branch into two, three or four directions. In the end when one branch uses its language the other would not be able to understand and the result is that our good language would be ruined.

Let us make our language similar to the English language in which the meaning of words are the same everywhere although the sound is different when pronounced by an Englishman, a Scottish, an Irishman, a Welsh, Canadian, Australian, American or South African. The same can be said about the Rumi spelling. The Indonesian way of spelling and our way of spelling in Malaya are vastly different. I myself find it difficult to read the Indonesian newspapers. This matter should not be allowed to remain as it is. Malay and Indonesian language experts should cooperate to remedy this. During the course of my conversation with Presi-

dent Soekarno I found that he favoured the use of "U" in place of "OE" and "Y" in place of "J". It is left to you how to improve the language and its spelling.

I find assembled here not only people from Indonesia but also from other foreign countries. I feel proud to welcome you all and I pray that this conference will be a great success and once again I thank you for having afforded me the opportunity to say a word or two here.

With great pleasure I declare open this Third Malay Language and Literary Congress.

IV. INDEPENDENCE
NEGOTIATIONS

16

A Difficult Job As Chief Minister

SPEECH AT A PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON AT
SELANGOR CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR ON
24TH OCTOBER, 1955

Thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to this lunch and would have enjoyed it if I have to speak. I hope you do not expect very much from me in the way of speech because I do not at this moment feel inclined to speak too much. I am reticent not because it is my intention to keep away from your news which you require for public consumption and information but because in these exciting days I do not quite know what I am allowed to say and when I am allowed to say. However, it is when I have so little to say that the Press want to know so much but as soon as I am free to talk they cease to take any more interest in what I have to say. I know you have your duties to perform and your work to do and that you wish to keep the public informed of all the important happenings that are taking place today. To be honest with you, I will say that I am

not at liberty to talk as much as I would have liked to because I have got to consider what effect my words would have on all the parties concerned in this government.

When I was the President of UMNO only, I had only the Malays to consider and to reckon with. Then when I became acknowledged as the Leader of the Alliance, I had the Chinese, Indians and all other Malaysians to consider and to reckon with as well, but they are all members of the same party and so whatever I say or do is the concern of the party and I would be asked to answer if at all to the party alone. But the case is very much different with me now. I am the Chief Minister of the government of the Federation of Malaya; on the other hand, I am not allowed to refer to this government as my government. The Secretary of State himself drew my attention to it when I referred to the Federation of Malaya Government as my government. According to him, this government is constituted by virtue of the Federation of Malaya Agreement entered into by Their Highnesses the Rulers on the one side and HMG on the other. I am only given a place as Chief Minister within the framework of this Agreement, and because of that I am not free to say what I like in matters affecting this government. Every act of mine and every word of mine will have to be carefully weighed and considered not by me alone but by the parties to this Agreement.

In matters affecting my party I am free to say what I like and free to do what I like. Therefore

in my public speeches connected with my party, I have talked sometimes for almost an hour at each meeting and for six or seven times a day. Whether I say it right or wrong, or whether it brings credit or discredit to my party, that is my responsibility to my party. But if I were to say one word regarded as wrong or which sounds unpleasant to the ears of the officials of the Federal Government, I have to account for it and it is such a bother when I have to do that. It is best for me to say less or else say it after I have had consultations with the officials concerned.

You will appreciate the fact that the Alliance Government is not absolutely in control though we are returned by votes cast in our favour unprecedented in the history of popular elections. The control as I have said of the government of this country by virtue of the Federation of Malaya Agreement is vested in the hands of the High Commissioner and Their Highnesses the Rulers. My duty as Chief Minister is to advise and consult the parties to the agreement on all matters affecting government and in matters affecting the emergency, the Director of Operations. No doubt I am in a very strong position in this government as my party members fill all the town, municipal, state, settlement and Federal Council, and I am happy to say that there has been maximum goodwill, friendship and cooperation between Their Highnesses the Rulers, His Excellency the High Commissioner and ourselves.

In regard to internal and external security, the

control is vested absolutely in HMG but in the matter of internal security the only share we have in it is the payment of the salaries of the men of the Armed Forces.

The position as I find myself today, to say the least of it, is awkward. We had made promises in our manifesto which we must carry out. Each minister has been instructed to implement these promises. If, however, success in the way that the people expect from us is to be achieved at all, we must try and find a new constitution more in keeping with the political development and to meet the needs and aspirations of the people of this country. The present constitution is outdated and unsuitable and it can only be made to work if we want it to. It is for this reason therefore that as soon as the Alliance got into power we presented a memorandum to Her Majesty's Government and asked, amongst other things, that a special commission should be appointed to examine and recommend a new constitution for Malaya. This request in fact tallies with the declaration of Their Highnesses the Rulers after a conference in July 1954 and in answer to our petition. Their Highnesses the Rulers declared that they considered "that the passage of time and the changing circumstances that inevitably arise from it, make it desirable to re-examine at intervals the Federation Agreement for the purpose of ensuring that it meets with the needs and aspirations of the people and makes the fullest provision for their well-being and happiness."

We have agreed that a talk should be held in London between the representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers, Her Majesty's Government and our representatives. It is wrong to say, as has been reported in a paper recently, that there has been a row between Their Highnesses and me over the question of representatives. There has been no row whatever; in fact all these representatives will soon meet to discuss matters which will be the subject of talks in London. It is our belief that it would be in the interests of the parties concerned and of Malaya as a whole to go to London with the maximum of agreement and to appear at the round table as one delegation from Malaya in the talk with Her Majesty's Government on the future constitution of this country. It would indeed be a sad thing if we were to appear in London as opposing parties, and to start a quarrel in London over the affairs of our own country. If there is any fighting to be done, let it be done here and get it over with before we go to London. We have repeated often enough our expression of loyalty to Their Highnesses, and we can only hope that they believe and trust us, and it will be for the good of Malaya if they do. For the first time in the history of Malaya, the Malays, Chinese, Indians and others have jointly made this expression of loyalty; we are united in a common endeavour to win for Malaya a worthy and honourable place among the nations of the world, and by the grace of God, we will too and let no one entertain any doubt as to that.

The other topic of the greatest interest today

not only to Malaya but to the rest of the world is the war against the communists. For the last eight years, it has been waged without let on either side. On our side, the security forces have pushed the enemy further and further inside the jungle vastness and there every indication that we will beat them, but how long that we will take we do not know because the enemy does not come into the open to fight. But one thing we do know, and that is, the people are sick and tired of this war. It must be remembered also that the communists are fighting two types of war: the shooting war and the subversive war. If they lose on one front, it is feared that they may increase their tempo on the other. On the other hand, if we end the shooting war satisfactorily through the amnesty and as desired by the people, we will win the respect and confidence in short, the heart and soul of the people to the extent that the people themselves will be prepared to go all out to help us fight any form of subversive warfare that endangers the peace of this country.

If we do not make a real attempt to end the shooting war through our own efforts, but leave it absolutely to the armed forces to end it for us, we run the risk of losing the respect of the people. I am now in a quandary. The armed forces say leave it to them, and they will end the war. My party and the bulk of the people of this country say to me, 'Use your discretion and end the war'. If I do not accept the advice of the army and the government, I will be accused of interfering with the internal defence of this country and if I do

not do as the people want me to do then I will be branded as an imperialist stooge. Perhaps you will want to know what I am going to do in this matter. All I can say is I am sorry that I have led you so far up the garden path, and have had to leave you there. You will have to try, as I am doing, to think out a solution.

I think I have said enough to deserve the nice lunch which you gave me but there is only another matter of interest which I would like the opportunity to say it here and that is about the recent trouble affecting Colonel Lee¹. I have been asked if it makes any difference to his appointment in the Cabinet. As to that, I say it makes no difference at all; in fact Colonel Lee has been a pillar of strength in our movement. His contribution to the success of the Alliance cannot be measured in words and he is absolutely indispensable to the Alliance and to my Cabinet. Changes which have taken place within the MCA rank is not an occurrence of unusual nature. It happens in every association and every organisation but the value which is attached to a man always had to be considered from all angles. If, for example, to the MCA members in Selangor, Colonel Lee is of no value, to the Alliance and to myself this value can be assessed from the fact that I am taking him with me to Indonesia and also to England. As a committee man, he is extremely useful and I cannot dispense with his services whatever the MCA Kuala Lumpur may

¹ Minister for Transport

feel about him. He is a tireless and a staunch worker for the Alliance and for Malaya, and as such I hold him in high esteem.

I hope I have given you your money's worth with my talks and as I have so much work to do this afternoon, I will say no more except to thank you once again from the bottom of my heart for having been very kind to me in your relations with me. I think very few politicians have been as lucky as I have been with the Press, and if I have not been able to do as much for you as you have done for me, you now know the reason. With that I conclude by saying again, thank you very much indeed.

17

The Merdeka Mission: Part 1

SPEECH ON THE RETURN OF THE
MERDEKA MISSION AT THE PADANG
MERDEKA, MALACCA ON 20TH FEBRUARY,
1956

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am proud of you all who have come from far away to welcome the return of the Merdeka Mission from London. The success that we have achieved was mainly due to the earnest prayers of all of you. With the blessing of *Allah* we have for the first time in the history of Malaya succeeded in setting the target date when Malayan independence will be announced.

I would like to state that it was in Malacca that it was first decided to send me to England to discuss the question of the Federal Election. Then you gave not only money for my expenses to London but also every support for my trip to London to ask for elections on democratic principles, so that the number of elected members

would be more than those nominated by the High Commissioner. Although we were not successful in England that time, I was not dispirited but jubilant and had one aim, to go forward at all costs until independence was achieved.

Being unsuccessful, we refused to cooperate with the then government and as a consequence, you will remember, we came out successfully. Although we did not get all that we asked for, we got almost all we demanded, that is, three-fifths. Finally, when the Federal Elections were held, through your support, especially the Malays, men and women, young and old, we achieved a victory unparalleled in any part of the world. While on my way to London, I met the Governor-General of Ceylon, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke who said that it was the first time that a Chief Minister had so large a following and won so many seats. He was proud to have welcomed me and the Merdeka Mission. It has been said that in the history of the world no national party has received such whole-hearted support.

The drawback in struggle of other countries is probably the gulf between the rulers of those countries and their peoples. In Malaya, the rulers are firmly united with the people. Our struggle has an outstanding feature uncommon to any other country. Here people of various communities, Malays, Chinese, Indians and others, are all united with one voice *MERDEKA* and have a common understanding. We thank God for all this. Our negotiations in London were conducted

with sincerity. I went to England to settle four big questions, financial control, internal security, Malayanisation and an independent constitutional commission. We agreed to the setting up of such a Commission to prepare and draft a constitution for an independent Malaya. Most important we got British Government to agree that Malaya will declare her independence on August 31, 1957.

In England we spoke to a number of Englishmen most of whom said that not a single Mission from any other country had ever achieved all its aims as we had done. I thank the Almighty for this and may all the praise be upon Him. Here I would also like to mention the help which I received from the representatives of the Rulers. When we first left for England we belonged to two parties, one from the Alliance and the other from the Rulers. Suddenly, when we were on board the ship we negotiated and cooperated and there came about the feeling that we were the sons of the Malay States with one heart and one soul, and that if other countries could achieve their independence and sovereignty there was no reason why we could not do the same.

As a result of such a feeling the representatives of the Rulers and the Alliance worked hard and all my burdens were reduced. In London they worked very hard and were very loyal to me, to their country and the people of Malaya. According to the Kedah dialect they were *bergolut* meaning "very busy". I only gave advice on how to do this and that but they performed all the

work and shouldered most of the responsibilities. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to them. All of them are here and I hope they will come forward and say a word or two in support of our struggle for independence when I finish.

You already know what is contained in the report or agreement which I signed because the Information Department has compiled a book in all languages, which will be distributed to all of you. So it is not necessary for me to elaborate on the contents of the report. However, I would like to remind you that the first Malay Ruler who made an agreement with the British Government was my own grandfather. He ceded Penang to the British under a lease and they are still paying for the lease today. Now God has decreed that his grandson shall take back not only Penang but the whole of Malaya.

I am a bit worried about Singapore. Every time I mention its name I am attacked but please do not attack me today. I leave it to the people of Singapore to decide what they want and what they ought to do. If God wills it we shall also get back Singapore. But this will have to be on the wishes of the people of Singapore themselves. I hope the Colony of Singapore will also come in with us. But that is only my hope, it is left to them. For my part I am very pleased, proud and grateful that so far Malaya has succeeded in its struggle. Perhaps you all remember that in our manifesto we wrote that we would achieve independence in four years and self-government

within two years but because of your support we have achieved self-government within six months and with your prayers and full cooperation we will achieve independence within one year and seven months. I do not wish to say anything else but to say thank you. I have been your servant for the last four years. I have received so much support that I cannot repay it because we cooperated and because we love our country we have advanced far.

Two years ago nobody ever thought that in so short a time we would be on equal status with other sovereign and independent nations. This jubilant spirit is not found only here. Malays, wherever they are, feel proud. This is not all. Wherever we stopped our Mission was regarded as one from an independent country. In Ceylon, India and Pakistan we were welcomed as independent people. You will recall that on my return from Hiroshima, I mentioned in Malacca how I was looked down upon and that I was not even allowed to speak as an equal with delegates from independent countries.

That has passed, and now, thank God, there is no trace at all of such an attitude anywhere in India, England, Pakistan, Egypt. On arrival in Egypt on our way to England I wanted to meet our students there, 114 of them. It was 5 a.m. and the students were already waiting for us. So I promised them that I would meet them again in Cairo on my way home. I arrived at 3 a.m. I had previously sent a cable asking the Malay students

not to come at that early hour because it was cold. But on arrival I saw that there were women as well with their babies. They felt proud. I was garlanded. There were also representatives of Indonesian students who have cordial relations with Malay students there. Two representatives of our students in Mecca flew to Egypt to meet me, their passage being paid from contributions.

While in England I had asked for a hotel to be reserved for the Mission in Egypt, but on arrival there I was received as a guest and accommodated in a big and beautiful palace. Such was the good reception given to our struggle today. When I met Colonel Nasser, the Premier and President of Egypt, he said he was welcoming me as a very close friend despite the fact I have never met him. In former days I did not have that status to meet him but through your efforts and help I am now received by peoples of other sovereign countries as an equal. The Egyptian Government, according to Colonel Nasser, has given a piece of land on which to build a hostel for our students there. If God wills it, I shall ask the Federal Government to provide money for the construction of a big and beautiful building. I had, similarly, promised students in Mecca that the Federal Government would also build a hostel there.

Another important matter which also impressed me was the attitude of our students in England not only the Malay students but also the Chinese, Indians and Eurasians. They all have changed in attitude and become nationalists,

proud of our success. When I went to see them there was no room to move because the place was filled to capacity by those who had travelled long distances. In London there were two organisations filled and run by those who might be called communists. During our time there the students, because of their strong nationalist feelings, expelled all the communists from their organisations. In London, I saw wonderful cooperation between the Malays, Chinese, Indians and other races. I was very much impressed because they are not particularly concerned about race so long as they come from Malaya. They only want independence and nothing else. This is the result of your support and cooperation. For my part I shall serve you as long as you want me. I am speaking on behalf of my Minister colleagues. They and I are not men who may be referred to as clever or wise. We are men who have the same spirit as you have and our aim is also to work for the people and the country. We do bother about hardships. If our work is not perfect or not quite satisfactory I would beseech you to give us time to learn our jobs. We all want to do the right thing. That is my earnest wish and may God help me in this.

I notice there are people here from Johore, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu. I do not know where you all slept. If you didn't sleep we are all in the same boat because I didn't sleep either. But I admire your spirit. With such a spirit as you have shown today I believe we can achieve independence sooner than we think.

Here is a scroll to serve as a souvenir and I am going to sign it. It concerns the date for independence. I would like to read it out to you.

Proclamation of the date for independence. History has shown that no nation can survive if it does nothing. It has only two choices – to progress or to decline. It depends on the capacity and consciousness of that nation to face changes and developments. When the people are contented with their status and position they are always suspicious of anything that might bring about changes. They feel suspicious of new ideas. But since the history of mankind is a history of changes and developments for the better, the contented nation would be stagnate and finally become extinct and only brought to life again by future historians. We are fortunate in that our nation has been given by God determination and courage. We were once a great nation with proud traditions. Although history has reduced our status from that of an independent and a great nation to that of a humble and subservient people, yet we have been able for the past 400 years of colonial rule to uphold God's gift of selfpride, dignity, justice and an unwavering spirit. Be it known that we the people of Malaya being united in our aim for independence by constitu-

tional means today have achieved it. Therefore in the name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful and in the name of the people of Malaya I declare that full independence for the Federation of Malaya within the Commonwealth in accordance with the Agreement concluded in London will be effected on August 31, 1957. May God grant it.

As a souvenir of our assembly here today I shall now sign this scroll. This is all that I can say to you. Last but not least I thank you for the trouble you have taken to come here. Only God can repay you. I conclude my speech with three cries of *MERDEKA*.

MERDEKA, MERDEKA, MERDEKA.

18

The Merdeka Mission: Part 2

SPEECH ON THE MERDEKA MISSION OVER RADIO MALAYA ON 22ND FEBRUARY, 1956

The Merdeka Mission consisting of representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers and the Alliance Government have returned from England with absolute satisfaction on the result achieved. We could not regard it otherwise because all those matters which we took up in England were agreed upon. The reason for the success was in a great measure due to the honesty, sincerity and far-sightedness of the parties taking part in the Conference. Representatives of Her Majesty's Government led by the Secretary of State himself displayed in the course of the Conference a high sense of understanding of affairs of the world and of the aspirations of the people of the Colonies and also a standard of sportsmanship in the true and best traditions of the British people.

The Rulers' representatives who it was original-

ly thought would participate in the discussion as another party happily confounded all critics by putting aside personal and state affairs and entered the conference in the spirit of true patriots of Malaya. Hence between the Rulers' party and the Alliance we appeared as one delegation from Malaya.

The Conference began in an atmosphere of goodwill, cordiality and understanding and I record with pride that it ended on that same happy note. In fact there was a feeling of sadness when the conference ended.

It started first with a plenary session at which the Press and certain authorised members of the public were admitted. For the first few minutes we had to face the glare of television cameras and the clicking of cameras from the Press of Great Britain, Malaya and other interested countries. Seated at one end of the squarely placed tables were representatives of Her Majesty the Queen with the Secretary of State in the middle, and at the opposite end members of the Malayan delegation with me in the middle. On one side were seated the High Commissioner and other Malayan officials who attended the conference in an advisory capacity and on their side were the Secretaries to the conference, including the Alliance Secretary. After the cameras and television had completed their work the Secretary of State addressed the meeting and also welcomed the Malayan delegation, after which I replied.

At this first plenary session on 18th January, 1956, three committees were appointed — Defence and Internal Security, Finance and Public Service. A Steering Committee was also appointed to decide on the time of the meetings of the Committees and to issue Press communiques. On the second day of the meeting we discussed the terms of reference for each of the Working Committees.

At the third plenary session ten days after we appointed the fourth committee called the General Purposes Committee to deal with constitutional changes and this committee also considered the appointment of the Independence Constitutional Commission. The four committees met every day and their recommendations were submitted to this Plenary Session. It was at the fourth meeting that we accepted the first report and that was the report of the Defence and Internal Security Committee (first part). At the fifth plenary meeting we accepted the report of the Finance Committee, the report of the Public Service Committee and the second part of the report of the Defence and Internal Security Committee.

At the fifth plenary meeting we accepted the report of the General Purposes Committee and also the third and final part of the Defence and Internal Security Committee. The last meeting

of the Plenary Session was held on 8th February and the agreement was signed on that day. It was first signed by Mr. Lennox-Boyd and then by me after which it was passed to the rest of the members of the delegation who signed. The agreements reached at the conference have been reported in the papers and there is no need for me to go into them again.

As the result of the success of this conference we now enter into a new phase in our Malayan history for we are now about to start work on the building up of our new Malayan Nation. We have real hard work to do ahead of us and this requires considerable thought on the part of my Ministers and myself. I can assure you that we will set our thoughts to this tremendous task with the same strength of purpose and determination as we had when we set out on our mission to London. Our work of bringing peace, happiness and prosperity to this country begins today and not as some people think, from Independence Day. I plan to complete the reshuffling of Ministries and to re-allocate the responsibilities to the Ministers concerned immediately. Some appointments may not be made until the Conference of Rulers have ratified the Agreement signed in London by myself and the Secretary of State. Some aspects of the agreement cannot be brought into force until amendments have been made to the Federation Agreement. These will be made at the next meeting of the Federal Legislative Council in the

middle of March. The new Ministries as you know will be that of Internal Defence and Security, Finance and Commerce and Industry.

As you may have read, I plan to take the portfolio of Internal Defence and Security because this subject is very close to my heart. One of my dearest wish is to see peace return to Malaya and I hope that with God's help and the co-operation of you all, this state of emergency will end very soon.

At this stage I address a few direct remarks to Chin Peng, the communist leader. Now Chin Peng, at our talks in Baling, you specifically stated that if I returned from London with complete control of internal defence and security you would lay down your arms. I have now obtained control of this Ministry and, therefore, I call upon you to honour that pledge you made and surrender with all your weapons. If you should decide to meet me it will merely be to discuss time, place and manner for the laying down of your arms.

To return to the Ministries I also plan to retain the Ministry for Home Affairs but I will delegate to other Ministers certain subjects which can effectively be looked after by them. A Minister for Finance will be appointed as soon as the Federal Legislative Council has approved the necessary amendments to the Federation Agreement

which pass the control of finance to my government. The name of new Minister for Commerce and Industry will be announced as soon as possible.

On the question of Malayanisation of the Public Service, an agreement has been reached whereby suitable compensation scheme will provide equitable remedy for officers who wish to retire prematurely. Further a Public Service Commission will be established by July, 1957, to deal with service matters.

At the Conference of Rulers next week the terms of reference and the proposed composition of the Constitutional Commission will be considered. Simultaneously in London the same terms of reference and the proposed composition of the Commission will be presented to Her Majesty the Queen for her approval. I have little doubt that both H.M. the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers will give the approval which will permit us to send invitations to certain countries in the Commonwealth to appoint experts to help to guide us in forming a new Constitution for the Federation of Malaya. I am not able at the moment to disclose which countries have been invited but this I can say that the British Government has promised to appoint as Chairman of the Commission a foremost expert on constitutional law. It is my hope that the Commission will begin its work as soon as possible after the announcement of its formation. But you must realise that some time must pass before these men of great experience will be

able to get together in Malaya. How long they will take before they can present their report neither I nor anybody else can guess. It is obvious, however, that this important and great task of recommending a new constitution for this country must call for great deliberations. I will not anticipate its recommendations but will wish it well.

At the next meeting of the Legislative Council, the report of the Constitutional Conference will be laid on the table of the Council. After His Excellency has made the formal announcement to the effect that both Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers have ratified the Agreement I shall then move the Council for its adoption. I am confident that after the debate on the subject the Council will pass it.

The Federation Armed Forces are to be expanded which will include the Navy and Air Force. For Malaya at this stage of her political development and on achieving independence must keep up her military strength in order to show those who have their eyes on Malaya that we intend not only to fight for the continued maintenance of our independence but also to help in the defence of the Commonwealth.

The agreement with the British Government on the stationing of Commonwealth Forces in the country now after independence is of the greatest importance and this is part of our contribution as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Tying up with defence is the need to end the Emergency as soon as possible. This I am determined to do, and as you may have read I plan to tour the country and seek the views of the people as to how it might be done. It has now become the people's own war against the communists and while my experts and colleagues on the new Emergency Operations Council will do all they can in the fighting field, it will be up to the people in the towns and villages to give the Security Forces all the support they need to finish off the communist terrorists.

At the last Budget meeting of the Federal Legislative Council I stated that we would be presenting a supplementary budget some time this year. Our present intentions are to present this supplementary budget at the meeting of the Federal Legislative Council either in June or July. My Ministers have begun to plan this budget, and I am not therefore in a position to give you any details; but broadly speaking we will have to carry out an elaborate and extensive programme for general improvement of the people and country, particularly in health, welfare, education, agriculture and rural development so as to implement the promise we made during the election campaign. This is also a necessary and positive measure to counter communist activities and propaganda. This is in fact a psychological warfare which has got to be fought along with the shooting war. We realise that communism flourishes in state where there is poverty, hunger and dirt, and we shall make our best endeavour to remove any

possibility of such a state of things existing in our country. I need the help of all the people who look to Malaya as their land and the object of their undivided loyalty to achieve this noble aim. I know you will give it unstintedly at least most of you will. A number will no doubt sit back and do nothing, but so long as they do not actively assist the communists I don't mind. Some will fight and place obstacles in my way but with your help I have confidence that I will overcome all these obstacles and fight them back. I only pray to God that he will give me courage and strength to carry out my plan.

In the Alliance Party I have appointed my successor so as to assure continuity in our work. I know if anything were to happen to me the next man will step into my shoes without difficulty and carry on with the work, but whoever comes forward to lead the Alliance, the people must give him their wholehearted support for the good of Malaya. This is my call to you all to take your place in the building up and defence of country. A new Malayan Nation will, by the grace of God, be born and it will be born if possible by the 31st August, 1957. *MERDEKA.*

19

The Federation Of Malaya Constitutional Conference

SPEECH IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL, KUALA LUMPUR ON
14TH MARCH, 1956

The report which is now before the House is perhaps the most important document ever produced before it. The report sets out the many far-reaching and wide ranging agreements which the conference has accepted and which has now received the approval of Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers. The report covers virtually the whole field of subjects which formed the characteristics of colonial administration and over which agreement was reached in London so as to transfer control of these matters to the elected government of the Federation of Malaya.

We have, in the course of our campaign,

promised the people that we would achieve independence for Malaya constitutionally and in two phases which means in effect that we must have self-government first and then independence.

After the election, the Alliance Party was invited by His Excellency to form a government, and soon after that the Right Honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies came here to be present at the Inaugural Meeting of the first Council. The Alliance through the elected Ministers seized the opportunity to present to the Colonial Secretary a memorandum in which we asked for control of these subjects and requested that Her Majesty's Government would give the matter immediate attention. These subjects include finance, internal defence and security and public service, abolition of certain posts and offices considered redundant, and amendment to the Federation of Malaya Agreement necessary to give effect to this transfer of control. The Colonial Secretary had several discussions with us and on his return to England, he made immediate arrangements for us to visit London and take part in talks at a round-table between representatives of Her Majesty's Government, the representatives of Their Highnesses and the Alliance. We were quick to respond to his invitation and within a matter of a few weeks we arrived in England with the representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers. Before we reached London our representatives and those of Their Highnesses had several talks and from the very first moment I was happy to note that Their Highnesses' representatives

entered into all the discussions in the spirit of utmost cordiality, cooperation and good will like the true patriots they really are.

When we were in London, we appeared as one delegation from Malaya to talk on constitutional reforms and issues affecting the future of our country. On the 17th January, 1956, I prepared a letter to the Secretary of State in which I set out the matters which the Malayan delegation would like to discuss at the conference and this letter was handed at the opening of the conference. In that letter we also asked for independence on the 31st August 1957 because we felt that the granting of independence was not only in itself just and timely but was also necessary in order to enable the people of Malaya to enter whole-heartedly into the fight against the communists. This we felt they would do if they knew that they were fighting their own war and not other people's war.

We reminded the Secretary of State of the complex nature of the constitutional position in Malaya, one which we felt required much thought and expert opinion in order to solve satisfactorily. We referred to the position of the Rulers, the status of the Malay States as protected states and to the complex position of the Settlements of Penang and Malacca which are British territories. All the States and Settlements would form the future territory of independent Federation of Malaya and to enable this to be done we proposed

that a Constitutional Commission should go into the matter.

We submitted together with this letter four papers to serve as a guide in our discussion. They deal with

- (1) the financial position,
- (2) the internal defence and security,
- (3) the public service,
- (4) the independent commission,

together with additional issues affecting

- (a) the abolition of the post of British Advisers,
- (b) the limitation and restriction of the exercise of the powers of the High Commissioner,
- (c) the consequential amendments to the Federation of Malaya Agreement.

The Conference opened up in London on Wednesday 18th January, 1956 at 10.30 a.m. At the first meeting of the plenary session we made arrangements for subsequent meetings and at the same time appointed committees to deal with all these subjects. We held six plenary sessions altogether and at each session reports from the committees were discussed.

It was agreed that the report should be fully discussed and finalised and the agreement signed between the representatives on the 7th February, but later it was found that it was not possible to

do so. It was finally signed at 5.30 p.m. on the 8th February. In his final address, the Secretary of State has this say:

It is an agreed report — agreed between friends and fellowmembers of our great family of nations. It recognises the new relationship between the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya to which Malaya is entitled not only because of her own importance but because of the sense of responsibility of her leaders. It recognises also the many close ties that bind our people together and the common inheritance we share and the dangers and difficulties which we face. He went further and said, I hope no one will try and look on this report as a victory for either side, or by taking items here and there tend to get or to give the impression that one side or the other has triumphed. Indeed, there have been no 'sides' in this matter. Many of us were old friends when we started these talks. All of us have, I think, found in the course of them new bonds of trust and friendship and have emerged from the Conference with a greater knowledge of each other's problems and of our mutual interests. So it is not a victory for either side. It is a recognition both of Malaya's new status and of our common interest.

In reply I have this say:

"We begin our talk in an atmosphere of the utmost friendliness and cordiality and I am happy to say that we end it also on the same happy note. This report," I went on to say, heralds the birth of a new nation. Thanks be to God, I am confident that all our people will pronounce this a great success and that future historians will record our achievement in letters of gold.

I also said that the report before us marks the end of the old relationships between our two countries, and the beginning of a new one which makes Malaya an equal partner with the United Kingdom in that great brotherhood of nations, the Commonwealth. I laid stress that the ties that have bound us so closely in the past have not, in fact, been broken. On the other hand, they have been further strengthened and that Great Britain will find in the people of Malaya her best friends, that it would be in interests to work together with Great Britain for peace and prosperity not only of the Commonwealth but of the world.

I will now take the salient features in this report and make my observations on them.

In drawing up a plan for the separation of internal defence from external defence, much difficulty was encountered for it must be appreciated that according to Clause 4 of the Federation of Malaya Agreement the defence of this country

both internal and external has been the responsibility of the Queen. We managed however to separate the two and fit them as best we could in their proper compartments. It was agreed that control of defence shall be carried out in two phases. Phase one, the period before independence and phase two after independence. In phase one, all matters of the internal defence and security will be the responsibility of the Alliance Minister while the external defence and security will be the responsibility of the Queen which is exercised through the High Commissioner. These subjects are so arranged that in the final phase the transfer of the control of external defence and security will be done with a minimum of administrative and other disturbances. As stated in paragraph 7 of the Report "Our object has been to reconcile the factors of continuity and efficiency on the one hand, with recognition of the evolving political facts of the situation on the other".

The emergency operation will be conducted by a Council under the chairmanship of a Minister for Defence and will include the Director of Operations amongst its members. As stated in paragraph 10 of the Report "The forces required for the prosecution of the emergency . . . would be used to aid the civil authorities in giving effect to directions of the Emergency Operations Council made in pursuance of policy as laid down from time to time in Executive Council".

We have also agreed as in paragraph 11 that the Federation Armed Forces should be administra-

tively self-contained. The process of setting up administrative machinery to effect this must take time but as an immediate step a Federation Armed Forces Council will be set up, which is distinct from the Emergency Operations Council. The Minister for Internal Defence and Security will be chairman and included in this are the General Officer Commanding the Federation Forces, other professional members of the forces and a representative of Their Highnesses the Rulers. Certain principles will have to be observed in the handling of service matters and we have set out these principles in paragraph 13 of the Report. Paragraph 15 provides for consultation between Her Majesty's Government and the Federation of Malaya Government on matters arising from the stationing of United Kingdom and Commonwealth Forces in the Federation during the interim period. It is provided that the Federation Government would be informed in advance of any proposed substantial changes in the size or character of the Forces stationed in the Federation in order to enable the Federation to make representations if it considered necessary.

The Police Forces is to be maintained at a high level of operational efficiency during the existence of the state of emergency and any run down of this force will be done in such manner that the security of the country will not suffer. There will also be set up of a Police Service Commission which will consider matters affecting the force itself such as promotion, discipline, etc.

Malayanisation of the Police is considered as part of the policy of Malayanisation of the public services as a whole.

The final phase will be the stage when Malaya has achieved full independent status. It was agreed that a treaty would be drawn up between UK and the Federation. This treaty will provide for defence and mutual assistance as between the two countries. By this treaty, Malaya will afford Her Majesty's Government the right to maintain in the Federation the forces necessary for the fulfilment of Commonwealth and International obligations and Her Majesty's Government in UK and undertake to assist the Federation Government in the external defence of this country.

There has been some adverse comment against this proposed treaty. It is said that with the Commonwealth troops being stationed in Malaya this country would invite attack by the enemy and that Malaya would be used as a battlefield in the event of this attack. It is also said that the presence of Commonwealth troops would compromise the sovereignty of independent Malaya. In my opinion this is a very short-sighted view to take. It must be appreciated that with the geographical and strategic position of this country Malaya offers herself an easy target and will always be opened to aggression if she is not properly guarded. Therefore she must have at her command a very powerful army, air force and navy. To build up these forces to the required strength the people of this country must be forced to shoulder a very

heavy burden of taxation. The expenditure in this direction would also impose a very restriction on our social and economic advancement. Some countries have to spend 80% of their revenue on defence with the result that social progress in those countries is so severely retarded that the people die in the streets.

I would not wish this to happen to this country, and so if we are able to get help from the UK and other Commonwealth countries in maintaining the strength of our defence, we should welcome it. Our revenue can then be directed in maintaining the high standard of administration, social and other services. I am taking a realistic view of the situation in Malaya and I am certain that a majority of the people will accept my view particularly because of the communists and other enemy activities even from within our own territory which in itself require a very large force constantly occupied.

I will now touch briefly on the financial and economic matters agreed to at the London Conference. The post of the Financial Secretary is to be abolished and a Malayan will be appointed the Minister of Finance, responsible for all financial matters including Foreign Exchange. He will attend any future Conference of Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth as a delegate. A Malayan Minister for Commerce and Industry is to be appointed to take over some functions previously exercised by the Minister for Econo-

mic Affairs. An Economic Committee of Executive Council is to be established under my chairmanship to co-ordinate economic policy and to determine priorities of our economic projects. The Federation will remain a member of the Sterling Area and will have the same rights and responsibilities as any other member.

It is agreed that it is most important that the Federation should go forward to full self-government in circumstances which will give a fair assurance of its future financial stability, and that there is need to maintain our reserves at the right level. Furthermore, it is recognised that there is absolute necessity for the Federation Government to make provision for an expanded programme of economic and social development with a view to increasing our national wealth and raising the standard of living of our people, which incidentally is regarded by foreign observers as the highest in the South-East Asia region. After the preparation is complete, it will then be possible to consider how much financial assistance, if any, we shall have to seek from Her Majesty's Government and in what form. It is the intention of the government to send the Minister of Finance to London later in the year to discuss such problems with Her Majesty's Government, who have promised that if the need is shown for financial assistance, then such assistance will be forthcoming whether during the present period before independence or after the attainment of complete independence.

Whilst our country is only partially developed, its population increases substantially year by year. If we are to maintain the standard of living of the people, it is absolutely essential to increase the national wealth of the country. This can only be done by the launching of projects which will yield an economic return, by the establishment of new industries, and by the diversification of our economy. For such purposes the government will welcome investment in the country not only of local capital but also of capital from overseas. I look forward with confidence to the establishment of happy relationship and a full sense-of partnership between an independent and fully self-governing Malaya, and overseas industry and enterprise genuinely interested in the development on sound lines of the productive resources of the Federation. The potential wealth of the country was fully recognized by the Mission organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and with the co-operation between capital and labour ensuring industrial peace and harmony, and with every loyal Malayan pulling his weight, we can anticipate and era of prosperity to come for the benefit of us all.

Another important matter which we agreed at the London Conference is the question of the public service. The principle was accepted that a self-governing and independent country must have the sole authority over its public service. In accepting this principle we also considered at the Conference how we should be guided in the exercise of this control.

I am sure the Council will agree with me that an efficient and contented public service is essential to the good government of any country. The first essential to an efficient public service is that it should be independent of political influence. Minister of the government must be able to rely on experienced officials of the public service to carry out policy decisions loyally, promptly and efficiently. The second essential is that appointment, promotion and disciplinary policies should follow certain recognised professional principles. It was agreed that an independent Public Service Commission with executive powers should be established for the public service and this included separate commissions for the Judiciary and the Police.

In view of the constitutional changes that have and will soon be taking place in the Federation, we agreed that overseas officers should be given the opportunity to leave the Federation service. Following the practice adopted in other countries after independence such as India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan and also the Gold Coast, and in recognition of the loyal and devoted service which these overseas officers have rendered to this country, it is necessary that they should be given fair and equitable terms. It is intended that the scheme should have two phases: Phase I, which is merely voluntary retirement on accrued pension, and Phase II, a full lump-sum compensation which will be offered in addition to earned pension. The government has set up a committee to work out

the detailed compensation scheme in consultation with staff associations. I would like to take this opportunity here and now on behalf of the government and of this Council to pay our sincere tribute to overseas officers for the services they have rendered to this country. It is in recognition of their services that it is proposed to work out, in consultation with their representatives, a scheme which should be found acceptable to both parties.

In the first phase amendments to the Federation of Malaya Agreement would have to be made in order to implement the terms of Agreement. They affect the positions of His Excellency the High Commissioner and Executive Council, the composition of Executive Council and Legislative Council and also the State Constitution in so far as the appointment of British Advisers is concerned.

The Chief Secretary will at this meeting of the Council move for the amendment of Clauses in the Federation of Malaya Agreement. The amended versions are set out at Appendix E of this report. The changes in the Ministry have been announced, and I would like to mention here why no additional Ministers have been appointed but instead the subjects have been distributed and added to the portfolios of the present Ministers. We are able to do this because the Expatriate Civil Service Officers who were in charge of these Ministries before undertook to service and give the same measure of service and loyalty to the

Government of the Federation in the changed circumstances, I take this opportunity to pay my tribute to them here and would like the names of Mr. A.H.P. Humphrey, Secretary for Defence, Mr. C.J. Thomas, Financial Secretary, and Mr. Oscar A. Spencer, Secretary for Economic Affairs recorded in the minutes of this Council as deserving of the highest praise. May I on behalf of the Council thank them very warmly. I am sure with the help given by them we shall be able to shoulder our responsibilities with feelings of extreme confidence.

The last phase, which is independence, requires a completely new Constitution. For this it was recommended that an independent Commission should be appointed and made up of persons with expert knowledge of Constitutional law and knowledge of modern politics acquired through long experience. In order to make the membership representative we have gentlemen from Canada, Australia, India and Pakistan with the Chairman from UK. The terms of reference for this Commission is now before this Council, Council Paper No. 15 of 1956, and has received the approval of Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers. As soon as membership has been determined the Commission will begin its work. This Commission will be glad to receive representation from the political organisations and other organisations representing all interest in this country but not individual persons. It is my earnest hope that everyone who is desirous to see Malaya gain her independence expeditiously must

cooperate and try to make the work of the Commission less difficult.

A union which has recently been very much in the news has criticised the terms of reference as being narrow and that it aimed to uphold the privileged position of the Malays, the special position of the Malays in this country has always been recognised because Malays have no other home except here. In the past it has not worried other people very much because it was realised that there is no opening for the Malays in the economic and commercial life of the country and that it was only fair that the Malays should have openings in the government service without prejudice to the right of others to join the service as well.

I would ask, does this fact alone justify the criticism that ours is going to be a half-baked independence? Perhaps some parties can see nothing right in anything the Alliance does. It was perhaps because of this antipathy for the Alliance that labour unrest is being encouraged. If it is the aim of some parties to upset the stability of the Alliance Government by creating unrest, I have confidence that with the solidarity of the people behind us we shall by the Grace of God be able to meet the new challenge. I take pride in saying that the Alliance have done more for this country and her people within this short time than any party could ever hope to do. It is easy enough to criticise but these people who do so now have done it for no reason other than their insatiable

thirst to find fault in the achievement of others. We promised to get self-government in two years and we are getting it now. We promised to get independence in four years and we are getting it on or about August 31st, 1957. What more could they themselves have wished for? The right thinking people of Malaya would not be misled by their irresponsible utterances. We must all cooperate and try and make the new constitution for independent Malaya work. Let me make this earnest appeal to all those who love Malaya to give their support to the terms of the Agreement reached between the parties to the Conference as set out in Council Papers No. 6 of 1956 and No. 15 of 1956.

Sir, I beg to move.

20

More Talks in London

SPEECH OVER THE BBC, LONDON ON 26TH
DECEMBER, 1956

I would like to send New Year greetings to my friends and relatives in Malaya. Since my arrival here I have had talks with Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on a number of subjects, the most important of which concerns a mutual defence treaty. Official talks began on 20th December between the Malayan delegation comprising Col. Lee, Dato' Razak, Encik Aziz, Haji Mustapha Albakri and myself, and the British Government. Before the commencement of the talks I informed the Colonial Secretary that in keeping with the spirit of friendship and goodwill during Christmas we should settle the matters on which we had not yet agreed in the proposed mutual defence treaty.

Malaya will soon become an independent State. That independence is the result of the just

demands of the people of Malaya to which the British Government has sympathetically conceded. The *Merdeka* we seek is genuine independence. We want our independent Malaya to enjoy the same prestige and sovereignty as all the other free and independent nations of the world. Should there be any provision in the proposed mutual defence treaty which could be interpreted as derogatory to the status and dignity of Malaya as an independent State, it would certainly not be acceptable to the people of Malaya who have demanded full independence for their country.

The talks on the defence treaty were held for two days and the result has been very satisfactory. I am afraid I cannot tell you now the details as the matters which had been agreed to in our discussions have to be approved by the British Cabinet first before the Treaty can be signed, in the same way as it has to be approved by our Council of Ministers and the Conference of Rulers in the Federation of Malaya. But this much I can tell you. What has been put forward by the Federation's representatives and accepted by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, guarantees the Status and sovereignty of our nation and our country as a truly independent State and ensures the security of our country from enemy attacks. We have in turn promised to help them in case they need our assistance in their territories in the Far East.

Besides security, as an independent nation, we must also concern ourselves with the raising of the standard of living of our people and the ad-

vancement of national prosperity. To this end the Alliance Government has prepared a Five Year Development Plan. This Plan calls for the spending of a large sum of money. We do not have all the capital funds that are needed now. Therefore we have to raise a loan from the British Government. I must emphasise that in doing so we are not trying to mortgage our country to the British, as our enemies are suggesting. We are not doing an extraordinary thing. Lending from one another is a common practice among friendly nations. The British themselves have just successfully negotiated a \$1,500,000,000 loan from the United States of America.

Talks on the proposed loan started on 21st December and from the attitude of the British Government so far, it would appear that they appreciate our object and I am hopeful that they will meet our request as far as they can. A Working Party has been formed to go into the details, with Col. H.S. Lee, Datuk Abdul Razak and Mr. Spencer as its members from our side. This Working Party will start its work after the Christmas holidays.

There are other matters which I have to discuss with the British Government while I am here in London. Among these are matters concerning the work of the Special Branch to prevent corruption, and together with the representatives of the Rulers I shall be discussing matters connected with the installation of the Head of State of the Federation of Malaya and other preparations to

celebrate our independence.

While we are here we are taking the opportunity to meet our students here and require into their welfare. Dato' Abdul Razak, Education Minister, Col. Lee, Finance Minister and Sir David Watherston, Chief Secretary, have had a meeting with our Commissioner in United Kingdom, Encik Othman and the Director of our Students' Department here Mr. Daniel. We have decided to increase the scholarship allowance to our students here as it has been agreed that the present scale of allowances is inadequate for them to live decently. Dato' Abdul Razak has taken the opportunity of going to Brighton to meet and talk to our students there. On January 4th' Dato' Razak and I shall be going to Dublin to open our new students' centre and hostel there. Unfortunately I was not able to present myself at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst on December 20th to see the graduation of our cadet officers because we were all engaged in important business in London. However, Haji Mustapha Albakri was present on my behalf. Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer took the salute at the graduation parade.

Our work will keep us here for some time yet, but as soon as we have finished we will fly back to Malaya. On our way back we hope to stop for two days at Istanbul in Turkey to see conditions in that country which has emerged as a Modern State, culturally and politically. We have been fortunate to have met the Turkish Ambassador in

London at a social function, and he was very pleased that I would visit Turkey.

We are thankful to Almighty God who has made our safe journey to London possible and who has blessed our mission with success so far. With the prayers of all my fellow countrymen, I hope it will please *Allah* to see us all safely home again. The coming years existed in weakness with an inferior status, has now been willed by *Allah* to take its place among honoured and free nations as an independent and sovereign State. It is now up to the people of Malaya to honour and uphold this new status with all their resources, even with their lives.

Let us together raise our hands in prayer to Almighty God that he may bless the people of Malaya with peace and prosperity without end in an independent Malaya.

21

The Final Journey

MESSAGE BEFORE LEAVING FOR LONDON
ON 9TH MAY, 1957

Today delegation from the Federation of Malaya, including representatives of the Sultans and the Alliance, will leave Kuala Lumpur to take part in final talks concerning the independence of Malaya. This independence is based on discussions that have taken place between us and the Queen's representative who has a good understanding of the situation.

I no longer doubt that the talks that will be held this time will be carried out amicably by all. There have been several requests from various parties wishing to take part in these final talks. Everyone knows that from the 12th February to May we have had discussions with the Sultan's representatives, the High Commissioner and the Alliance. Recently we came to an understanding and have been able to resolve our differences. If

we include any new parties in these latest discussions then they will not be the final ones. All the matters which have been resolved will be reopened, independence will be delayed and confusion will develop. These considerations force us to stop them from becoming involved at this late hour.

We have been entrusted by the people to demand the independence of Malaya and prepare the nation to become peaceful and prosperous, uniting the people of Malaya as loyal citizens.

By the will of *Allah* and the assistance and guidance of God we have been faithful to the trust place in us. I would like to say to you that we will continue to carry out responsibilities and, with the help of *Allah*, Malaya will become prosperous and happy. The people of Malaya should unite in thanking all those here who have given assistance in the past to us all. *Merdeka!*

- Translated from Bahasa Malaysia by Bruce Gale from original copies supplied by the Arkib Negara (National Archives)

22

A Successful Trip

SPEECH AT THE SUNGAI BESI AIRPORT
AFTER RETURNING FROM LONDON, 3RD
JUNE, 1957

Thanks to your prayers our delegation, which went to England recently, has returned safely to our homeland. I am sure that you have all read a little in the newspapers about what has been achieved by the delegation. Of course, we have not been able to get one hundred per cent of what we wanted, but if we have obtained eighty per cent I think it is enough. With this we can be independent. Whatever happens in the future which is not consistent with our wishes can be changed, added to or improved. Any constitution prepared today is not immutable. It can be changed, modified or improved according to the wishes of the people. To begin work we need the complete sacrifice, belief and trust of the *rakyat*. With this support we can all work hard to build a new nation.

Of course, we are not used to independence. Both ourselves and our grandparents once believed we would be colonised forever under one or another colonial power. Because of this, developing an independent country gives rise to feeling of anxiety, suspicion, fear and concern. I hope that the people will not feel like that. Believe in *Allah*, because everything that is permitted by Him works for good. Malays, Chinese, Indians and other races that wish to be loyal, live together, defend the nation and work together, live in harmony, because the situation in this country is different from other countries in the world. Because of this, one race cannot take everything for itself. In order to set up an independent government we must compromise and make sacrifices. These sacrifices will enable us to establish a nation which is an example to the world of how all races can live together in friendship.

The independence of Malaya will be declared on the 31st August, creating the newest nation in the world. The eyes of the world will be upon us. The world wants to know how the people of Malaya will take their first steps as a new nation. What will the people of Malaya do? You must therefore all behave well so that the world can speak with approval about the situation. I myself believe that Malaya will become a prosperous, peaceful and happy nation receiving assistance, support and service from all races loyal to this country.

When I was in England recently, one of the important issues that was discussed concerned dual

citizenship. This was something upon which we did not want to make a decision, but one thing we wanted was that loyalty would not be divided. Whoever wants to become a citizen of Malaya must be loyal to Malaya alone. They must swear to reject any loyalty to foreign countries. On behalf of my delegation I congratulate and thank the delegation representing the Sultans, which was included in our delegation, for their cooperation and assistance with the problems we brought up and faced in England. In seeking agreement on the new constitution there were disputes. But while in England no one knew whether we were from the delegation representing the Sultans or the delegation representing Indians, Chinese and Malays. We spoke with one voice. Our concern was only for Malaya, with the hope that the people of Malaya would cooperate together in the future, live in harmony and believe that with the help of *Allah* Malaya would become an example to the world.

Once more I would like to thank all of you, men, women and children, for taking the trouble to come and greet my friends and I on our return. Thank you for your prayers. All praise and thanks be to *Allah* because we have completed our discussions with the British government which began in 1956 and finished in May 1957. There will be no more delegations going to discuss this subject. All other matters will be decided by the people of this nation to improve their own lives. It is for God alone to give us guidance to look after our new nation. With this I finish my speech by greeting

our country three times. *Merdeka! Merdeka!
Merdeka!*

- Translated from Bahasa Malaysia by Bruce Gale from original copies supplied by the Arkib Negara (National Archives)

23

A New Constitution

SPEECH IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL, KUALA LUMPUR ON 10TH JULY,
1957

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

Sir, it falls to me as Leader of the Party in the Government to introduce this resolution. Never perhaps in the history of this Council has anything so important been brought up for discussion. I do so with pride and much pleasure and with a feeling of confidence that not only my Party but I hope other non-members of the Alliance will give it their support out of regard for the country as a whole. Few parties have the privilege of

leading a country to independence and I count myself as extremely fortunate to be the Leader of that party at this great moment in our history. Our country is about to take its place as an independent sovereign State within the Commonwealth of Nations, and in looking back over the events of the last few years, I marvel that our progress towards independence has been so swift and smooth. I cannot recall any other dependence country which has achieved independence in such a cordial and friendly atmosphere. We have been able, to make progress in such a remarkable fashion in spite of the fact that ours is a plural community. The characteristics, beliefs and cultures of our people very greatly, and I believe that we are only now able to stand on the threshold of independence because of their tolerant and friendly attitude towards one another and their acceptance of Malaya as the object of their absolute loyalty. Before I deal with the matter contained in the White Paper let us look back at the picture of Malaya as it existed before and as it exists today in order that one can truly appreciate the type of Constitution which we require for this country.

At varying periods of our country's history, the Sultans of the Malay States entered into treaties with Great Britain. The Treaties provided, on the one hand, certain rights and concessions for Great Britain in return for protection to be accorded to Their Highnesses and protection for the interests and rights of the Malays. This protection was entered in the various State Constitutions and

Enactments and in the Federation of Malays enjoyed under this Treaty has never been contested by any person or class of persons or communities for it has not interfered or obstructed other communities in the enjoyment of their possessions or the right to live their lives. The affluence of others has not helped the Malays but on the other hand it has caused them so much economic setback that they were driven out of the main towns and villages of this country. The sum total of the Malay plight was that they have suffered in the field of economy as well as education. The suffering has brought a new lease of life to the Malays. It has brought political awakening to the Malays never experienced before in our long history.

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

The early Chinese settlers have been in this country for many hundreds of years. In the early days they came here to trade and later to like this country and decided to settle down, and they

were absorbed by the country and followed local customs and spoke the Malay language, while at the same time retaining some of their own culture and traditions. Later, after the first World War, large numbers of Chinese came into the Federation to further its development. Economically, these people made a great contribution, and I am glad to acknowledge the magnitude of that contribution in this Council. But it was perhaps natural that many of these Chinese should at that time look towards China rather than towards this country as their permanent home. A Chinese Nationalist Movement gained momentum before the second World War so much so that the settlers or Malayan Chinese were relegated to the background, and when the Communists came to power in China, some in this country became Communists or sympathised with them, and the Malayan Chinese were sandwiched or hemmed in between the two political forces.

The Indians also came to the Federation to seek wealth in the country and they found employment in the Government service or in estates. They too have made their contribution for which we are all grateful. Men and women of many other races have also come to Malaya, though in smaller numbers, and I should like to make particular mention of the part played by the British people. They have admittedly devoted their lives to the advancement and development of our country. Whatever may have been their fault, they have made Malaya a prosperous and happy place it is today. It must also be said that they

found Malaya a rich country with friendly people inhabiting it. They intended naturally to establish their rule firmly and permanently here and with that in mind they had built up barriers between the various nationalities who chose to make a home of Malaya. The recent years found the Malay's political awakening taken up by the other races - the Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and Ceylonese started to take an interest in politics. The Chinese and Indian then decided to make a common cause with the Malays and thus the National Movement was formed. As a result of this in a few weeks' time we shall come to the end of that chapter in our history which bound us to Britain. The preparatory work has been done, and those of us who look upon this country as our home will shortly be responsible for controlling our affairs.

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

which candidates stood in the First Elections to the Federal Legislative Council. From that moment although there was still much hard work to be done, it was clear that it could only be a question of time before our country would become independent. Time was needed to enable all the detailed arrangements to be made, but Her Majesty's Government were most sympathetic and they agreed to hold a Conference in London to discuss the next steps to be taken as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made.

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

The London Talks of January 1956 paved the way for the appointment of the Independent Constitutional Commission. The members of the Commission arrived in the Federation in June last year. They then spent four months touring the country and talking to people from all walks of life and they received representations from all

communities representing a wide variety of interests. The Report of the Commission shows that the members gained a very full knowledge of the conditions in our country today and of the problems which we shall have to solve. They approached their difficult task in a most business-like manner and I am glad to have this opportunity to pay tribute to them. I am personally most grateful to Lord Reid and his colleagues for what they have done for our country.

We spent many long hours in the Working Party discussing every aspect of the future constitutional arrangements for our country. I freely admit that on a number of occasions we came up against problems to which for a time there seemed to be no solutions. A formula was agreed upon by which it was decided that in considering the rights of the various peoples no attempt must be made to reduce such rights which they have enjoyed in the past. As a result you find written into this constitution rights of various peoples they have enjoyed in the past and new rights accorded to new people whom it was the intention to win over into the fold of the Malayan Nation. I refer to the Citizenship rights. It is a right which has of their desire to put Malaya on the pedestal as an Independent Nation, they are prepared to give that right to the new people.

The Working Party was fortunate however in having as its Chairman His Excellency the High Commissioner. With his long experience of ad-

ministration and of the problems of our own Federation, he was able to see how compromises could be effected between apparently irreconcilable points of view; and his wise guidance of our discussions was invaluable. The Working Party also had the benefit of the great knowledge and experience of Malaya which Sir David Wathers-ton¹ has accumulated over a period of nearly thirty years; and for the many legal problems we had the ready assistance of our hard working and legal minded Attorney-General, Mr. Brodie. We had as our Secretary, Mr. Laird, whose help to the Commission cannot be measured in words. He served as Secretary to the Ried Commission and when that Commission completed its work, he gave his services willingly to us. His contribution is recorded in the pages of this White Paper as well as the pages of our Constitution.

At all times, the representatives of Their Highnesses and the representatives of the Federation Government spoke out frankly and without holding back any considerations which, if they were not discussed and settled before *Merdeka* Day, might later lead to difficulties in implementing the new Constitution. Nevertheless, we were able to reach agreement in the Working Party on all points concerning the future relationship between the States and the Federation. This was possible because each member of the Working Party was determined to reach agreement and was pre-

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

pared to compromise. The representatives of Their Highnesses and the Working Party as a whole received much help from Mr Lawson, the Legal Adviser of Their Highness, and we are all grateful to him for the many constructive and useful suggestions he puts forward for discussion in the Working Party.

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

of Malaya with a firm foundation on which the people of this country can build a great and prosperous nation.

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

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

ed and it is proposed that all those who wish to become citizens of the Federation either by registration or by naturalisation shall be required to take an Oath of Allegiance declaring that they absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all loyalty to any country or State outside the Federation. It is vital that we should be able to offer our absolute loyalty to Malaya. We were able during the discussions in May to induce Her Majesty's Government to agree that this principle of undivided loyalty is absolutely necessary and that in this matter the Federation cannot make any distinction between foreign countries and Commonwealth countries.

We appreciate the fact that our Constitution cannot alter the provisions of the law of other countries. This being so, the status of a person who is already a citizen of another country as well as a citizen of the Federation will not be altered after *Merdeka* Day. In other words, a person who is already a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies will not be required to renounce his citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies. But if any person takes advantage of his rights of citizenship under the law of any other country, he will be liable to be deprived of his Federal Citizenship. A person who has dual citizenship must accept the fact that his loyalty cannot be divided and if he chooses to place himself in a position where he is liable to lose his citizenship of the Federation, he must accept the consequences. For the future well-being of our country, we expect and demand the undivided

loyalty of all who wish to call themselves Malaysians. It follows from what I have just said that any Federal Citizen who acquired by any voluntary and formal act, other than marriage, the citizenship of any other country may also be deprived of his citizenship.

All those who are citizens of the Federation before *Merdeka* Day will become citizens of the new Federation, and any person born within the federation on or after *Merdeka* Day will become a citizen automatically. We have made a slight amendment to the recommendation of the Commission that certain citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies who are entitled under Clause 126 of the Federation Agreement of 1948 to become citizens as of right should continue to be entitled to claim citizenship after *Merdeka* Day. It would be wrong to deprive these persons completely of their privilege under the Federation Agreement but it has been agreed that it would be inappropriate to include a provision of this nature as permanent provision in the new Constitution. It is therefore proposed that persons in this category should be required to exercise their right to claim citizenship within a period of one year after *Merdeka* Day. If they do not do so within that period but later wish to become citizens of the Federation, they will have to apply under the provisions of Article 16.

The Commission also made recommendations providing that a woman who is or has been married to a citizen should be registered as a citizen upon making application in the prescribed man-

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

With regard to children, Honourable Members of Council will have noted that it is proposed that a child born before *Merdeka* Day who is not a citizen on that day but whose father is a citizen should only be registered as a citizen if he is ordinarily resident in the Federation and of good character. If those qualifications were not included, a child who has had little or no contact with

the Federation and who may be living in a foreign country could automatically be registered as a citizen of the Federation. It was considered that it would be unwise to permit the automatic registration of such children.

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

The provisions regarding citizenship by naturalisation are similar to those recommended by the Commission subject again to the taking of the

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

To complete the picture of the citizenship proposals, I must say something about Commonwealth citizenship. In the first place, I would like to make it clear that Commonwealth citizenship is not comparable to nationality in such a way as to constitute one leg of a dual nationality status. It does not limit the independence of any member country of the Commonwealth by requiring any special rights for Commonwealth citizens in members territories. It cannot involve any conflicting loyalties since the Commonwealth is essentially a free association of sovereign nations. Commonwealth citizenship is a symbol of membership of, and loyalty to, an association of nations with a common tradition of political rights and duties and of democratic parliamentary government; it is therefore something added to the primary status of Federal citizenship and can take nothing away from it.

I turn now to the matter of Parliament and the Executive. Generally speaking, the recommendations of the Commission on this part of the Constitution have been accepted. We propose that the Supreme Head of the Federation should be called

the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung and that his consort should be known as the Raja Permasuri Agung. The Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will be appointed by the Rulers from among themselves to sit on the Throne in turn for a period of five years. A Deputy Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will also be appointed to act for him in the event of his absence from the country or if he is indisposed. The Yang Di-Pertuan Agung will normally act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet but it is proposed that he should be given powers to act at his discretion in certain matters; for example, he may act in his discretion in appointing the Chief Justice, after considering the advice of the Prime Minister and views of the Conference of Rulers.

It may also be necessary to require the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung to act after consultation with or on the recommendation of a person or body of persons other than the Cabinet. A clause has accordingly been included in Article 40 providing for this. With regard to the proposals relating to the power to exercise pardon, it has been suggested to me that the Governors should not have any such powers and that in respect of Penang and Malacca the power to grant pardon should vest in the Yang Di-Petuan Agung. If, however, this proposal were to be adopted it would mean that the Governors were not being accorded equality of status with the Rulers of the other States. Moreover, it is essential that Penang and Malacca should be as independent of control by the Federation as are the Malay States. If it were to be suggested that the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung and

the Federal Parliament or Government could interfere in any way in the affairs of the two new States in a manner in which they could not interfere in the affairs of the Malay States there would undoubtedly be an outcry from the two new States. It is a fundamental part of the proposals as a whole that Penang and Malacca should take their places in the new Federation as equal partners with the Malay States.

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

There has been considerable amendment of the

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

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

Immediately after *Merdeka* Day, the powers of Parliament will be exercised by the Yang Di-

Pertuan Agung with the advice and consent of this Council. The Commission recommended that the Federal Legislative Council should not be dissolved before the 1st January, 1959; they also recommended that the first elections under the new Constitution should not be held until new electoral rolls had been prepared including the names of those who would wish to take advantage of new provisions for obtaining citizenship. My Government has accepted this recommendation. I am confident that when the time comes for the first elections to be held, the members then elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate will be truly representative of the people of the Federation. It is our object to build a united nation; we have provided easy means for the acquisition of citizenship by all those who wish to become Malaysians in the true sense of the term. Would it be right to deny these new citizens the privilege of voting in the first elections after *Merdeka* Day? In my opinion there can be only one answer to that question. There will doubtless be some who will criticise the new temporary provisions of the constitution which provide that the Federal Legislative Council may, if necessary, continue in existence until the 31st December, 1959.

I emphasise, however, that the extension of the life of this Council will be approved only on the advice of the independent and impartial Election Commission that it would not be reasonably practicable to hold elections at an earlier date. It has to be remembered that during the early years

after *Merdeka* Day, the Government will undoubtedly have to deal with many difficult problems. We are about to assume heavy responsibilities and we shall no longer be in a position to obtain advice and assistance from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as we have done in the past. But we intend to maintain the present high standard of administration and we intend to press on with our plans for the further development of the country so as to improve the general standard of living of our people. All this will throw a heavy burden on our administration. Moreover, the Election Commission itself must have time in which to make the detailed agreements for the holding of the first elections.

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

actively and constructively engaged in the formulation of policies and in the administration of the country.

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

been our task to ensure not only that the States will have a measure of autonomy but also that in matters of national interest the Federal authorities will have the power to take all necessary rate for some years to come the framework within which the State and Federal Government may be able to work together to their mutual benefit and for the good of all.

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

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

I may say that the representatives of Their Highnesses were not at first inclined to view this proposal with sympathy. They agreed that if the Federal Parliament were to be empowered to legislate on such matters as, for example, local government, then the autonomy of the States would be much reduced. But in this as in many of the other matters which we discussed we reached a compromise. In a country the size of the Federation it would lead to untold difficulties if the basic law of the country on such fundamental

matters as local government and a national land code were to differ from from State to State. We are all accustomed to working on laws which are uniform throughout the country and indeed it has been the policy of the Government during the last few years to consolidate our law.

I frankly admit that we have adopted a device to get round our difficulties without departing to any great extent from the fundamental principle recommended by the commission that legislative power and executive authority should always go together. But speaking as Chief Minister of the Federation Government, I believe that the State Government will find that these arrangements will not operate to their detriment. I know that it was not easy for them to accept the proposals and I am grateful to the representatives of Their Highnesses for agreeing to the compromise. I am also grateful to Their Highnesses and to the State Governments for accepting the proposal to set up a National Land Council. With regard to the Articles dealing with land itself, I believe that we now have an adequate framework in which to resolve to the satisfaction of all parties any problems which may arise in connection with the use of land for Federal or State purpose or for the implementation of our development plans on which my Government lays so much stress.

The major changes in the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the judiciary are set out in the White Paper, and I propose now to refer only to the procedure with regard to appeals

from the Supreme Court. It has been said that the continuance of arrangements whereby appeals may be heard by the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council will be derogatory to the sovereignty of the Federation. I do not share that sentiment. We have provided that appeals from the Supreme Court shall lie to the Yang Di-Petuan Agung and that the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung may make arrangements with Her Majesty for the reference to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council of appeals from the Supreme Court. The Article on this subject was included in the Federal Constitution at our request because we are determined to ensure that the present high standard of justice is maintained after *Merdeka* Day. Until we are able to set up our Privy Council we must take advantage of the experience and wisdom of learned Judges of other Commonwealth countries. This is an example of one of the many ways in which the Federation will derive great benefit from being a member of the Commonwealth.

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

Constitution that this anxiety had been anticipated and allayed. The Bar Council take this opportunity to express to the Government and to you personally its deep sense of appreciation for this happy situation".

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

The Working Party appreciated the reasons which prompted the Commission to make these recommendations. It was felt however that the

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

I would like at this point to correct any impression there may be that under the revised proposals the States will receive less generous treatment than was proposed by the Reid Commission. In the first place, the Commission proposed that the States should pay to a National Pension Fund pension contributions in respect of pensionable officers in their employment. This large liability has been removed from the States. Secondly, the Commission did not provide for the States to receive grants or any other source of

revenue as of right. Let me now give you some figures to illustrate the effect of the revised proposals. The Federal allocations to the States this year including development and per capita grants and the percentage of petrol duty total \$43 millions. This figure together with \$7.6 millions in respect of transitional grants and population increase and \$10 millions in respect of the currency surplus and education rates make a total of approximately \$61 millions to be paid by the Federation to the States this year. If the sum of \$4 millions in respect of assistance to local Councils is also included, the total allocation to the States can be regarded as about \$65 millions. State revenues for the year are estimated at \$99 millions.

Against this, the budgets proposed by the States themselves (including expenditure on local Government) total \$165 millions and it is estimated that the actual expenditure will be about \$156 millions. But in 1956, the States only spent \$131 millions, and, as their own revenues for 1957 are estimated at \$99 millions, the proposed system of financial allocations will, I am confident, give the States ample funds to meet all their needs. I should also mention that it was agreed that \$4 millions should be paid into the State Reserve Fund initially because the transitional grants for this year total \$2.9 millions, and as Honourable Members will appreciate, the purpose of the new States Reserve Fund is much the same as the purpose of the transitional grants under the present system.

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

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

I believe—and in saying this I have the support of my friend the Minister of Finance—that the new financial proposals will be much easier to implement than the present system of financial allocations. Under the new proposals the States will achieve complete financial autonomy; they will be able to accumulate surpluses and they will, I hope, soon be in a position to carry out their own development plans within the limits of their own financial resources. In saying this, I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the Federal Government will not in future continue to assist the States in their general development by the

provision of financial, technical and other assistance over and above the grants and other sources of revenue which the States will receive as of right. There are ample provisions in the Constitution for this assistance to be given to the States and, indeed all the development plans of the Federation Government must to some extent benefit one State or another because there will be no Federal territory in the new Federation.

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

I need not remind Honourable Members of the importance which the Alliance Government attached to maintaining an efficient and contented civil service. To this end the Service must feel that it is not subject to political interference and that it can tender advice without fear of the consequences. Only in this way can it be expected to attract into the Service and retain the men and

women of the high calibre that will be needed. At the Constitutional Conference held in London in January and February 1956, it was agreed that the most generally accepted method of achieving this end was by setting up an independent Public Service Commission. The draft constitution contains provision for such a Commission and for separate Commissions for the Judicial and Legal Service, the Police Service and the Railway Administration. In this way appointments, promotions and matters of discipline will be controlled by independent statutory bodies whose members are not associated closely with any political party and in whom the Civil Service and the general public can have confidence.

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

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

I come now to that part of the White Paper dealing with fundamental rights, and I would like first to say something about the provisions concerning the special position of the Malays. It seems to me that there has been nearly as much discussion and comment on this particular matter as there has been on the other parts of the Constitution put together. Shortly after the Constitutional Commission was appointed, we heard of fears both of the Malays and of persons of other communities. There was a general feeling that somehow everybody was going to suffer and even now there seems to be much uncertainty as to the manner which the revised provisions of the Constitution on this subject will be applied. Some Malays fear that their special position will not be adequately protected and that as a consequence they will gradually be overwhelmed by the other communities who have come to live in their country. Persons of other races, in particular the Chinese, fear that their gain would not be half as much if special privileges are given to the Malays.

Everybody seems to have forgotten that there is a clause in the Federation of Malaya Agreement

which gives to the High Commissioner the special responsibility of safeguarding the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities; corresponding power is given to the Sultans of old Unfederated Malay States. There is no evidence to show that any community has suffered as a consequence of the policies adopted in the past. Last year, the Parties of the Alliance discussed this question at considerable length. We then agreed on a formula based on the provisions of the 1948 Agreement and the new provisions in the Federal Constitution have, in turn, been based on the formula worked out by the Alliance. The facts are that unless the Malays are protected there will be no place for them in Malaya. This is proved to be so in Singapore and Penang.

Again to those of other communities who are nervous about their future, I would say — study closely Article 153 of the Federal Constitution. They will find that the Yang Di-Petuan Agung is also required to safeguard their legitimate interests. They will find that no person may be deprived of any public office held by him or of the continuance of any scholarship, exhibition or other educational or training privileges or special facilities enjoyed by him. They will find that all persons of whatever race in the same grade in the service of the Federation will, subject to the terms and conditions of their employment, be treated impartially. They will find that no person may be deprived of any right, privilege, permit or licence or of a renewal of any such permit or licence when such renewal might reasonably be

expected in the ordinary course of events. They will find further safeguard in Clauses (8) and (9) of the Article. The provisions of Article 153 will be applied on the advice of the Cabinet. I cannot imagine that any government will be formed without representatives of each of our main communities. What then is there to fear? When discussing the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities, we must never forget that our object is to unite our people. We should do all we can to remove communal barriers and help build a united and patriotic Malayan people. This Article 153 gives each of us a great opportunity to show that we have the true interests of our country at heart and that we are prepared to place the interests of Malaya as a whole before the interests of our own community.

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

Malays. Lands can likewise be reserved for non-Malays who desire to build their houses in the towns.

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

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

I turn now to the question of the national

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

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

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

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

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

democratic character of the Constitutions of the Malay States.

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

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

when the Constitution is debated, and that the Federation Government should give effect to the verdict of two third majority of that Council.

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

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



V. THE PATH AHEAD



24

Problems And Policies

STATEMENT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE
IN KUALA LUMPUR ON 28TH AUGUST, 1957

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

The needs are many; for instance, the multi-racial population of this country has to be taught and trained to consider this country as their home. A lot of spade work has got to be done to inculcate

in their minds and to bear in their hearts the true significance of loyalty to this country of which they are nationals. On the whole they are peaceful and sports-loving; they are polite and friendly; and they have cultivated in the course of their association with this country a common Malayan characteristic. I am afraid not much work has been done in the past to develop this.

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

Malaya is a happy and prosperous land. She may be small in area but she is rich in her natural resources. We are also endowed with a good Government, and a standard of living second to none in Asia. The successive British administrators have each contributed their little part to make the administration of this country a fine machinery. The members of the civil service and other officers in the Government service have helped to make the machinery of Government an efficient one. I feel therefore that the political party in power will have an efficient organisation which will make workable any plan we have in mind and advantageous to the country as a whole. We realise that the duties of politicians are not to interfere with the civil service and we do not intend to do so; we

want to make the civil service independent and impartial. For that reason our Government has set up various Service Commissions to deal with promotions and other service matters. Our duties are to keep a watchful eye on the public service and to see that the public who put us in power are well served. We are not infallible for we are only human. But I can promise you on behalf of my Government that we will do all we can for the people and for the country. My Ministers and I are dedicated to the service of our country and people.

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

Our planning will provide for improvement in economy and industrial advancement of this country, for improved standard of living and social condition, for general and advanced education, for improvement in the standard of health and for carrying out the ambitious road building and water supply programmes. For these reasons we do not intend to devote much money on defence. We will however have sufficiently strong armed forces to police this country and to tackle subversive elements and to fight our enemy within the country or any foe whose aim is to overthrow this Government by force of arms. We shall have a Navy which

is strong enough to patrol our shores and stop any acts of piracy on the high seas. Most of our forces will in time be commanded by our own men but at this initial stage we have got to get help from the United Kingdom Government and this help will be willingly and readily given. We have already prepared for signature a Mutual Defence Agreement between the Federation of Malaya and the United Kingdom Government and this help will be willingly and readily given. As soon as the Councillors approve this Agreement it will be signed.

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

Many people have asked me from time to time if it is the intention of this country to join SEATO

after Independence, I have answered as often as I have been asked that it is not our intention to get this Government involved in any particular pact with any group of countries in this world. This is a matter which I have to leave to Independent Malaya to decide. As I said earlier on, my main concern is to attend to the affairs of my country first and the people who live here. Later, when we have become more mature as an Independent country, we might be able to make our decision. At this juncture, it would be wrong to try and rush into anything. For the protection of this country, I consider it sufficient that we enter into defence agreements with Britain. The bases that will be allowed to the British troops and the facilities accorded to them will allow them, in time of exigencies, to increase the strength of the forces in order to make the defence of this country effective.

Under modern conditions, it would not be difficult to increase the size of the forces and to strengthen the fighting power when necessary. The planes and weapons necessary to defend the country can be brought here at short notice. In the meantime, we do not intend to have any big armed forces stationed here except the strength sufficient to fight the Communists. In coming to this decision I am only guided one way or the other by my own conscience and I am not influenced by any fear of criticism from countries who are not in SEATO and equally I am not influenced by those countries in SEATO.

My aim is to bring an end to the Communist terrorists war by 31st August 1958. We will go all out to do so. Unless we fix a target date to end this war, the people of this country are apt to be complacent about it all. They are apt to regard this war as something we must have and as something we could fight against given time. But that attitude is not to help us. The people must give the Government the fullest cooperation in order to bring an end to this state of Emergency at a date which I have fixed on 31st August. We may issue in a short time terms of surrender and if the Communists do not accept then they regard this new Federation as their enemy. The new terms of surrender will not legalise them because I know from experiences of other countries that Communists can never co-exist with any Government. They drove the Nationalist Government out of China; they tried to drive the Nationalist Korean Government out of Korea and they tried to drive the Nationalist Government from Vietnam. I would be deceiving myself if I were to think that they are going to tolerate our Government and treat us differently. If they are legalised they will spend their moments of freedom in planning to drive us out too.

The people of Malaya are used to a form of Government which gives them freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom from want and freedom from fear, and they shall be given all that as soon as the Emergency ends. From time to time a number of questions have been raised on the sub-

ject of restrictions of individual liberties. People who raise this issue forget that we have enemies in our midst, and it is necessary therefore that this Government should have the right to impose restrictions on individual liberties. Let me assure all that it is not the intention of this Government to abuse this authority but if we have to fight the Communists, it is necessary that we should be given certain authority to impose restrictions as otherwise we will find difficulty in fighting them. Every person in this country has access to the law, be he a citizen or an alien, except our enemies. And any reference in the Constitution to alien enemies means the Communists.

It must not be presumed however that we would abuse the trust imposed on us by the people by restricting any more than is necessary the freedom of the people. We are conscious of the duties and responsibilities to the country and to those who have put us into power, and in order to bring the Emergency to an end, it is necessary for us to be given the necessary authority to do so. Most people forget that we are at war and have been at war for the last nine years. I mean to bring an end to this war by August 1958 and my Government must be given every opportunity to do so. Let the people worry more about Communist terrorism than about fundamental rights which they know fully well that nobody is going to abuse. Let them remember that we are fighting a front-line battle against international communist terrorism and that if we are defeated then this menace will be knocking at the gate of European countries which

are now free from it. It has been found necessary to impose certain restrictions on the movement and on some of the freedom because it was forced upon us by the Communists but if this country, God forbid, were ruled by Communists not only will there be no freedom at all but a rule of iron will be established in this country which will completely destroy the happy characteristics of the Malayan people.

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

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

international character.

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

There is yet another question which has been asked time and time again and that is whether Singapore will merge with the Federation. Again I say this is a matter which is not easy to decide because in these last few years there have been influx of people into both territories, particularly in Singapore, who have not shown any loyalty to this country. That is not all but there are cases

to prove that they are here to make trouble. I have said earlier that my duty and responsibility is to attend to the well-being of the Federation and I cannot take in any new problems when the Federation itself has many problems of her own to solve. If all the people of Singapore are like Mr. Lim Yew Hock and his Ministers there will be no problem. I will take them on tomorrow and I will be proud to take them on, but as I have said all residents of Singapore are not all Malayan-minded. I am afraid this question will have to be left out and must be shelved for some considerable time.

I would like to extend my welcome to all the pressmen who have taken so much trouble to attend our Celebrations. If I have not given them enough news to write home about at this moment, I want them to excuse me, particularly at this moment when there are so many things which occupy my time and my mind. Infact I do not know which way to turn. I am as enthusiastic and as excited as a child being given a new toy. I only pray that the weather will be kind to us so that all the preparations will proceed as smoothly as we have planned. There may be hitches here and there but these cannot be avoided because of the great many things which our officers have to do in connection with the Celebrations. You can see for yourself how excited all the people are in this country. *Merdeka* is on the lips of everybody and when the 31st day comes, I am certain the people will enter into the mood and spirit of this day—the greatest day in our history.

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

25

Freedom At Last

SPEECH AT THE ALLIANCE RALLY AT
KUALA LUMPUR ON 30TH AUGUST, 1957

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

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

freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of want, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of movement.

Let us be free from the menace of Communist terrorism which has terrorised this country for the last nine years so that the people of this country can be free to move wheresoever they choose unharrassed, unafraid and undisturbed. With freedom there is much to do for us all. Freedom must bring with it opportunities to all; to the needy new hope, to the sick and afflicted relief, to those distressed and in want, help. We shall build our social, economic and educational structures so that the new nation will rear its head sturdy and proud and the people happy and contented.

My Ministers and colleagues are pledged to dedicate their lives to the nation. Many of them have given up their lucrative profession, calling and career in order to serve the country and the people. We are blessed with a good administration forged and tempered to perfection by the successive British administrators. Let this legacy left by the British not suffer in efficiency or integrity in the years to come. With this machinery in such good condition, there is much that the Government can do for the country and the people. It is for the people to resolve to play their part by the Government so that we shall advance to prosperi-

ty, peace and happiness. No matter who you are live in harmony in this glorious land of ours.

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

In this hour of our triumph and rejoicing, let us not forget those who have sacrificed their lives or their limbs to make this country safe for us to live in. May God bless their souls and give them peace in their everlasting rest. To the members of the armed and security forces, both of the Malayan units and the British and Commonwealth units, who have fought our enemy all these nine years with firm, singular courage, through fair and foul weather, through forests, jungles, swamps and mountains, Malaya will forever sing praises of your

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

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

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

To the Malayan people, independence must

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

26

Creating A New Nation

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

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

I am indeed proud that on this, the greatest day in Malaya's history it falls to my lot to proclaim the formal independence of this country. Today as a new page is turned, and Malaya steps forward to take her rightful place as a free and independent partner in the great community of Nations—a new nation is born and though we fully realise that difficulties and problems lie ahead, we are confident that, with the blessing of God, these difficulties will be overcome and that today's events, down the avenues of history, will be our inspiration and our guide. It is therefore with a feeling of particular solemnity that we have listened to the eloquent words of His Royal

Highness¹ and in particular to the moving message he has conveyed from Her Majesty the Queen². We are indeed honoured that Her Majesty should have deputed her own uncle, His Royal Highness to be with us on this occasion particularly when we remember that he is no stranger to this land: we recall too with pleasure his previous visit to Malaya and happy recollections of his stay have remained with us.

His Royal Highness has spoken in moving words of the past associations of our two countries. We in Malaya have a long history, but we do not lightly forget old relationships. For many years past our fortunes have been linked with those of Great Britain and we recall in particular the comradeship of two world wars. We remember too the products of our association; justice before the law, the legacy of an efficient public service and the highest standard of living in Asia. We shall therefore always remember with gratitude the assistance which we have received from Great Britain down our long path to nationhood; an assistance which culminated today with the proclamation of Malaya's Independence. But the long standing friendship between our countries does not cease with independence: rather it takes on a new form. As you have heard in the gracious message from Her Majesty the Queen, Malaya will henceforward take her place in the great Com-

¹ Duke of Gloucester.

² Queen Elizabeth.

monwealth of Independent Nations whose members are found in all parts of the world, and as an equal partner in that great association. We in this country will do all in our power to promote its well-being in the interests of mankind in general and in the particular service of world peace.

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

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

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

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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

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

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

AND WHEREAS it was further agreed between the parties to the said agreement that the Settlements of Malacca and Penang aforesaid should as

from the said date cease to form part of Her Majesty's dominions and that Her Majesty should cease to exercise any sovereignty over them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

