



**UCAPAN-UCAPAN  
TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN  
1965**

Diterbitkan oleh  
Arkib Negara Malaysia  
dengan kerjasama  
Jabatan Perdana Menteri

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“Rakyat telah memberi mandat kepada Kerajaan untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat mereka, Kerajaan bertanggungjawab menyediakan jentera dan mengatur rancangan-rancangan yang hendak dijalankan, akan tetapi dalam melaksanakan rancangan itu rakyat dan Kerajaan mustahaklah bersama-sama menumpu dan mencurahkan usaha dan tenaga mereka itu. Saya telah sebutkan tadi, kemajuan sesuatu bangsa itu bukanlah dalam tangan Kerajaan bahkan bukanlah dalam tangan Menteri, tetapi ialah dalam tangan, dalam nadi dan titik peluh tiap-tiap orang rakyat. Oleh itu kalau kita semua ada mempunyai keazaman, semangat dan jiwa ingin kepada kemajuan, semangat dan jiwa berani dan bersedia berkorban dan bertenaga, dengan berkat Tuhan kemajuan-kemajuan akan tercapai”.

TUN ABDUL RAZAK

Diupacara penutup Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera di Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur pada 7 Jun, 1965.

“Masalah pimpinan Malaysia adalah amat penting kerana sama ada Malaysia terus hidup atau tidak terletaklah pada sifat-sifat pemimpin-pemimpin Malaysia pada masa akan datang dan yang ada sekarang. Sama ada Malaysia terus menerus hidup subur, sama ada demokrasi akan terus hidup subur atau mati, sama ada kebebasan perseorangan akan terus hidup di negara kita dengan bebasnya, terletak diatas corak pimpinan yang akan mengendalikan pemerintahan Malaysia.

. . . . . kita bertanggungjawab mengisi kemerdekaan yang telah kita capai dan kita bertanggungjawab membina satu bangsa yang mempunyai taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara kita ini daripada rakyat negeri kita yang berasal dari berbagai bangsa itu, menjadi tanggungjawab kepada orang-orang Melayu atau bumiputera untuk menarik orang-orang daripada bangsa-bangsa asing yang telah menumpukan taat setianya kepada negara ini supaya bersatu padu dan bekerjasama dengan sepenuhnya”.

TUN ABDUK RAZAK

Diupacara penyampaian hadiah Hari Perayaan sambutan Jubilee Intan Kolej Melayu, Kuala Kangsar, di Dewan Besar Kolej Melayu, Kuala Kangsar pada 26 Jun, 1965.

## PENDAHULUAN

Buku Ucapan Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein 1965 ini adalah merupakan penerbitan keenam di dalam siri pertama ucapan-ucapan beliau sebagai Timbalan Perdana Menteri yang setakat ini telah diusahakan oleh Arkib Negara. Ucapan-ucapan yang dipilih untuk penerbitan adalah mengandungi Ucapan Tun Abdul Razak semasa memegang jawatan sebagai Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Menteri Pertahanan.

Jika diteliti kembali ucapan-ucapan Allahyarham sepanjang tahun 1965, kita akan mendapati imbasan peristiwa-peristiwa yang berlaku di negara kita sepanjang tahun tersebut. Antaranya, sebagai Menteri Pertahanan Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak banyak mempersoalkan tentang pertahanan dan juga tentang pembangunan ekonomi negara kita. Dalam tahun 1965, Malaysia masih menghadapi ancaman dari luar ekoran dari berlanjutan peristiwa konfrantasi dengan Indonesia yang telah bermula sejak tahun 1963 lagi. Allahyarham tetap tegas dalam pendiriannya dan sentiasa mengingatkan rakyat supaya memberi sokongan penuh kepada kerajaan untuk mempertahankan kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan negara dalam saat-saat begini. Angkatan Bersenjata diperbesarkan dan diperluaskan mengikut keadaan yang berlaku di dalam dan luar negeri.

Keadaan politik negara sekali lagi mengalami perubahan iaitu berlakunya dengan tidak disangka-sangka iaitu pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia pada 9 Ogos 1965. Perpisahan yang berlaku di atas persetujuan kedua-dua pihak Kerajaan adalah perlu bagi mengelak berlakunya pergaduhan di antara kaum terjadi. Ekoran dari itu perubahan dari segi struktur ekonomi dan politik negara terjadi.

Disamping menghadapi ancaman politik dari dalam dan luar negeri, Allahyarham tetap meneruskan usaha-usaha membangunkan ekonomi negara sejajar dengan tugas beliau sebagai Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar. Tumpuan utama beliau adalah masyarakat luar bandar. Rancangan Malaya Kedua telah berakhir pada tahun 1965 tetapi beliau meneruskan usaha-usaha pembangunan tersebut dengan pelaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Pertama yang bermula dari tahun 1966 sehingga 1970. Dua matlamat utama Rancangan ini ialah untuk meninggikan taraf hidup masyarakat luar bandar tanpa mengira kaum dan menambahkan pendapatan mereka. Tujuan kedua adalah untuk mengadakan rumah-rumah bagi orang-orang miskin di bandar.

Beberapa rancangan luar bandar telah diperkenalkan oleh Allahyarham dengan tumpuan kepada pembangunan tanah seperti rancangan

pembukaan tanah di bawah pengelolaan FELDA yang telah dicadangkan perlaksanaannya pada tahun berikutnya. Pelbagai skim rancangan tanah diperkenalkan bertujuan untuk membantu rakyat yang miskin menambahkan punca pendapatan mereka. Di samping itu Allahyarham juga memastikan pelaksanaan projek-projek seperti yang telah direncanakan dan seperti tercatat di dalam 'Buku Merah' berjalan lancar dengan mengadakan lawatan-lawatan keseluruh negara.

Sejajar dengan hasrat Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak yang mahu mempertingkatkan ekonomi bumiputera, satu Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang pertama telah berjaya diadakan pada bulan Jun 1965. Di Kongres ini wakil-wakil daripada semua lapisan rakyat bumiputera dapat menyuarakan buah fikiran dan pandangan, untuk mencapai cita-cita dan hasrat bumiputera di dalam bidang ekonomi. Sebanyak 69 keputusan telah dihasilkan daripada Kongres ini dan diantaranya beberapa agensi kerajaan telah ditubuhkan seperti Bank Bumiputera dan FAMA (Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority) untuk memperbaiki ekonomi orang Melayu. Bank Bumiputera memberi pinjaman dengan kadar yang rendah kepada golongan bumiputera yang mahu memulakan perniagaan sementara FAMA membantu dalam memasarkan bahan-bahan pertanian masyarakat luar bandar. Ini sejajar dengan hasrat kerajaan Allahyarham untuk memajukan lagi bidang pertanian di samping menggalakkan perkembangan industri.

Untuk mempertingkat lagi kecekapan kerja dalam usaha-usaha membangunkan ekonomi bumiputera, Allahyarham telah mengubah kedudukan RIDA (Rural Industrial Development Authority) iaitu dengan memberinya rupa, bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang baru yang diberi nama baru iaitu MARA (Majlis Amanah Rakyat). Lembaga ini bertanggungjawab menolong dan menjalankan aktiviti-aktiviti untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera.

Dalam usaha mengumpulkan dan kemudian menerbitkan kumpulan ucapan-ucapan untuk sepanjang tahun 1965 ini, Arkib Negara banyak menerima bantuan dari lain-lain Jabatan Kerajaan. Dengan ini pihak Arkib Negara ingin merakam ucapan terima kasih kepada Jabatan Perdana Menteri, Jabatan Penerangan, Jabatan Penyiaran, Jabatan Cetak Negara dan lain-lain Jabatan yang terlibat.

6 Oktober, 1986.

ZAKIAH HANUM  
Ketua Pengarah,  
Arkib Negara Malaysia.

## **PENJELASAN**

### **Indeks**

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

### **Nombor Klasifikasi**

Di atas tiap-tiap ucapan diberikan satu nombor klasifikasi; misalnya TR 1:3:65. Ini adalah nombor klasifikasi Arkib untuk tiap-tiap ucapan asal di dalam siri ini yang disimpan di Arkib Negara.

## SINGKATAN

EPU	--	Economic Planning Unit
FAMA	--	Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority
FIDA	--	Federal Industrial Development Authority
FELDA	--	Federal Land Development Authority
MAHA	--	Malayan Agri-Horticulture Association
MARA	--	Majlis Amanah Rakyat
MCA	--	Malayan Chinese Association
MIC	--	Malayan Indian Congress
NDPC	--	National Development Planning Committee
NUJ	--	National Union of Journalist
PAP	--	Peoples' Action Party
PMIP	--	Pan Malayan Islamic Party
PPP	--	Peoples' Progressive Party
RGA	--	Rubber Growers Association
RIDA	--	Rural Industrial Development Authority
SEACOM	--	South East Asia Communication Cable
SUPP	--	Sarawak United Peoples' Party
UDP	--	United Democratic Party
UMNO	--	United Malay National Organization
USNO	--	United Sabah National Organization

TR: 1:1:65

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING CEREMONY OF THE KUALA LUMPUR –  
SINGAPORE – JESSELTON SECTION OF SEACOM  
CABLE LINK AT DEWAN TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 15TH JANUARY, 1965

The Honourable Minister of Works, and Posts and Telecommunications<sup>1</sup>,  
Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I understand that the word 'telephone' in English, comes from two Greek words 'tele' and 'phone'. 'Tele' means 'distant' or 'far away' and 'phone' means 'sound'.

Therefore this word 'telephone' is obviously out of date because the opening of this telephone service to Sabah today is not the opening of a distant or far away sound; it is the opening of a very close, and a very near sound, near to our hearts.

You will hear, in this very Hall, in a few moments, the voice and sound of the Chief Minister of Sabah<sup>2</sup> almost as if he were with us here himself. You will also hear the voice of other people in Sabah, as they speak on this new telephone link. To me this is a great thing.

With the formation of Malaysia, and with Sabah joining our Federation, we here, the people of Malaya, became very close in heart, and in mind, with our brothers in Sabah and today is another stepping stone towards the solidarity of Malaysia because, although Sabah may be many hundred miles away across the sea, in fact, after the opening of this telecommunication link, it will be only one second away.

The opening of this cable link to Sabah is very significant at this present time.

At the very time when Soekarno<sup>3</sup>, in his attempt to crush Malaysia, is breaking 'links' with the Free World, breaking 'links' with the United Nations, breaking 'links' with friendship and goodwill, we here in Malaysia are doing the very opposite, not only by strengthening the solidarity of our new Nation, by strengthening our communications with the Borneo Territories, we are also, by playing our part in this Commonwealth net-work of communications throughout the World, strengthening our 'links', both nationally and internationally.

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<sup>1</sup> Dato' V.T. Sambanthan.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Peter Lo.

<sup>3</sup> President Republic of Indonesia.

And this is our belief, that the peace and prosperity of the World lies in a close association of freedom and goodwill amongst all nations and the first step towards better understanding, better feeling and better cooperation is an improvement of communication of which this new cable link is an example.

The opening of this project, a tremendous advance in our new communications to Sabah, is an example of what cooperation, understanding and working together among Nations can do for the benefit of all.

But, although this cable is a very important project, it is small in relation to the other greater projects which have come out of this free association of nations within the Commonwealth.

At a time when the sovereignty of Malaysia is being threatened by our imperialistic neighbour, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which are all partners in this telephone cable link, are also partners in coming to our aid to defend our country against outside aggression. So also some other countries such as India are doing what they can to support our cause.

Soekarno mocks, and makes fun of the fact that we, first Malaya, and secondly Malaysia, achieved our place as a free and independent nation without bloodshed!

He is quite right, that is quite true.

We did not achieve Independence with the revolution like Indonesia; a revolution which has lasted since 1945 and will probably continue until after the end of Soekarno's era.

We achieved Independence by peaceful means, with no bloodshed.

But I can assure you, and I can assure Soekarno, that every drop of blood which runs in the veins of every loyal citizen of Malaysia is ready to be shed, and to be used, in the defence of our Nation and in the safeguarding of our sovereignty, if we are further provoked and aggravated by this Dictator who has no right, no claim, and no reason for wishing to dominate us.

At the present time, we live in a World of words, a World in which the fashion and habit of Communists and Dictators is to play entirely on propaganda.

Soekarno's propaganda is that we are not a really free and independent Nation but, as he calls us, a neo-colonialistic Country striving for liberation.

Each and everyone of his guerillas who landed on our shores and who have the good fortune to be still alive have admitted that they were brainwashed with this propaganda.

But what a shock they got when they arrived in Pontian, in Labis, in Sungei Kesang and other places. When they realised how false were the words of their leader, when they saw with their own eyes how prosperous, how happy and how united the people of Malaysia are.

This means, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the seeds of propaganda which Soekarno has tried to plant in our soil are old, dried up, useless seeds, which will never ever germinate or take root in Malaysia!

So, therefore, the answer is to ignore Soekarno's out-dated methods and attempts to subvert our Nation.

We in Malaysia are not only secure in ourselves, with complete unity of purpose amongst our own people, we are also secure in the support given to us by our friends in the Commonwealth by providing for our defence with troops, with ships, with guns and with aeroplanes.

Some people may ask why, immediately after Independence, we did not build up, like Indonesia, a large Army, a large Navy and a large Air Force. We did not, because our first task after Independence is to build up our economy, our standard of living and concentrate on the development of our nation, rather than concentrating on the destruction of other Nations, like Soekarno; and we were able to do this, we were able to put all our energies, all our funds, all our efforts towards developing our country because we knew that, in a time of need, our friends in the Commonwealth and the Free World would come to our aid not only in Defence, but also in Development, an example of this is the Telecommunications link which I have the pleasure of opening today.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I actually declare open this telephone to Sabah, I should like to apologise on behalf of our Prime Minister, the Tunku<sup>4</sup>, for not being able to be here today to perform this rather pleasant task.

I am sure that if the Tunku had known that he was going to be able to lift up a telephone and talk to Sabah without being charged on his own telephone bill he would have been here with us now!

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in declaring open the Kuala Lumpur-Singapore-Jesseltan Section of SEACOM Cable Link.

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<sup>4</sup>Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein di Upacara Perasmian Perhubungan Kawat (SEACOM) Komanwel Asia Tenggara Bahagian Kuala Lumpur - Singapura - Jesselton di Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur pada 15 Januari, 1965.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI SEMPENA  
HARI RAYA AIDILFITRI MELALUI RADIO TELEVI-  
SYEN MALAYSIA PADA 30 JANUARI, 1965

1 haribulan Syawal 1384, Hari Raya Aidilfitri, ialah satu hari yang sangat mulia dan bahagia bagi semua umat Islam di seluruh dunia. Pada hari ini kita orang-orang Islam semua merayakan hari kebesaran Islam ini dengan meriahnya. Inilah hari kemenangan dan kebahagiaan bagi mereka yang telah menang dalam ujian iman dengan berpuasa sepenuhnya, 30 hari genap.

Bagi kita umat Islam di Malaysia ini adalah tahun yang kedua kita behari raya setelah negara kita wujud dan masuk kedua tahun negara kita berada dalam keadaan cemas hingga diisytiharkan darurat tidak lama dahulu akibat konfrantasi dan pencerobohan Indonesia terhadap ibu pertiwi kita. Walaupun negara kita berada dalam keadaan seperti ini, kita bersyukur kepada Tuhan Rabul-alamin kerana negara kita masih teguh, berada dalam kemakmuran, rakyatnya hidup aman dan senang. Kerana itulah maka umat Islam dapat menyambut Hari Raya Aidilfitri dengan besar-besaran dan begitu jugalah orang-orang Cina menyambut Tahun Baharu mereka yang jatuh sama harinya dengan Hari Raya kita dengan penuh gembira. Persamaan jatuh hari besar kedua-dua kaum yang terbesar di Malaysia ini pada tahun kedua berturut-turut menandakan satu alamat yang baik bagi negara kita ini. Ia menandakan masa hadapan negara cemerlang jika perpaduan dan kerjasama orang-orang Melayu dan Cina boleh diperkuatkan lagi dan segala usaha boleh dibuat bersama, menjadi satu perintis pembentukan satu bangsa dan satu bahasa.

Saya sangat sukacita mengucapkan Selamat Hari Raya Aidilfitri kepada seluruh umat Islam di Malaysia dan merata-rata dunia, khususnya kepada Ahli-ahli UMNO, penyokong-penyokong UMNO dan Perikatan. Marilah kita umat Islam bersama-sama merayakan hari besar Islam ini, bekerja bersama-sama bagi kepentingan dan kesejahteraan ibu pertiwi, ugama dan bangsa dan marilah kita bersama-sama kita berdoa kepada Tuhan yang amat pemurah lagi pengasih atas rahmatNya dan limpah kemurahanNya melindungi kita dari segala bahaya sepanjang bulan puasa, kerana menetapkan iman kita semua dan juga mengawasi negara dan hak-hak asasi kita dari musuh-musuh kita.

Negara kita masih lagi dicerobohi oleh Indonesia dengan desakan Parti Komunis Indonesia yang mendapat sokongan dari China Komunis.

Dr. Subandrio, Menteri Luar Indonesia pada masa ini masih berada di negara China Komunis kerana mendapatkan bantuan-bantuan senjata dalam usaha Indonesia hendak mengganyang kita. Nyatalah bahawa perbuatan Indonesia adalah disokong oleh China Komunis. Oleh kerana perkembangan-perkembangan baharu ini, saya menyeru supaya umat Islam pada hari yang mulia ini membaharui tekad dan azam kita untuk menentang habis-habisan pencerobohan Indonesia dan Komunis ke atas kebebasan dan kemerdekaan kita.

Bagi pihak Malaysia kita telah mencari segala ikhtiar dan usaha untuk menyelesaikan sengketa kita dengan Indonesia, tetapi semuanya telah gagal kerana Indonesia tidak mahu bekerjasama dalam mencari penyelesaian. Kita sentiasa bersedia hendak berunding dengan Indonesia. Kita hendak berkawan dengan semua negara-negara jiran apa lagi pula dengan Indonesia. Tetapi Indonesia tidak mahu bersahabat dengan kita, Indonesia hendak ganyang kita. Kalau mereka gagal mengganyang kita, sekurang-kurangnya mereka mahu menakluki kita. Kedua-dua ini telah gagal dan akan terus menerus gagal. Kita sedar Indonesia tidak mampu hendak mengganyang Malaysia bersendirian. Saya menyeru kepada pemimpin-pemimpin Indonesia khasnya mereka yang beragama Islam supaya, mengambil kesempatan hari yang mulia ini untuk berbaik-baik dan selesaikan sengketa Malaysia Indonesia. Saya berdoa kepada Tuhan supaya Ia membuka hati pemimpin-pemimpin Indonesia khasnya mereka yang beragama Islam supaya, mengambil kesempatan hari yang mulia ini untuk berbaik-baik dan selesaikan sengketa Malaysia Indonesia. Saya berdoa kepada Tuhan supaya Ia membuka hati pemimpin-pemimpin Indonesia pada hari yang besar ini supaya timbul dalam hati mereka hasrat untuk berdamai dan duduk berbaik-baik dengan Malaysia.

Kita bersedia bila-bila pun untuk berunding tetapi sebarang penyelesaian hendaklah menghormati kemerdekaan, kedaulatan dan maruah negara kita. Adalah sangat senang bagi Indonesia kalau ia jujur hendak berdamai dengan kita kerana kunci keamanan berada dalam tangan Soekarno dan Indonesia. Keamanan akan pulih semula dan perhubungan akan kembali baik jika Indonesia memberhentikan pencerobohan terhadap kita dan menarik balik tentera-tenteranya yang banyak dikumpulkan di tepi sempadan itu. Kita sedia hendak berunding untuk memulihkan balik perhubungan baik di antara kedua negara ini jika Indonesia dapat menunjukkan yang mereka sebenar-benarnya berkehendakkan damai.

Saya sangat sukacita kerana semua rakyat sedar bahawa kita tidak bermusuhan dengan rakyat Indonesia yang kebanyakannya beragama Islam. Kepada mereka bagi pihak kita semua, kita mengucapkan Selamat Hari Raya dan kita bersama berdoa supaya mereka dapat

sekadar mana yang boleh merayakan hari yang mulia ini. Kita hanya bermusuh dengan pemimpin-pemimpin Indonesia yang hendak mengganggang kita dan yang dipengaruhi oleh komunis.

Baharu-baharu ini kita dengar ura-ura ada dua tiga negara-negara yang suka hendak memberi jasa baiknya untuk menyelesaikan pergaduhan di antara Indonesia dengan Malaysia ini. Cita-cita dan tujuan-tujuan yang baik ini kita sambut baik. Kita sedia hendak berbaik dengan Indonesia asalkan Indonesia sedia hendak menghormati kedaulatan dan maruah negara kita. Keamanan boleh dapat dicapai kalau Indonesia benar-benar jujur dan ikhlas berkehendakkan perdamaian. Kita sedikit pun tidak bersalah dalam hal ini. Indonesia telah membuat konfrantasi terhadap kita dan mencerooboh negara kita. Kalau konfrantasi dan pencerobohan ini diberhentikan keamanan akan tercapai.

Tahun Hijrah 1383, tahun yang lalu, adalah tahun yang penuh dengan segala cabaran dan tahun yang bersejarah. Malaysia tahu pada tahun itu segala cabaran-cabaran kita telah dapat mengatasinya. Rakyat dalam negara kita hidup aman damai walaupun saban hari mereka dihasut untuk berkelahi antara satu dengan lain oleh ejen-ejen musuh. Pada hari yang mulia ini, saya menyeru semua umat Islam supaya sentiasa mengingati pelajaran agama Islam dan nasihat junjungan kita Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. yang sentiasa menyuruh umat Islam berbaik-baik di antara satu dengan lain.

Mustahak kita menjaga keamanan negara kita ini. Negara kita ada penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai bangsa dan sangat penting bagi rakyat negeri ini memelihara perhubungan baik dan perasaan saling mengerti di antara satu dengan lain. Hanyalah dengan ini akan terjamin keselamatan dan kebahagiaan bangsa dan negara kita.

Kerajaan Perikatan telah mengambil beberapa langkah-langkah yang patut untuk membaiki keadaan hidup rakyat dan membawa kemudahan-kemudahan yang dikehendaki. Kerajaan akan meneruskan rancangan ini. Bagi penduduk-penduduk di bandar-bandar rancangan-rancangan sedang disediakan untuk membina rumah-rumah dengan besar-besaran supaya tiap-tiap orang yang berkehendakkan rumah dapat diberi rumah. Begitu juga kerajaan sedang mengaturkan jentera pentadbiran dan rancangan-rancangan untuk membaiki iktisad penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar. Kerajaan berazam hendak mengambil langkah-langkah yang tegas di dalam lapangan ini supaya hasrat dan kehendak rakyat itu dapat disempurnakan.

Selepas Hari Raya, dalam usaha mencari penyelesaian antara kita dengan Indonesia dan untuk menentukan kehadiran kita di Persidangan

Afro-Asia di Algeria pada tahun ini, saya akan melawat negara-negara di Afrika Timur untuk menegakkan kebenaran Malaysia di sana dan mencari kawan. Setelah saya kembali ke Malaysia kelak saya berharap pada bulan Mac, 1965 Kerajaan Pusat akan memanggil satu Kongres untuk membincangkan kedudukan ekonomi dan sosial orang-orang Melayu di seluruh Malaysia.

Saya suka mengambil peluang untuk mengucapkan Selamat Hari Raya dan ucapan ribuan terima kasih bagi diri saya dan Kerajaan kepada semua umat Islam yang telah bekerjasama dengan pihak Kerajaan dan pihak Tentera dan pasukan Keselamatan dalam usaha kita mempertahankan negara dari pencerobohan Indonesia dan saya tujukan ucapan ribuan terima kasih saya yang istimewa sekali kepada semua ahli-ahli Pasukan Angkatan Bersenjata kita yang telah menjalankan kewajipan masing-masing dengan taat, dengan tabah dan berani itu. Saya menyeru mereka supaya mereka terus menerus menjalankan kewajipan yang cemerlang ini dan terus menerus mendapat kejayaan di dalam segala-galanya. Sekali lagi saya ucapkan Selamat Hari Raya Aidilfitri kepada seluruh umat Islam di Malaysia dan di seluruh dunia.

Merdeka dan Berjaya Malaysia!

MESSAGE BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON  
CHINESE NEW YEAR OVER RADIO TELEVISION  
MALAYSIA ON 31ST JANUARY, 1965

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

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

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

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

Indonesia, in confronting us, expects to disintegrate our people. Their agents are working hard to create racial discord in this country because they know once the Malays and the Chinese start fighting each other Soekarno does not have to lift a finger to crush us. We will

be crushing ourselves. It is important that everyone, irrespective of racial origin and who is loyal to this country, must come closer together and must stand solidly behind the Government to face this threat from Indonesia. I was indeed glad to see that the National Solidarity Week held last year manifested fully and unmistakably that the people of Malaya of all races are determined to fight this confrontation and aggression by Soekarno. I am touched by their pledges of loyalty and their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the defence of freedom and democracy. We are very proud of the way in which our people have responded to the Government's call for unity and solidarity. With this determination and unity, I can say there is no force in the world, much less Indonesia, which can dominate or conquer us. Any people who are determined to live as a free and independent nation can survive any challenge. Let us continue to solidify our country strength and to continue building harmony and prosperity in our country. Our unity will see us through Indonesian aggression. Our salvation is unity.

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

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF INFOR-  
MATION AND BROADCASTING OFFICIALS IN KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 8TH FEBRUARY, 1965

The Honourable Minister of Information and Broadcasting<sup>1</sup> and  
Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure to speak to you all today and to declare open the First Conference of the Malaysian Information and Broadcasting Officials Conference. I would like to extend to you all the Season's Greetings – Selamat Hari Raya to the Muslims and Kong Hee Fatt Choy to our Chinese friends.

All of us are aware of the important role the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting plays during the national crisis that is facing our young nation. The Conference today, I hope, will be able to improve existing information and public relations services of the Government. The people expect modern innovations in mass communications and effective technique. Public information has always been an important aspect of politics and Government. Government if it wants to survive and succeed in its policies must make sure that their policies and attitudes are fully understood by the people in the country and comprehensible to the outside world.

During this Emergency and when we are fighting against Indonesian aggression and machinations all over the places the need for correct and speedy information becomes all the more important. We have learnt from history that the cause of many misunderstanding, trouble and even war has been the lack of information, distorted or polluted version or the complete absence of a correct interpretation of each other's motives. We must do our best to keep our people and the world well informed about our side of the story in our struggle against Indonesian aggression. It is not enough to only inform influential opinion but we must also win their sympathy to our side. Our battle against Indonesian aggression is not just fighting the guerillas but to win over to our side those uncommitted nations. They must be told effectively that we are the aggrieved party in this confrontation and that we have done our best to remain friendly with Jakarta. But all our efforts had been in vain. The key to peace is in the hands of the Indonesians. If they sincerely want peace there will be peace the moment Soekarno orders withdrawal of Indonesian troops on our soil and promises that he will leave us alone and in peace.

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<sup>1</sup>Encik Senu bin Abdul Rahman.

Information plays a vital role in securing the peace of the world and furthering its progress and prosperity. This is because man has conquered space and time but he is yet to learn how to live in peace with his own neighbours. The cells of the human mind still contain vague fears, unexpressed jealousies, hatred and suspicious — real or imaginary. At least, this is very true with the cells in the mind of some of the Indonesian leaders who are obsessed in wanting to crush us at any cost and for no apparent reason at all for wanting to see us perish.

Mass communications are important and that is why every Government and organisation right from the U.N. has given top priority to the development of mass communications. Our Government realises this and I hope the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is fully geared to meet the challenges that are confronting us. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting can achieve even more with greater efficiency and dedication. I know the energy, enthusiasm and drive of everyone in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I have seen some of them in action on various occasions and I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate my sincere thanks to them for what has been achieved by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

I hope all of us realise that you have a great task — especially your Information Officers and Broadcasters — in front of you all. The task is to promote national unity, solidarity, patriotism and to ensure that every loyal citizen of Malaysia is solidly standing behind the Alliance Government in its crisis against Indonesia. Malaysia is a parliamentary democracy. Notwithstanding, the Emergency caused by Indonesia's aggression, the Government is pushing ahead with its plans to develop the country and its resource to the fullest extent possible so that all its citizens irrespective of their racial origin can enjoy greater and fuller life and happiness. In this task the Government relies and the people expect full cooperation, dedication and loyalty of everyone in the Government services and especially those in the Information and Broadcasting field. The Ministry must not only sell Government policies and ideas but it must convince the people that the policies and ideas are good and durable.

About two months ago the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting played a big role in the nation-wide celebrations of the National Solidarity Week. To my mind, there is a continuing need to keep up the spirit of National Solidarity alive in the hearts and minds of the people everywhere at every level. You are equally aware of the insidious threat to our unity and the sources from which such threat emerges. Your task is to assist the Government in its battle not only against

Indonesian confrontation, but also against communism, communalism, chauvinism and opportunism in public services. In combating these evils, the Ministry must not only be very competent but it must also provide inspired leadership. Some politicians are bent on exploiting communalism for their own ends. I tell them it is not enough to shout and call for national unity when seconds after doing so they create problems. I advise these politicians to stop or at least refrain from this right away before great damage is done to themselves, their parties and the nation.

The future of our country depends largely on our ability to comprehend the nature of the forces which tend to weaken our unity and solidarity. In this, you are the seismographs of the state, in having to play a dual role in keeping the government and the people informed at the same time. The Alliance Government is freely elected by the people but despite this there is the need – that every present need – for us in the Government to be kept continually informed about public opinion in this country. In a country like Malaysia where the majority of the people are youth, there is an equal need to interpret to them correctly and effectively the implications of Government's policies and actions. This is one of the major tasks of your Ministry.

I am confident that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would rise to the occasion in our task of creating and maintaining the harmonious relationship between the Government and the people and in safeguarding our national integrity and independence. I hope that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would play an every-increasing role in strengthening our national solidarity, and assist in the evolution of a United Malaysian Nation based on equality and justice.

I wish you all a happy and fruitful conference. Thank you very much.

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
BLUE ROOM, IMPERIAL RESTAURANT, 2ND FLOOR,  
CAPITAL BUILDING, SINGAPORE ON 14TH FEBRUARY,  
1965

Mr. President<sup>1</sup>, Ladies and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, a Dictatorship like that of Soekarno's which has only one instrument, the heavy hand on a bulldozer. It is heavy and cumbersome, and if badly handled, may fall backwards. Indonesia has been going backwards since 1945 and it is this jealousy that in the first place stimulated Soekarno to confront us. In other words, the motivating force behind Confrontation is a fear that our way of life and our progress in Malaysia will become the envy of the subjects of this Dictator and they may rise up and denounce his rule.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It has also been alleged by some politician who should have known better but who did this merely in order to create chaos in this country

so that out of this chaos they will come into power, that some of the UMNO leaders of ultra-nationalists and are now trying to turn back the clock and are following the communal policy. Such remarks and such allegations could only be made by people who do not have the interest of the country or our people at heart but are merely bent on stirring up trouble. We in the Alliance have shown by our record over nearly ten years for racial harmony and unity, for cooperation among all the races who make up this country. Our record has shown beyond any doubt that we have been a fair and a liberal Government, that we have endeavoured to look after the sensitivities of the various races and been able to hold them together. It is only recently that we had seen political leaders to upset this balance of races when we heard talk of racial tension and racial trouble, of insecurity and what nots. As I said I am sure all these attempts to stir up racial trouble will fail and must fail because our people will see to it that they fail.

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

Malaysia will survive and succeed because the ordinary people of this country are practical and have more common sense, the will and the determination than what these chauvinists credit them with.

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

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

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

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

This has already been tried!

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

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

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

There are two main points.

Firstly, we have no ill-feeling against the Indonesian people, with whom we have everything and we have no wish to go to war with them! Our opposition to Indonesia here in Malaysia is confined only to its present leaders who want to crush us and not opposition to the people and leaders who have no malice towards us and who sincerely want to live in peace.

The second point is that no human being anywhere in the World, can talk peace and goodwill to another human being, *when one of them*, is sticking a bayonet into the other. We will talk, we will negotiate, we will resort to diplomacy *only on one* condition: that Soekarno, in good faith, and in fact, withdraws his bayonets and steps his aggressive nets. That is the only possible condition under which any form of negotiation could take place.

There is also, Ladies and Gentlemen, a tendency throughout the World to regard Malaysia's Confrontation as a crisis which only affects us here, we Malaysians. This is not so.

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

The countries of Africa may think that Malaysia is far off and they only read about Confrontation in newspapers; it does not affect their daily lives, but I say this, that if Soekarno succeeds in his bullying methods to crush Malaysia then every young Afro-Asian Nation will

not be able, in the future, to sleep peacefully at night without the fear of aggression and the fear of being swallowed up by other Soekarno's, called perhaps by a different name.

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

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

*“WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATION DETERMINE to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”.*

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

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

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

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

These are some of the so-called leaders we have in our country. Ladies and Gentlemen: How can we entrust the destiny of our nation in the hands of these so-called leaders whom we have arrested? The people should now know who are the real leaders of this country and who are prepared to serve and made sacrifices if necessary in defence of our security and freedom. The Alliance Government is responsible for the security of Malaysia and of maintaining its independence and national integrity. We will not hesitate to take any actions and measures we feel necessary to ensure the sustaining of our democratic way of life. We know, if the enemies were to over run the country, there will be no place for true and loyal citizens of Malaysia and subsequently in South-East Asia. Let us all realise the serious threat which is being faced by our country today. Let us all, whatever our racial origin may be, stand solidly behind the Alliance Government in facing Indonesia and Communist threats against our security and independence.

Thank you, Berjaya and Merdeka Malaysia!

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
TENTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER FOR OUTWARD  
BOUND AT THE SELANGOR CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR  
ON 23RD FEBRUARY, 1965

Honourable Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, and Gentlemen,

As you know, this function here this evening is in celebration of the end of the first decade of the Outward Bound movement in this country and the beginning of second one.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the face of internal threat as well as in the face of external aggression, more than at any other time, a nation needs men and women with

character, courage and self-confidence so that can willingly act on their own and lead others to play their parts in the defence of their country.

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

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

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

On their return to Malaya they sold the idea of founding a school in Malaya to Field Marshall Tun Templer. Then Tun Templer called a meeting of leading businessmen and Government Officials, some of whom are still here with us this evening.

The names of the founders were:

Mr. R.B. Carey  
Dato H.A. Campbell  
Dato Sir Douglas Waring  
Tun H.S. Lee  
Dato Haji Mustapha Albakri  
Dato Clough Thuraisingham  
Mr. P.L. Fickling  
Mr. E. Heinsworth  
Mr. J.D. Register  
Mr. C.T. Smith

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

Then realising that there would be no real progress in attracting public interest until a school was in existence, Dato H.A. Campbell volunteered to be a Chairman of the Management Committee and personally guaranteed the first \$100,000 towards the cost of erecting the building. He also offered all the facilities of the Engineering Department of Socfin Company of which he was General Manager to prepare plans and supervise building works. With this excellent and encouraging start, the Council asked the Outward Bound Trust in London for the services of an adviser and Mr. G.W. Fuller arrived in this country in

may 1953. The site at Lumut was chosen and planning commenced shortly afterwards and Mr. Fuller was appointed the School's first Warden.

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

Mr. Fuller impressed the Tunku on this project and the Tunku offered his whole hearted support and promised at the time to send his son on the first course. The school was ready for occupation early in 1955 and the first course started on 30th April. Needless to say, the Tunku's son was among those who attended the first course.

In 1954 while the school was being built, the Rubber Growers' Association decided to set up a Trust Fund to support the school and to provide scholarships for underprivileged boys. This fund which is known as the R.G.A. Memorial Fund in memory of all Planters, irrespective of colour or creed, who gave their lives during the emergency, amounted to no less than \$205,000 and the revenue from this sum has provided scholarships for 170 boys during the past ten years.

Over 4,500 boys between the ages of 17 and 25 from all walks of life in Malaysia have attend the course at this school as trainees. Boys from Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and even a few from Indonesia (of course, before confrontation started) have also attended courses.

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

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

As in 1953, when the school was founded, we are now facing open aggression from outside. Our young nation needs leaders at every level in our walk of life. We need good and loyal citizens with a sense of responsibility and dedication and a realization of their obligation to their country and to their birthright. Not only do we need leaders, we need good and loyal followers as well.

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

If this school intended to play this important part, it will need help from more and more people. Until the middle of last year, the cost of the school remained unchanged from the original figure decided upon in 1955, that is \$250.

This was raised to \$275 last year and even at this figure, the cost at our school still remains by far the cheapest not in this country but in the world. This has only been made possible by the generosity of a number of people. In particular, sponsors who put up the money to send young men on courses, and commercial firms which donate goods and equipment or which sell them to the Trust at special rates. The Armed Forces have also helped by donating surplus equipment which can be used by the trainees.

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

Your presence and support this evening has provided funds, some of which will be used to give scholarship to a few young men who have volunteered for services with the Vigilante Corps. These men, most of whom are untrained, are willingly risking their lives in the interests of their fellow citizens.

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

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

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

TR: 1:3.65

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN REPLY-  
ING THE MOTION BY THE MEMBER OF BATU AT THE  
DEWAN RAKYAT ON 1ST MARCH, 1965

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like, on behalf of the Government to reply to the motion put up by the Honourable Member for Batu<sup>1</sup>. I must say, Sir that there has been a lot of misunderstanding over this whole issue of the claim by the Union of Post Office Workers.

At the outset, Sir I would like to make it quite clear that it is not correct to say that the Government has rejected or repudiated 'in toto' the award made by the Government Services Arbitration Tribunal in respect of the claim by the Union of Post Office Workers. Now, Honourable Members of this House may have learnt from the numerous Press report and releases which have been published on this claim by the Union of Post Office Workers that the Union's claim was for a separate and higher salary scale for the clerks in the Postal Department and a higher rate of allowance for those clerks who are in charge of Post Offices. The Arbitration Tribunal which considered this claim made an award which may be divided into three parts, namely,

- (i) Salary Scale
- (ii) In-charge Allowance and
- (iii) Operational Allowances.

In respect of salary scale, the Tribunal awarded that the salary scale, which had been offered by the Government to the clerks of the General Clerical Service and accepted by the Staff Side, should be applied to the clerks of the Postal Department. The Tribunal also awarded an increase in the salary of the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur. Now, except for the award on the salary of the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur, the Government accepted the award on the salary scales for the postal clerical officers.

Sir, it is true that the Government is not able to implement the award of the Tribunal in respect of In-charge and Operational allowances. I would like to make it quite clear, as we have done to the Staff Side on more than one occasion, that the Government had always abided by and had always accepted the award of the Arbitration Tribunal. However, in this particular case, we know this is a serious matter: that is why before we made our decision on this – and it took us some time to make this decision because we considered this a very serious matter – we took the trouble to invite the whole of the Staff Side and explained to them in clear terms that, although we had always

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Tan Chee Koon .

abided by the decision of the Arbitration Tribunal, in this particular instance the Arbitration Tribunal has made an award which was in excess of what the Union itself had asked which, if accepted by the Government, would have extremely serious consequences on the finances of the country. We made this quite clear to the Staff Side. We appealed to them that in the circumstances they would appreciate that the Government was not in a position to implement the award in the national interest. We are now facing an emergency, a threat to our security, and our Government is short of money; hence the repercussion of accepting this award would be extremely serious. It is not true to say that the Government had not explained the whole position to the Staff Side. As I have said, there have been meetings with the Staff Side on a number of occasions. First, four Ministers – the Minister of Finance<sup>2</sup>, the Minister of Works, Post and Telecommunications<sup>3</sup>, the Minister of Labour<sup>4</sup> and myself – had a meeting with the Staff Side. Then the Prime Minister<sup>5</sup> himself had a meeting with the Staff Side. We appealed to them that in view of the position of the country at present they should consider in the interests of the country as a whole and would accept an award which, although was not completely in accordance with that made by the Arbitration Tribunal, had gone a long way to meet their claim on the increase of salary as well as allowances.

Sir, perhaps it is relevant for me to mention briefly so that the House will fully understand the background leading to the award of the Arbitration Tribunal. The claim of the Union was not only for an upward revision of salaries for the Postal Clerical Service, but also for a separate scale form that approves for the General Clerical Service. The Union also claimed for increases in the In-charge allowances and the extension of the scope for the payment of these allowances to particular grades in the Postal Service. The claim was submitted through the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council and was duly considered by Government. On 18th March, 1964, the Staff Side was informed that there was no case for a separate salary scale to be established but that consideration would be given to the possibility of introducing a special postal allowance to those postal clerks in the Traffic or Operational Branch of the service. On 22nd March, the Union withdrew its claim from the National Whitley Council and issued strike ballot papers to all its members. However, negotiations continued between officials of the Government and representatives of the Union, which ended in a deadlock. On 8th April, 1964, the Union issued a strike notice, such strike to take effect on 22nd April. The Union deferred its

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<sup>2</sup>Tan Siew Sin.

<sup>3</sup>Dato' V. T. Sambanthan.

<sup>4</sup>Encik V. Manickavasagam.

<sup>5</sup>Y. T. M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

strike to 10th May and again to 16th May as negotiations with Government were continuing in the meantime. On 14th May, the Government made an offer as follows:

- (a) Salary scale according to the scale for clerks in the General Clerical Service which had been accepted by the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council;
- (b) The salary of Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur, at \$875 per month;
- (c) In-charge allowance as follows:  
for Class VII Post Office \$20 p.m.  
for Class VI Post Office \$25 p.m.  
for Class V Post Office \$30 p.m.
- (d) A special allowance of \$20 per month to all Timescale and Special Grade Clerks in the Traffic or Operational Arm of the Postal Service.

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

- (i) Salary scale as for the General Clerical Service;
- (ii) The basic salary payable to the Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur, should be \$990 per month;
- (iii) Postmaster's In-Charge allowance should be payable to all postal clerical officers at the following rates:

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

- (iv) Operational Allowance:

Range of Basic Monthly Salary	Operational Allowance per month
Division III	
\$140-156	\$30.00
\$230-260	\$50.00
\$300-420	\$70.00
\$445-535	\$990.00
Special Grade, \$560-620	\$120.00
Assistant Superintendent	\$130.00

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

In effect, the award made by the Tribunal gives an overall increase in the take-home pay of a postal clerk in the Operational or Traffic arm of the Postal Service by approximately 30 per cent more than his colleague in the administrative arm. The high increase proposed for this category of employees will inevitably create an imbalance within the Postal Service itself. This is quite clear, Sir, because if one arm of the Service gets an increase of 30 per cent in the take home pay after all, what counts to these people is the take home pay then quite obviously this will have a repercussion on the other arm of the Service and it would create an imbalance in the Service itself. Now, although the Union and the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council have given an undertaking that the officers in the administrative arm in the Postal Department will not claim for similar increases if the award of the Tribunal were to be accepted by Government, it cannot be denied that an imbalance within the Postal Service will take place and this is not a desirable feature in any Service. If one section of clerical workers, whatever their specialised duties may be, are awarded overall emoluments that will make them very much better off than their colleagues in other comparable services, repercussions are bound to follow, as the structure of the Public Service is based on certain key scales and the maintenance of relativities between them. Because of all this, the Government has estimated that if the Government were to implement the award of the Tribunal in toto, it will mean that this particular grade of employees will be given increases averaging approximately 27 per cent of their overall emoluments. Such a percentage increase in emoluments given to one grade of employees will obviously generate dissatisfaction and have wide spread repercussions. The cost of applying a similar percentage increase in pay to the other sectors of the Public Service will, as has been explained by Government, be intolerable. This is clear when it is noted that personal emoluments provided in the 1965 Federal Estimates total \$492 million. This does not include the emoluments payable to teachers under the Unified Teaching Service and to employees in the Industrial and Manual Group. A 27 per cent increase applied even to

the \$492 million provision means an additional Federal Government commitment of \$133 million per annum. It is obvious that if the Government is to meet these enormous additional increases in personal emoluments, then drastic taxation measures will have to be imposed, and the Government considers that the country cannot bear further taxation up to this amount. The House Sir, should note that the yield in 1965 which will be derived from all the tax changes in the recent Budget is estimated at \$110 million and the House is fully aware of the criticism levelled at the Government on these tax changes and if we were to impose further taxes to raise another \$133 million. I do not know what will happen to the country. Now, Sir, as I have already explained clearly to the Staff Side, the Government at present is in no position to bear this additional increase of roughly \$133 million. These figures are not the figures as have been put up have been worked out, although not accurately, fairly accurately, because, as I have said, the salary structure of the whole of public service has been worked out in relative grades and if one grade were to be increased at such enormous rate of 27% or 30%, then there will be obvious repercussions in the other grades of the public service.

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

Salary Scales:—

Division III:—

Probationers	\$140 with increment at \$8 per year up to \$156
Timescale	... \$230 with increment at \$15 per year up to \$535 with two Bars in between
Special Grade	... \$560 with increment at \$20 per year up to \$620
Assistant	... \$650 with increment at \$20 per year up to
Superintendent	\$690

Division II:—

Superintendent . . .	\$720 with increment at \$25 per year up to \$770
Chief Superintendent . . .	\$820
Head Postmaster, Kuala Lumpur . . .	\$875

In-charge Allowance:—

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

Operational Allowances:—

(For those in the operational arm of the Department only) . . . . . \$30 per month

The Government considers that the latest offer is fair and reasonable under the circumstances. After all, the in-charge allowance, ranging between \$20 to \$55 per month, and operational allowance of \$30 per month are considered by Government as fair and reasonable rates; and we have appealed to the Staff Side to accept these as a mark of their loyalty to the country and appreciation that the Government is at present facing an Emergency and Financial difficulty.

The Government, as we have always stated, is always desirous to preserve the good name of Malaysia and its people. The Government is not unmindful of its duties, and it desires even more keenly than the Members of the Opposition to maintain the good name of the Malaysia. It is for this very reason that the Government took the step it has taken on the award of the Tribunal. The Government wishes to ensure that the finances of the country are maintained at a good state. In the final analysis, as I have said, the national interest of the country must be the overriding consideration in deciding whether the Government can or cannot implement any recommendation or award made for the increase in the salary scales of the public services.

Now, the Government has done everything possible to try and meet the claim of the Union of Postal Workers. It has gone a long way to meet their claims. As I have explained, the Government cannot afford

to implement the award by the Tribunal, because the award has gone beyond even what the Union had claimed. The circumstances in this particular case are indeed peculiar, Sir, and I do not know in what spirit the award was made, but certainly it is very unusual, and it has never happened, that the Arbitration Tribunal made an award higher than what the Union itself has claimed. The circumstances are completely without precedent, and the Tribunal alone knows under what spirit it decided to give this award.

I have, therefore, Sir, explained at length the position of the Government on this claim by Postal Workers Union. Perhaps, the business houses, in contrast with the Government, can afford to give increased pay for their employees because their concern is merely the prosperity of their business. But the Government has many things to consider, and particularly in the present juncture when we are facing the Emergency, the Government has need for every dollar and cent that it has for the defence of the country. Therefore, in the circumstances that the Government faces at the moment, the Government hopes that the Government employees will see the whole position in the light that the Government see it today, because we have got to fight the enemy and save the country. Under the circumstances, it is not possible for the Government – I say it again – to accept in toto the award by the Tribunal, and this award, if implemented, will have serious repercussions not only in the administrative sector of the postal service but also in the public service as a whole. Therefore, I appeal to the Staff Side as well as to the employees of the postal service that in the interest of the country, which is now facing the Emergency, they should accept the latest award made by the Government. I say once again that the Government is prepared to stand on its past record in the way that it has looked after the interest and the welfare of its employees. The Government is prepared to do anything possible within the limits of its finances and bearing in mind the overall interest of the country at the present juncture.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu also in his motion made allegation to Government on the question of the appointment of the Special Commission on Salaries. Well, the Government, Sir, is very anxious to appoint this Commission and to have this Commission commence its work as soon as possible, but the delay has been due to the fact that it has not been possible to obtain a suitable Chairman from overseas for some time, and also its members. The Government realises that a general review of salaries in the Public service has not taken place since 1950 and the Government thought it would be a good idea to appoint a Special Commission. The Government would like to get the benefit of experience of persons from overseas who have had

experience in the same work, but it has taken a long time to obtain a suitable person as Chairman and also as members. Now, in view of the time taken and the delay, the Government has decided now to appoint a Judge, a local Judge, of the High Court, as Chairman — and we are pleased to say that this particular Judge has agreed to accept the appointment and he will take office on 14th of March, in a few days time, and it is hoped that the other members will be appointed shortly, and the Commission will start work before the end of April.

I would like to say, Sir, that there would not be much delay in carrying out the work of this Commission. Before the Commission could start its work the Commission has to study the representations made by the Staff Side, and at the request of the Staff unions the closing date for representation for the States of Malaya and Singapore has been extended to the 31st March. So, even if the Commission were to start work today, there will be no work for the Commission to do until the representations had been submitted to the Commission.

There is, Sir, allegation made by the Honourable Member for Batu and, I think, by the Honourable Member for Bangsar that the term of reference of this Commission is not in accordance with the view of the Staff Side. Well, Sir, as I have said, the Government is sincerely desirous of having a proper review of the salary scales of the Public Service throughout the country. Quite obviously, in whatever recommendations made by the Commission, the Commission will have to take into consideration the finances of the country and the economic position of the country. But, as I say, the Government intends to be fair and just to its employees and within its financial capability the Government will implement whatever recommendations that Commission may consider fair and just. So, in the term of reference for a Commission like this, obviously it will have to be comprehensive so that there will be no argument later on. That is why the Commission has to take into consideration the views of the Staff Side, the views of the Government, the financial position of the country and the economic position of the country. If recommendations were made which will be beyond capacity of the country to meet, the recommendations could not be implemented. That is why it is necessary that the term of reference of the Salaries Commission should be comprehensive so that the Salaries Commission, which consists some people from overseas, should know exactly what its task is. As I have said, there should not be any argument later on. This Arbitration Tribunal is an obvious example, where you have a tribunal which did not bear in mind the finances of the country, you have a recommendation made which goes even beyond what the Union itself claimed. So, in a situation like that, obviously the Government — I think this House will agree — will be in some difficulty.

Sir, in view of the explanation that I have made, both on the first part of the motion and the second part of the motion, I would ask the House to reject this motion.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE  
MOTION OF THE GOVERNMENT CLERICAL EXAMINA-  
TIONS IN THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON 3RD MARCH, 1965**

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu<sup>1</sup> suggested that there has been delay in announcing the examination results for the Clerical Service. He has also admitted that there has been some improvement in the last several months and I can assure him there will continue to be improvements in the next few months. However, Sir, the Establishment Office is facing a number of practical difficulties in regard to these examinations. There are difficulties in getting these examination papers marked. In the last examination held in August, 1964, there were as many as 4,586 candidates sitting for the Clerical Examination. There were four types of examination: there was the General Clerical Examination, the General Clerical Probationer Examination, the Lower Clerical Examination and the Lower Clerical Probationer Examination. Now, the Honourable Member will appreciate that the examiners for these examinations are Government servants and they have to do their work during spare time, outside office hours. Therefore, it is my view unfair for Government to ask these examiners to speed up unnecessarily with the marking of these examination papers. Certainly, in view of the large numbers of clerks taking the examination, it will not be possible to have the examination papers marked within a month. Normally, we allow the examiner to take about one-and-a-half months to have these examination papers marked, but owing to the large numbers of candidates invariably the examiners have not been able to keep up to this schedule.

In the last examination, I am advised, Sir — the last examination held in August 1964 — there was a delay in only one part of the General Clerical Examination, that is, the English Language paper. This delay was due to the fact that in the midst of the examination the examiner appointed had to go on study leave and we had to find a new examiner, with the result that there was a slight delay. But I can assure the Honourable Member for Batu that every effort will be made to speed up the work and to reduce the delay and to announce the results as quickly as possible.

As regards documents, books, General Orders and Financial General Orders, these are provided in the Departments and offices, and the clerks can make use of these documents of their respective Departments and Offices. If, however they wish to have these General Orders and

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Tan Chee Khoon.

other documents themselves, the Government will be pleased to have them available for sale to them at Government prices.

Now, as regards the Honourable Member's last suggestion that these examinations should be undertaken by the Staff Training Centre, I would like to say that the Staff Training Centre is responsible for in-service training, and the Staff Training Centre is under the Establishment Office. Therefore, Sir, it will not be right for the examinations to be transferred to the Staff Training Centre. Whatever it is, it should be the responsibility of the Establishment Office to undertake these examinations and, as I said, every effort will be made to try and speed up the marking of these papers and the announcement of the results. In addition to that, Sir, I would like also to say that it takes time to mark the papers of so many thousands of candidates and after the papers are marked, the results have to be amplified. It will take time and it generally takes about three months for the papers to be marked and for the results to be compiled. As I said, we will do our best to try and speed it up and, to be fair to the examiners, they have to work in their spare-time, outside office hours, and they have to be careful with their marking so that they will be fair to the candidates who sat for the examinations.

Sir, as I said, generally it is the Government's policy to try and speed this work up within the bounds of possibility and we have speeded it up in the last several months, and I hope that we will be able to speed this up further in the future.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI MESYUARAT MENTERI-MENTERI BESAR DAN KETUA MENTERI PERIKATAN BERKENAAN DENGAN PELAKSANAAN BAHASA KEBANGSAAN, PADA 16 MAC, 1965

Mengikut Perlembagaan Malaysia, tarikh pelaksanaan pemakaian Bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di negara ini ialah pada tahun 1967. Kerana keinsafan dan kesedaran ini, Kerajaan terpaksa membuat persiapan untuk melaksanakan kehendak Perlembagaan ini dan menunaikan janji Perikatan dalam pilihanraya-pilihanraya untuk mendaulatkan Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Adalah sangat penting ini dilaksanakan untuk melicinkan pembentukan satu rupa bangsa dan untuk menjadikan Bahasa Kebangsaan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan bahasa yang menyatupadukan semua rakyat Malaysia dan melahirkan semangat kebangsaan Malaysia yang sebenar. Kita mesti menunaikan ini dengan sebaik-baiknya bagi kepentingan siasah kita dan keselamatan negara kita seluruhnya.

Tujuan mesyuarat ini ialah untuk kita bersama-sama memikirkan apa jalan yang sebaik-baiknya untuk melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan sebagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal yang digunakan di seluruh jabatan-jabatan negeri dan Federal. Saya sedar, setengah-setengah negeri seperti Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis dan Johor mungkin juga Melaka, Bahasa Kebangsaan boleh mengambil tempat Bahasa Inggeris dalam serba serbi lapangan besok pun, kecuali mungkin di Mahkamah-Mahkamah Tinggi dan lain-lain lapangan yang khas. Ini adalah kerana sejarah negeri-negeri ini sebelum merdeka dan sebelum perang, semasa negeri-negeri ini menjadi anggota negeri-negeri Yang Tidak Bersekutu, bahasa rasmi yang digunakan di negeri-negeri ini ialah Bahasa Melayu. Saya juga sedar bahawa negeri-negeri lain seperti Perak, Pahang, Selangor dan Negeri Sembilan sekarang sedang berusaha dengan sedaya upayanya untuk melaksanakan pemakaian Bahasa Melayu. Mungkin kemajuannya tidak begitu hebat seperti kemajuan yang telah dicapai oleh negeri-negeri seperti Johor, Kelantan, Terengganu, Melaka, Kedah dan Perlis.

Mesyuarat ini akan membincangkan dan saya mahu mendengar pendapat-pendapat tiap-tiap Menteri Besar dan Ketua Menteri, tentang bagaimana caranya yang baik dan berkesan sekali bagi kita mencapai dan menjamin kemajuan dalam pelaksanaan Bahasa Melayu sebagai Bahasa Kebangsaan di tiap-tiap negeri-negeri dan seluruh Negara dengan serentak. Kita tidak mahu pula tiap-tiap negeri berlumba-lumba dalam

hal ini kerana itu akan menimbulkan banyak salah faham kelak. Kita tidak pula mahu Terengganu menjalankannya 100% besok kalau negeri-negeri lain seperti negeri Selangor tidak boleh berbuat begitu. Kalau ini berlaku, rakyat akan bertanya kenapa Terengganu boleh, Selangor tidak boleh.

Kita bercadang supaya segala usaha dapat dijalankan bersama-sama supaya tiap-tiap negeri akan sama-sama sampai kepada matlamatnya pada masa yang sama. Maka terletaklah pada kita pada hari ini untuk membincangkan hal ini. Saya suka menarik perhatian tuan-tuan bahawa ada baiknya jika kita memikirkan mengadakan 'masa perantaraan' (transitional period) untuk melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Mungkin pada tahun 1966 kita akan berikhtiar menjalankan segala hal ehwal pentadbiran Kerajaan Negeri dan Pusat melalui Bahasa Kebangsaan 70% dan pada tahun 1967 100% iaitu matlamat kita. Jika ini dijalankan maka tiap-tiap rakyat dan badan-badan perusahaan diberi amaran yang cukup untuk mereka dapat membuat persediaan-persediaan masing-masing supaya mereka mendapat kemajuan selaras dengan pelaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang dijalankan oleh Kerajaan.

Saya yakin soal pemakaian Bahasa Kebangsaan ini tidak akan menimbulkan apa-apa pergaduhan kerana semua rakyat di negeri ini telah sedar dan telah menerima Perlembagaan kita yang menjamin Bahasa Kebangsaan sebagai bahasa yang tunggal dalam tahun 1967. Dalam masa itu pun, kita memberi kebebasan kepada bahasa-bahasa lain untuk hidup dan dipelajari oleh mereka yang suka mempelajarinya. Mustahak kita mengamalkan dasar ini dengan sempurna. Jika kita tidak ada rancangan-rancangan dan persiapan-persiapan yang baik untuk melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan pada tahun 1967 saya takut nanti banyak perkara-perkara yang tidak diingini akan timbul kerana orang-orang kita Melayu yang meluap-luap semangatnya berkehendak dan sangat wajar pula kita mesti patuh kepada kehendak-kehendak mereka dan Perlembagaan iaitu Bahasa Kebangsaan mesti diisytiharkan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal pada tahun 1967.

Kalau misalnya pelaksanaan itu tidak dijalankan pada tahun 1967 dengan sepenuhnya atau hampir penuh maka saya rasa banyak perkara-perkara yang tidak diingini akan berlaku kelak – setengah-setengah orang Melayu akan mengecat papan-papan tanda yang bertulis dalam Bahasa Cina pada tahun 1967. Jika tidak ada persiapan-persiapan untuk menggantikan bahasa-bahasa ini dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan dari sekarang atau kedua-dua bahasa itu dipakai bersama-sama maka pergaduhan-pergaduhan akan timbul. Orang-orang Cina akan marah terhadap orang-orang Melayu mengecat papan-papan tanda yang bertulis dalam Bahasa Cina dan orang-orang Melayu akan marah dan sudah

sewajarnya kerana Bahasa Kebangsaan sudah menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal pada tahun 1967. Yang baik kedua-dua bahasa boleh dipakai tetapi Bahasa Kebangsaan tempat yang utama. Perbuatan cat mengecat papan-papan yang bertulis Inggeris tidak akan menimbulkan kemarahan daripada sesiapaupun. Saya sedar ini mungkin berlaku dan kerana inilah saya menjemput tuan-tuan untuk berunding tentang cara-cara yang sebaik-baiknya untuk melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan sangat berkesan dan licin.

Terima kasih.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI JAMUAN  
TEH ANJURAN UMNO BUKIT BINTANG DI TURF  
CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 28 APRIL, 1965

Tuan Pengerusi, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian,

Saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa dan Ahli-ahli UMNO Bahagian Bukit Bintang dan kepada ketua-ketua serta Ahli-ahli Perikatan sekalian, yang telah sudi mengadakan jamuan dan sambutan yang begini meriah bagi meraikan saya dan rombongan Muhibbah Malaysia ke Afro-Asia yang baharu sahaja pulang ke tanahair.

Saya telah dapat peluang pada kali ini melawat 13 buah negeri di Afrika Timur, Timur Tengah dan juga di Asia dan dapat berunding serta berjumpa dengan pembesar-pembesar di negeri itu dengan tujuan hendak memperkenalkan Malaysia dan menerangkan dasar dan kedudukan negara kita yang sebenarnya dan menunjukkan yang Malaysia ini adalah suatu negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaan dan rakyat Malaysia ini adalah mempunyai cita-cita dan hasrat-hasrat sama juga dengan rakyat lain di negeri-negeri Afro-Asia.

Saya suka mengambil peluang ini bagi pihak Kerajaan dan rakyat Malaysia mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada pembesar-pembesar dan Kerajaan negeri-negeri yang saya lawati itu di atas sambutan yang diberikannya kepada saya dan rombongan kita dan di atas fahaman dan sokongan yang ditunjukkan kepada negara kita Malaysia.

Saya telah dua kali melawat Benua Afrika dan Timur Tengah – kali pertama dahulu saya melawat ke Afrika Utara dan baharu-baharu ini ke Afrika Timur. Saya yakin dengan lawatan-lawatan ini kita telah dapat mencapai persefahaman politik dan persahabatan dengan negara-negara Afro-Asia itu. Kita dapat menunjukkan kepada mereka bahawa Malaysia ialah suatu negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat yang suka hendak bekerjasama dan bersahabat dengan saudara-saudara yang di Afrika dan di Asia.

Lawatan saya ke Afrika itu telah menunjukkan betapa besar hasrat dan cita-cita bangsa Malaysia dan Kerajaan Malaysia di bawah pimpinan Perikatan, hendak bersama-sama dengan negara-negara yang baru muncul di Afrika dalam mencari persefahaman politik, perdamaian dunia, kemakmuran rakyat Afro-Asia dan menegakkan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan negara-negara Afro-Asia.

Lawatan saya ke Afrika itu telah mengeratkan lagi persahabatan dan setiakawan dan cita-cita rakyat Afro-Asia. Cita-cita Afro-Asia, cita-cita kita kerana kita ialah bangsa Afro-Asia yang baharu lahir.

Malaysia adalah sebuah negara yang berdaulat dalam lingkungan Afro-Asia. Negara kita, pada hakikat ilmu alam, sebuah negara Afro-Asia dan pada hakikat politik dan dasar luar negara kita yang bebas, kita adalah juga sebuah negara Afro-Asia. Cita-cita rakyat kita tidak berlainan dengan cita-cita rakyat Afro-Asia – yang mahu keamanan dan kemakmuran dunia serta melahirkan kebahagiaan dan harapan yang cemerlang kepada negara-negara yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaannya.

Malaysia mempunyai sifat-sifat seperti sifat-sifat yang dipunyai oleh negara-negara Afro-Asia yang lain dan kemerdekaan kita telah pun diakui bukan sahaja oleh Pertubuhan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu malah oleh negara-negara Afro-Asia yang gagah seperti Republik Arab Bersatu, Algeria, Tanzania, Kenya dan lain-lain lagi.

Memandang kepada sambutan mesra, persahabatan dan persefahaman politik yang diberi kepada saya dalam lawatan-lawatan saya ke Afrika itu, dan memandang kepada pandangan tinggi yang diberi kepada Malaysia oleh pemimpin-pemimpin Afro-Asia seperti Presiden Ahmad Ben Bella dan King Hassan, Presiden Bourgiba dan Nyerere, saya yakin dengan kehendak Tuhan, sokongan-sokongan bapa-bapa Kemerdekaan Afro-Asia ini dan usaha kita sendiri Malaysia akan diterima masuk ke dalam Persidangan Afro-Asia yang akan diadakan di Aljiers pada bulan Jun ini.

Hanya Indonesia dan China Komunis dan beberapa buah negara-negara Komunis sahaja yang sedang berusaha untuk menggagalkan kehadiran kita ke Persidangan Afro-Asia itu. Mereka sedang menaburkan fitnah-fitnah yang kononnya kita ini neo-kolonialis dan bukan negara yang berdaulat dan kerana itu tidak patut hadir di Persidangan Afro-Asia itu.

Usaha-usaha mereka itu tetap akan gagal kerana kita telah mendapat sokongan yang kuat dari negara-negara Afro-Asia yang tulin yang mahukan perpaduan dalam Afro-Asia kekal dan maju buat selamanya.

Negara-negara dalam Afro-Asia mahu segala perselisihan dirundingkan secara damai. Indonesia dan China Komunis susah kelak hendak menyakinkan pemimpin-pemimpin seperti Presiden Nasser, Jomo Kenyatta, Ahmad Ben Bella dan lain-lain lagi bahawa kita ini neo-kolonialis. Kalau kita neo-kolonialis masakan mereka, pemimpin-

pemimpin besar itu, menerima kita dan memberi penghormatan kepada negara kita yang mana setengah-setengahnya mempunyai perhubungan diplomatik dengan kita dan yang lain telah bersetuju mengadakan perhubungan diplomatik.

Fitnah-fitnah Indonesia tidak berkesan lagi dan semenjak lawatan-lawatan yang dibuat oleh kita ke Afrika, kita telah menimbulkan 'image' yang baharu kepada pemimpin-pemimpin dan rakyat Afro-Asia bahawa Malaysia adalah negara yang sungguh-sungguh mahu dan sungguh-sungguh menjunjung tinggi prinsip-prinsip Afro-Asia dan semangat baik-baik antara bangsa dan menghormati kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan antara satu dengan lain. Mereka sedar bahawa Malaysia boleh memainkan peranannya yang besar dalam perpaduan setia kawan Afro-Asia dan dalam menjamin keamanan di Tenggara Asia. Kita menyeru supaya Indonesia kembali menghormati semangat Afro-Asia dan juga Bandung yang dianjurkan oleh Indonesia sendiri dan Perjanjian Manila.

Kita berharap akan menghantar rombongan-rombongan dari negara ini ke Afrika seperti ke Afrika Barat dan kita mempunyai rancangan-rancangan untuk menghantar rombongan-rombongan muhibbah ke seluruh negeri lain di dunia untuk mencanangkan dan menegakkan kebenaran Malaysia. Kita akan mengejar jejak-jejak fitnah Indonesia di manapun; kita akan membasuh bersih segala kekotoran Indonesia yang sedang ditaburinya di tempat-tempat lain.

Memandang betapa pentingnya semangat setiakawan Afro-Asia dihormati dan kerana memikirkan mustahaknya kita menelanjangkan segala fitnah-fitnah Indonesia terhadap kita maka Malaysia sedia, bila-bila masa pun, jika negara-negara Afro-Asia yang bukan kulit putih sedia memberi bantu kepada kita, kita sedia menerimanya.

Tuduhan-tuduhan yang mengatakan kita hanya sanggup menerima bantuan-bantuan tentera dari negara-negara Komanwel yang berkulit putih sahaja tidak betul. Saya katakan sekali lagi di sini bahawa Malaysia sedia menerima bantuan-bantuan tentera dari negara-negara Afro-Asia khususnya dari negara-negara Afro-Asia yang tidak berkulit putih yang tinggal dalam lingkungan Komanwel atau mana-mana negara Afro-Asia yang lain yang sanggup dan mampu membantu kita.

Dengan ini, fitnah-fitnah Indonesia dengan sendirinya gugur. Kita mahu menerima bantuan dari segala negara bahkan kita sanggup menerima segala bantuan baik tentera atau bantuan yang lain-lain dari mana-mana negeri yang bersahabat dengan kita dan sedia hendak memberi pertolongan.

Kita sentiasa menjalankan dasar luar negeri yang bebas dan kita sedia hendak berkawan dengan semua negeri yang suka berkawan dengan kita terutama sekali negeri-negeri di Afro-Asia yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaannya. Kita tidak pro mana-mana pihak, kita hanya pro atau menyebelahi kepentingan negara kita sendiri. Oleh itu dalam menentukan dasar luar negeri kita, pertama sekali kita memandang kepentingan negara kita sendiri, keselamatan bangsa dan negara, keamanan dan ketenteraman dunia.

Cita-cita dan hasrat kita memang selama-lamanya hendak berbaik- baik dengan semua negara, termasuklah Indonesia. Kita sedia hendak berunding mencari persefahaman, perdamaian jika pencerobohan dapat ditamatkan dan kita sukacita dengan jasa baik daripada Kerajaan Jepun yang berusaha untuk mencari perdamaian antara kita dengan Indonesia.

Ada ura-ura perjumpaan perundingan di antara Y.T.M. Tunku dengan Presiden Soekarno akan dapat diadakan untuk membuka jalan bagi mencari penyelesaian dan perdamaian dengan Indonesia.

Akhbar Komunis Indonesia menentang perjumpaan ini. Kita harap Presiden Soekarno dan rakyat Indonesia yang benar-benar taat setia kepada bangsa dan negara dan berkehendakkan keamanan tidak akan dipengaruhi oleh fahaman Komunis yang sentiasa bertujuan hendak memecah belahkan kita dan mengekalkan huruhara dan pergaduhan di antara satu negeri dengan satu negeri yang lain dan di antara satu puak dengan puak yang lain.

Berhubung dengan soal perjanjian pertahanan antara Malaysia dengan Kerajaan British itu, suka saya menyatakan bahawa Perjanjian Pertahanan itu adalah semata-mata untuk mempertahankan negara kita daripada serangan dari luar. Kita tidak bergantung kepada British semata-mata bahkan kepada negara-negara Komanwel yang lain dan semua negara-negara di Afro-Asia yang bersahabat dengan kita dan suka hendak memberi pertolongan.

Kita sedang membesarkan tentera kita dengan sedaya upaya kita supaya kita dapat mempertahankan tanahair kita dengan kekuatan dan kuasa kita sendiri.

Sudah lapan tahun lamanya negara kita terletak di bawah Perikatan dengan aman. Perikatan hendak berbaik-baik di antara semua bangsa. Pembangunan negara untuk menjadikan rakyat yang mundur dapat mengecap kemajuan dan kemakmuran. Pembangunan luar bandar untuk rakyat yang duduk di kampung-kampung daripada semua bangsa

dan sekarang kita sedang mengatur rancangan-rancangan untuk menyediakan rumah-rumah di bandar-bandar dan kemudahan-kemudahan lain.

Baru-baru ini kita mendengar khabar bahawa parti-parti pembangkang hendak menyatukan tenaganya di bawah Lee Kuan Yew. Parti-parti itu ialah UDP, PPP dan PAP.

Kita tahu UDP, PPP parti perkauman yang menentang Bahasa Kebangsaan dan hak-hak istimewa orang-orang Melayu. PAP dan Lee Kuan Yew selalu sebut fasal hak-hak istimewa orang-orang Melayu. Hak-hak keistimewaan orang-orang Melayu hanya untuk menolong orang-orang Melayu supaya diberi tempat yang sempurna di dalam negeri.

Dalam negara kita yang mengandungi berbagai bangsa ini, orang-orang Melayu dan Bumiputera dan orang-orang Cina lebih kurang sama banyak dan bangsa-bangsa lain mustahak ada persefahaman di antara semua pihak sebelum kita dapat satukan bangsa-bangsa di negara kita.

Kalau cuba tubuhkan parti non-communal, parti itu menjadi seperti UDP, PPP dan PAP. Perikatan berkehendakkan semua rakyat berbaik-baik persefahaman. Kita tolong semua penduduk-penduduk negeri, kita jaga kesulitan suatu puak atau kaum supaya tiap-tiap orang mendapat tempat yang sempurna di negeri ini. Apabila ada persefahaman, tidak ada bimbang di antara satu sama lain dan baharulah dapat menjadi suatu bangsa.

Lee Kuan Yew sentiasa menggambarkan keadaan-keadaan yang sebenarnya dengan tidak jujur. Ia selalu menyatakan ada berselisih faham, ada racial tensions dengan tujuan supaya ia sendiri dapat menyelesaikan perkara itu. Sebenarnya sebelum Lee Kuan Yew muncul dalam politik Tanah Melayu tidak ada percakapan perselisihan faham. Lapan tahun Perikatan memerintah, rakyat duduk berbaik-baik. Tiap-tiap orang ada tempat di negara kita.

Kita tidak gentar menghadapi barisan parti pembangkang ini dan kita lihatlah apakah tindak tanduknya pada masa hadapan dan seluruh ahli-ahli Perikatan hendaklah berada dalam satu perpaduan yang kukuh.

Dengan perpaduan kita, tidak ada sesiapa pun akan dapat menggoncangkan kita.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PER-  
JUMPAAN DENGAN KETUA-KETUA DAN PARA  
PERWAKILAN DARIPADA PERTUBUHAN KEBANG-  
SAAN SABAH BERSATU DI JESSELTON, SABAH PADA  
2 MEI, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua USNO, Tuan Yang Terutama Tun Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, Yang di-Pertua Negeri Sabah, Yang Mulia Toh Puan Rahmah, Yang Berhormat Ketua Menteri Sabah<sup>1</sup>, Yang Berhormat Menteri-Menteri, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian yang hadir. Saya berasa amat sukacita dan syukur ke hadrat Allah Subhanahuwataala, kerana dapat melihat negeri Sabah pada tiga hari yang lalu dan dapat pula pada malam ini berjumpa dengan ketua-ketua dan para perwakilan daripada Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Sabah Bersatu, atau USNO. Saya ucapkan sebanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua dan para perwakilan daripada Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Sabah Bersatu, atau USNO. Saya ucapkan sebanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua dan para perwakilan sekalian, kerana telah memberi saya suatu penghormatan yang besar dengan mengadakan temasya dan perjumpaan pada malam ini untuk memberi peluang kepada saya berjumpa dan berkenalan serta bertemu ramah dengan ketua-ketua dan ahli-ahli USNO sekalian.

Dan lagi saya ucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di atas ucapan yang telah diucapkannya sebentar tadi, untuk memberi selamat datang kepada saya di Sabah ini dan juga di atas kesukaan dan sambutan yang baik yang telah ditunjukkan oleh ahli-ahli USNO sekalian serta rakyat Sabah amnya di atas lawatan yang saya telah jalankan baharu-baharu ini di negara-negara Afrika dan juga Timur Tengah. Seperti yang tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian maklum, lawatan muhibbah yang telah saya jalankan itu, mula-mulanya di Afrika Utara, dan kemudian di Afrika Timur, ialah semata-mata untuk hendak memperkenalkan negara Malaysia ini dan untuk hendak menerangkan kedudukan pendirian dan dasar perjalanan negara muda kita. Syukur saya ke hadrat Tuhan, bahawa di dalam lawatan-lawatan saya itu telah mendapat sambutan yang meriah daripada ketua-ketua dan pembesar-pembesar dalam negara-negara itu yang sangat memuaskan hati saya.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian, oleh sebab dakyah-dakyah yang didatangkan oleh pihak musuh kita, terutama dari Indonesia dan agen-agennya, dan di setengah-setengah negeri di Afro Asia ini ada mempunyai kekurangan faham di atas kedudukan dan keadaan

<sup>1</sup>Encik Peter Lo.

di Tenggara Asia ini yang sebenar-benarnya. Saya telah dapat peluang menerangkan kepada negara-negara ini bahawa Malaysia sebagai negara yang muda yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaan, adalah mempunyai cita-cita dan hasrat sama juga dengan negara-negara Afro Asia yang lain. Kita di Malaysia adalah ingin kepada keamanan, suka hendak hidup berbaik-baik dan mempunyai perhubungan yang rapat dengan semua negara-negara di Afro Asia, supaya dapat kita bersama-sama menjalankan rancangan-rancangan untuk meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat, yang dahulunya di bawah cengkaman penjajahan, supaya mereka ini dapat hidup dengan keadaan yang lebih baik dan lebih bahagia lagi. Saya telah memberikan gambaran kepada negara-negara itu bahawa Malaysia adalah mempunyai dasar luar negeri yang tegas, tetap dan merdeka, iaitu dasar tidak menyebelah mana-mana pihak. Bahkan semata-mata hendak berbaik-baik dengan semua negara-negara dan suka hendak berbaik-baik dan bekerjasama, akan tetapi kita sekarang ini adalah diancam dan dicerobohi oleh negara tetangga kita Indonesia, iaitu negara yang lebih besar dan lebih kuat daripada kita. Dengan sebab itu mustahak kita mendapat bantuan dan pertolongan daripada luar, untuk menjaga keselamatan dan kemerdekaan tanahair kita.

Kita sekarang adalah menerima bantuan daripada Britain, Australia dan New Zealand, dan kita ucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada negeri-negeri tersebut. Tetapi tidak pula kita semata-mata bergantung kepada negara-negara ini sahaja bahkan kita sedia menerima bantuan-bantuan daripada negara-negara yang lain, samada di dalam Komanwel atau pun dalam wilayah Afro Asia. Saya telah menawarkan kepada negara-negara Afrika supaya memberi pertolongan kepada kita, dalam apa cara pertolongan, samada pertolongan tentera, pertolongan wang, untuk membesarkan dan meluaskan tentera-tentera kita, dan untuk menjalankan rancangan-rancangan kemajuan dan juga pertolongan moral untuk menghadapi konfrantasi politik yang didatangkan oleh Indonesia terhadap kita.

Syukur saya di atas keterangan-keterangan yang telah saya berikan itu ada mendapat sambutan dan pengertian yang baik daripada negara-negara itu. Mereka itu telah menerangkan yang mereka itu menerima dan mengakui Malaysia sebagai negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, dan mereka itu suka hendak mempunyai perhubungan baik dengan kita. Begitu juga mereka itu menyokong dan menerima kita sebagai satu negara yang patut bersama hadir dalam apa juga persidangan negara Afro Asia. Oleh itu akuan-akuan yang telah diberikan oleh penganjur-penganjur seperti: Presiden Nasser dari Republik Arab Bersatu, Presiden Jomo Kenyatta dari Kenya, Presiden Nyerere dari Tanganyika, Perdana Menteri Uganda dan juga Presiden Ayub Khan dari Pakistan, Perdana Menteri Shasteri dari Indis dan Perdana Menteri Sanayake dari Ceylon. Jadi ini adalah menghapuskan semua sekali dakyah-dakyah Indonesia

yang mengatakan Malaysia ini bukan satu negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Negeri-negeri di Afrika dan Timur Tengah dan juga di Asia selain daripada Indonesia dan China Komunis ada menerima dan mengakui kita sebagai negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Dengan sebab itu dakyah-dakyah Indonesia tidaklah lagi diterima oleh negara-negara itu dan kita berharap Presiden Soekarno dan rakan-rakannya di Jakarta, faham bahawa konfrantasi yang dijalankannya terhadap kita itu tidak mendapat sedikit kesan sekalipun, dan sebaliknya adalah pula menyentuh rakan-rakannya Indonesia itu sendiri.

Negara-negara di Afrika sebagai negara yang baharu merdeka adalah menentang penggunaan kekerasan di antara bangsa. Dan mereka itu menyokong dan bergantung kepada dasar terbaik-baik di antara bangsa dan dasar hormat-menghormat kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan tiap-tiap satu negara. Inilah dasar dan cita-cita Malaysia sebenarnya yang patut disokong dengan sekuat-kuatnya inilah dia dasar yang terkandung di dalam Piagam Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu dan dasar yang terkandung dalam semangat Bandung, yang Indonesia sendiri anjurkan dan Indonesia baharu-baharu ini telah menyambut Ulang Tahun Yang Kesepuluh. Inilah juga dasar yang Indonesia sendiri telah melanggar dengan terang-terang, sebab Indonesia adalah menggunakan kekerasan dan menceroboh sesuatu negara yang kecil yang sangat kurang kekuatannya daripada Indonesia sendiri. Jadi, inilah dia nya keterangan-keterangan yang sebenar yang telah dapat disampaikan kepada negara-negara Afrika dan Timur Tengah dan India.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian, kita berharap dan berdoa, mudah-mudahan kita akan dapat diterima bersama-sama hadir dalam Persidangan Afro Asia yang akan diadakan di Algeria tidak berapa lama lagi. Begitu juga Kerajaan kita berharap dan bercadang, hendak melanjut dan menyambungkan lagi keterangan-keterangan yang telah diberi itu dengan mengadakan kedutaan-kedutaan di Afrika Timur dan Afrika Barat dan juga di Afrika Utara, supaya kita dapat mempunyai perhubungan diplomatik dengan negara-negara yang baharu merdeka di Afrika itu, Dan dengan itu dapatlah kita bertukar-tukar fikiran dan dapat bersama-sama bantu-membantu di antara satu sama lain, dan dengan kesimpulannya mempunyai perhubungan yang erat dengan negara-negara itu.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian, saya berasa besar hati dan bangga, oleh sebab menerima akuan taat setia, sokongan dan kerjasama daripada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan para perwakilan sekalian. Sabah telah mencapai kemerdekaan melalui Malaysia, dan Kerajaan Pusat iaitu Kerajaan Perikatan yang didokong oleh USNO sendiri bercita-cita dan berazam bukan sahaja hendak mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan negara kita, bahkan bercita-cita dan berazam

hendak memperbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat supaya kemerdekaan yang kita capai itu akan memberi erti kata yang sempurna yang sama tingginya dengan taraf hidup yang telah dicapai oleh negara-negara yang lain yang telah merdeka dan berkemajuan.

Dalam lawatan saya ke Sabah pada kali ini, saya berasa puas hati berkenaan dengan langkah-langkah yang telah dan sedang diambil untuk menjamin keselamatan negara kita, tentera-tentera kita yang disokong dan dibantu oleh tentera-tentera Komanwel adalah menjalankan tugas mereka itu dengan semangat yang tinggi dan sangat memuaskan hati. Begitu juga saya telah mengambil peluang melihat perjalanan rancangan-rancangan kemajuan di Sabah ini, dan di sini saya belum berapa puas hati lagi dan langkah-langkah ini akan diperkemas lagi dan diperbaiki lagi dari masa ke semasa. Saya telah menyeru dan menggesa pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan di Sabah ini supaya bekerja dengan lebih giat dan lebih ikhlas lagi untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan negara dan pembangunan luar bandar. Saya telah mengikhtirakan betapa mustahaknya rancangan-rancangan yang sebenarnya dikehendaki oleh Rakyat Sabah, seperti rancangan kemajuan tanah, pembinaan jalanraya-jalanraya dan rancangan-rancangan untuk memberi kemudahan-kemudahan kepada rakyat di kampung-kampung diberi keutamaan yang tinggi.

Tujuan kita dan rancangan pembangunan negara ini adalah hendak melaksanakan hasrat-hasrat dan kehendak-kehendak rakyat, supaya rakyat dapat mempunyai taraf hidup yang difikirkan patut sebagai warganegara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Sekarang dengan persetujuan Kerajaan Negeri, Kerajaan Pusat telah dapat menghantar seorang pegawai kemajuan yang berpengalaman, untuk menjalankan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan di Sabah, dan saya harap lepas daripada ini rancangan-rancangan itu dapat diatur dan dilaksanakan dengan licin dan lebih sempurna. Saya berharap juga perkara mengenai pentadbiran kerajaan juga mengatur dengan lebih sempurna lagi supaya pegawai-pegawai kerajaan, baik pegawai-pegawai kanan di peringkat negeri dan juga pegawai-pegawai di peringkat jajahan di daerah-daerah, dapat melapangkan masa yang lebih lagi untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan di kampung-kampung dan di tempat-tempat yang berjauhan dari bandar. Saya telah sebutkan kepada pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan bahawa dalam melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan ini ada satu sahaja perkara yang saya kehendaki iaitu kehasilan dan rancangan-rancangan yang ditulis di atas kertas atau yang disimpan di bilik-bilik pejabat itu tidak berguna kepada rakyat, melainkan dapat dilaksanakan dan dijalankan menurut kehendak dan hasrat rakyat. Sungguhpun demikian, syukur saya sedikit sebanyak adalah rancangan-rancangan pembangunan itu telah mula dijalankan, dan saya harap lepas

daripada ini dapat dijalankan dengan lebih giat lagi dan lebih berkesan lagi.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian, hari ini tuan-tuan dan puan-puan mengadakan Perhimpunan Agung USNO, dan saya percaya banyak lah perkara-perkara yang penting untuk parti dan untuk negara yang telah dibincangkan. Saya berseru kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan supaya menguatkan parti dan menguatkan USNO, manakala kuat USNO maka kuatlah Perikatan, kerana Kerajaan kita disokong oleh parti kita, kuat parti, kuatlah Kerajaan — lemah parti, lemahlah Kerajaan. Di dalam negara kita yang mempunyai penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai-bagai kaum dan bangsa ini hanyalah parti yang mempunyai dasar seperti Perikatan sahaja yang boleh menjaminkan perhubungan baik dan fahaman yang baik di antara bangsa-bangsa yang duduk dalam negara ini. Di Malaya, Perikatan telah menjalankan pentadbiran negara, sudah dekat 10 tahun lamanya, dan dalam masa 10 tahun itu bukan sahaja negara kita telah mendapat mencapai kemajuan yang besar-besar, bahkan kita dapat menjaminkan perhubungan baik, persefahaman baik di antara bangsa-bangsa yang duduk dalam negara ini. Begitu juga dalam Malaysia, Perikatan adalah menjalankan dasar yang sama iaitu dasar menjaga kepentingan semua bangsa di negara kita — dasar berbaik-baik di antara satu dengan lain hanyalah dapat kita menjaminkan keselamatan dan ketenteraman negara, dapat kita mengadakan saling-mengerti dan fahaman yang baik di antara penduduk-penduduk negeri ini daripada berbagai-bagai bangsa, sehingga dapat kita menubuhkan suatu bangsa yang bersatu dan kuat. Ada kita dengar ura-ura pihak yang menentang parti kita hendak menubuhkan parti pembangkang yang berdasarkan Non-Communalism.

Saya telah sebutkan bahawa kepada negara yang berdasarkan demokrasi, kita tidak menentang penubuhan parti-parti pembangkang, asalkan perjalanan parti pembangkang itu ialah dengan tujuan hendak membina dan membaiki negara kita. Akan tetapi kita nampak dan kita dengar yang parti pembangkang seperti PAP sentiasa mengkritik hak-hak istimewa bumiputera dan orang-orang Melayu yang terkandung dalam Perlembagaan, sentiasa mengatakan yang kita Perikatan ini berfahaman perkauman. Percakapan-percakapan yang semacam ini akan menimbulkan perasaan salah faham di antara bangsa-bangsa, hak istimewa yang diberi kepada bumiputera dan orang-orang Melayu itu ialah hendak menjaga kepentingan orang-orang Melayu dan hendak memberi mereka itu tempat yang sempurna dalam negaranya sendiri. Jika perkara-perkara itu hendak dihapuskan tentulah orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera itu mundur, dan akan hanyut di dalam negaranya sendiri, dengan sebab itu orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera tidak boleh benarkan hak-hak istimewa itu dipinda dan diubah. Kalau parti-

parti pembangkang ini bermain api Communalism, tidak dapat tidak peristiwa yang tidak baik akan berlaku di negara kita. Jadi itulah sebabnya saya berharap penduduk-penduduk di Sabah ini dari semua bangsa faham bahawa keselamatan dan kemajuan negara kita ini bergantung di atas persefahaman yang baik di antara bangsa-bangsa dan hanyalah parti seperti Perikatan yang sebenarnya hendak menjaga kepentingan semua bangsa, menjaga persefahaman baik yang boleh menjalankan pentadbiran dengan aman dan tenteram. Dengan sebab itu mustahak tuan-tuan dan puan-puan menguatkan parti kita, dan saya harap USNO bersama-sama dengan parti-parti yang lain dengan Perikatan Sabah akan menjalankan langkah untuk menerangkan dasar parti kita supaya rakyat seluruhnya faham dan mengerti dengan sesungguhnya. Saya dalam dua hari dahulu telah berjumpa dengan ketua-ketua Perikatan di sini, dan telah meminta mereka itu supaya bekerja kerana parti, kerana bangsa dan negara. Dan mustahaklah mereka itu menjauhkan perselisihan faham di antara satu dengan lain, begitu juga USNO sebagai parti yang terbesar sekali dalam Perikatan di Sabah ini, hendaklah menguatkan pertubuhannya supaya kalau USNO ini kuat maka Alliance Sabah ini pun menjadi kuat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian. Kita adalah sedang menghadapi masa yang genting, kerana bukan sahaja kita terpaksa menghadapi ancaman dari luar, bahkan kita juga menghadapi ancaman dari musuh kita yang di dalam. Dengan sebab itulah parti kita mustahak mempunyai kekuatan yang sebenar-benarnya supaya dapat kita menjamin keselamatan keamanan dan kemakmuran bangsa dan negara kita pada masa yang akan datang.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian, sekian sahajalah ucapan saya pada malam ini dan sekali lagi saya ucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua USNO di atas segala kejayaannya yang telah dicapai pada masa yang lalu, dan saya harap dengan adanya Perhimpunan Agong pada hari ini ketua-ketua dan ahli-ahli USNO sekalian akan membaharui semangat mereka itu dengan meneruskan perjuangannya dengan lebih giat lagi untuk bangsa dan negara.

Sekianlah sahaja saya ucapkan terima kasih sekali lagi kepada para hadirin sekalian, dan selamat berjuang dan berjaya.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DAN MENTERI PERTAHANAN DI PEMBUKAAN SEKOLAH LATIHAN PENERBANGAN TENTERA UDARA DI RAJA MALAYSIA, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH PADA 7 MEI, 1965

Y.B. Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Telekom<sup>1</sup>, Y.A.B. Menteri Besar, Kedah<sup>2</sup>, Ketua Turus Angkatan Tentera<sup>3</sup>, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian,

Saya sangat berasa gembira kerana dapat menerima bangunan dan kemudahan-kemudahan yang telah dibina untuk kegunaan pasukan Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia Di Alor Setar daripada rakan saya Y.B. Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Telekom. Saya ucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih dan tahniah kepada Jabatan Kerja Raya dan pemborong-pemborong yang telah berjaya menyiapkan kerja-kerja mereka dengan sempurna dengan masa yang singkat. Saya telah memberi arahan bahawa mustahak pembinaan Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini dijalankan dengan cepatnya disebabkan kita berkehendakkan latihan-latihan kepada pemandu-pemandu kapal terbang Tentera Udara Di Raja dijalankan dengan segera. Saya amatlah sukacita kehendak-kehendak saya telah disempurnakan oleh Jabatan Kerja Raya dan kakitangan-kakitangannya.

Pembinaan Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini ialah suatu langkah yang besar dalam rancangan kita hendak membesar dan meluaskan Tentera Udara Di Raja kita. Tentera Udara Di Raja kita adalah muda, berumur hanya lebih kurang 6½ tahun, akan tetapi kita bercita-cita dan berazam hendak mempunyai satu Tentera Udara Di Raja yang lengkap, mempunyai perkakas-perkakas yang moden untuk mempertahankan tanahair kita. Pembinaan Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini satu daripada rancangan yang besar untuk melaksanakan cita-cita kita itu dan banyak lagi perkara-perkara yang kita terpaksa jalankan sebelum kita dapat mempunyai Tentera Udara Di Raja yang lengkap. Kita berharap dalam membesar dan meluaskan Tentera Udara Di Raja kita ini, kita akan mendapat bantuan dan pertolongan daripada Negeri-negeri Komanwel dan negeri-negeri yang lain yang bersahabat dengan kita. Pasukan Pertahanan adalah berkehendakkan belanja yang banyak terutama sekali Tentera Udara Di Raja.

Barangkali sesuai untuk saya memberi kata-kata ringkas mengapakah Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan Udara Di Raja Malaysia ini dibina di Alor Setar. Pada mulanya, Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan telah diadakan di

<sup>1</sup>Dato' V.T. Sambanthan.

<sup>2</sup>Dato' Syed Omar Sahabudin.

<sup>3</sup>Lt. General Tengku Osman bin Tengku Mohd Jewa.

Pengkalan Tentera Udara Malaysia di Kuala Lumpur, yang telah diselenggarakan oleh Tentera Udara Di Raja dengan Pengarah Penerbangan Awam. Dalam awal tahun 1963, oleh kerana pembesaran Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia di Kuala Lumpur, maka sudah tentu pada suatu masa yang singkat tanggungjawab-tanggungjawab Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini akan memuncak tinggi. Juga, adalah dijangka penambahan kapal-kapal terbang tentera dan kapal-kapal terbang awam di kawasan Kuala Lumpur dan dengan pembinaan Padang Kapal Terbang Antarabangsa di Subang Batu Tiga, akan mendatangkan bahaya kemalangan kepada penuntut-penuntut penerbangan yang memandu kapal terbang di angkasa tersebut. Dengan sebab itu, adalah diputuskan bahawa Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini dipindahkan kepada suatu tempat yang tiada begitu sibuk. Setelah membuat siasatan di sebelah Barat Malaysia, maka didapati Alor Setar mempunyai padang kapal terbang yang sesuai untuk dibina sekolah tersebut. Pada hari ini, tuan-tuan menyaksikan bangunan tetap yang baru untuk Pengkalan Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia menggunakan untuk latihan pemandu-pemandu mereka.

Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia ialah satu tentera baru dan telah ditubuhkan sejak 6½ tahun dahulu dan keutamaannya mula-mula ialah untuk menubuhkan Sekolah Penerbangannya sendiri. Ini telah dimulakan dengan cara kecil apabila ditubuhkan satu tempat latihan di Kuala Lumpur pada tahun 1960 dengan mendapat guru-guru penerbangan daripada pegawai-pegawai Tentera Udara Di Raja. Semenjak itu, latihan ini telah diperbesarkan dan hari ini di Alor Setar sekolah tersebut adalah mempunyai hampir semuanya guru-guru warganegara Malaysia, dan bilangan pemandu-pemandu di dalam latihan sudah meningkat empat kali ganda daripada dahulu. Daripada tahun ini, dua kursus yang memberi latihan kepada 15 orang penuntut-penuntut penerbangan akan dijalankan. Semakin lama, Tentera Udara ini akan besar dan kita terpaksa memperbesarkan sekolah ini untuk menerima lebih banyak lagi penuntut-penuntut penerbangan dan juga memberi latihan yang tinggi kepada pemandu-pemandu untuk mereka menjalankan tugas-tugas tindakan.

Latihan pemandu-pemandu tersebut adalah amat mustahak bagi Tentera Udara; kejayaan dan kegunaan tentera itu adalah terletak di atas kepandaian pemandu-pemandu yang tamat daripada sekolah itu. Mereka ini bukannya sahaja dikehendaki menjadi pemandu-pemandu yang pandai tetapi juga mereka mestilah ada mempunyai kebolehan-kebolehan sebagai seorang pegawai yang tinggi dan menerusi pengalaman mereka, mereka akan menjadi panglima penerbangan kumpulan dan pengkalan dan juga menjadi pegawai-pegawai yang bertanggungjawab untuk tindakan-tindakan yang baik bagi tentera.

Sebelum mereka datang ke sekolah ini, pemandu-pemandu tersebut terpaksa menempuhi latihan tentera di bumi, di Maktab Tentera Persekutuan, Sungai Besi. Kursus ini, ialah untuk memberi pengalaman kepada mereka di dalam tatatertib tentera dan untuk membina kecekapan-kecekapan sebagai pemimpin untuk faedah mereka di dalam Tentera Udara pada masa hadapan. Setelah tamat daripada Maktab Tentera Persekutuan, mereka mula berlatih memandu kapal terbang di sini. Kursus penerbangan untuk pemandu-pemandu penerbangan memakan masa hampir satu tahun, dan di dalam masa itu mereka memandu kapal terbang selama 160 jam dan termasuk juga latihan di bumi dan mempelajari mata-mata pelajaran seperti "aeronautics, airmanship, navigation, meteorology", dan berkenaan dengan jentera-jentera kapal terbang dan sebagainya. Mereka dilatih untuk hidup di dalam hutan kerana boleh jadi di satu masa barangkali, mereka terpaksa menghadapi itu. Adalah dijangka Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia akan dilengkapi dengan senjata-senjata moden, dan latihan menyerang akan dimasukkan di dalam sukatan pelajaran pada tahun hadapan. Latihan itu termasuklah menggunakan meriam, senapang, roket dan bom dan ini akan diajarkan di dalam kursus-kursus yang tinggi.

Apabila penuntut-penuntut penerbangan itu menunjukkan kebolehan-kebolehan mereka sebagai pemandu kapal terbang tentera, mereka akan diberi pangkat sebagai pegawai penerbangan di dalam Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia. Setelah berlatih dengan rancaknya selama 18 bulan dan mereka menunjukkan kebolehan-kebolehan mereka di atas angkasa dan di bumi, mereka akan mencapai matlamat yang pertama iaitu mendapat lencana penerbangan. Pengurniaan "Wing" ini adalah satu penghargaan kepada mereka dan menjadikan mereka itu pemandu-pemandu Tentera Udara.

Saya percaya tuan-tuan pun bersependapat dengan saya bahawa Sekolah Latihan Penerbangan ini adalah amat berguna dan bertanggungjawab di atas pembinaan Angkatan Tentera Udara kita yang muda ini. Kepada guru-guru dan kakitangan-kakitangan sekolah ini saya mengucapkan tahniah dan kepada penuntut-penuntut penerbangan, saya menyeru supaya bergiat dengan cergas di dalam latihan dan tunjukkanlah kebolehan-kebolehan masing-masing supaya menjadi pemandu-pemandu yang cekap dan pandai untuk mempertahankan negara kita. Saya berdoa moga-moga penuntut-penuntut semua berjaya didalam perkhidmatan Tentera Udara Di Raja Malaysia.

Saya dengan sukacitanya membuka dengan rasminya sekolah ini dan diharapkan berjaya di masa hadapan.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
ANNUAL DINNER OF THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW  
ZEALAND GRADUATES ASSOCIATION ON 15th MAY,  
1965

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy indeed to be your guest tonight.

Your invitation was to both dinner and to a ball. The more I speak, the less time you will have for dancing and as I enjoy dancing rather than speaking, I shall only say a few words to you. To those of you who graduated in Australia and in New Zealand, after many pleasant years in both these countries, I am extremely happy that all of you were able to return and still be able to talk not only in the National Language but also English.

English is the language, I understand, spoken in Australia and New Zealand only by diplomats. It was only yesterday that I discovered the difference between the New Zealand and Australian Language.

There was, apparently, a New Zealander who was flying from London back to New Zealand and just before he got on the plane, he went into a barber shop in London to have a haircut.

While the English barber was cutting his hair, he said, "Would you like it cut short enough to last until you get back to Wellington?"

The man, having his haircut said, "Yes, that is a very good idea. But how did you know that I am a New Zealander and not an Australian".

The barber said, "It is quite easy, Sir, to determine". When you came in to my shop and when you sat down on my chair you said, "Haircut, *please*. You must be a New Zealander no Australian ever uses the word "please".

I know that all of you who were sent to universities in either Australia or New Zealand enjoyed yourselves very much. Some of you were on Government scholarships and some of you were financed privately by your parents and in addition to obtaining the necessary qualifications and degree, I know that you thoroughly enjoyed your days as undergraduates.

I overheard a conversation the other day about one of you, who, let us call him "X", was being discussed by two of his friends.

One of his friends said, "Graduate X comes from a very poor family". The other friend said, "No. How can that be possible because his family sent him to a university in Perth in Australia and he enjoyed his student days very much. His family cannot possibly be poor". The other friend said, 'Exactly. It is because he spent so much of his parents' money during his university days that his family is now a very poor family'".

However, let us, Gentlemen, get down to more serious matters. One thing tonight I would like to say is that although we are enjoying ourselves at this dinner and the dance that would follow, there is one graduate who qualified in Australia and returned as a fully fledged accountant. He is not with us tonight because he is still recovering from the tragedy of the death of his young child and I think all of you tonight would join me in conveying to him, Encik Mohd Salleh Yusof, and his Australian wife Joan, our deepest heartfelt sympathy on the loss of his young child.

I am glad to see here tonight my two friends, Tom Critchey and Hunter Wade because this gives me an opportunity, in front of you, to convey my own, and the sincere thanks of the Malaysian Government for the tremendous help and assistance that both New Zealand and Australia have given us in making available, sometimes at the expense of their own people, vacancies in their schools, colleges and universities for Malaysian students.

We are a young nation and although we are fairly rich in our natural resources, with our investments in tin and rubber, both your countries, Australia and New Zealand, have helped us tremendously in a much more important investment — an investment in human ability, in human skills and in professional training.

Since independence we have tried our very best to ensure that Malaysia would develop at the maximum possible speed but the requirements of development is not money alone. No country can develop without high-quality human resources in the form of good professional men, doctors, engineers, architects, accountants and a few good politicians. And although we take considerable credit for the success of our development, so far, I think it is only right for me to say tonight that the credit for such success is not entirely a Malaysian credit but part of the share of our success must be given to you Tom and to you Hunter for the tremendous cooperation, help and understanding that

both your countries, as fellow-members of the Commonwealth have given so generously and so freely to Malaysia.

In spite of confrontation, in spite of attempts by the Communist world to dominate and ruin Malaysia as a nation, we are determined that Malaysia will continue to develop and show the world that we can live and progress as a free and democratic nation. This, however, will not be achieved by Government alone. It needs the best use of all the professional and technical skills that we have available in the country.

And perhaps you, all of you sitting round this table tonight are one of the largest gatherings of professionally qualified graduates that have ever sat down to dinner altogether in Malaysia. The future of our country is as much in your hands as it is in the hands of the Cabinet. And I know that with your training, your background and your good sense, not one of you will fail us. You may have problems of your own from time to time. You may have your own frustration of not getting the right job or the right place, but, nevertheless, you must all be grateful because comparing yourselves to the many millions of our population you are all extremely lucky in having had the benefit of a high university education.

It, in moments of depression or frustration, you think you have been unlucky, let me remind you of the story of the man who, during the War, lost all his belongings and even lost his shoes and that he walked along the streets in his bare feet cursing his luck that he had no shoes. He passed on another man who had also suffered from a bomb blast in the War and he noticed that the other man not only had no shoes but had no feet! Then he realised how lucky he was compared to some of his fellow men.

For all of you who are graduates have, by the grace of God, been extremely lucky to have had the opportunity of higher education and with this education and your qualifications you are lucky again in having the opportunity to serve our country; to serve Malaysia and to serve your fellow men. I wish you luck.

OPENING OF THE THIRD COMMONWEALTH EXHIBITION ORGANISED BY THE MALAYAN BRANCH OF THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY ON 24TH MAY, 1965

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

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

Here in Malaysia, thanks to the initiative and foresight of our beloved Prime Minister<sup>1</sup>, who in 1962 suggested the formation of this branch, we are now able to celebrate as full and equal members of the Commonwealth together with our brothers and sisters in the other Commonwealth countries.

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

<sup>1</sup> Y. T. M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

“go somewhere else which is more to your liking and leave us in peace to fashion our own destiny. That is all we ask!”

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF A NEW SELANGOR GIRL GUIDES  
ASSOCIATION HEADQUARTERS AT JALAN ABDUL  
SAMAD, KUALA LUMPUR ON 30TH MAY, 1965

State Commissioner for Girl Guides, Selangor,  
Your Excellencies, Honourable Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen and  
members of the Guide Movement.

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

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

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

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

By your own efforts you as guides have been able to earn over  
\$50,000/- by having concerts and fun fairs. This is very praise worthy  
as it reveals collective self-reliance and team work. Both these qualities  
are essential for all youths. In themselves these qualities are always  
important but more so at a time when we are building our nation.  
They promote civic sense and provide a sense of direction for a good  
cause.

I understand all this were possible because of the untiring and  
inspiring leadership of Puan Janaky Nahappan, your State Com-  
missioner.

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

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

I am glad to note that you will be making use of this large hall to provide various guide trainings, and that Guides from the rural areas will be brought and housed in this building for week-end trainings. I hope this will be done regularly so that a wide range of rural guides can derive the benefits the Movement has to offer.

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

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

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

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

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

In so far as the Central Government is concerned, in keeping with its policy of encouraging the growth of Youth Organisations, a financial contribution of \$75,000/- has been made towards the cost of this building.

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

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



Tun Abdul Razak b. Hussein sedang berucap di Upacara Perasmian Pembukaan Ibu Pejabat Baru Persatuan Pandu Puteri Cawangan Negeri Selangor, yang terletak di Jalan Sultan Abdul Samad, Kuala Lumpur pada 30 Mei, 1965.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI SEMASA  
BACAAN KALI KEDUA 'THE TIMBALAN YANG DI-  
PERTUAN AGONG (REMUNERATION) (AMENDMENT)  
BILL' DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 3 JUN, 1965

Tuan Yang Dipertua, saya pohon mencadangkan supaya 'The Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong (Remuneration) (Amendment) Bill, 1965', dibaca bagi kali yang kedua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini satu Bill yang sangat pendek, tujuannya ialah untuk menambah Peruntukan di-Raja bagi Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat tentu sedia maklum iaitu sebelum 1 Januari, 1964, Peruntukan di-Raja bagi Yang di-Pertuan Agong ialah \$15,000.00 sebulan dan perbezaan di antara Peruntukan di-Raja ini dengan Peruntukan di-Raja bagi Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong ialah hanya \$500.00 sebulan. Tetapi mulai 1 Januari, 1964, Peruntukan di-Raja bagi Yang di-Pertuan Agong telah ditambah menjadi \$19,000.00 sebulan. Oleh kerana itu pada masa ini perbezaan di antara Peruntukan di-Raja itu ialah \$4,500.00 sebulan. Oleh itu perlulah juga diingatkan iaitu tugas-tugas dan tanggungjawab Yang di-Pertuan Agong dan Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong adalah sama. Fasal 2 (i) dalam Undang-Undang ini menyebut iaitu Peruntukan di-Raja yang tersebut dalam Undang-Undang ini hendaklah dibayar masa Baginda menjalankan kerja-kerja dan menggunakan kuasa-kuasa Yang di-Pertuan Agong sahaja dan tidak menerima Peruntukan di-Raja sebagai Raja yang memerintah di negeri Baginda sendiri.

Ada di antara Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan yang menerima Peruntukan di-Raja lebih daripada \$14,500.00 sebulan. Baharu-baharu ini Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Terengganu<sup>1</sup> telah menjalankan kerja-kerja dan menunaikan kewajipan Yang di-Pertuan Agong selama lebih kurang satu bulan. Peruntukan di-Raja Baginda ialah \$15,000.00 sebulan dan oleh itu dicadangkan supaya Peruntukan Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu hendaklah dijadikan \$18,000.00 sebulan. Dalam Rang Undang-Undang ini ada juga syaratnya iaitu Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan yang menerima Peruntukan di-Raja sebagai Sultan dalam negeri Baginda lebih daripada \$18,000.00 akan menerima Peruntukan di-Raja yang sama banyaknya dengan Peruntukan di-Raja Baginda di-negeri Baginda. Sekianlah sahaja saya mencadangkan Rang Undang-Undang ini dibaca bagi kali yang kedua.

<sup>1</sup>D. Y. M. M. Tengku Mahmud ibni Sultin Ismail Nasiruddin Shah.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI UPACARA  
PERLETAKAN BATU ASAS BANGUNAN IBU PEJABAT  
RIDA, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 5 JUN, 1965

Pemangku Pengerusi RIDA, Yang Berhormat Menteri-menteri Besar, Ketua-ketua Menteri, Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat, Tuan-Tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian.

Saya sangat sukacita kerana dapat hadir ke majlis ini untuk menyempurnakan perletakan batu asas Bangunan Ibu Pejabat RIDA yang baharu. Kebetulannya pada hari semalam kita telah meletakkan satu lagi batu asas iaitu batu asas bagi mengadakan satu rancangan dan dasar yang baharu untuk memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera di Malaysia ini. Pada pagi ini kita meletakkan batu asas bagi bangunan baharu untuk Lembaga atau Badan atau Majlis yang akan menjalankan rancangan dan dasar yang sedang dibincangkan oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera itu.

Dalam meletakkan batu asas bangunan RIDA ini, sebenarnya Kerajaan meletakkan asas kepada satu bangunan yang baharu RIDA yang akan diubah corak, diubah rupa dan diubah rangkanya dan yang akan diberi nama yang baharu yang sesuai dengan tugas dan tanggungjawab yang baharu, iaitu hendak menjalankan rancangan-rancangan dan usaha-usaha untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera di seluruh Malaysia ini. Saya sendiri tidaklah suka hendak menentukan nama baharu badan ini dan saya berharap Kongres yang bersidang pada hari ini akan dapat menentukan nama yang sesuai bagi kehendak dan hasrat mereka itu sendiri. Oleh itu upacara pada hari ini adalah besar maknanya bukan sahaja kepada Lembaga yang mempunyai Ibu Pejabat ini bahkan besar maknanya kepada sejarah pembangunan negara kita. Upacara pada pagi ini bermakna iaitu sejarah RIDA yang telah bertugas selama 15 tahun untuk menolong rakyat-rakyat di luar bandar bagi memperbaiki iktisad mereka itu akan masuk kepada bab yang baharu dalam kehidupannya. Seperti saya katakan tadi, selain daripada diberi nama yang baharu, Lembaga ini akan diberi tugas yang lebih dinamik dan yang lebih progresif lagi dalam usaha kita untuk meninggikan ekonomi bumiputera di Malaysia.

Kemajuan dan kemakmuran negara kita adalah bergantung kepada dua aliran pembangunan, yang penting; satu ialah pembangunan dalam lapangan perusahaan tanah dan perusahaan tanaman, dan keduanya aliran mengadakan dan memajukan perusahaan-perusahaan kilang,

gedung-gedung dan sebagainya. Dua aliran kemajuan ini telah menjadi dasar dan tujuan yang penting di dalam rancangan kemajuan lima tahun Kerajaan Perikatan yang akan dilancarkan mulai daripada tahun hadapan.

Seperti tuan-tuan dan puan-puan telah maklum dalam rancangan pembangunan luar bandar Kerajaan Pusat, dalam lima tahun yang lalu Kerajaan telah berjaya mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan ke kampung-kampung seperti jalanraya, sekolah-sekolah, tempat berubat, pasar-pasar dan sebagainya. Sekarang sampailah masanya kita meningkat ke satu tingkat lagi di dalam rancangan kemajuan kita iaitu hendaklah kita menumpukan sepenuh usaha dan tenaga bagi menolong rakyat membesar dan meluaskan mata pencarian mereka dan memberi mereka peluang-peluang yang lebih besar dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan negara kita. Dengan sebab itu cadangan Kerajaan, Lembaga Baharu ini akan diberi tugas menolong rakyat bagi menjalankan perusahaan-perusahaan dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan terutama sekali Lembaga ini akan memberi pertolongan melatih rakyat yang suka hendak mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan perniagaan dan kemudahan daripada itu memberi mereka bantuan, modal, nasihat dan pertolongan supaya mereka itu dapat berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri. Kesimpulannya Lembaga ini akan memberi pertolongan yang baik dan yang difikirkan patut dan mustahak untuk membolehkan tiap-tiap seorang bumiputera itu mengambil bahagian yang sempurna dalam lapangan iktisad.

Akan tetapi saya suka terangkan bahawa dengan mengadakan Lembaga yang baharu yang dinamik dan mempunyai jentera yang lengkap untuk menjalankan tugasnya mustahaklah kita menukar juga fikiran, pandangan dan semangat kita dalam lapangan ekonomi dan perniagaan. Kerajaan dan Lembaga ini hanya dapat memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat dalam lapangan iktisad akan tetapi kejayaan tiap-tiap seorang di dalam lapangan ini adalah bergantung kepada diri mereka sendiri. Hendaklah mereka itu menggunakan pertolongan yang diberi oleh Lembaga dan Kerajaan dengan sepenuhnya. Ini bermakna kejayaan bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi ini adalah bergantung kepada dua pihak iaitu kepada Kerajaan dan kepada diri mereka sendiri. Jadi, mustahaklah dua-dua bahagian ini bekerjasama dengan rapatnya untuk menjamin kejayaan-kejayaan yang kita kehendaki itu. Seperti kata Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri pada masa membuka Persidangan Kongres semalam iaitu jika bumiputera hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan iktisad ini mustahaklah mereka mendapat kerjasama daripada orang-orang yang sekarang ini telah mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan perniagaan. Jadi, untuk menggalakkan kerjasama di antara pihak Kerajaan dengan pihak Industrial

ataupun perusahaan, Kerajaan telah menubuhkan satu Lembaga bernama FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY. Saya berharap FIDA ini akan dapat bekerjasama dengan sepenuhnya dengan Lembaga Kemajuan Ekonomi Bumiputera yang baharu ini supaya kedua-dua Lembaga ini dapat bekerja, dapat mengadakan kerjasama yang rapat bukan sahaja bagi menubuhkan perusahaan-perusahaan yang sederhana dan perusahaan-perusahaan yang kecil juga kerana perusahaan-perusahaan ini bergantung di antara satu dengan lain.

Saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa Lembaga RIDA ini akan diberi rupa, bentuk dan nama yang baharu. Kita selalu mendengar pakar-pakar ekonomi berkata jikalau kita berkehendakkan kemajuan dalam negeri kita ini, mustahak kita menggunakan kekayaan-kekayaan yang ada dalam negeri kita ini seperti bijeh, getah dan sebagainya dengan sepenuhnya. Akan tetapi pada fikiran saya kalau kita berkehendakkan kejayaan dalam lapangan ekonomi ini kekayaan dan kekuatan yang pertama sekali mesti digunakan ialah kekuatan tenaga rakyat yang ada pada kita. Dengan sebab itu langkah yang pertama yang akan diambil apabila menubuhkan Lembaga yang baharu ialah ahli-ahli Lembaga yang bertanggungjawab bagi menjalankan dasar-dasar Lembaga ialah daripada orang-orang yang faham, mempunyai pengalaman dalam hal ekonomi dan perniagaan dan orang-orang yang sebenarnya mempunyai semangat ingin kepada kemajuan dan semangat bersedia hendak bekerja dan berkorban kerana bangsa dan negara.

Lembaga ini akan mengadakan beberapa pejabat atau bahagian-bahagian untuk menjalankan tugas-tugasnya. Yang pertama ialah Bahagian Latihan, yang kedua Bahagian Modal atau Pinjaman Wang, yang ketiga Bahagian mengadakan Pertolongan, Nasihat atau 'contact' dalam bahasa Inggerisnya, dan yang keempat Bahagian Pentadbiran, yang kelima Bahagian Perusahaan, dan yang keenam Bahagian Pengangkutan untuk mengelolakan perusahaan-perusahaan pengangkutan yang ada sekarang ini, dan yang ketujuh akan diadakan satu Bahagian Research iaitu satu bahagian jentera untuk mengeluarkan fikiran-fikiran dan juga planning-planning yang dikehendaki dari satu masa ke satu masa dan bahagian ini juga akan bertanggungjawab bagi menyemak kemajuan-kemajuan yang kita capai dari satu masa ke satu masa supaya boleh menjamin kemajuan yang kita capai itu adalah tetap, tegas dan sempurna.

Selain daripada perkara yang penting dalam menjalankan rancangan-rancangan untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ialah mustahak selain daripada Lembaga ini, Pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan, Kementerian-kementerian dan Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri mengadakan kerjasama

yang rapat di antara satu dengan lain seperti yang mereka telah tunjukkan dalam menjalankan rancangan pembangunan luar bandar. Saya tegaskan di sini, Lembaga ini bertanggungjawab dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera tetapi Lembaga ini tidak hendak mengambil kuasa atau menjalankan tugas Pejabat-pejabat dan Kementerian-kementerian yang lain. Tiap-tiap Kementerian seperti Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, Kementerian Pelajaran, Kementerian Pertanian dan Syarikat Kerjasama serta Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri ada tanggungjawabnya masing-masing dan mustahaklah Kementerian-kementerian dan Kerajaan Negeri itu meneruskan pekerjaan-pekerjaannya dan mengadakan kerjasama yang rapat dengan Lembaga ini. Kita tidak akan mendapat kejayaan dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini melainkan Lembaga ini, Kementerian-kementerian dan Pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan dan Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri yang bertanggungjawab atas hal ini dapat bekerjasama dengan satu tujuan, satu hati dengan menumpukan sepenuh usaha dan tenaga. Saya telah sebutkan Lembaga ini akan diberi rupa, nama dan tugas yang baharu dan akan diberi bentuk dan rangka yang baharu dan akan diberi nafas dan jiwa yang baharu, akan tetapi mustahaklah Kementerian-kementerian, Pejabat-pejabat dan Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri mempunyai jiwa dan nafas yang baharu, juga jiwa dan semangat yang dikehendaki seperti yang sedang ditunjukkan oleh wakil-wakil dalam Persidangan Kongres.

Begitu juga pada hari semalam Dewan Rakyat telah meluluskan satu undang-undang bagi menubuhkan satu Lembaga Pasaran Barang keluaran tanaman-tanaman. Lembaga ini akan mempunyai tanggungjawab yang penuh dalam hal menjalankan pasaran-pasaran kepada barang-barang yang dikeluarkan oleh penduduk-penduduk luar bandar terutama sekali daripada bumiputera. Pasaran ialah satu lapangan yang penting untuk menolong rakyat di luar bandar iaitu bumiputera menambah dan meluaskan pendapatan mereka daripada usaha dan tenaga mereka sendiri.

Oleh itu dicadangkan Lembaga Pasaran ini akan bekerjasama dengan rapatnya dengan Lembaga Pembangunan Iktisad itu. Kesimpulannya, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, dalam tiga hari ini iaitu hari semalam, hari ini dan hari besok, kita membuka lipatan sejarah yang baharu dalam lapangan pembangunan. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, ahli-ahli Kongres sekalian telah datang dari jauh dan dekat untuk menghamburkan buah fikiran dan pendapat masing-masing terhadap cara-cara hendak memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera. Pendapat dan pandangan-pandangan ini akan dapat menggambarkan kepada Kerajaan cita-cita dan hasrat rakyat bumiputera sekalian dalam lapangan iktisad ini, dan pandangan dan pendapat serta hasrat itu akan memberi panduan yang jelas kepada Kerajaan di atas cara-cara yang Kerajaan akan mengambil langkah

menolong dan memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera. Begitu juga pada pagi ini kita telah mula menubuhkan bangunan untuk satu badan yang baharu yang akan mempunyai tanggungjawab penting dalam lapangan iktisad ini. Kerajaan berazam hendak mengambil apa juga langkah yang patut untuk memberi peluang yang lebih lanjut, lebih luas kepada bumiputera negeri ini. Saya sendiri faham untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi, kita berkehendakkan usaha dan tenaga dan satu badan bukan sahaja progresif seperti yang dikatakan oleh ahli Kongres semalam, bahkan satu badan yang dinamik yang boleh sebenarnya menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dengan sepenuhnya. Lembaga inilah yang hendak kita lahirkan hari ini dan Lembaga ini, saya harap Kongres sendiri akan memberi nama yang sesuai dengan kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dan kerajaan akan memberi nyawa dan jiwa yang baharu, akan memberi tenaga yang penuh kepada Lembaga ini untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat bumiputera dalam usaha memperbaiki ekonomi mereka itu.

Bagi penutupnya, saya suka sebutkan cita-cita hendak mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan ini bukanlah satu perkara yang pelik, susah ataupun luar biasa akan tetapi seperti perusahaan-perusahaan dan pekerjaan-perkerjaan yang lain perkara yang penting sekali dikehendaki ialah latihan yang sempurna, pengetahuan dan pengalaman supaya dapat bertanding dan berlawan dengan orang-orang yang telah pun mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan ini. Tanggungjawab Kerajaan saya sebutkan ialah terang dan nyata iaitu Kerajaan akan memberi sepenuh-penuh peluang sama ada latihan dan juga pertolongan-pertolongan lain dengan harapan dan kepercayaan bumiputera sekalian akan menggunakan peluang ini dengan sepenuhnya. Saya sendiri yakin dan percaya dengan kerjasama yang penuh daripada Kerajaan dan daripada bumiputera sendiri dan dengan semangat dan jiwa yang baharu daripada kedua-dua pihak, kehendak dan hasrat rakyat dalam lapangan ekonomi ini dengan izin Tuhan akan dapat dihasilkan.

Sekianlah sahaja, dengan ini saya sukacita mengisytiharkan perletakan batu asas bagi bangunan Lembaga ini dan saya berdoa kepada Tuhan mudah-mudahan bangunan ini akan memberi nikmat-nikmat dan faedah-faedah yang dikehendaki oleh semua golongan.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI, DALAM UPACARA PENUTUP KONGRES EKONOMI BUMIPUTERA DI DEWAN TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 7 JUN, 1965

Yang Berhormat Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Pemandu, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan Sidang Perwakilan Sekalian,

Alhamdulillah Syukur Kehadrat Tuhan Rabbul'alamin, cita-cita Kerajaan hendak mengadakan Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera telah selamat disempurnakan. Pada tiga hari yang lalu, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sidang perwakilan sekalian telah berkumpul di Dewan ini berunding, berfikir, bertukar-tukar fikiran di atas perkara yang sangat penting bukan sahaja untuk bumiputera Malaysia ini bahkan untuk kemajuan, keamanan dan keselamatan negara kita ini.

Saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan wakil-wakil dari Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri, pertubuhan-pertubuhan perniagaan, Ahli-ahli Dewan Rakyat dan Dewan Negara yang telah sudi menerima jemputan kerajaan untuk menghadiri Persidangan Kongres ini. Saya suka juga mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada rakan saya, Y.B. Encik Mohd. Khir Johari, yang telah menjadi Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Pemandu dan juga Pengerusi Persidangan ini. Begitu juga saya ucapkan berbilang terima kasih dan tahniah kepada ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Pemandu dan juga kepada pegawai-pegawai yang telah menjalankan pekerjaan beberapa bulan yang lalu untuk mengadakan persiapan-persiapan bagi Kongres ini, terutama sekali Encik Ishak bin Tadin yang menjadi Setiausaha Kerja Kongres ini.

Kongres ini telah diadakan oleh Kerajaan Pusat di bawah anjuran Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar. Saya sendiri telah bercita-cita hendak mengadakan Kongres ini beberapa tahun yang lalu sebagai memulakan satu tingkatan dalam usaha kerajaan hendak memajukan iktisad negara kita ini, terutama sekali hendak memaju dan memperbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat yang duduk di luar bandar. Akan tetapi mustahaklah kita adakan Kongres semacam ini pada masa dan ketika yang kita fikirkan benar-benar sesuai. Ada setengah orang sebahagian daripada ahli-ahli Persidangan ini mengatakan Kongres ini sudah lama patut diadakan. Saya tidak bersetuju dengan pandangan itu sungguhpun kita telah lama ada mempunyai cita-cita hendak mengadakan Kongres ini tetapi masa yang kita adakan Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang julung kali ini sangatlah tepat dan sesuai.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan mengetahui selepas kita mencapai kemerdekaan dan selepas kita telah amankan tanahair kita ini daripada pegganas-pegganas komunis, kerajaan telah menjalankan rancangan pembangunan luar bandar yang raksaksa bagi memberi kemudahan-kemudahan hidup kepada rakyat seperti jalanraya, sekolah-sekolah, tempat-tempat berubat, bekalan air dan sebagainya. Tujuan kita menjalankan rancangan-rancangan ini bukanlah semata-mata untuk hendak memberi kemudahan-kemudahan yang mustahak yang difikirkan patut rakyat negara ini mempunyainya akan tetapi ialah hendak menunjukkan kepada rakyat bahawa kemerdekaan tanahair kita itu bermakna yang kita semua rakyat negara ini bagaimana miskin dan bagaimana jauh mereka duduk daripada bandar-bandar dan sungguhpun tidak tahu membaca dan menulis, boleh mendapat kemajuan-kemajuan dan kemudahan-kemudahan dan kesenangan-kesenangan yang berlebih-lebihan lagi. Oleh itu dengan adanya rancangan-rancangan yang saya sebutkan tadi disampaikan ke kampung-kampung, ke segala ceruk rantau tanah air kita ini dengan adanya rancangan-rancangan kelas-kelas dewasa untuk membasmi buta huruf, membolehkan rakyat negara kita ini yang tidak ada peluang hendak belajar membaca dan menulis boleh membaca dan menulis, dapatlah timbul perasaan di kalangan rakyat iaitu perasaan dan keinginan kepada kemajuan, kepada perubahan-perubahan dan kepada taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi, lebih bahagia daripada yang ada sekarang ini. Dengan adanya rakyat jelata seluruhnya terutama sekali ahli-ahli bumiputera menunjukkan semangat dan perasaan ingin kepada kemajuan, semangat bersedia hendak berusaha dan berkorban, bekerja dan bertenaga untuk mendapatkan kemajuan itu, baharulah boleh kita adakan Kongres yang semacam ini kerana Kongres ini ialah tujuannya hendak mengetahui akan hasrat dan kehendak rakyat dalam lapangan ekonomi negeri ini dan jikalau rakyat tidak dapat hendak menunjukkan perasaan dan kehendak dan hasrat mereka itu tentulah Kongres yang semacam ini tidak memberi faedah yang kita kehendaki.

Dengan sebab itu pihak kerajaan sungguhpun kita ada cita-cita hendak mengadakan Kongres ini beberapa tahun yang lalu telah menetapkan sekarang ini sebagai masa yang sesuai bagi mengadakan Kongres supaya wakil-wakil daripada bumiputera daripada semua lapisan dapat menghambur buah fikiran dan pandangan-pandangan mereka dan menghamburkan cita-cita dan hasrat mereka itu dalam lapangan ekonomi.

Dalam tiga hari yang lalu, baik dalam Persidangan Penuh ataupun dalam Persidangan Kumpulan Kerja, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dapat memikir, memberi buah fikiran dan berunding bersama-sama bukan sahaja untuk menunjuk hasrat dan kehendak tuan-tuan dan puan-puan untuk mencari jalan dan ikhtiar bagi mengatasi masalah yang sangat penting dan mustahak ini. Saya sendiri sungguhpun tidak bersama dalam persidangan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, telah dapat juga mendengar per-

bincangan baik dalam Persidangan Penuh dan juga dalam Persidangan Kumpulan Kerja dan saya sendiri dapat mendengar kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat-hasrat tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dan dapat mengetahui bagaimana kuat dan hangatnya semangat ahli-ahli persidangan sekalian dalam menghadapi masalah memperbaiki iktisad atau ekonomi bumiputera ini.

Pada petang ini saya adalah dikehendaki menutup Persidangan ini yang telah dibuka oleh Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri pada 5 haribulan yang lalu. Saya harap tuan-tuan dan puan-puan tidak silap faham di atas tanggungjawab Menteri-menteri dan pekerjaan-pekerjaan Menteri-menteri bukan semata-mata menutup pintu yang telah dibuka oleh Perdana Menteri dan lagi pada fikiran saya istiadat penutup ini adalah silap digunakan dalam upacara penting ini. Tutup ini maknanya kita hentikan pekerjaan kita hari ini, tetapi hari ini ialah permulaan pekerjaan-pekerjaan dan tanggungjawab Kongres.

Seperti saya telah sebutkan, dalam tiga hari yang lalu tuan-tuan dan puan-puan telah memikir dan membincangkan atas beberapa perkara dan telah mendatangkan keputusan-keputusan yang tuan-tuan dan puan-puan serahkan kepada saya pada hari ini. Saya dengan sukacita dan besar hati menerima dan saya mengaku dengan seberapa daya upaya dengan apa jua tenaga yang diberi oleh Tuhan kepada saya dan rakan-rakan saya, Menteri-Menteri yang lain dalam kerajaan Perikatan, kami akan jalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat tuan-tuan dan rakyat-rakyat sekalian dengan sepenuh-penuhnya. Akan tetapi tanggungjawab bagi menjalankan keputusan-keputusan itu ialah tanggungjawab bersama, tanggungjawab kerajaan, tanggungjawab Kongres dan juga tanggungjawab rakyat bumiputera sekalian. Dengan sebab itu saya telah berkata yang Kongres ini belumlah ditutup, bahkan upacara pada petang ini ialah upacara permulaan kita bekerja, berusaha dan bertenaga menitikkan peluh yang ada dalam badan kita untuk mencapai cita-cita yang kita kehendaki itu. Tiga hari setelah bercakap, berunding dan bertukar fikiran, sekarang sampailah masanya kita bekerja, kita tunai dan laksanakan apa yang telah kita cakap dan apa yang kita telah tulis dalam ketetapan-ketetapan yang ada di hadapan kita pada hari ini.

Ketetapan-ketetapan, hasrat-hasrat dan cita-cita rakyat tidak dapat dilaksanakan semata-mata di atas kertas atau dalam buku yang indah rupanya atau semata-mata dengan menggunakan pensil atau kertas, kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat-hasrat ini hanya dapat disempurnakan dengan tiap-tiap orang, baik Menteri-Menteri, Pegawai-Pegawai Kerajaan, Ahli-ahli Kongres dan seterusnya rakyat bumiputera sekalian menumpukan sepenuh-penuhnya usaha dan tenaga untuk menjalankan keputusan ini.

Sebagai kerajaan yang dipilih oleh rakyat, Kerajaan Perikatan sedia hendak mengatur akan jentera pentadbiran untuk melaksanakan kehendak-kehendak kita ini. Sedia hendak mengatur dasar untuk mencapai cita-cita kita iaitu dasar yang boleh mendapat kemajuan dengan sebenar-benarnya. Akan tetapi kemajuan itu bukan ada di tangan Menteri-Menteri, Perdana Menteri ataupun Menteri-Menteri yang lain, kemajuan itu hanya duduk dalam urat nadi dan titik peluh tiap-tiap seorang wakil-wakil yang hadir di sini dan tiap-tiap seorang ahli bumiputera di seluruh negara kita. Kemajuan hanya akan tercapai dengan usaha dan tenaga yang penuh daripada segala gulungan rakyat.

Di dalam persidangan selama tiga hari itu banyak wakil-wakil yang telah menyebut tentang kelemahan-kelemahan dan kekurangan di kalangan bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi ini pada masa yang telah lepas dan banyak wakil-wakil yang menyebut kesilapan-kesilapan yang telah dibuat pada masa yang lepas. Sekarang, pada hari ini marilah kita lupakan semua perkara-perkara yang lepas itu, perkara yang telah jadi itu tak siapa pun boleh membetulkannya. Kerajaan tidak boleh menukarkannya, Allah s.w.t. saja yang boleh menukarkan perkara yang telah terjadi itu. Perkara itu sudah habis, sekarang marilah kita pandang ke hadapan. Kita berkuasa dan berhak dengan izin Tuhan menukarkan kedudukan kita, untung nasib bangsa kita pada masa yang akan datang, bahkan kita berkuasa membentuk kedudukan bangsa dan negara kita pada masa yang akan datang. Marilah kita bersama-sama mengubah kedudukan kita pada masa yang akan datang, membentuk ekonomi kita dengan cara dan keadaan yang baharu. Inilah pada fikiran saya, ketetapan yang besar dan penting sekali yang patut kita ambil pada Kongres ini iaitu kita semua mengaku berazam bukan sahaja hendak memperbaiki iktisad bumiputera, bukan sahaja hendak memberi peluang yang lebih luas kepada bumiputera dalam lapangan ekonomi, bahkan kita berazam juga bahawa perusahaan dan kemajuan-kemajuan yang kita akan capai dalam lapangan ekonomi bagi negara kita ini adalah sama dengan kemajuan-kemajuan yang telah dicapai oleh negeri-negeri yang lain yang telah berkemajuan di dunia.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa tanggungjawab kerajaan ialah mengatur dan menyediakan jentera untuk melaksanakan cita-cita dan kehendak-kehendak Kongres ini dan untuk mengatur dan mengadakan rancangan-rancangan yang sempurna, ini saya mengakui yang kerajaan dan saya sendiri sebagai Menteri yang bertanggungjawab akan menjalankannya. Pada hari semalam, pada masa meletakkan batu asas bangunan RIDA yang baharu, saya telah terangkan cadangan kerajaan hendak mengubah kedudukan RIDA itu hendak memberinya rupa, bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang baharu dan pada hari ini Kongres telah memberi Lembaga itu nama yang baharu -- MARA. Lembaga --

MARA — akan bertanggungjawab menolong dan menjalankan ikhtiar-ikhtiar untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera. Saya telah mengatur iaitu Lembaga MARA ini akan mempunyai beberapa Bahagian-bahagian Gerakan atau Operational Division: Bahagian Latihan; Bahagian Perusahaan; Bahagian Bantuan Wang; Bahagian Pentadbiran yang mengandungi satu planning dan research dan Bahagian Pengangkutan.

**Bahagian Latihan:** Bahagian ini akan bertanggungjawab mengadakan latihan-latihan yang dikehendaki seperti yang terkandung dalam kertas Kongres ini iaitu Dewan Latihan yang ada sekarang ini akan diperbesar dan diperluaskan supaya dapat memberi latihan-latihan yang lebih sempurna lagi kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera yang hendak mengambil bahagian dalam perusahaan dan perniagaan. Begitu juga kita akan mengadakan Pusat-pusat Latihan di tempat-tempat yang tertentu di seluruh negara kita ini untuk memberi latihan dan pengalaman kepada ahli-ahli perniagaan sama ada yang baharu hendak menjalankan perniagaan atau pun yang sudah lama menjalankan perniagaan untuk menambah dan meluaskan pengalaman mereka itu. Kita akan memberi latihan bukan sahaja kepada beberapa ratus orang bahkan kita harap beberapa ribu ahli-ahli perniagaan bumiputera akan diberi latihan.

**Bahagian Bantuan Wang:** Mereka-mereka yang diberi latihan oleh Lembaga ini akan diberi pertolongan modal untuk menjalankan dan menjayakan perniagaan atau perusahaan dan kemudian daripada itu diberi pertolongan, nasihat, latihan dan anjuran. Lembaga ini tidak akan memberi pinjaman wang kepada orang-orang yang lain daripada mereka-mereka yang telah diberi latihan akan anjuran oleh Lembaga ini sendiri. Pinjaman bagi bumiputera yang lain akan disediakan kemudahan-kemudahan oleh Bank Rakyat atau Bank Bumiputera yang kerajaan hendak tumbuhkan tidak berapa lama lagi.

**Bahagian Perusahaan:** Bahagian ini akan mencari ikhtiar-ikhtiar untuk menubuhkan perusahaan-perusahaan sama ada perusahaan besar, sederhana atau kecil su-

paya rakyat dan bumiputera dapat mengambil bahagian yang sepenuh-penuhnya dalam lapangan perusahaan. Tidak dapat tiada bagi permulaannya Lembaga ini terpaksa menubuhkan perusahaan-perusahaan tetapi diharap perusahaan-perusahaan itu setelah berjalan dengan baik dan licin, akan dapat diserahkan kepada rakyat bumiputera dan penduduk-penduduk luar bandar untuk menjalankannya sendiri.

**Bahagian Pentadbiran:** Bahagian ini ialah bertanggungjawab menjalankan pentadbiran Lembaga ini dan juga bertanggungjawab mengadakan satu Bahagian Rancangan dan Research iaitu bahagian untuk memikir dan mengatur rancangan-rancangan pada masa yang akan datang dan juga untuk menyemak pelaksanaan rancangan-rancangan yang telah dan sedang dijalankan supaya kemajuan-kemajuannya dari satu masa ke satu masa yang tercapai itu adalah tetap, tegas dan sempurna.

**Bahagian Pengangkutan:** Bahagian ini akan bertanggungjawab bagi mengelolakan perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan pengangkutan yang pada masa ini ada di bawah jagaan RIDA.

Seperti saya sebutkan semalam, Bahagian-bahagian Gerakan ini akan diketuai oleh seorang Timbalan Pengerusi yang diberi tanggungjawab yang baharu untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan di bawah bahagian-bahagian masing-masing. Kita berharap akan dapat mempunyai pegawai-pegawai yang sebenar-benarnya bersemangat dan bersedia, menumpukan sepenuh usaha dan tenaga bagi mengetuai bahagian-bahagian yang tersebut. Tiap-tiap bahagian akan dikehendaki mengadakan Bilik Gerakan masing-masing untuk menunjukkan kemajuan-kemajuan yang dicapainya dari satu masa ke satu masa.

Seperti yang saya terangkan semalam sungguhpun Lembaga MARA ini akan diberi tanggungjawab khas untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera dan sebuah Sekretariat yang sekarang ini di bawah Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan akan dipindahkan ke Lembaga ini dan Lembaga ini adalah duduknya di bawah Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, iaitu di bawah jagaan saya sendiri, akan tetapi Lembaga ini sahaja tentu tidak dapat hendak melaksanakan dan menjayakan semua sekali

rancangan-rancangan yang dikehendaki dalam lapangan ini, melainkan Lembaga ini dapat kerjasama yang penuh daripada Lembaga-Lembaga yang lain seperti Lembaga Pasaran, Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Persekutuan, Lembaga FIDA dan Lembaga-Lembaga yang lain. Begitu juga mustahak MARA ini mendapat kerjasama yang penuh daripada Kementerian-Kementerian, Pejabat-Pejabat Kerajaan dan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Negeri, Kementerian-Kementerian seperti Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, Kementerian Pertanian dan Syarikat Kerjasama dan Kementerian Pelajaran ada mempunyai tugas masing-masing dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini dan juga Kerajaan-Kerajaan Negeri ada mempunyai tugas-tugas yang penting. Jadi, mustahaklah semua Pejabat-Pejabat Kerajaan dan Kementerian-Kementerian yang berkaitan ini bukan sahaja menunaikan kewajipan masing-masing dengan sempurnanya, bahkan memberi kerjasama yang penuh kepada MARA ini. Kemajuan hanya dapat dicapai dalam lapangan ekonomi bumiputera ini dengan semua Pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan, Kementerian-Kementerian dan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Negeri menumpukan sepenuh-penuh tenaga dengan satu tujuan, satu hati dan satu hasrat untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini. Hanya dengan cara yang semacam ini dapat kita mencapai kejayaan-kejayaan yang cemerlang. Kertas-kertas Kerja Kongres ini dan juga ketetapan-ketetapan yang diperbuat oleh Kongres pada hari ini akan menjadi panduan kepada Kerajaan dan kepada MARA ini untuk menjalankan tugas-tugas mereka itu. Seperti saya sebutkan pada pagi semalam sungguhpun dalam usaha memajukan ekonomi rakyat ini kita berkehendakkan menggunakan hasil-hasil bumi yang ada di negara kita ini seperti bijih timah, getah, barang-barang keluaran hutan dan sebagainya, tetapi hasil atau kekuatan yang mustahak sekali yang patut kita gunakan dalam lapangan ini ialah kekuatan tenaga rakyat. Kita mustahak menggunakan orang-orang yang mempunyai pengalaman, pengetahuan, semangat dan jiwa kebangsaan untuk menjadi ahli-ahli MARA ini dan menolong bersama-sama melaksanakan dasar dan rancangan-rancangan dan hasrat kita hendak memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera itu. Saya harap Kongres ini sifatkan MARA itu ialah anak kandung Kongres sendiri. Kongres telah pun memberi namanya pada hari ini. MARA ini akan menjalankan kehendak dan cita-cita Kongres. Dengan sebab itu saya sangat sukacita bahawa Kongres telah bersetuju hendak mengadakan satu Sekretariat supaya pekerjaan-pekerjaan Kongres ini dapat diteruskan. Seperti saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa sebenar-benarnya pada hari ini Kongres ini bukanlah ditutup bahkan baharu mula hendak menjalankan kerja-kerjanya. Saya harap akan dapat kerjasama yang rapat di antara Kongres dengan MARA dan Kongres akan bersama-sama memperhati, mendidik, mengajar dan memelihara anak kandungnya sendiri iaitu MARA.

Pada petang ini saya tidaklah hendak mengulas satu persatu keputusan-keputusan yang telah diperbuat oleh Kongres ini, bahkan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sudah bercakap tiga hari lamanya. Segala ketetapan-ketetapan itu akan disemak dengan sehalus-halusnya dengan serta merta dan berpandukan kepada keputusan-keputusan itu kerajaan akan mengatur langkah untuk menyediakan rancangan-rancangan yang sempurna dan teratur bagi melancarkan cita-cita dan hasrat-hasrat Kongres ini dan hasrat rakyat bumiputera. Saya boleh menegaskan di sini bahawa tiap-tiap buah fikiran dan pandangan yang dikeluarkan oleh ahli-ahli Kongres akan diberi pertimbangan yang sehalus-halusnya oleh Kerajaan, akan disemak, diatur supaya dijadikan rancangan-rancangan yang boleh memberi kehasilan sepenuhnya kepada rakyat dan kepada bumiputera sekalian.

Saya menerima dengan besar hati cadangan Kongres, iaitu RIDA ditukarkan nama dan dijadikan MARA atau Majlis Amanah Rakyat bumiputera. Saya fikir nama ini sangat sesuai dengan kehendak dan hasrat rakyat bumiputera sekalian. Begitu juga ketetapan Kongres supaya ditubuhkan sebuah Bank Bumiputera itu, kerajaan telah pun menimbang perkara ini dan diharap bank yang dikehendaki itu dapat ditubuhkan tidak berapa lama lagi. Begitu juga setengah-setengah daripada perkara yang terkandung dalam 69 ketetapan yang dibuat oleh Kongres ini, kerajaan telah pun mula mengambil langkah menjalankannya. Lapangan tanah, umpamanya, cadangan kerajaan supaya mencantumkan tanah yang tidak ekonomi dalam kawasan luar bandar itu, saya telah pun melantik satu jawatankuasa untuk menyediakan undang-undang bagi menubuhkan satu lembaga yang akan bertanggungjawab di atas hal ini, iaitu lembaga Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority.

Begitu juga untuk menyemak dan mengawasi pelaksanaan segala keputusan dan syor-syor yang dibuat oleh Kongres, saya akan melantik sebuah jawatankuasa seperti dikehendaki oleh Kongres. Dalam persidangan Kongres ini tuan-tuan dan puan-puan telah diberi sepenuhnya peluang untuk mengeluarkan buah fikiran yang tulus ikhlas. Inilah sebenar-benarnya menunjukkan yang Kerajaan Perikatan berdasarkan demokrasi bukan sahaja dalam lapangan siasah bahkan dalam lapangan iktisad juga. Kerajaan adalah menerima pandangan dan buah fikiran yang bebas, yang ikhlas yang diberi oleh rakyat. Saya sentiasa sebutkan Kerajaan Perikatan sentiasa berdamping dengan rakyat, sedia hendak menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat-hasrat rakyat. Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dan ahli-ahli bumiputera sekalian bolehlah berpuas hati bahawa dalam usaha memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dan bumiputera sekalian telah bersama-sama mengeluarkan buah fikiran, bersama-sama menyediakan dasar dan

rancangan-rancangan dan bersama-sama melaksanakan rancangan itu. Inilah contoh yang sebenar-benarnya menunjukkan kita ini berdasarkan demokrasi dan menjalankan demokrasi dengan betul dan ikhlas.

Dalam negara demokrasi, kerajaan dan rakyat itu ialah satu kerajaan yang dipilih oleh rakyat iaitu dalam menjalankan rancangan-rancangan untuk memperbaiki ekonomi bumiputera ini mustahaklah rakyat dan kerajaan itu mempunyai kerjasama yang sepenuhnya.

Rakyat telah memberi mandat kepada kerajaan untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat-hasrat mereka, kerajaan bertanggungjawab menyediakan jentera dan mengatur rancangan-rancangan yang hendak dijalankan, akan tetapi dalam melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan itu rakyat dan kerajaan mustahaklah bersama-sama menumpu dan mencurahkan usaha dan tenaga mereka itu. Saya telah sebutkan tadi, kemajuan sesuatu bangsa itu bukanlah dalam tangan kerajaan bahkan bukanlah dalam tangan Menteri, tetapi ialah dalam tangan, dalam nadi dan titik peluh tiap-tiap orang rakyat negara ini. Oleh itu kalau kita semua ada mempunyai keazaman, semangat dan jiwa ingin kepada kemajuan, semangat dan jiwa berani dan bersedia bekerja, berkorban dan bertena-ga, dengan berkat Tuhan kemajuan-kemajuan akan tercapai. Inilah pesan dan harapan saya kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, kepada Kongres ini dan kepada bumiputera seluruhnya.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, langkah kita mengadakan Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera ini bolehlah dibandingkan sama dengan langkah Kerajaan Amerika melancarkan angkasawan-angkasawannya ke angkasa lepas. Kerajaan dan Kongres ini telah melancarkan angkasawan ke angkasa lepas ekonomi supaya dapat bumiputera mengambil bahagian yang lebih sempurna, lebih penting dan akhirnya mendapat kejayaan dan kemakmuran yang kita kehendaki. Kita telah lancarkan bukannya GEMINI bahkan MARA ke angkasa lepas dengan penuh harapan bahawa kapal angkasa lepas kita itu dapat membawa kita kepada kesenangan dan kemakmuran.

Sekianlah sahaja, saya ucapkan kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan selamat balik ke tempat masing-masing dan saya ucapkan Kongres ini terus maju dan berjaya.

TR: 4:6:65

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE Y'S  
MEN CLUB OF SINGAPORE AT PRINCESS RESTAU-  
RANT, SINGAPORE ON 19TH JUNE, 1965

I am extremely happy to have this opportunity of meeting and addressing the members of the Y's Men Club and their guests here today. In fact, every time I came to Singapore, I had always welcomed the opportunity to meet the people of Singapore. I hope to visit Singapore regularly and I would be even happier to meet more people and, if humanly possible, every single Malaysian living on this island.

I would like to thank the president, committee members and members of Y's Men's Club for this kind invitation to lunch and to address you all. I am indeed very happy and honoured to be your guest this afternoon. As you know, Ladies and Gentlemen, our country Malaysia is a new nation barely two years old.

Therefore there is so much for all of us to do to consolidate our newly won independence to give our people a better deal, a higher standard of living and better amenities of life. If all of us could devote our energies towards this one aim, towards our immediate task of building a united and happy nation then we all stand to gain so much by it.

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

Our immediate task is to build and consolidate this new nation of ours to face the challenges of the present, Indonesian confrontation as well as disrupting elements within our midst. That is why it is so important that all of us should do everything possible to consolidate our country and not to allow any section of our community, much less a certain person to say or do anything that would disrupt our country and the unity of our people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We share the same ideals, hopes and aspirations as all newly developing countries of Asia and Africa. That is why we have always said we want to live in peace with all nations including Indonesia but international peace must be based on respect of each other's independence and integrity. In this confrontation by Indonesia against us, African and Asian countries have now realised who are in the wrong.

When I visited Africa recently all the leaders I met expressed the wish that our trouble with Indonesia should be settled peacefully. I told them we are always ready to talk about peace. Even at the Conference in Algiers if we are admitted we will be pleased to seek any attempt to solved our differences with Indonesia. But I make it clear to our friends in Africa and in Asia that cannot be peace unless aggression is stopped.

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

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

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

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

However, lately as a result of utterances by some politicians in bringing up and magnifying sensitive issues and showing that there is a possible disunity among our people. Any sign that there is a loophole of slowing down in our determination and our will to face this confrontation as a united people, Indonesia would be encouraged to dominate or crush us.

Indeed if we continue to show disunity then President Soekarno need do very little to crush us; we would crush ourselves by our own hands. Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is of the utmost importance that the various races in Malaysia should remain united. Our greatest asset is racial harmony; our salvation is national unity.

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

While we continue to build Malaysia, our urgent job is to sustain national solidarity and the maintenance of law and order in this country. What is imperative is the imbibing of a sense of belonging to one national and a common identity and loyalty. Ironically, confrontation has provided an impetus to this process of nation-building of our various communities.

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

We must realise, as they all know, that it is very important that the spirit of compromise and understanding between the various races always exist in Malaysia because until a truly "homogenous society" emerges, we will have to make adjustments here and there as we go along the road to nationhood.

It is imperative that along this journey to one nationhood all should appreciate the sensitivity of various communities. In this great task that we face in building a united nation from among our people of various races, we must all the time be able to carry our people with us. Our people have lived for generations in different communities and it is difficult for them to forget overnight that they belong to different communities.

Therefore as a first essential step it is necessary to sustain and strengthen the harmony and goodwill, the friendship that exist among our people and as we go along making adjustments here and there we should make our people of various races feel they have a rightful place in our country.

Once this is done, it may take years, it may take generations to do it, then we will have a united people and our people would be able to guard themselves as members of one nation rather than as members of different communities.

Our approach must be cautious and realistic because we must be sure that we succeed, because if we do not there will be no hope for all of us, no hope for our country and our people.

When our Prime Minister the Tunku announced on the 27th of May 1961 his concept of Malaysia at the Foreign Correspondents Association of Singapore he said among other things that territories in Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei should be brought together in political and economic cooperation. And this will come about if our people of all races think of themselves as Malaysians and have Malaysia as the sole objective of their loyalty.

The attitude of the Alliance Government in this has not changed and this is our concept of Malaysia – i.e. to unite these various territories so that our people in these territories, Malays, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians, Ibans, Kadazans and others could be brought together into one sovereign and independent country to which they owe their undivided loyalty.

We have to build a new nation out of our people of various communities. There is no question that our new country should belong to any particular community or group. We decided to establish this new nation for all of us, for all its citizens of all races. However in this process of integrating these territories and of assimilating our people of different races, there must be adjustment, compromise and a spirit to give and take.

It takes time for the new territories of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak to be integrated from a colonial rule to a new set up under independence.

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

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

It took some time for people in Kelantan and Trengganu to regard the people of Johore as their own brothers and sisters, members of one nation. It took some years for the administrative set up to be adjusted,

for the machinery of Government to be put into a proper working order.

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

We succeeded in taking away State loyalties and subordinate to the loyalties of the Central Government.

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

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

Constitutionally and administratively we are a federation of States. We must therefore give time for the various State Government machinery to adjust themselves and for the Central Government and the various State Governments to work together in harmony and in cooperation.

In order that our people of various races who under the British were allowed and encouraged to live as separate and different communities, to adjust themselves and to make them feel that they are members of one nation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Man is born free; yet is not free.

He is born equal to others and yet not equal to others.

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

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

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

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

Capitalism too is more the unbridled force it once was: enlightened capitalism of the early 18th Century – the workhouse – has given way to cost-of-living allowances, maternity benefits, age old pensions and others benefits of the modern industrial and technological groups.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We will do this within our constitutional set up under our system of Parliamentary democracy. Our policy is to endeavour to level up and not level down. We want to give our people of all races the rightful place in our society in our country. That is why Ladies and Gentlemen, it is important for us to look at all our problems through the right perspective. We would be doing a great disservice to our country whoever it may be if we endeavour to draw a wedge between the different communities or to rise to power through communal issues.

It has been my great pleasure to meet you all today and it is during moments such as this that I feel proud and happy to know of the abundance of goodwill and the wealth of talents in our country and whatever your professions and inclinations are, you all represent the hopes of our Nation and I am sure that in whatever sphere you are in you will be playing a great part in the shaping of our nation. Ladies and Gentlemen, Malaysia is our country and we must all defend it.

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

STATEMENT BY THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER ON  
THE OCCASION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS ON 25TH JUNE, 1965

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

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

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

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

Apart from being an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and differences perhaps one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations has been its contribution towards hastening the process of decolonisation and independence to subject

peoples, particularly in Africa. As a newly independent State, Malaysia is most sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the peoples in the non-independent territories. It is therefore actively participating in all efforts in the United Nations to bring about developments towards early independence for the remaining dependent territories.

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

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

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DAN MENTERI PERTAHANAN DI MAJLIS PENYAMPAIAN HADIAH HARI PERAYAAN SAMBUTAN JUBILEE INTAN KOLEJ MELAYU, KUALA KANGSAR, DI DEWAN BESAR KOLEJ MELAYU, KUALA KANGSAR PADA 26 JUN, 1965

D.Y.M.M. Sultan Pahang<sup>1</sup>, D.Y.M.M. Sultan Perak<sup>2</sup>, D.Y.M.M. Sultan-sultan, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Gabenor Pulau Pinang dan Melaka, Guru Besar, Guru-guru, Datuk Yang diPertua Persatuan Murid-murid Tua, Tuan-tuan dan Penuntut-penuntut sekalian yang hadir.

Saya berasa amat bangga disebabkan sebagai seorang murid tua Maktab ini dapat hadir bersama-sama dalam upacara menyambut Hari Ulang Tahun Jubilee Intan Maktab Melayu atau Malay College. Begitu juga saya fikir tuan-tuan dan penuntut-penuntut sekalian berasa besar hati dan bangga oleh sebab beberapa orang murid-murid tua dari seluruh cerok rantau negara kita telah dapat hadir bersama-sama di temasya yang bersejarah ini. Murid-murid tua Maktab ini, termasuklah Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan-sultan, D.Y.M.M. Sultan Brunei, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Gabenor-gabenor dan juga pegawai-pegawai tinggi Kerajaan serta orang-orang yang ternama dalam semua lapangan perusahaan dan kehidupan di negara kita ini.

Maktab ini seperti yang tuan-tuan sekalian maklum, telah didirikan 60 tahun dahulu, untuk memberi latihan kepada putera-putera Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-raja Melayu, anak-anak orang ternama, pembesar-pembesar negara, supaya mereka itu dapat menerima pelajaran dan latihan yang sempurna untuk menyesuaikan diri mereka itu memegang jawatan mentadbirkan negeri-negeri Melayu itu. Pada 50 tahun lamanya dari tahun 1905 hingga tahun 1955 Maktab ini telah memenuhi tugas yang dikehendaki dengan sempurna dan ramai murid-murid yang keluar dari Maktab ini telah mendapat memegang jawatan-jawatan tinggi dalam pentadbiran Negeri-negeri dalam Semenanjung Tanah Melayu dahulu. Begitu juga Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia dan tuan-tuan sekalian, murid-murid tua Maktab ini mengetahui bagaimana Maktab ini dijaga, ditadbir dari satu masa ke satu masa untuk memenuhi tujuan-tujuan dan kehendak yang sebenar. Di Maktab ini, latihan-latihan yang diberi bukan sahaja semata-mata untuk membolehkan

<sup>1</sup>D.Y.M.M. Sultan Abu Bakar Ri'ayatuddin Al-Mu'adzam Shah ibni Al-Marhum Al-Mu'tasim Billah Al-Sultan Abdullah.

<sup>2</sup>D.Y.M.M. Sultan Idris Al-Mutawakkil Alallah Shah ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Iskandar Shah Kadasallah.

murid-murid mendapat sijil kelulusan – Sijil Senior Cambridge atau pun yang lain-lain – akan tetapi latihan-latihan yang diberi di Maktab ini ialah untuk membolehkan murid-murid, apabila sudah lulus dari Maktab ini, menjadi ketua-ketua, penganjur-penganjur di dalam negara kita ini. Dengan sebab itu latihan-latihan di Maktab ini berlainan dengan latihan-latihan yang didapati di sekolah-sekolah yang lain pada masa yang lampau di negara kita ini disebabkan di Maktab ini selain daripada latihan-latihan dan pelajaran yang didapati di bangku sekolah, latihan di luar bangku sekolah pun diutamakan juga supaya memberi didikan tingkah laku dan tatatertib untuk membolehkan murid-murid yang keluar dari Maktab ini menjelma kehidupan alam dunia dan dapat mengatasi masalah yang dihadapinya. Selain daripada latihan-latihan permainan olahraga yang memberi ajaran kepada kita iaitu jika hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam kehidupan kita, mustahaklah sentiasa mencuba dengan bersungguh-sungguh. Murid-murid yang belajar di bawah Tuan Basell tahu perkataan-perkataan yang sentiasa disebut-sebutnya iaitu – belum mati lagi mana boleh tak boleh – perkataan-perkataan ini menerangkan bahawa di dalam alam kehidupan kita ini, kita mustahaklah sentiasa menumpukan sepenuh-penuh usaha dan tenaga kita jika hendak mendapat kejayaan. Begitu juga kadang-kadang kita dibawa berjalan masuk hutan dan mendaki bukit dengan tujuan hendak menunjukkan iaitu kehidupan di alam ini sentiasa dihadapi oleh berbagai masalah dan kesukaran seperti kita mendaki bukit juga. Akan tetapi kalau kita tekun dan bersungguh-sungguh mendaki bukit itu, kita tetap akan sampai ke kemuncak. Begitu juga kehidupan di dunia, kalau betul-betul berusaha dan sentiasa menumpukan tenaga kita dalam apa jua pekerjaan dan perusahaan, kita akan sampai ke kemuncak yang tinggi sekali.

Pada tahun 1955 saya telah dapat hadir di temasya yang bersejarah bagi Maktab ini iaitu Temasya Jubilee Emas. Pada masa itu saya menjadi Menteri Pelajaran. Dalam ucapan yang saya telah buat di upacara itu pada masa itu, saya telah sebutkan iaitu menurut peredaran masa, disebabkan kita telah mengadakan pilihanraya kebangsaan dan tidak berapa lama lagi negara kita akan mencapai kemerdekaan, mustahaklah kedudukan Maktab ini diubah menurut dasar demokrasi yang kita amalkan iaitu Maktab ini bukan sahaja diuntukkan kepada putera-putera Duli-duli Yang Maha Mulia dan anak-anak pembesar-pembesar negara bahkan kepada murid-murid Melayu yang lain yang mempunyai kelayakan supaya Maktab ini sebenarnya terus menjadi tiang seri bagi pelajaran anak-anak Melayu dalam negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini. Oleh itu dengan dasar yang baharu ini Maktab ini telah diperbesarkan dan mengandungi beberapa kali ganda ramainya murid-murid daripada masa yang telah lalu. Sukacita saya mengetahui bahawa sungguhpun ada perubahan, perubahan kedudukan Maktab ini dan

dengan bertambah ramai bilangan murid-muridnya, Maktab ini masih lagi menjalankan dasar-dasarnya yang asal dan terus memberi latihan-latihan dan didikan kepada anak-anak Melayu dan bumiputera untuk mereka itu mengambil bahagian yang penting dalam pentadbiran dan perusahaan negara kita ini.

Nyatalah, Maktab ini ialah bertanggungjawab bagi mendidik ketua-ketua dan penganjur-penganjur yang berdasarkan demokrasi berparlimen. Pada fikiran saya, menjadi penganjur dalam lapangan tentera atau military lebih senang daripada menjadi penganjur dalam lapangan siasah dan pentadbiran. Penganjur dalam lapangan tentera ada mempunyai kesenangan-kesenangan dan kuasa-kuasa yang penting -- tentera-tentera di bawahnya adalah menurut tatatertib dan mustahak sentiasa menerima perintah-perintah yang diberikan. Kuasa penganjur tentera tidak dapat ditentang oleh sesiapa asalkan Kerajaan ada kepercayaan kepadanya dan tidak payah mengambil hati ketua-ketua di bawah jagaannya. Akan tetapi seorang Perdana Menteri dalam negara yang berdasarkan demokrasi mustahak sentiasa memujuk dan tidak boleh setiap masa memerintah rakan-rakannya, Menteri-menteri yang lain dan setiap masa ia kena memandang kepada pengundi-pengundi, rakyat jelata, kerana dalam beberapa tahun -- lima tahun sekali -- ia terpaksa pergi menemui rakyat untuk mendapatkan perintah atau mandat yang baharu. Oleh itu nyatalah penganjur-penganjur dalam lapangan siasah dan pentadbiran ada mempunyai tanggungjawab dan terpaksa menghadapi masalah-masalah yang lebih penting, lebih susah daripada penganjur-penganjur dalam lapangan tentera.

Tuan-tuan sekalian, murid-murid yang sedang dalam bangku sekolah tidak berapa lama lagi akan menghadapi kehidupan dunia yang senang lenang dan akan menjadi ketua-ketua dan penganjur-penganjur dalam berbagai-bagai lapangan kehidupan di negara kita ini. Kepada murid-murid tua yang sudah pun menjadi bukan sahaja murid tua Maktab ini bahkan murid tua dunia, tentulah masalah ini tidak berbangkit lagi. Akan tetapi murid-murid tua yang masih muda tentu ada peluang lagi untuk menunjukkan kebolehan mereka itu di dalam berbagai lapangan samada dalam jawatan atau pun lapangan perusahaan yang mereka itu jalankan pada masa ini. Sungguhpun dunia berubah dan keadaan turut juga berubah, tetapi syarat-syarat yang dikehendaki bagi seseorang yang hendak menjadi ketua dan penganjur tidak berubah.

Kesimpulannya ialah tiga perkara: satu, kepercayaan atau dalam bahasa Inggerisnya 'faith', kepercayaan kepada kebolehan diri sendiri dan kepercayaan kepada kehasilan kepada perkara yang hendak dibuat itu; kedua, semangat tulus ikhlas, kejujuran atau 'sincerity'; tiga,

keberanian atau 'courage'. Inilah tiga rukun yang mustahak dipunyai oleh seseorang yang hendak menjadi penganjur. Ia mustahak mempunyai sikap, pendirian yang pimpinan itu untuk menghadapi dan mendapat kemenangan dalam perlawanan siasah ekonomi, tipu helah dalam politik dan juga kenyataan politik dan bentuk Malaysia hari ini. Kita terpaksa bersedia untuk menghadapi keadaan-keadaan ini jika kita mahu kemajuan, kemakmuran dan memimpin negara kita yang dicintai ini.

Masalah pimpinan Malaysia adalah amat penting kerana sama ada Malaysia terus hidup atau tidak terletaklah pada sifat-sifat pemimpin-pemimpin Malaysia pada masa akan datang dan yang ada sekarang. Sama ada Malaysia terus menerus hidup subur, sama ada demokrasi akan terus hidup subur atau mati, sama ada kebebasan perseorangan akan terus menerus hidup di negara kita dengan bebasnya, terletak di atas corak pimpinan yang akan mengendalikan pemerintahan Malaysia.

Seperti tuan-tuan dan puan-puan maklum, parti-parti siasah berlawanan antara satu dengan lain untuk mendapat sokongan dari rakyat untuk memimpin mereka. Begitu juga ideologi-ideologi politik berlawanan antara satu dengan lain untuk mendapat sokongan dari rakyat. Negara kita ini terletak di suatu tempat yang sangat penting dari segi ketenteraan dan politik. Kerana negara kita di tengah-tengah dua benua, Tanah Besar Asia di utara dan Benua Australia dan New Zealand di selatan. Negara kita berkurun-kurun telah mendapat pengaruh-pengaruh politik, ugama, kebudayaan dari negara-negara China, India, Arab dan juga Eropah. Penduduk-penduduk negara kita yang berbilang bangsa ini menjadi masalah pimpinan yang penting dalam negara kita sekarang.

Soal pimpinan negara seperti negara Malaysia sebuah negara yang baharu boleh menarik pengikut-pengikutnya supaya menurut anjurannya dan ia mustahak tahu ke mana hendak dibawanya pengikut-pengikutnya itu dan apa sebenar-benarnya cita-cita dan tujuannya. Ia mustahak mempunyai kepercayaan yang penuh bahawa cita-cita dan tujuannya itu baik dan boleh dihasilkan.

Tuan-tuan sekalian, kita sekarang berada dalam alam yang huru-hara yang mempunyai fahaman dan pendapat atau ideologi yang bertentangan antara satu sama lain. Begitu juga kita sekarang berada dalam negara yang muda, yang baharu sahaja mencapai kemerdekaan dan mengambil tempatnya sebagai suatu negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat disamping negara-negara yang lain di dunia. Dengan itu tidak dapat tidak kita mempunyai masalah yang banyak dan kusut dan penganjur-penganjur kita pada masa yang akan datang mempunyai tanggungjawab

yang berat, lebih berat lagi daripada pengajur-penganjur kita pada masa yang telah lalu. Kita bertanggungjawab mengisi kemerdekaan yang telah kita capai itu dan kita bertanggungjawab membina suatu bangsa yang mempunyai taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara kita ini daripada rakyat negeri kita yang berasal dari berbagai bangsa itu, menjadi tanggungjawab kepada orang-orang Melayu atau bumiputera untuk menarik orang-orang daripada bangsa-bangsa asing yang telah menumpukan taat setianya kepada negara ini supaya ber-satupadu dan bekerjasama dengan sepenuhnya.

Kita tahu masalah hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa atau kebangsaan yang semacam ini adalah mengambil masa. Akan tetapi mustahak kita menjaga perhubungan baik di antara penduduk-penduduk di negeri ini supaya kita dapat menjamin keamanan dan kemajuan negara kita. Bagi pihak kerajaan Perikatan yang ada sekarang ini, Kerajaan faham bahawa dengan adanya kemerdekaan politik mustahak penduduk-penduduk negeri ini terutama orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera mendapat peluang-peluang dan bahagian-bahagian yang lebih luas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad, perniagaan dan kemajuan negara kita. Dengan sebab itu selepas sahaja kita mencapai kemerdekaan dan selepas sahaja kita mengamankan tanahair kita ini daripada pengganas komunis, Kerajaan telah menumpukan usaha dan tenaganya untuk kemajuan negara, untuk memberi kemudahan-kemudahan hidup kepada rakyat terutama sekali yang duduk di luar bandar dan di kampung-kampung. Sekarang ini Kerajaan telah meneruskan usaha-usahanya untuk meninggikan taraf hidup, hendak memberi rakyat peluang-peluang untuk lebih dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan. Orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera di negara kita ini tidak mempunyai kekuatan dan kebolehan untuk menjalankan usaha-usaha dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan, dengan sebab itu mustahaklah Kerajaan dan juga orang-orang dari bangsa asing memberi pertolongan kepada orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera supaya mereka itu boleh mendapat kemajuan dalam lapangan ini. Kerajaan adalah berazam hendak menjalankan dasar-dasar yang tertentu dan hendak menjalankan kehendak-kehendak dan hasrat-hasrat rakyat supaya rakyat negara kita ini dapat mempunyai taraf hidup dan kedudukan yang sempurna seimbang dengan rakyat-rakyat negeri-negeri lain yang telah merdeka dan telah mendapat kemajuan. Dengan itu tuan-tuan sekalian, kesimpulan masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh orang-orang yang hendak menjadi ketua dan penganjur pada masa yang akan datang, seperti tuan-tuan, adalah berlainan daripada masa yang telah lalu.

Saya suka berucap sedikit berkenaan dengan pimpinan negara Malaysia pada masa hadapan. Peluang untuk memimpin atau menjadi

pemimpin Malaysia pada masa sekarang ini tidak ada sempadan dan saya berharap murid-murid Malay College akan sentiasa bersedia untuk menerima latihan pimpinan dan pada suatu hari kelak memimpin negara ini. Ini adalah cabaran saya kepada murid-murid semua. Pimpinan dalam Malaysia pada hari ini oleh kerana perubahan politik dan ilmu alam negara kita tidaklah cara tradisional lagi. Pimpinan hari ini mestilah dinamik, jujur dan tegas jika pimpinan itu untuk menghadapi dan mendapat kemenangan dalam perlawanan siasah ekonomi, tipu helah dalam politik dan juga kenyataan politik dan bentuk Malaysia hari ini. Kita terpaksa bersedia untuk menghadapi keadaan-keadaan ini jika kita mahu kemajuan, kemakmuran dan memimpin negara kita yang dicintai ini.

Soal pimpinan negara seperti negara Malaysia sebuah negara yang baharu muncul dan sedang maju dan baru sahaja mencapai kemerdekaan sangatlah penting. Corak pimpinan Malaysia akan menentukan untung nasib negara kita ini pada masa akan datang, akan menentukan cara hidup rakyat dan bentuk bangsa dan negara kita. Apakah corak pimpinan yang akhirnya akan menguasai kuasa politik di negara kita ini? Disebabkan kita berdasarkan demokrasi dan kita mempunyai penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai bangsa yang mustahak menunjukkan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara kita mustahaklah corak pimpinan itu menentang tekanan-tekanan politik dan kebudayaan di sekeliling kita di Tenggara Asia ini. Dalam masa kita di-jajah soal pimpinan tidak timbul. Disebabkan tidak mustahak kita mengambil berat di atas perkara ini pimpinan Malaya pada masa itu diserahkan bulat-bulat kepada Kerajaan British dan pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan. Waktu itu kita tidak mempersoalkan perkara politik – masing-masing menjaga kehidupan bersendirian dan kita tidak dipengaruhi oleh kuasa-kuasa, anasir-anasir atau pengaruh-pengaruh dari luar oleh sebab kita dilindungi oleh British. Gerakan-gerakan kebangsaan waktu itu pun pada umumnya tidak ada. Orang-orang Melayu membuat halnya sendiri, duduk berkeadaan sendiri, begitu juga orang-orang China dan orang India dan bangsa-bangsa lain. Soal hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa yang meletakkan taat setianya kepada tanahair kita sepenuh-penuhnya tidak timbul. Saling mengerti dan perasaan persefahaman di satu bangsa dengan lain tidak timbul dan tidak digalakkan. Akan tetapi setelah peperangan dunia kedua, perasaan kebangsaan telah timbul dan cita-cita berkehendakkan kemerdekaan juga timbul dan dengan sebab itu soal menubuhkan suatu bangsa daripada berbagai-bagai bangsa di negara ini pun timbul. Rakyat di negara ini dikehendaki menumpukan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negeri ini dan bersama-sama membina suatu negara yang baru yang merdeka dan berdaulat.

Apakah corak pimpinan yang dikehendaki pada masa ini? Pelajaran tinggi pada umumnya hanya boleh memberi permulaan kepada kita dalam lapangan hidup dan jika seseorang hendak menjadi pemimpin mustahaklah mempunyai pengetahuan, pengalaman dan kelebihan-kelebihan yang lain. Sebaik-baik pelajaran dan pimpinan ialah pelajaran dan pimpinan yang digunakan semata-mata untuk berkhidmat dan mengorbankan diri kepada negara, bangsa dan agama. Seseorang yang berpengetahuan tinggi tidak boleh mendakwa dirinya sebagai seorang pemimpin melainkan ia menggunakan pengetahuan itu untuk menolong rakyat yang miskin dan yang tidak bernasib baik untuk menolong membetulkan masyarakat yang kurang betul dan kurang adil. Mustahaklah ilmu pengetahuan, itu digunakan untuk mengatasi masalah-masalah kemiskinan rakyat di kampung-kampung. Pengetahuan dan pimpinan itu mestilah disamakan dengan cita-cita rakyat negara kita ini untuk mencapai kemakmuran, kebahagiaan hidup yang lebih sempurna dalam hidup mereka. Inilah corak pemimpin-pemimpin yang negara kita berkehendakkan iaitu negara yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaan dan yang ingin kepada kemajuan.

Malaysia berkehendakkan sebanyak-banyak pemimpin-pemimpin yang tulus ikhlas, tekun dan taat setia yang bersedia berkhidmat untuk kebajikan dan kesenangan rakyat dan kemakmuran negara. Kita berkehendakkan pemimpin-pemimpin yang menjuarakan perpaduan baik dan perasaan muhibbah yang jujur, yang sentiasa bercakap menguatkan perpaduan baik antara kaum dan mencari ikhtiar untuk menyelesaikan masalah-masalah di negara kita ini dengan cara baik dan realistik. Kita mahu pemimpin-pemimpin yang mengetahui bagaimana masalah-masalah kaum di Malaysia ini dapat diselesaikan berdasarkan kepada keadaan yang ada pada masa ini. Mereka yang menggunakan perkauman untuk mendapat sokongan dalam politik tidak akan kekal lama dalam medan siasah kerana saya yakin rakyat Malaysia adalah praktikal, mereka cerdik, pandai dan tahu mana perkara yang benar, perkara yang jujur dan ikhlas. Saya tahu penduduk-penduduk negeri ini, termasuk kawan-kawan kita orang-orang Cina tidak akan membahayakan kedudukan politik dan keamanan negeri ini untuk seseorang 'politician' atau pemimpin yang menggunakan taktik yang tidak sesuai dan terkeluar dari saluran politik kebangsaan kita. Kerana saya percaya mereka itu sedar jika mereka itu menyokong puak-puak yang semacam ini nescaya akan timbul pecah belah di antara kaum-kaum di negeri ini dan dengan itu perpaduan negara akan hancur dan kita tidak boleh hidup rukun damai dan negara kita akan juga hancur.

Murid-murid sekalian yang ada pada hari ini akan menjadi pemimpin pada suatu masa kelak dan akan mendapat jawatan yang tinggi baik dalam pentadbiran, perdagangan dan perusahaan dan lain-lain lagi.

Kepada mereka yang bercita-cita hendak masuk ke medan politik dan juga pentadbiran, saya suka menyatakan bahawa adalah keadaan telah berubah dari masa-masa yang lampau. Keadaan pentadbiran awam kita pun adalah berubah kerana cara di bawah penjajah dahulu tidak lagi sesuai digunakan. Mustahak kita adakan cara bentuk pentadbiran yang sesuai dengan negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat dan menurut kehendak dan hasrat dan jiwa rakyat kita. Kita sungguh bernasib baik sebab dapat mempunyai Public Service yang ditinggalkan oleh Kerajaan British yang baik, tegap, bersih, akan tetapi mustahak kita baiki lagi jentera pentadbiran kita supaya bersesuaian dengan keadaan negara kita yang merdeka ini. Kita berkehendakkan pegawai-pegawai yang progresif yang sedia bekerjasama dengan sepenuh-penuhnya dengan pemimpin-pemimpin politik untuk menjadikan Malaysia negara kita ini sebuah negara yang maju, makmur dan bahagia.

Kita berasa syukur ke hadrat Tuhan kerana dalam lima tahun yang lalu Kerajaan kita dengan kerjasama yang diberikan oleh pegawai-pegawai pentadbir, dapat menjalankan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan dengan jayanya dan dengan sempurna. Akan tetapi kita berazam hendak meneruskan rancangan-rancangan ini, hendak memberi rakyat kebahagiaan hidup yang lebih lagi. Dengan sebab itu kita berkehendakkan pemimpin-pemimpin dan pegawai-pegawai yang penuh dengan semangat dan sedia mengorbankan usaha dan tenaga untuk bangsa dan negara.

Saya sangatlah sukacita pada hari ini mendapat peluang berucap kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian dan berpeluang berada balik di Maktab tempat saya belajar buat beberapa lamanya. Pada masa beginilah saya rasa terharu kerana saya berasa seolah-olah saya muda semula dan dalam perasaan inilah saya berharap murid-murid di Maktab ini betul-betul mempunyai cita-cita yang besar kerana tuan-tuanlah yang akan mencerminkan apakah corak Malaysia pada masa akan datang. Saya percaya murid-murid di Maktab ini akan terus menerus seperti murid-murid tua lain memainkan peranan yang besar dalam pimpinan negara ini. Pada tuan-tuan semuanya terserah untung nasib Malaysia – sama ada Malaysia akan maju jaya atau tidak terpulanglah kepada tuan-tuan sekalian sebab pada suatu masa kelak tuan-tuanlah yang akan menggantikan pemimpin-pemimpin negara yang ada sekarang. Negara kita negara muda dan separuh daripada penduduk-penduduknya adalah daripada orang-orang muda maka kepada pemuda-pemuda dan pemudi-pemudilah negara kita bergantung nasib pada masa akan datang. Saya berharap dan saya berseru kepada tuan-tuan dan murid-murid sekalian supaya menyahut dan menerima seruan daripada ibu pertiwi kita sebab kita berkehendakkan pemimpin-pemimpin yang jujur dan ikhlas dengan banyaknya.

Dengan negara kita mencapai kemerdekaan mustahak kita memandang dengan pandangan yang lebih luas kerana sekarang ini negara ini bukan sahaja Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bahkan telah menjadi Malaysia dan penduduk-penduduk negara ini daripada bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak ada yang sama sebangsa dengan orang-orang Melayu dan kita mustahak memberi pertolongan dan timbangan yang sama dengan orang-orang Melayu. Begitu juga di negara kita ini ada penduduk-penduduk daripada bangsa-bangsa asing yang telah menjadi warganegara kita ini dan telah bersetuju hendak menumpukan taat setia mereka itu kepada negara ini, mustahaklah kita memberi timbangan rasa dan layanan kepada mereka itu dengan sewajarnya menurut Perlembagaan negara kita. Kita berdasarkan demokrasi dan kita mempunyai Perlembagaan yang menjaga hak-hak dan hak-hak asasi yang tertentu dan Perlembagaan itu mempunyai tujuan yang membolehkan kita memberi kelebihan-kelebihan kepada rakyat negeri ini dengan tidak mengambil hak orang lain. Oleh itu di bawah Perlembagaan negara kita, rakyat negeri ini daripada semua bangsa boleh hidup dengan aman damai dan boleh mempunyai tempat yang sempurna. Dengan sebab itu, tuan-tuan sekalian anjuran yang tuan-tuan akan beri pada masa yang akan datang bukan sahaja kepada orang-orang Melayu bahkan kepada bumiputera yang lain dan kepada rakyat negeri ini yang berasal daripada bangsa-bangsa lain. Inilah kesimpulannya, seperti saya katakan tadi, syarat-syarat bagi seseorang yang hendak menjadi penganjur itu tidak bertukar akan tetapi tanggungjawab bertambah dan keadaan berubah. Dengan sebab itu saya ucapkan kepada tuan-tuan sekalian selamat maju jaya dan saya berdoa dengan tamatnya usia 60 tahun Maktab ini akan bertambah maju dan akan dapat mendidik dan mengeluarkan ramai lagi penganjur-penganjur yang masyhur pada masa yang akan datang.

Sekian sahaja, terima kasih.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
ROTARY INSTALLATION DINNER, IPOH ON SATUR-  
DAY, 26TH JUNE, 1965

Your Highnesses, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

I am very glad to have the pleasure of dining with the Rotary Club of Ipoh once again and of being invited to reply on behalf of all your guests, for we have enjoyed this evening very much indeed. When I was here last some five or six years ago my old friend Fred Arulanandom, proposed the toast of "Our Guests", and I was called upon to respond. In the true spirit of Rotary I am happy to be of service in expressing the appreciation we all feel for your cordial hospitality tonight.

I have listened with considerable interest to the wide range of activities undertaken by your Club during the past year as recounted by your retiring President. The Rotary Club of Ipoh must surely be one of the liveliest civic organisations in the country.

I would like to congratulate the Club on its pioneering efforts in the field of vocational service by giving talks and guidance to young men and women on their future careers. After leaving school boys and girls are faced with the problem of finding their own place in the wider world, and naturally they are most willing to receive any advice and information or active help from men of experience. By providing this service your Club filled an important gap in social needs, because it is only in the last year or two that the Ministry of Education has been able to make special appointments of career guidance officers in various States.

Service clubs like Rotary can often undertake projects of great value to the community which Government Departments are unable to do as yet owing to prior commitments. I was particularly pleased to hear of your enterprise in supplying piped water to the Old Folks Home at Kampung Tawas as well as sending rice and other necessities each month. This is most commendable expression of practical help in social welfare.

The scope of your Club's interests is very wide. The Perak Youth Club, the Salvation Army Boys and Girls Homes, the Perak Chinese Maternity Hospital, the Ipoh Public Library and under-privileged children have all benefited from your fund-raising activities and your

personal interest in their general welfare. In fact, Ipoh has become famous in Malaysia for the particular attention you pay to complicated medical cases, especially those known as "hole in the heart". You have already sent one girl to Australia for an operation and are arranging to send her back again for further surgical treatment. I was interested to read recently of the substantial donation your Club gave towards the expenses of a young Malay to go to Australia for cardiac surgery. It is most gratifying to me to know that this Rotary Club set such a splendid example in social service.

I can assure you that the Central Government most warmly appreciates not only your dedication to the local community but also your efforts to promote international understanding and goodwill in various ways. I congratulate you on your achievements and successes during the past year, and knowing the lively spirit which animates your affairs and interests, I have no doubt at all that in this coming year you will try to surpass all your previous efforts.

On behalf of all your guests, and on my own behalf, I wish to express our warm thanks for being present at this Installation Dinner, and to wish the Rotary Club of Ipoh a bright and fruitful future in service to the community. I would like to ask all guests to rise now and to drink with me a toast to our hosts, "The Rotary Club of Ipoh".

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI SEMASA  
MEMBUKA PAMERAN BAGI SENI LUKIS MALAYSIA  
YANG DIPILIH UNTUK PESTA KESENIAN KOMANWEL  
DI BALAI SENI LUKIS NEGARA, KUALA LUMPUR  
PADA 29 JUN, 1965

Tuan Pengerusi dan Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Bersama Khas, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama, Yang Berhormat Menteri-Menteri, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian :

Saya berasa sangat sukacita dapat hadir di sini pada hari ini mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pameran bagi Seni Lukis Malaysia untuk dinikmati oleh penduduk-penduduk Malaysia iaitu seni lukis yang khas dipilih untuk menjadi pertunjukan Malaysia di Pesta Kesenian Komanwel pada tahun ini.

Dalam Pesta Kesenian Komanwel itu iaitu yang mula-mula sekali diadakan akan ditunjukkan berbagai-bagai corak kesenian. Oleh kerana Pesta itu akan diadakan serentak di London, Liverpool, Glasgow dan Cardiff maka ia telah mendapat satu lagi nama iaitu 'Pesta Empat Bandar Pelabuhan'.

Tujuan Pesta itu ialah hendak menunjukkan kepada dunia bakat-bakat kesenian seluruh Komanwel. Pesta itu dicadangkan supaya diadakan tiga tahun sekali selepas di sebuah, di sebuah lagi ibu kota negeri Komanwel.

Tatkala diminta mengambil bahagian dalam Pesta itu, Kerajaan Malaysia telah memutuskan hendak menghadkan pertunjukan Malaysia kepada kesenian seni lukis sahaja iaitu kerana banyak wang dibelanjakan oleh sebab konfrantasi dari Indonesia.

Maka kita telah membuat keputusan hendak mengambil bahagian dalam Pesta itu adalah tanda kita menghargai kemajuan-kemajuan kesenian di Malaysia semenjak kita mencapai kemerdekaan.

Kerajaan Malaysia telah dijemput menunjukkan lukisan-lukisan dan arca-arca kita yang terbaik sekali di Pesta itu. Yang demikian bermakna-lah karya-karya ahli-ahli kesenian kita telah diakui tinggi mutunya. Kerajaan Malaysia berasa amat megah dengan hal ini.

Kita harap pertunjukan kesenian kita di Pesta itu akan menjadi awal permulaan usaha kita hendak menunjukkan kesenian Malaysia

di seluruh dunia. Kita harap selepas kesenian kita dipamerkan di Glasgow, Dublin dan London itu kita akan dapat menunjukkannya pula di beberapa buah bandar di Eropah.

Oleh kerana memikirkan hal ini sangatlah suka saya kiranya Duta-Duta yang ada di Malaysia ini mengambil berat atas Pameran ini supaya kita dapat membuat rancangan bagi mengadakan pameran di bandar-bandar di Eropah.

Saya maklum iaitu penganjur-penganjur Pameran ini ingin sangat kiranya dapat mengadakan Pameran ini di Amerika Utara dan di Timur Jauh dalam perjalanannya balik ke Malaysia.

Akhirnya sebagai Menteri yang bertanggungjawab atas Pembangunan Negara saya suka hendak mengambil peluang di sini mengucapkan tahniah kepada ahli-ahli kesenian Malaysia kerana kejayaan mereka yang gemilang dalam lapangan kebudayaan. Sekarang dengan sukacitanya saya mengisytiharkan pembukaan pameran kesenian Malaysia yang permai ini.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein di hari Perasmian Pameran Seni Lukis Negara, Kuala Lumpur  
pada 29 Jun, 1965.

KENYATAAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI MENGENAI PENGELUARAN BOND-BOND PERTAHANAN NEGARA DI PERSIDANGAN AKHBAR YANG TELAH DIADAKAN DI KUALA LUMPUR PADA 6 JULAI, 1965

Saya amat sukacita pada malam ini kerana dapat bercakap dengan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan berkenaan dengan pengeluaran bond-bond untuk membiayai pertahanan dan keselamatan negara kita menentang konfrantasi Indonesia. Pada hari ini kita terpaksa, akibat konfrantasi dan kerana hendak mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan kita, menggunakan wang sebanyak \$1,600,000/= tiap-tiap hari kerana pertahanan dan keselamatan negara ini.

Ini perlu kita membelanjainya untuk keselamatan kita dan untuk menjaga cara hidup kita. Sungguhpun begitu, pembangunan negara kita mestilah juga dijalankan walaupun konfrantasi berada di samping kita. Adalah sangat mustahak pembangunan negara dan luar bandar itu diteruskan kerana kita mesti menentang konfrantasi Indonesia bukan sahaja di medan tentera tetapi dalam lapangan ekonomi juga. Untuk mencapai tujuan ini, kerajaan Pusat melalui Bank Negara, akan mengeluarkan Bond-bond Pertahanan pada 14 Julai, 1965. Saya menyeru kepada semua rakyat yang taat setia kepada negara ini, apa lagi mereka yang kaya dan gedung-gedung perniagaan yang besar supaya membeli bond-bond ini. Saya ketahui dan sedar bahawa bukan semua orang dapat memikul senapang untuk mempertahankan negara Malaysia, tetapi tiap-tiap seorang boleh memberi sumbangan masing-masing dalam mempertahankan negara Malaysia dengan membeli bond-bond ini. Saya berterima kasih kepada mereka yang telah memberi sumbangan bagi mempertahankan negara Malaysia pada masa-masa yang lepas dan saya berharap ramai lagi rakyat yang taat setia kepada negara ini akan memberi pertolongan mereka kepada pertahanan negara kita.

Dengan tidak payah saya menerangkan dengan seluas-luasnya, Bond ini adalah suatu rancangan yang sangat menarik untuk tiap-tiap rakyat menyimpan wang dan juga dalam masa ini menolong membiayai negaranya untuk mempertahankan diri dari pencerobohan dan konfrantasi. Tiap-tiap bond ini akan berharga sekecil-kecilnya \$50/= dan tiap-tiap seorang boleh membeli hingga \$50,000/=. Faedah tiap-tiap tahun ialah sebanyak 5% dan akan meningkat hingga 5¾%.

Pada bulan April tahun hadapan bond-bond ini boleh ditukarkan kembali dengan wang dan harganya adalah dijamin oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Dengan ini tuan-tuan semua sedia maklum bahawa bond-bond ini sangatlah menarik kerana selain daripada tuan-tuan dapat menyimpan wang dengan mendapat faedah, tuan-tuan juga memberi sumbangan untuk perbelanjaan mempertahankan Malaysia. Bond-bond ini boleh tuan-tuan beli dari Pejabat-pejabat Pos, Bank-bank dan Stock Broker di seluruh Malaysia. Saya harap seramai-ramai rakyat yang taat setia kepada negara ini akan mengambil peluang yang cemerlang ini.

TR 2:7:65

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
INSTALLATION DINNER OF THE KUALA LUMPUR  
ROTARY CLUB ON 15TH JULY, 1965

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Fellow Rotarians, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

My wife and I are very glad to have the pleasure of attending this Installation Dinner of the Kuala Lumpur Rotary Club whose activities I always follow with great interest. On behalf of all your guests I would like to express our warm appreciation of your enjoyable hospitality this evening.

May I first take the opportunity of extending my congratulations to the out-going President, Rotarian Clayton, for a very successful year, and to wish my good friend, Rotarian Dato Jamil, your new President, every success in the year that lies ahead of Kuala Lumpur Rotarians in service to the community in many fields.

Knowing Dato Jamil's ability as I do, I am only thankful for Rotary's practice of rotating their Presidents, in effect ringing a gong each year to announce a new leader for a new term. There is thus no danger at all of the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department becoming permanent President of the Rotary Club. — to the Government's loss and to the Club's gain.

Admission to a Rotary Club is a great honour, but membership is almost a full-time occupation, making consistent demands on time and effort. Rotary rules see to that, as I knew to my cost when I was an active member. I am glad that since Merdeka the Kuala Lumpur Club has made me an Honorary Member, otherwise because of my official duties I would probably have run up a record in fines for non-attendance.

I have listened with special interest to the Report on activities made by your retiring President, and I am especially pleased to learn that this Club has raised \$10,000 to establish a Rotary Scholarship Loan Fund to help deserving students. This is indeed a most laudable project well worthy of constant support and I hope that members will dig deep into their pockets not to mention the purses of the Inner-Wheelers as well — to augment the Fund rapidly so that as many students as possible can benefit.

Your new President has indicated that the special project for his year of office will be truly rotary in nature. — the establishment of a

Mobile Library to go round and round two or three districts of Selangor. This is a brilliant idea which is bound to be well received and very popular in the kampungs and villages. When this scheme gets under way I hope that other Rotary Clubs throughout the country will follow the excellent precedent set by Kuala Lumpur, and that the time will come when as many districts as possible will have a similar service.

The sense of service which imbues Rotarians, locally, nationally and internationally, doing good by giving help where it is most needed, and spreading friendship and goodwill is a most valuable asset in the multi-racial society of Malaysia. Rotary is typical of hundreds of voluntary organisations that carry out responsible and constructive roles, each in their own fields, inspired by the ideal of service to their fellowmen. These are the true Malaysians who not only understand the value of racial harmony but put it into daily practice.

Despite critics and sceptics, who doubt that people of many racial origins can live and work together in tolerance and goodwill, Malaysia, I am proud to say, is a very happy example of friendship and understanding. Those who prefer to look for discord when none exists, those who try to create ferment and tension which no one wants, those who utter dark forecasts of troubles looming, which have no basis, or those who delude the people with slogans and suspicions — these people do not understand or appreciate the real spirit of Malaysia. If they really have the interests of the whole nation at heart, they would direct their energies and talents not to division but to unity, not to disruption but to harmony. Then they would be giving true service to Malaysia and working in accord with the hopes and wishes of the people.

As long as we have men and women, boys and girls, who are willing to give service to their country in voluntary organisations such as Rotary, Malaysia is in good hands. We have every reason to be proud of our past achievements, and knowing this there can be no doubt that through cooperation and harmony our future will be marked with steady and solid progress.

On behalf of all your guests, and on my own behalf, I wish to express our thanks for the pleasure of attending this Installation Dinner, and in doing so to wish the Rotary Club of Kuala Lumpur an eventful year. Professor Sandosham, offered to us, your guests, a witty and graceful toast. I would now like to ask all guests to rise and drink with me a toast to our generous hosts, "The Rotary Club of Kuala Lumpur".

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
MEETING OF MARA ON 15TH JULY, 1965

Gentlemen,

Reorganisation of RIDA

I have decided that the existing RIDA be reorganised so as to give it new life, new spirit and image. Following upon the resolution of the Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera, I have also decided that the reorganised RIDA be given a new name called Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA). I feel that it is time now to do this because the RIDA that we have today is too cumbersome to carry on the task of helping the Bumiputera to get effective participation in the economic life of this country.

The New set up of MARA

The law setting up the new organisation (MARA) is now being drafted, but we have to start setting up new organisations within MARA under the existing law straightaway. I have, therefore, given instructions that MARA should have 7 divisions each to be headed by a Director. These Divisions are:—

- (i) The Administrative Division;
- (ii) The Accounting Division;
- (iii) The Loans Division;
- (iv) The Transport Division;
- (v) The Commerce and Industry Division;
- (vi) The Advisory Services Division; and
- (vii) The Training Division.

Autonomy of each Division

Each Division will be independent of each other, and each Director is directly responsible for the operations of his own Division.

Functions of the Chairman

The Chairman will be free from the day to day routines of MARA, and will be responsible for carrying out the policies, coordinating and supervising the activities of the Divisions, and for planning the future programmes of MARA. He will be assisted by a staff officer who will possibly act as a trouble-shooter on behalf of the Chairman.

## Establishment of Committees

In the past, RIDA could not function effectively because it followed Government procedures and rulings, resulting in excessive use of red tapes. We do not want this to happen again, and I feel that the existing Committees set up by the Authority should be replaced with the following Committees:—

- (i) Establishment Committee for Divisions I and II;
- (ii) Establishment Committee for Subordinate Staff;
- (iii) Finance and Development Committee; and
- (iv) Scholarships Committee.

The memberships and functions of each Committee are laid out in detail in one of the Authority's Papers which you are going to consider today. You will find that the membership of each Committee is small. We do not want large and flabby Committees because they would impede the smooth running of MARA. We want quick action and result.

## The Directors

The other questions I would like the Authority to consider is the creation of the posts and appointments of Directors. Although I have already directed that these posts be created and filled, I hope you do not mind regularising such action however unprecedented it may be. The Directors of the Divisions are as laid down in the Authority's Paper and are as follows:—

- (i) Engku Mohsein bin Mohamed — Director of Administration Division.
- (ii) Encik Abd. Ghani Ahmad — Director of Accounts Division.
- (iii) Encik Mansor bin Othman — Director of Training.
- (iv) Encik Md. Rasli bin Md. Nawi — Director of Credit Finance Division.
- (v) Encik B.J. Moss — Director of Transport Division.
- (vi) Encik Wan Abd. Hamid bin Mohd. Salleh — Director of Commerce and Industry Acting Director of Advisory Service Division.

## Permanent Committee of the Congress

I would also like to mention here that I have appointed a Permanent Committee to watch over the implementation of not only the resolutions of the Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera but also of other actions de-

signed to promote effective participation of the Bumiputera in the economic life of the country. At the State level, I envisage that there will be a sub-committee of the Rural and National Development consisting of the:—

- (i) The Hon'ble Menteri Besar as Chairman;
- (ii) The State Development Officer — Deputy Chairman & Secretary;
- (iii) Two or Three Exco Members;
- (iv) State Commissioner of Lands and Mines;
- (v) State Forest Officer;
- (vi) State Engineer; and
- (vii) State Agricultural Officer.

Well, I have nothing more to say but I would welcome you to raise questions if you have any.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
DEBATING UNION, UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, PANTAI  
VALLEY, KUALA LUMPUR ON 20TH JULY, 1965

Mr. President, Faculty Members, Ladies & Gentlemen:

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

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

We are now in a much happier position in that our country is now a free and independent sovereign nation, day by day gaining in strength, in spite of attempts by President Soekarno and the Jakarta regime, assisted by the agents inside our country, to crush us. I am happy that at this time, when our very existence is being challenged by enemies from without, our people of all races have shown the will and determination to face the enemies and to defend our independence. Despite everything that Indonesia does or say about confrontation, our people, even those living in far away places on the Sabah and Sarawak border, have shown high spirit, courage and determination to stand up against the enemy. For the last two years both in the economic and political fields, we have got the better of the enemies in this confrontation. Every attempt by the enemies to invade us, either by land, by sea or by air, our soldiers, assisted by our friends in the Commonwealth, have been able to eliminate or capture them, or drive them back to their country. So long as our people show a

united will to fight and defend their country and show a determination to survive, then no force or power can break or crush us.

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

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

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

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

In Malaya our Second Five Year Development Plan has been implemented with complete success. Indeed when we launched this Plan in 1961, most people thought that the target as set for ourselves, that is \$2,100 million expenditure on the public sector was too great to be implemented. However we were able to gear the machinery of Government and coordinate the work of Government departments and offices in all its branches. Today even before our fifth year of the plan comes to an end we have already exceeded our target. At the end of this year, that is the last year of the Plan,

we shall have spent in the region of \$2,600 million or \$2,700 million. It is clear that in implementing our development programme, the Alliance Government has successfully applied the right principles and followed the right methods. We have now applied these principles and methods to Sabah and Sarawak and it is hoped that in the next few years our people in Sabah and Sarawak will be able to obtain the same benefits from development as our people in Malaya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now what can be more socialistic than these land development schemes of ours. In the communist countries people are made to work on the land. Our emphasis will be, on the one hand, to help the rural people to increase their income and to give them greater share in the

economic and business life of the country, and on the other, to build houses and homes for people in the urban areas, who are without homes. We will also assist the less fortunate of our people in the urban areas with amenities in the same way we are doing for the rural people. In this way, as I have always stated, our national development plan is national in scope and character, designed to help our people of all races, whoever they may be so that the "have-nots" in our society will have a share in the progress and development of our country and will enjoy a standard of living compatible with life in a decent and civilised society.

In my view the great thing we must remember in development and the future problem of Malaysia is that there is also a law which we can apply, a law which has not been drafted or made by mankind, it is a law of nature of what we can call the law of cause and effect. The law of cause and effect is roughly this - in the world nothing really happens automatically, even crops do not grow automatically; if a farmer wants to grow a crop he has got to clear the land, sow the seed and work hard in tending the crop, to get results. So it is with development. Just talking about development, just making development plans, just hoping for development will never in fact result in development. To achieve development, to achieve economic growth, to achieve a happy and highly developed Malaysia, means hard work, harnessing of all our energies and the ability of our leaders to convert emotion and plans into motion and action towards sound economic development of a happy and stable Malaysia.

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

our resources to defence and security. However, if we value our independence and integrity, our freedom and our way of life, then we must take appropriate measures to defend ourselves.

As I said, as a small nation we have no means to defend ourselves adequately against external threat or aggression, particularly against a bigger and stronger neighbour, such as Indonesia. Therefore, on the day we achieved independence in 1957 we signed a Defence Treaty with the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom supported by Australia and New Zealand undertook to defend us against external aggression. This Treaty was entered into by us voluntarily and freely and it could be reviewed at any time. With the present confrontation, of course we are grateful to our friends, Britain, Australia and New Zealand for assisting us not only in the expansion of our armed forces, but also with men, ships and planes to help defend our territorial integrity. This defence arrangement can only be temporary and the time must come when we have to provide for the defence of our country and ourselves.

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

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

Many of you must have heard lately of allegations against the Alliance Government, that we believe in the supremacy of one race over the other and that we have not provided for equal rights to all our citizens. I would like to rebutt these allegations because clearly our

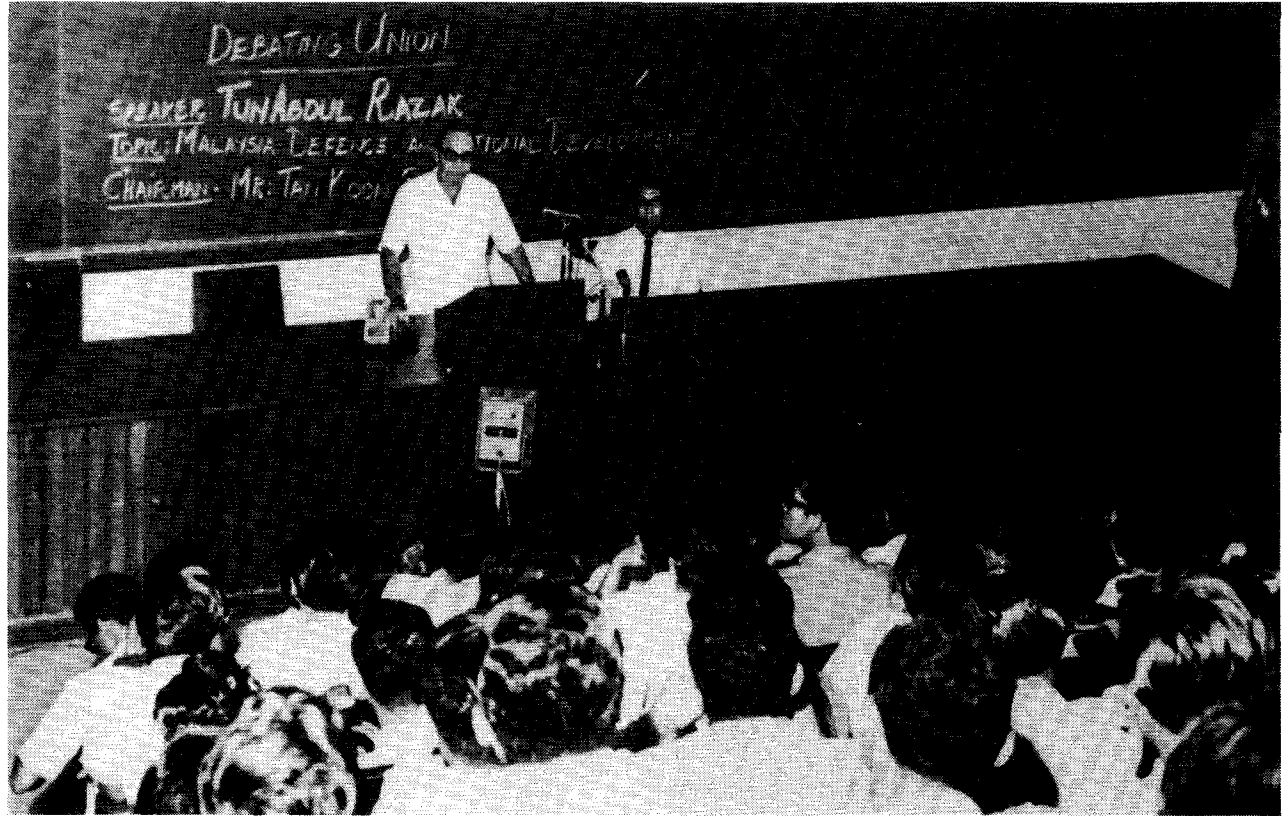
Constitution does not provide the supremacy of any single race or community. All Malaysians of all races are equal under the Constitution and their rights and privileges are zealously guarded. The Constitution however provides for the safeguard of the special position of the natives. This does not mean supremacy or privilege but rather a special position which requires special attention. The Constitution recognises that where there is disparity, a system of parity is provided in order to make everybody happy. It is known to everybody that the natives are economically backward and therefore in order to give them a fair chance to compete with other races they are given this special attention in the Constitution or in plain language handicap. This handicap gives the natives a chance to have a share in the economic and business life of the country.

As I said, by giving this special attention to this particular section of our community, the Constitution will not take away the rights and privileges of others and this arrangement serves to unite and promote solidarity between the natives and the other Malaysians.

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

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

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



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein ketika berucap kepada Persatuan Bahas (Debating Union) Universiti Malaya di Kuala Lumpur pada 20 Julai, 1965.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND THE  
MINISTER OF DEFENCE TO THE MALAYSIAN ARMED  
FORCES AT KUALA LUMPUR ON 22ND JULY, 1965**

On the occasion of my last visit to the Battalion in June I was only able in that short visit to meet the officers. It is a great pleasure to me therefore, to be able to accept the invitation of your Commanding Officer to join you all in celebrating your anniversary today and to bid you GOD SPEED on your departure for active service in Sabah.

In the three years of the Battalion's existence you have demonstrated most admirably those qualities of loyalty, cooperation, mutual trust and respect which are the ingredients for success in any multi-racial society. It is due to this spirit that the Battalion has in the past achieved such success in the field of sports, and, when taken in conjunction with good, realistic training earned for you the respect of the nation for your part in the riots in Singapore last year and your successes against Indonesian infiltrators in Johore more recently. The figure of 29 Indonesian killed and 9 captured speak well for the aggressive spirit, evident in your conduct of operations, and the state of efficiency in jungle operations the Battalion has now achieved.

But, in these days of trial of our country - Malaysia, no one can afford to rest on past achievement or be complacent for the future. There remains always much to be done to ensure the continued growth of our strength and to maintain and increase our military capability.

I, and the nation, rely on each and everyone of you here before me to keep up the standards you have achieved and, indeed not only that, but to improve upon them. The nation has every reason to have confidence in the performance of their Armed Forces in their physical struggle to contain the Indonesian aggression.

It is up to you all as members of a unit of the Malaysian Armed Forces to maintain this confidence by your unrelenting alertness and high efficiency. In this I have no doubt that our confidence in the 2nd Battalion Malaysian Infantry Regiment will not be misplaced.

You have gained a high reputation, it is now up to you to keep it. May I wish you good luck during your tour in Sabah - the conditions both physical and mental are not easy there, it is up to you to overcome them and in this I wish you all every success.

Well done and GOD SPEED.

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
ARCHITECTS DINNER AT THE LAKE CLUB, KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 23RD JULY, 1965

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In our rapidly developing country, architects will be in great demand, and no one realises more than yourselves the importance

of establishing facilities for producing trained personnel. In this regard, I wish to pay a very high tribute indeed to the tireless, patient and hard-working efforts your Society has made in the interests both of your profession and the nation. I refer in particular to the elaborate report you have prepared on the setting up of a School of Architecture for the University of Malaya as well as the Report on Architectural Education you have sent to the Higher Education Planning Committee. Both these Reports are of the greatest value, and the Government and all Authorities concerned are most grateful for the earnest thought and fruitful ideas they contain.

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

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

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

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE  
STUDENTS' UNION AT THE ROSEE D'OR, SINGAPORE  
ON 24TH JULY, 1965

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is a saying in Malay:

'Pisang tak akan berbuah dua kali', which, as you know, means literally that a banana tree bears fruit only once. But its deeper meaning, as a proverb, is that seldom in life does exactly the same thing happen twice. This proverb has a limited application in life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is, however, only one tune in the world to which we will never dance; and I sincerely hope that all of you will determine never to

dance to this particular tune -- the tune of that great modern "Pied Piper" and his Rats -- Soekarno!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us call him Lim!

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

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

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

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

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

The only difference is that this story is supported by bills sent home to his parents, every month, for his University expenses. His parents were fairly illiterate and did not understand the bills.

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

French	—	\$50/-
German	—	\$50/-
English	—	\$50/-
Scotch!	—	\$250/- (at \$15/- per bottle).

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

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

He said, "I will introduce myself".

"I am in Government!"

I am married!

I have a son at University! and I am a Minister.

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

"I am in Government!

I am married!

I have a son at University! and I am a Minister.

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

"I am in Government!

I am married!

I have a son at University! and I am a Minister.

The fourth person, very quiet, was sitting in his corner and did not say a word! So the other three said, "Look here, we have declared ourselves, we have introduced ourselves, we are trying to be friendly, why can't you join us in the spirit of friendliness and say, what you are, and who you are".

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

"I am in Government!

I am not married!

But I have got a son!"

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

The fourth chap said, "A Minister!"

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

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

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

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

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

I am not being insulting to your professors or lecturers!

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

I would also add:

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

- the faculty of knowing how to enjoy life,
- the faculty to be able to mix with each other,
- the faculty to be friendly to our fellowmen (and women!) and
- the faculty to preserve our freedom as free Malaysians!

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

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

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

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

By any other name would smell as sweet,  
The Rosee D'or,  
Where dame and Undergraduate meet!  
The degree to which, each other they, do adore!  
And come together without much difficulty,  
I granted by this place, the Rosee D'or,  
And not conferred on them by the Campus Faculty!

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO  
STUDENTS' UNION AND FACULTY MEMBERS,  
UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE ON 24TH JULY, 1965

Mr. President, Faculty Members, Ladies and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us now look to the future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am sure this way of life is much better and happier existence than living in a Communist Commune or working in a Communist factory, because our development programme not only includes the

development of our economy, and the development of a higher standard of living, but also includes the development of other things essential to the people of a happy nation – the development of a free personality, free to smile, free to worship, free to talk, free to choose one's own way of life, and free to advance by the application of one's own effort and ability!

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

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

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

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

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

Let me explain!

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

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

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

They present to us a challenge!

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

Who knows, but perhaps the Historians of the future will record in their history books, that Soekarno in disguise, was not an enemy

of Malaysia, but rather a benefactor in so much as, the words of his wrath and anger against Malaysia can be compared to the fires of a furnace producing high quality steel, and that he, by his stupid Confrontation, made us as true Malaysians, steel ourselves; strengthen ourselves; determine to succeed; and develop, in spite of any adversity which besets us whether it be internal or external.

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

Thank you, – Good night.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE  
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION AT  
ADELPHI HOTEL, SINGAPORE ON 26TH JULY, 1965

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

There are fourteen component States of our Federation. It is therefore necessary that we should look at the problems of our country

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

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

stitution giving special position for the natives or Bumiputeras but this is a special provision to meet a special situation and is not intended in any way to provide for supremacy or privilege. In other words, because there is definite economic disparity between the natives and the other Malaysians, the Constitution provides a system of parity in order to correct the economic imbalances.

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

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

Gentlemen, I took time to explain all these although I have done so many a time before in order to illustrate to you my belief and our belief in the Alliance Government that the only solid way to build a Nation is by sure and steady progress linked with patience and understanding. I wish particularly to appeal to foreign correspondents to keep this belief in mind. The tremendous changes, politically, economically and socially have taken place in this Nation in a very short period

of time — changes which in older countries have taken hundreds of years. I have no wish whatever to object to criticism which is fair but I do think that it is right to judge us at all times and in every aspect of the highest standards that may apply elsewhere. We are not God but Man and like all men capable of making mistakes at times. All we ask for is more consideration of the difficulties and dangers that confront Malaysia, and not too much stress on internal differences and opinions which after all occur in every country. This is the way democracy works but the general picture should be viewed as a whole and not in flashes or close-ups which can only result in a disjointed image.

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

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

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE OUTWARD  
BOUND TRUST ON 28TH JULY, 1965

It is with the deepest regret that I have to record the death of Sir Edgeworth David, the Rubber Growers Association's representative in Malaysia and a member of this Council.

Although he had not been connected for long with the Trust before his untimely death, Sir Edgeworth took a great interest in our affairs and only a short while ago acted as intermediary when he obtained permission from the R.G.A. for the use of some of the capital in their fund for the building of new Instructors Quarters at the School.

Once again I am very pleased to be able to report a successful year for the Trust and the School which it supports. Last year for the first time in our history, the number of trainees exceeded 500; in the year under review, this record has been exceeded again with a total attendance of 527. This is indeed a gratifying result and an indication of the growing strength of the Outward Bound movement in Malaysia.

The Management Committee is responsible for running the School and under the chairmanship of Mr. V.M. Hutson met regularly during the year to deal with the many administrative and other problems which require attention. I am sure that all members will join with me in expressing our appreciation of their good work.

Undoubtedly of course, the success or failure of an undertaking such as the Outward Bound School depends very largely on the day to day efficiency of the staff. In this respect, we have been very fortunate, and I am pleased to report that the Warden, Mr. Fuller, the Deputy Warden Mr. Tucker and all other members of the staff have carried out their duties at the School throughout the year, with the same high degree of efficiency and dedication to which we have become accustomed.

It gives me very real pleasure therefore to record our appreciation for the hard work done by them.

During the year, the usual ten courses were run at the School with an average attendance per course of 52. This is a most gratifying result when compared with averages of 50 per course in 1963, 46 in 1962 and only 40 in 1961. A large part of the credit for the increased members must go to the Warden, whose public relations work, visiting potential sponsors in both the States of Malaya and Singapore has been in so small way responsible for the increased attendance.

It is of interest to note the breakdown by industries of the various sponsors who sent 527 boys to the School during 1964:

Sponsors	No. of Students
Government and Public Bodies	346 (335)
Commerce	87 ( 93)
Rubber Industry	53 ( 41)
Tin Industry	18 ( 23)
Shipping	15 ( 11)
Private	8 ( 6)
	527 (509)

(Note: The figures for 1963 are shown in brackets)

As in former years, the income from the R.G.A. Endowment Fund was used to provide scholarships for specially selected under-privileged youths and a total of 22 scholarships were granted. I would like to place on record the Trust's appreciation to all sponsors for giving so many boys an opportunity of attending the School, which might otherwise have been denied to them.

I would like also, to appeal once again to the many organisations and individuals in this country who have not, so far, made use of the facilities provided at the School, to sponsor young men for a course. I have said on many occasions in the past, that Malaysia needs leaders at all levels of our society, we need good leaders and we need good followers too. The Outward Bound School provides a training ground, where the best qualities in our young men are brought to the surface and developed. In this way, it helps our youth to be good and responsible citizens and ensures a continuation of the enlightened and dedicated leadership which our country enjoys today.

In this connection, it gives me very great pleasure to record that from the recent 10th Anniversary Subscription Dinner held here in Kuala Lumpur, which was so loyally supported by many of the Trust's well wishers, a profit of \$3,900/= was realised. The Management Committee has decided to use this money in the national interest and the Chairman has addressed letters to the Menteri Besars of all the States of Malaya, the Chief Ministers of Penang and Malacca, and the Prime Minister of Singapore inviting them to nominate one member of the Vigilante Corps from each of their respective States, who will be given a free course in leadership training at our School.

In my address last year, I mentioned that steps were being taken to provide better accommodation for the School staff. The new building

which was completed in November, contains 6 bedrooms, a large lounge and dining room and has a large verandah. It was officially opened last February by His Highness the Sultan of Perak who honoured the School by attending the passing out parade of the 100th Course which marked the 10th Anniversary of the Trust. During his visit His Highness presented the Merit awards to the successful trainees on that memorable course.

Also in connection with the 10th Anniversary celebrations, our Prime Minister, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, consented to give his name to a special award to be presented annually to the trainee who, either during a course or after his course, by a single act or a collection of actions, most exemplifies the Outward Bound spirit. Mr. Hutson has agreed to donate a medal each year for this award. The selection of the recipient will be carried out by a special committee composed of members of the Management Committee, the Warden and the School staff.

The audited accounts for the year under review have now been in your possession for some time and you will have had an opportunity of studying them. You will note that although there is again an excess of expenditure over income, the figure is considerably less than that recorded last year, i.e. \$6,416.91 compared with \$13,000/= in 1963. The reduction is the result of the slight increase in course fees which was introduced in July and with savings which are being introduced during the current year and the recent highly successful membership drive, I can forecast that there will be an excess of income over expenditure in the accounts at our next annual general meeting.

In connection with the membership drive I wish to place on record the further thanks of the Trust to Mr. Fuller who has been largely responsible for the success of the drive. Since January this year, there have been increases of 11 Life Members and 58 Ordinary Members. In addition, some 114 extra places have been booked for 1965 which should give us an all time record attendance this year.

The actual cost of training a boy at the School during 1964 was \$288/= which compares with \$284/= in 1963. The cost of a course at our School is still by far the lowest in the Outward Bound world and every effort is at all times being made by all concerned to maintain this position.

As many of you know the warden, Mr. G.W. Fuller, retires shortly, after 10 years service with the Trust. Mr. Fuller came to this country in 1954 at the invitation of the first Council to advise them on the

setting up of an Outward Bound School. He very quickly impressed them with his obvious dedication and boundless energy. He was invited to stay in Malaya and accept appointment as the School's first Warden. This I am pleased to say he agreed to do, and the Trust has been extremely fortunate to have had the benefit of his wide experience ever since. In his recent birthday honours, His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, singled out Mr. Fuller for the award of Honorary Kesatria Mangku Negara and you will all wish to join me in congratulating him on this signal honour.

I would like to place on record, the thanks of the Trust to Mr. Fuller for the many years of devoted service he has given to the Outward Bound movement in this country. His example has been an inspiration to hundreds of young Malaysians and others in this part of the world, who have had the benefit of his instruction and advice. I am sure you would all wish to join me in wishing him every success and happiness wherever the future may take him.

His place at Lumut will be taken by Mr. Tucker, who has been Deputy Warden for some time and I am sure that we can look to him to maintain the very high standards set by his predecessor.

To conclude, I think it will be agreed that the Outward Bound Trust of Malaya is soundly financed and well managed. The School is well equipped to give the youth of this country the type of training which will turn them into responsible citizens and future leaders of our nation.

I take this opportunity of again asking all concerned, both Government and private bodies to make greater use of the excellent training facilities which the School provides. At this time of crisis for our country the School's motto: "To serve, to strive, and not to yield", assumes greater importance than ever before. It is our duty as the older members of the community to see to it that our youth have this motto engraved in their hearts.

Finally I would like to thank Messrs. Barlow & Co, (Malaya) Ltd., the Secretaries and Treasurers, for their efficient service over the year.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MEMTERI DI UPACARA  
PEMBUKAAN PERTUNJUKAN MAHA PADA 29 JULAI,  
1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama, Yang Berhormat  
Menteri-menteri Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan:

Saya ucapkan berbanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua<sup>1</sup> dan Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa MAHA kerana sudi menjemput saya hadir di sini pada petang ini dan juga di atas kehormatan yang diberi kepada saya untuk mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pertunjukan MAHA pada tahun 1965.

Saya mengetahui, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Naib Yang di-Pertua dan Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa MAHA dan juga pembantu-pembantunya adalah orang-orang yang telah dengan sukarejanya mengorbankan masa dan tenaga untuk mengadakan dan menyediakan Pertunjukan MAHA pada tiap-tiap tahun. Saya tahu tuan-tuan semua ada mempunyai pekerjaan yang banyak pada tiap-tiap hari dan saya sangat menjunjung tinggi dan mengucapkan tahniah kepada tuan-tuan semua di atas usaha yang tuan-tuan tunjukkan bagi mengorbankan masa mengadakan Pertunjukan MAHA yang begitu besar faedahnya kepada penduduk-penduduk negara ini dan juga kepada kemajuan negara kita.

Pada tiap-tiap tahun kita telah biasa melihat Pertunjukan MAHA yang bertujuan bagi membawa kampung ke bandar untuk menunjukkan perusahaan-perusahaan dan kehidupan di kampung-kampung dan luar bandar itu adalah mustahak kepada penduduk-penduduk di bandar dan juga kepada negara kita. Kemajuan negara kita ini masih bergantung kepada perusahaan-perusahaan tanah, dengan itu mustahaklah kita menunjukkan kepada semua bahawa perusahaan-perusahaan yang dijalankan di serata daerah negara kita ini dan di luar bandar adalah mustahak. Jikalau keadaan di luar bandar itu maju, perniagaan perniagaan di bandar pun turut maju. Begitu juga perusahaan-perusahaan di bandar pun mustahak bagi kemajuan negara kita.

Sebagai seorang Menteri dan Ahli Kerajaan, saya sentiasa bangga bila saya lihat Kerajaan telah berjaya melaksanakan sesuatu pekerjaan atau perusahaan dan berjaya mencapai tujuan dan cita-cita Kerajaan. Akan tetapi lebih daripada itu, saya fikir, sangat besar kejayaannya jika kejayaan itu disebabkan oleh perkhidmatan sukarela yang diberikan oleh anak-anak negeri sendiri.

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<sup>1</sup>Dato Jamil Rais

Begitu juga saya berasa lebih bangga lagi melihat caranya tuan-tuan pada hari ini telah berjaya menyediakan dan mengelolakan MAHA ini dengan usaha dan tenaga sendiri dan inilah semangat yang sangat mustahak kita tanam dalam hati semua penduduk di negara kita ini supaya mereka itu dapat menjalankan usaha dan tenaga dengan kekuatan dan kuasa sendiri dan tidak bergantung kepada pertolongan daripada Kerajaan.

Inilah semangat yang akan menjadikan Malaysia ini suatu negara yang kuat dan maju yang boleh berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri, yang mempunyai penduduk-penduduk daripada orang-orang yang boleh berfikir, boleh bekerja dan boleh berkhidmat dengan bersungguh-sungguh. Oleh yang demikian kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan yang datang hendak melihat beberapa barang-barang yang elok dalam pertunjukan ini, ada satu lagi, pada fikiran saya, pertunjukan yang tersorok iaitu suatu benda yang tak nampak di mana-mana tempat dalam kawasan pertunjukan ini iaitu semangat perkhidmatan sukarela yang ditunjukkan oleh Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa dan juga pekerja-pekerja di MAHA ini kepada negara kita.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, teladan yang ditunjukkan oleh Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa MAHA ini dan Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap dapat ditiru oleh tiap-tiap orang daripada apa juga peringkat di negara kita Malaysia ini pada ketika negara kita sedang menghadapi pencerobohan dari luar dan pada masa kita terpaksa menumpukan tenaga kita kepada pertahanan negara kita. Dalam keadaan yang semacam ini, dalam masa kita sambil menghadapi keadaan darurat, kita terpaksa juga meneruskan rancangan-rancangan kemajuan negara kita. Kerajaan berkehendakkan tiap-tiap seorang rakyat negeri ini bukan sahaja menjalankan tugas masing-masing pada tiap-tiap hari bahkan mengadakan usaha yang lebih daripada biasa. Apa yang saya kehendaki ialah kita Malaysia ini suatu negara yang kecil yang mempunyai isi negeri hanya 10 juta orang dan kita sekarang sedang diancam oleh Presiden Soekarno yang hendak menghancurkan negara kita. Kita adalah diancam oleh suatu negara yang mempunyai penduduk lebih kurang 100 juta orang. Ada perbezaan besar antara 10 juta dengan 100 juta orang, akan tetapi kita dapat mengadakan usaha dan tenaga yang sama juga dengan 100 juta orang jikalau kita rakyat Malaysia yang 10 juta; tiap-tiap orang bekerja dan mengeluarkan usaha dan tenaga 10 kali ganda daripada yang kita biasa jalankan tiap-tiap hari, Jadi 10 x 10 juta ini akan menjadi sama dengan pekerjaan yang dibuat oleh 100 juta orang. Pada fikiran saya tidak ada jalan dan tidak ada sebab yang kita pada masa kecemasan semacam ini tidak boleh berazam hendak bekerja 10 kali ganda daripada biasa dan menumpukan masa lapang kita kepada pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang mustahak untuk negara kita.

Pada fikiran saya kalaulah boleh Pertunjukan ini dibuka bukan oleh saya sendiri bahkan oleh Presiden Soekarno dan Jawatankuasa-Jawatankuasanya. boleh mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pertunjukan MAHA ini, Presiden Soekarno tentu dapat mengetahui sendiri bahawa kemajuan-kemajuan yang ditunjukkan dalam Pertunjukan ini bukanlah tanda suatu negara yang diancam ataupun suatu negara yang tidak lama lagi akan hancur. Bahkan Pertunjukan ini adalah menerangkan dengan nyata bahawa Malaysia ini suatu negara yang tetap hidup, maju dalam semua lapangan dan dari suatu masa ke satu masa ada beberapa kejayaan yang besar yang tercapai dalam usaha-usaha hendak meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat di seluruh Malaysia. Kejayaan di Pertunjukan ini adalah menerangkan bahawa Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri, termasuk Sabah dan Sarawak memberi kerjasama yang penuh untuk menjayakan Pertunjukan ini. Dukacita saya hanya suatu negeri yang tidak mengambil bahagian dalam Pertunjukan ini iaitu Singapura.

Pertunjukan MAHA ini seperti tuan-tuan dan puan-puan ketahui ialah dengan tujuan hendak menunjukkan kemajuan negara kita dalam lapangan iktisad dan tanaman dan pada tahun ini tajuk Pertunjukan ini ialah Menuju Ke arah Kemakmuran Luar Bandar Yang Lebih Besar atau 'Towards Greater Rural Prosperity'. Oleh itu Pertunjukan-pertunjukan dalam MAHA ini terhad kepada barang-barang tanaman dan barang-barang yang dikeluarkan dari kawasan-kawasan luar bandar. Akan tetapi patutlah kita ingat juga bahawa bersama-sama dengan Pertunjukan MAHA ini ada satu lagi pertunjukan yang dianjurkan di Kuala Lumpur ini oleh Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan iaitu Pertunjukan Barang-Barang Yang Diperbuat Di Malaysia. Oleh itu kedua-dua pertunjukan ini menunjukkan kemajuan negara kita dalam semua lapangan. Kedua-dua pertunjukan ini dapat menerangkan tujuan dan hasrat Kerajaan yang terkandung dalam Rancangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia yang sekarang ini disediakan dan akan dilancarkan pada awal tahun hadapan. Dalam Rancangan Lima Tahun kita yang kedua, kita telah mendapat kehasilan dan kejayaan yang sangat memuaskan hati, akan tetapi kita yakin dan percaya pada masa melancarkan Rancangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia yang mempunyai tujuan iaitu hendak menjalankan kemajuan-kemajuan di luar bandar dan membelah-bahagikan hasil bumi, dan satu lagi ialah hendak menambah dan meluaskan lagi pembinaan kilang-kilang dan perusahaan-perusahaan. Ini bermakna penduduk-penduduk negara kita baik di kampung-kampung dan juga di bandar-bandar akan bersama-sama mendapat faedah daripada pembangunan negara kita.

Saya yakin dan percaya dengan sokongan yang penuh daripada semua golongan rakyat jelata negeri ini dan dengan menggunakan cara-cara pelaksanaan yang kita telah jalankan pada masa yang lalu dengan mendapat kehasilan yang memuaskan hati, saya yakin dan percaya

Rancangan Kemajuan Pertama Malaysia ini akan memberi kehasilan-kehasilan lebih daripada yang kita anggapkan dan akan membawa rakyat negeri kita ini kepada taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi dan cara hidup yang lebih baik dan lebih sempurna. Dasar kebangsaan kita ialah bukan semata-mata hendak menambah mata pencarian rakyat sebagai tujuan yang utama akan tetapi kita berkehendakkan juga memperbaiki cara hidup rakyat, melanjutkan dasar demokrasi, perasaan saling mengerti di antara bangsa-bangsa di negeri ini dan perasaan fahaman yang baik di antara penduduk-penduduk di negara kita. Oleh yang demikian, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, saya ucapkan Pertunjukan MAHA Tahun 1965 ini selamat maju dan MAHA akan bertambah maju dan pertunjukan-pertunjukan akan bertambah banyak dari setahun ke setahun. Saya berdoa bahawa pada tahun ini Pertunjukan MAHA ini tidaklah tergendala oleh sebab cuaca yang tidak baik dan saya berharap beribu-ribu orang akan dapat menyahut seruan tuan-tuan semua 'Mari Kita Berjumpa di MAHA'. Dengan ini saya dengan sukacitanya mengisytiharkan pembukaan Pertunjukan MAHA ini.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE, UNIVER-  
SITY OF MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR, ON 2ND AUGUST,  
1965

Mr. Pro Chancellor<sup>1</sup>, Mr Acting Vice Chancellor<sup>2</sup>, Dean Danaraj<sup>3</sup>,  
Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Distinguished Guests from  
Overseas and Malaysia, Ladies and Gentlemen.

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

During the last 7 or 8 years there has been, as the Minister of Education<sup>4</sup> said, a phenomenal growth in our University here. In 1956 the whole of this Pantai Valley was nothing but tree-clad hills, largely rubber trees. Today it is clustered around with a whole complex of buildings, of faculties, of administrative blocks and students' hostels. The growth of this University is one of the many examples of the tremendous progress that this country has made since independence. I would like to associate myself with my colleague, the Minister of Education, in paying a very warm tribute to Dato Sir Alexander Oppenheim who, as the Minister of Education said, was the midwife, watching this baby while it was conceived and then was responsible for the delivery, later for nursing into its present lusty boyhood. We are all sorry that Dato Oppenheim will be leaving us very soon but I am sure he will have the satisfaction to know, wherever he may be, that this University is a monument to his energy, ability and farsightedness.

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

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<sup>1</sup>Justice Mohamad Suffian.

<sup>2</sup>Prof. R.L. Huang.

<sup>3</sup>Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

<sup>4</sup>En. Mohd Khir Johari.

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

I am sure that everyone who has had a part to play in what has been done here, in what is being done, and in what will be done, will agree with me that the construction of this medical centre is a splendid example of the close cooperation and consultation among officers of various ministries and departments concerned and the University of Malaya. In this respect I would like to pay my tribute to Professor T.J. Danaraj, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. From the very moment of his appointment two and half years ago after having made a special study of medical schools and teaching hospitals in the United States, Prof. Danaraj immediately started work on the establishment of this medical centre with enthusiasm and boundless energy. His will and his drive and leadership have translated the aims and the hopes of the Government and the University of Malaya into real concrete result.

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

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

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

The philosophy of medical education which this Centre will interpret embraces in its thinking not student training only, or the young

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

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

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

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

In doing so this Faculty will answer the problem of our future needs for doctors. But to meet the difficulty arising from the shortage of doctors at present — a state of affairs which is a worry of other countries — we have to consider what is to be done between now and until the time when this Faculty is producing doctors in a steady and increasing stream. The question of recognition of degrees in medical science from other universities other than those which we have depended upon in the past consequently arises. It is not so much the question of recognition but of adjustment. Just as we have drawn on the best of experience in creating this Faculty, we intend to follow the best standards of practice applicable elsewhere in recruiting and appointing doctors. In this regard the Government will make a decision

in the next few months but the policy of the Government in this respect is clear that is, Government will treat all universities, other than our own university, on the same basis and purely on merits. Whatever difficulties that may arise in coming to this decision will be resolved and if it is necessary to amend our laws and regulations they will be amended.

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER WHEN  
DECLARING OPEN THE FIRST MALAYSIAN YOUTH  
CHAMPIONSHIPS AT THE MERDEKA STADIUM, KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 6TH AUGUST, 1965

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER INTRODUCING DR. PLUVIER AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS COCKTAIL AT LOKE YEW BUILDING, KUALA LUMPUR ON 6TH AUGUST, 1965

The Representative of Oxford University Press in Malaysia (Mr. Bramah), Ladies & Gentlemen:

I must apologize for keeping you all waiting for me. I have just finished one appointment and after this I have another meeting to attend. I thank the Oxford University Press for inviting me here tonight. It is indeed a pleasure to be here tonight and to introduce to you all Dr. Jan Pluvier, the author of *Confrontations* – an Oxford University Press Book which has just been published and currently on sales in our country. Dr. Pluvier teaches history at our National University in Pantai Valley.

I have not read the book myself so I cannot review it for you. Even if I had wanted to I would not try. I must refrain from doing so because I am such a poor book reviewer and that being the case, if I try, you might not want to read this good book after listening to me. If someone has not reviewed it already, I urge you to wait for a competent reviewer to do justice to the book. But I have heard the book is quite informative. Despite the title, there is only one chapter on confrontation proper. The motives behind Indonesian confrontation are discussed quite extensively.

For those who are not in the know or directly involved with Indonesian confrontation or the policies of this country – the book does throw some new light about Indonesian motives in its confrontation, about Dutch Official neutrality in the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation and many other aspects of confrontation. According to my friends, it is a good book, certainly, a good book for students of Indonesian politics.

Indonesian's chief argument against Malaysia is that we are an accomplice of Western Imperialism. We are what the Indonesian call, a neo-colonialist plot. I do not want to say very much about this but you yourself being an informed group know that this is not true. Malaysia was born as a result of the desire of the peoples of Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and Malaya to get together under a Federation. Despite Indonesian aggression, and what President Soekarno says or does, I am very glad that we have been able to maintain and strengthen

our national integrity and sovereignty. We are working slowly but surely towards a united nationhood and one common loyalty. Ironically, confrontation has been an added impetus towards nationhood.

I would like very much to emphasize here that we have no quarrel with the people of Indonesia. We do not even have any quarrel with President Soekarno for that matter, not until he started shouting at us that he wanted to crush us. This is a question of self-defence — defence against someone who is determined to crush us and our country.

The people of this country have the greatest respect and esteem for the Indonesian people and we wish them well and we hope that the time will not be too long before Malaysia and Indonesia are friends again.

Indonesia and Malaysia must inevitably get together again, for any prolongation of this confrontation will neither benefit Indonesia nor Malaysia. The continuation of animosity between these two countries will benefit only the enemies and the imperialists. So it is for the good and well-being of both Malaysia and Indonesia that solutions must be found to end the confrontation. We on our part are always ready to talk peace with Indonesia but any such talk can only take place when and if Indonesia stops its aggression against us.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Now I have much pleasure in introducing Dr. Pluvier to you all — Dr. Jan M. Pluvier.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE CENTRAL WELFARE CONFERENCE  
AT THE SCIENCE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
MALAYA, PANTAI VALLEY, KUALA LUMPUR ON 13TH  
AUGUST, 1965

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies & Gentlemen.

I am glad to be here today to address you at this opening of your Conference for various reasons, not least significant of them being the theme of your Conference — Urban Development and Its Implications for Social Welfare. This theme is in complete alignment with the aims of our Government and, if I may say, of all good Government, which is, in the final analysis, to make a better world materially, physically, spiritually and morally for the common man. While we perhaps give emphasis to rural development we are equally concerned with community development as a whole. The Government both central and local is constantly involved in the problems of community change. In providing a framework of law, and in supplying housing, social services, and means of communication etc., it is attempting to provide for the needs of a changing community. But this is not necessarily all that it is doing, it will also be trying to induce changes, to establish a pattern of community development more in accordance with the wishes and hopes of the people. Thus your choice of a theme in Urban Development is a very relevant and appropriate one.

Our country has come a long way in the relatively short years of its independence and its rapid advances and progress cannot but have very far reaching effects on the community. Government is well aware that industrialisation and economic development together with material gains, bring social effects on the very people they are meant to enrich. Our challenge is to recognise these effects for what they are, to maximise the good effects and to minimise the bad ones. Therefore it is well for us to accept, as indeed you must already have done in planning this Conference itself, that in spite of rapid changes, development can and must be directed. Indeed we can say that attempts to control the forces of change so that the effects may serve rather than defeat humanity are the challenge of our time.

We must also subscribe to one of the cardinal principles of democracy and that is that development should be desired by man, should aim at everything in man and also be intended for all people. In other words, it is the human factors in development that is important to us.

I am glad to see that your Conference will discuss ways and means of maximising the participation of citizens in urban development. Outside help without involvement of the people concerned can only be viewed as paternalism. Although we are comparatively young in nationhood, we have acquired sufficient maturity and independence to reject paternalism in any form. Increasingly therefore we seek the participation and cooperation of the people with self help as a goal.

Whatever its size, a community must be marked by a necessary sense of belonging. This belonging, this sense of common purpose, is as important now in this stage of our evolution as it ever will be if we are to forge ahead as a viable, happy, prosperous and independent nation. Those of you who have followed rural development plans and programmes will remember these words contained in the first Red Book that "everything possible will be done to educate, convince and inspire the rural dweller that the productivity, progress and prosperity of the nation is in fact the sum total of individual effort by each and every son of the land and so put the onus of the future advancement of the nation squarely on his shoulders and make him feel that the destiny of Malaysia without doubt is in his own hands".

And so I shall leave you to your deliberations and hope that you will in time build up a reservoir of social experience that can be tapped for guidance and inspiration in future development plans by all concerned with the welfare of our citizens. In the meantime:-

"Gunung tinggi sama didaki  
Lautan dalam sama direnang  
Marilah kita bersatu hati  
Perkara yang susah menjadi senang".

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO PERMANENT SECRETARIES, SECRETARIES TO MINISTRIES AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENT AT DEWAN TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, KUALA LUMPUR ON 19TH AUGUST, 1965

Hon'ble Minister of Finance, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am very glad indeed that you have been able to come here from all over Malaysia in response to an invitation from Dato Jamil, the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department and Chairman of the NDPC. Just over a year ago in this very same Hall, I spoke about the preparation of the First Malaysia Plan. Since then events and developments have moved pretty fast. It is gratifying to know that proposals prepared by you for the First Malaysia Plan have been vetted at all levels. The comprehensive Plan which is now being drafted is about to be finalised. This morning, I propose to discuss with you the tasks which lie in the years ahead in connection with the implementation of the Plan.

The good work carried out by you all in the execution of the existing development plans and the really magnificent manner in which you have responded to the call of public duty in producing results are deeply appreciated by the Government. Now, that we are on the threshold of launching, in the next few months, a bold and dynamic development plan for Malaysia for the period 1966-70, I consider it appropriate to meet you all again. I know that you will give the same high degree of cooperation, dedication to hard work and service required of every single Government officer to develop our country and meet the challenges and opportunities for the fulfilment of the aspirations of our people for higher levels of living.

In this connection you will also wish to know what possible impact the separation of Singapore from Malaysia will have on our Plan.

It is inevitable that necessary adjustments will be made to accommodate the changed situation resulting from Singapore's separation from Malaysia and resolve new problems arising therefrom. I am conscious of some anxiety over the separation of Singapore from Malaysia and of the effects it will have on the rest of the country politically and economically. You can be assured that the separation of Singapore was the result of mutual agreement between the Governments concerned. It was taken because it is considered to be the best solution available

under the circumstances. It was a sad parting but we should be comforted by the fact that we parted as friends imbued with the desire to keep as close together as possible in matters of defence, economic development, trade and commerce-matters which are essential for the survival, progress and prosperity of both nations. We would promote close cooperation with Singapore for the mutual benefit of Malaysia and Singapore and in the national interests.

The separation might affect the natural and healthy development of both countries if close cooperation and harmonious relations are not maintained between us. It is our sincere hope that Singapore will respond positively to our gesture of goodwill and friendship and work for the good of our peoples.

We are deeply conscious of the difficult problems in the years ahead; problems arising from external aggression, sabotage and internal subversion mounted by Indonesia and Communist agents. These are compounded by the problems associated with the need to accelerate the rate of development of the country. Recognising these problems is not enough. We must tackle them imaginatively and not let them simmer or be concealed underneath.

We have made impressive economic progress in the past several years and the pressing development problems we face are not new to most developing countries of this region. Recognition of these problems and attempting to resolve them is more than half the battle won and we will go onward and upwards. What are our pressing problems? They are those arising from the rapid increase in the Malaysia population and labour force with consequent signs of growing unemployment and the increasing need to provide education, health, housing and other social services. On top of these there is the urgent requirement to improve the standards of living of our people particularly in those areas where living standards are low relative to the rest of the country: e.g. the Borneo States, the north and east coast of the Malayan mainland and some of the urban slum areas. Extensive programme of rural development, land settlement, education and housing will be needed over the next five years to cope with these needs.

As these problems become more pressing, our prospects for further income growth are clouded by uncertainties in world markets for natural rubber and some other traditional export products although on present indications, natural rubber will continue to yield a reasonable return on investment and an adequate income to smallholders for the foreseeable future. This problem points to the need to diversify our agriculture and to make progress in developing alternative sources of income and employment.

The Government, as I stated earlier, has recognised these problems and is making major efforts towards economic diversification and industrialisation. More will be done in these directions but the central problem as regards the First Malaysia Plan is the financial constraint upon the total level of public investment. We have the capacity to develop and administrative and technical capacity are no longer the main bottlenecks as they were during the early part of the decade. In the light of this financial constraint the Government is reviewing the investment target or size of the First Malaysia Plan which will be imaginative and bold but not excessively ambitious. A decision on the revised investment target will soon be announced.

The problems are not insurmountable though challenging and crucial. We are deeply committed to the people, particularly those in the rural areas and the States of Sabah and Sarawak and recognise a clear mandate to accelerate the pace of development. I would like to assure the people concerned that we shall do as much for them as possible and in fact much more than the present plans of the constituent States. At the same time, however, we will need their full cooperation in helping the Central Government to meet some of the problems involved and to mobilise the necessary men, money and material resources for development, defence and security.

There is scope for the States to increase their revenue and hence employment and income through large-scale alienation of land to the private sector to reinforce the good work done by FLDA in land settlement. I am glad that the State Governments which have vast areas of suitable land for cultivation will proceed speedily with alienation of land in accordance with the recent decision of the National Land Council.

Development and Defence are the two pillars to uplift our economy and safeguard our sovereignty. The assistance we are receiving to ensure peace and progress in this country from friendly countries in supplementing our own development and defence efforts is deeply appreciated. But external aid cannot be substituted for our own basic responsibility for economic development, defence and internal security.

These inter-related and indivisible tasks must essentially be carried out by us. The tasks ahead are therefore made that much and perhaps more difficult. Malaysians themselves must show their own initiative and redouble their efforts to help themselves, for 'God helps only those who help themselves'. If we are not prepared to make sacrifices for the good of the Nation and work hard to overcome the problems confronting us, we shall then have failed by our own default. Fortunately in the past two years since the establishment of Malaysia, we

have been able to make remarkable growth and progress and with public support I am sure we can overcome all difficulties.

The question is how should we meet the situation and tackle the problems of development? What are the essential action that should be adopted in the years ahead in implementing our First Malaysia Plan? I shall suggest a few important requirements basic for efficient implementation of the Plan. Approach these problems calmly but firmly. Tackle them with a singleness of purpose tempered with perseverance and coolness rather than with recklessness and inconsistency. Remember that as a new and growing nation, we will continue to find ourselves in situations which often are difficult and where we simply will not have easy choices or ideal solutions. We therefore must not yield ourselves to frustration and disappointments over stresses and strains which are bound to arise. What is important is that we must consolidate our position, strengthen our unity and dedicate ourselves to the job of nation-building. Let not our difficulties or problems deter our determination to accelerate the economic and social development of Malaysia.

The major emphasis in the First Malaysia Plan will be given to agriculture, rural and industrial development, housing, health and education. Malaysia's marketing system will become more effective with the operation of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority whose principal objective is to ensure fair and just returns for farmers' produce. The credit needs of our farmers and indigenous people will be met through a re-vitalised co-operative movement and the establishment of Bank Bumiputera, while extension services and the provision of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, better seeds and pesticides will be stepped up concurrently with provision of essential infrastructure facilities — roads, transport and communications, power, schools, housing etc. Rural, industrial and urban development will receive greater impetus through the activities of MARA, FLDA and FIDA. These constitute concrete evidence of Government's efforts at modernisation of our society throughout Malaysia.

Government's finances will be severely limited during the next five years but the needs of our people for increased employment and higher levels of income are great. For this reason, first priority under the First Malaysia Plan has been given to projects which directly increase productivity and incomes and those which create new jobs. Projects which merely provide social amenities and do little to raise incomes or employment in the long run have had to take a second place in the Plan. Only by rigidly limiting ourselves to productive projects can we best serve the long-run interests of all Malaysia's people.

When Government development efforts are tending to expand with the launching of the First Malaysia Plan under conditions of financial stringency, we should take all possible care in preparing and implementing our programmes. In this connection, I would suggest what appear to me to be some of the essential steps for action. First, there should be advance planning of projects with proper estimate of costs. I suspect that constant revision of costs exceeding the approved provision in the Development Estimates is the result of inadequate planning and also partly reflects the desire to have elaborate frills and fittings designed to suit the aesthetic value of architects or consultants. This seems to indicate that much more careful and advance planning is required. My colleague, the Minister of Finance, and you all would, I am sure agree that this state of affairs which may be permissible under conditions of affluence should not continue. Instructions have been issued that plans and designs for projects should be estimated properly and worked out in advance. They should be based on functional needs. A Committee on Standards and Costs will be set up under the auspices of the NDPC to check on plans and designs of projects, materials, and quality before they are put out to tender. The specifications should be such as to conform with the utmost economy. Federal and State Government departments will be requested to adhere to this policy strictly. If tendered prices should exceed the provisions voted then the plan might have to be re-designed.

Another important reason for advance planning is to ensure the completion or fulfilment of our plan. To a greater extent our Plan will depend on external financial assistance. We must have in our portfolio sufficient projects, properly studied and planned in advance to qualify for foreign aid. Failure on the part of Departments to produce a sufficient number of planned projects suitable for foreign financing might jeopardise the chances of getting funds for their implementation. I have asked the EPU in consultation with the Treasury, Bank Negara and Ministries and State Governments concerned to press on with the preparation of such projects and explore all possible avenues of foreign assistance.

I would hasten to emphasize that advance planning need not necessarily imply rigid planning. Very often the Plan must be modified or adjusted because of changes in circumstances and conditions since it is impossible to foresee all contingencies. To meet these circumstances, a Contingency Development Vote will be created to be jointly controlled by me and my colleague, the Minister of Finance, for allocation which can only be granted on full justification.

Secondly, the Economy Drive Committee, which has already been established, will help to ensure that we get the best value for every dollar spent on development and recurrent expenditure. I am advised that there is scope for minimising expenditure by reviewing present establishments and exercising stringent economy in expenditure by Federal Ministries and Departments. It is essential that at this amount of Emergency, Federal and State Governments as well as Public Authorities should work in unison in carrying out this policy.

Although the State Governments might have funds of their own for development projects under the State lists, I hope they will adopt the rigorous standards as outlined above. Officers are reminded that expenditure should be directed to economically productive projects and the so-called prestige projects and public buildings will be eliminated or reduced to the minimum. The same stringent standards of economy and the same criteria as apply to Federal Departments will also apply to State Departments and it is my earnest hope that State Governments will co-operate fully with the Central Government when implementing development programmes under the First Malaysia Plan.

Thirdly, steps will be taken early next year to designate a group of "expeditors" who will not only assist co-ordination and expedite action on projects on the ground but also evaluate the results and progress made. The administrative machinery will be strengthened and further streamlined to achieve the necessary co-ordination, speed of action and full utilisation of completed projects.

In this connection I would like to see greater delegation of authority in the discharge of responsibilities. Detailed and excessive minuting upwards, and downwards and even sideways should be minimised. A relatively high degree of discretion should be given to individual officers to carry out their planning and implementation of programmes.

It is important to increase efficiency and improve the services to the public. Officers are aware and conscious of this need and I am glad that they adopt a human approach to all problems with a spirit of service and leadership. Without these even the best trained officer and the best prepared plan or programme will fail to evoke public response and participation.

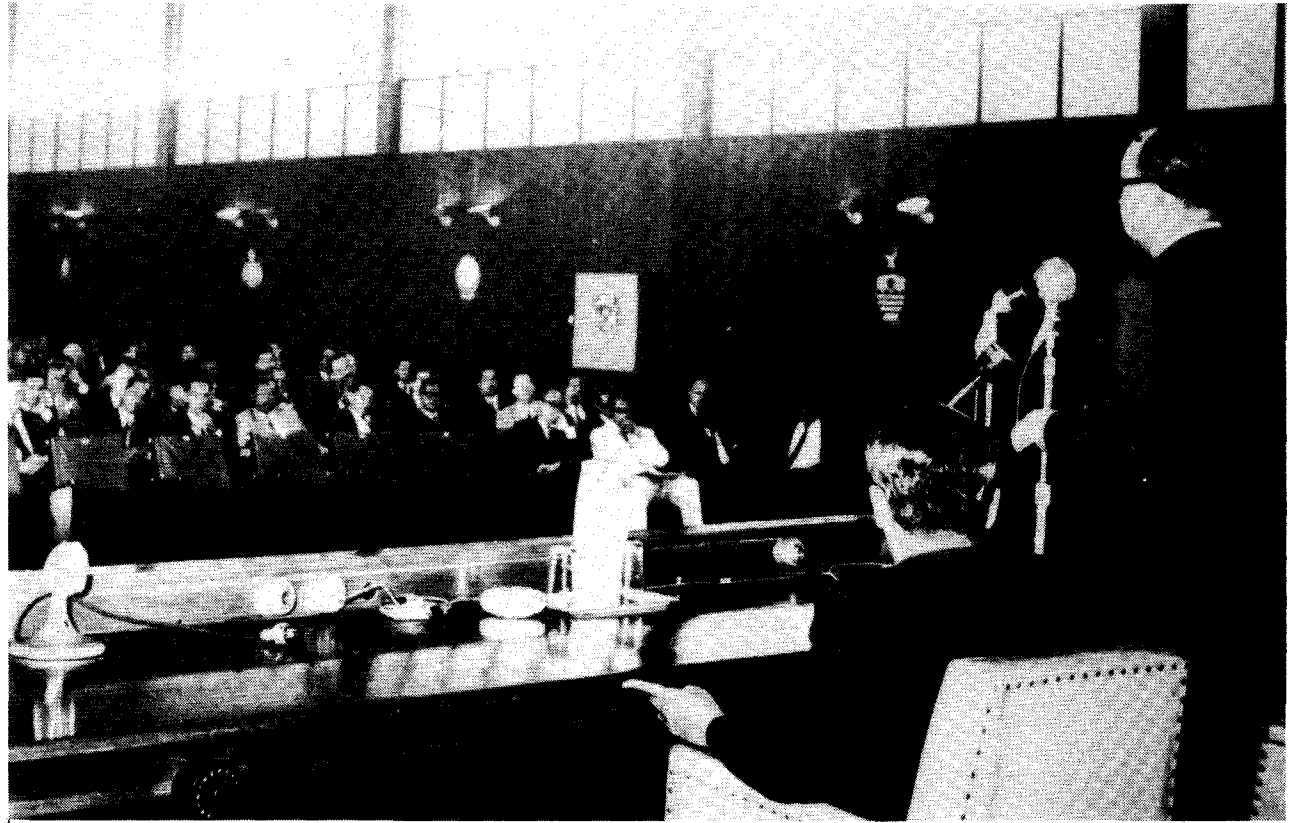
Development planning, let it not be forgotten, is not an end itself. It is essentially a means to an end - which is to promote a higher standard of living and a happier and more prosperous society.

This end can be achieved only if those entrusted with the task of plan implementation undertake this work in a spirit of public service and conduct themselves in a manner which inspires peoples' confidence and cooperation.

It is gratifying to note that our public service is one of the best in the developing countries in the region but there is room still for improvement - any country which is satisfied with the status quo will eventually lag behind. One cannot be complacent with the achievements thus far attained but must strive for greater goals and achievement in the years ahead. For this reason the Government has invited a two-man team of public administration experts provided by the Ford Foundation to make recommendations for increasing efficiency and performance in the development administration of this country.

Malaysia is one of the few countries in Asia and South East Asia which is committed to the basic political form of parliamentary democracy and a democratic system of government dictates that we must inspire popular public participation in the important task of development and meet the aspirations of the people for a better standard of living. This is the surest means of warranting the country's democratic future.

Well, gentlemen, once again thank you for coming here this morning and in concluding my address I would like to congratulate you all for successfully completing the groundwork for the launching of the First Malaysia Plan. I am confident that you will respond to the challenge and opportunities in implementing the Plan and helping to achieve the objectives of building a peaceful, prosperous and progressive Malaysia.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein ketika berucap kepada Setiausaha-Setiausaha Tetap dan Setiausaha-Setiausaha Kementerian, Setiausaha-Setiausaha Negeri, Setiausaha-Setiausaha Kewangan Negeri, Pegawai-Pegawai Pembangunan Negeri dan Ketua-Ketua Jabatan Persekutuan mengenai Pelaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Pertama (1966-1970) di Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur pada 19 Ogos, 1965.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI UPACARA  
PEMBUKAAN RASMI MASJID NEGARA PADA 27 OGOS,  
1965

Assalamualaikum Warah matullahi-wa-barakatoh.

Dengan nama Allah Yang Maha Kuasa lagi mengasihi serta salawat dan salam kepada Nabi dan Rasul-Nya Muhammad s.a.w.

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong<sup>1</sup> serta Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-Raja.

Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun. Patik sebagai Pengerusi Jawatan-kuasa Pembinaan Masjid Negara ini dengan hormat takzimnya menjunjung kasih yang tidak terhingga kepada ke bawah Duli Seri Paduka Baginda di atas limpah kesudian Tuanku berangkat bercemar duli untuk merasmikan pembukaan masjid ini. Begitu juga patik menjunjung kasih kepada Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-Raja yang telah berkenan bersama-sama berangkat untuk menambah seri dan berkat upacara yang bersejarah pada pagi ini; istimewa pula kepada Ke bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, Sultan Brunei kerana sudi berangkat ke Kuala Lumpur khas untuk bersama-sama menghadiri upacara ini.

Ampun Tuanku. Bagi memulakan upacara ini patik mohon keizinan untuk berucap sepatah dua kata kepada dif-dif yang dihormati serta sidang hadirin sekalian.

Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Gabenor-gabenor, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Dif-Dif Yang Terhormat, Yang Berhormat Menteri-Menteri, Datuk-Datuk, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian yang hadir.

Terlebih dahulu saya ingin menyampaikan ucapan terima kasih daripada Kerajaan dan rakyat negeri ini atas kehadiran Tuan Yang Terutama Yang di-Pertua Negara dan Tuan Yang Terutama Gabenor-gabenor dan Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Dif-Dif Yang Terhormat, khasnya kepada wakil-wakil daripada 14 negara sahabat, yang telah sudi datang ke negara kita untuk bersama-sama dengan kita sekalian dalam upacara pembukaan Masjid Negara yang bersejarah ini. Kepada mereka sekalian, saya ucapkan selamat datang ke Malaysia. Saya berharap Tuan-tuan yang Terutama sekalian bukan sahaja memberikan kehormatan kepada kami dengan menghadiri upacara pembukaan

<sup>1</sup>D.Y.M.M. Tuanku Syed Putra AlHaj ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail.

Masjid Negara ini, tetapi juga memberikan silaturrahim yang akan memperteguh ikatan persahabatan antara Kerajaan dan rakyat negeri ini dengan Kerajaan dan rakyat negeri tuan-tuan sekalian. Mudah-mudahan lawatan Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama akan memberikan kesempatan untuk mengenali negara kami yang baharu merdeka ini lebih dekat dan lebih rapat. Kami adalah bangsa yang sentiasa memperjuangkan cita-cita persahabatan dan keamanan dunia. Kami ingin sentiasa mempunyai hubungan persahabatan yang baik; hormat menghormati akan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan masing-masing. Kami adalah umat yang percayakan kebesaran Tuhan. Masjid Negara ini adalah lambang perpaduan rakyat kami yang walaupun menganut berbagai-bagai agama tetapi tetap yakin bahawa kami semua adalah hamba dan makhluk Tuhan yang lemah dan mesti bersatu padu. Atas dasar inilah juga kami ingin mengekalkan keamanan secara persahabatan yang terhormat dengan negara-negara lain, terutama negara-negara Islam yang tuan-tuan wakili.

Bagi pihak Kerajaan dan rakyat negara ini saya mengambil kesempatan ini untuk menyampaikan perasaan terima kasih khas kepada Kerajaan Republik India yang telah bermurah hati dan ikhlasnya menghadiahkan sebuah kerusi perak yang amat indah buatannya dan mahal harganya untuk dijadikan kerusi imam masjid ini. Bagi Malaysia hadiah itu adalah merupakan tanda persahabatan yang jujur yang sangat-sangat dijunjung tinggi.

Tuan-tuan yang dihormati sekalian.

Pada hari Jumaat yang mulia ini, iaitu hari seluruh umat Islam di dunia melupakan segala sengketa dan petaka untuk berhimpun di masjid-masjid kerana menunaikan fardu Jumaat, maka kita rakyat Malaysia dapatlah mengucapkan syukur kepada Allah Subhanahu-Wataala kerana kurnia Nya kepada kita untuk mempunyai sebuah Masjid Negara yang agong dan yang mempunyai sejarah ini. Bertambah-tambah lagi kesyukuran kita kerana limpah berkenan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong untuk menyempurnakan dan merasmikan pembukaan Masjid ini.

Cita-cita hendak mendirikan sebuah Masjid yang besar bagi negara ini telah dizahirkan setelah negara kita mencapai kemerdekaannya pada 31 Ogos, 1957 untuk menjadi suatu tanda dan kenang-kenangan yang kekal abadi bagi kemerdekaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada masa itu dan lagi merupakan suatu hadiah daripada rakyat dan negara ini kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tuanku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj sebagai menghargai dan menjunjung tinggi jasa-jasa Yang Teramat Mulia Tuanku itu di atas kebijaksanaannya memimpin negara Per-

sekutuan Tanah Melayu ke arah kemerdekaan. Dengan sebab itu perbelanjaan untuk pembinaan Masjid Negara ini bukan sahaja datangnya daripada Kerajaan Pusat bahkan daripada Kerajaan-kerajaan Negeri dan daripada rakyat jelata seluruhnya daripada sekalian bangsa.

Cita-cita dan kehendak saya sendiri dan pengasas Masjid Negara ini ialah supaya Masjid ini diberi nama "Masjid Tunku Abdul Rahman". Akan tetapi dengan kehendak Tunku sendiri, Masjid ini eloklah diberi nama "Masjid Negara". Dengan sebab itu upacara pada hari ini sangatlah besar ertinya dalam sejarah negara kita kerana Masjid Negara ini akan menjadi kenang-kenangan untuk selama-lamanya bagi Penganjur dan Bapa Negara<sup>2</sup> kita dan bagi kemerdekaan negara kita ini.

Sebagai Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Pembinaan Masjid Negara ini, saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada semua pihak Ahli-Ahli Jawatankuasa; Setiausahanya, Tuan Haji Ismail bin Panjang Aris; dan Ahli-Ahli Jawatankuasa-jawatankuasa Peringkat Negeri dan Jajahan yang telah berusaha mengutip derma bagi pembinaan Masjid ini. Begitu juga saya ucapkan berbilang-bilang terima kasih kepada ahli-ahli dermawan daripada semua bangsa yang telah sudi menghulurkan derma untuk pembinaan Masjid ini yang berjumlah \$1,007,000.00. Saya tidak dapat menyebutkan nama-nama mereka itu kerana ada beribu-ribu orang yang telah berderma, tetapi sebahagian daripada mereka yang memberi derma yang terbanyak adalah hadir dalam upacara pada pagi ini.

Dan lagi saya suka menyembahkan ucapan terima kasih kepada Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-Raja dan Tuan Yang Terutama Yang di-Pertuan Negara Singapura<sup>3</sup> serta Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama Gabenor-gabenor kerana telah bermurah hati menghadihkan bagi tiap-tiap seorang sebuah lampu atau chandaliar yang ada di dalam Masjid ini.

Banyak daripada derma-derma yang diterima itu datangnya daripada ahli-ahli dermawan yang bukan beragama Islam. Inilah suatu bukti yang menunjukkan bahawa di Negara Malaysia ini penduduk-penduduknya yang terdiri daripada berbagai bangsa dan agama adalah mempunyai fahaman yang baik di antara satu dengan lain dan sedia bantu membantu di antara satu dengan lain. Dasar Kerajaan Malaysia ialah sentiasa hendak menguatkan perhubungan baik dan tali persahabatan di antara penduduk-penduduk negeri ini daripada berbagai bangsa dan agama itu supaya tiap-tiap orang mempunyai tempat yang sempurna di negara ini dan supaya pada suatu masa kelak mereka dapat mengingat diri

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<sup>2</sup>Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

<sup>3</sup>Encik Yusof bin Ishak.

mereka sebagai suatu bangsa walaupun mempunyai agama yang berlainan. Derma-derma yang diterima daripada orang-orang yang bukan Islam itu adalah menunjukkan juga bahawa mereka itu menerima dan menghormati dasar Kerajaan yang tercatat dalam Perlembagaan iaitu sungguhpun agama Islam menjadi agama rasmi, tetapi Kerajaan adalah menjamin kebebasan beribadat dan beragama di negara kita ini kepada semua pihak.

Dan lagi saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan tahniah kepada Akitek Masjid ini iaitu Encik Baharuddin bin Mohd. Kassim yang telah menunjukkan kebijaksanaannya yang luar biasa bagi membentuk sebuah Masjid yang mempunyai bentuk yang sesuai untuk menjalankan kegiatan-kegiatan agama kita dan sesuai pula dengan iklim negeri serta hasrat kebangsaan kita. Begitu juga saya ucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih kepada Jurutera-jurutera terutama sekali kepada Jabatan Kerja Raya yang telah bersungguh-sungguh berusaha mengelolakan pembinaan Masjid ini. Saya tidak lupa juga mengucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih kepada kontraktor-kontraktor dan kakitangan-kakitangan yang lain yang telah mengambil bahagian dalam pembinaan Masjid ini.

Masjid dalam erti kata yang sebenarnya bukanlah hanya tempat sembahyang sahaja, tetapi seperti yang kita ketahui daripada sejarah perkembangan Islam, terutama dalam zaman Rasulullah dan sahabat-sahabatnya, masjid ialah tempat untuk umat Islam membulatkan perpaduan dan menentukan sikap dan tindakan dalam segala hal penghidupan, termasuk soal-soal yang mengenai hukum-hukum agama, keamanan masyarakat, kebajikan am dan ilmu pengetahuan.

Masjid Negara ini adalah mempunyai kawasan seluas 13½ ekar dan luas bangunan Masjid ini memenuhi kawasan 5 ekar. Di dalamnya termasuklah Dewan Sembahyang seluas 22,500 kaki persegi yang boleh muat tidak kurang daripada 8,000 orang jemaah. Disamping itu ada sebuah dewan lain yang boleh memuat 500 orang untuk digunakan bagi berbagai-bagai kegiatan dalam lapangan agama kita. Selain daripada itu Masjid ini mempunyai kutubkhanah dan pejabat-pejabat bagi pegawai-pegawai. Dan lagi bersambungan dengan Masjid ini ada sebuah makam untuk perwira kebangsaan kita. Sebagai sebuah Masjid Negara dan Masjid yang terbesar sekali dalam negeri ini, diharap Masjid ini akan jadi pusat penyelidikan dan perkembangan Agama Islam kita yang maha suci. Begitu juga di Masjid ini diharap akan dapat diadakan pusat pengajian tinggi agama kita supaya Masjid ini menjadi lambang ketinggian dan perkembangan Uagama Islam dan memancarkan sinar Islam ke seluruh negara kita Malaysia.

Dengan ini saya akhiri ucapan saya dan sebelum saya mempersilakan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong mengisytiharkan Pembukaan Rasmi Masjid Negara ini, saya dengan sukacitanya mempersilakan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri untuk menyampaikan ucapannya.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PEMBUKAAN PERTANDINGAN BERZANJI DI MASJID NEGARA KUALA LUMPUR PADA 27 OGOS, 1965

Yang Mulia Tuan Pengerusi,

Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan yang hadir sekalian.

Alhamdulillah kita semua patutlah mengucapkan syukur ke hadrat Tuhan kerana pada hari yang mulia ini iaitu hari Jumaat – 27 Ogos, 1965 – ini adalah menjadi hari yang sebenar-benarnya bersejarah di dalam tawarikh negara kita yang muda ini. Pada pagi tadi, kita telah dapat menyaksikan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong<sup>1</sup> merasmikan Pembukaan Rasmi Masjid Negara kita. Masjid ini ialah Masjid yang terbesar sekali di negara kita dan di sini akan menjadi tempat tumpuan umat Islam di Malaysia ini bukan sahaja untuk membuat amal ibadat, menjalankan kehendak-kehendak Allah Subhanahu Wataala bahkan untuk menjalankan langkah-langkah bagi memperkembangkan Agama Islam kita yang maha suci itu. Masjid ini akan menjadi pusat menyelidikan dan perkembangan Agama Islam dan juga pusat pengajian tinggi bagi agama kita yang maha suci itu. Di Masjid inilah diharap ketinggian dan perkembangan Agama Islam itu akan memancarkan sinarnya ke seluruh negara kita di Malaysia.

Pada malam ini bagi mengambil kesempatan di upacara yang bersejarah ini iaitu Pembukaan Rasmi Masjid Negara kita, kita dapat pula menyaksi dan mendengar bacaan-bacaan berzanji daripada peserta-peserta yang terkemuka dari negeri-negeri di Malaysia ini. Temasya pada malam ini ialah sebagai merayakan hari yang mulia dan bersejarah ini.

Sebagai Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Pembinaan Masjid Negara ini, saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan tahniah kepada Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa Pertandingan Berzanji ini bagi peringkat Kebangsaan dan peringkat Negeri-negeri yang telah berusaha beberapa bulan yang lalu untuk mengadakan pertandingan-pertandingan bagi memilih peserta-peserta yang mengambil bahagian pada malam ini. Begitu juga saya mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Ahli-ahli Jawatankuasa yang menguruskan pertandingan ini bagi pihak Kerajaan Pusat dan bagi pihak Masjid Negara ini. Dan lagi kita semua berasa besar hati disebabkan pada pertandingan malam ini ada bersama-

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<sup>1</sup>D.Y.M.M. Tuanku Syed Putra AlHaj ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail

sama dengan kita Dif-dif Yang Terhormat iaitu wakil-wakil daripada negara-negara sahabat kita. Saya berharap kehadiran mereka di Pembukaan Rasmi Masjid Negara ini dan di temasya pada malam ini dan juga di temasya-temasya yang lain pada beberapa hari yang akan datang, akan membolehkan mereka mengetahui dengan sepenuh-penuhnya bahawa kita di Malaysia, suka hendak bersahabat dan mempunyai perhubungan rapat dengan negara-negara asing terutama sekali Negara-negara Islam dan saya berharap Dif-dif Yang Terhormat itu akan dapat membawa balik dengan mereka perasaan muhibbah dan tali persahabatan yang erat daripada kita semua rakyat Malaysia.

Sekian sahaja, saya ucapkan peserta-peserta dalam pertandingan ini selamat berjaya.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, IN  
DECLARING OPEN THE NEW HEADQUARTERS OF  
THE TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION OF MALAYA,  
PETALING JAYA, ON 28TH AUGUST, 1965

Mr. President, and Gentlemen,

I am very pleased to be here with you this morning. Oddly enough, the last thing I did in my office before I gave thought to the few words I am to say to you was in fact to read some parts of the draft of our First Malaysia Five Year Development Plan, which will be launched next year.

It may be a coincidence that in the sequence of work at my office desk, these two subjects, your Technical Association, and the draft National Development Plan, actually met, both on my table and in my mind at the same time.

This lucky coincidence may also be a token of good luck, a sign of future prosperity for the future, because there is no doubt that there is a very close relationship between your Association and the future development of our country.

I remember, way back in 1960, when we launched the present Five Year Plan, the doubts that existed in many minds that we could not possibly hope to achieve such an ambitious development programme, because, said the doubters, our new Nation did not have, although we had the funds for development, sufficient technical capacity to implement the many thousands of projects which were envisaged in the Plan.

The Plan, they said, was certain to fail. Time and results have proved that those who doubted us were wrong, and Ladies and Gentlemen, I am glad, and proud, to say that throughout the length and breadth of our country, wherever you go, you will see, mile after mile as you travel, new schools, new water-works, new road-works, new electricity supplies, new buildings of all sizes, shapes and uses and many hundreds of other projects completed by the technical and professional skill of many Malaysians.

All these projects, planned and designed for the benefit of our people, are in fact a tribute, a tremendous tribute to the technical capacity of our country, a capacity which has been growing from strength since we gained Independence in 1957.

And I should like to take this opportunity this morning of thanking all of you here, both Members of Technical Association and also all the other Engineers, Architects, Town Planners, Surveyors, and the many other professionally and technically trained Malaysians to whom, because of their skill, hard work and dedication, our country owes a debt of gratitude because, without them development in this country would be dead.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, development in this country is very much alive. It is a throbbing thriving aspect in the progress of our new Nation.

Thousands of people from many countries throughout the World have visited our shores, in the last few years, to see for themselves the amazing progress we have made in the field of development since Independence.

And I say with modesty that our fame as a Nation of developers has spread throughout the Free World and, if "Imitation is the highest form of flattery", then we have been flattered because many other developing countries had sent teams to Kuala Lumpur to imitate, learn, and copy our methods of development.

In fact I will be prepared to lay a bet with you that if, in addition to having beauty competitions, such as Miss Universe and Miss World, there was a "Miss Development" competition, and by that I do not mean a competition of "busts and breasts"; I mean a competition in which all developing countries in the World are judged as to which had made the greatest progress in the last few years in the field of development, I am sure that our country would return from it with a crown of glory and by rights that glory should be shared equally by all the hardworking technical and professional officers who have served our country so well.

Now, you technical men, before you sit back on your laurels, after the praise I have given you, think for a moment the reason that I am praising you. I praise you not to boost up your pride; I praise you in order to prepare you for the future;

In 1966, we will launch the First Malaysian Development Plan. This is an ambitious Plan designed to fulfil the further needs necessary for the greater progress of our country.

If it is to succeed, if our hopes are to be fulfilled, then the burden of this fulfilment will lie fairly and squarely on the shoulders of our

technical services, both in the public and private sector, on your shoulders;

Therefore I say, "lie not back on you laurels" ponder not on the praise I have given you, but determine today, that during the next five years to come, you will redouble your efforts and put up an even better show than you did over the last five years.

As you know our country is facing external aggression from without, combined with the threat of internal subversion from within.

Therefore in order to defend our sovereignty, in order to guarantee our Independence, much more money than before has now got to be diverted towards the maintenance of our Armed Forces and our Police Forces, and yet, and in spite of this threat, the Alliance Government are determined that the pace of development of our Nation will not slacken.

That, briefly, is the position in words but what is the position in action; what is the action required to fulfil this double aim of Defence and Development.

This means that in order to keep up the tempo of development we have got to get maximum value out of every single dollar and every single cent that is allocated for our development programme.

This means that we need the highest standard of sincere cooperation from every single Engineer, Architect, Surveyor and other professional men to ensure that there is not one drop of financial wastage in any single project.

This may also mean, professionally to some of you, that in dedication to our National aims you have got to sink a little bit of your professional pride.

If we build hundreds of schools, clinics and other buildings they must be constructed sufficiently well to be functional but they must not be designed and build so lavishly that valuable money is wasted on fancy designs and unnecessary extras.

It also means that there must be the closest supervision of construction on the spot to ensure that government funds, the taxpayers' money, goes into the bricks and mortar, the walls and buildings.

I am not suggesting that over the last Five Year Plan there has been excessive, lavish designing or excessive wastage of funds but I

do think there is a tendency to try to imitate the designs and construction carried out in Western countries, where conditions are different from that in Malaysia.

I do not want to step on the toes of Architects or other professional men but, take for example, if a house is built in Switzerland, the walls and roofs have got to be strong enough to withstand 6 to 8 feet of snow and survive the storms of many winters.

We here in Malaysia have therefore, without lowering our standards, have got to adjust them in keeping with our needs because, as I see it, we have got to do some re-thinking on the implementation of our First Malaysia Development Plan and see if we cannot build the majority of our development buildings out of local products, out of local timber, so that from the same amount of money we can get perhaps double the quantity; admittedly these structures will not be as pleasing to the eye as brick and concrete buildings but, in this phase of our development, we do not want beauty so much as utility; we do not want luxury; what we need is to fulfil our necessities.

A great task lies ahead of us and from day to day as we develop we need more and more technically and professionally trained Malaysians.

And I am glad to see that in your plans for the future is a Secretariat and a publication of a booklet on "Careers of Technical Employment".

I congratulate you on this excellent idea. I think you could go further than this by your Association, working closely in hand with the Ministry of Education and arranging lectures and exhibitions to students in our secondary schools to sow the seeds of ambition on the hearts of our youths so that they may be motivated and inspired to take up a technical career and thus fill the ranks of the main stay of a mature Malaysia — more and more Malaysian trained in modern technical professional skills!

Considering the great number of secondary school students who live in Petaling Jaya it might be a good idea to use this fine new building on occasions to have an "open technical evening" so that students who wish to enquire about taking up a professional technical career could come here and consult and seek advice from Members of your Association who belong to these various professions.

Lastly, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to praise the President,

and your Association, on the fine idea of planning for the future of establishing a "Central Research Library of Technical Literature".

Normally when I praise anything like this; within two or three days I get a letter with my own words thrown back at me, saying that because I have sponsored it, I should therefore also sponsor the allocation of Government funds!

I think in this case many of the international educational foundations, and many of our friendly Members of the Commonwealth and other, who give us technical aid under the Colombo Plan, will probably consider very favourably a request for assistance to equip this library, which has a vital part to play in the future of technical advancement in our country.

And now it is time for me to do what I really came today to do and that is to declare open this fine new building! I do so now with pleasure.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein ketika merasmikan ibu pejabat baru Persatuan Teknik Malaya di Petaling Jaya pada 28 Ogos, 1965.

TR 9:8:65

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE  
ENGINEERING SOCIETY, UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA,  
KUALA LUMPUR ON 28TH AUGUST, 1965

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy and honoured to be here with you tonight. This has for me, as a layman, been a very "technical day".

Earlier today I declared open the new Headquarters Office of the Technical Association of Malaya and had to be brave enough to stand up and face a great number of Engineers; and here this evening as a non-technical layman, I have got to summon up courage again and face all of you budding Engineers of the future.

However, I like your profession and the thing I particularly like about Engineers is that, as compared to members of other professions, such as my own profession of law, very few Engineers have seem to be misled into dissipating their University degress by wasting their time standing for politics!

I wish the same could be said of my fellow politicians who unqualified as they are in your science and art, nevertheless, are always "engineering" something or other and in most cases "engineering" the wrong thing!

Perhaps you could ask the Institute of Engineers to add a special clause to the Draft Engineers Bill to prevent Politicians from "engineering".

I should like to say how pleased I and my Cabinet colleagues are with the success of this new Faculty of Engineering and with the speed with which it became established and also established a name for itself and the reputation of producing Engineers of quality.

I should like to congratulate Professor Chin Fung Kee <sup>1</sup> and Members of the Faculty of their great success.

Our country needs an almost unlimited number of Engineers, young Malaysians, dedicated to the application of modern technical skills, and as Professor Chin Fung Kee pointed out in his address last year, we also need an increasing number of technicians and craftsmen.

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<sup>1</sup>Dean and Profesor of Engineering Faculty.

I am interested to note his figures, that it is reckoned for developing countries like ours that there should be about 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen to every Engineer.

I understand that the Technical Division of the Ministry of Education are tackling this problem of the production of human technical talents so that our future development will not be hampered by lack of technical skills.

If these trained technicians and craftsmen are not produced quickly you young Engineers will be like an Army of Generals with no troops to command! However, my Government is giving full attention to the matter.

When eventually, you members of this Society leave the University and start practising your profession, you will find plenty of scope and opportunity in playing your part in giving your contribution to the development of Malaysia.

As you know we are coming to the end of our present National Development Plan and next year we will launch the First Malaysian Development Plan.

This is an ambitious Plan designed to fulfil the needs and progress of our country.

It is a Plan forged like a knife with a double blade, cutting on the one hand the path of progress in the agricultural sector of our economy in the diversification of crops and in the opening up of new land in the rural areas.

On the other hand, the other blade is designed to carve out a place for Malaysia, a rightful place, so that we may eventually play our part and reap the benefit of our share of industrialization in the Free World.

So therefore there will be ample opportunities for many years to come for young engineers after graduation to choose a career either in Government where you will help in the great task of implementing our National Development Programme.

If on the other hand you prefer to join the private sector in industry you will find an equally satisfying career lies ahead of you.

I am glad to know that his Faculty of Engineering has been so oriented in the education and training of young Engineers, (and also

oriented the conduct of your research), to meet the special needs of our country, Malaysia.

I actually stressed this very same point in a different context earlier today when I said that we must not be too concerned with international standards designed for the needs of countries placed in different circumstances and different climatic conditions.

And I hope that this process of orientation in training of graduates will be kept constantly under review so that the needs of our country will always be put, first and foremost and eliminate the tendency of acquiring academic knowledge purely for the sake of being academic.

The context of which I explained this was in the context of our development programme vis-a-vis our National Defence.

We are facing external aggression from without, and at times, internal subversion from within.

Therefore, in order to defend our sovereignty, in order to guarantee our independence, much more money has now got to be diverted to the maintenance of our Armed Forces and Police Forces and yet, in spite of this threat, the Alliance Government are determined that the pace of development of our Nation will not slacken.

This means that in order to keep up the tempo of development we have got to get maximum value out of every single dollar, and every single cent, that is allocated for our development programme.

This means that we need the highest standard of sincere cooperation from every single Engineer, Architect, Surveyor, and other professional men to ensure that there is not one drop of financial wastage in any single project.

This may also mean professionally, to some of you, that Engineers will have to sink a little bit of their professional pride and yet not lower their standards.

Because if we are to get the maximum value for our money the development projects we are to construct in the next Development Plan must be constructed sufficiently well to be functional but they must not be built and designed so well that valuable money is wasted on fancy designs and unnecessary extras.

Your Faculty of Engineering has an excellent record of student cooperation and assistance with Government development planning

and implementation, such things as the survey and re-design of the road to Bentong Town, survey and design of the Sungei Dua Road in Pahang and the survey of the Ulu Langat-Kachang Road and the laying of pipeline for the Federation Military College.

This is the right spirit, when the University Faculty takes such sincere interest in, and applies itself to assisting our National Development.

Perhaps you young budding Engineers will also assist further by applying your engineering minds to suggesting ways and means whereby Government can standardise plans for building and cut down costs to basic utility and function-ability so that we can stretch our allocation of National Development funds to obtain the maximum benefit, for the maximum number of our people.

Also we must make the most use of local products such as local timber and other products so that we can save on foreign exchange — perhaps by having more schools, clinics, offices, etc., made from timber.

Admittedly, such standardised structures will not be as pleasing to the eye as brick and concrete buildings but in the phase of our development we do not want beauty so much as utility; we do not want luxury; we want to fulfil the necessities of our National existence as a progressive young nation — let us leave luxury to the far future!

I was very glad to hear your President saying that “you must not only think, when you leave your University, of your degree, but you must be also conscious of your responsibilities to society and that in addition to your academic studies, you should participate actively in debates, in the Students’ Union, the Territorial Army, in Sports and other extra mural activities”.

This is a subject which is very near my own heart! I am not here to give you a full lecture, and advice, on extra mural studies and social activities, because I am greatly restricted tonight, in the presence of my wife, but perhaps if you want a full discussion on the subject next time you might like to invite me alone, and do not ask my wife!

I know that as University students you have got to have a balance between hard work and must not let your extra mural studies interfere with your work but it is not difficult to strike the balance. It can be overdone, of course.

I remember the story of a visiting Professor to a certain University who congratulated the Vice-Chancellor and said:

“Permit me to congratulate you and your University which in recent years become a store-house of knowledge”.

The Vice-Chancellor replied:

“That is true, but I do not deserve the credit for that. It is simply that freshman bring so much knowledge in, when they arrive in the University and the graduates, when they leave, take so little knowledge out of the University, when they graduate, because they spend all their time on social activities! Therefore we have a great store of knowledge left in the University!”

However, quite seriously, recent exercises for recruitment of graduates both to Government service and to the private sector, commercial firms, have shown that there is a tendency on the part of those seeking employment after they leave University to think that they are only judged on the quality of their degree and the standard of their academic qualifications.

I think all of you here tonight should, and must remember, that when the time comes for you to be conferred with your degree and then enter the very competitive stream of selection for employment, your potential employers do admittedly, in the first place look for a high standard of academic qualification; but also these selection boards, whether they be Government, or private, are like the story of a Buddhist Lama in Tibet who is gifted with a third eye!

The first two eyes judge professionally, academically, and the third eye sums you up as a potential personality that will fit in to the mosaic and the structure of the organization in which you are seeking employment!

And even although you have the finest academic qualifications in the World, but have no personality, no potential qualities of leadership (unless of course you are applying for a back-room job of research), you will not be given the appointment to which you think, with your academic qualifications alone, are able to fill.

I do not wish to disparage the system of higher education in Universities but it has happened on occasion, and let it be face facts, that the men with lesser qualifications, who used their opportunities in University to mix socially, to take part in sports, and in debates and, by so doing, has become a balanced, pleasant and positive personality; in

other words, to develop into a potential leader — quite often get better jobs than those who spent their University days buried entirely in books.

To illustrate what I mean, let me go back to Professor Ching Fung Kee's figures when he said that behind each Engineer there must be 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen to every Engineer.

You must remember that when your potential employers interviews you as a new graduate Engineer, he does not think of you remaining, for the rest of your life, as an Engineer at the bottom of the ladder of your profession, with only 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen, under your control. No! At the interview he tries to think of a mental picture of you in 10 years time, having been promoted, not with only 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen behind you but with another 25 Engineers under your control.

And if each of these 25 Engineers has 5 technicians and 25 craftsmen then you, as leader of the Engineering team, must not only have engineering qualities, but must also have qualities of leadership to be able to get the maximum amount of work, cooperation and co-ordination from

- (a) 25 Engineers
- (b) 25 multiplied by 5 technicians equals 125 technicians and
- (c) 25 multiplied by 25 craftsmen equals 625 craftsmen.

And therefore you, in 10 years time, will be a leader of a total team of 775 human beings from which you have got to obtain the maximum efficiency in your engineering project.

Your training as an Engineer gives you the ability to handle machines but looking to your future prospects, your job and technique of handling human beings, and obtaining from them the best results on your engineering project.

So therefore your President was so right when he said that Members of your Society must take part in social activities of your University so that you will be equipped, when you leave the University not only to advance yourself, in your own career, not only to advance in your own profession, but also to make a contribution towards the advancement and progress of Malaysia because Malaysia needs leaders in every sphere at every level and in every way of life.

And finally, before I close my speech tonight I want to make a confession to you. When I realised I had to speak to Members of this

distinguished Engineering Society, the first thing I thought of was that I must find a definition of an Engineer.

My research into this subject produced a standard definition which you all know which has been repeated so often, dating back to 1828.

But you as undergraduate engineering students know this definition by heart, I then did a little more research to find another definition of an Engineer. This definition was written by some obscure person who obviously have not the benefit or the honour of being a member of your Society.

Probably, like myself he was a layman, with no technical training whatsoever. However I will still tell you what he said; how he defined an Engineer. He said: "An Engineer is a person who can construct anything for one dollar which a fool can construct for two dollars.

You may not like that definition but if you think about it, it probably has a message for you when you graduate because when the time comes for you to apply for employment either, in Government service or the private sector, and if you can better this definition and be an Engineer who can construct any given project, and instead of constructing for one dollar where a fool uses two dollars, if you can construct it at fifty cents per dollar, then not only are you welcome in Government service, not only are you welcome in private engineering firms but your promotion is guaranteed for life!

**SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
COMMEMORATING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE BIRTH OF MALAYSIA ON 28TH AUGUST, 1965**

The Second Anniversary of the birth of Malaysia as a nation will go down in history as a most eventful and unforgettable year. When Malaysia was established two years ago, Indonesia decided to confront us politically, economically and militarily, however, due to the support and loyalty of our people, with the help of our friends in the commonwealth, we have been able to contain Indonesian confrontation in its many manifestations.

However, just a little more than three weeks ago, it was found necessary by both the Central Government and the Singapore Government that Singapore should be separated from the rest of Malaysia. It was a sad and heartbreaking decision, but the leaders of the two countries were convinced that this was the only solution in the circumstances. Since the establishment of Malaysia it was found that Singapore could not fit in into the Federation and the Central Government and the Government of Singapore, due to many reasons have found it impossible to work together. Lately there was almost a deadlock and what is more the differences between the political leaders in Singapore and in Kuala Lumpur have brought racial tension. The leaders of the PAP Government in Singapore had accused the Central Government of favouring one race against another and that it was a Malay-dominated Government. These unfounded criticisms spread throughout the country and overseas have led to racial tension and racial troubles. The separation of Singapore may be a sad event but we should be happy in the thought that both the leaders of the Alliance Government and the PAP Government of Singapore have pledged to work together closely on all matters affecting the people of the two territories in particular defence, security, commerce and industry. The two territories are linked together so closely that it is desirable that the two Governments should work together closely for the good of their respective people.

As far as the Alliance Government is concerned, we will do everything possible to work together with the Singapore Government. We in the Alliance Government, in our concept of Malaysia have always believed in the unity of our people of various races. Though Singapore is separated from the rest of Malaysia our concept of Malaysia has not changed. We shall continue to uphold the principles of parliamentary democracy and of maintaining harmony and goodwill among our people so that they will ultimately become members of one nation

rather than of different communities. Our ultimate aim is clear, that is the formation of a united Malaysian nation but this must necessarily take time. As we move along the road of nationhood we will have to make adjustments and re-adjustments in order that our people of various races should have a rightful place in our society. We know that a large section of our people are economically backward and it is our determination to do everything possible to help them. The peoples of Sabah and Sarawak who have joined Malaysia out of their own free will need assistance and we shall do everything possible to provide them with the benefits of independence. Our Constitution while guaranteeing the rights of all our citizens provide; a special position for the natives i.e. the Ibans, the Dayaks, Muruts, Kadazans, Malays, and others. They all need special treatment in order to be on equal footing with the other races who are economically more advanced.

In celebrating our Second Anniversary, let us all, Malaysians of all races, pledge ourselves to do all that we can to strengthen the harmony and understanding among our people, to minimise racial differences and to talk of things that would bind us together more closely. Let us make all efforts to eradicate any differences or imbalances which could cause suspicion or friction among our people. Let us move forward steadily and surely on the road to true unity of our people.

Indonesia has proclaimed that she will continue with her confrontation and aggression against both Malaysia and Singapore. We are therefore determined to do everything possible to defend ourselves, however, despite confrontation the Alliance Government has decided to maintain the tempo of development we are about to complete. With the formulation of our First Malaysia Development Plan, which will be launched at the beginning of 1966, the level of expenditure in this plan would be higher than in the previous plan and it is our intention to provide our people with greater development and higher standard of living. Our First Malaysia Plan will lay emphasis on agricultural diversification, economic upliftment of the rural people and construction of houses in the urban areas. We also intend to give greater attention to Sabah and Sarawak whose people, particularly the natives required urgently, assistance and the provision and amenities of life and assistance in raising their standard of living.

We are confident that Malaysia will continue to move forward in strength and in unity. For the last two years we have been able to contain threats to our existence from within and without. We are faced with Indonesian aggression as well as internal threat of Communist subversion. But if our people always continue to stand together solidly in support of the Government, we shall overcome this triumphantly in

the end. However, most important of all, the people of Malaysia of all races must continue to live together in peace and harmony. We must resist racial extremism in whatever form. We must avoid bringing up issues which could heighten racial tension and differences. I consider that people who indulge in sensitive racial issues are working against the true interest of Malaysia and of our people. The Alliance Government have ruled this country for 10 years and have been able to maintain racial balance. We have been fair and just to all sections of our people. We have a Constitution that protects the rights of all citizens and a Constitution based on principles of freedom, justice and fair play. Because of all these, Malaysia has been able to forge ahead with solid and steady progress. Our years of independence have seen tangible developments at home and the steady rise of our prestige abroad. In International field we believe in friendship with all nations, particularly those within the Afro-Asian region. We have geared our policies towards greater cooperation with newly emergent nations of Asia and Africa. We are pleased to say that our friends in Asia and Africa have come to know us more closely.

Our young nation is therefore gaining in strength day by day and cooperation and friendship with other countries of the world. I have no doubt that with greater loyalty and dedication from all loyal citizens of Malaysia, our country will continue to progress and to prosper. I wish you all Malaysians good fortune in the third year of our independence.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PEMBUKAAN RASMI KILANG PADI PERSATUAN SYARIKAT KERJASAMA KILANG PADI, TANJONG KARANG PADA 29 OGOS, 1965

Saya sukacita dapat hadir di Pembukaan Rasmi Kilang Padi yang besar ini.

Pembukaan Kilang Padi pada hari ini menunjukkan satu kejayaan yang besar yang telah dicapai oleh kaum tani dan peladang-peladang ke arah memperbaiki taraf hidup mereka dengan cara bersyariat kerjasama dan bergotong royong. Ini patut menjadi teladan kepada kaum-kaum tani yang lain di seluruh negara dan sekalian rakyat yang lain apa yang boleh dicapai jika kita bersatu padu dan bekerjasama.

Saya sangat tertarik hati kepada perpaduan kaum tani. Pembinaan Kilang Padi ini dan kejayaan yang dicapai oleh Syarikat Kerjasama tidak akan dapat dijayakan jika tidak ada perpaduan antara petani-petani. Ini menunjukkan kerjasama antara peladang-peladang Melayu, Cina dan India yang menjadi anggota Persatuan ini dan telah bekerjasama menjayakan Kilang Padi ini. Kerjasama antara kaum dan bangsa dalam Persatuan ini sangat dihargai kerana ini sesuai dengan dasar Kerajaan Perikatan yang menggalakkan kerjasama dan persahabatan antara semua kaum yang tinggal di Malaysia ini.

Contoh yang ditunjukkan oleh peladang-peladang Melayu, Cina dan India di Tanjong Karang patut menjadi teladan kepada semua rakyat di merata-rata Malaysia. Saya menyeru kepada semua bangsa di Malaysia supaya bekerjasama dan mengadakan perkongsian dalam serba serbi lapangan terutama sekali dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan dengan bangsa-bangsa yang lain. Kerajaan sukacita hendak melihat banyak lagi perpaduan dan kerjasama antara anak-anak bumiputera dengan bangsa-bangsa lain dalam lapangan kerjasama, perniagaan dan perusahaan. Kerjasama ini mesti meliputi segala kehidupan dalam negara ini.

Dengan adanya kerjasama dan persefahaman ini sudah tentu keamanan dan kemakmuran Malaysia dan keteguhan politik akan terjamin. Sebaik-baik jaminan untuk Malaysia supaya tetap makmur dan teguh ialah perpaduan antara kaum terutama sekali antara orang-orang Melayu – Cina.

Kedudukan ekonomi kaum-kaum mestilah seimbang (there must be fairer distribution of wealth in this country). Kalau kedudukan ekonomi ini tidak seimbang maka kedudukan politik Malaysia dan keamanan di negara ini akan sentiasa terancam.

Sungguhpun konfrontasi Indonesia masih hebat lagi terhadap negara kita tetapi Kerajaan berazam untuk menentang konfrantasi itu. Dalam masa itupun Kerajaan akan terus menerus melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan negara dan luar bandar – tujuan Kerajaan dalam Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ialah untuk meninggikan taraf hidup orang-orang di luar bandar dan menambahkan pendapatan mereka. Tujuan yang kedua ialah untuk mengadakan rumah-rumah bagi orang-orang miskin di bandar-bandar. Kerajaan tidak membezakan bangsa dalam menolong orang-orang miskin dan yang daif. Kemiskinan tidak ada perbezaan dan kemiskinan tidak tahu bangsa dan agama. Kita akan menolong sesiapa sahaja yang miskin dan perlukan pertolongan.

Kerajaan berasa syukur dan terima kasih kepada rakyat semua kerana rakyat terus menerus memberikan taat setia kepada Kerajaan dalam menghadapi konfrantasi Indonesia. Khasnya saya memberi tahniah yang besar kepada penduduk-penduduk Tanjong Karang yang kebanyakannya adalah keturunan Indonesia yang tidak berubah taat setia dan keyakinannya kepada Kerajaan Perikatan dan kepada Kerajaan Malaysia. Saya berharap dan menyeru tuan-tuan supaya lebih taat lagi kepada negeri ini dan kepada Kerajaan yang ada sekarang dalam menentang konfrantasi Indonesia dan juga anasir-anasir jahat dalam negeri.

Dengan taat setia tuan-tuan dan rakyat-rakyat lain, Indonesia tidak akan berjaya untuk mengganyang negara kita. Komunis, pihak-pihak pelampau dan ultra semua kaum tidak akan berjaya untuk memecah belahkan kita.

Perpecahan Singapura – Saya fikir lebih baik kalau soal pepecahan ini tidak dicakapkan langsung kerana rakyat telahpun agak lupa berkenaan dengan peristiwa ini. Kalau perkara ini terus dibangkitkan maka perkara ini akan sentiasa berada dalam fikiran rakyat (It is better that the separation is not mentioned at all. People seem to have accepted it. Hence no use to explain it).

Semangat gotong royong atau gerakan syarikat kerjasama adalah satu-satunya asas yang baik dalam ekonomi untuk meninggikan taraf rakyat sesebuah negara itu, apa lagi seperti negara kita ini yang belum menjadi sebuah negara perusahaan yang mempunyai banyak kilang-

kilang perusahaan. Dasar ekonomi syarikat kerjasama boleh memberi sesuatu bangsa itu satu cara hidup yang sempurna dan tinggi jika dasar kerjasama itu dijalankan betul-betul dan dengan taat setia. Contoh negara-negara yang mempunyai ekonomi yang berdasarkan syarikat kerjasama dan yang sangat maju sekarang ialah negara-negara seperti Sweden, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand dan lain-lain lagi. Kita patutlah mencontohi negara-negara ini kerana mereka itu telah dapat mempunyai taraf hidup yang sempurna melalui syarikat kerjasama dan dasar gotong royong.

Negara Malaysia sungguhpun baharu mencapai kemerdekaan sangat maju dan telah dapat mencapai banyak kemajuan dalam serba serbi terutama pembangunan negara dan luar bandar. Tetapi saya yakin pembangunan dan kemajuan negara itu akan dapat dibesarkan dan diperluaskan lagi jika rakyat faham dan menerima asas yang baik seperti syarikat kerjasama ini sebagai satu jalan untuk meninggi taraf hidup. Contoh yang tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sendiri lihat bagaimana melalui syarikat kerjasama tuan-tuan dapat membangunkan kilang padi ini.

Dasar Kerajaan ialah menggalakkan syarikat-syarikat kerjasama yang ada di negeri ini. Tetapi pada pendapat saya, kita tidak payah menubuhkan lagi banyak syarikat kerjasama kerana banyak syarikat-syarikat kerjasama yang ada sekarang pun tidak dapat dijalankan dengan sempurna. Dasar Kerajaan hari ini ialah menggalakkan syarikat-syarikat kerjasama tetapi saya telah memberi arahan kepada Kementerian yang berkenaan supaya menumpukan tenaga kepada syarikat-syarikat kerjasama yang masih ada. Supaya membetul dan memperkuatkan syarikat-syarikat kerjasama ini dan janganlah menubuhkan syarikat-syarikat kerjasama yang baharu sehingga syarikat-syarikat yang ada pada hari ini telah berdiri dengan teguhnya (*Consolidation of Present Co-operative Societies*).

Saya sedar juga syarikat-syarikat kerjasama selalu menghadapi kesulitan-kesulitan modal. Tetapi saya berharap dengan adanya Bank Bumiputera yang akan dijalankan tidak berapa lama lagi, perkara ini akan dapat diatasi. Tetapi saya berharap sangat-sangat supaya tuan-tuan jangan sahaja membuat Bank Bumiputera ini tempat hendak meminjam wang tetapi juga tempat tuan-tuan untuk menyimpan wang. Seseorang itu atau sesebuah syarikat atau negeri tidak akan maju dan berjaya dalam lapangan hidup jika mereka hanya tahu berhutang sahaja, menggunakan wang dan tidak tahu menyimpan. Inilah kelemahan-kelemahan orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera yang besar dalam bidang ekonomi. Mereka kebanyakannya pandai meminjam wang tetapi tidak pandai menyimpan. Mereka membelanja wang lebih daripada pendapatan. Ini mestilah dihapuskan. Orang-orang Melayu mestilah menukarkan

cara berfikir dan tabiat mereka jika mereka hendak maju dalam abad yang ke 20 ini. Mereka mestilah sesuaikan kedudukan dan pemikiran mereka dengan keadaan masa. Sangat penting bagi orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera selain daripada mendapat kemajuan-kemajuan dalam bidang ekonomi dan lapangan hidup yang lain mereka juga mesti mendapat kemajuan berfikir. There must be a change in our mental attitude towards life in general – there must be a lot of rethinking among Malays if they want to succeed and sustain their present position.

Kerajaan juga sedang menubuhkan satu Badan Pasaran Persekutuan yang akan menolong menjual perusahaan-perusahaan dan barang-barang hasil dari luar bandar. Kita berharap ini juga akan menolong memperbaiki kedudukan ekonomi orang-orang di luar bandar. Saya sedar pemasaran ini boleh menolong orang-orang kita dan sebab itulah Kerajaan bersetuju mengadakan Badan Pasaran Persekutuan ini. Tuan-tuan sendiri sedia maklum bagaimana mustahaknya Badan ini kerana saya mendapat tahu semenjak ada kawalan dan jaminan Kerajaan atas harga padi di Tanjong Karang, padi dan barang-barang yang dikeluarkan dari sini telah melipat ganda harganya dan juga hasil-hasil yang didapati amat banyak oleh kerana Kerajaan menjamin dan memberi harga yang tetap. Saya harap Badan Pasaran Persekutuan ini dapat menolong bukan sahaja dalam penjualan padi tetapi juga dalam penjualan ikan dan lain-lain lagi.

Kerajaan sedia membantu untuk memperbaiki ekonomi rakyat di luar bandar di segala lapangan. Tuan-tuan janganlah ragu-ragu tentang ini. Kerajaan sedia menolong rakyat, tetapi rakyat mestilah beri kerjasama. Seseorang itu tidak akan maju begitu juga negara tidak akan maju jika ia tidak menolong diri sendiri. Kejayaan, kemakmuran akan dapat dicapai oleh rakyat jika Kerajaan dengan rakyat bekerjasama serapat-apatnya.

Orang-orang Melayu telah turun temurun menjadi nelayan-nelayan bekerja di sawah-sawah dan menjadi peladang. Boleh dikatakan dalam perusahaan menanam padi 90% adalah orang-orang Melayu. Begitu juga boleh dikatakan dengan perusahaan menangkap ikan. Saya menyeru kepada orang-orang Melayu supaya menukar cara pemikiran mereka kerana semenjak turun temurun kedua-dua mata pencarian ini tidak dapat menolong meninggikan taraf hidup orang-orang Melayu. Saya berharap banyak orang-orang kita tidak akan memandang kepada sawah-sawah dan laut sahaja untuk mencari nafkah tetapi diharap mencari peluang-peluang lain seperti membuat perusahaan-perusahaan baharu seperti menanam kelapa sawit, tebu dan lain-lain lagi. Orang-orang Melayu yang menanam padi, oleh kerana kawasan sawah sangat

kecil atau kurang menyebabkan mereka tidak dapat kehidupan yang sempurna. Selain daripada itu ialah kerana cara-cara yang digunakan oleh pesawah-pesawah kita adalah cara kuno dan tua dan tidak sesuai dengan keadaan masa. Saya berharap bukan saja cara-cara menanam padi dapat diperbaiki dengan menanam padi dua atau tiga kali setahun tetapi juga saya berharap tanah-tanah tidak akan dipecah-pecahkan tetapi hendaklah sentiasa di besarkan. "Fragmentation" tidak akan menolong orang-orang Melayu menaikkan taraf hidup mereka. Orang-orang Melayu mestilah memandang ke hadapan dan mestilah mengubah cara-cara membuat kerja.

Kerajaan berazam hendak memberi kehidupan yang sempurna kepada rakyat. Badan Pasaran Persekutuan akan menjamin pasaran hasil-hasil mereka dan kita berharap melalui badan ini masalah kaum-kaum tani yang ditindas dan ditekan oleh orang-orang tengah atau middlemen akan dapat dihapuskan sedikit sebanyak. Dan saya percaya perkara ini dapat di jalankan jika tuan-tuan semua dan rakyat lain-lain menerima syarikat kerjasama dan gotong royong sebagai asas ekonomi tuan-tuan.

Saya dapat tahu Kerajaan Selangor memberi kerjasama yang baik dalam menolong kaum-kaum tani di negeri ini khususnya di daerah Tanjong Karang. Kerajaan Selangor sudahpun mengeluarkan lesen-lesen khas kepada semua syarikat-syarikat kerjasama dengan tidak kira bangsa. Inilah dasar Kerajaan Perikatan yang hendak menolong semua bangsa Cina, Melayu dan India. Tetapi saya berharap Kerajaan sentiasa memberi perhatian yang lebih sedikit kepada anak-anak bumiputera oleh kerana mereka sangat berkehendakkan pertolongan lebih daripada kaum-kaum lain kerana keadaan ekonomi mereka, pelajaran mereka sangat mundur jika dibandingkan dengan kaum-kaum yang lain.

Pembukaan Masjid Negara menunjukkan perpaduan rakyat di negara ini yang berbilang bangsa dan agama bersatu padu. Ini menunjukkan keagongan Agama Islam yang didaulatkan sebagai Agama Rasmi negara ini. Pembukaan Masjid Negara juga melambangkan bagaimana "tolerant" nya rakyat semua bangsa yang menganut berbagai agama dan kepercayaan di negeri ini.

Tujuan Kerajaan ialah untuk mengadakan satu rupa bangsa dan satu taat setia di negara ini. Dasar-dasar Kerajaan semua dibuat ke arah ini dan kita berharap pada suatu masa tidak lama lagi satu rupa bangsa dan satu taat setia akan muncul di kalangan rakyat di negeri ini, boleh jadi pada keturunan yang akan datang.

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA GRADUATES SOCIETY AT  
THE ARTS LECTURE THEATRE A, UNIVERSITY OF  
MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR ON 1ST SEPTEMBER,  
1965

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy and honoured to be your guest speaker tonight. I do not really know why politicians are always expected to make speeches and be judged on their speeches. After all, when any of you want to buy a car you judge a car on the smooth running and silence of its engine. You do not judge a car by the sound of its exhaust pipe! I wish you would judge politicians on their silence.

However, I am sorry to inflict you this evening with my verbal exhaust; but in the words of a current television programme, all I can say is "You Asked For It".

The last few weeks have been a momentous period in the history of our Nation. It has also been a sad period, with the withdrawal of Singapore from Malaysia; but nevertheless, we must not be despondent, and it is my belief that provided both Singapore and Malaysia maintain a harmonious and co-operative relationship in defence, trade and our respective national economies then the people of both nations will benefit and go forward to a brighter and better future.

After the decision was made that Singapore should leave Malaysia, my Government was accused of lack of consultation leading up to the reaching of the decision.

But it must be remembered, and sometimes here in Kuala Lumpur far away from the fighting on the borders of Sabah and Sarawak, it is forgotten that we are in the midst of an Emergency — an Emergency in which our very sovereignty and independence is threatened by external aggression.

The first essential to win through this battle of Confrontation is internal national unity. We must put ourselves above thoughts of personal power and selfish aims so that we are strong within the shores of our young nation.

Therefore, under the circumstances of this Emergency, events

leading up to the separation of Singapore, were kept as secure and secret as possible.

A decision made by a select few top leaders is not undemocratic if in fact such a decision is designed for the definite good of the nation's citizens, designed to protect the sovereignty and security of the country in time of national crisis. Some diplomats were upset that their countries had no part and were not consulted before we make this momentous decision.

But although we ask our friends in the Free World to help us in defence and in development, we are an independent sovereign nation, determining our own future and in coming to this major decision we take full responsibility. We had to bear uppermost in our minds the interest and well-being of our people and our country and we cannot now be accused, even with the greatest stretch of the imagination, of being neo-colonialist puppets.

Soekarno has coined a new word "Ne-colim" which he accuses us of being neo-colonialist imperialist which we are not and never have been, and facts are available to the Free World to prove this.

However, let me coin a new word which I think sums up the Soekarno regime "Ne-comcolim" because his Government, puppets of a Communist party which he cannot control, is now a Government of neo-Communist colonial imperialism – in short "Ne-comcolim".

However, to return to the question of Singapore, consultation was confined to the minimum number of people so that false rumours and despondent speculation would not be given the chance to lower our national morale.

Some say that this action was undemocratic but if you read the history of Democracy in the Free World you will find that other nations before us in similar states of Emergency and national crisis have used exactly the same technique, in the interests of the Nation's security.

The majority of major decisions during World War II by a great democratic leader like Churchill were in fact made, in close conclave, by Churchill and his own few selected Ministers.

Similar cases can be quoted relating to the wartime President of the United States and other democratic leaders in times of national crisis.

It is in fact easy, as a democratic leader, to shirk one's responsibility and spread it by greater consultation because the responsibility to decide also carries with it the responsibility of the consequences; but in a Democracy it takes a big man to make big decisions and then take entire responsibility on his own shoulders.

Such shoulders must be strong and firm and Tunku, our Prime Minister, although too old to practise body-building, has nevertheless got the strongest set of shoulders of any democratic leader in the Free World and will use his shoulders to take the burden of responsibility of any decision that is for the benefit of his beloved country, his beloved Malaysia and the people to whom he has given up his entire life to serve and serve well!

Let us not regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as the two components of an unhappy marriage who, after being divorced, have recriminations, and each fight for the maximum alimony or compensation for their own support, after the breaking of their life together!

No, let us regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as similar to the separation of two "Siamese twins"!

The separation of two children born together as one body in the womb of Malaysia, but who after two years, tied so closely together and after sound diagnosis, it was decided to perform the operation of separation, both for their own good.

The operation of separating "Siamese twins" is delicate and intricate and is a great feat of modern science in this modern world.

One has got to think of the nerve system, of the bloodstream, of the bones and everything else by which they are joined!

But modern science can now successfully separate two "Siamese twins" so that they can walk independently, act independently and prosper independently.

And yet throughout the World you will find every case of the separation of Siamese twins, there remains a mental bond between them after their purely physical separation.

They are still brother and sister, or still sister and sister, and have an instinctive bond which is thicker and deeper than the skin which originally joined them together!

This is how I like to think of Singapore because although there have been differences, there is still a bond that unites us in our differences, and there is no reason whatsoever why we should not walk forward, firmly, together towards the future and progress in harmony and in goodwill like a couple of separated twins!

Since the separation of Singapore from Malaysia the horizon of our hopes for the success of Malaysia are in no way clouded!

No!

In fact the clouds and doubts have dispersed and have revealed a new un-darkened dawn, a new determination, and a new decade in our Development; all pointing the way towards an even brighter future for Malaysia, and for Singapore and her people, as sister shareholders in our future security and our pre-planned prosperity — partners in peace, prosperity and protection from aggression!

In this spirit, and in this spirit alone, will the peace and prosperity of our part of South East Asia be secure for centuries to come.

What of the future of Malaysia?

I sincerely believe that we have a great future, and that the potential of our future progress is almost unlimited; but there are certain conditions which must be fulfilled if we are to progress in the way which we all, as sincere Malaysians, earnestly desire.

The main condition is unity — racial unity, unity in our attitudes, unity in our loyalty and unity in our determination — to make Malaysia maju.

But you must remember that there are in our midst, political opportunists who will always try to disrupt this unity!

Opportunists who, with an eye on the main chances of obtaining personal political power to the detriment of Malaysia, will mislead us, and our people.

I do not think that you, my audience tonight, all fully-fledged graduates, launched into life with the benefit of a first-class education are likely to be misled by these opportunists; but, as members of a new Nation, you must remember that there are many layers of our social structure, ranging from the sophisticated graduate to the un-educated labourer.

Tonight, I talk to graduates; tomorrow, I may be talking to an Adult Education Class of good genuine Malaysians who have been denied, because of our colonial heritage, the benefits of a first-class education but nevertheless are determined, even later in life, to learn to read and write.

Communism and political propaganda thrives on illiteracy, whereas Democracy thrives on an intelligent electorate, — a Nation of voters free to think for themselves and decide for themselves the type of Government by which they wish to be governed.

Political opportunists such as the Communist-influenced leaders of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and other extremist parties are making use, not only of Confrontation and our National Emergency but are also making use of that proportion of electorate who are misled by sweet words and poisoned propaganda!

Let me explain what I mean.

Really, to understand what I am trying to say, I should like you all, if you have not already been there, to go and see our National Zoo; because in that Zoo is the finest education, not entirely an education of wild life, but also an education on "political wild life" as practised by opportunists.

These poor animals which previously roamed the jungle, with freedom of will, freedom of action, and freedom of voice, lost their freedom because they were trapped by sweet words, sweet food and tit-bits from the animal "menu"!

Then having been lured by these nice things, the door of the trap is closed, and for the rest of their lives they live in complete captivity.

So it is, with subversives, and Communist opportunists. They use the same methods.

Their technique is exactly the same as the Game Warden, catching his game, both big animals and small, to lead them into captivity!

Nice words, slick slogans, and fiery speeches is all that these political opportunists can offer but, so many of our people are misled and caught politically; the same as animals in the jungle; they fall for these nice words and promises, forgetting that after falling for the bait of Communism and the bait of political opportunists, they too, like the animals in the Zoo, will spend the rest of their lives either behind a bamboo curtain or a permanent iron curtain! — suffering

under the yoke of drab socialism with no more freedom, no more opportunities to express themselves and their individuality.

It will take time – even with the maximum funds we, as a Nation, can afford for education and – even with the most progressive education programme we can plan and implement.

It will take time to produce the real basis of a sound Democracy electorate which can reason and think for itself, – an electorate which is immune to the distortions of disruptive political opportunists!

So therefore, and I would like to make this absolutely clear, we are, at this moment of national crisis, defending our sovereignty on two fronts.

On an external front of physical aggression by Soekarno, and, on an internal front of subtle subversion by those within our shores who are disloyal to the concept of Malaysia and who are determined to undermine our concept of Parliamentary Democracy.

You as graduates are not expected to take up arms and fight like troops in the jungle, but you have an equally important part to play in the battle for our sovereignty and independence.

You have a part in applying your professional ability to the task of nation-building, but you also have an even greater part to play in your own human contacts, from day to day, in spreading the right spirit of Malaysia, the spirit of sensible stability which will make all of us immune from subversion from within.

Dictatorial Regimes like Indonesia and others, pride themselves of having the finest propaganda machine available to back-stop the criminal, aggressive action of their leaders.

Their propaganda, they think, penetrates the hearts and minds of our people and eventually Malaysia will collapse from inside!

This is not true; this is not possible; and, with the grace of God, will never be possible, because we here in Malaysia have a propaganda machine which, by the law of human nature, – and time will tell – will completely outpace the propaganda of Indonesia or any other Communist puppets.

Our propaganda machine is not mechanical, is not the blare of radio, of television, of films – that is publicity, not propaganda.

Our strength lies in the hearts and minds of our own people, passing from word to mouth, their own inward conviction that we are proud to be Malaysians, proud to live in a free world, proud to progress and use our own ability to the best of our knowledge, proud, above all, to be free and democratic!

This is our democratic propaganda — a human machine — greater than any machine invented by man!

Democratic propaganda lies in the sincerity of saying what you believe where as the propaganda of subversion and Communism lies in the mistaken ability of believing what is said to you.

And this Ladies and Gentlemen, tonight is my message to you and also to all right-thinking Malaysians.

Let us forget, in this time of crisis, our political aims, our personal aims, and our personal ambitions, and let us resolve here and now to spread the true spirit of Malaysia, and when the time comes that we have overcome the crisis of Confrontation, and the difficulties which now beset us, and I know we will, then, and only then, we can revert to the normal lives of thinking of ourselves and our own future, because our future is intricately tied up with the future of Malaysia, and, if we are disloyal to Malaysia we are in fact being disloyal to ourselves!

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OVER  
RADIO MALAYSIA, SABAH, JESSELTON, ON 10TH  
SEPTEMBER, 1965

As you already know, since my arrival in Sabah last Sunday, I have been on the move non-stop visiting as many towns and villages as possible to explain the present position of Malaysia since the declaration of the separate independence of Singapore. In actual fact there is no change in the concept and position of Malaysia. Malaysia still exists. Malaysia is still a horizon of hope and prosperity.

However, before my coming to Sabah I was informed – perhaps misinformed – that there were doubts in the minds of the people of Sabah – doubts about the future of Malaysia and doubts whether Malaysia is still a viable an independent nation. These doubts were born from false rumours from trouble makers and from other people who for their own personal gain tried to “cash-in” on the crisis which they thought had been created by the separation of Singapore. However, now what I have seen and heard for myself, now that I have met and talked to so many hundreds people of Sabah and I find – and my findings are based on hard facts – that in reality the feeling of the great majority of the people of Sabah is that they not only stand by Malaysia and the concept of Malaysia but also – since the separation of Singapore – have renewed and redoubled their support and are determined as all true Malaysians are to be united together and to move forward towards the creation of an even happy and prosperous Malaysia. I have also found that the doubters and those who wish to destroy our unity are very few in number and are nothing more than (political) opportunists who can in no way be regarded as loyal to our country but who could – if they persist in trying to mislead our people - destroy the harmony of our unity. They are not only working against the true interests of Malaysia but, knowingly or otherwise, actually helping our enemies.

The Central Government is convinced that a time of national crisis, such as we are now passing through when on the one hand we face aggression from across our borders and on the other are faced with subversion and destruction from within, is not a time for politicking, is not time for personal political gain; it is not even a time at which we should think of ourselves. This is a time for sincere and honest loyalty. This is a time to unite and in uniting to understand and in understanding to make sure that all those with whom we come into daily contact – whether they be in urban areas on in remote villages – also understand the true position.

And the true position is this. The separation of Singapore from Malaysia is neither the end of the world for us nor is it the end of Malaysia. It is in fact the beginning of the beginning. The position which arose with Singapore and Singapore's incompatibility with the rest of Malaysia is quite unrelated to the position of both Sabah and Sarawak. Already since the 9th of last month when the decision and declaration — agreed to by both the Singapore and the Central Government — for Singapore to leave Malaysia was made public there has been a tremendous improvement in all our relationships and in all our activities which has bound us closely together as two separate nations, Singapore and Malaysia.

If Singapore had remained in Malaysia with tempers high and with feelings and jealousy increasing in tempo from day to day — the result would have been detrimental to the future of Malaysia and to the concept which is the very foundation of Malaysia — the concept of communal harmony — this would have been lost for ever. As it is, Singapore and Malaysia were like a couple of Siamese twins and after the delicate but successful operation of separation both these twins are now standing on their feet and beginning to walk together towards a more prosperous and certainly a more happy future.

There is one doubt I would like clearly to dispel and that is that for Sabah and Sarawak Malaysia means government and control by the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur. This is not so. We are — as every one knows — a federation of States or indeed it would be more true to say a partnership, the coming together of individual states each with its own State Government running and administering its own area at the centre a Federal Government composed of representatives of all the constituent states whose task is not to direct with dictatorial control but rather to co-operate, co-ordinate and give the maximum help to each individual state within the Federation.

As I have said many times before, and will repeat now, the first and foremost aim of the Central Government is to do everything possible towards the development and benefit of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak. Next year, 1966, we launch the First Malaysia Five Year Plan which is a blue-print for progress and is a plan of action for improvement of the standard of living and way of life of all Malaysians and I can assure you that this plan is designed for the best benefits we can give to the people of Sabah dan Sarawak within the bounds of our budget.

Ladies and gentlemen, on the subject of development I would like to say that the expenditure of Government funds in itself does not produce development. The essential of sound development apart from

funds is not only to have a good practical economic development plan but also to have the technical, professional and administrative ability to implement that plan. With the setting up of Malaysia and the working out of the practical mechanics of the relationship between the Central Government and the Government of Sabah and Sarawak there have been what I might call administrative teething troubles. From time to time there have been delays in communications and this has resulted in occasional frustration both in State Headquarters, and at Federal Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

There has however been a steady improvement in the administrative machinery, but so that there will be even greater improvement, greater co-ordination and greater cooperation, I propose sometime later this year to hold either in Jesselton or Kuching or perhaps in Kuala Lumpur a Malaysia Government Seminar lasting several days. At this seminar each one of us who has the responsibility of administering the Government will be able to meet and discuss with our counterparts any problems we may have connected with our work and to discuss, suggest and devise ways and means whereby we can speed up and streamline the whole machinery of Government. We shall place particular emphasis on the development programme machinery so that the people of Sabah and Sarawak — no matter whether they live in urban areas or in remote rural areas — will get the best service and the quickest service that we as true Malaysians can give to our fellow Malaysians.

I have been extremely happy with my visit and I would like to thank all those who have helped to make the visit so pleasant and useful. I am grateful to community leaders at the various places I visited for the way they received me. I wish the people of Sabah good fortune and Berjaya Malaysia.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
MEETING OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
CONGRESS ECONOMY BUMIPUTERA ON 17TH  
SEPTEMBER, 1965

Gentlemen,

I wish to thank you for your willingness to serve on this Standing Committee and for sparing your valuable time to attend the first meeting of the Committee today. As you are well aware that the establishment of this Committee has been in pursuance with one of the resolutions of the Congress Economy Bumiputera which met in June this year. The purpose of establishing this Committee is to see to it that the 69 resolutions of the Congress Economy Bumiputera which have been accepted by the Government are fully implemented so as to give the Bumiputera of this country their full and effective part in the economic life of this country.

The Committee is also to find the best ways and means of implementing the resolutions of the Congress in the most speedy and efficient manner. I feel that you will have a lot of contributions to make in the direction of realising the Government's aim to obtain maximum and effective participation by the Bumiputera in the economic life of the country, particularly in the fields of commerce and industry.

The Government's Second Five-Year Plan has been an outstanding success particularly in the rural areas. The Government has provided essential amenities in the rural areas, opened up lands for the landless through the Federal Land Development Authority, and through the various efforts of the State Governments. The Government has also encouraged the growth of the sense of responsibility and self-reliance among the rural people of the country by launching the second phase of the Rural Development Programme which pays particular attention to the promotion of the self-help spirit. This success must be backed up with effective follow-up action. One of the major follow-up activities undertaken by the Government is the establishment of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority which will cater for the marketing of certain agriculture produce of the rural areas.

Another follow-up action which is being undertaken by the Government is the establishment of an Authority called the Land Rehabili-

tation and Consolidation Authority which carries out rehabilitation and consolidation of land schemes and uneconomic holdings.

The First Malaysia Plan is in the final stage of preparation and it is the intention of the Government to bring this Plan to Parliament at the end of this year. In the First Malaysia Plan economic projects designed to increase productivity will be given priority.

Under the Plan, it is envisaged that more lands will be opened up for agriculture. In this respect, the Federal Land Development Authority is expected to achieve the target of opening up 50,000 acres of land per year. The Government is, in fact, sparing no efforts in assisting the rural people in getting a better share in the fruits of their labour.

Coming back to the more immediate objective of our meeting today, I would like to take this opportunity to enlighten you with the progress on the implementation of a number of the key resolutions of the Congress.

The Government is now finalising the reorganisation of the old RIDA so that it will be given a new life, image and vitality. It is my intention that the new organisation (MARA) emerging from the reorganisation exercise, will have vigour and push. It will devote its attention to the work of assisting the Bumiputera to participate effectively in the fields of commerce and industry. Although the Majlis Amanah Rakyat Act (MARA's Act) has not been passed by Parliament, the MARA has now started to function in accordance with the new spirit. It has 7 separate Divisions headed by 7 Directors who are solely responsible for the implementation of the policy decisions of the Organisation. The Division are:—

- (i) the Administration Division;
- (ii) the Accounts Division;
- (iii) the Commerce and Industry Division;
- (iv) the Credit Finance Division;
- (v) the Management and Advisory Service Division;
- (vi) the Training Division; and
- (vii) the Transport Division.

To give MARA new blood, we are recruiting young, energetic and qualified persons into the Organisation.

Since MARA is going to have a range of important activities, I have already given instructions that a "Planning Unit" within MARA for the purpose of forecasting and formulating the future policy and

direction of the MARA be established. This Unit is also expected to collate and assess data pertaining to the activities of the Organisation so that these data could be of use for planning purposes. This "Planning Unit" of the MARA will also be expected to carry out feasibility and viability studies of certain projects so that the MARA will not waste and spend its energies, time and money on wasteful projects.

Another aspect of the reorganisation of the old RIDA is the shedding-off some of its former activities in which RIDA has proved that it has no competence. The functions that have been weaned-off or in the process of being weaned-off are:—

- (i) the Rubber Processing Factories; and
- (ii) the Rubber Group Processing Centres.

With regard to the Rubber Processing Factories, I have made a decision that these factories should be closed or sold to individuals who want to run them. The Rubber Group Processing Centres will be taken over by the Rubber Research Institute.

If we go through the resolutions of the Congress Economy Bumiputera, we find that the main burden of implementing them lies with the MARA. I have, therefore, instructed the Directors of each of the operating Divisions to prepare the plans of action of each Division consistent with the new image of the MARA. I understand that these plans are well in hand and will be ready by the beginning of next year. In the meantime, I have also instructed the appropriate Divisions of the MARA to carry out some crash programmes so that no time is wasted in getting started in the direction of implementing the resolutions of the Congress.

This Act has been read for the first time in the House of Representatives in the last sitting of the Parliament. I hope to carry the Bill through in the November Parliamentary Session.

I feel that, in order to achieve full and effective participation by the Bumiputera in the economic life of this country, their training in business and similar fields is vital. The Training Division of the MARA is now looking into this aspect of the problem and I understand that the Training Division of the MARA will start carrying out the training of small businessmen in management and other aspects of the business before the end of the year. In this connection, the MARA has also established its Management and Advisory Services Division in order to cope up with the work of giving or making available advice on management and other technical matters to the Bumiputera of this country.

With regard to the establishment of a National Corporation for Timber and Forest Products within the MARA's Act, this Corporation will be carried out on a joint venture basis with Bumiputera companies.

I am glad to inform you that the Bank Bumiputera will be launched on 1st October, 1965. I have also found a local man to become the Managing Director of the Bank and I will announce his name later.

With regard to the operation of this Bank, I would like to stress that it should operate on commercial and business lines.

The Malay Secretariat in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry will be closed down and the MARA is now in the process of taking over the functions of the Division.

I have already written to the various Menteri-Menteri Besar/Chief Ministers urging them to establish a similar Committee to this one at the State level for the purpose of coordinating and carrying follow-ups on the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress. They will maintain liaison with the Federal Government on the setting up and implementation of the MARA's policy. Their members will be as follows:—

- |                               |   |                           |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Chairman                      | — | Menteri Besar             |
| Deputy Chairman and Secretary | — | State Development Officer |
| 2 or 3 Exco Members           |   |                           |
| Commissioner of Lands         |   |                           |
| State Engineer                |   |                           |
| State Forest Officer          |   |                           |
| State Agricultural Officer    |   |                           |

I am happy to say that the progress on implementation of the resolutions of the Congress Economy Bumiputera has been very substantial. I hope, in the course of our meeting today, you will contribute useful ideas on this subject.

NOTES ON PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER LAUNCHING THE BANK BUMIPUTERA AND FAMA HELD ON 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1965

You will recollect that the Government held the Congress Economy Bumiputera in June for the purpose of getting ideas, positive suggestions and views on how to help the Bumiputera to participate actively and effectively in the economic life of the country, especially in the field of commerce and industry. The Congress, sitting for 3 days in succession, went through all the aspects of the problems and suggested certain steps to be taken so as to enable the Bumiputera to achieve a certain measure of participation in the economic life and development of the country. The steps suggested are embodied in the 69 resolutions adopted by the Congress. I have accepted all the 69 resolutions, and at the closing session of the Congress, I made it clear that the Government will take active and appropriate steps to implement them.

I am determined to see to it that all the 69 resolutions are implemented. I will also see to it that the implementation of those resolutions is carried out with the vigour and enthusiasm with which the Second Five Year Plan particularly the Rural Development Plan has been implemented.

I have, therefore, as required by one of the resolutions of the Congress, appointed a Standing Committee on the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress. This Committee, under my chairmanship, will coordinate, direct, and spot-check the progress of implementation of the resolutions of the Congress. The Committee, consisting of members and experienced people from the business community and in the field of economics will act as a brain trust, idea-originating body, on matters pertaining to the implementation of the resolutions. The Committee has so far had its inaugural meeting and I am happy that a lot of ideas come forward from members of the Committee with regard to not only the implementation of the resolutions but also matters relating to the economic development of our country.

At the State level, I have already asked the Menteri-Menteri Besar/Chief Ministers of the States to form similar Committees with a view to coordinating the activities directed towards obtaining effective participation by the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry. The State Committee will liaise with the Federal Committee on matters and problems of implementation of the resolutions.

One of the main resolutions of the Congress was on the re-organisation of the old RIDA and establishment of the Majlis Amanah Rakyat. The re-organisation of RIDA is about to be completed and MARA, when the new legislation has been passed by Parliament, will supersede the old RIDA. Although the new legislation has not been passed, I already directed that MARA should operate in the way that will give maximum impact on the economic development of the country. MARA is now operating in an entirely new way i.e. it operates in 7 semi-autonomous divisions which are responsible for the execution of policy directives and decisions without having to get bogged down in excessive red tape.

I have also directed that MARA should give emphasis on assisting the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry. I am sure that when MARA is properly established it will be able to cope up with the main responsibility entrusted upon it by the Congress.

However, MARA needs not only a good public image and vigour but also talents. Steps towards recruiting young and qualified people into MARA and to pool talents from the business community of this country and from overseas are now being taken. The United Nations Agencies, The Colombo Plan, and other bodies have been approached for the necessary talents, experience and knowledge for the successful running of the MARA. In this respect, I have been most impressed with the response given by such people.

I am, therefore, proud to say that hardly 4 months have elapsed since the resolutions of the Congress were taken, and while the echoes of the words uttered at the Congress are still ringing in the ears of the people in this country, the Government has implemented a substantial number of resolutions. Today, I am going to announce the fulfilment of yet two more important resolutions of the Congress i.e. the formation of the Bank Bumiputera and the establishment of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority. These two Organisations will form one of the main bridge heads from where the assault on imbalance of life in this country is carried out. The Bank Bumiputera will remedy the lack of capital among the Bumiputera so as to enable them to improve their existing business and encourage them to undertake new enterprises which are expected to accelerate the development and increase the wealth of the country.

In other words, the objectives for which the Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited is established are to carry on in Malaysia and elsewhere the business of a Bank with such branches or agencies as may from time to time be determined; to carry on the business in all the

branches and departments, and to provide assistance to enterprise within the agricultural sector of the national economy and to the fishing industry in Malaysia in general. The Bank will assist in the creation, expansion and modernisation, of such enterprises, and encourage and promote the participation of capital, both internal and external, encourage and promote agricultural and fishing industries and ownership of investments therein, and in particular provide finance and credit in the form of loans and advances and make funds available for investment for such enterprises.

The authorised capital of this Bank will be \$25 million and the Government has already agreed to give a launching grant of \$5 million. It is hoped that the Bumiputera of this country will contribute to the authorised capital of the Bank by purchasing its shares. I also hope that they will make full use of the opportunities provided for through the establishment of this Bank. I am sure that the Bank will operate successfully if it is used not only for the purpose of borrowing money as capital for the promotion of their ventures and undertakings but also as a saving institution so that the savings could be used and utilised for the purpose of developing this country.

I have already appointed Encik Raslan bin Datuk Abdullah as Managing Director of the Bank. He is highly qualified and is a man of experience, and I am sure he will be able to cope up with the responsibilities of managing the Bank. Here again, I wish to stress that the Bank will seek for talents from the business sectors of the country as well as from overseas. The Board of Directors of the Bank will not only be from members of the Bumiputera community but also from the non-Malay communities. They are as follows:—

- (i) Encik Mushir Arif
- (ii) Encik L.E. Othman
- (iii) Encik Wan Yahaya bin Hj. Mohamed
- (iv) Y.M. Tengku Razaleigh
- (v) Encik John Yue
- (vi) Encik Robert Kuok
- (vii) Senator S.O.K. Ubaidullah
- (viii) Encik Raslan bin Datuk Abdullah.

The other point that I wish to mention here is the establishment of branches of the Bank in this country. I am sure that the Bank will establish its branches at appropriate places in this country.

With regard to the operation of the Bank Bumiputera, I must emphasize that the Bank will operate on business and commercial lines just like any other banks in the country. But the unique feature of the Bank

is that it will be registered as a Malay under the Malay Reservations Enactment and can hold lands in Malay Reservations as securities.

Apart from the establishing of the Bank Bumiputera and the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority, the Government is now preparing the necessary legislation for the establishment of the National Land Rehabilitation and Consolidation Authority to look after the Rehabilitation of uneconomic holdings.

And MARA now is going ahead with the preparation on the establishment of the First National Corporation on Forest Produce. This Corporation will deal with the working out and marketing of timber produce on a joint venture basis with Bumiputera companies.

The Loans Divisions of the MARA will also be strengthened and its capital duty outlay increased. Provision for this has been made in the First Malaysia Plan.

Through MARA, the Government is providing the necessary training for the Bumiputera to participate and partake in the commercial life of the country. Once they have been trained, they would be able to stand on their own feet and carry out their businesses in a sound matter.

MARA is now preparing plans for the establishment of a new multi-million training college in the new industrial area of Kuala Lumpur which is at the 4th mile, Klang Road.

With effect from today the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority is officially established in accordance with the Marketing Act that has been passed by Parliament recently. The Government has appointed Y.B. Encik Hanafiah bin Hussein, M.P., as Chairman of the Authority. As regard the appointment of Deputy Chairman, the Government is still in the process of looking for a suitable Government official to fill this post. The name of the Deputy Chairman will be announced in due course.

The other members of the Authority have also been appointed as follows:—

- (i) Professor ungu Aziz
- (ii) Y.B. Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad
- (iii) Y.B. Encik Kam Woon Wah, P.J.
- (iv) Encik Mansor bin Osman
- (v) Encik Ma'arof bin Sheikh Ahmad of the Ministry of Rural Development
- (vi) Encik Thong Yaw Hong of the Economic Planning Unit

- (vii) Encik Abdul Ghani bin Mohd. Nor of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry
- (viii) Encik Arshad bin Ayub of the Treasury
- (ix) Tuan Syed Zahiruddin bin Syed Hassan of the Ministry of Agricultural & Industry
- (x) Y.B. Datuk Ganie Gilong from Sabah
- (xi) A representative from Sarawak will be appointed.

The Government expresses its thanks to the persons mentioned above for accepting the invitation to serve on the Authority.

The establishment of FAMA will serve as a turning point in effecting marketing improvement programmes in this country which is aimed at providing suitable and adequate facilities for efficient marketing of agricultural produce. The FAMA will also undertake research and investigations in order to provide guidance for planning marketing schemes and establishing agricultural prices to ensure fair return for farmers' produce.

The establishment of FAMA marks the 3rd phase of our Second Five Year Plan. The new authority will supervise, coordinate and improve the marketing of agricultural produce. This will certainly result in bringing a raise in the income of rural producers whereby they get a fair and just share of their toils.

Increased irrigation facilities, improved conditions of land tenure, effective agricultural credit institutions, and adoption of better methods of husbandry, including use of high yielding seed and fertilizers under the Second Five Year Plan have resulted in an increase in output. As a follow-up action, FAMA will give further incentive to an increase in the production of the rural people. It will help the producing farmer to get a greater share of his produce.

The establishment of FAMA will certainly remedy some of the existing defects of the marketing system of rural produce. It will remedy the rural indebtedness and the credit system, the lack of know-how and market information, lack of grades and standards, and rigidities in buying and selling operations, middlemen monopoly, cartels price, ring, etc.

One fundamental problem to effective marketing of agricultural produce is the predominance of small subsistence farmers, mainly engaged in producing food crops for their own consumption and for the payment of rents and debts in kind. Surpluses available for sale are of limited and insignificant quantity, uneconomical to warrant the

provision of marketing facilities including transporting, processing etc. and the small and broken holdings cause much difficulties in collection and assembly for market. One of the main tasks of FAMA will be in the direction of solving these problems.

Other serious obstacles to efficient marketing which the Authority will also be concerned with are the lack of uniformities of weights and measures, poor transport facilities, absence of standards and grades of quality of agricultural produce and absence of market information. At present, subjective and arbitrary methods of grading give rises to dissatisfaction and disputes between buyers and sellers, particularly in paddy marketing. Arbitrary deductions are also widely practised in rubber and copra marketing. With regard to weights and measures, it is found that in the rural areas, the balance stick is commonly used and its accuracy varies over a wide range. Under-weighing and other malpractices often take place in marketing transactions in the rural areas.

Because of the above factors, the Government has found it necessary to solve the problems by establishing the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority charged with the responsibility of introducing, where necessary and desirable, ways and means to improve existing markets and marketing methods. It means therefore that before the Authority can introduce any marketing scheme or institute a marketing board, it will have to carry out careful research and investigation into conditions prevailing in the marketing of particular commodities and it may well happen that the best course in the circumstances in a judicious distribution of existing marketing organisations, individuals or firms. For instance, in a specific area the best marketing arrangement might be to increase the number of private dealers: in other instances it might just mean an improvement in the packing, processing and transport facilities; yet in others it might mean establishing proper standards and grades etc.

It should be stressed here however that it is not the intention of the Marketing Authority to eliminate the existing free market economy as the Act under which this Authority is set up contains so many safeguards that the rights of private individuals and organisations are fully protected. The main functions of this Authority are to find ways and means in improving existing marketing methods including the coordination of activities of various organisations and individuals which are concerned with any aspect of the marketing of agricultural produce and also collaboration with existing organisations and individuals to promote efficient and effective marketing.

It should also be pointed out that marketing is only one of the

essential factors in the whole complex and interrelated process of agricultural development. Equally important and necessary is easy access to credit on reasonable terms. They are also inter-related that it can be said that the provision of adequate and cheap credit is a necessary corollary to proper development of efficient marketing. The intergration of marketing and credit should be seen as a cornerstone without which any attempt to bring about a substantial government. in the economic position of the farmer must necessarily yield only limited results. It is also for this reason the Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited is established with effect from today.

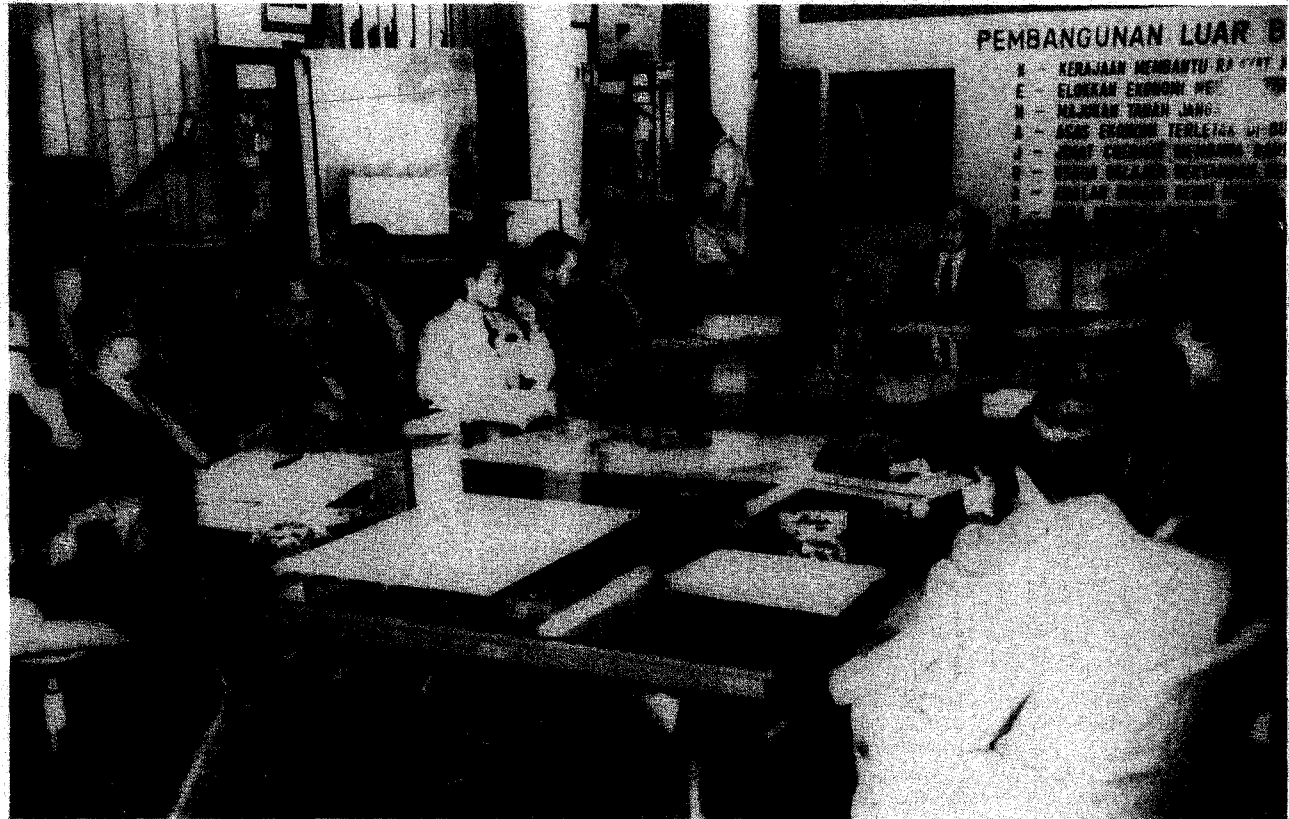
With the establishment of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority and Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Limited, the Government has now broken new grounds in its endeavour to bring about a situation whereby the economic imbalance between the rural and urban sectors will be further reduced and consequently the rural producers will get a greater share from the fruits of their labour.

However, I must state it frankly here that these two Organisations, and for that matter any other organisations, would not be able to function properly and achieve its objectives if the people themselves, are not helping themselves. The people should look upon these amenities as opportunities and they must come forward to make use of these opportunities to the fullest.

On the Government's part, we are providing the necessary help and creating the necessary conditions which will enable our rakyat to enjoy better amenities and facilities of life. It is the intention of the Government to help the rakyat of this country to stand on their own feet, able to face the competition of every day life. To achieve this end, as you are well aware, the Government has launched the Second Phase of the Rural Development Plan which emphasizes on the promotion of gotong royong (self-help) spirit through rakyat participation in gotong royong projects and extension services.

The Government had launched the Second Five Year Plan and the Rural Development Programmae successfully. The Government is now in the final stage of preparing the First Malaysia Plan which is aimed at increasing the productivity of the country and raising the standard of living of the people; to better social services for the people. The Government is implementing with vigour the resolutions of the Congress in order to obtain maximum effective participation by the Bumiputera in the field of commerce and industry. In fact, the Government has by now implemented some of the major resolutions of the Congress, and is still actively implementing the other resolutions. With

all these, I hope that the people of this country will take all the opportunities offered to them and better their standard of living and their way of life. The government will carry out all the necessary projects designed to help the people. But the people themselves should avail themselves of opportunities that are being extended to them.



Tun Abdul Razak b. Hussein sedang berucap kepada ahli-ahli Lembaga Pengarah Bank Bumiputera dan Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan di hari pelancaran Bank Bumiputera dan Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan di Bilik Gerakan Pembangunan Negara, Kuala Lumpur pada 30 September, 1965.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE SECOND SENIOR GOVERNMENT  
OFFICERS COURSE ON 7TH OCTOBER, 1965

This is the second of a series of courses for senior Government officers arranged by the Establishment Office Malaysia and I hope that you will take full advantage of it. You will notice from the course programme that one of the objectives of the course is to bring together senior officers in the various Ministries and Departments for an active exchange of views on Government policy and its administration. From this it can be implied that this is not a course in the strict sense of the word. It should not be regarded as an attempt on the part of Government to send you back to school to study about administration. It should however be regarded merely as a get together of senior Government officers for an exchange of views, ideas and thought with regard to the present position of the Administration and the civil service and to suggest ways and means of meeting it so as to make it fulfil the needs of a progressive nation like Malaysia.

The civil service has contributed a great deal towards the efficient running of Government machinery in this country after Merdeka. Despite increased responsibilities and new problems arising out of complexity of the administration of an independent sovereign country the civil service has been able to carry out their responsibilities efficiently and loyalty resulting in the tremendous progress achieved by this country in such a short period. However, the civil service should not rest on its laurels as there are still rooms for improvement. It has to adapt itself to the present situation of the country, if Malaysia is to take its rightful place in this modern world. As you all know our civil service system is based on the British civil service system. This system has much merits but also has a few defects. Moreover the old colonial system in this country was based on the situation prevailing before Merdeka which is entirely different from that in an independent Malaysia. In the old days the British civil servant in this country was an administrator and at the same time a ruler taking orders from a distant and remote control of White Hall in London. After Merdeka this situation does not exist and it is therefore necessary that the past methods should be re-examined and reviewed to meet the need of a progressive independent nation.

After merdeka the last vestiges and traces of the colonial civil service are disappearing from Malaysia and a new service reflecting the true needs of the country is emerging. However, there are still

traces of the old colonial system deep rooted in the civil service structure and administrative methods. These vestiges of the old colonialism must be removed if the civil service is to become an effective instrument of an independent nation. There should be a change in the approach, method and attitude towards performing the duties of the civil service. In the old colonial days the Government could afford the time in writing long minutes in files before action was taken to implement the decision. However, in an independent progressive nation like Malaysia today we cannot afford to waste much time in writing long minutes. When a clear-cut policy decision has been made by Government it is imperative on the civil service to implement it with the least possible delay so as to obtain maximum impact on the electorate who elected the Government.

There are also rules and regulations, legislations and procedures which are the carry-over from the old regime rules and regulations are still being followed. If the civil service is to fulfil the needs of a progressive Malaysia, it is necessary that a thorough examination be made of these rules and to recommend deletion or amendment if they are no more appropriate to the present day situation. In the meantime where discretion is given to the appropriate authorities, discretion should be exercised in the light of the present circumstances and requirements. Wherever possible a more liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations should be given towards the same end.

It is also necessary that the present machinery of administration should be streamlined and strengthened to meet the present situation. There should be more regular discussions within the Ministries or Departments and amongst the interested Ministries or Departments. This will reduce the amount of minutes and correspondence involved and thereby reduce the time taken to implement any policy decision. In conferences or meetings the representatives of Ministries and Departments should as far as possible have delegated authority to make decisions on the spot so that decision may be taken with the least possible delay. It is also necessary that records and decisions and agreements reached at meetings should be kept and acted on immediately as far as possible without waiting for the official minutes to arrive. In addition to the above there might be other ways of streamlining the administration and it is up to you to point to the appropriate authorities so that appropriate action could be taken to implement it.

Malaysia is an independent democratic country and its system of Government is based on Parliamentary rule. In this system we have 3 clear-cut divisions of Government.

- (i) The Electorate;
- (ii) The Elected Government and
- (iii) The Administration

The Electorate consists of adult citizens who elect the Government once in every five years. It decides in what direction it wishes to go by electing the type of Government it wishes. The Electorate has its desires and aspirations which the elected Government is expected to fulfil. It is for the Elected Government and the politicians to give words to the desires and aspirations of the Electorate and to turn them into a policy. The Administration consists of the Cabinet and the civil service. The Cabinet makes decision and gives direction towards the implementation of a policy and it is up to the civil service to give that policy a form and to implement it in the shortest possible time with the maximum application of energy and effort. The civil service may be required to give advise in the formation of a policy and in this respect it is the duty of the civil service to bring to the attention of the Cabinet the advantages and disadvantages of the policy to be formulated. The elected Government is entitled to receive such an advice since the policy once formulated may affect the very livelihood of thousands of people. The civil service is expected to give an honest and sincere view based on its knowledge and experience without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the Government views. The final decision on the policy of course lies with the cabinet. But once the policy decision has been made, it is the bounded duty of the civil service to execute it even when a policy runs counter to its advice. The Electorate expects benefits to be derived from the Government it elected and it is therefore the duty of the civil service to implement the policy decision made by the Cabinet with the least possible delay.

When I addressed the members of the first series of this course, I advised them to follow the military way of organisation. In the Army there is delegation right from the top to the bottom. There is the General, the Brigade Commander, the Battallion Commander, the Company Commander and the Platoon Commander. The General does not do the work of a Battallion Commander or a Platoon Commander. The General sits back and keep his mind fresh to be in touch with the battle and to be able to plan ahead, think ahead and get ahead. The General does not go round with a sten gun or with a revolver, he goes round with a baton to get to know his men, to see how things are getting on and to keep himself in the overall picture of what is going on. This is the secret of delegation, command and leadership which must, in my opinion brought to the members running the civil service. Some Heads of Departments, Secretaries to Ministries and

senior officers become so muddle and befuddle with details of routines and daily decisions such as leave for clerks, duty rosters for peons, travelling claims for approval and other small details that they have no time to think of policies of big things, to plan ahead and to look ahead.

Another example of good organisation is the many autonomous bodies that we have set up under the Government that can get things done much more effectively and quickly than many Government departments. This is because they are not tied up with rules and regulations. I do not mean we should not have rules and regulations to govern our administration but we must not allow rules and regulations to delay our decisions and our actions. We must see that rules and regulations are there to help and guide us, not to misappropriate funds or to make bad decisions. Rules and regulations were made to help to smooth and straighten out administrative machinery and not to put a clot in the wheels.

I consider that the first requirement in order to achieve that aim is good leadership at the top which will get things moving and get results. It is necessary that the leadership should have a full understanding of the Government policy and the wishes of the Elected Government. It is also its duty to ensure that every officer down the line in his Ministry/Department understands what that policy is and implements it without delay. Since independence a large number of University graduates have been recruited into the civil service in replacement of the expatriates. These young men are generally of an extremely high quality and have a latest ability of great merit. However, full advantage of the capabilities of these young men cannot be obtained unless they get good leadership at the top. The second requirement is the ability of the leadership to delegate to its subordinates not only the authority but also the power to make decision on matters appropriate to their responsibility. Secretaries to Ministries, Heads of Departments and those who are put in a position of supreme responsibility for running their organisation should not waste their time on petty matters as it will mean wasting the time of the Government and the nation. They must be in a position to stand aside and judge on the performance of their organisation and to diagnose and detect any sign of inefficiency. Every officer in the organisation should be given a clear cut picture not only of its duties but also its power within the delegated responsibility to decide things for himself within the framework of the policy without wasting time of going up and down the line seeking minor decision on petty matters.

As a member of the civil service, it is your duty to give your best

in the performance of your duties which have been entrusted to you by the Government, the people and the nation. I therefore hope that after this course you will be able to give a thought as to the ways and means of improving further the civil service of which we all are proud.

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO MARA COURSE, PETALING JAYA ON 9TH OCTOBER, 1965**

Happy to talk to you all today. I am told that, since yesterday you all have been having a Seminar here to discuss the organization of MARA and its plans of action.

As you know when I announced the re-organization of the old RIDA, I explained that the Government proposed to have a new Authority which would be the spear-head in the implementation of its policy to assist the rural people, in particular the Bumiputera to have a greater share in the economic and business life of the country. I also explained that this new Authority will have a new image, new name, new set-up. I decided this Authority should be divided into various Division i.e. seven Division;

- (a) Administration
- (b) Training
- (c) Transport
- (d) Commerce and Industry
- (e) Loan Finance
- (f) Account
- (g) Technical Advisory Services.

Each Division is headed by a Director who has full powers to carry out the tasks entrusted to the Division within the general policy approved by the authority. The Chairman, is the Head of A and responsible for the implementation of policies and supervision.

This proposal of mine was approved by the Congress Economic Bumiputera and Congress gave authority the name MARA.

Since Congress I had been able to select the Heads of the various Divisions except one. These Directors were specially selected by me and they are men of whom I have confidence in carrying the tasks entrusted to them.

I have explained to the Chairman and Directors that the people i.e. the Bumiputera expects a lot from MARA. It is their duties to fulfil these expectations. As far as I am concerned and the people are concerned we need results. You all Directors and officers of MARA have to produce results. How you do it is a matter for you. No matter what you do, if you do not produce the results required you are no good to MARA and no good to the people.

That is why you have to plan your work properly. That is why you have to put new life to MARA – new approach, new attitude of mind to your work. You have to work with speed and precision.

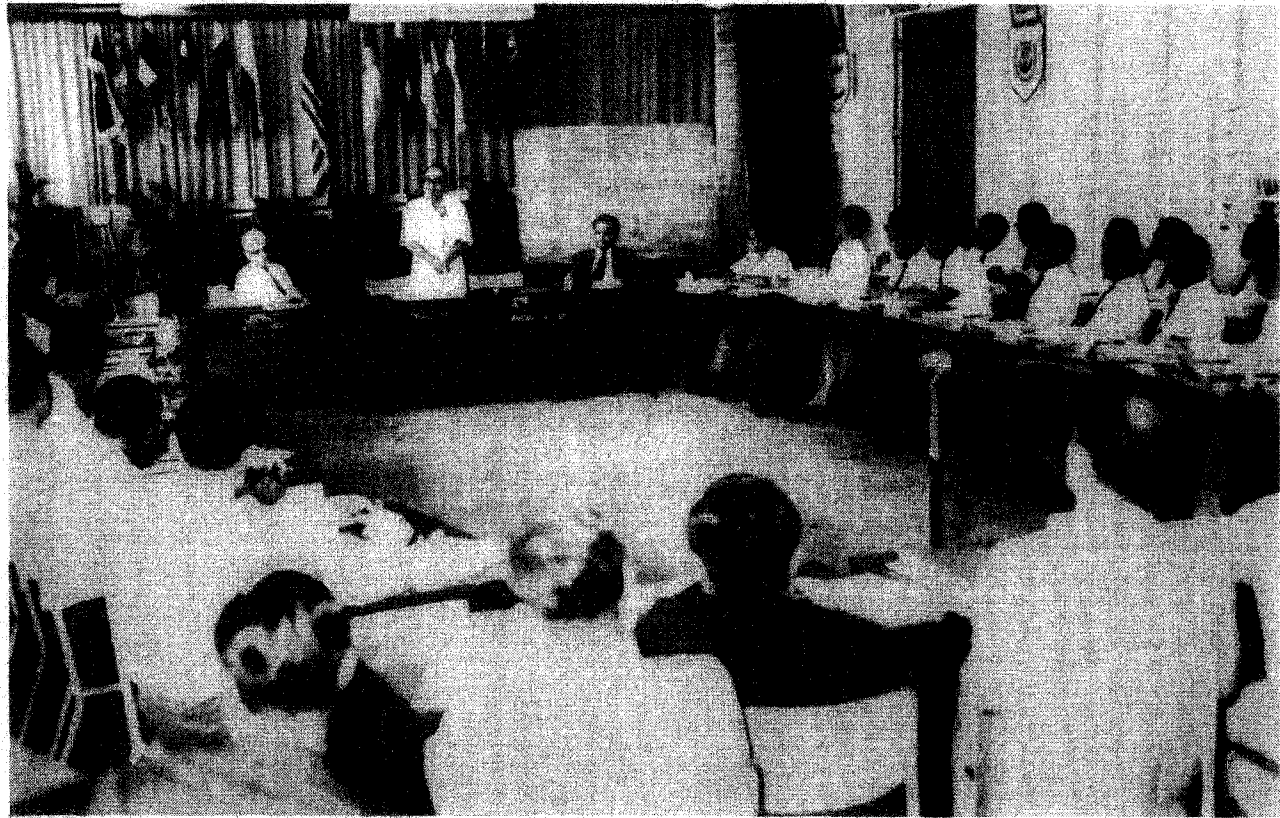
The function of MARA is simple this – to carry out or assist or facilitate economic and social development in this country particularly in the Rural areas. You have to assist the Bumiputera to have a greater share in the business and economic life of the country. To me you can do this in three ways. I know I may be over simplifying.

- (1) To train B in business management etc. so that they can get employment in firms, factories etc – matter for Dewan Latihan.
- (2) To train Malay business enterprises so that they can carry on businesses.
- (3) To undertake business enterprises in order to help B to have a full part in the business i.e. Timber Cooperative Transport etc. (1) for Dewan Latihan. (2) for Director. for Commerce & Industry and Transport.

To do business three things:

- (a) know – how – semangat – will initiate enterprise.
- (b) capital, modal.
- (c) contact.

Either train new enterprises or assist the existing one, you can forget other things. Don't be theoretical – always practical. Accept this and conditions as they exist and try to improve them. Don't look for big things. MARA is not to help Malay Towkays – they can fare for themselves. MARA is to help the small men and to help majority of people.



Tun Abdul Razak b. Hussein sedang berucap kepada pegawai-pegawai luar MARA di Maktab Bekerjasama, Petaling Jaya pada 9 Oktober, 1965.

TR 3:10:65

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
DINNER OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS  
MALAYSIA ON 9TH OCTOBER, 1965

Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen:

I am grateful to you Mr. President and members of your Committee for having kindly extended this invitation to my wife and myself to attend your dinner here tonight and for giving me this opportunity of meeting and addressing you.

During the last few months there have been several thought-provoking events in our country as well as countries in this region of Asia and S.E. Asia. Therefore it will be useful for us to cast our thoughts back and to ponder soberly on these happenings which naturally have consequences in our country. It is a good thing from time to time, for us as a nation to take stock of our position, to look into the past so that we can plan carefully into the future and look ahead with care and confidence.

Exactly two months ago on the 9th August, we had to take a sad but desirable decision to separate Singapore from Malaysia. That action on the part of our Government with the agreement of Singapore Government came as a shock to the country and to our people. However as the two countries, Malaysia and Singapore settle down after the operation of separation and the leaders of the two countries have realized the desirability of maintaining close cooperation in all matters namely, defence, security, economic and trade, our people have recovered from the shock and have realized that the separation of Singapore from Malaysia in the best interest of peace and security of our two countries and in the interest of our two people.

Sometime back when I addressed the Graduates' Association of the University of Malaya, I said Malaysia and Singapore were like a pair of Siamese twins, born out of the wedlock of Malaysia in September 1963. After two years it was found necessary to carry out an operation to separate the twins. Now, although the skin that binds them together has been cut off there are still ties of blood and of parent-hood. Therefore the two countries must move forward together like a pair of twins, independently but working close together for the mutual interest. I have also just visited most of the important areas of Sabah and Sarawak and had the opportunity of meeting the leaders of the various communities at various levels and I am firmly convinced

that the people there as well as the people here in Malaya have understood the reason for the separation of Singapore from Malaysia and rallied solidly behind the Government at this time of National Emergency to defend our country as well as to make Malaysia succeed.

We in the General Government here have stated many a time that we shall do everything possible to work together with the Government of Singapore for the benefit of our two countries which have so many things in common and which are linked together so closely. If leaders of the Government of Singapore will give us that same cooperation and are prepared to work sincerely together in close cooperation then clearly there will always be a happy and friendly relation between Malaysia and Singapore.

After this important event in our history, trouble broke out between India and Pakistan. For a few weeks there was fighting on the borders between these two countries with whom we had friendly relations. Both these countries are members of the Commonwealth together with us Malaysia. Therefore we considered it was our duty to do all within our power to try and bring peace so that whatever differences they had could be settled by negotiations and by peaceful means. From the very start we made it clear that we took no side in the quarrel. We were neutral and that our only wish was to see that the two friendly countries of ours would stop fighting each other. As a member of the Security Council our duty was clear, not only to the two countries but to all member countries of that august body — United Nations — to restore peace. Our representative at the U.N. Security Council was given a clear mandate to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a ceasefire between India and Pakistan and to bring an end to the fighting. That was our first objective. Naturally in a situation like that we could not please either side but as I have said, it was our duty to bring an end to the fighting. However in our sincere efforts to do our duty to these two friendly countries and to do our duty as a member of the Security Council we were misunderstood. Pakistan had accused us of taking side just because certain of the words said by our representative in the Security Council did not please them. Pakistan went on as far as to break diplomatic relations with us. As I said, we had not done anything against Pakistan. We were merely trying to do our duty, to bring peace, to bring a halt to the fighting between India and Pakistan. Is it fair or just, for Pakistan to take such action against us? Let the world judge. Let the Security Council and the U.N. judge our action and our attitude.

During our trouble with Indonesia, Pakistan had clearly shown a partisan attitude. They had actively sided with Indonesia on a number

of occasions. At the preliminary Afro-Asian Conference in Jakarta the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto tried his best to stop our admission, also representatives of Pakistan in Afro-Asian countries had been carrying out propaganda against us in support of Indonesia. Also at the last Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, Pakistan Foreign Minister did his best to stop the Conference from making a statement condemning Indonesian aggression. In our trouble with Indonesia it was clear Indonesia was the aggressor. In the U.N. Security Council a vote of 9 to 2 passed a resolution condemning the use of force by Indonesia against us and yet Pakistan still supported Indonesian action. It was clear that we are being made the scapegoat for Pakistan's interest. We are being made use of perhaps to please Pakistan's big brother, Communist China. We know that the action of the Government of Pakistan and in particular that of her Foreign Minister does not have the support of the majority of the people of Pakistan as in that country the people have no real say in formulating Government policies and actions. Pakistan Foreign Minister thought Malaysia is a small nation, our friendship is of no value to Pakistan. In international affairs it is not the size of the country that counts, it is what the country stands for. We stand for peace and cooperation, for freedom and justice and for friendship among nations. We always believe in justice and fair play and in international affairs respect the integrity and sovereignty of other nations. Time and the course of events will prove that we have been right, we have been sincere in all our efforts and activities. We have no ambition to dominate any territory or country, our only wish is to live in peace, to be left alone to carry out our own way of life, to bring happiness and prosperity to our people.

Since Indonesia carried out its policy of confrontation and aggression against us, peace-loving countries of the world, particularly those in Afro-Asia have come to realize that we have been the subject of unprovoked aggression. During my visit to Africa and Asia early this year, to about 20 countries, I found that the leaders of these countries have now understood what Malaysia is, a peace-loving nation and that we have been subjected to aggression by Indonesia. Our image and prestige in the world has been enhanced. We have shown to the world in the past that we are always ready to play our part and to contribute our small effort for the maintenance of the peace of the world as shown by our action in the Congo and also our action in the Security Council.

Now coming to internal affairs. Our young nation — Malaysia — is two years and two months old. We knew when we decided to establish Malaysia that there were problems and difficulties but we also believe that we could face and overcome all these problems giving the cooperation, loyalty and understanding by all citizens.

Of all the problems, the one that appears to be the most difficult is the problem of endeavouring to build a strong, united and independent nation with one loyalty from our people of various racial origin. This problem of multi-racial society at times comes under great strains and stresses and often it threatens peace and harmony in this country due to careless utterances and actions of extremists which are found in our communities. But fortunately for us and Malaysia, we have a Government which believes in justice and fair play, our Constitution has been drawn up by persons of knowledge and experience and they brought their knowledge and experience to bear on the problems of our country. Also the former Federation of Malaya had many years of experience working successfully under a federal system of Government. I have no doubt that with patience, understanding and cooperation all these difficulties can and must be resolved if we want Malaysia to succeed and become a happy country for all our people.

As you know our country was threatened out of its existence the very day of its birth. However, despite Indonesian aggression and confrontation I am proud of the way in which our people of all races have stood together in unity and with harmony and goodwill. We in the Alliance have from the start made our concept of Malaysia clear. Our concept of Malaysia is to bring together the peoples of various territories under one flag so that they all regard Malaysia as the sole object of their loyalty. We want all our people, Malays, Chinese, Dayaks, Dusuns, Indians and others to regard themselves as Malaysians and this concept of ours is embodied in our Constitution. Our Constitution provides and guarantees everyone a place in this country and protects his rights and privileges. There is no question of discrimination or dominance of one race over the other under our Constitution.

Of course in a multi-racial society like ours there are problems, there are sensitive issues which may be brought up from time to time. However, let us all realize that in everything we do we must put the real and true interest of our country and people above everything else. We must always endeavour to look at things in their true perspective, to look at the substance rather than the shadow. Before we achieved independence in 1957 for Malaya, we knew we had a number of sensitive issues to be settled i.e. the question of citizenship, religion, language and economic position of our people. That is why we decided to ask persons of knowledge and experience from outside to help formulate our Constitution, to help find out the Constitutional framework to these problems. The 5 members of the Constitution Commission from friendly Commonwealth countries came to our country to help draft our Constitution and that Constitution which was

accepted by all races in this country when we achieved independence in 1957 and which was also accepted by Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak with minor adjustments in 1963, provided the legal and constitutional framework for us to establish a united, free and democratic nation and to give our people a measure of happiness and prosperity which they desire.

Therefore I say if we have any doubts on any fundamental issue, let us go back to the Constitution. Lately there was some discussion in the Press and outside over the question of language. In a free and democratic country such as ours, people have the right to express their views publicly and openly and in any society there are extremists and on this question of language there are extremists who believe that after 1 SEP 67 when Malay becomes the sole official language the use of other languages would not be allowed. There are extremists on both sides but let us look at the Constitution. The Constitution clearly says: That after a period of 10 years after Merdeka Day, Parliament may, by law, provide for Malay to be the sole official language, but the use, the teaching and learning of any other languages should be permitted and encouraged. The Constitution Commission in its report says that they decided to recommend Malay to be the National language and they do not consider it necessary for any other languages should become an official language except that English can be used for a period of 10 years after Merdeka as an official language and thereafter it will be left to Parliament to decide when the change should take place.

The Constitutional experts had made proposals which they consider fair and just in the light of circumstances pertaining to our country. However, in deciding to effect the changes as allowed by the Constitution, it is necessary for us to do so in the manner fair and just to all communities so that the measure we take will have the support of everyone. As the Tunku stated, it is the last thing we want to have any bloodshed or trouble in this country over the language issue or any issue. Indeed, there is no reason whatever that there should be any trouble or even differences of views.

It has always been the intention and policy of the Alliance Government to be fair and just to all sections of our communities. During the last 10 years since we have been in power, although we have endeavoured to help the various sections of our communities to give them better and greater amenities of life and a higher standard of living we have not taken away the rights or privileges from any group or section of our community.

Now under our Education System we have different types of schools and different languages, while endeavouring to carry out our National Education Policy we have endeavoured to be fair to the various types of schools. We have given a place and a status to Chinese Education in this country that it did not enjoy under the British colonial government. In 1954, which was the first year before the Federation first General Election, when the Alliance came into power for the first time, the amount spent on Chinese education was \$11.7 million. The amount spent on education as a whole was \$99.9 million. In 1963, and I have taken 1963, because after this year we will be dealing in Pan-Malaysian figures and from a comparison — the figures were \$46.4 million and \$283 million respectively. In other words while the amount spent on education as a whole increased by 183% in 9 years the amount spent on Chinese education increased by 282%.

Therefore as I have said, we wish to be fair to all section of our community as it is our policy to give everyone of our citizen of whatever racial origin a rightful place in our country. While Malay will assume the role of our official language in our country it is clearly provided in our Constitution and it is the declared policy of the Alliance Government that the growth of the other languages will be fostered and encouraged. In fact, I wish as many Malaysians as possible to know as many languages as possible and we should endeavour to learn the principal languages of our country.

I would therefore ask all our people, Malays and the non-Malays to be fair to each other. The Malays must be fair to other communities in order to have their support of Malay as the official language and the other communities, particularly the Chinese, to realise that their languages and education will always have a place in our country in return for their support for the National Language.

As I have said, I have just visited Sabah and Sarawak and I am very pleased to see that despite Confrontation and aggression by the enemies across the border, the people of these two territories had maintained high morale and have stood up to the Indonesian aggression with complete loyalty and devotion. I am confident with loyalty, cooperation and sincerity of purpose from all concerned, we shall be able to make Malaysia a happy and united country.

It is true that there is a small body of persons who are not happy over Malaysia in Sarawak particularly members of the Communist-dominated SUPP. But even in SUPP there is now a division and a section of that party seems to be supporting Malaysia. In Sabah there are one or two politicians who are making use of the separation of

Singapore as a political capital to further their own political interests and personal ambitions. I would like to repeat what the Tunku has always stated, that all we wanted in Malaysia is that our people, Malays, Chinese, Indians and others to regard themselves as Malaysians and this is what our Constitution provides and guarantees. It is the duty of all our people to work towards building a united nation with one loyalty but this must necessarily take time and I am sure that with patience and cooperation and goodwill we will be able to achieve this ultimate objective.

There is one current topic which I am sure is of interest to all of you, Ladies and Gentlemen, and that is the recent development in Indonesia. The situation there seems to be still confused and it is difficult for me to make any useful comment. However, I do hope out of all this will emerge a Government which will work for the good of the Indonesian people and which will be conscious of the need for peace and cooperation in South East Asia.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have dwelt at length on some topics of current importance and events taking place during the last few months. As we look out around in this Region of our disturbed world there are dark storms blowing and tales of misfortunes, murders and treachery filling our newspapers daily. However, in Malaysia if our people of all races continue to show their goodwill and unity and their will to survive against this dark background there is shining a bright gleam of the fulfilment of our ideals and the achievement of our concept of a happy and united country.

Berjaya Malaysia.

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, TO THE  
CREWS OF POLICE LAUNCHES, HULUBALANG AND  
MAHARAJA SETIA ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR  
COMMISSIONING AT PORT SWETTENHAM ON 18TH  
OCTOBER, 1965

It is with pleasure that I address you on the occasion of the second Commissioning Ceremony held in the Royal Malaysia Police. The commissioning of ships in the Naval Forces throughout the world is traditional, and it is fitting that Police launches presently engaged in off-shore patrol tasks and working in close liaison with our Naval ships in the waters off Malaysia, should be accorded similar traditional rites.

The Marine Branch of the Royal Malaysia Police was formed on 1st September 1947. Some of you now present are original members of the branch formed at that time and during the past eighteen years, you have witnessed its growth from an initial small pool of launches to the present day large establishment, which is still in the process of expansion.

With the outbreak of the Emergency in June 1948, the Marine Branch was still in a formative stage. Despite this initial handicap however, the branch was able to meet all the extra and unexpected duties imposed upon it. During the twelve years of the Emergency the Marine Branch was expanded and in addition, built up a satisfactory operational and maintenance organisation.

With the ending of the Emergency in 1960, the Marine Branch began a period of consolidation and long term planning for the policing of the Malayan coast, off-shore islands and Territorial waters. By September 1963, with the advent of Malaysia, a considerable amount of re-planning had taken place. The need for launch constructions to fulfil the long term planning however, was hastened by Indonesian Confrontation.

Since September 1963, more than 200 personnel from Sabah and Sarawak have been trained in the Marine Police Training School, Tampoi, Johore. The instructors and staff at Tampoi have carried out a most difficult task with great efficiency and, in the years to come, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they were largely responsible for the efficient build-up of the Marine Branches in Sabah and Sarawak. In addition, many Marine Branch personnel from Negeri-Negeri Tanah Melayu have carried out tours of operational duty in

both Sabah and Sarawak during the past two years. This assistance has allowed for the completion of a large recruitment and training of Marine personnel to provide crews for new launches now in service in East Malaysia.

I know too, that since September 1963, in conjunction with Naval Forces the crews of Police launches, ably assisted by crews and launches from the Marine Department have given their maximum effort, continuously watching for and guarding against the infiltration of enemy forces. The patrolling by Police and Marine Department launches, is most vital to the well-being and security of this country and you should not allow yourselves to become discouraged if you see no immediate results from your arduous duties.

I have been given to understand that the working up trials of the launches HULUBALANG AND MAHARAJA SETIA have proved to be successful. The constructors, Messrs. United Engineers (Singapore) Limited, are to be congratulated for the building of these very fine launches.

Finally, to you the crews of these two launches, I wish you good hunting and God speed.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE CULTURAL CONFERENCE OF THE  
MALAYSIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTALISTS AT THE  
LIBRARY ROOM UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 22ND OCTOBER, 1965

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

I am very glad to be here today and to be given the honour of opening your Conference. I am sorry that I am only here merely to open the Conference and wish I had time to spend the next three days taking part with you all in your discussion groups. I notice from your programme that the subjects under discussion are not only of tremendous interest to me personally but also are of vital importance to Malaysia and our people.

This Conference on the cultural problems of Malaysia is very timely and desirable. Our country is going through rapid changes and facing the problems of building a united people whose sole object of loyalty is to Malaysia. I am glad to say that despite numerous pressing problems confronting us and the nation, the efforts to build one nationhood out of our multi-racial society are achieving encouraging cooperation from various races in this country. This must necessarily take time but I have no doubt that with patience, understanding and cooperation any difficulty can and must be resolved if we want Malaysia to succeed and have a prosperous and happy country for all our people.

As you learned professors, eminent scholars and distinguished leaders realise the Alliance Government's chief concern and problem right now is the urgent and difficult problem of a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious Malaysia and the integration of the various communities into a modern, cultured and patriotic Malaysians.

South East Asia today, and Malaysia in particular, is the greatest melting pot of the most important cultural traditions in human history. The cultures of China, India, the Middle East and the indigenous Malay-polynesian cultures have here entered into a conflict and confluences as nowhere else in the world. I feel, as distinguished scholars and professors must have already known, that nowhere else in South East Asia that these conflicts and confluences are pronounced and represented in such as urgent and concrete form as in Malaysia. The challenge facing the leadership today is the harmonization and en-

riching these various cultures that we had inherited from various parts of the world. I am quite sure the assessment and findings of this conference will be of great use to scholars and even to us in Government.

We would like to know your views of the cultural impact of nation building in a multi racial society such as ours.

Malaysia is a part of South East Asia. It is also a part of greater world of Malay-speaking people. Yet Malaysia is not an exclusive cultural entity. Cultural patterns in our country have been largely influenced by the civilizations of the great continents of Europe and Asia. Arab and Indian traders brought their religions and created empires in the Malay archipelago. Then Western civilization, fortunately, did not completely destroy the traditional way of life of our people. In British Malaya, Native rulers and administrators existed side by side with colonial rulers and the cultural patterns remained traditionally the same. Liberal laws and legislations eased somewhat the lives of the people. While colonialism had not completely uprooted our traditional way of life – our attitude towards life, social and cultural values came under the influence of money and economic markets.

In all former colonial territories, in our country especially, the initial awakenings of subjected people took the form of cultural renaissance, expressed in movements for cultural identity as protests against political and cultural domination and some of the ways of life and values of our colonial masters.

In 1957, Malaya became Independence and Merdeka gave impetus to cultural movements in this country. And ever since, our nation has been trying to evolve one nationhood and one common loyalty. The birth of Malaysia gave greater impetus to the emergence of one nationhood and with it goes the need to evolve also a cultural identity of Malaysia. Our country is indeed a unique example of this search for a cultural identity of its own. We have inherited as a result of colonialism, a society in which non-indigenous people have found a stake in this country, and as I have said earlier, the urgent problem now is how to fuse them into a cultural and political entity. We have found at least one answer to the problem – in the National Language. We know language alone cannot resolve the problem as there are differences in cultural traditions and in Malaysia, religion plays a dominant part in influencing various peoples' outlook and attitudes towards life. But a greater understanding of each other's outlook and attitudes towards life is only possible when there is a common language and that is why the National Language is that all important.

The Alliance Government is creating for the young people of this country an environment which will ensure that their children, if not they themselves, to give their undivided loyalty to Malaysia alone. All our national policies, especially, the National educational policy are directed toward creating a strong, cultured and patriotic Malaysians.

Independence and Malaysia gave freer life to all loyal people of this country. This freer life is the most important unifying factor of our people not only politically but culturally. I can see and feel that all our people are conscious of the fact that they are sharing the same destiny. Their acknowledgement is indeed a great factor in influencing harmony, unity and solidarity among diverse groups. A sense of belonging has been aroused and all loyal Malaysians now assert their common national identity and patriotism.

Our country was threatened out of its existence from the day of its birth. However, despite Indonesian aggression and confrontation I am proud of the way in which our people of all races have stood together in unity, harmony and goodwill. We in Malaysia have made our concept of Malaysia clear. Our concept is to bring together peoples of various territories under one flag so that they all regard Malaysia as the sole object of their loyalty. This concept of a United Malaysian nation is embodied in our Constitution. Our Constitution provides and guarantees everyone a place in this country and protects his right and privileges. Malaysia is rich and each group is guaranteed its rightful share. Each group will get according to each needs and contribution. The goal is a united Malaysian nation with a common loyalty and I am sure you will agree with me that we are doing rather well in the fulfilment of this objective.

I have much pleasure in declaring the Conference open and wish it great success. Thank you.

DEEPAVALI MESSAGE BY THE DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTER ON 22ND OCTOBER, 1965

Deepavali is a day of joy and happiness for all Hindus, the time of the year when they forget their past sufferings and to resolve to live a better life.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the Malaysian people is that we all enjoy and respect each other's festival days, no matter whether it be Hari Raya, or Christmas or Wesak Day or Deepavali or Chinese New Year. Whatever the occasion may be we all enjoy it together and as a result of this, our people of many racial origins have been able to live in harmony and happiness. It is well for all people, all Malaysians, to remember on this happy religious day of Deepavali the importance of mutual respect for one another's beliefs. This we have had for generations, and this is the spirit we should always have and strengthen in Malaysia.

We in Malaysia, people of many creeds, believe in God though each in his own way, and we are given complete freedom to do so, though the official religion of this country is Islam, and I am a devout Muslim myself. Not only is this freedom written in the Constitution, but the Alliance Government has gone a good deal further by providing places of worship and schools for non-Muslims and giving aid or Mission schools.

Let us all join together to make this Festival of Deepavali a day of joy and gladness. In doing so let us always remember that we must have respect for each other's religions, customs and ways of life. In the past we have never had any troubles arising from race or religion; and let all resolve to prevent such occurrences. I am very satisfied with the loyalty of Indians of Malaysian citizenship to this country and I hope they will continue together with citizens of other racial origins to serve our country.

To everyone on this joyful day, I send my warmest greetings, especially to faithful Hindus, for a happy Deepavali.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE NINTH ANNUAL GOVERNMENT  
SERVICES SPORTS CHAMPIONSHIPS AT THE POLICE  
DEPOT, JALAN GURNEY, KUALA LUMPUR ON  
FRIDAY, 29TH OCTOBER, 1965

I am very pleased to be here this morning to set as a kind of official starter to get the Ninth Annual Government Services Sports Championships successfully under way.

For all athletes in Government service this Sports Meeting is always the culmination of many weeks and months of hard personal effort and training, so I am glad to see that there is an excellent turnout of no less than 229 entries from eleven States of Malaysia. Only two States are not represented here — Perlis and Sarawak. Next year, however, the roster should be complete, as Perlis has now formed its own Welfare and Recreational Council, which is awaiting registration, and Sarawak is now making plans to form an active Council there.

The fact that this Sports Meeting is being held at the Police Depot on this occasion, instead of the Stadium Merdeka, is a reminder to all taking part that these Championships are of special interest, being a curtain-raiser for the forthcoming South East Asia Peninsula Games taking place in December. Because the Stadium Merdeka is being made ready for the SEAP Games, the major highlight of this athletic year, it is necessary to bring the venue here, but despite the change I have no doubt that the competition will be keener than ever before, with hopes running high to earn the honour of places in the Malaysian team.

These Championships have a reputation for smashing records. Last year no less than eleven new marks were set. There is every prospect that more old records will go by the board, for two reasons. First, many out-standing athletes are taking part, including Olympic competitors. Second, the entries are fewer than last year because the qualifying standards are higher this time. With their eyes on the SEAP Games, the athletes will be going all out to give the best performances this important meeting demands and deserves.

As Chairman of the Olympic Council I would like to extend a very warm welcome indeed to all the athletes, both men and women, who have come together here to view with one another in track and field events to produce their best in speed and stamina, strength and skill.

I particularly wish to welcome all the competitors and officials from Sabah, who are sure to give an excellent account of themselves, and I look forward to seeing competitors from Sarawak joining in next year with their brother and sister athletes from all the other States.

This Sports Meeting is sponsored and organised by the Malaysia Government Services Welfare Recreational Council which since its inception has expanded its activities year by year. The emphasis today is of course on the sporting side, but the Council has put up many ideas for welfare and cultural activities and is also engaged in comprehensive housing schemes. The Central Government has always given ready and willing support to the Council and I can give positive assurance that we will continue to help in every way possible. I would like the Council to take particular interest in every assistance given to the Borneo Territories so that Government servants in those areas will be encouraged to take part in all organised activities and share in the various plans and projects.

The Central Government believes that encouraging sport and recreation among its employees contributes not only to the health and efficiency of the service but also to wider friendship and understanding and greater unity and purpose among all these whose duty and honour is to serve the people of Malaysia. This Sports Meeting, which has involved a tremendous amount of planning and hard work, through the cordial rivalry of personal encounter, renews old associations and creates new friendships. I congratulate all the athletes on their smart turnout and wish them the best of luck.

Knowing that the spirit of true sportmanship will guide each of you both on the field and off, I take very great pleasure indeed in declaring open this Ninth Annual Malaysia Government Services Championships.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI UPACARA  
PEMBUKAAN RASMI PERTUNJUKAN MINGGU PER-  
PADUAN NEGARA DI DEWAN TUNKU ABDUL  
RAHMAN, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 2 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Pengerusi,  
Tuan-Tuan Yang Terutama,  
Y.B. Menteri-Menteri dan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian.

Saya sangat sukacita kerana dapat hadir bagi mengisytiharkan Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan Negara pada hari ini serta berucap kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian. Saya mengucapkan ber-banyak terima kasih kepada Jawatankuasa Minggu Perpaduan Negara kerana telah sudi menjemput saya dan Isteri saya ke Majlis Pertunjukan pada hari ini.

Sungguh tertarik dan sangat menyenangkan hati kita semua kerana ada nya kerjasama yang rapat di antara gedung-gedung perniagaan dan perusahaan dalam negara ini dengan pihak Kerajaan. Saya bagi pihak Kerajaan, mengambil peluang di sini bagi mengucapkan ber-banyak-banyak terima kasih kepada semua gedung-gedung perniagaan dan perusahaan yang telah sudi bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan bagi mengadakan Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan pada hari ini. Saya telah diberitahu bahawa Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan pada tahun ini adalah sederhana sahaja kerana tahun ini adalah tahun pertama kita mengadakan Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan.

Saya berharap pertunjukan sebegini rupa pada tahun-tahun hadapan akan dapat diadakan dengan secara yang lebih besar dan meriah lagi supaya ada peluang kepada semua gedung-gedung perniagaan dan perusahaan, baik yang besar mahu pun yang kecil, seluruh negara yang mahu mengambil bahagian dan juga supaya pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan Negara ini sebenar-benarnya menarik rakyat dari semua peringkat dan masyarakat datang beramai-ramai melihatnya. Pertunjukan ini hendaklah merupakan suatu pertunjukan yang mencerminkan rakyat Malaysia dalam segala bidang — dalam bidang kehidupan seharian, pekerjaan, pelajaran, sukan dan bagaimana rakyat menggunakan masa lapang mereka dan bagaimana pula Kerajaan Perikatan melaksanakan dasar dan cita-citanya hendak menubuhkan suatu bangsa yang bersatu padu yang terdiri daripada rakyat yang berbilang bangsa, ugama itu dan menggambarkan cita-cita dan hasrat rakyat pada masa hadapan.

Tahun ini adalah tahun yang kedua kita mengadakan Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan. Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan ini adalah ber-

tujuan untuk memperkukuhkan semangat perpaduan rakyat Malaysia yang terdiri daripada berbilang bangsa dan kaum itu. Sungguh pun perpaduan rakyat dan keyakinan mereka terhadap konsep Malaysia sentiasa kuat, tetapi Kerajaan menganjurkan Minggu Perpaduan ini dengan tujuan hendak membaharui azam rakyat dan menunjukkan kepada seteru-seteru Malaysia, baik di luar atau dalam Negara yang rakyat negara ini daripada semua bangsa adalah mempunyai keazaman yang penuh untuk terus hidup bersatu sebagai suatu bangsa yang merdeka dan berdaulat dan mereka berani mengorbankan jiwa dalam menghadapi segala anasir yang mahu menghancurkan keyakinan mereka kepada kehidupan di bawah demokrasi yang berparlimen. Dalam Minggu Perpaduan ini kita semua akan memperlihatkan perpaduan, keazaman dan keyakinan kita kepada suatu masa yang lebih gilang gemilang bagi Negara Malaysia di masa hadapan. Minggu Perpaduan ini juga akan memperlihatkan yang rakyat semua bersatu padu, berusaha, bekerjasama dan berseronok dan bergembira bersama-sama dan mempunyai tujuan dan matlamat yang satu; cita-cita yang satu bagi melahirkan suatu bangsa dan satu taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Malaysia.

Malaya, telah merdeka semenjak tahun 1957 dan Malaysia semenjak tahun 1963. Dalam kegiatan memperjuangkan kemerdekaan negara kita dahulu, semua bangsa dalam negara ini telah bersatu padu dan berjuang bersama-sama untuk mendapatkan kemerdekaan. Setelah bersama-sama bekerja, membina, memaju dan mempertahankan kemerdekaan yang telah dicapai itu daripada ancaman seteru-seteru Malaysia. Kita semua telah bersatu padu pula lagi membentuk Malaysia. Dan sekarang semua rakyat Malaysia yang taat setia sedang mempertahankan kemerdekaan Malaysia daripada diganyang oleh Indonesia dan dibinasakan oleh anasir-anasir subversif dari dalam negara. Sungguh banyak masa, tenaga, fikiran, wang, nyawa dan darah mengalir dan perajurit-perajurit yang mati terkorban untuk kemerdekaan dan mengekalkan keteguhan perpaduan negara itu. Penjajah Inggeris telah membuat syarat Malaya hanya boleh diberi kemerdekaan jika semua kaum dalam negara ini boleh bersatupadu dan kita telah memeranjatkan mereka kerana kita telah berjaya menyatupadukan semua kaum dalam negara ini menuntut kemerdekaan. Semenjak kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957 tidak ada pergaduhan perkauman dalam negara ini dan kita berdoa kepada Tuhan supaya menjauhkan perkara ini daripada berlaku bila-bila masa pun.

Antara beberapa-beberapa perkara yang paling disanjung tinggi dan diperjuangkan oleh semua kaum dan semua puak ialah kemerdekaan dan perpaduan negara dan kebebasan hidup dan beragama. Kemerdekaan telah memberi kepada kita darjat dan maruah yang

tinggi di dunia international. Negara kita merdeka dan berdaulat dan telah diterima oleh semua bangsa dan negara, kecuali Indonesia dan Komunis China. Kemerdekaan kita juga telah membawa perpaduan yang erat di antara penduduk-penduduk negara ini. Yang paling penting kemerdekaan telah membawa negara ini kemajuan, kejayaan dalam segala bidang, ekonomi, pelajaran, dan masyarakat dan sosial. Perpaduan ini sangat penting kerana tiap-tiap orang yang waras sedar dan yakin dengan tiada kemajuan perpaduan dan kemajuan tidak akan dapat dicapai malah Malaysia sendiri pun boleh hancur!

Sungguh pun negara kita Malaysia masih muda tetapi ia telah baligh dalam pemerintahan. 10 tahun dulu Malaya tidak dikenal dalam dunia, tetapi sekarang Malaya dan Malaysia telah timbul dari sebuah negara yang tidak terkenal menjadi sebuah negara yang sangat dihormati oleh kebanyakan negara oleh kerana pemerintahannya bagus dan kedudukan politiknya teguh. Ini adalah satu kejayaan yang besar bagi Malaysia di bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan, mencapai keteguhan politik dalam suasana Tenggara Asia yang sentiasa bergolak dan sering diancam oleh peperangan. Keanggotaan kita di Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu telah memberi kita nama yang baik dan memberi kedudukan yang istimewa dan terhormat di dunia.

Tiap-tiap sumbangan kita kepada keamanan dunia dipandang tinggi bukan sahaja oleh Negeri-negeri Afro Asia bahkan di Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu dan di seluruh dunia amnya. Sungguh menghairankan, selain daripada keanggotaan kita di Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu, pencerobohan Indonesia terhadap negara kita telah mengenalkan Malaysia kepada dunia kerana kita telah menjadi mangsa kekejaman Indonesia itu; kita telah menjadi mangsa kekejaman Indonesia itu; kita telah dapat banyak kawan-kawan di Afro Asia yang menyebelahi pihak kita kerana kita adalah pihak yang dianiaya dalam pencerobohan itu. Kejayaan Malaysia di dalam negeri, taraf hidup yang baik sekali kepada rakyatnya, selain daripada Negara Jepun dan dalam Asia; kemajuan-kemajuan masyarakat yang agak adil kepada semua bangsa dan kehidupan baharu kepada orang-orang luar bandar; kita berharap kehidupan dan taraf hidup orang-orang luar bandar akan bertambah maju lagi sesudah Rancangan Pembangunan Malaysia yang pertama dilancarkan pada awal tahun ini. Kejayaan kita di luar negara sudah pun mendapat tempat yang istimewa dan mulia di mata dunia. Kejayaan-kejayaan ini semua tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan di bawah pemimpin agongnya YTM Tunku Perdana Menteri.

Tunku ialah Baba Kemerdekaan Malaya dan Malaysia dan Baba Perpaduan di Malaysia. Saya suka mengambil peluang pada hari ini sebab saya rasa hari ini adalah kena pada tempatnya untuk rakyat semua berterima kasih kepada Tunku atas jasa dan baktinya terhadap

perpaduan dan kemakmuran yang telah dicapai di Malaysia di bawah pemimpinnya. Tunku telah bekerja dan berusaha keras untuk menimbulkan keadaan yang ada pada hari perpaduan yang kukuh antara kaum-kaum di Malaysia. Semasa kita sedang menyambut Minggu Perpaduan ini pada hakikatnya kita adalah menyambut dan menghormati semua rakyat Malaysia yang taat setia kepada negara ini, serta percaya dan yakin kepada slogan “Bersatu Kita Teguh - Bercerai Kita Roboh”. Kemajuan dan perpaduan yang ada pada hari ini tidak akan ada jika kebanyakan rakyat Malaysia tidak percaya kepada cogan kata ini dan kita hendaklah memberi hormat kepada mereka semua dan salah satu orang yang paling patut menerima penghormatan itu ialah Tunku Perdana Menteri.

Tunku adalah penggerak perpaduan dan kemakmuran negara ini dan ia juga adalah penggerak, penganjur dan penganas kepada usaha-usaha kita untuk melahirkan suatu bangsa yang taat setianya tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara Malaysia.

Kerajaan Perikatan telah berjaya mengadakan perpaduan yang erat antara berbagai-bagai kaum dan ugama di negara ini dengan tidak payah menggunakan perkauman atau sentimen keagamaan baik dari pihak, UMNO, MCA atau MIC, atau ketiga-ketiga anggota Perikatan. Kita sedar jika kita berbuat demikian perpaduan tidak akan timbul dan negara ini akan hancur jika politik kita berasaskan kepada perkauman dan nasionalism yang sempit. Parti Perikatan dan Kerajaan sangat megah dan bangga kerana semua rakyat yang berbagai-bagai kaum dalam negara ini telah menunjukkan taat setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Malaysia dan sedia untuk mengorbankan jiwa masing-masing bagi mempertahankan kemerdekaan kita. Sungguh pun konfrantasi dan pencerobohan Indonesia mengancam kita tiap-tiap hari, tetapi semangat rakyat dan taat setia mereka kepada negara ini tidak berganjak malah semakin sehari semakin kuat dan makin yakin kepada perjuangan dan konsep Malaysia. Tetapi masih ada di dalam Malaysia ini dan juga di tempat-tempat lain anasir-anasir yang tidak suka perpaduan antara bangsa-bangsa di Malaysia ini terus menerus kekal. Mereka siang malam bekerja untuk memecahkan perpaduan rakyat dan negara ini, terutama sekali perpaduan antara orang-orang Cina dengan orang-orang Melayu. Tetapi saya yakin percubaan ini akan gagal kerana di Malaysia kita dapati banyak dan ramai orang-orang yang cerdik, pandai dan waras fikirannya dan tidak begitu senang dihasut oleh anasir-anasir yang anti perpaduan dan anti-nasional baik yang di dalam atau pun di luar negara.

Kerajaan Malaysia dan Parti Perikatan mempunyai kekuatan yang cukup dalam bidang politik di negara ini, dan ia tidak payah menggunakan perasaan sentimen dan perkauman dan tidak payah menjadikan

diri kami semua demagogues. Kita berdoa dan bersyukur kepada Tuhan kerana satu-satunya sumber yang boleh merosakkan perpaduan antara bangsa-bangsa Melayu dan Cina, dalam negara ini telah pun dihapuskan, tetapi ini tidaklah bermakna dengan hilangnya sumber ini, bahaya perkauman telah hapus sama sekali di tanahair kita ini. Bahaya perkauman sentiasa ada dan banyak ejen-ejen anti-nasional bekerja kuat untuk memecahkan perpaduan ini dan kita mestilah bersatu dan berwaspada setiap masa untuk melawan dan mempertahankan negara ini daripada pihak-pihak anti-nasional dan anti Malaysia. Kita mestilah berwaspada dan menunjukkan kepada mereka sungguh yang usaha-usaha untuk memecahkan negara kita akan gagal dan sebaliknya perbuatan mereka itu hanya akan mengukuhkan lagi semangat dan keyakinan kita kepada perpaduan antara bangsa dan kepada konsep Malaysia yang kita percaya akan memberi kesejahteraan dan kebahagiaan hidup kepada semua rakyat tidak kira bangsa atau keturunan dan agama. Saya menyeru kepada pihak-pihak yang berkenaan yang hendak menghancurkan dan melaga-laga perpaduan kebangsaan Malaysia supaya berfikir yang perbuatan mereka itu mesti gagal dalam Malaysia atau di tempat-tempat yang berdekatan dengannya. Tidak ada tempat yang akan selamat daripada kerosakan dan kebinasaan di mana-mana pun jika perbuatan mereka itu menimbulkan huruhara. Huruhara itu tidak akan hanya merosakkan negara kita tetapi mungkin menghancurkan dan membinasakan orang-orang yang selalu bermain dan mengapi-apikan perasaan perkauman di antara orang-orang Melayu dengan orang-orang Cina. Saya meminta supaya mereka itu sentiasa berwaspada dan sentiasa berjaga-jaga supaya jangan menyakit hati mana-mana kaum di dalam negara ini, jika satu-satu kaum sakit dan terharu hatinya maka perpaduan antara-bangsa tidak akan kukuh dan mungkin hancur dan kalau perpaduan antara-bangsa-bangsa itu hancur, Malaysia dan negara jiran mesti turut hancur. Orang-orang Malaysia yakin dan berani dan mereka tetap akan berdiri teguh di belakang Kerajaan dalam memperjuangkan konsep dan mempertahankan kemerdekaan Malaysia.

Malaysia adalah negara untuk semua rakyat yang taat setia dengan tidak kira keturunan atau bangsa dan agama. Malaysia tidak dipunyai oleh satu golongan — Malaysia adalah hak semua rakyat yang taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepadanya. Kita telah menubuhkan Malaysia dengan tujuan supaya Malaysia ini benar-benar menjadi rumah dan tempat tumpuan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi, bagi semua rakyat dan mereka yang mencari kehidupan dan mendapat kesenangan dalam negara ini. Tetapi dalam masa kita mahu melahirkan suatu bangsa dengan suatu taat setia kita hendaklah berbuat demikian secara perlahan-lahan tetapi jika ini dipaksa nescaya ia akan rosak; semasa ini dijalankan, terpaksa dari satu masa ke satu masa kita mesti membuat perubahan-perubahan dan mestilah ada semangat kompromi antara

satu pihak dengan yang lain. Sudah tentu ia akan mengambil masa bagi semua rakyat melupakan asal keturunan mereka tetapi saya percaya masa tetap berada dipihak kita.

Sudah tentu pula ia akan mengambil masa bagi negara-negara yang baharu dalam Malaysia seperti Sabah dan Sarawak untuk betul-betul dapat menyesuaikan kedudukannya dalam satu Kerajaan Malaysia yang bercorak Persekutuan. Negeri-negeri Melayu telah lama berpengalaman hidup dalam Persekutuan tetapi bagi Sabah dan Sarawak mereka hanya mendapat kemerdekaan 2 tahun dahulu dan selama itu pengalamannya adalah, pengalaman di bawah penjajah. Oleh itu kita mestilah memberi masa dan juga sedar yang orang-orang Sabah dan Sarawak terpengaruh daripada Ibu negara kita ini dan mungkin kerana itu lambatlah mereka mempunyai perasaan yang mereka adalah orang-orang Melayu dan bagi kita juga untuk menganggap mereka itu sedemikian. Perasaan 'Malaysian' yang tentu akan mengambil masa untuk meresap masuk ke dalam jiwa rakyat di merata-rata Malaysia. Tiap-tiap pemimpin-pemimpin hendaklah sentiasa menanamkan semangat itu di tiap-tiap jiwa seseorang dan membuat teladan-teladan dan perbuatan yang betul-betul merupakan Malaysia dan semangat Malaysia. Orang-orang di wilayah baharu Malaysia hendaklah menganggap orang-orang dari Malaya sebagai sebangsa tidak orang-orang luar. Dengan adanya perasaan ini dikedua-dua belah maka sudah tentu perasaan Malaysia yang tulen akan timbul. Malaya telah mendapat kemerdekaannya selama 8 tahun dahulu dan Malaya adalah pergabungan daripada 9 buah negeri-negeri Melayu, Melaka dan Pulau Pinang. Pada tahun 1948 sebelum Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ditubuhkan, tiap-tiap negeri Melayu adalah negeri yang berdaulat dan mempunyai raja dan kerajaannya sendiri dan pada masa itu bagi orang-orang Trengganu, Kelantan, Johor atau Kedah sangat payah hendak menerima Kuala Lumpur sebagai Ibu negara dan tempat duduk Kerajaan kebangsaan. Mereka telah mengambil masa yang lama untuk menerima orang-orang Melayu dari negeri-negeri lain sebagai sedarah sedaging mereka. Bagi orang-orang Kelantan, turun temurun sehingga tertubuhnya, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu baharu mereka menganggap orang-orang Melayu dari negeri-negeri lain sebagai sedarah sedaging dengan mereka tetapi sebelum itu semua orang-orang, baik Melayu atau bukan Melayu sebagainya orang-orang luar. Perasaan kenegerian atau kedaerahan ini tebal tetapi semenjak tertubuhnya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan sekarang Malaysia, perasaan ini telah hilang sama sekali. Mereka menganggap semua orang serupa, tiada "Orang Luar" atau "Orang Dalam" baik mereka itu Cina atau pun Melayu. Saya yakin perasaan Malaysian yang tulen akan timbul meliputi seluruh negara setelah umur Malaysia meningkat dan perasaan orang digerak sewajarnya.

Tetapi dengan penuh keyakinan, dengan adanya, semangat saling mengerti dan semangat bersefahaman antara satu sama lain, saya percaya satu bangsa Malaysia yang kuat dan teguh akan lahir dan menjadikan Malaysia ini betul-betul tempat taat setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi. Saya menyeru kepada wilayah-wilayah baharu terutamanya supaya taat setia kepada negeri itu dapat 'dikeduakan' dan mereka lebih mementingkan taat setia kepada Kerajaan Pusat.

Selain daripada perbezaan ilmu alam kerana sifat-sifat yang berbagai-bagai dijajah oleh Inggeris, digalakkan hidup berasingan, pergi sekolah-sekolah yang berlain-lain dan belajar mata pelajaran yang tidak sama, maka terpaksa masa yang cukup diberi kepada mereka supaya dapat mereka membuat perubahan cara pemerintahan, dan kemerdekaan. Saya yakin dengan pimpinan yang baik di bawah Kerajaan Perikatan, kebangsaan Malaysian yang tulen akan lahir tidak lama lagi.

Terima kasih.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein di Upacara Perasmian Pembukaan Pertunjukan Minggu Perpaduan Kebangsaan 1965 di Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman pada 2 November, 1965.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO THE  
NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS AT HOTEL MER-  
LIN, KUALA LUMPUR ON 6TH NOVEMBER, 1965

This is the second time in a month I have the honour and pleasure of addressing the members and friends of National Union of Journalists. Thank National Union of Journalists for this kindness and hospitality to the members of Government and to you personally in particular.

I am touched by the civic consciousness of National Union of Journalists in having a special luncheon to mark the end of Berjaya and National Solidarity Week. On behalf of Government I wish to thank you all for your loyalty and support to the Government's efforts to build a united Malaysian nation out of multi-racial Malaysia.

Our aim for a united Malaysian nation will be fulfilled in a shorter time if there are patriotic organisations such as the NUJ. I understand and am very glad to know what NUJ devotes equal time to creating civic and national consciousness among members and readers and to fighting for better wages, better working conditions for journalists in this country.

The Alliance Government sympathises with the aspirations of Malaysian journalists for better salaries, standard of living and greater opportunities for advancement and higher training in journalism. I can assure you all that the Alliance Government will support NUJ in all its fair and reasonable demands towards achieving this aspiration. (I hope you'll include this one year speech because it is important that you identify yourself with this influential group of people. The journalists will be flattered and you would have left a good image of yourself if you follow this suggestion).

Throughout National Solidarity Week all Malaysians were given various opportunities to demonstrate their loyalty to Malaysian concept and to this nation. From all reports we knew that more Malaysians are now "less-race conscious" and indeed there is a greater tendency, which we all must encourage, towards a true Malaysian nationalism or consciousness. I am very happy to see the determination of all loyal Malaysians to help the Government strengthen the spirit of unity among the various races and the consolidation of our national solidarity.

All in all, the National Solidarity Week was a success and I hope next year's celebration will be on a grander scale and with greater participation by the people and workers in this country.

The spirit of unity and national solidarity is important not only when we are being confronted by enemies from within and without, but also for the efficient and rapid political and national development of the country and for its future.

The National Solidarity Week as I have said before, was a success, but we can still and indeed we must, inculcate in the minds of our people greater love for their country, to encourage greater willingness and readiness to make sacrifices in the defence of this country and our way of life.

The Government is satisfied with the loyalty of all races in the country but the Government would indeed welcome greater manifestation of their patriotism. We would welcome more volunteers to join civil defence organisation and other auxiliary agencies to help reinforce our National Armed Forces in order to ensure victory over our enemies and to guarantee the survival of Malaysia and our way of life.

I would like to see the number of civic and public-spirited Malaysians grow in all walks of life doing and taking interest in various city, welfare and educational institutions in our country.

The Alliance Government all along believes that in order to have a nation the various races must first be integrated. We realise that this is the basis of our survival. We cannot be a really united nation until we fully integrate the various races.

The Alliance Government is working towards achieving this. All our policies especially the Educational Policy are geared towards this end. But we also believe that this must be achieved gradually otherwise communal tension will destroy the nation.

The Alliance believes that in order to achieve this united Malaysian nation, a nation worth dying for, then all inequalities both political and economic that exist on our country must be eradicated. Political equality must be reciprocated with economic and social parity. Besides trying to build a united Malaysian nation we also must teach the people to have a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect, especially those in the rural areas.

Malaysia is more competent to forge and build a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious society – because we have all the ingredients that will make this multi-racial society a reality. The population is nicely balanced, political powers is well apportioned. In some countries (we must talk like this sometime, you need not name the country) they

only talk about building and multi-racial and multi-cultural country and they know that no such society can emerge when one race dominates another. Multi-racial society in Malaysia is a success because our greatest assets are "Dignity and moderation".

Dignity and Moderation are Malaysia's salient characteristics and that is why the various races are happy here and why Malaysia is the bright spot in troubled and war-threatened Sout East Asia.

With patience, tolerance and spirit of compromise and goodwill we had succeeded in establishing a strong and stable Government. I am sure with patience and tolerance we will also succeed in building a United Malaysian Nation.

Newspapers must play a special role in creating the "feeling of oneness" among the various races. Newspapers and journalists must not be over-awed by Minister or leaders that they write and publish everything what they say. Some speeches are inflammatory and not conducive to racial harmony and I hope speeches like that will not find prominence in newspapers (I think you ought to make this appeal to the Press).

Our policy is to endeavour to give all people irrespective of race their fair share of wealth and political power in this country. We want all to have a rightful and dignified place in Malaysia. Our country is rich — only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of it is developed. There is unlimited wealth or for those who work hard to become rich. There is ample opportunity for any one with ambition to reach the top in politic.

There are abundance of goodwill and wealth of talents in Malaysia among the Chinese, Malays, Indians and others. We must pool together these talents to produce harmony, prosperity and "go-ahead" spirit in our people.

Other people and friendly countries can only help and assist us but only Malaysian themselves can help themselves to make this country strong and prosperous.

Malayanization will complete by (1967 ?). Then the Government machinery will be entirely run by the Malaysian themselves. Malayanization has been a gradual but painless process after 10 years of independence (in 1967), in Malaya, at least, all branches of Civil Service would have been completely Malayanised (by 1967 ?). Malayanization in Sabah dan Sarawak will be pursued more vigorously (we must say this too).

I look into the future with great confidence and I appeal to all polit-

ical parties in Malaysia that while differences in our approach to certain aspects of domestic policy are inevitable and necessary in a democracy such as our country, but I hope and call upon all loyal opposition not to let these differences affect our unity on all national issues. It was on this basis that we were able to create Malaysia against the bitter opposition of anti-nationalist elements who see in a stable and united and prosperous Malaysia a negation of this ambition to bring the Malaysian territory under the influence of alien ideologies and foreign influences.

As long as our nationalist forces – loyal Malaysians – whether of right or left continue to show solidarity of national purpose in a common identity, Malaysia will be secured from internal as well as external threat.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DAN MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN NEGARA DAN LUAR BANDAR KETIKA MENCADANGKAN RANCANGAN UNDANG-UNDANG MAJLIS AMANAH RAKYAT DIBACAKAN BAGI KALI YANG KEDUA DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 10 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Saya dengan sukacita dan bangganya mengemukakan ke Dewan ini untuk pertimbangan dan persetujuan suatu rang undang-undang yang sangat penting dan mustahak bagi kemajuan negeri ini iaitu rang undang-undang untuk menubuhkan suatu Perbadanan yang dinamakan Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tujuan dan cita-cita hendak menubuhkan suatu perbadanan seperti yang tersebut ialah dengan tujuan supaya ada sebuah lembaga yang boleh menjalankan dasar Kerajaan untuk memperbaiki iktisad rakyat di luar bandar dan memberi mereka itu peluang yang lebih besar dan luas lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Sehingga hari ini tugas itu telah dijalankan oleh Lembaga Kemajuan Kampung dan Perusahaan atau RIDA, akan tetapi RIDA telah ditubuhkan pada masa penjajahan dahulu dan tidak mempunyai bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang boleh menjalankan tugas yang penting ini — sesuai dengan hasrat dan kehendak-kehendak rakyat dalam negara kita yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini. Dengan sebab itu difikirkan patutlah lembaga RIDA itu digantikan dengan lembaga yang baharu yang mempunyai bentuk, nafas dan jiwa yang baharu. Penubuhan lembaga Majlis Amanah Rakyat ini telah dipersetujui oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera yang telah diadakan pada bulan Jun yang lalu dan 69 ketetapan telah diluluskan oleh Kongres itu.

Oleh yang demikian, rang undang-undang ini sebenarnya untuk memansuhkan lembaga RIDA dahulu — mengkebumikan dan digantikan dengan lembaga yang baharu ini — MARA. Segala pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang telah diperbuat oleh RIDA dahulu adalah ditamatkan dan dasar RIDA dan perjalanannya dahulu diberhentikan sama sekali. MARA adalah perbadanan yang baharu dengan mempunyai cara perjalanan yang baharu, bentuk pentadbirannya pun baharu. Dengan itu diharap apakala lulusnya rang undang-undang ini segala perkara-perkara yang berkaitan dengan RIDA dahulu dilupakan sama sekali dan kita mulakan dengan perbadanan yang baharu ini, MARA Kerajaan adalah mempunyai harapan yang penuh supaya cita-cita dan

hasrat rakyat di kampung-kampung di luar bandar untuk mendapat bahagian yang lebih sempurna dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan itu dapat dilaksanakan dengan lebih giat dan sempurna lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sambil membentangkan rang undang-undang ini, saya suka menerangkan bahawa dalam pelaksanaan rancangan pembangunan negara dan luar bandar Kerajaan, kita telah sampai kepada tingkatan yang baharu iaitu tingkatan kita menjalankan usaha-usaha untuk meninggikan taraf hidup rakyat di luar bandar dan menolong mereka itu membesar dan meluaskan mata pencarian mereka itu. Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah-langkah yang tegas untuk menolong ahli-ahli bumiputera dan penduduk-penduduk luar bandar supaya mereka itu dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebih berkesan dan lebih sempurna lagi dalam lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Masalah memperbaiki iktisad penduduk-penduduk yang mundur dan berkeadaan daif ialah masalah kebangsaan disebabkan mustahak kemajuan dan kemakmuran negara kita itu disampaikan kepada rakyat sehingga hari ini tidak dapat peluang menerima nikmat-nikmat yang tersebut.

Dalam bulan Jun tahun ini Kerajaan telah menganjurkan satu Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera dengan tujuan hendak mendapat tahu daripada wakil-wakil bumiputera sendiri bagaimana cara-caranya mereka itu hendak mengambil bahagian yang lebih cergas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad di negara ini. Kongres itu telah bersidang 3 hari lamanya dan telah berbincang dengan panjang lebarnya di atas perkara ini dan telah meluluskan 69 ketetapan-ketetapan. Ketetapan-ketetapan ini telah diserahkan kepada Kerajaan dan Kerajaan telah memberi akuan bahawa Kerajaan akan cuba dengan sedaya upayanya untuk melaksanakan ketetapan-ketetapan ini. Sehingga hari ini 4 ketetapan yang penting daripada 69 ketetapan itu telahpun dilaksanakan oleh Kerajaan.

Kerajaan telah tubuhkan Bank Bumiputera; Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan (Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority); dan sebuah Syarikat Kebangsaan National Cooperation. Dan sekarang saya membentangkan rang undang-undang untuk menubuhkan Majlis Amanah Rakyat atau MARA.

Sungguhpun rang undang-undang bagi menubuhkan MARA ini hanya dapat dibentangkan dalam persidangan Dewan Rakyat pada hari ini, akan tetapi MARA telah ditubuhkan semenjak selepas sahaja Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera bersidang dan jentera pentadbiran MARA telahpun diatur dan MARA telahpun mula menjalankan tugas-tugasnya. Tugas MARA ialah hendak menjalankan apa juga langkah yang difikirkan patut untuk memajukan iktisad-iktisad dan

masyarakat rakyat Malaysia, terutama sekali mereka-mereka yang duduk di luar bandar. Tanggungjawab dan kuasa Majlis ini adalah disebut satu persatu dalam Fasal 6 rang undang-undang ini. Sungguhpun rancangan-rancangan yang akan dijalankan oleh MARA akan memberi nikmat dan faedah kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera negara ini disebabkan mereka itulah sebenar-benarnya berkehendakkan pertolongan bagi mendapatkan bahagian yang lebih besar dan lebih luas dalam lapangan iktisad dan perusahaan. Akan tetapi MARA akan memberi pertolongan juga kepada warganegara Malaysia yang lain yang mundur dalam lapangan iktisad ini dan berkehendakkan bantuan-bantuan seperti ahli-ahli bumiputera juga.

Seperti saya telah sebutkan, MARA adalah mempunyai dasar dan tugas yang penting. Dengan sebab itu langkah yang pertama yang telah diambil ialah mengatur jentera pentadbiran MARA ini. MARA ada mempunyai seorang Pengerusi yang bertanggungjawab bagi melaksanakan dasar-dasar MARA, akan tetapi di bawah Pengerusi itu ada beberapa bahagian-bahagian yang diketuai oleh seorang Pengarah bagi tiap-tiap bahagian. Pada masa ini telah ditubuhkan 7 bahagian:

bahagian:

- (1) Bahagian Pentadbiran
- (2) Bahagian Kewangan dan Kira-kira
- (3) Bahagian Latihan
- (4) Bahagian Pinjaman Wang
- (5) Bahagian Pengangkutan
- (6) Bahagian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan
- (7) Bahagian Perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan (Advisory Services Division).

Tiap-tiap seorang Pengarah bahagian-bahagian ini diberi kuasa yang penuh untuk menjalankan rancangan-rancangan dalam bahagian masing-masing di bawah pandangan dan jagaan Pengerusi MARA. Pengarah-pengarah bahagian ini telahpun dipilih, melainkan Pengarah Bahagian Perkhidmatan. Pengarah-pengarah ini adalah daripada orang-orang yang difikirkan mempunyai semangat dan kelayakan untuk menjalankan tugas masing-masing. Saya telahpun memberi perintah kepada Pengerusi, Pengarah-pengarah dan Pegawai-pegawai MARA yang ada sekarang ini bahawa mereka itu adalah dikehendaki menjalankan tugas masing-masing dengan cergas, dengan penuh semangat dan keikhlasan dan mustahak segala pekerjaan yang dijalankan itu akan mendapat hasil dengan sepenuh-penuhnya. Saya telah memberi arahan juga bahawa tiap-tiap rancangan yang dijalankan oleh MARA mustahaklah berjaya dan tiap-tiap pertolongan yang diberi oleh MARA mustahak memberi kehasilan dengan sepenuhnya. Tugas yang akan dijalankan oleh MARA adalah dibahagi kepada 3 bahagian yang besar.

## **YANG PERTAMA**

MARA akan memberi latihan kepada ahli-ahli perniagaan dari pihak bumiputera yang difikirkan mempunyai semangat dan kemahuan hendak menjalankan perniagaan. Mereka itu akan diberi latihan, kemudian, jika perlu, diberi pinjaman wang untuk modal dan selepas daripada itu diberi didikan dan nasihat sehingga ahli-ahli perniagaan itu dapat menjalankan perniagaan masing-masing dengan sempurna dan dapat berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri. Alam perniagaan ialah alam yang penuh dengan perlawanan dan orang-orang yang hendak mendapat kejayaan dalam perniagaan mustahaklah, selain daripada mempunyai modal yang cukup, mempunyai pengetahuan dan pengalaman serta semangat dan jiwa yang kuat. Dengan sebab itulah mustahak diadakan latihan dan latihan akan diberi bukan sahaja kepada orang-orang yang hendak menjalankan perniagaan dengan bersendirian bahkan kepada mereka-mereka yang suka hendak bekerja dengan gedung-gedung yang besar untuk mencari nafkah masing-masing. Dewan latihan RIDA di Petaling Jaya dahulu akan dibesarkan dan diluaskan lagi supaya dapat memberi latihan kepada pemuda pemudi dari kampung-kampung dengan lebih ramai lagi. Dalam lapangan ini, ketiga-tiga bahagian MARA iaitu Bahagian Latihan; Bahagian Pinjaman Wang dan Bahagian Perkhidmatan, adalah bersama-sama mengambil peranan masing-masing.

## **YANG KEDUA**

Lapangan yang kedua bagi MARA menjalankan tugasnya ialah lapangan pengangkutan. Di sini RIDA dahulu dan sekarang MARA telah memberi pertolongan-pertolongan kepada syarikat-syarikat bumiputera untuk menjalankan perkhidmatan bas dan juga teksi di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar. Pertolongan-pertolongan ini akan diteruskan dan sekarang dasarnya telahpun diubah. Pada masa akan datang ini segala perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan bas di luar bandar hendaklah, pada permulaannya, dijalankan oleh MARA dan MARA sedia hendak memberi peluang kepada penduduk-penduduk tempatan untuk memberi saham-saham yang mereka itu kehendaki. MARA akan menjalankan perkhidmatan bas itu dengan memberi latihan kepada penduduk-penduduk tempatan supaya apabila perkhidmatan bas itu telah berjalan dengan sempurna dapat diserahkan kepada penduduk-penduduk tempatan untuk menjalankannya. Dengan cara yang demikian, diharap tiap-tiap perkhidmatan bas itu dapat dijalankan dengan sempurna dan teratur dan tidak mendatangkan kerugian kepada penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar yang hendak mengambil bahagian dalam perusahaan ini. Pada masa-masa yang lalu ada syarikat-syarikat yang telah menjalankan perkhidmatan ini, tetapi disebabkan tidak mendapat latihan dan jagaan yang sempurna, sebahagian daripada syarikat-syarikat itu telah tidak berjaya dan kebanyakannya men-

datangkan kerugian kepada penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar. Selain daripada itu pihak RIDA dahulu MARA sekarang ini terpaksa menolong memperbaiki syarikat-syarikat yang rugi itu dengan mengadakan 'gerakan menyelamat' kerana syarikat-syarikat itu hendak tenggelam dan lemas.

### **YANG KETIGA**

Lapangan yang ketiga ialah lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Di sini MARA berharap dapat menolong rakyat di luar bandar mengadakan perusahaan yang kecil ataupun sederhana dan memberi pertolongan kepada perusahaan-perusahaan yang sedang dijalankan sekarang ini. MARA harap dapat memberi bantuan dan pertolongan supaya perusahaan-perusahaan itu berjalan dengan jaya dan maju. Satu rancangan yang sedang diatur dalam lapangan ini ialah penubuhan satu Syarikat Kebangsaan atau National Cooperation seperti yang dikehendaki oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera dahulu. Langkah telahpun diambil untuk menubuhkan satu Syarikat Kebangsaan dalam lapangan perusahaan hutan kerana lapangan ini adalah difikirkan ahli-ahli bumiputera di luar bandar ada mempunyai peluang-peluang yang luas untuk mengambil bahagian dengan sempurna, dengan tidak berkehendakkan pengalaman atau pengetahuan yang dalam. Inilah tiga lapangan MARA akan menjalankan tugas-tugasnya dan MARA berharap akan mendapat kerjasama dan sokongan daripada semua pihak.

Seperti saya sebutkan tadi, dasar MARA adalah berlainan dengan dasar dan perjalanan RIDA dahulu. Sungguhpun MARA ada mempunyai Bahagian Pinjaman Wang, akan tetapi MARA hanya akan memberi pinjaman wang kepada orang-orang yang mana MARA telah beri latihan dan kepada orang-orang yang MARA fikir boleh berjaya dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perniagaan. Dan lagi orang-orang yang berkehendakkan pinjaman wang daripada MARA mustahaklah menurut didikan dan ajaran serta nasihat daripada MARA sehingga MARA puas hati yang mereka itu boleh berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri. Orang-orang yang lain yang berkehendakkan bantuan wang terpaksa mereka itu pergi kepada badan-badan yang lain terutama sekali kepada Bank Bumiputera yang telahpun ditubuhkan.

Begitu juga dasar MARA bagi menubuh dan menggalakkan perusahaan-perusahaan dan perdagangan dan menjalankan perkhidmatan ialah hendak memberi faedah kepada sebahagian besar daripada rakyat negara ini atau dalam bahasa Inggeris "to broaden the base of economy" supaya tiap-tiap perusahaan itu dapat memberi faedah kepada sebahagian daripada rakyat di luar bandar atau ahli-ahli bumiputera terutama sekali.

Dasar Kerajaan hendak menolong rakyat di luar bandar atau ahli-ahli bumiputera terutama sekali supaya dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebih besar dan lebih luas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan ialah supaya mereka-mereka yang mundur, yang miskin dan yang tidak mempunyai peluang dapat diberi peluang dan dapat meninggikan taraf hidup mereka itu dan jikalau mereka itu mempunyai taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi dan pendapatan yang lebih besar, tidak dapat tiada ini akan memberi faedah kepada negara dan memberi faedah kepada penduduk-penduduk di bandar-bandar atau ahli-ahli perniagaan di bandar-bandar. Jikalau rakyat yang pada masa ini miskin dapat diberi pendapatan yang lebih tinggi lagi, nescaya mereka itu mempunyai kekuatan membeli atau 'purchasing power' yang lebih besar lagi. Dengan itu akan menambah lagi kemakmuran kepada pemodal-pemodal dan ahli-ahli perniagaan di bandar-bandar juga. Dengan sebab itulah dasar Kerajaan dalam lapangan ini ialah hendak menjadikan pembahagian iktisad di negara kita ini diantara penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar dengan penduduk-penduduk di bandar atau dalam bahasa Inggeris: "to correct the economic imbalance between the urban and rural people" supaya kemajuan dan kemakmuran negara kita dapat dinikmati oleh semua pihak penduduk-penduduk negara ini. Begitu juga seperti saya telah sebutkan, MARA akan memberi bantuan bukan sahaja kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera bahkan kepada rakyat negara ini daripada bangsa-bangsa asing juga yang mempunyai keadaan seperti ahli-ahli bumiputera yang berkehendakkan pertolongan dan bantuan dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan penubuhan MARA ini, ada beberapa bahagian-bahagian yang akan bertugas untuk memperbaiki iktisad rakyat. Kerajaan telah tubuhkan Bank Bumiputera dengan tujuan hendak memberi bantuan kepada rakyat luar bandar dan ahli-ahli bumiputera terutama sekali bagi menjalankan perniagaan dan perusahaan. Begitu juga Kementerian Pertanian dan Syarikat Kerjasama telah menubuhkan Lembaga Pemasaran Pertanian Persekutuan (Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority) dengan tujuan hendak memperbaiki pasaran bagi barang-barang keluaran dari daerah-daerah luar bandar dan lagi dalam Persidangan ini rakan saya Menteri Hal Ehwal Tanah dan Galian<sup>1</sup> akan mengemukakan satu rang undang-undang untuk menubuhkan satu lagi lembaga yang bertujuan hendak menolong menjayakan tanah-tanah yang dipunyai oleh rakyat di luar bandar supaya tanah-tanah itu dapat mengeluarkan hasil yang memuaskan hati dan dapat memberi sepenuh-penuh faedah kepada mereka-mereka yang memilikinya. Oleh itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nyatalah dengan langkah-langkah yang telah dan sedang diambil oleh Kerajaan itu, Kerajaan adalah bersungguh-sungguh berusaha hendak menjalankan apa jua ikhtiar-ikhtiar dan langkah-langkah yang patut untuk mem-

<sup>1</sup>Encik Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub

perbaiki keadaan hidup rakyat yang mundur dan untuk memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat yang berkehendakkan pertolongan bagi membesar dan meluaskan mata pencarian mereka itu. Akan tetapi dalam semua perkara-perkara ini yang penting sekali ialah rakyat sendiri terutama mereka yang duduk di kampung-kampung dan kerjasama. Mereka itu hendaklah menzahirkan semangat atau jiwa yang betul-betul ingin kepada kemajuan dan kemakmuran. Kerajaan hanyalah dapat memberi pertolongan kepada mereka-mereka yang mempunyai jiwa atau semangat yang berani berkorban dan bekerja untuk mencapai kemajuan-kemajuan yang mereka itu kehendaki. Kesimpulannya; kemajuan dan kebahagiaan bagi rakyat hanyalah dapat dicapai dengan usaha dan tenaga rakyat sendiri, dibantu dan ditolong oleh pihak Kerajaan. Bagi pihak Kerajaan, seperti saya telah terangkan Kerajaan akan mengambil apa jua langkah-langkah yang patut bagi menolong rakyat, di negara kita, yang mundur yang miskin dan yang dahaga kepada kemajuan. Saya yakin dan percaya kalau mereka itu sebenarnya menunjukkan semangat dan jiwa dan sebenar-benarnya berani berusaha dan bertenaga untuk memperbaiki keadaan hidup mereka itu, saya yakin dan percaya ahli-ahli bumiputera dan rakyat di luar bandar akan dapat meningkat kepada kemajuan-kemajuan di lapangan iktisad yang mereka itu cita-cita dan kehendaki.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak menerangkan satu persatu butir-butir dalam rang undang-undang ini kerana tujuan dan dasar yang terkandung di dalamnya adalah terang dan nyata. Saya hanya bercadang hendak melantik wakil-wakil dari Sabah dan Sarawak di mana cawangan-cawangan MARA telah ditubuhkan. Saya sekarang ini dengan sukacitanya mengemukakan rang undang-undang MARA ini dibacakan kali yang keduanya.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DAN MENTERI PEMBANGUNAN NEGARA DAN LUAR BANDAR DI DALAM PERBAHASAN MENGENAI MARA DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 11 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan masalah definisi “bumiputera” ini, yang sebenarnya tidak ada definisi bumiputera dalam Perlembagaan kita. Jadi perkataan “bumiputera” ini ialah digunakan kepada orang Melayu dan kepada ahli-ahli bumiputera di Negeri Sabah dan Sarawak. Dalam Perlembagaan kita, ada keterangan atau definisi orang-orang Melayu dan dalam Perlembagaan Negeri Sabah dan Negeri Sarawak ada definisi bumiputera. Jadi perkataan “bumiputera” ini ialah meliputi orang-orang Melayu, ahli-ahli bumiputera di Sabah, di Sarawak dan termasuk jugalah Orang-orang Asli yang ada di Tanah Melayu ini. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebenarnya seperti saya terangkan tadi, bahawa Rang Undang-Undang ini yang dinamakan Majlis Amanah Rakyat ini dan perbadanan ini yang dinamakan Majlis Amanah Rakyat ini, ialah akan memberi pertolongan kepada semua penduduk-penduduk negara ini yang berkehendakkan pertolongan — yang mundur, yang miskin, yang tidak ada peluang mendapat bahagian dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan. Jadi, Rang Undang-Undang ini tidaklah memberi faedah kepada satu puak sahaja. Tetapi kita semua tahu, Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat sendiri tahu, bahawa sebahagian besar daripada penduduk-penduduk negeri yang berkehendakkan pertolongan ialah ahli-ahli bumiputera, orang Melayu dan ahli-ahli bumiputera yang duduk di Sabah dan juga di Sarawak.

Jadi, nyatalah sebahagian besar daripada orang yang akan mendapat faedah daripada rancangan-rancangan yang dijalankan oleh MARA ini ialah ahli-ahli bumiputera. Tetapi kita tidaklah hendak menyekat pertolongan-pertolongan hendak diberikan orang-orang pihak asing yang bukan bumiputera, yang mempunyai keadaan yang sama dengan keadaan ahli-ahli bumiputera, sungguhpun bilangan mereka itu kecil. Jadi menurut Perlembagaan kita, kita tidak boleh membuat satu undang-undang khas untuk memberi hak kepada satu puak. Ini adalah terang dalam Perlembagaan kita dalam Fasal 153 dalam Perlembagaan.

Jadi, Yang di-Pertua, itulah saya sebutkan bahawa MARA yang ditubuhkan-ditubuhkan melalui undang-undang ini, sebenarnya ialah asalnya cadangan daripada pihak Kerajaan. Jadi, pihak Parti PAS hendak cuba membuat keterangan bahawa MARA ini ialah anak kandungan daripada Kongres Bumiputera. Kerana saya percaya di Negeri Kelantan, mereka itu tentu sebut bila MARA menjalankan rancangan-

rancangan kelak, bahawa MARA ini bukan rancangan Kerajaan Parti Perikatan – ini ialah rancangan daripada Kongres Bumiputera. Ini kebiasaan perbuatan Parti PAS. Sungguhpun saya ada perjanjian dengan Menteri Besar Kelantan<sup>1</sup>, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh<sup>2</sup> dan juga Ahli-ahli Majlis Kerja Negeri Kelantan iaitu Kerajaan Pusat berhak menerangkan rancangan-rancangan yang dijalankan oleh Kerajaan Pusat di Negeri Kelantan, akan tetapi saya dengar dan saya ketahui bahawa tiap-tiap rancangan yang dibuat oleh Kerajaan Pusat, di Negeri Kelantan itu, pihak wakil-wakil PAS mengaku yang rancangan itu diperbuat oleh mereka itu. Saya tidak tahulah apa, hendak dikatakan perbuatan semacam ini – kalau tidak malu kepada manusia, patutlah segan pada Tuhan.

Jadi berkenaan dengan Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kongres Ekonomi ini dianjurkan oleh pihak Kerajaan Perikatan dengan tujuan hendak mendapat pandangan-pandangan dan buah-buah fikiran daripada wakil-wakil bumiputera, berkenaan dengan perkara-perkara yang sangat penting iaitu berkenaan dengan cara-cara hendak memperbaiki iktisad mereka itu. Akan tetapi sebenarnya cadangan-cadangan dan kertas-kertas yang dibincangkan dalam Kongres itu semuanya diperbuat oleh pihak Kerajaan Perikatan, pihak wakil-wakil Kerajaan Perikatan. Jadi tidak usahlah kita panjang-panjangkan perkara ini jangan kalau hendak akui hak orang lain, jangan buat terang-terang sangat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh ada mengatakan bahawa belum lagi mana-mana negara dan mana-mana pihak dapat menyesuaikan perjalanan Syarikat Kerjasama atau dasar Syarikat Kerjasama dengan dasar ekonomi yang bebas atau free economy, katanya. Saya percaya dia sendiri tidak faham hal ini. Tetapi kita tahu ada negeri-negeri di Eropah, negeri England, negeri Sweden yang berjaya menjalankan Syarikat Kerjasama dengan maju dan negeri itu mempunyai iktisad yang dikatakan free economy. Jadi tidak betul-lah dia kata yang kita tidak boleh memajukan Syarikat Kerjasama atau dasar hendak memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat yang ramai itu dalam keadaan iktisad yang ada di negara kita pada hari ini.

Jadi Kerajaan menjalankan rancangan-rancangan ini, menubuhkan MARA ini, dengan tujuan supaya MARA – pihak Kerajaan, dapat memberi sepenuh-penuh peluang kepada rakyat di luar bandar untuk memajukan keadaan iktisad mereka itu. Jadi saya harap janganlah tersilap faham di atas hal ini, bila kita sebutkan hendak memperbaiki kebebasan iktisad di antara penduduk di luar bandar dengan penduduk

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<sup>1</sup>Dato' Mohamad Asri b. Hj. Muda

<sup>2</sup>Dato' Mohamad Asri b. Hj. Muda

di bandar ini ataupun 'correcting economic imbalances between the people in urban and rural areas', kita maknakan kita hendak beri peluang-peluang yang sama kepada penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar dengan penduduk-penduduk di bandar. Bukan kita hendak dapat samakan keadaan iktisad penduduk di luar bandar dengan penduduk di bandar itu. Jadi ini seperti saya terangkan, bagi pihak Kerajaan hanyalah dapat memberi pertolongan-pertolongan pendidikan dan pengajaran dan juga pertolongan-pertolongan apa cara yang patut, tetapi mustahaklah bagi rakyat sendiri, penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar, menjalankan usaha tenaga mereka itu untuk memperbaiki iktisad mereka itu sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidaklah payah menjawab pandangan-pandangan daripada semua Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat. Ada satu dua perkara-perkara yang mustahak yang saya suka terangkan di sini. Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kota Bharu Hilir<sup>3</sup> ada mengatakan yang saya dahulu sebutkan, pada masa menutup Kongres Ekonomi Bumi-putera, bahawa saya berkehendakkan MARA ini, berjalan dengan cara-cara militer iaitu gerakan militeri. Jadi, ini memang tujuan saya dan saya harap pada hari ini begitu juga. Jadi, sungguhpun Undang-Undang MARA ini panjang nampaknya, akan tetapi kuasa-kuasa yang diberi kepada MARA telah cukup dan juga di sini kita ada 'delegation of powers' yang cukup kepada directors-directors dan saya percaya Undang-Undang ini tidak boleh menyekat perjalanan MARA dan saya harap MARA dapat berjalan dengan licin dan sempurna dengan cara yang sebenar-benarnya yang boleh memberi kehasilan yang dikehendaki oleh rakyat. Saya telah memberi tahu pegawai-pegawai MARA bahawa pihak rakyat di kampung-kampung, dan di luar bandar, hanyalah berkehendakkan kehasilan, mereka itu berkehendakkan kejayaan dengan seberapa segera. Jadi inilah tujuan yang pegawai-pegawai sekalian mesti dikehendaki melaksanakan iaitu menjayakan semua sekali rancangan dengan seberapa daya upayanya. Sungguhpun begitu, saya sendiri akan menyemak perjalanan MARA ini daripada satu masa ke satu masa dan jika dikehendaki diperbaiki, kita akan perbaiki. Tetapi pada pandangan saya pada masa ini Rang Undang-Undang yang ada di hadapan Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat ini mencukupi bagi kehendak kita pada masa ini dan setengah-setengah perkara itu terpaksa dimasukkan dalam Undang-Undang ini sebab terutama sekali kita kena tamatkan pekerjaan RIDA dahulu dan kita terpaksa tukarkan kuasa-kuasa itu kepada MARA dan begitu juga terpaksa adakan kuasa berkenaan dengan hal kewangan dan sebagainya. Akan tetapi, seperti saya sebutkan tadi, Pengerusi MARA dan Pengarah-Pengarahnya ada mempunyai kuasa penuh bagi menjalankan kehendak-kehendak Undang-Undang yang ada di hadapan kita ini iaitu tujuan-tujuan MARA.

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<sup>3</sup>Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kota Bharu Hilir ada juga menyebutkan berkenaan dengan kontraktor-kontraktor negeri Kelantan yang berkehendakkan pertolongan perkakas-perkakas. Ini semua boleh dijalankan oleh MARA, begitu jugalah orang-orang yang menjalankan perusahaan kayu inipun MARA boleh bagi pertolongan. Saya telah terangkan tadi, MARA akan memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat yang berkehendakkan pertolongan dalam lapangan iktisad ini, akan tetapi mustahaklah pertolongan yang diberi oleh MARA itu akan mendatangkan hasil. Jadi, ini bermakna tiap-tiap orang yang berkehendakkan pertolongan samada bersendirian samada kompeni, mustahaklah menerima syarat-syarat yang ditentukan oleh MARA iaitu menerima nasihat, didikan, anjuran daripada MARA supaya pertolongan itu akan memberikan hasil dan MARA akan memberi pertolongan, samada pertolongan wang, didikan, anjuran dan nasihat, sehingga orang-orang itu atau kompeni-kompeni itu dapat berdiri di atas kakinya sendiri. Jadi tujuan kita adalah tiap-tiap satu rancangan yang dijalankan oleh MARA itu akan berjaya dan jikalau rancangan itu tidak berjaya, MARA tidak akan memberi pertolongan, kenalah diperbaiki rancangan itu lebih dahulu sebelum MARA memberi pertolongan. Jadi saya suka yang MARA ini mendapat menjalankan pekerjaan-pekerjaan dengan memberi kesan dengan sepenuh-penuhnya dan dengan sebab itulah kalau pun rancangan-rancangan kita buat itu, bagi permulaan, terkurang sedikit — itu tidak mengapa asalkan tiap-tiap perusahaan atau rancangan yang kita jalankan itu sebenar-benarnya berjaya dan mendapat hasil seperti yang kita kehendaki.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kota Bharu Hilir ada bertanya berkenaan dengan pertolongan-pertolongan yang Kerajaan Pusat berikan kepada Kerajaan Kelantan. Saya sukacita oleh sebab Kerajaan Kelantan sekarang ini ada memberi kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Pusat dan suka hendak menerima pertolongan-pertolongan daripada Kerajaan Pusat.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong<sup>4</sup> suggested, under Clause 3, that we should try and make the Majlis as representatives as possible. Well, the proposal is to try and bring members with experience or knowledge in commerce and industry and others whose advice would be useful to the Majlis would be invited to sit on the Majlis but it is not intended to have this Authority with too large a membership. I think 15 is about big enough. If we try to have too big a Committee as we had in the case of RIDA, the Committee will never work. I think 15 would be about the most that we need.

On the question of interpretation, he suggested, under Clause 6, that we should have a new concept, that is to say, we should now change from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. This

<sup>4</sup>Dr. Lim Chong Eu

is the very thing that we are doing: under our next Five Year Plan the emphasis will be on agricultural diversification as well as on industrial development.

I have already explained Clause 27 (1), that is, MARA has no power to acquire land. It has to apply to the State Government and it is only the State Government authorities that can acquire land on behalf of MARA.

As regards Clause 6 (2) (f), the Honourable Member suggests that we should define the functions of MARA here in detail, but we do not consider this necessary as the functions and the purpose of the Act are already fully defined and under Clause 6 (1) it is clear what the duties and powers of MARA are and I do not think it is necessary to define it any further.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua sekali lagi saya mengucapkan berbanyak terima kasih kepada semua Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat yang telah berucap memberi sokongan kepada Rang Undang-Undang Majlis Amanah Rakyat ini dan saya berharap dengan kelulusan undang-undang ini dapatlah MARA ini berjalan dengan sempurna dan dapatlah MARA ini menyempurnakan tugas-tugas yang sangat penting yang dikehendaki MARA menjalankan.

Sekalian sahaja, terima kasih.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI KETIKA  
MENJAWAB PERTANYAAN MENGENAI RIDA OLEH  
PIHAK PEMBANGKANG DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA  
11 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka, terutama sekali, mengucapkan berbilang-bilang terima kasih kepada Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat yang telah memberi sokongan kepada Rang Undang-Undang yang ada di hadapan Dewan ini, termasuk jugalah Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat dari pihak Pembangkang dan saya berasa sukacita mendengar sokongan daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu<sup>1</sup> dan juga dari Tanjong<sup>2</sup>.

I thought, Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong made the most sensible speech I have heard ever since he left the Alliance, and I suggest that if he continues to listen to us carefully he would make further progress.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menerangkan, pertama berkenaan dengan kedudukan RIDA. Ada Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat dari pihak Pembangkang mengatakan yang RIDA ini telah gagal dan tidak dapat menjalankan apa-apa kemajuan dan telah tidak berjaya. Saya telah sebutkan tadi bahawa RIDA ini sebenarnya ditubuhkan pada masa penjajahan dahulu. Jadi, mustahaklah pembentukan dan dasar RIDA itu ditukar, bahkan dasar RIDA telahpun ditukar pada masa Kerajaan mula-mula menubuhkan Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar dahulu. Pada masa dahulu RIDA dikehendaki menjalankan semua rancangan-rancangan untuk kemajuan rakyat di luar bandar, termasuklah pembinaan jalanraya-jalanraya, membuat jambatan dan sebagainya — pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang patut diperbuat oleh Kementerian-kementerian dan pejabat-pejabat yang lain.

Jadi, dengan tertubuhnya Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar, pekerjaan RIDA itu adalah dihadkan dan pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang patut dibuat oleh Kementerian-kementerian yang lain adalah diperbuat oleh Kementerian-kementerian yang lain dan RIDA hanyalah menjalankan tugas-tugas yang dihadkan kepada RIDA. Dan lagi seperti saya telah terangkan kepada Dewan ini dan juga kepada luar Dewan ini bahawa dalam melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan pembangunan negara dan luar bandar Kerajaan Perikatan, Kerajaan menjalankan rancangan-rancangan itu dengan mengadakan tingkatan-tingkatan. Tingkatan yang pertama ialah bagi Kerajaan mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan

<sup>1</sup>En. Tan Chee Koon.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Lim Chong Eu.

kepada rakyat di luar bandar, seperti jalanraya-jalanraya, bekalan air, tempat berubat, sekolah-sekolah dan sebagainya. Kemudian daripada itu kita datang kepada tingkatan kedua iaitu Tingkatan Kerahan Tenaga Rakyat, dan kemudian daripada itu tingkatan yang ketiga, Kerajaan menolong mengadakan pasaran-pasaran kepada penduduk-penduduk luar bandar dan sekarang kita sampai kepada tingkatan yang keempat, iaitu tingkatan bagi Kerajaan menolong rakyat di luar bandar bagi membesar dan meluaskan mata pencarian mereka itu. Maka apabila sampai pada tingkatan ini, baharulah tugas RIDA yang sebenarnya dibetulkan dengan bentuk cara pentadbiran itu diperbaiki. Jadi, tidaklah benar seperti yang disebutkan oleh Ahli-ahli dari pihak Pembangkang mengatakan yang RIDA itu tidak membuat jasa kepada rakyat negeri ini, bahkan ada beberapa rancangan-rancangan yang telah dapat dijalankan oleh RIDA dan RIDA telah dapat meminjamkan wang lebih kurang \$25 juta kepada penduduk-penduduk diluar bandar. Begitu juga rancangan-rancangan perkhidmatan bas yang dijalankan oleh RIDA ada mendapat kejayaan. Berkenaan dengan rancangan-rancangan lain – perusahaan-perusahaan getah dan juga perusahaan-perusahaan tali sabut, rancangan-rancangan ini ialah pilot scheme iaitu rancangan-rancangan percubaan untuk memberi latihan kepada penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar. Berkenaan dengan kilang-kilang getah, yang sebenarnya, RIDA menubuhkan kilang-kilang getah ini dengan tujuan supaya menolong rakyat di luar bandar iaitu pekebun-pekebun kecil supaya dapat menerima harga getah yang dikeluarkan oleh mereka itu dengan lebih tinggi lagi dan dengan adanya kilang-kilang itu, maka tujuan ini adalah berjaya. Akan tetapi RIDA tentulah tidak dapat hendak menjalankan kilang-kilang ini berpanjangan dan mustahaklah kilang-kilang ini diserahkan kepada penduduk tempatan untuk menjalankannya. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sedikit sebanyak ada kemajuan-kemajuan dan jasa-jasa yang diperbuat oleh RIDA dan saya sukacita Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Baling<sup>3</sup> ada memberi pujian kepada pegawai-pegawai RIDA yang setengah-setengahnya adalah menjalankan perkhidmatan mereka itu dengan sangat memuaskan hati.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dukacita mendengarkan berbagai-bagai tuduhan yang didatangkan oleh pihak wakil-wakil daripada Parti PAS. Pihak Parti PAS ini sentiasa tahu bercakap, tetapi satu pun pekerjaan tidak dapat dibuat! Apa pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang dibuat oleh Parti perikatan biasanya PAS aku perbuatan mereka itu. Jadi di Dewan ini, wakil-wakil PAS biasa bercakap banyak, menegur itu, menuduh ini, tetapi kita tahu apa yang berlaku di negeri Kelantan.

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<sup>3</sup>En. Harun b. Abdullah.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh<sup>4</sup> mengatakan yang Kerajaan Perikatan ini mengadakan MARA oleh sebab Kerajaan Perikatan telah gagal dalam usahanya hendak membaiki iktisad rakyat, jadi rakyat tidak berapa lama lagi akan memberi keputusan kepada Kerajaan Perikatan. Saya tidak tahu mana rakyat yang disebutkannya itu. Rakyat di Kelantan patut tahu apa jasanya Kerajaan PAS sudah capai selama enam tahun lebih memerintah negeri Kelantan. Begitu jugalah wakilnya dari Bachok<sup>5</sup>, wakil dari Kelantan Hilir<sup>6</sup>, ada menyebutkan mustahaklah diadakan tafsir "bumiputera", kalau tidak ada tafsir bumiputera tidak ada faedahlah menubuhkan MARA, menubuhkan Bank Bumiputera. Seperti kata Yang Berhormat wakil dari Kota Bharu Hilir tadi, apa guna kita adakan tafsir itu kalau di Negeri Kelantan beratus-ratus ekar tanah diberikan kepada orang yang bukan bumiputera. Saya tidak hendaklah sebut di sini yang dikatakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kota Bharu Hilir tadi, 400,000 ekar telah diberikan kepada pemodal bangsa asing, bahkan ada banyak lagi, tanah-tanah iaitu lesen-lesen yang diberikan kepada pemodal-pemodal dari luar di negeri Kelantan itu.

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<sup>4</sup>Dato' Mohamed Asri b. Hj. Muda.

<sup>5</sup>En. Abu Bakar bin Hamzah.

<sup>6</sup>Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN MOVING  
THE SECOND READING OF THE 'THE MAJLIS AMANAH  
RAKYAT (MARA) BILL' AT DEWAN RAKYAT ON  
11 NOVEMBER, 1965

With the establishment of my Ministry and the implementation of our rural development plan, we have reached a new stage in the economic development of the rural area of our country.

Whereas our rural development plan to date has sought to establish the para-structure — the roads, the social amenities — so necessary for economic development, we have now come to the stage where we have to venture into greener pastures, and devise new means to raise the living standard of the economically under-developed section of our people.

The economically under-developed are to be found mainly in the rural areas of the country. That the majority of them happen to be Malays has attracted the attention of a small, but usually vocal section of the community, who criticise the Government for pursuing what they call a "pro-Malay" policy.

Whilst I look at the problem of assisting the economically under-developed section of our people as a national problem, our critics choose to regard it as a racial problem. It is, I think, worth stressing that we cannot live in a fool's paradise; we cannot put on rose-coloured glasses and bathe in the sun-shine of our own well-being surrounded by people who deserve a better standard of life than they are enjoying at present or which our country with all its resources can provide.

The fruits of Merdeka must be more justly divided; prosperity must not only be shared equally, but must equally be seen to have been shared by all sections of our people. Or if I may put it more directly, the non-Malays cannot continue to prosper among a sea of unprosperous Malays. Recent events in some newly-independent countries in Asia with multi-racial populations make it unnecessary for me to labour the point that the task of correcting the imbalance between the economically under-community must be regarded as a national issue and not one race.

However the critics would like to look at it, it does make sense for the Government to assist in the economic development of the rural areas. We have a young and growing population. We must provide

employment for our young people. Wherever possible we should increase employment opportunities in the rural areas in order to check the human drift to the towns from the countryside in search of employment.

Now, I have spoken of Malays and non-Malays. But this is merely to follow the current tendency to regard the economically under-developed as Malays and the rest as non-Malays. I myself believe that this is an over-simplification which suits the dark purposes of the critics of the Government.

Since the establishment of Malaysia, the ranks of the economically under-developed have been swelled by the addition of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak who regard themselves as natives and who do not wish to be referred to as Malays. For want of a better word, we have used the word "bumiputera" to include the Malays as well as the natives and most of them are economically under-developed.

I have mentioned earlier of the need to devise new means of raising the standard of living of the depressed areas. As you know there are agencies of my Ministry which have been directly engaged in economic activities which will contribute to raising the standard of living in the rural areas. Today, I am introducing a bill to replace one of the agencies, the Rural and Industrial Development Authority or RIDA, by a new organisation which bears the name of MARA or Majlis Amanah Rakyat.

I feel it necessary to set up a new organisation because as I have said earlier we have reached a new stage in the economic development of the rural areas. The change from RIDA to MARA is not a change merely of a signboard. It is a fundamental change that will be reflected in the objectives, the tasks and the activities of MARA.

RIDA had undertaken a variety of tasks since its establishment 14 years ago, from the building of rural roads, the setting up of training centres, to the granting of loans to assist mainly small businessmen. Since the creation of my Ministry some of the functions of RIDA had been undertaken directly by my Ministry. I have always maintained that RIDA should not perform the functions which other agencies and departments of Government are responsible for and are more competently equipped to perform. For example, the building of roads should be left to the Public Works Department, the establishment of co-operatives to the Co-operative Department and so on.

I have therefore decided that RIDA should be replaced by a new

organisation, MARA, which will concentrate on stimulating, facilitating and assisting the economically under-developed to participate more effectively in the commerce and industry of the country.

To this end, I have suggested that MARA be organised into seven divisions, two of which (the Administration Division and the Accounts Division) are non-operational or are common-user divisions, while the remaining five divisions are to be operational divisions. While I expect the operational divisions to work very closely together, I have decided they should be given as much autonomy as they should require to perform their functions smoothly and expeditiously.

These five divisions are the Advisory Services Division, the Industry and Commerce Division, the Training Division, the Transport Division and the Credit Finance Division. You will no doubt gather from the name of the five operational divisions that MARA will be able to assist bumiputeras who wish to participate in commerce and industry not only by providing them with the financial but also with the technical assistance that they require. But, and this is a new condition and a departure from the activities of RIDA – but MARA will insist that all those who receive financial assistance from it must also accept technical advice from MARA and must be prepared to be trained, to be supervised by MARA in whatever commercial and industrial activities they are engaged.

There is also another condition which I would like MARA to adhere to wherever possible. Its assistance should be given where it will have a greater impact on a large number of persons. I would prefer MARA to encourage individuals pursuing the same economic activities to group together and form more liable units. If MARA is to assist entrepreneurs, the latter should be those who in turn can provide employment for others. Let me be quite frank about it; MARA is not established to make individuals into big capitalist, but MARA will assist individuals who can assist other individuals to take a direct part in commerce and industry. I am not saying that MARA should not altogether assist individuals, but it must choose the individuals who have a good potential to succeed and to create employment for others.

But I would like to appeal to those who are seeking assistances from MARA not to regard it as a fairy God Mother with a bottomless pit, full of money which she will distribute continually and generously. Let them seek assistance on schemes which are economically liable. Do not think that money is there for the asking and come up with wild schemes for economic development. The assistance they get will depend on the assistance they deserve.

MARA must succeed. It is in our national interest to see that it succeeds and it should have the blessing of all well-meaning people in our country.

I would also like to say to those who are seeking assistance from MARA to bear in mind that although we want more speed in the economic development of the rural areas, we do not want more haste. Let there be more speed but less haste. Economic development has its own conditions of growth and its own momentum.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO OPEN  
THE EXHIBITION OF DECORATIVE ARTS OF MODERN  
JAPAN AT DEWAN TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, KUALA  
LUMPUR, ON 15TH NOVEMBER, 1965

Puan P.G. Lim, Your Excellency Dato Fumihiko Kai and Datin Kai,

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

When I was invited to open this Exhibition of "Decorative Arts of Modern Japan" I most willingly agreed, because of the close and cordial relations that happily obtain between Malaysia and Japan, and also because of my own very pleasant memories of various visits I have made to Japan.

The people of Malaysia take a very great interest in Japan today because it is unquestionably the leading industrial nation of Asia, and its remarkable development has rightly been referred to as an economic miracle.

Malaysians have become very familiar with visiting Japanese missions, mostly in the commercial and industrial field. Japan is also a favourite holiday venue for Malaysians. These inter-changes and personal contacts have brought our countries and peoples closer together.

We share common ideals for progressive and peaceful development, especially in international affairs. We look forward to Japan playing a leading role in the peace and prosperity of the newly developed countries of Asia.

For the past five years Japan has been playing a major role in providing technical assistance to Malaysia in various ways, to a total value of almost \$2,000,000. This assistance takes the forms of providing experts in various fields, especially agriculture, training in Japan of Malaysians, and scholarships.

Japan has also begun to be active in the sphere of capital assistance to Malaysia in the past year or so, the principal contribution being diesel engines for our Railways.

At the end of this year or early next we will see in Malaysia a new field of Japanese assistance with the arrival of the first ten members

of their recently established Volunteer Corps who will be coming to help in agriculture and cottage industries.

Apart from all these close links, there is hardly need for me to mention what is already well-known, and that is the increasing number of investments in industry and manufactures which Japanese private entrepreneurs are making in Malaysia.

Now today Malaysia will have the opportunity of seeing for the first time an important cultural Exhibition. I am given to understand that this display of decorative Arts, which has been in planning for two years, is of outstanding merit. The influence of Japanese taste in art and architecture is spreading quietly throughout the world, in such many ways as it did a hundred years ago. This Exhibition presents the finest example of decorative arts in various media, and should prove to be an inspiration to the remarkable potential of artistic talents that we in Malaysia so happily and fortunately have.

As the poet says, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever", and I am assured that there are very many beautiful objects of art to be seen in this National Art Gallery of Malaysia over the next two months.

I, therefore, take very great pleasure indeed in thanking both the Japanese authorities and the National Art Gallery for this unique occasion and I am very happy to declare the Exhibition open for the enjoyment of our people in Malaysia.



Tun Abdul Razak b. Hussein di Upacara Perasmian Pembukaan Pameran Seni Hiasan Moden Jepun di Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur pada 15 November, 1965.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI KETIKA  
MEMBINCANGKAN RANG UNDANG-UNDANG PERBADANAN  
TANAH NEGARA DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA  
16 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak mengambil bahagian di dalam perbincangan berkenaan dengan Rang Undang-Undang yang ada di hadapan Dewan ini, iaitu Rang Undang-Undang Perbadanan Tanah Negara untuk pemulihan dan juga penyatuan tanah. Saya sangat sukacita bahawa Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat boleh dikatakan semuanya termasuklah Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pihak pembangkang, telah menyokong Rang Undang-Undang ini. Tetapi saya dukacita sedikit mendengarkan percakapan-percakapan daripada setengah-setengah Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat, terutama daripada pihak pembangkang yang mengatakan Rang Undang-Undang ini tidaklah cukup luas dan tidak cukup tepat dan tidak mempunyai kuasa-kuasa yang penuh untuk menjalankan kehendak-kehendak negara.

Saya suka terangkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa pihak Kerajaan telah menimbangkan perkara ini dengan sangat halus sebelum mengemukakan Rang Undang-Undang ini, dan lagi ada banyak masalah-masalah yang terpaksa kita hadapi berkenaan dengan soal ini. Seperti Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat sebutkan, ada masalah fragmentation iaitu tanah-tanah yang dipunyai oleh rakyat di kampung-kampung itu sangat kecil, tidak mencukupi untuk mereka itu mencari nafkah hidup.

Yang keduanya yang dikatakan absentee landlord — inipun satu masalah yang penting juga.

Dan lagi masalah yang lebih penting lagi — yang lebih mustahak kita atasi dengan seberapa segera, ialah ada tanah-tanah yang dipunyai oleh rakyat negeri ini, terutama daripada penduduk-penduduk luar bandar, yang tidak dapat dijayakan dengan sempurna. Jadi, inilah perkara yang pertama sekali — yang mustahak sekali yang perbadanan ini patut atasi iaitu hendak menolong menjayakan tanah-tanah yang sekarang ini ada dipunyai oleh rakyat yang telah diberi kepada rakyat yang tidak dijayakan oleh mereka itu. Jadi setelah disiasati perkara ini iaitu sebabnya tanah-tanah tidak dapat dijayakan ialah kekurangan wang. Jadi, dengan sebab itulah perkara yang pertama perbadanan ini atau lembaga ini dikehendaki menjalankan ialah menolong pihak rakyat yang mempunyai tanah yang tidak dapat dijayakan tanah itu supaya tanah itu dapat dijayakan dengan sempurna.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, seperti yang saya kata tadi, masalah yang kita terpaksa hadapi berkenaan dengan tanah ini adalah banyak. Jadi, tentulah kita tidak dapat mengatasi semua sekali dengan sertamerta, tidak dapat tiada perbadanan ini tentulah akan mengambil masa sebelum dapat mengatasikan semua sekali masalah-masalah yang telah disebutkan itu. Dengan sebab itulah kita terpaksa hendak menjalankan perkara ini dengan beransur satu persatu. Jadi, seperti saya kata tadi masalah yang penting sekali hendak jayakan tanah yang dipunyai oleh rakyat sekarang ini yang tidak berjaya dengan memuaskan hati.

Jadi, Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pihak Socialist Front – I think so often they are carried away by their Socialist principles that they are out of touch with realities. As I said, we are fully conscious of the numerable problems connected with land fragmentation, absentee ownership and such other problems. But the main problem we have to face the most urgent one, is to help those land owners who have been given land but who have not been able to cultivate their land due to many reasons, one of which, of course is lack of capital.

I fully appreciate that there is the problem of absentee ownership but that is not prevalent in many areas. In some areas, this problem exists, but, in many, cases, this has been due to the fact that the tenants have not the means to develop the land, and that is why they have to mortgage the land to absentee land owners. But these are problems which we have to tackle in due course. But, as I said, the most important problem that the Authority will have to face immediately is to help the smallholders, particularly those, who will be given land under the Fringe Alienation Scheme and under the Controlled Alienation Scheme, who have not been able to cultivate their land satisfactorily.

The Honourable Member for Datuk Kramat<sup>1</sup> and also the Honourable Member for Batu<sup>2</sup> have suggested that the Government should have the power to compulsorily acquire uneconomic holdings for rehabilitation. Well, Sir, we have not got this power. This is not the way we would like to do things; and I think it is not desirable, under present conditions, for this Authority to have the power to acquire land of economic holdings for the purpose of rehabilitation.

As, I think, the Honourable Member for Penang Selatan<sup>3</sup> has said, some people do have attachment to their land and we do not want to frighten people at this stage. We should like to do this by example,

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lim Kean Siew

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Tan Chee Koon

<sup>3</sup> En. Ismail bin Idris

by persuasion, and this is the way that we in the Alliance Government do things, and I am surprised that the Honourable Members, from the Socialist Front who have always been shouting for democracy, and have always been accusing us of dictatorial powers, of abusing democracy and what not.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE  
SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLY BILL, HEADS S. 60 AND S.  
78 AT DEWAN RAKYAT ON 19 NOVEMBER, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Sir I would like to intervene in this debate because, as the Honourable Minister of Local Government and Housing<sup>1</sup> has said, during the last few days so much had been said about this industrialized housing system; and I feel that the Members of the Opposition have not been fair to the Honourable Minister and the Ministry of Local Government and Housing on some of the criticisms that they have made. The Minister, when he answered an oral question on this subject, had given a full and adequate explanation, but despite that various criticisms continued to be made, allegations made, and these allegations are of a general nature with no specific evidence and without foundation. I must say, Sir, that we in the Government resent such a tactic employed by Members of the Opposition. We are responsible to this House, and we are subject to question, to criticism, but I must ask the Honourable Members of the Opposition that, if they want to criticise the Government, they must do so fairly and in accordance with the true democratic traditions and not make wild and generalised allegations and, as my honourable colleague has said, vicious character assassinations.

Well, Sir, on this subject of industrialised housing system, this matter had been gone through very carefully at various levels by the Commissioner of the Federal Capital and his staff, by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, by the Treasury, by the National Planning Development Committee and, ultimately, by the Cabinet. We had gone into this very, very carefully, and we agreed that in principle this system deserved a trial, because it is our policy, our intention, to build as many houses as we can for our people, who need these houses and at lower cost and with greater speed – and this is our intention. Quite obviously, unless we are prepared to embark on new methods, on new systems, it is not possible for us to make progress.

Also, Sir, as the Minister of Local Government and Housing had already explained, the contract had not yet been finalised; negotiations are still going on and we have appointed a Cabinet Committee under the chairmanship of my colleague, the Minister of Finance<sup>2</sup>, with the Minister of Works, Post and Telecommunications<sup>3</sup> and the

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<sup>1</sup>Encik Khaw Kai Boh.

<sup>2</sup>Encik Tan Siew Sin.

<sup>3</sup>Datuk V.T. Sambanthan.

Minister of Local Government and Housing as Members. The negotiations for this contract are under the supervision of this Cabinet Committee. As the Minister of Local Government and Housing has also explained, the Commissioner of the Federal Capital has the power and the authority to enter into this contract, but, because this is a matter of importance, the Minister decided that the whole thing should go to the Cabinet, should have the blessing and the authority of the Cabinet. So, we have gone into this very carefully, and we have taken a decision after, as I said, very careful investigation and consideration at various levels, and I am satisfied that this matter has been carried out properly and in accordance with the proper procedure. I do hope that Honourable Members of the Opposition will now appreciate that this has been done properly and that if, in future, should Honourable Members of the Opposition wish to criticise the Government — of course, they are free to do so — I hope they do follow the practice of parliamentary democracy and make criticisms when they have sufficient facts and evidence before them and not make wild allegations, and smearing character assassination, against members of the Government.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI KETIKA  
MENJAWAB PANDANGAN-PANDANGAN DARI AHLI-  
AHLI YANG BERHORMAT DALAM ANGGARAN PER-  
BELANJAAN DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 25 NOVEM-  
BER, 1965

Tuan Yang diPertua, saya telah melawat negeri Kelantan beberapa kali. Ada beratus-ratus kampung berkehendakkan masjid dan berkehendakkan surau, jadi tidak gunalah kita bercakap panjang. Kita semua tahu perkara ini, bukan Ahli-ahli PAS sahaja tahu negeri Kelantan, banyak orang Perikatan — saya sendiri — tahu keadaan negeri Kelantan pada masa ini. Seperti kata saya tadi, masjid Ibu Kota Negeri Kelantan tidak diperbaiki sedikit pun. Jadi dengan sebab itu — orang-orang Islam terpaksa sembahyang di atas rumput. Jadi saya telah mengemukakan wang \$100,000 dan saya telah diberi tahu dengan wang yang sebanyak ini dapatlah orang-orang Islam di Kota Bharu itu sembahyang dalam rumah, tidak di atas rumput.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh<sup>1</sup>, ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan Suruhanjaya Gaji (Salaries Commission). Katanya, "Commission" ini lambat menjalankan tugas, dan pekerjaannya belum lagi siap. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat sendiri patut tahu, sebagai seorang Menteri Besar, bagaimana sulitnya perkara tangga gaji dan masalah gaji-gaji pegawai Kerajaan. Perkara ini mustahak lah disiasat dan ditimbang dengan halus sebelum diberi apa-apa keputusan. Jadi Suruhanjaya Gaji ini hanyalah baharu bekerja, dalam lima enam bulan, dan tentulah tidak dapat hendak menyempurnakan pekerjaan yang besar itu dalam masa yang sangat singkat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat ini ada mendatangkan pandangan, berkenaan dengan Pertahanan. Katanya sungguhpun beliau menyokong Perbelanjaan Pertahanan dan rancangan hendak membesar dan meluaskan lagi tentera kita, tetapi katanya Kerajaan tidak menghiraukan sungutan-sungutan dan rasa tidak puas hati di kalangan tentera dan juga penderitaan.

Saya suka sebutkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan seperti ini sangatlah tidak patut diperbuat dengan keadaan yang ada dalam negara kita pada masa ini. Kita sedang menghadapi darurat, kita sedang menghadapi keadaan perang, kita patutlah bercermat sedikit bercakap atau berucap diatas perkara-perkara yang boleh menyentuh keselamatan dalam negara kita ini. Saya berdukacita bahawa Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh<sup>1</sup> seorang Menteri Besar, yang ada mempunyai tanggung-

<sup>1</sup>Dato' Mohamad Asri bin Haji Muda.

jawab dalam hal pertahanan-pertahanan dan keselamatan dalam negeri, telah membesar-besarkan perkara-perkara ini iaitu perkara yang sebenarnya tidak ada asas langsung iaitu khabar-khabar angin yang disebutkan dalam surat yang dihantarkan kepada akhbar-akhbar. Jadi percakapan yang semacam ini boleh menimbulkan perasaan bimbang di kalangan tentera-tentera kita dan rasa tidak puas hati di kalangan mereka itu. Jadi dengan sebab itulah saya berharap kita tidak membuat ucapan, atas perkara yang semacam ini, yang boleh saya kata merosakan keselamatan dan ketenteraman negara kita.

Saya telah terangkan melalui akhbar, bahawa Kerajaan telahpun mengambil langkah dan telah menjalankan apa juga langkah-langkah yang patut untuk menjaga kepentingan-kepentingan ahli-ahli tentera kita dan Kerajaan telah memberi layanan yang sempurna kepada tentera-tentera kita. Baharu-baharu ini Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah menaikkan gaji ahli-ahli pasukan biasa tentera kita iaitu tiap-tiap orang dapat sekurang-kurang \$10.00 sebulan dan setinggi-tingginya \$27.50 dan sekarang kita sedang menyemak supaya diberi kenaikan gaji yang tetap. Begitu jugalah kepada tentera-tentera yang berkhidmat di Sabah dan di Sarawak, kita telah membuat bayaran sugu hati khas kepada mereka itu kerana didapati perbelanjaan sara hidup di Sabah dan di Sarawak ini tinggi dan Kerajaan tidak ada niat hendak menarik balik pembayaran itu. Keterangan-keterangan yang telah diberikan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu semata-mata tidak benar dan berupa, seperti saya katakan tadi, khabar-khabar angin yang dusta sahaja.

Berkenaan dengan masalah cuti sebelum dan selepas berkhidmat di Sabah dan Sarawak disebabkan Sabah dan Sarawak adalah negeri-negeri dalam Malaysia dan bukan negeri luar Malaysia, maka mereka yang berkhidmat di situ tidaklah mendapat cuti khas sebelum pergi ataupun selepas balik daripada berkhidmat. Akan tetapi, bila seseorang perajurit itu berkehendakkan cuti untuk hendak menguruskan hal-hal rumahtangganya ataupun hal-hal yang lain, mereka sentiasa diberi cuti mengikut peraturan yang tertentu. Inilah peraturan yang biasa kita jalankan dikalangan tentera-tentera kita pada masa yang lalu.

Berkenaan dengan layanan telegram, saya suka menegaskan, tidak ada halangan bagi waris-waris tentera kita yang bertugas di Sabah dan di Sarawak menghantar telegram terus kepada mereka itu. Tetapi jika seorang askar itu hendak mengambil cuti dengan cara belas kasihan atau compassionate leave di atas perbelanjaan Kerajaan, maka mustahaklah Kerajaan dan Kementerian Pertahanan diberitahu, supaya dapat mengesahkan peristiwa itu dan memberi cuti seperti yang dikehendaki. Peraturan supaya telegram yang semacam itu dihantar melalui Kementerian Pertahanan, ialah supaya urusan mengesahkan sesuatu peristiwa

yang berlaku itu dan juga kelulusan hendak meminta cuti itu dapat dijalankan dengan seberapa segera.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh, ada juga menyebutkan bahawa gaji askar-askar kita berbeza dan kurang jika dibandingkan dengan askar-askar negeri lain di Komanwel. Saya suka menegaskan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa gaji askar-askar kita dan juga gaji pegawai-pegawai perkhidmatan awam, adalah ditentukan menurut keadaan negara kita sebagai sebuah negara di Asia yang baharu mencapai kemerdekaan dan yang sedang menuju ke arah kemajuan. Kita tidaklah dapat hendak mengikut keadaan negeri-negeri yang telah berkemajuan, seperti negeri-negeri di Eropah dan negeri Barat.

Askar-askar kita sendiri faham atas hal ini. Gaji dan juga layanan serta kelebihan-kelebihan yang diberi kepada ahli-ahli tentera kita adalah adil jika kita hendak bandingkan dengan kelebihan-kelebihan yang diberi kepada pegawai-pegawai lain – pegawai-pegawai awam dan juga pegawai-pegawai polis. Kita telah menjalankan perkara ini menurut peraturan yang sempurna dan cara yang teratur. Kalau kita hendak ikut keadaan negeri yang mempunyai hasil yang lebih dan telah maju, serta mempunyai tingkatan taraf hidup yang tinggi, tentulah kita tidak mampu. Saya suka menegaskan, Kerajaan Perikatan adalah memberi layanan yang sempurna dengan cara yang difikirkan menasabah dan patut kepada tentera-tentera kita yang menjalankan perkhidmatan mempertahankan tanahair kita. Kita sentiasa memandang tinggi jasa-jasa mereka itu, dan seperti saya telah sebutkan, segala kepentingan dan kesulitan mereka itu sentiasa diperhatikan dan ahli-ahli tentera kita sendiri faham atas hal ini dan mereka itu mempunyai taat setia yang tinggi dan perasaan kasih sayang kepada bangsa dan negara kita. Mereka sedia menjalankan tugas mereka itu dengan mengorbankan tenaga dan jiwa mereka itu untuk bangsa dan negara. Layanan yang kita beri kepada tentera kita, tidak kurang, bahkan boleh dikatakan lebih sempurna daripada layanan-layanan yang diberi ataupun yang didapati oleh tentera-tentera di negara-negara yang lain di benua Asia ini. Apa yang patut, yang kita boleh buat untuk kepentingan tentera kita, Kerajaan telah jalankan dan akan jalankan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada dua perkara lagi yang saya suka sebutkan iaitu Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Jitra-Padang Terap<sup>2</sup>. Saya tidak tahu, samada perkara itu telah dijawab oleh rakan saya Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan<sup>3</sup> ataupun tidak, iaitu berkenaan dengan jawatan-jawatan dalam gedung-gedung perniagaan dan perusahaan. Kata Ahli

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<sup>2</sup> Datin Fatimah binti Haji Hashim.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lim Swee Aun.

Yang Berhormat ini, mustahaklah jawatan-jawatan ini diberi kepada warganegara Malaysia. Kerajaan telah mengambil tindakan di atas hal ini dan perkara ini di jaga oleh satu Jawantankuasa Kabinet yang dipengerusikan oleh saya sendiri. Gedung-gedung dan estet-estet telah diminta menyediakan rancangan cara-cara mereka itu hendak menggunakan warganegara di negeri ini dalam gedung-gedung dan estet-estet mereka itu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kota Star Selatan<sup>4</sup>, telah mencadangkan iaitu patutlah diadakan Works Brigade untuk mengatasi soal pengangguran di luar bandar. Kerajaan adalah sentiasa mengambil berat di atas masalah mencari pekerjaan untuk pemuda-pemuda kita, baik di bandar atau di luar bandar, dan beberapa rancangan-rancangan telah ditimbang. Akan tetapi, perkara ini ada berkait dengan masalah tanah dan saya harap dapat menjalankan perundingan lagi dengan Menteri-Menteri Besar dan Ketua-Ketua Menteri, supaya satu rancangan yang sesuai dapat diadakan untuk menolong pemuda-pemuda yang tidak ada pekerjaan supaya mendapat pekerjaan bagi mereka itu hendak mencari nafkah hidup.

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu juga ada mencadangkan iaitu patutlah Pejabat Kerja Raya menggunakan pekerja-pekerjanya sendiri untuk melaksanakan rancangan-rancangan. Perkara ini, yang sebenar, telah dijalankan di satu dua negeri dan saya akan menjalankan siasatan bersama dengan Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Telekom<sup>5</sup>, dan jika perkara ini dapat diperluaskan lagi, Kerajaan akan mengambil langkah untuk meluaskan lagi supaya dapat penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar menerima pekerjaan-pekerjaan di bawah Pejabat Kerja Raya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir itulah sahaja perkara-perkara yang saya hendak sebutkan dalam menjawab pandangan-pandangan yang didatangkan oleh Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat dan saya suka mengucapkan sebanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat yang telah memberi sokongan kepada butir-butir yang terkandung dalam Anggaran Perbelanjaan atau Budget yang ada di hadapan kita ini. Terima kasih.

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<sup>4</sup>Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed

<sup>5</sup>Datuk V.T. Sambanthan.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN MOVING  
THE SECOND READING OF THE SUPPLY BILL AT  
DEWAN RAKYAT ON 25TH NOVEMBER, 1965

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to join the Honourable the Prime Minister and my other colleagues in replying to some of the comments and criticisms made by the Honourable Members, particularly the Members of the Opposition. Unfortunately, Sir, there is only one Member of the Opposition and I should say that he is a friendly Member of the Opposition.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh<sup>1</sup> stated that the Alliance Government's policies were becoming more and more dictatorial; the Alliance Government is suppressing and crushing the Opposition. Sir, this is an old tune which has been played again and again in this House. Everyone knows, the people of this country know, the Alliance Government, as the Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> stated this morning, believes in democracy – and we have upheld our democratic constitution strictly. Indeed, if there is any criticism at all against us, it is because we have been too liberal. Opposition parties have complete freedom to say anything against the Government, to criticise the Government, and indeed the Opposition Members have made full use of this freedom.

Sir, we take pride in the fact that since we achieved independence, the last eight years, we have been able to make democracy work in this part of the world, and I must say that this cannot be said of some of the newly independent countries. Now, the Honourable Member in his speech says that he still draws inspiration from the leadership in the Government of the country south of the Causeway. I hope, Sir, he would realise what it would be like to be a Member of an Opposition party under that Government, and as the Hon'ble the Prime Minister said this morning, those who think highly of Singapore, and the life in Singapore, can go and live in Singapore and we would not miss them. Sir, we have never interfered in the work of the Opposition. We believe in loyal Opposition and so long as they uphold the Constitution as we do, all Members of the Opposition should have no fear. I suggest to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, it is no good turning the old record again and again. We here stand by what we do. We allow the people to judge our actions, but we trust that the Members of the Opposition should not blame the Government for their own ineffectiveness. We in the Alliance believe in democracy and will continue to uphold the principle of democracy, so long as we remain in power.

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<sup>1</sup>Encik D. R. Seenivasagam.

<sup>2</sup>Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

As the Prime Minister said this morning, we built this Parliament House as a symbol of our democracy and as a symbol of our belief in parliamentary democracy.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong<sup>3</sup> stated that he chose in 1959 to go into Opposition to the Alliance Party, because he wanted to prepare for what he calls "just such a moment of truth" that will come to the Alliance and the people must look for the dynamic and positive leadership. Now, Sir, we knew the Honourable Member for Tanjong left the Alliance, because he had differences with the sincere and loyal leaders of the MCA and with the majority of the members of the MCA. The Honourable Member talked of his great concern for the problem of unity of purpose in our multi-racial society. We on this side of the House have stated that we sincerely and strongly believe in the unity of our people, in welding together our people of various racial origins into one united nation. But we have also said, being practical men, that this process must necessarily take time. We cannot be theoretical, or idealistic, as the Honourable Member for Tanjong is. We must be realistic and face facts as they exist today. The Honourable Member for Tanjong wants all the people of this country of various racial origins to accept themselves as equal members of our national community and think, plan, and act as Malaysians. The Honourable Member should know that our people, under the colonial rule, have lived under different communities, have lived as different communities, were allowed and even encouraged to follow their respective ways of life. Under those circumstances, it is not possible, Sir, and let us not blind ourselves to the real fact that we cannot, all of us, in a matter of few years think ourselves as Malaysians, and completely forget that we belong to different racial origins. Our people must be given time to adjust themselves to sink their differences. Our people must be given time to foster their spirit of goodwill, understanding, and friendship with one another. It is not possible for us to think of ourselves as one national community, when there are still differences, inequalities and economic imbalances. These problems must be solved and adjustments must be made so that our people of various races would feel that they have a rightful place in our country. This is what the Alliance Government is doing and has been doing. We laid down the framework in our Constitution and within that framework we have worked in harmony and friendship towards the ultimate goal of a real national unity. This goal must be achieved and will be achieved if all our people, particularly leaders, do sincerely work together towards this end and completely refrain from making use of communal issues, in order to gain political power, or to obtain

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<sup>3</sup>Dr. Lim Chong Eu.

a few extra seats in the election. If we all do this, and I ask Members of the Opposition if they sincerely believe in this and not merely talking as political slogans, then we will be able to reach this goal much more quickly. We, in the Alliance Government, are not in a habit of shouting slogans, empty slogans, but we are practical and sincere people, who always carry out what we believe is in the true interest of our people. Our record is open for everyone to see. People can judge us, history can judge us, whether what we have done and are doing the right thing. Our main desire and concern is to serve the people, to make this a happy and united country. We have been in power for over 10 years, but we have used that power solely to serve our country, and we have not sought power mainly for the sake of personal glory, or personal importance. We place the welfare of our people and the interest of our country above everything else. We place the peace, harmony, and the goodwill of our people above our own personal desires. We draw inspirations from no one but from our hearts and from our sincere desire to serve our country and our people.

Now, Sir, I come to the Honourable Member for Bungsar<sup>4</sup>. Again, Sir, the Honourable Member for Bungsar sang the old record that we have not helped the poor and only make the rich richer. Sir, the Honourable Member is not qualified to speak for the "have-nots", particularly those in the rural areas. The Honourable Members in his speech said that we have not provided electricity for the rural areas. But, Sir, electricity in the rural areas is not an item of great priority in the kampungs, or the villages. There are other things of far more importance, and far more necessary, which we have provided and are continuing to provide for the "have-nots" in the kampungs and the villages. They are schools, health facilities, prayer houses, roads and such amenities of life. We have also helped the "have-nots", as I had already said, to increase their incomes, so that they will be able to live a decent life of a civilised society. The Honourable Member talks about electricity supplies — just because Taiwan have vast rural electricity supplies we should also have. I say, Sir, it is our intention to provide electricity supply to the kampungs and the villages. We have done so in a number of cases and we will continue to do so. But we know the needs of the villages, because most of us, indeed all of us, have lived in the villages; we were brought up in the villages. Our Second Five-Year Plan was prepared by the people themselves, by their elected representatives. They told us what they wanted and were merely carried out their wishes and their desires. This is how we work and how we implement our development programme. It is not our policy to impose town life into rural areas, or to impose a foreign way of life into our

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<sup>4</sup> Encik C.V. Devan Nair.

society. Our policy is to improve the existing social life so that our people will enjoy the amenities of life which they desire.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar has a lot to say about the Budget and I have no doubt my colleague the Minister of Finance will give him an adequate reply. The Honourable Member spoke that at the height of the Emergency, we held our heads with pride. What does he mean by that? At the height of the Emergency, we were under British rule. We were a colonial territory. Does the Honourable Member mean that we held our heads with pride, when we were a subjected people, and now that we are an independent and sovereign nation we do not hold our heads with pride? He talked of us, of our country, being a nation of dejected beggars. Sir, these are very strong words which are completely unjustifiable. As everyone knows, despite the fact that we have to shoulder the burden of increasing defence and security expenditure and the burden of carrying out an ambitious development programme, our economy is still strong. We are still held in high respect by the financial and banking world. Of course, as a developing nation, and because we have to shoulder these burdens of defence and development, we naturally have to seek aid from outside. As the Prime Minister said, which country in the world does not have to ask for aid — not even a rich country such as the United States of America. Now, Sir, the Honourable Member is fond of using strong words, fond of using slogans, empty slogans, which for the last two years we have heard so much and have become sick of them. We on this side of the House, in the Alliance Government, do not believe in words or in slogans. We believe in results, and we believe in achievements.

We have produced results in our development programme. We have shown to the people that in time of national emergency, we are prepared to defend the country. We are held in high respect by nations of the world, particularly the Afro-Asian nations, because we do things with dignity, because we always have our national pride. The Alliance Government, as I said, stands by its records for the world to see. Of course, we do not expect appreciation from the Opposition members. But we know that the people of this country respect us and have confidence in us. We know that countries of the world also hold us in high esteem; and these are our main concern, Sir, and we shall continue to serve our country and our people in the way that we think best.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu<sup>5</sup>, when speaking on the expenditure on Defence, spoke about the wasteful expenditure on defence. I am afraid, Sir, it is difficult to understand the logic of the

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<sup>5</sup> Encik Tan Chee Khoon.

speeches of the Honourable Member for Batu and of his colleague, the Member of Datuk Keramat<sup>6</sup> from the Socialist Front. They are against us allowing our friends in the Commonwealth to assist us in the defence of our country, and they are against increasing the defence expenditure. Sir, how else can we look for the defence and security of our country? With Malaysia, we have a bigger area and a longer coast line to defend; and we are at present the subject of aggression by a bigger and stronger neighbour. Surely, it is the duty of this Government to take appropriate and adequate measures to defend our country. We have to expand our Armed Forces — our army, our navy; we have to station on the Borneo territories as well as in the Peninsular to defend our independence and our sovereignty. We have to have ships to patrol our coasts; we have to have our Air Force to transport our men and to provide supplies. It is true, because of confrontation, our defence expenditure has to be increased at an accelerated rate. But even in normal peace time, we have to have enough men to help maintain law and order and to defend our country in case of invasion. We have to have ships to patrol our coast line, as I have said, and we have to have an air force. There are inevitable commitments of an independent sovereign nation. In an uncertain and disturbed world in which we live, we have to maintain a certain amount of defence force, if we value our freedom, our independence and our sovereignty. It is the policy of this Government not to embark on huge defence expenditure or unnecessary expansion of our forces. We only aim to have a sufficient force to protect our shores and our coast line and our boundaries. We intend to have a highly trained force, mobile, and assisted and supported by large reserve of trained men in our volunteer service and also in our call-up reserve.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong has remarked that one way of cutting down defence expenditure is to have a large reserve of volunteer men — that is what we are doing. As Honourable Members are aware, we have the Territorial Army, Local Defence Corps, the size of which is kept under constant review from time to time. We also intend to expand the training of our call-up boys so that we have a large reserve of men available for active service when we require.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu, as usual, is inclined to support his theory of socialism, and he is very often out of step with current events. He alleges that the Alliance Government refuses to use the Budget and all the administrative power we have to redistribute wealth of the country in such a way as the peasants, the workers, the farmers can get a decent living. Of course, Sir, it is not possible for the distribution of wealth to be effected in the ordinary

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<sup>6</sup>Encik Lim Kean Siew.

recurrent Budget. The re-distribution of wealth is carried out in our Development Budget. In our development programme in the past five years, and also in the next five years, we give priority to the "have-nots" — the poor and the under-privileged — in the kampungs and villages and in the towns. In the past five years, we have provided these people with amenities of life such as roads, water supply, medical services and so on, and also we have helped them to increase their income. In our Development Budget for the next five years, we intend to continue with this policy, to extend our programme for assisting the "have-nots". Our policy, and the right economic policy in a newly independent country and in an under-developed country, is to level up and not level down. We must expand our economy. We must encourage the flow of capital, so that opportunities would be provided for our people to obtain employment. We tax the rich, so that with the money we help the poor to get a better standard of living and a better way of life. This is our policy, and this policy has produced results and we intend to continue with this policy whatever the Members of the Socialist Front choose to say. The people in the kampungs, in the new villages, and in the semi-urban areas know what we have done for them and what we intend to do for them, and it is for them to judge whether our policies are right or not.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka hendak menjawab sedikit pandangan-pandangan daripada Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat. Yang pertama sekali Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kelantan Hilir<sup>7</sup>, telah menyebut berbagai-bagai kesusahan dan bahaya yang dihadapi oleh rakyat negeri ini, seperti kemarau, hujan, penyakit-penyakit dan macam-macam lagi, seolah-olah mengatakan yang Kerajaan Perikatanlah yang menyebabkan perkara-perkara ini berlaku. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara-perkara ini berlaku di atas dunia ini semenjak dunia ini dijadikan oleh Tuhan sudah lama sebelum Perikatan berkuasa, akan tetapi semenjak negara kita mencapai kemerdekaan dan semenjak Perikatan berkuasa, Kerajaan Perikatan telah cuba dengan seberapa daya upayanya memberi pertolongan kepada rakyat supaya keadaan hidup mereka itu dapat diperbaiki dan supaya bencana-bencana dan musuh-musuh dalam negeri ini dapat di atasi. Semenjak lapan tahun yang lalu, berbagai-bagai perubahan telah dicapai di seluruh negara kita ini.

Akan tetapi Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kelantan Hilir, datangnya dari negeri Kelantan, dan negeri Kelantan tidak ada apa-apa perubahan, kerana negeri Kelantan ialah ditadbirkan oleh Kerajaan PAS, dengan sebab itulah Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, tidak tahu yang perubahan-perubahan berlaku di negara kita ini.

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<sup>7</sup>Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah.

Bila Ahli Yang Berhormat menyebutkan tentang rakyat di kampung hanya pendapatan tidak sampai \$30 sebulan, ini harus berlaku di negeri Kelantan, tetapi di tempat-tempat lain keadaan rakyat telah berubah, pendapatan-pendapatan rakyat telah bertambah. Setengah-setengah rancangan Kerajaan telahpun mengeluarkan hasil \$300 atau \$350 sebulan bagi tiap-tiap seorang. Di tempat-tempat yang lain dengan adanya rancangan-rancangan Kerajaan, menolong mereka itu — sama ada dengan cara menanam padi dua kali setahun ataupun dengan jalan mengadakan perusahaan-perusahaan kecil untuk menambah mata pencarian ataupun dengan jalan pertolongan-pertolongan yang lain — pendapatan mereka telah bertambah berganda-ganda daripada masa yang lalu. Saya mengaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa tidak semua rakyat di negara kita ini telah menerima faedah daripada rancangan-rancangan Kerajaan akan tetapi sebahagian besar daripada mereka itu telah menerima faedah-faedah itu, dan Kerajaan Perikatan berazam hendak meneruskan rancangan-rancangan dan Kerajaan hendak menambah lagi ikhtiar-ikhtiar yang patut yang telahpun diterangkan untuk menolong rakyat di kampung-kampung, di luar bandar, untuk menambah dan membesarkan, serta meluaskan lagi mata pencarian dan pendapatan mereka itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan yang semacam ini, yang diperbuat oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kelantan Hilir, semata-mata menyebut masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh rakyat dengan tidak menerangkan apa-apa caranya untuk membaiki atau mengatasi masalah itu, tidaklah berguna kepada Dewan ini, kepada Kerajaan dan kepada negara kita. Kita semua tahu masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh rakyat tetapi Kerajaan telah menjalankan berbagai-bagai langkah untuk mengatasi masalah-masalah dan kesulitan itu. Kerajaan hendak mengetahui daripada pihak Pembangkang atau dalam perbincangan ini, apa pandangan pihak Pembangkang di atas langkah-langkah yang Kerajaan jalankan itu dan apa cadangan-cadangan, selain daripada itu, yang patut dijalankan, akan tetapi kita tidak menerima satupun cadangan atau syor yang berfaedah, atau syor yang bertujuan untuk memperbaiki atau syor yang constructive. Kebanyakan percakapan dari pihak Ahli-Ahli PAS — Pembangkang — semata-mata mencaci, menidak-nidakkan apa-apa perkara yang dibuat oleh Kerajaan, tetapi dia sendiri tidak tahu apakah yang telah dibuatnya sendiri.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
PRIZE GIVING CEREMONY OF THE FEDERATION  
MILITARY COLLEGE ON THURSDAY 25TH NOVEM-  
BER, 1965

I am very happy to be here today and to give away the prizes. I had wanted very much to attend this occasion of the Federation Military College last year but owing to unavoidable circumstances I was not able to do so. However, for the last several years, ever since I became Minister of Defence in 1957 I have been following very closely the progress of this College year after year in both fields of studies and sports. The Secretary of Defence who is the Chairman of the Board of Governors of this College has been keeping me informed of the activities of the College and its achievements.

I have always been very happy and delighted to note the tremendous rate of success that has been achieved by this College, both in the academic field and in the field of sports. This reflects the fact that the military staff and the teachers have been putting extremely hard work for the College and the students are also working equally hard and co-operating with the staff. Indeed, ever since it was established this College has always been in safe keeping. I would like to express my sincere congratulations to all those who have been responsible for the success of this College and for its great achievements in the past.

For those of you who are prize winners, to you today, I wish to offer my congratulations for your success and for your achievements. I hope you will continue to work hard and to build on the success that you have so far achieved. To the others I wish to say, do not be discouraged but continue to work hard and try to excel your friends in the future. There is no doubt that a College like this which maintains a high standard of discipline and gives equal emphasis to academic as well as sporting activities and encourages the students in the true spirit of real competition has a great part to play in the life of our nation.

Our young nation needs more and more capable and intelligent young men to be its leaders in the various fields of activities. Our Armed Forces are being expanded very rapidly. The Cadet Wing of the College has in fact been training a large number of officers and short service commission officers for the Army and for the Royal Malaysian Air Force.

This College has a high reputation not only among Government departments but also in the business circles. Therefore all of you, if you do your work well and pass your examinations are assured of a bright future. However, I am given to understand that in the Cadet Wing of the College although the students are very successful at games, it has been a tendency among some of them to pay less attention to the academic work. And those of you who are in this category I would like to remind you that although health and physical fitness are important, particularly in your career in the Armed Forces but it is necessary for you to have the academic qualifications, the knowledge and the training to enable you to have a start in your career.

All of you Cadets here have a difficult and challenging task ahead of you as our country is still facing Indonesian confrontation. The officers who have graduated from this College before you have maintained a high tradition and have played a great part in the defence of our country and I therefore look forward to you to maintain the same high standard. I know there is not much money in a career in the Armed Forces just as in the Public Service but it is a great and inspiring task as you are serving our country and our people. If you do your work in the right spirit you will get a great satisfaction.

I am told that in the Cadet Wing there are two Brunei and eight Singapore cadets. I would like to say to them that they should make full use of the facilities available here so that when they graduate they will be of service to their country which are our neighbours.

I am so pleased to note that from next year it is proposed to have a re-organisation of the regular Cadet Training cycle. In this re-organisation, there will be a concentration of academic effects on Term 2 to Term 5 and military training from the First and the last Terms. I hope and trust that with this re-organisation the Cadet Wing will be able to produce even better results in future years. Now, with regard to the Boys' Wing. I am also pleased to note that there is an increasing number of boys seeking admission into this Wing. This undoubtedly reflects the growing reputation of this College. I am happy to hear that the Boys' Wing has continued to achieve high rate of success in the academic field as can be seen from the continually high standard of passes in the Cambridge School Certificate and the Malaysian Certificate of Education as well as in Higher School Certificate. The Cambridge results for 1964/65 and the Higher School Certificate results in the various certificates examination have been the best ever obtained by the College. Last year there were 25 boys who succeeded in getting scholarships and have joined various universities while 27 boys were selected for officer cadet training. In this con-

nection I would like to pay a special tribute to Mr. S.C. Wallwork, the previous Director of Studies. Under Mr. Wallwork's guidance and devoted service the College has been able to achieve such a high degree of success in the academic field year after year for the last several years. I would like therefore to place on record the appreciation, the Government has for the services that he has rendered to the College and to the country.

Before I conclude, I would like to say how happy I am to see that expansion of this College to meet the requirements of our expanding Armed Forces has been completed. And I do hope that this College will continue to fulfil the role for which it was founded, to train leaders for our country both in the military and in other fields.

Malaysia as I said, is a young nation. We have people of various racial origins. It is of the utmost importance that our people of all races should continue to live in peace, harmony and goodwill and should regard themselves as members of one nation. It is important that you who are still at school should cultivate this spirit of unity while you live and work together. Students of various races should cultivate the spirit of unity and solidarity so that when you take your places as leaders of our country in the years to come, you will be able to play your part in promoting the aim and aspiration of our people to build a strong, united and happy nation. Malaysia is a developing country, is a country of opportunities. We are expanding in all the fields of our national lives and therefore we require as I said, leaders who have a world-balanced training as you all have had in this College. Therefore I ask you all students of this College to work hard and prepare yourselves fully for the task that you have before you. You should make full use of the opportunities now given to you at this College so that you will be fully equipped to serve your country loyally in whatever field of activity you choose for yourself. Our young nation looks towards the young men and women of today to link to the path of unity, happiness and prosperity. I wish all of you Cadets and others Good luck in all your future activities.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI PADA HARI  
PELAJAR DI MAKTAB PERGURUAN SULTAN IDRIS  
TANJONG MALIM PADA 28 NOVEMBER, 1965

Tuan Pengerusi, Tuan Pengetua<sup>1</sup>, Pensyarah-pensyarah dan Pelajar-pelajar sekalian.

Saya amat sukacita kerana dapat hadir bersama merayakan “Hari Pelajar” di Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris pada malam ini serta berpeluang pula memberi sedikit ucapan kepada tuan-tuan sekalian. Saya mengucapkan berbilang-banyak terima kasih kepada Pengetua, Guru-guru dan pelajar-pelajar sekalian kerana sudi menjemput saya hadir dalam perayaan ini dan melawat Maktab yang termasyhur ini.

Kali yang akhir saya melawat ke Maktab ini ialah hampir 10 tahun dahulu, iaitu pada tahun 1956, semasa saya menjadi Menteri Pelajaran. Sepuluh tahun panjang masanya dan saya sangat sukacita kerana dalam masa 10 tahun yang lepas telah banyak kemajuan-kemajuan dan perubahan-perubahan semuanya untuk kebaikan Maktab ini dan Pelajar-pelajar sekalian. Secara kebetulan pula umur Maktab ini pada hari ini ialah 43 tahun — sama tuanya dengan saya sendiri. Maktab ini telah ditubuhkan pada tahun 1922 dan saya juga dilahirkan pada tahun itu. Dalam masa 43 tahun tertubuhnya, Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris telah menjadi masyhur di seluruh Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Brunei dan Sarawak dan Maktab ini telah banyak memberi khidmat, bakti dan jasa yang besar kepada pelajaran Melayu, kebangkitan semangat kebangsaan Melayu di wilayah-wilayah yang saya sebutkan tadi. Selain daripada itu, sepanjang 43 tahun, Maktab ini telah menjadi sebagai pusat perkembangan bahasa dan kesusasteraan Melayu moden dan saya berharap Maktab ini dapat mempertahankan kedudukannya ini sambil bekerjasama dan bertanding dalam memperkayakan lagi persuratan dan kesusasteraan dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan pusat-pusat pengajian Melayu yang lain seperti Jabatan Pengajian Melayu di Universiti Malaya dan Maktab-maktab Perguruan yang lain.

Jasa dan bakti yang cemerlang yang telah diberi oleh Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris kepada bangsa Melayu akan sentiasa dikenang dan dihargai oleh orang-orang Melayu dan jasa dan khidmat ini telahpun menjadi sebahagian daripada sejarah negara kita ini. Jasa-jasa Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris ini sangat besar dan kalau saya dapat membuat

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<sup>1</sup>Encik Mohd Zain bin Abd. Rashid

bakti atau memberi khidmat kepada negara dan bangsa kita hanya 10 persen daripada jasa yang telah dibuat oleh Maktab yang masyhur ini, saya tentu bersyukur Kehadrat Tuhan. Cita-cita saya dan pemimpin-pemimpin bangsa kita yang lain dalam Kerajaan ialah untuk memberi khidmat yang jujur bagi kebaikan dan ketinggian bangsa dan negara kita yang dicintai ini. Itulah cita-cita kita yang besar – mengabdikan diri, fikiran dan tenaga berkhidmat untuk kepentingan rakyat negara kita ini.

Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris seperti saya katakan tadi adalah masyhur di seluruh tanahair kita. Maktab ini juga adalah Maktab yang tertua sekali di Malaysia pada hari ini. Maktab ini telah banyak mengeluarkan guru-guru, tokoh-tokoh bahasa, pengarang-pengarang, penyair-penyair dan juga pemimpin-pemimpin lain dalam masyarakat Melayu, termasuklah tokoh-tokoh politik. Banyak tokoh-tokoh politik kita pada hari ini adalah bekas pelajar Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris ini. Maktab ini adalah penggerak kesedaran dan keinsafan politik kepada orang-orang Melayu dan mencelikkan mata dan menimbulkan hasrat orang-orang kita kepada pelajaran tinggi, kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan dalam ekonomi. Banyak bekas-bekas pelajar Maktab ini sekarang yang sedang berkhidmat di merata-rata tempat di Malaysia, termasuklah di Singapura dan Brunei. Maktab ini sepanjang umur hidupnya telah berjasa besar kepada bangsa Melayu. Saya berdoa supaya Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris ini akan terus menerus memberi khidmat yang cemerlang kepada anak-anak bangsa kita berpuluh-puluh tahun lagi bahkan beratus-ratus tahun pada masa akan datang.

Maktab ini sangat terkenal dan kerana kemasyhurannya, seperti juga Maktab-maktab yang baik di merata-rata dunia, ia mempunyai tradition atau adat ataupun kata orang-orang kita sekarang 'tradisi' yang sangat bagus dan membanggakan. Oleh kerana tradisi dan reputation Maktab ini baik maka hendaklah pelajar-pelajar semua sentiasa cemburu dan menjaga nama baik Maktab ini sepanjang masa. Tuan-tuan sekalian telah mewarisi satu tanggungjawab yang berat dan saya berharap tuan-tuan semua bukan sahaja akan menjaga nama baik pusat pengajian dan perguruan Melayu yang ulung ini. Tetapi juga terus menerus berusaha mengharumkan lagi nama baik Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris ini supaya ia mendapat kedudukan dan sanjungan yang lebih sempurna dan tinggi lagi dalam dunia pelajaran tinggi di negara kita ini.

Kita sentiasa mesti mengejar kemajuan, kalau tidak, bangsa kita akan terus tinggal di belakang. Bangsa kita telah tertekan dengan hebatnya di bawah penjajah British dan semenjak merdeka 8 tahun yang lepas kerajaan telah banyak membawa perubahan-perubahan dan kemajuan bagi orang-orang Melayu, terutama sekali mereka yang tinggal di luar bandar. Kemajuan adalah sangat penting bukan sahaja kepada sesebuah

negara tetapi juga kepada tiap-tiap rakyat yang bercita-cita tinggi. Apa yang dianggap kemajuan pada tahun lepas boleh jadi telah menjadi kuno pada tahun ini dan kerana itulah mustahak kita sentiasa berfikir, bergerak dan hidup selaras dengan kemajuan sains dan teknologi dan tidak lagi ditekan, disekat dan dipengaruhi oleh cara-cara hidup dan cara-cara berfikir yang lama, cara-cara yang tidak progresif. Bangsa kita janganlah hendaknya tergendala kemajuannya oleh kerana cara berfikir dan konsep hidupnya tidak praktikal dan sesuai dengan keadaan masa sekarang ini. Kita mestilah membaharui azam hendak hidup lebih maju lagi dan mencapai nikmat-nikmat dan kemakmuran hidup yang dibawa oleh sains dan teknologi. Berdasarkan inilah, saya menyeru pelajar-pelajar sekalian supaya mengikis perasaan 'puas hati', "semangat tidak apa", atau semangat "acuh tidak acuh" yang sering didapati di kalangan masyarakat bumiputera. Semua cita-cita kita boleh dicapai jika kita berusaha dan tekun mengejanya. Saya menyeru supaya pelajar-pelajar mestilah bercita-cita tinggi dan bekerja dengan jujur. Siapa yang berusaha maka dialah yang mendapat kejayaan hidup dalam dunia yang penuh dengan pertandingan ini. Semangat "puas hati" dan "manja" di kalangan bangsa Melayu telah merosakkan orang-orang kita sendiri, sehinggakan mereka ketinggalan di dalam semua lapangan dalam negeri mereka sendiri. Kerajaan Perikatan sentiasa berusaha hendak mengubah nasib rakyat di luar bandar tetapi sejauh mana Kerajaan boleh menolong; pertolongan Kerajaan ada hadnya. Kemajuan-kemajuan tidak boleh dicapai oleh mana-mana rakyat jika rakyat itu sendiri tidak mahu menolong diri mereka pula. Kerajaan hanya boleh menolong tetapi kesedaran dan kerajinan mestilah datang dari rakyat itu sendiri.

Pelajar-pelajar sekalian mempunyai kewajipan yang besar kerana tuan-tuan selepas lulus dari Maktab ini akan pulang ke tempat masing-masing menjadi ahli-ahli pendidik. Tanggungjawab tuan-tuan adalah penting sekali terhadap anak bangsa kita pada masa akan datang. Lemah ataupun kuat rakyat Malaysia akan terletak kepada tuan-tuan sekalian kerana pelajaran dan didikan yang mereka akan terima dari tuan-tuan akan mempengaruhi jiwa mereka selain daripada asuhan-asuhan yang mereka terima di rumah masing-masing. Sebagai guru, tuan-tuan dapat mempengaruhi, membentuk fikiran dan pandangan serta pendapat dan konsep hidup anak-anak kita. Kalau guru-guru kurang terlatih, tidak cergas dan mempunyai konsep hidup yang lemah dan tidak menarik, mahu tidak mahu dengan secara tidak langsung mesti pula konsep dan kelemahan ini akan diwarisi oleh anak-anak itu. Sebaliknya jika guru-guru dinamik, cerdik, berusaha dan mempunyai konsep hidup yang tinggi dan yang boleh memberi pengharapan besar dalam masa hidup sudah tentu pula anak-anak di sekolah akan tidak secara langsung dipengaruhi oleh pendapat-pendapat dan konsep yang mulia itu.

Kita mahu anak-anak kita dipengaruhi dengan cara-cara pemikiran yang bebas dan teguh dan dengan konsep yang progresif dan dinamik supaya mereka akan menjadi anak-anak yang cergas dan menjadi bakal rakyat yang insaf dan rajin bekerja bagi faedah diri sendiri, faedah keluarga mereka dan bagi kepentingan negaranya. Saya menyeru supaya kaum guru dan bakal-bakal guru melengkapkan diri masing-masing dengan fikiran-fikiran yang baik dan mengikut konsep-konsep hidup yang dinamik dan sesuai dengan pergerakan politik dalam negara kita hari ini dan apa yang sedang berlaku di sekeliling kita. Guru-guru khasnya dan tiap-tiap rakyat hendaklah sentiasa memperbaiki lagi pelajaran masing-masing, lebih-lebih lagi bagi mempunyai kesedaran kepada tanggungjawab masing-masing. Saya menyeru supaya orang-orang kita melengkapkan diri dengan sifat-sifat yang lebih mulia yang lebih tinggi lagi supaya mereka boleh menjadi contoh atau teladan kepada murid-murid dan pelajar-pelajar khasnya kepada masyarakat amnya. Guru-guru hendaklah lebih tekun, jujur dan ikhlas dalam kerja masing-masing dan dalam pergaulan kerana guru-guru adalah pemimpin-pemimpin dan ahli-ahli pendidik dan kerana peranan guru-guru mempunyai tempat yang penting dan berpengaruh dalam masyarakat sesuatu bangsa itu, apa lagi, dalam masyarakat Melayu yang sedang bangun dan muncul, di mana cerdik-cerdik pandainya masih kekurangan. Mustahak guru-guru sebagai ahli-ahli pendidik menjadi 'cermin' kepada masyarakat di mana mereka berada dan juga kecekapan guru-guru sekarang akan 'mencerminkan' kehandalan masyarakat yang akan lahir pada masa akan datang. Jika anak-anak bangsa kita tidak dapat didikan yang baik nescaya bangsa kita akan menjadi suatu bangsa yang tidak maju, sebaliknya jika anak-anak kita mendapat didikan yang baik dan pimpinan-pimpinan yang cekap dari sekolah-sekolah rendah maka sudah tentu kita akan melahirkan satu bangsa yang kuat. Di sekolah-sekolah rendahlah, anak-anak mula-mula membina asas bagi mereka melanjutkan pelajaran ke sekolah-sekolah menengah dan ke universiti. Tetapi jika asas yang di sekolah rendah lemah, pelajaran mereka di peringkat lain akan lemah. Satu-satu sebabnya kekurangan bilangan anak-anak Melayu di universiti dan di sekolah-sekolah tinggi ialah kelemahan asas pelajaran dan didikan yang tidak kuat semasa mereka di sekolah-sekolah rendah. Perkara ini mestilah diperbaiki, asas pelajaran anak-anak Melayu di sekolah rendah terutama sekali mesti diperkuatkan. Darjat pelajaran Melayu keseluruhannya mestilah ditinggikan jika kita mahu anak-anak bangsa kita ramai masuk ke Universiti Malaya dan tempat pelajaran tinggi yang lain-lain.

Kita mahu menegakkan dan mendaulatkan bahasa Kebangsaan di semua peringkat tetapi saya suka menarik perhatian tuan-tuan tentang perbezaan di antara "bahasa" dengan "pengetahuan". Jika seorang hanya menguasai "bahasa" tetapi ia tidak mempunyai 'pengetahuan'

peranannya tidak akan begitu penuh. Kita berkehendak ilmu, bahasa dan pengetahuan sama-sama. Kalau ada pengetahuan, bahasa tidak ada, pun tidak jadi juga. Orang-orang Melayu mestilah mencari “pengetahuan” walau dalam apa bahasa pun, jika pengetahuan itu dapat dipelajari dalam bahasa Melayu, lebih baik tetapi janganlah pula segan mempelajari ilmu itu melalui bahasa-bahasa lain.

Kerajaan Perikatan sedang berusaha hendak memenuhi hasrat kebangsaan kita hendak memberi segala ilmu dan pengetahuan melalui bahasa Kebangsaan tetapi sementara cita-cita itu dapat dilaksanakan, saya harap orang-orang kita akan mencari ilmu dalam apa bahasa pun tetapi janganlah pula cuai dalam pelajaran bahasa ibundanya sendiri.

Tuan-tuan sekalian hendaklah sedar yang kita sekarang berada dalam dunia yang tak putus-putus berhuru-hara, berperang dan yang penuh dengan berbagai-bagai faham politik atau ideologi yang bertentangan antara satu dengan lain. Negara kita juga tidak terkecuali daripada keadaan ini – kita juga mempunyai berbagai-bagai fahaman dan ideologi politik yang berlawanan antara satu dengan lain dan negara kita sedang diceroboh oleh Indonesia serta menghadapi bahaya-bahaya yang ditimbulkan oleh orang-orang anti-nasional dan subversif. Negara kita ialah sebuah negara yang muda dan dinamik. Malaysia baru sahaja mencapai kemerdekaan 2 tahun, dan Malaya selama 8 tahun. Dari semenjak kemerdekaan, negara kita telah mengambil bahagian sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat disamping negara-negara yang lain di dunia ini. Dengan itu tidak dapat tidak kita mempunyai masalah-masalah yang banyak dan kusut baik di dalam dan luar negara dan penganjur-penganjur kita pada masa akan datang akan memikul tanggungjawab yang lebih berat lagi daripada penganjur-penganjur yang ada pada hari ini atau yang sudah-sudah. Penganjur-penganjur hari ini bertanggungjawab mengisi kemerdekaan yang telah dicapai itu dan kita bertanggungjawab membina pula suatu bangsa yang mempunyai satu taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Malaysia dan satu rupa bangsa. Dalam masa itu juga kita mesti sentiasa bertanggungjawab kepada rakyat bumiputera untuk memperbaiki keadaan ekonomi, pelajaran dan sosial mereka sementara kita menarik orang-orang bangsa asing yang telah menumpukan taat setia mereka kepada negara ini supaya betul-betul taat dan bekerjasama dengan kita dengan sepenuhnya untuk kebaikan dan keselamatan negara kita.

Kita tahu masalah menubuhkan satu bangsa yang taat setianya tidak berbelah bagi kepada Malaysia akan mengambil masa yang lama. Sebelum ini dicapai mustahak kita sentiasa menjaga perhubungan yang baik di antara penduduk-penduduk negara ini supaya keamanan dan perpaduan dalam negara terjamin. Bagi pihak Kerajaan Perikatan yang ada sekarang ini kita sedar dengan adanya kemerdekaan politik mustahak

penduduk-penduduk negara ini, terutama orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera, mendapat peluang dan bahagian-bahagian yang lebih luas lagi dalam lapangan iktisad dan kemajuan negara ini. Dengan sebab itu selepas sahaja kita mencapai kemerdekaan dan selepas sahaja kita mengamankan tanahair kita ini daripada penganas komunis, Kerajaan Perikatan telah menumpukan usaha dan tenaga untuk kemajuan negara bagi memberi kemudahan-kemudahan hidup kepada rakyat terutama sekali mereka yang tinggal di luar bandar dan di kampung-kampung.

Sekarang ini Kerajaan sedang berusaha untuk meninggikan taraf hidup, hendak memberi rakyat di luar bandar peluang yang lebih besar dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan dan memperluaskan mata pencariannya. Dan sebab-sebab itulah Kerajaan telah mengadakan Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera pada bulan Jun tahun ini dan telah melaksanakan keputusan-keputusan besar kongres itu.

Penubuhan MARA, Bank Bumiputera dan juga Syarikat Kebangsaan adalah di antara keputusan-keputusan Kongres yang besar daripada 69 keputusan semua sekali. Kerajaan Perikatan telah berjanji hendak menjalankan tiap-tiap satu daripada 69 keputusan yang dibuat oleh Kongres Ekonomi Bumiputera dan kita berharap setelah semua ini dilaksanakan ekonomi bumiputera akan mendapat "sedikit tempat" di dalam bidang ekonomi dan perusahaan di seluruh negara ini. MARA, Bank Bumiputera dan FAMA diharap akan dapat menolong memperbaiki ekonomi orang-orang Melayu di luar bandar dan menjamin orang-orang Melayu mendapat modal, peluang dan membuat perhubungan dengan perusahaan asing dengan ahli-ahli perniagaan lain dan juga FAMA dijangka akan menjamin pasaran dan harga yang berpatutan bagi hasil-hasil dari luar bandar. Kita sedar orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera di negara kita ini tidak mempunyai kekuatan dan kebolehan untuk menjalankan usaha-usaha dalam lapangan iktisad dan perniagaan dengan sebab itulah Kerajaan telah mengadakan kemudahan-kemudahan ini dan kita juga meminta kerjasama yang erat dari bangsa-bangsa yang bukan Melayu di negeri kita ini supaya mereka memberi pertolongan seboleh-bolehnya bagi orang-orang Melayu dan bumiputera bertapak dalam dunia perniagaan dan perusahaan di negara Malaysia ini. Kerajaan berpendapat, adalah penting bukan sahaja bagi keselamatan negara Malaysia, perpaduan baik antara bangsa-bangsa tetapi juga untuk kepentingan orang-orang bukan Melayu sendiri bagi mereka menolong rakyat bumiputera supaya mendapat tempat yang sempurna dalam dunia perniagaan dan perusahaan. Jika tidak, keadaan ekonomi yang tidak seimbangan ini akan menimbulkan perselisihan-perselisihan dan jika ini berlaku sudah tentu negara ini akan menjadi huru hara yang tidak akan memberi keuntungan kepada mana-mana pihak pun.

Masa hadapan negara kita ini terletak pada perpaduan antara bangsa dalam Malaysia dan juga pada sejauh manakah orang-orang bumiputera dapat menikmati kekayaan dan kemakmuran yang ada di dalam Malaysia hari ini. Perpaduan dan keamanan negara ini terjamin jika orang-orang bumiputera berasa yang mereka mendapat tempat yang saksama dan adil dalam bidang ekonomi, perusahaan dan pelajaran dan saya menyeru supaya orang-orang bukan Melayu sama-sama menolong orang-orang bumiputera mencapai cita-cita dan hasrat ini. Kalau tidak, nescaya orang-orang bumiputera akan sentiasa cemburu dan akan mempertahankan segala hak-haknya yang masih ada lagi sedikit-sedikit itu, hak-hak politik daripada dikongsi dengan orang-orang lain lagi. Kerajaan Perikatan berazam hendak menjalankan dasar-dasar yang boleh memenuhi hasrat rakyat dari semua bangsa di tanahair kita ini supaya semua rakyat mempunyai taraf hidup dan kedudukan yang sempurna, seimbang dengan taraf hidup di negara-negara industrial yang maju seperti negara Jepun dan Eropah.

Saya suka juga berucap sedikit berkenaan dengan masalah pimpinan Malaysia kerana masalah ini adalah penting sebab sama ada Malaysia terus hidup atau tidak terletaklah pada sifat-sifat pemimpin-pemimpin pada masa hadapan. Sama ada negara kita terus hidup subur, sama ada demokrasi akan terus hidup subur atau mati, sama ada kebebasan seseorang akan terus menerus hidup di negara kita, sama ada faham komunis dapat dienyapkan adalah terletak di atas corak pemimpin-pemimpin yang akan mengendalikannya pemerintahan Malaysia pada masa akan datang dan juga bantuan-bantuan negara-negara sahabat kita untuk menolong menjamin pelaksanaan cita-cita rakyat mahu hidup lebih aman dan mempunyai taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi lagi. Soal pimpinan negara seperti Malaysia sebuah negara yang baru muncul dan sedang maju sangatlah penting. Corak pimpinan Malaysia akan menentukan untung nasib negara kita pada masa akan datang, akan menentukan cara hidup rakyat dan bentuk bangsa dan negara kita. Pada pendapat saya, pemimpin-pemimpin yang akan menguasai politik di negara kita ini ialah mereka yang faham dan mengamalkan dasar demokrasi. Negara kita mempunyai penduduk-penduduk daripada berbagai-bagai bangsa dan kerana ini amatlah sesuai dasar demokrasi ini. Pemimpin-pemimpin yang akan mendapat kejayaan dalam bidang politik di Malaysia ini ialah mereka yang menggunakan pelajaran dan sifat-sifat pimpinan yang jujur, yang semata-mata untuk berkhidmat dan mengorbankan diri kepada negara, bangsa dan ugama.

Kita mahu pemimpin-pemimpin kita mereka yang terpelajar dan pandai supaya mereka boleh menggunakan segala pengetahuannya untuk menolong rakyat yang miskin dan yang tidak bernasib baik, dan untuk menolong negara ini dan Kerajaan membetulkan masyarakat

yang kurang adil atau yang kurang betul yang ada di dalam negeri kita hari ini. Pengetahuan dan pimpinan mestilah disamakan dengan cita-cita rakyat negara kita ini untuk mencapai kemakmuran dan kebahagiaan hidup yang lebih sempurna. Inilah corak pemimpin-pemimpin yang negara kita berkehendakkan dengan ramainya. Rakyat bumiputera Malaysia berkehendakkan sebanyak-banyak pemimpin-pemimpin yang tulus ikhlas dan yang bersedia berkhidmat untuk kebajikan dan kesenangan rakyat. Kita berkehendakkan pemimpin-pemimpin, guru-guru, engineer-engineer, ahli-ahli siasah, doktor-doktor dan saintis-saintis dan lain-lain lagi yang menjuarakan perpaduan dan perasaan muhibbah antara bangsa-bangsa di negara ini dan yang bekerja untuk keselamatan dan kemakmuran negara ini. Kita berkehendakkan pemimpin-pemimpin yang tahu bagaimana masalah-masalah kaum di Malaysia ini dapat diselesaikan berdasarkan kepada keadaan yang ada pada hari ini. Mereka yang menggunakan perkauman dalam politiknya tidak akan kekal pada akhirnya. Rakyat Malaysia adalah praktikal, mereka cerdik, pandai dan tahu mana perkara yang betul dan mana yang salah. Saya tahu penduduk-penduduk negara ini terutama kawan-kawan kita, orang-orang Cina, tidak akan membahayakan kedudukan politik dan keamanan yang ada dalam negara pada hari ini dengan menimbulkan perkara-perkara yang sangat chauvinis dan juga orang-orang Melayu, saya harap, tidak akan menimbulkan perkara-perkara yang boleh memecah belahkan perpaduan negara. Kita percaya kedua-dua bangsa yang besar ini akan sedar betapa pentingnya perpaduan di negara kita ini mesti dijamin kerana jika perpaduan tidak terjamin, negara ini akan hancur lebur dan rakyat semua sengsara. Saya menyeru supaya rakyat semua bersahabat dan sentiasa memberi taat setia kepada Kerajaan yang ada pada hari ini. Janganlah tuan-tuan risau dengan desakan dari setengah-setengah pihak itu. Sepanjang Parti Perikatan memerintah negara ini kita akan menjunjung tinggi semangat dan isi Perlembagaan negara kita. Saya yakin negara ini akan selamat jika semua rakyat berpandukan kepada Perlembagaan dan jangan membuat sesuatu yang terkeluar dari semangat dan isi Perlembagaan.

Dengan kemerdekaan mustahaklah kita memandang dengan pandangan yang jauh kerana sekarang ini negara kita bukan sahaja Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bahkan telah menjadi Malaysia dan penduduk-penduduk negara ini daripada bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak ada yang sama sebangsa dengan orang-orang Melayu dan kita mustahak memberi pertolongan dan timbangan yang sama dengan orang-orang Melayu. Begitu juga di negara kita ini ada penduduk-penduduk daripada bangsa-bangsa asing yang telah menjadi warganegara Malaysia dan telah mengaku hendak menumpukan taat setia mereka itu kepada negara ini sahaja, mustahaklah kita memberi timbang rasa dan layanan kepada mereka itu dengan sewajarnya menurut Perlembagaan negara kita. Kita

berdasarkan demokrasi yang berparlimen dan kita mempunyai Perlembagaan yang menjaga hak-hak dan hak-hak asasi semua pihak dan Perlembagaan membolehkan Kerajaan memberi kelebihan-kelebihan kepada rakyat bumiputera dengan tidak mengambil hak orang-orang lain. Oleh itu di bawah Perlembagaan negara kita, rakyat daripada semua bangsa boleh hidup dengan aman damai dan boleh mempunyai tempat yang sempurna. Dengan sebab itu, tuan-tuan sekalian, pimpinan yang tuan-tuan akan beri pada masa akan datang bukan hanya kepada orang-orang Melayu sahaja bahkan kepada rakyat bumiputera yang lain dan kepada rakyat yang berasal daripada bangsa-bangsa lain. Inilah kesimpulan, pada keseluruhan syarat-syarat bagi seseorang yang hendak menjadi penganjur itu tidak bertukar, tetapi tanggungjawabnya bertambah; berlipat kali ganda dengan perubahan politik dan dengan ini memerlukan pembaharuan fikiran, langkah dan tujuan.

Saya ucapkan kepada tuan-tuan sekalian selamat maju jaya dan saya berdoa dengan genapnya usia Maktab ini 43 tahun, Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris akan bertambah maju dan dapat mendidik dan mengeluarkan ramai lagi penganjur-penganjur yang masyhur pada masa akan datang.

Saya sangat gembira mendapat tahu bahawa penuntut-penuntut semua sedar tanggungjawab itu. Selain daripada menjalankan kewajipan membekalkan diri untuk menjadi guru, mereka juga menyambut ca-  
baran negara dengan menubuhkan Pasukan Kawalan Malam, menderma-  
kan darah dan mengumpulkan wang untuk Tabung Pertahanan Negara. Saya bagi pihak Kerajaan mengucapkan ribuan terima kasih kepada penuntut-penuntut Maktab ini kerana menunjukkan taat setia mereka kepada negara ini, tidak seperti setengah-setengah pelajar di negara kita ini yang nampaknya kurang berbudi dengan Kerajaan.

Terima kasih.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI MENGENAI  
KEPALA S.17 DI BAWAH KEMENTERIAN PERTAHANAN  
TAHUN 1966 DI DEWAN RAKYAT PADA 2 DISEMBER,  
1965

Tuan Pengerusi,

Saya pohon mencadangkan supaya kepala bekalan atau supply Head S17 yang menunjukkan peruntukan wang sebanyak \$237,674,453 bagi Kementerian Pertahanan untuk tahun 1966 menjadi sebahagian daripada Jadual.

Peruntukan sebanyak yang tersebut itu terbahagi kepada dua bahagian iaitu \$102,360,139 bagi gaji-gaji, sama ada gaji Pegawai-Pegawai Tentera, Ahli-ahli tentera; dan \$124,153,381 bagi lain-lain Perbelanjaan Berulang Tiap-tiap Tahun dan \$11,160,503 bagi Perbelanjaan Khas atau Special Expenditure.

Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat sedia maklum bahawa sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, kita mestilah mempunyai pertahanan yang kuat dan serba lengkap untuk mempertahankan kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan kita. Oleh hal yang demikian Angkatan Bersenjata kita hendaklah diperbesarkan dan diperluaskan dengan barang-barang baharu untuk menentang sebarang apa ancaman, sama ada dari dalam atau pun dari luar negeri. Kita tidak dapat membesarkan Angkatan Bersenjata kita dengan serta-merta. Perkara ini terpaksa dijalankan dengan beransur-ansur. Sungguhpun begitu, rancangan pembesaran ini mustahaklah disemak dan dikaji, dari satu masa ke satu masa, mengikut keadaan yang berlaku di dalam dan di sekeliling negara kita ini. Sekiranya keadaan itu memaksakan kita mempercepatkan pembesaran angkatan tentera kita, maka terpaksa kita, berbuat demikian supaya kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan negara kita itu sentiasa dijaga.

Kita telah mula membesarkan Angkatan Bersenjata semenjak tercapai kemerdekaan. Pada masa itu pembesaran yang dijalankan dengan beransur-ansur akan tetapi apabila berlakunya konfrantasi daripada Indonesia, pembesaran telah dipercepatkan sedikit sehingga pada masa ini dan kita akan terus membesarkan lagi tentera kita dari satu masa ke satu masa sehingga kita sampai kepada tingkatan difikirkan berpatutan bagi negara kita ini. Tentera darat ada mempunyai tambahan anggota yang banyak sekali pada tahun hadapan, pasukan-pasukan baharu iaitu Infantry Batalion atau Pasukan Berjalan Kaki akan ditubuhkan supaya menambah lagi kekuatan yang sedia. Begitu juga satu Pasukan Jurutera dan satu Regimen Semboyan — Signal Regiment — akan ditubuhkan.

Selain daripada itu, terdapat juga pasukan-pasukan kecil yang akan ditubuhkan seperti Pasukan Workshop, Supply Road Transport, Life Aid Test. Selain daripada penubuhan pasukan baharu terdapat jugalah tambahan anggota kepada pasukan-pasukan yang telah lama ditubuhkan. Umpamanya, Pasukan Semboyan Workshop, Perubatan, Peninjau dan lain-lainnya akan bertambah bilangannya. Dua batalion Malaysian Rangers telah pun menjadi sebahagian daripada anggota Tentera Malaysia. Kedua-dua batalion itu yang mengandungi anak-anak negeri dari Sabah dan Sarawak, telah ditubuhkan dan telah mendapat bantuan latihan daripada Kerajaan British. Dan pada masa ini kedua-dua batalion ini telah dipindahkan kepada Angkatan Bersenjata Malaysia. Pada tahun hadapan, kita terpaksa mengadakan peruntukan wang bagi kedua-dua batalion ini. Dalam tahun 1966 juga, jumlah kapal yang pada Angkatan Tentera Laut akan ditambah lagi. Ini bermaknalah bahawa lebih banyak lagi kakitangan-kakitangan yang dikehendaki supaya kapal-kapal itu dapat digunakan. Begitu jugalah pasukan baharu akan ditubuhkan. Demikian jugalah pasukan yang telah sedia ditubuhkan terpaksa ditambah anggota-anggotanya dan ini kita terpaksa menambah juga perbelanjaan. Begitulah berkenaan dengan Tentera Udara – kapal terbang yang ada pada masa ini, bilangannya akan ditambah lagi supaya dapat melaksanakan tugasnya dengan lebih sempurna. Umpamanya, Squadron Helicopter Alouet akan ditambah banyak lagi dan ditambah lagi bilangan squadron.

Tuan Pengerusi, begitu jugalah Askar Wataniah dijadikan Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan yang akan ditambah juga lagi – akan diperbesar dan diperluas lagi. Pada tahun hadapan, Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan yang telah kita tubuhkan di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, akan ditubuhkan pula di Sabah dan Sarawak. Selain daripada menjaga keselamatan tempat di mana adanya ditubuhkan Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan itu, pasukan ini ialah digunakan untuk menjaga sasaran penting atau key point di negeri-negeri kita ini, bagi mencegah pengkhianat-pengkhianat dari memusnah dan juga membinasakan tempat-tempat itu. Pada masa sekarang di Sabah dan di Sarawak tidak ada Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan. Oleh itu terpaksa pekerjaan-pekerjaan di Sabah dan di Sarawak itu dijalankan oleh Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan yang dihantar dari Malaya ini. Apabila Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan ditubuhkan pada tahun hadapan di Sabah dan di Sarawak pasukan dari Persekutuan ini akan ditarik balik supaya kita dapat memberi peluang kepada anak-anak negeri Sabah dan Sarawak menjaga keselamatan negeri-negeri mereka itu sendiri.

Sekarang Tuan Pengerusi, saya suka hendak memberi penerangan sedikit berkenaan dengan peruntukan wang yang terdapat di bawah Kepala S.17 ini. Jadi, seperti yang saya terangkan tadi, kebanyakan

tambahan-tambahan ini adalah terdapat di bawah gaji-gaji, sebab kita terpaksa membesarkan semua anggota-anggota bersenjata kita. Pada amnya, anggaran ini boleh dibahagikan kepada lima bahagian – A,B,C, D dan E. Bahagian A ialah untuk jawatan awam dan juga tentera yang diwujudkan sebelum terbentuknya Malaysia. B ialah jawatan-jawatan diadakan semenjak Malaysia ditubuhkan. Bahagian B ini dibahagikan kepada dua bahagian iaitu jawatan-jawatan bagi Malaysia dan jawatan-jawatan bagi Singapura. Di Singapura, kita ada mempunyai satu Brigade di sana. Bahagian C ialah untuk jawatan Khidmat Negara yang mempunyai tambahan anggota sebanyak 1,360 orang. Peruntukan wang adalah bertambah lebih kurang \$1,216,200. Jadi penambahan ini ialah amat perlu, kerana kita bercadang hendak menambah lagi bilangan pelatih-pelatih yang dapat menerima latihan secara bersenjata. Pusat-pusat latihan yang ada sekarang ini akan diperbesarkan lagi dan kita bercadang hendak tambah lagi dua pusat latihan – satu di Pulau Pinang dan satu di Johor Bahru. Pada masa ini – sehingga hari ini, sebanyak 4,175 orang rakyat Malaysia telah diberi latihan tentera, dan 10,802 orang latihan Pertahanan Awam. Bahagian D diuntukkan bagi jawatan-jawatan dalam Tentera Tempatan dan juga Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan. Sekarang ini kita ada mempunyai sebanyak 1,377 platon di serata tempat di Malaya ini dan Pasukan Pertahanan. Tempat ini telah pun dibuka kepada kaum wanita. Pada tahun hadapan, Pasukan Pertahanan Wanita ini akan ditambah lagi supaya lebih banyak lagi kaum wanita kita yang dapat menunjukkan kehandalan dan juga keperwiraan mereka itu bersama-sama dengan kaum laki-laki dalam mempertahankan negara kita.

Bahagian E adalah untuk jawatan-jawatan sukarela yang telah dipanggil bertugas, samada menjaga “key point” atau pun membantu askar biasa. Askar yang berkenaan ialah Askar Wataniah dan juga Local Defence Corps, Askar Simpanan Tentera Udara. Pada masa mereka itu berlatih, mereka itu hanyalah diberi bayaran elaun mengikut masa latihan yang dijalankan, tetapi apabila mereka itu dipanggil untuk berkhidmat “full-time” maka mustahaklah dibayar gaji dan juga layanan-layanan yang lain diberi seperti askar biasa.

Tuan Pengerusi, selain daripada itu adalah bahagian lain-lain Perbelanjaan Berulang Tiap-tiap Tahun atau O.C.A.R.. Di sini terpaksa kita tambah peruntukannya kerana, seperti saya kata, kita terpaksa membesar tentera-tentera kita di semua pasukan, dan peruntukan adalah dikehendaki bagi membeli barang-barang alat-alat senjata dan juga bagi mengganti dan membesarkan berek-berek tempat kediaman tentera-tentera kita di serata tempat di Malaysia ini. Saya fikir tidak payahlah saya terangkan satu persatu pecahan-kepala di bawah ini.

Selain daripada itu, Tuan Pengerusi, adalah Perbelanjaan Khas atau 'Special Expenditure' yang berkehendakkan tambahan lebih kurang \$5,050,122 daripada angka yang telah dipersetujui bagi tahun 1965. Jadi di bawah bahagian ini, kita adalah berkehendakkan perbelanjaan-perbelanjaan untuk menambahkan berbagai-bagai perkara-perkara, umpama pakaian, barang-barang sektor arm bersama, ataupun barang-barang sektor teknik bersama dan juga bagi Tentera Udara berkehendakkan barang-barang untuk digunakan bagi menjalankan latihan seperti radio dan lain-lainnya. Begitu jugalah kita berkehendakkan peruntukan di bawah Pecahan Kepala 57 bagi mengadakan tempat kediaman sementara untuk tentera kita di Sabah dan Sarawak. Jadi tentera-tentera kita yang berkhidmat di Sabah dan Sarawak itu sentiasa ditukar, dari satu masa ke satu masa, jadi mustahaklah diadakan tempat kediaman di situ.

Tuan Pengerusi, inilah sahaja keterangan-keterangan yang saya suka hendak berikan terhadap peruntukan perbelanjaan bagi tahun 1966. Seperti saya kata tadi, angkatan senjata kita telah menunjukkan semangat dan keperwiraan dan taat setia yang sangat gilang gemilang dalam menjalankan tugas mereka untuk menentang musuh di negara kita ini. Di Sabah dan Sarawak pihak musuh kerap kali membuat pencerobohan masuk ke dalam negara kita. Tetapi Angkatan Senjata Malaysia telah dapat berjaya, samada memburu ataupun menentang ataupun menawan mereka itu. Dalam mempertahankan negara kita, tidak dapat tidak ada daripada ahli-ahli tentera kita yang terkorban dan saya suka menyebutkan di sini bahawa jasa dan pengorbanan mereka itu adalah sentiasa diingat oleh rakyat negara kita ini, Begitu juga kepada askar Komanwel, Australia, New Zealand dan Great Britain yang memberi pertolongan bagi mempertahankan tanahair kita ini, saya suka mengucapkan berbilang terima kasih kepada mereka itu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mohon mencadangkan peruntukan ini.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PEMBUKAAN KURSUS PENYELIA-PENYELIA PELAJARAN DEWASA SELURUH MALAYSIA DI SEKOLAH MENENGAH KAMPONG PANDAN, KUALA LUMPUR PADA 6 DISEMBER, 1965

Saya berasa sukacita kerana dapat peluang membuka sekali lagi kursus Penyelia-penyelia Pelajaran Dewasa seluruh Malaysia termasuk Sabah dan Sarawak.

Tahun yang lalu saya telah membuka kursus seumpama ini juga. Sukacita mendengar yang pada kali ini kursus tuan-tuan dijalankan seperti suatu seminar untuk membicarakan segala perkara dan masalah yang berkait dengan rancangan pelajaran dewasa. Ini sudah tentu akan memberi faedah yang besar kepada tuan-tuan dan kepada pelajar-pelajar pelajaran dewasa amnya.

Pelajaran Dewasa dijalankan bukan sahaja untuk membasmi buta huruf tetapi juga untuk menanam dan menghidupkan semangat kesedaran rakyat di luar bandar supaya dapat menyesuaikan diri dan mengambil peranan yang lebih cergas bagi membaiki dan meninggikan taraf hidup mereka. Pembangunan Luar Bandar kita telah berjalan dengan lancar dan pesatnya. Oleh itu penduduk-penduduk luar bandar mestilah dapat menyesuaikan diri mengejar kemajuan ini kalau tidak mereka akan ditinggalkan oleh kemajuan dan hidupnya lebih menderita.

Bagi menyebarkan semangat dan jiwa merdeka yang penting ini saya berharap dan percaya tuan-tuan dan puan akan mengambil peranan yang utama di kawasan-kawasan luar bandar kerana dalam menjalankan tugas maka tuan-tuan dan puanlah orang-orang yang berdamping rapat dengan penduduk-penduduk di luar-luar bandar.

Penyelia-penyelia juga diharap dapat memberi penerangan dengan sebenarnya apa yang telah dijalankan oleh kerajaan kita bagi membaiki nasib dan meninggikan taraf penduduk-penduduk di luar bandar yang selama ini ketinggalan oleh dasar penjajahan.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan boleh pula memberi tunjuk ajar dengan betul kepada mereka bagaimana hendak menggunakan segala kemudahan-kemudahan luar bandar yang diadakan oleh Kerajaan.

Saya berharap tuan-tuan dan puan-puan dapat berusaha mengubah sikap dan cara berfikir sesuai dengan perubahan kemajuan yang sedang

bergerak, dengan jalan masing-masing menggerakkan daya usaha sendiri dengan tidak semata-mata menunggu pemberian Kerajaan sekalipun atas perkara-perkara yang kecil-kecil.

Penduduk-penduduk di luar-luar bandar hendaklah digalakkan supaya jangan mudah berpuas hati dengan apa yang ada sepinggalkan datuk nenek mereka dahulu sahaja. Tetapi mestilah digalakkan supaya bersikap mahu melipatgandakan usaha dan tenaga menuju cara hidup baharu yang membolehkan mereka mencapai taraf penghidupan yang lebih makmur dan bahagia.

Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar sekarang sedang menyusun rancangan-rancangan di dalam bidang Pembangunan Masyarakat yang akan memerlukan peranan yang lebih giat oleh Jawatankuasa-jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung serta juga tindakan dan perhatian yang lebih berat dan berkesan oleh pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan. Rancangan itu akan juga memerlukan tenaga dan usaha daripada anggota Pelajaran Dewasa untuk menjayakannya.

Saya berharap dengan melalui rancangan pelajaran dewasa dan pembangunan masyarakat penduduk-penduduk luar bandar akan mendapat lebih kesedaran dan semangat baharu.

Jalankan lah tugas dengan bersungguh-sungguh ikhlas dan jujur.

Saya dengan sukacitanya membuka kursus tuan ini.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION  
CONGRESS, KUALA LUMPUR ON 10TH DECEMBER,  
1965

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me a great pleasure to be with you all this evening. It is indeed opportune that at this time when we are holding this little Olympics or the festival of sports – The Third South East Asian Peninsular Games should be held at the same time as this Congress on Physical Education.

We in Malaysia are very happy and very proud to be the host country for the Third SEAP Games, as we sincerely believe that there is no better way of strengthening friendship among nations than in the friendly rivalry of sports held in the true spirit of sportsmanship. It is on the field of sports that men and women from different countries, of different race or classes can meet freely on common ground. In the field of sports there is no money to be made or gained but instead honour and glory can be achieved only through personal efforts and success.

I would like to extend a very sincere welcome to our friends from other countries in South East Asia who are taking part in this Congress. We sincerely welcome them and trust that they will completely feel at home in Malaysia and in Kuala Lumpur, our capital city. I do hope during your stay here, beside attending this Congress you will also have the opportunity of meeting our people informally in their homes and their place of work so that you will realize and appreciate that the people of Malaysia are imbued with a real desire to live in peace with their neighbours and to have strong ties of friendship and goodwill among countries in this region. It has always been our dearest wish that countries in the world, particularly in this region should live in peace with one another, respecting each other's independence and way of life so that more countries can progress happily together.

I would like to congratulate those responsible for organising this Congress and it is indeed very fitting that the theme of the seminar should be "International Goodwill through Sports and Physical Education". We in Malaysia are a young nation. As a young nation we have many problems to face. Our people having been under colonial

rule for more than a century are desirous of improving their standard of living, of obtaining amenities of life necessary for decent living. It is the intention and the policy of the Government here to give our people these amenities and to carry out economic and social development so that our people will really have a proper and rightful place in our country.

As you know, today we announced the launching of our First Malaysian Plan. For the last 5 years in Malaya and also in the two new territories, Sabah and Sarawak, great strides have been made in the field of development. Indeed our people, particularly the "have-nots" in the towns and the villages have seen a quiet evolution of progress in their lives. This First Malaysian Plan will carry them forward further in this field of development. That is why in order to meet this challenging task our people must be strong in body and mind. We would like to encourage sports and physical education not only among men and women but also in our schools so that our boys and girls will grow up to be strong and useful citizens.

I hope and trust this Congress that is being held today will inspire our physical educationalists and sports specialists in carrying out the task of strengthening the national character of our people by exposing the youth to the challenges inherent in the field of sports.

I am sure our friends from overseas will also agree with us that they and their people would wish also to encourage sports and physical education. As I say there is no better way of fostering friendship among nations than through sports. I do hope that with effective leadership it may be possible in the years to come to develop a regional concept of physical education for countries of the South East Asian region.

By regularly holding the SEAP Games and by having common concept in physical education we will have done a long way towards bringing our countries in this region closer together.

I wish you all success in your deliberations. I am glad to note the interest taken by Rothmans & Co. in projects of this nature and I do hope that other business enterprises will also take interest in projects of this nature. I have therefore great pleasure in declaring this Congress open.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, AT THE  
OPENING OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL DELEGATES  
CONFERENCE OF THE MALAYSIAN TRADES UNION  
CONGRESS AT THE SELANGOR GIRL GUIDES  
ASSOCIATION HALL, BRICKFIELDS, KUALA LUMPUR  
ON 10TH DECEMBER, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am happy to be here this morning to declare open your Fifteenth Annual Delegates Conference. The same honour was accorded to me last year when I was invited to open your Fourteenth Annual Delegates Conference. I would like to thank you very much for this invitation particularly because this gives me an opportunity again to meet so many leading trade unionists who represent different vocations and who have come from various parts of the country to attend this Conference.

This Conference is another milestone in the development and progress of your Congress and also of the trade union movement as a whole in the country. This Conference should be an important occasion for you to take stock of the activities of the Congress, to reflect on its activities over the past year and to assess its effectiveness in discharging its specific task as a central coordinating and advisory body for the trade union movement as a whole. I am sure that during the deliberations at this Conference you would be able, to evolve guide posts for your future development.

The trade union movement in Malaya today has not only established its own position and status within the economic and social structure of this country, but has also earned for itself international recognition and prestige. This, I can say, is due in no small measure to its leaders who believe in the concept that trade unions should be formed on the basis of strength, independence, responsibility and the principle of democracy. Unfortunately, and notwithstanding the progress made, the movement still has a long way to go before it can be said that it speaks with one voice for the whole body of workers engaged in various trades and industries. The number of workers in the country remaining unorganised is still very large. Multiplicity of unions and inter-union rivalry continue to pose a major problem. In a great number of cases, trade union membership and funds are limited and these appear to place severe limitations on the adequacy of the services provided by much trade unions to their members and

their ability to undertake research and other activities. I am glad to learn that the leaders of the MTUC, being fully conscious of this position, are endeavouring to advise other workers' groups for a more effective consolidation of the trade union movement generally. The Government, on its part, will continue its policy of giving every encouragement to the development of a sound, strong, responsible and independent trade union movement in the country.

A strong trade union movement is not, in itself, an adequate manifestation of our social structure. A sound industrial relations policy is very necessary so that workers and employers may be able to pull their weight in full in the tasks of economic and social development of the country. In so-called under-developed and developing countries, capital resources and technological skill are generally severely limited and our country is no exception. We must, therefore, welcome outside capital for our various development projects and industrial diversification with which we hope to provide more employment opportunities for our country's rapidly expanding population. To achieve this objective, the right labour climate must be created and maintained. I am glad to note that labour generally has played its part in the process of maintaining such a climate.

One of most searching tests of an organisation or institution is its ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances. Organisations have been known to disappear because they were too rigid in structure or too doctrinaire in outlook. Trade unions are not a mere collection of organisations but a movement, not a piece of machinery whose processes are unchanging, but a body of voluntary associations which must adapt themselves to new situations and be ready to grapple with changing problems. I have no reason to doubt that our trade unions will show themselves capable of adjusting their thinking and methods of action to the needs of the economic development and progress of the country. That you have a part to play is not disputed. How you play that part is vital and I see, particularly in our present time, no alternative approach but one of mutual trust, cooperation and support.

The system of industrial relations in this country has all along developed on the basis of voluntary arrangements between the parties themselves with a minimum of Government intervention. A lot of people now appear to be taking a critical look at this system, not because of any inherent weakness in the system itself, but because there has been a radical transformation of the environment in which the system functions. Economic conditions, social changes, the character and attitude of the main participants and, most of all, the economic and political needs of the country have undergone considerable

changes. Public expectation of rapid development, stability and proper conduct have been more and more keenly felt. When the Government acted in May this year to promulgate the two Essential Regulations, these considerations were foremost in our minds. The amended Regulations which came into effect on 23rd September are in many ways an important step and an experimental phase in the evolution of and the re-adjustment of the system of industrial relations to meet the demands and circumstances in this country. They provide, for the first time, for the Government to take a more direct and active role in the field of industrial relations. The Government is watching closely the working of these Regulations and seriously studying the adequacy of our system of industrial relations to see what new features can be adopted to bring it more in line with the needs of our national development and the realities of the labour situation in the country, today.

I realise that you have a heavy programme ahead of you and I should, therefore, hesitate to take up any more of your time, but, no doubt, amongst other matters, you would like to know what Government contemplates doing in the field of industrial training. I am aware that the situation is not quite satisfactory at this moment and, that there are more and more of our young men and women as well as those of other age groups, who are not employed or who are under-employed, because of their inability to supply the technical skill that is required by present day industry. Unemployment is not necessarily confined only to this particular field of activity but, in an era of industrialisation, it is incumbent upon all of us, whether in Government or in industry or amongst the workers groups to identify ourselves with the need of industrialisation and provide the services so required by industry. Government is therefore contemplating action through the Ministry of Labour to establish a Department of Employment and Training which will cover fields such as all forms of industrial training, placement services on the completion of training and labour market research and information. To cater for the needs of this Department and also to be in a better position to analyse this statistical data that need to be compiled if we are to understand more accurately the labour market problem, the Statistical Division within the Ministry of Labour is also being expanded.

In the field of social security, you are aware that, in the Ministry of Labour, we presently have a very experienced officer very kindly seconded to us by the Government of India. This officer has embarked on a very close examination of a Pension Scheme on account of Invalidity and its inter-related aspects. His services may be required in other fields of social security and the rate of his progress in the Invalidity Pension Scheme would determine the extend of his participation in these other fields.

I would like to add finally a brief comment in connection with labour problems in the States in Eastern Malaysia. Labour is an important to the Malaysian Government, whether it is in the States of Malaya or in the States of Sabah and Sarawak. We are, however, mindful of the provisions of the Inter-Governmental Committee Report in this respect but I am happy to say that there is general acceptance that the Central Government shall be responsible for labour matters within the geographical limits of these two States and there is already a considerable degree of integration of the Departments of Labour in Sabah and Sarawak with the Ministry of Labour here in Kuala Lumpur. This integration shall be continued and we hope that in the near future the working population in these two States of Eastern Malaysia and those in the State of Malaya would be able to come together as one integrated whole, working for the same cause.

I need only, in conclusion, to give you an assurance that this Government would continue to do everything possible to advance the living conditions of all the workers in the country. There are pieces of legislation presently under examination and, I agree, under examination for some time but, these things do take time and there are always different points of view which need to be reconciled. Legislations which are outstanding and which are under immediate review are those concerning the Extension of Collective Agreements, those affecting the safety, health and welfare of workers in factories, the conditions of employment of children and young persons and the improvement and control of housing provided to workers.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
STATE DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS CONFERENCE ON  
13TH DECEMBER, 1965

Firstly, let me congratulate you as State Development Officers for the hard work, energy and enthusiasm which all of you have given in making our last Five Year Plan a success.

I would like to thank you all for your contribution to the progress and prosperity of our country.

I know that the chairs of this Development Operations Room are comfortable, but it does not mean to say, that I, having praised and congratulated you that you can sit back complacent and comfortable in these chairs.

I do not know how many of you understand how an internal combustion engine works but I am sure all of you know that the sparking plugs in a motor-car have a "gap" across which the electric spark must cross in order to ignite the petrol to make the car go.

If that gap is too wide, the electric spark cannot cross it and, as a result, you get no combustion in the car and therefore you get no speed and no motion!

In order to implement our First Malaysia Plan, we need both motion and speed, in the next five years, to make the development of Malaysia as successful as it has been in the past five years, and one of the first essentials is to close, as with a sparking plug, the gap between State and Federal government in our concerted action on development.

The main object of this Conference of State Development Officers is to recharge your development batteries, to brace you ready for the New Year, when we start action in implementing our new Plan and to obtain these vital sparks necessary to ignite our Plan and to produce that combustion essential to motivate motion towards further Malaysian development.

I want this Conference to be a regular monthly meeting, so that all State Development Officers, including Sabah and Sarawak, can come to Kuala Lumpur with their problems and have them solved, and, at the same time, to be briefed on Federal development policy so that all of you are completely in touch with the intention and aims of the

Federal Government, and thus be in a better position to work in your State to close any gaps to the point at which that spark jumps freely and gives the kick to the two administrative arms essential to the acceleration of development in our nation.

We in Malaysia have acquired the art and technique of translating a Plan from paper into action resulting in dynamic development; and our new Plan, not only calls for an investment of funds but, even more important, calls for an investment of human effort.

You as State Development Officers, are in fact the spearhead of this effort in so far as positive action on the part of Government is concerned in producing tangible results on the ground in the public sector of our Plan.

Leadership is not the monopoly of Ministers and if our new Plan is to succeed on the keynote of productivity then there must be more leadership right down the line throughout our land at all levels. Leadership from our legislators, the Members of Parliament, leadership from all Government Officers and leadership on the land at kampung and village level.

Governments can make laws but the one law which will make Malaysia prosperous and great — the one law which will make our Plan a success, is a law which no Parliament can pass on paper — it is the Universal Law of Cause and Effect.

Applying the Law of Cause and Effect to our new Plan means that we will only get out of the Plan progress and prosperity in the same measure and in direct ratio to the amount of human effort we expend to execute our Plan.

In this modern day and age of automation, automatic telephones and many other automatic machines, there is still one thing in the world which is not automatic and that is National Development.

We cannot expect Malaysia to develop further by merely sitting back hoping and wishing for a better way of life, a higher standard of living and greater prosperity.

No. All of us, all people in Malaysia, must be persistent in the pursuit of prosperity. And there is only one prescription which will make our Plan work and that is more and more hard work towards greater productivity.

It is your job as State Development Officer, a job in which you are both expected to be loyal to the State and loyal to the Federal Government, to ensure that there is the closest coordination on development matters not only between State and Federal but also between each and every Government Department in the State whether it be a Federal Department or a State Department, because without a high standard of cooperation and coordination in all aspects of the Government machine we cannot hope for complete success in our development Plan.

But, on the other hand, as we have proved in the last five years, with cooperation, coordination and dedicated effort, we in Malaysia are capable of pushing our country forward towards further development progress, we are capable of implementing a Plan even beyond the expectations which we have at the planning stage.

The first essential for coordination is for everyone, at all levels throughout the machinery of Government, to clearly understand the clear-cut aims of our National Development and the policy behind each aspect of Government so that they can understand where they and their work fit into the overall whole.

It is my intention next year to send out, from time to time, to the States, Federal Heads of Departments such as Health, Education, Agriculture, and others to talk to a gathering of all Officers in the State concerned with development, clearly defining the workings and policy of his Department, to ensure that right down the line of the Government machine, each and every Officer fully understands, not only his own task in relationship to the complex structure of a modern Government in a modern country such as Malaysia.

I have often said before, that half the frustrations of Government servants and half the inefficiency of the administration of any Government, lies in the fact that many Government officers themselves do not know how Government works. Their knowledge is sometimes limited to the narrow confines of their own jobs.

If a Government officer himself does not know how Government works how then can we expect the public to know, and yet Government officers are paid to serve the public and it is therefore essential that we take more intensified steps to ensure that all our officers know the complete workings of Government, so that they will be in a position to put life into the implementation of our Development Plan and at the same time help the public and prevent frustration, and stop what I call "bureaucratic ping-pong" where a member of the public

seeking something goes to one office, then told it is the wrong office, then to another office and so on!

The Development of any country is not merely the development of the public sector and what Government does in the form of building schools, roads, hospitals and other things.

Development, in this modern world, also includes the private sector.

Private sector development means investment on the part of Malaysians and investment on the part of external investors who have faith in our country, and are prepared to bring in funds to set up factories and industries; because, we are living in a world international market and the policy of my Government is not to isolate Malaysia from this world of free trade and free enterprise.

Therefore it is important that every effort be given to put both the public and private sector of development in correct perspective.

If someone wants to invest many millions of dollars in our country, by allowing this investment we are not giving up one inch of our independence but we are contributing towards the development, diversification and industrialisation of our country.

If we increase our trade with the outside world, increase our exports, increase our foreign exchange, and our export trade output, we are helping, at the same time, to increase the standard of living of our people.

Therefore it is important that the Government's image, both towards our own Malaysian public and to the public from overseas, is an image worthwhile, and that image, our national identity, may start, in the case of overseas investors, at the Airport.

The way they are treated by immigration and customs, the way they are treated by the civil servant in each and every government office they go to.

Conversely, in the rural and urban areas our own fellow Malaysians who may wish to set up their own businesses or open up their own land have, in the first instance, to overcome the first stumbling block in their applications, their contact, with the Government officer doing a routine job, he can be helpful, he can be cooperative but in some cases he may be obstructive because he does not see the whole picture of development and may not try to help those participants in the pri-

vate sector who wish to contribute in money and energy towards the future development of our country.

Out-dated bureaucratic obstruction is a relic of Colonialism. We are no more colonial.

We are an independent sovereign nation and yet sometimes, lurking in the attitudes of the Government Service throughout the country there are still traces of colonial bureaucracy and colonial attitudes.

Let us shed these attitudes with the birth of our new Plan, and it is your job, each one of you as State Development Officers, to help change the attitude of District Officers, of Settlement Officers, of all other officers right down the line of our administrative machinery, to put life, energy, enthusiasm, and dedication into their nation and approach for the development of Malaysia.

In the next few years, I, as Minister of Development, will spend as much time as I can to go around the country to ensure that our Development Plan is being properly implemented.

But it is my aim to maintain and sustain a system of development implementation that will run automatically by itself whether or not I have time to travel myself.

We have moved a long way towards achieving this aim in the present system and machinery of development implementation, of Development Committees at National, State and District level with each Committee supported by an Operations Room, of which we have no less than 114 at present in the country.

I am determined that in the implementation of our new Plan to make these Operations Rooms continue to work efficiently and to ensure that the Members of these Development Committees continue to cooperate and coordinate in overcoming difficulties and delays in development.

A great help towards the achievement of this is the correct attitude, understanding and ability on your part as State Development Officers to understand your real function.

Your function, first and foremost, is a function of a "breaker of bottlenecks".

You must get out and around to every district looking for frustrations, looking for departmental disagreements, looking for delays,

and when you have found them, you must diagnose them and then:

- (a) try on your own behalf to solve them;
- (b) if you cannot solve them yourself then report to the officers of my Ministry and ask them to solve them; and
- (c) when all else has failed then they will be brought to me and I will try and solve them.

So often, over the last five years in travelling around the country on development, I have found that there have been delays, there have been disagreements between Departments, and there has been a tendency to sit waiting for me to arrive to sort them out in briefings at State and District level.

What I want to see in the next few years is even a closer coordination between Departments, a closer coordination between State and Federal Governments, a closer relationship between all officers concerned with development and an even higher standard of dedication to development on the part of every single officer who is paid from public funds.

I am aiming at a completely self-propelled system of development administration.

Our Plan for the development of our people, patiently prepared, meticulously made, is based upon the wishes and aspirations of the various races which comprise Malaysia; the Plan can, and will, succeed!

To succeed, it must depend on the undivided efforts of our people, diverse in origin but united in intention, guided by you, and all other Government servants, with no thought of personal gain, no thought of personal advancement or personal advantage, but with one dominating thought — the development of our country towards a more progressive, productive and prosperous nation — Malaysia!

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PEMBUKAAN SUKAN SEMENANJUNG TENGGARA ASIA YANG KETIGA DI STADIUM MERDEKA KUALA LUMPUR PADA 14 DISEMBER, 1965

Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Banginda Yang di Pertuan Agong dan Raja Permaisuri Agong, Yang Teramat Mulia Tuanku Perdana Menteri, Tuan-tuan Yang Terutama, Tuan-tuan dan Puan-puan sekalian;

Ampun Tuanku Beribu-ribu Ampun.

Patik sebagai Yang Di Pertua Persekutuan Sukan Semenanjung Tenggara Asia dengan hormat takzimnya menjunjung kasih yang tidak terhingga kepada Ke bawah Duli Tuanku dan Seri Paduka Adinda Raja Permaisuri Agong kerana Duli-Duli Tuanku berdua telah sudi bercemar duli menghadiri istiadat yang bersejarah pada petang ini. Begitu juga patik menjunjung kasih sekali lagi kepada Ke bawah Duli Tuanku kerana telah berkenan mengisytiharkan pembukaan pertandingan sukan ini.

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian.

Hari ini adalah sebenarnya bersejarah bukan sahaja bagi Malaysia bahkan bagi Tenggara Asia dan istiadat ini ialah istiadat yang cemerlang di dalam dunia sukan dan suatu tanda yang menyatakan tali muhibbah dan persaudaraan di antara negara-negara tetangga.

Sambil saya melihat pemuda-pemuda dan pemudi-pemudi yang berbaris dengan cergas dan indahnyanya di hadapan kita ini iaitu ahli sukan yang datang dari Burma, Kemboja, Laos, Singapura, Thailand, Vietnam dan Malaysia untuk bersaing mengambil bahagian dalam medan sukan iaitu Sukan Semenanjung Tenggara Asia Yang Ketiga. Saya percaya, tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian pun bersama-sama dengan saya berasa sukacita dan bangga.

Sebagai Yang Di Pertua Persekutuan Sukan Semenanjung Tenggara Asia, saya dengan amat sukacitanya mengucapkan selamat datang dengan perasaan yang penuh kemesraan kepada tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian ke Kuasa Lumpur iaitu tempat kita mengadakan pertandingan sukan ini.

Cita-cita hendak mengadakan pesta sukan ini - pesta sukan di antara negara-negara di Tenggara Asia adalah mula-mulanya dilahirkan di

Tokyo pada ketika berlangsungnya Sukan Asia dalam tahun 1958 yang lalu. Wakil-wakil dari negeri-negeri di Tenggara Asia yang mengambil bahagian dalam pertandingan sukan itu telah bersetuju hendak mengadakan satu Olimpik kecil sendiri di Tenggara Asia ini sekali pada tiap-tiap dua tahun. Cadangan ini telah mendapat sokongan dengan sepenuhnya dan pertandingan yang pertama telah diadakan di Bangkok pada tahun 1959, yang keduanya di Rangoon pada tahun 1961.

Pertandingan Sukan SEAP yaang bermula pada hari ini adalah bagi kali yang ketiganya. Mulanya Phnom Penh dijadualkan untuk menjadi tuan rumah bagi pertandingan ini dalam tahun 1963, akan tetapi Kemboja telah tidak terdaya hendak menguruskan pertandingan-pertandingan ini pada ketika itu, lalu kehormatan untuk mengadakan pertandingan ini telah berpindah kepada Malaysia. Kita telah menerima kehormatan ini dengan amat sukacita, dengan tangan dan dada yang terbuka.

Kami di Malaysia ini sangat-sangat gembiranya menjadi tuan rumah kepada pertandingan yang bersejarah ini kerana kami mempunyai kepercayaan yang penuh bahawa jalan yang baik sekali untuk menunjukkan persahabatan di antara bangsa ialah melalui pertandingan sukan, dengan perasaan muhibbah dan saling mengerti serta dengan semangat bersukan yang sebenar-benarnya. Dalam medan sukan ini peserta-peserta lelaki dan perempuan daripada beberapa negeri dapat berjumpa, beramah tamah dan berkenalan di antara satu dengan lain dengan tidak menghiraukan bangsa atau pun perasaan tinggi rendah di antara satu dengan lain. Di sini bukanlah wang yang dikehendaki atau dapat dikejar, tetapi yang dipuja ialah kehormatan dan kegemilangan melalui kejayaan. Tiap-tiap seorang atau pun tiap-tiap pasukan sedar bahawa menang kalahnya adalah bergantung kepada kekuatan dan kehendaknya sendiri.

Kami di Malaysia adalah mencuba dengan seberapa daya upayanya untuk menjaga dan membolehkan rakan-rakan kami yang menyertai pesta sukan ini berada di Kuala Lumpur dalam keadaan yang sempurna. Kami berharap tiap-tiap orang daripada rakan-rakan kami itu dapat tinggal di negara kami ini dengan penuh gembira dan kesukaan. Begitu juga kami harap mereka itu pada masa berada di Malaysia ini faham dan mengetahui bahawa kami rakyat Malaysia adalah sebenar-benarnya ingin kepada persahabatan dan saling mengerti di antara bangsa-bangsa yang duduk di Tenggara Asia ini. Kami di Malaysia sentiasa bercita-cita hendak hidup dalam keadaan aman damai dengan negara-negara tetangga, hormat menghormati kemerdekaan dan cara hidup kita bersama supaya negara-negara di sini dapat mara hadapan dengan kerjasama yang baik dan tali persahabatan yang kuat untuk menuju ke arah kemajuan dan kebahagiaan.

Dengan ini saya dengan amat sukacitanya mempersilakan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di Pertuan Agong apalah kiranya sudi mengisytiharkan pembukaan Sukan Semenanjung Tenggara Asia Yang Ketiga ini.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein ketika menerima jemputan dari Jeneral Polis Luang Chartrakarnkosol pada 14 Disember, 1965. Malaysia telah dijemput untuk mengambil bahagian dalam Sukan Asia yang ke 5 yang akan diadakan di Thailand dalam bulan Disember, 1966.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
OPENING OF THE MALAYSIAN PROGRESS EXHIBI-  
TION AT AIA BUILDING, KUALA LUMPUR ON 15TH  
DECEMBER, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I take very great pleasure in welcoming you at this opening of the Malaysian Progress Exhibition, which is being presented during the South East Asia Peninsula Games.

This occasion could not have occurred on a more appropriate day for two reasons. First, the debate on the Malaysian Five-Year Plan began in Parliament this morning, and second, because the SEAP Games, after the official opening yesterday, are now in the full swing of activities of the first day of competitions.

In officially opening this Exhibition of Malaysian Progress I am performing a double duty, as the SEAP Games Council is presenting another Exhibition at the Muzium Negara - an Exhibition of Malaysian Art and Crafts which will be open to the public this great festival of sport from tomorrow until the end of the month.

These two Exhibitions, taken together, present a broad cross-section of the efforts and achievements of Malaysia at the present time - a panorama of national development, social progress and cultural advance.

Since 1957 the Government - first of Malaya and then of Malaysia - has launched and completed two Development Plans, and next month an even vaster programme of all-round development - the First Malaysian Five-Year Plan - will be initiated, making great demands in both the public and private sectors in more construction, greater investment and higher productivity.

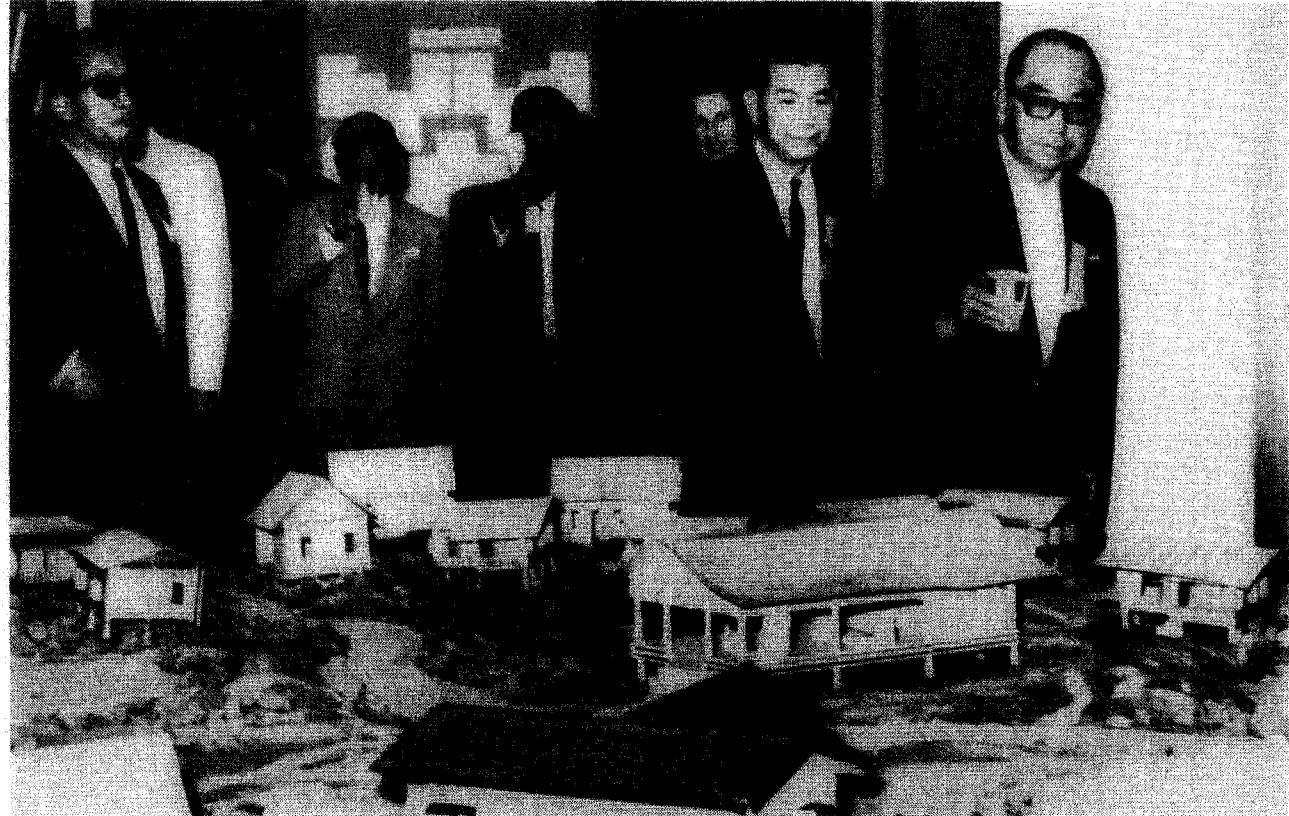
This Five-Year Plan will be a tremendous challenge to the whole Malaysian nation, calling for all our energies, talents and skills, all our initiative and enterprise, and all the cooperation and team-work upon which a rapidly developing nation must depend if we are to achieve successfully the goals we are aiming for. Going by past experience, there is no doubt at all that Malaysia will meet and master the challenge.

In this Exhibition at the Balai Ampang the exhibits portray in photographs, charts and models many aspects of our past achievements as well as numbers of projects we intend to undertake. You can see here the improvements achieved in health and education, agriculture and rural development, communications and transport, power and mining, as well as the vast expansion of trade and commerce, the extension of industry and manufacture, and of course, the greatly increased production of our basic primary commodities – in short, the life and work of a nation, determined to develop all its potential resources of natural and human wealth to achieve ever-rising standards of living for the betterment of all our people.

In tackling and achieving these manifold material ambitions, we have also reason to take pride in our cultural progress. The corollary exhibition at the Muzium Negara will give visitors and viewers a colourful survey of the ideas and interests of the artists and craftsmen of Malaysia.

But even these two Exhibitions do not tell the whole story of our nation in progress. The upsurge of Malaysia is tangible and visible all around us everyday, the feeling of forward impetus is part of our daily life. Each and every one of us has an active part to play in giving reality to all our aspirations and efforts, both in the present and in the future.

I am very pleased now to declare open for the information and interest of the public this Exhibition of Malaysian Progress today and the Exhibition of Malaysian Art and Crafts tomorrow.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein di Upacara Perasmian Pembukaan Pameran Kemajuan Malaysia di Balai Ampang Bangunan AIA Kuala Lumpur pada 15 Disember, 1965.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE MOTION OF THE FIRST MALAYSIAN PLAN, 1966–1970 IN THE DEWAN RAKYAT ON 15TH DECEMBER, 1965

That this House, recognising the need to promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia and to build a more united, secure and prosperous nation, approves the objectives, priorities and programmes of the First Malaysia Plan as set out in Command Paper No. 45 of 1965. In adopting the Plan, this House calls upon Malaysian from all walks of life who have the welfare of the country at heart, to strive to accomplish the challenging task of meeting the aspirations of all our people for a better life and higher standard of living by fulfilling the objectives and goals of the Plan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya membentangkan kepada Dewan ini, satu Usul yang sangat penting dan mustahak, iaitu Usul untuk menentukan kemajuan-kemajuan dalam lapangan iktisad dan masyarakat yang akan dijalankan di negara kita pada masa lima tahun yang akan datang, iaitu Rancangan Malaysia yang pertama bagi memberi segala nikmat-nikmat, kemakmuran, mata pencarian yang lebih luas, dan taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi kepada semua rakyat Malaysia daripada berbagai-bagai keturunan. Untuk mencapai matlamat dan cita-cita ini pelaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama mestilah berjalan dengan baik dan pesat. Dan, untuk menjaminkan itu, mustahaklah kita semua — Kerajaan Pusat, Kerajaan Negeri, Wakil-Wakil Rakyat, Pegawai-Pegawai Kerajaan, semuanya bersungguh-sungguh berusaha menjayakan pelaksanaan rancangan itu. Cabaran di hadapan kita adalah kuat dan besar.

Pada hari ini, saya membentangkan kepada Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat sekalian, satu rancangan yang sangat besar, berani, tetapi adalah realistik dan boleh dijayakan. Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama akan membawa rakyat dan negara ini mara ke hadapan dalam bidang kemajuan dan kemakmuran yang lebih besar lagi. Matlamat Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama ini ialah untuk memberi Malaysia dan rakyatnya satu tempat yang lebih sempurna dan mulia dalam dunia dan kedudukan taraf hidup dan kemakmuran yang kita semua cita-citakan. Rancangan ini, sungguhpun dinamakan Rancangan Lima Tahun, tetapi adalah satu rancangan yang sarannya akan menuju dan menjalani tempoh selama 20 tahun, mulai daripada tahun hadapan. Semenjak negara ini mencapai kemerdekaan dalam tahun 1957, telah banyak perubahan-perubahan dan kemajuan bagi rakyat, khasnya bagi mereka yang duduk di luar bandar terutama telah dilaksanakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan.

Saya amat sukacita menengaskan di sini yang Rancangan Lima Tahun kita yang pertama, iaitu rancangan daripada tahun 1961 hingga tahun 1965, telah memberi kejayaan lebih daripada yang dijangkakan atau lebih daripada sasarannya. Ini sangatlah memuaskan hati kita dan sangat-sangat membanggakan kepada Kerajaan, dan lagi, kejayaan yang cemerlang ini telah dicapai walaupun negara kita, daripada semenjak tahun 1963, telah diancam oleh konfrantasi dan pencerobohan Indonesia yang telah membuatkan perbelanjaan dalam lapangan pertahanan dan keselamatan kita bertambah banyak dan besar.

Malaya dan Malaysia di bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan, telah mencapai kejayaan, kemajuan demi kemajuan, dan perubahan-perubahan yang besar dari Malaya yang merdeka kepada Malaysia. Keteguhan politik membawa kemakmuran, dari kemakmuran membawa keadilan dan keamanan. Ini adalah kejayaan-kejayaan dan hasil-hasil daripada pimpinan Kerajaan yang praktikal dan adil. Kerajaan Perikatan telah berkhidmat dengan segala kejujuran dan ikhlas kepada rakyat negara ini dari semua bangsa. Dan perkhidmatan Kerajaan ini telah dihargai oleh rakyat semua, kerana tiap-tiap Pilihanraya pada tiga kali yang telah lalu, rakyat negeri ini telah memilih Kerajaan Perikatan untuk memimpin negara dan rakyat ini kepada kemajuan dan perubahan yang lebih besar lagi. Niat-niat dan cita-cita Kerajaan Perikatan adalah sentiasa untuk memperhambakan diri, untuk berusaha dan bekerja bagi kemakmuran dan keadilan untuk semua rakyat daripada semua bangsa, bagi melahirkan satu masyarakat yang lebih adil dan saksama, di mana jurang perbezaan di antara penduduk-penduduk negara ini dalam semua bidang dapat dikurangkan. Kita mahu melihat rakyat daripada semua bangsa bukan sahaja terus-menerus hidup aman damai, penuh dengan perasaan muhibbah dan mesra satu dengan lain, tetapi juga mempunyai keseimbangan dalam semua bidang, terutama sekali dalam bidang ekonomi dan pelajaran.

Parti-parti Pembangkang sentiasa membantu kecaman yang tidak adil terhadap Kerajaan Perikatan, kononnya Kerajaan tidak membuat apa-apa kemajuan dan perubahan kepada rakyat. Betapa kosong dan palsu-nya kecaman-kecaman ini, bolehlah dibuktikan oleh keputusan-keputusan Pilihanraya-pilihanraya dari semenjak tahun 1955 hingga Pilihanraya tahun 1964. Rakyat Malaysia daripada segala bangsa telah memberi kepercayaan yang penuh kepada Parti Perikatan kerana mereka sedar hanya di bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan terjamin perpaduan di antara kaum-kaum, keteguhan politik dan kemakmuran, yang dibawa dengan cara beransur-ansur dan aman.

Kepada mereka yang sentiasa tidak mahu menerima kenyataan dan mengikuti kejayaan-kejayaan Rancangan-rancangan Kemajuan Kerajaan, saya minta mereka merenung kembali dan membuat perbandingan antara

keadaan dan rupa bentuk negara kita ini semasa penjajah dahulu dengan keadaan bentuk rupa negara kita – kemakmuran dan keteguhan rakyat Malaysia daripada semua bangsa semenjak Malaya mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Di bawah pemerintahan penjajahan British dahulu, rakyat kebanyakan hidup dalam keadaan kemiskinan serta ditekan oleh cengkaman politik dan muslihat penjajah. Di bawah Kerajaan Perikatan, Malaya dan sekarang Malaysia, telah mencapai berbagai-bagai kemajuan.

Malaysia, pada hari ini adalah sebuah negara yang makmur. Rakyat mempunyai taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi sekali di Tenggara Asia ini. Kejayaan ini boleh didapati dan boleh dilihat di merata-rata tempat. Rupa bentuk dan pandangan di Malaysia telah berubah dalam semua lapangan. Negara telah terang dengan kemajuan-kemajuan, dan rakyat berani dan percaya pada diri masing-masing. Keadaan bentuk rupa dan isi kampung-kampung pun telah berubah dan sedang menuju ke arah kemajuan yang lebih besar lagi. Kejayaan-kejayaan telah dicapai kerana Kerajaan Perikatan telah menjalankan pimpinan dengan waras dan melaksanakan dasar-dasarnya dengan tidak dikuasai oleh sentimen atau perasaan, akan tetapi berdasar kepada keadaan di sekeliling – kepada logik dan kenyataan hidup yang sebenarnya.

Di bawah Kerajaan Perikatan, rakyat Malaysia dari berbagai-bagai bangsa berganding bahu mencari kemakmuran dan ketinggian taraf hidup. Tiap-tiap kaum di Malaysia dijamin mencari kejayaan, seperti juga tiap-tiap puak terjamin mengikut adat istiadat masing-masing, mengikut agama masing-masing, dan mempelajari bahasa masing-masing. Sungguhpun semuanya itu terjamin, kita juga sekarang berusaha dan menggalakkan penubuhan satu bangsa Malaysia yang tulin di mana semua rakyatnya akan mempunyai taat setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada negara kita. Pelaksanaan ini sedang berjalan dengan aman damai. Saya yakin atau bangsa Malaysia yang tulin, yang terdiri dari berbagai-bagai keturunan akan lahir dan Malaysia akan menjadi sebuah negara yang bahagia dan makmur.

Hari ini, negara kita ialah sebuah negara yang telah menjadi contoh kepada negara-negara di dunia ini, iaitu menjadi contoh di mana rakyat berbagai-bagai bangsa hidup aman bahagia berganding bahu bersamasama mencari kemajuan dan kebahagiaan hidup. Kerana Kerajaan Perikatan mempunyai sifat-sifat yang sederhana, mempunyai sifat-sifat yang praktik, sifat-sifat yang benar dan jujur, dan pandai pula memperalatkan kebaikan-kebaikan Demokrasi dan Nationalism, serta menggunakan kekayaan negara kita dengan cermat dan jujur. Sebab itulah kejayaan yang saya telah nyatakan tadi dapat dicapai terlebih besar daripada sangkaan kita sendiri. Malaysia boleh melahirkan kemajuan dan kekayaan ini, oleh kerana ada mempunyai perpaduan yang erat di antara semua

kaum di negara kita ini. Keteguhan perpaduan inilah telah dicapai di bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan dan kita sentiasa hendak memperkuat lagi perpaduan ini kerana hanyalah dengan perpaduan ini boleh kita menjamin kemakmuran yang telah dicapai itu, kekal dan menjamin mendapat kejayaan lebih besar dalam pelaksanaan Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama ini dengan licin dan sempurna.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menegaskan di sini, kunci kejayaan kita pada masa akan datang ini ialah keteguhan perpaduan antara kaum yang lebih kuat lagi. Kita juga mestilah sentiasa sedar dan insaf bahawa kemajuan dan kemakmuran kita pada masa akan datang bukanlah terletak pada rasa puas hati dengan apa yang kita telah dapat, tetapi yang terletak kepada keazaman, keteguhan hati dan keyakinan yang lebih kuat untuk melancarkan usaha-usaha yang lebih giat dan besar pada masa-masa hadapan. Masa lima tahun yang ke hadapan ini adalah masa yang penting bagi negara kita dan dalam sejarah pembangunan seluruh rakyat Malaysia dari semua bangsa khasnya anak-anak bumiputera yang masih mundur dalam serba serbi mestilah melipat kali gandakan usaha mereka untuk perkembangan dan kemajuan dalam pembangunan ekonomi dan lain-lain. Inilah masalah yang besar yang mesti dihadapi dan inilah cabaran pada masa hadapan untuk rakyat yang mahu maju dan bangun. Kerajaan telah berbuat apa juga yang terdaya untuk semua bangsa dan Kerajaan Perikatan akan terus-menerus berkhidmat tetapi saya memberi nasihat kepada semua, terutama sekali kepada rakyat bumiputera, bahawa segala rancangan-rancangan Kerajaan tidak akan dapat memberi faedah yang dikehendaki, jika rancangan-rancangan Kerajaan itu tidak mendapat sambutan yang sempurna dan yang kuat daripada rakyat sendiri. Kerajaan mengadakan rancangan-rancangan bertujuan untuk mengubah nasib rakyat. Pertolongan Kerajaan ada hadnya, nasib rakyat tidak akan berubah dengan pertolongan Kerajaan sahaja, nasib semua rakyat, khasnya bumiputera, tidak akan berubah jika rakyat bumiputera sendiri belum insaf dan sedar dan berazam hendak mengubah nasibnya sendiri.

Saya menyeru mulai daripada tahun sempena dengan pelancaran Rancangan Kemajuan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini supaya rakyat negeri ini mengubah sikap hidup, mengubah falsafah dan konsep hidup kita, kepada konsep dan falsafah yang lebih cergas lagi supaya semua rakyat lebih bercita-cita lagi kepada kemajuan. Saya harap kita gantikan falsafah yang dikatakan hidup kais pagi bagi makan pagi itu dengan falsafah bekerja seolah-olah kita hidup selama-lamanya dan mahu hidup menikmati dengan segala kemewahan-kemewahan yang dibawa oleh sains. Negara kita kaya dan kita mempunyai segala syarat-syarat untuk melaksanakan segala rancangan-rancangan yang kita cita-citakan. Syarat yang besar sekali kita kehendaki sekarang ialah keyakinan dan kemahuan

yang kuat dan usaha yang lebih kuat lagi yang boleh melahirkan segala kejayaan dan kebahagiaan hidup kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya minta izin hendak bercakap dalam bahasa Inggeris tetapi sebelum saya berbuat begitu saya suka menerangkan kepada Dewan ini, saya dukacita kerana terjemahan Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama dalam bahasa Kebangsaan tidak dapat dijelaskan dengan sempurna tetapi ringkasan-ringkasan telah dapat dibentangkan di Dewan ini. Rancangan ini telah disediakan beberapa bulan yang lalu akan tetapi disebabkan oleh perpisahan Singapura pada 9 Ogos yang lalu terpaksa Rancangan ini dipinda semula dan disemak semula dan itu telah mengambil masa dan tidak dapat disediakan sehingga beberapa minggu yang telah lalu dan dengan itu tidak dapatlah masa hendak diterjemahkan semua sekali rancangan-rancangan ini.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to propose today no ordinary motion. I rise to before this Parliament this symbol of our democracy, a plan for economic and social development for the next five years, a plan of purpose and intention to enable our country to travel yet further on the road to accelerated progress and prosperity, a plan to give Malaysia its rightful place in the international, economic community of free nations of the world.

We in Malaysia, Sir, are seasoned travellers on the path of progress. We have been envied by other fortunate nations for breaking the development speed barrier in this international race towards economic stability. We have quietly forged ahead from strength to strength on a firm foundation of sound security, stability and good economic planning, and, even more important, the determination and ability to translate our plans into action.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, almost every developing country in the world has a Five-Year Plan, but a plan in itself does not mean anything. A plan on paper without the will and energy to put it into practice does not bring any benefit to the people or to the country. However, I am glad to say, Sir, that as this historic day heralds the launching of our plan for the future, it also records the success in the implementations of the previous Five-Year Plan (Applause) which, in spite of defence commitments in countering confrontation and aggression, has nevertheless achieved the targets which this Government sets in line to achieve in 1961.

I am proud to say, Sir, that in many sectors of our last Five-Year Development Plan, we exceeded the aims we set ourselves.

Sir, the Opposition, particularly those who are blind followers of outdated doctrines and political philosophies formulated many years ago —

by such people as Karl Marx — allege that the Alliance Government has no political philosophy and therefore any development plan without a philosophy cannot possibly succeed and cannot benefit the people. To those who are so philosophically conscious, I say categorically, that the Alliance has a philosophy, a philosophy that is bearing fruit in actual practice and the evidence of its success lies in the progress that we, as a young nation, have achieved since independence.

We have achieved success from Merdeka to Malaysia, from stability to success, from peace to prosperity and the Alliance policy philosophy is progress.

We are, Mr. Speaker, Sir, a progressive Government, our ideas and our thinking aptly meet present day needs and the needs of our people whom we put foremost in our minds before any selfish aim or political gain. But we are not in the habit of misleading the electorate with cries and slogans of outdated doctrines taken out from outdated philosophies or torn from text books.

We are essentially, both in our philosophy and practice, a Government elected by the people, close to the people and representing the wishes of all sections of our people. We believe that it is for the electorate, for the people to decide what direction it wishes the country to progress. It is then for the politician to create a vision of this progress and to make the people see his vision as he sees it. It is for the politician to give words to this vision and turn it into a policy. It is then for Government servants to give the policy a form and to translate this vision into reality. This, Sir, is our philosophy of democracy and this is our definition of democratic practice for development and progress which we have applied over the last ten years with success.

Let us look back to the years leading towards independence. None of us in those days, even with the greatest optimism could have dared visualize a prosperous Malaysia as she is today. Mr. Speaker, Sir, public memory is short. It is very soon forgets. Sometimes, worse still, the memory of the Opposition is even shorter and I am not quite sure whether maliciously forget or will not admit the progress that we in the Alliance Government have achieved since we took over the reins of Government from the days of colonialism.

Now, Sir, I ask this House to compare the memories of the days of under-development before Merdeka and the difference between our country as it was ten years ago and as it stands now today as a prosperous nation to which all of us are proud to belong. This present day prosperous Malaysia is in fact the vision which the Alliance saw through the clouds of colonialism and that vision was formed in all its aspects.

And that has been given form, formulated in terms of the administrative machine of our country and put into practice in our schools, in our villages, in our factories, on our land in our homes.

We the Alliance are proud to have the honour of leading our nation on the march of progress towards the fulfilment of this vital vision of a vigorous and prosperous nation. The vision of the future, Sir, is even more hopeful.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to give credit to those many Members of Parliament on this side of the House, or rather on the correct side of the House, who entered into the spirit of creating this true vision of independence and worked day and night, travelling tirelessly around the country, putting force and realism into our vision and the implementation of our development aspirations. I thank each one of them for their unselfish service to the country over the last five years in putting development and national progress before selfish gain. I feel, Sir, it would not be of place if these Alliance Members of Parliament were to applaud themselves now because they deserve it.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to give particular credit to those who have no voice in this House even when their devotion is discredited by some Members of the Opposition. I would like to give credit and high praise to the many thousands, who cannot applaud themselves, the Administrators, the Engineers, the Doctors, the Technicians and all the other Civil Servants, too numerous to mention, for the loyalty, dedication, hard work and enthusiasm which they have given as a major contribution towards the development progress of our country during the implementation of our last Five-Year Plan.

It is not Sir, my intention, before introducing this new Plan, to give a lecture on Alliance philosophy, because any Member of this House quite easily learn much about it merely by having the good sense to pay a small subscription to an office somewhere along Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman and join the most progressive and sensible political Party in the country, a party which serves the people well and truly and has succeeded in translating the vision of a happy and prosperous Malaysia into a reality.

Sir, we are a nation of many races, many cultures; a country in which all are allowed to practise many religions, and Alliance philosophy and policy have facilitated us to advance coolly, continuously and with good conscience; and the practice of ours has never been done in the heat of passion, spasmodically or under the threat of subsequent remorse; and it is only with this cool, sensible and unemotional Alliance leadership

will we weld together our various races and culture into a stable, happy Malaysia living in harmony and progressing in unity.

To do this and to enable us to develop — in order to achieve unity and economic progressive — we need a heavy dose of nationalism as a necessary stimulant, but let us, and this is our Alliance policy, always think of our nationalism within the correct and balanced context of internationalism.

We have the basic assets of sound democracy, a great potential of natural resources and people, who, in the last five years have shown themselves capable of advancing faster than our expectations.

We have also the most important stimulant for development — national unity — which has been forged by the Alliance Government.

Now, Sir, the Government and people of Malaysia can rightly be proud of the achievement of our country in the last few years. Malaysia itself was established only two years ago. Since that date it has had to contend with continuous aggression from a much larger neighbour, but it has withstood this danger successfully. Besides this external threat to her independence, Malaysia has had to contend with internal political difficulties which finally led to the separation of one of its States. Now, many waververs and our enemies were of the opinion that this would lead to the disintegration of the Nation. But they have been proved wrong. Separation from Singapore was effected constitutionally and peacefully. Malaysia remains united and strong.

The problems standing in the way of economic progress of the country have also been formidable. But the advances which have been made in the campaign, against poverty, illiteracy and disease too, have been significant. Malaysia embarks upon its future with a stronger foundation for bringing about greater unity and a more prosperous and happier life for its people than they have ever known before and it is with this paramount objective in view that the Government has formulated the First Malaysia Plan which I now commend to this House.

Now, Sir, the dramatic progress achieved in the economic and special development of the country is indeed a credit to the Nation, especially when account is taken of the many economic and political problems which confronted us. In fact it can be said with justification that in the way in which we have forged ahead in developing this country and the consequential changes which have been brought about can be said to be a "silent revolution".

In the last five years, average income in the country has risen by almost 15% despite the fact that the population has been growing at one of the highest rates in the world, and despite the fact that the country's earnings from the production and sale of natural rubber — its principal product — have been falling. This is indeed a notable achievement. The rate of growth of income achieved is high by international standard, especially in comparison with other developing countries with rapidly growing populations.

Employment has also increased significantly. In Malaya, where the problem of unemployment is serious in comparison with the Borneo States, where it is negligible, about 345 thousand jobs were created. As a result, the rate of unemployment of the male and female labour force remained at about 6%. This rate, Sir, compares not unfavourably with other nations which are at the same stage of development as Malaysia.

Concurrent with this increase in national income and employment, a transformation in the character of the economy has also been initiated. Although there is still a long way to go, the evidence of the change that is occurring is clearly discernible. The first steps have been taken in the process of reducing the dependence of the economy on rubber and tin. Agricultural production has begun to be diversified. The production of oil palm, live stock, fish and forest products has increased rapidly. A beginning has also been made in the industrialisation of the economy. As a result, locally manufactured goods of many types have begun to replace imports. The development of petroleum refining in Malaya is a good example. Now, in 1960, all imports of petroleum fuels entered in product form, by 1964 only 41% entered as product form, while the remaining 59% entered as crude petroleum for domestic refining.

These achievements are testimony to the efforts of our farmers, our industrialists, our technicians and our administrators, who, by their hard work and enterprise have made it possible for this country to offer an improving standard of living to our people. These achievements also attest to the size and effectiveness of this Government's economic and social development programmes — expenditure on which was about two and a half times as great as the amount spent between 1956 and 1960.

In fact, as the country's export earnings grew, only very slowly because of falling rubber prices, the rapid increase of public investment in the last five years was one of the principal causes of the high rate of growth in income which was achieved. But more important than this immediate benefit, is the fact that a firmer base for future econo-

mic and social development has been laid. In Malaya about 2,300 miles of roads were constructed, compared with about 600 miles during the 1956-60 period. Port capacity was expanded at Port Swettenham. The number of telephones installed increased, trunk lines were extended into new areas and the quality and capacity of existing trunk lines were raised. Electricity generation capacity expanded by 64% while the average daily output of water increased by 54%. With all these achievements, a reasonably sound economic infrastructure of transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems have been created.

The development effort of the Government has also resulted in improving the long-run productivity of our natural and human resources, particularly in the rural areas. About 145,000 acres of virgin land were opened up by the FLDA for the settlement of twelve thousand families and in a few of these settlements, Sir, the people have now reaped the benefits and in one land scheme in Kedah, which I visited last Sunday, the settlers are now beginning to draw an income of the average of \$350.00 and some \$400.00 a month on an average tapping days of 24/25 days a month (Applause). This, Sir, proves my prediction on this was right some years ago. The completion of several irrigation and drainage projects raised the acreage of padi capable of being double-cropped fivefold from 30,000 acres in 1960 to 193,000 acres in 1965. Total planted acreage increased from 941,000 to 980,000 acres. An estimated 760,000 acres of land belonging to smallholders were planted or replanted with high-yielding rubber, bringing the acreage under high-yielding rubber to 890,000 acres or about 50% to total smallholding acreage.

In the field of education, Sir, an additional 6,000 classrooms were constructed in primary schools and 3,000 in secondary schools. As a result, primary school enrolments increased from 980,000 to 1,200,000 and secondary school enrolments rose from 100,000 to 275,000. During the same period, the school-leaving age was increased from 12 to 14 years and a re-organisation of the secondary school system was affected with the introduction of the comprehensive system of education. Rapid progress was also made in college and university education.

Now, in addition to the efforts of the Government in building up the Malaysian economy, Honourable Members will note that social and community services have been improved and expanded, particularly in the rural areas. Hospital capacity was raised and a total of 31 main health centres, 132 sub-health centres and 645 midwives' clinics were constructed in the rural areas. The number of rooms available through public housing schemes tripled between 1960 and 1965, thus helping to meet the heavy demand for housing created by the rapid increase in

urban population. Electricity and telephone services were extended to many rural areas. With all these projects, the already high standard of social and community services in Malaya was further improved. What is also important is the fact that whereas in the past these facilities were negligible in the rural areas, they are now becoming numerous. No one can dispute that a radical change for the better has been effected in the face of our rural countryside.

In Sabah and Sarawak, about 35% more was spent on the development effort than was the case in the two previous years before the establishment of Malaysia. The rapid increase in Government's development activities has not only contributed to the enlargement of incomes in these States but has also strengthened and broadened their base for future economic and social development. The Government would have liked to have done much more for these States. But the time which has elapsed since the establishment of Malaysia has been too short to bring about striking changes. Nevertheless, taking the period of the last five years as a whole, some concrete advance had been made. The initial steps in the creation of an adequate economic infrastructure in Sabah and Sarawak have been taken. Road mileage expanded by 72% while electricity generation capacity increased by 84%. In the field of agriculture, measures were taken to promote an efficient system of settled cultivation. Many new land settlement schemes were established. In Sabah, oil palm as well as rubber is being grown on such schemes. In both States, increased attention was also given to extensive replanting of low-yielding rubber with high-yielding material.

Looking back on the progress which has been achieved, we can justifiably draw satisfaction from the efforts which we have made. We have toiled, struggled and sacrificed and our efforts have been amply rewarded.

Now looking forward into the future, we need to consolidate our successes, learn from our mistakes and rededicate ourselves to even greater efforts. We certainly cannot afford to be complacent. Our attainments in the last five years constitute only the initial step in the process of bringing about a truly developed Malaysia. Much more remains to be done and the First Malaysia Plan in our blue-print of what must be done by the Government and the people during the next five years.

The first Malaysia Plan has four primary objectives. The first is to promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia by embarking upon a development plan explicitly designed to promote the welfare of all; the second objective is to provide a steady increase

in levels of income and consumption for our people, particularly these in the rural areas, and those in other low income groups; the third objective is to generate employment opportunities at a rate sufficient to provide productive work for new entrants to the labour force and to lower the rate of unemployment; the fourth is to continue to stimulate new kinds of economic activity, both agricultural and industrial, so as to reduce Malaysia's economic dependence on rubber and tin.

The attainment of these objectives is a difficult task, because there are many problems which we have to face. The most serious of these problems are the prospect of a continuing decline in the price of rubber and the depletion of known tin reserves. The production and marketing of these two export commodities constitute at present our major source of income and employment. As their immediate prospects are not particularly bright, the task of progressively increasing our national income becomes challenging. It is crucial that we find new sources of income and employment.

A second major problem which confronts us in our extremely high rate of population growth. At about three per cent a year, this rate is of the highest in the world. It is staggering to realize that if this rate of growth is not checked, Malaysia's population, which is now about nine and a half million people, will double in twenty five years' time. While there are possibilities for reducing the rate of population growth in the long-run, in the short space of the next five years, no substantial reduction can be effected. The population of Malaysia will grow to about eleven million by 1970 and this presents a serious challenge indeed to the effort to provide rising income levels and improved social services.

Sir, in order to attain the objectives of steadily increasing income and reducing unemployment during the period when our population is increasing rapidly and the value of our traditional exports is likely to grow only slowly, the Plan calls for the development of new patterns of economic activity. It calls for the development of new export products, in particular oil palm and timber, for which there are bright prospects. But traditional export commodities are not likely to earn enough foreign exchange over the next five years to pay for our import needs. Therefore, the Plan accords top priority to the production within Malaysia of an accelerated volume of those commodities which are at present imported. There are favourable prospects for substituting domestic production for imports in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors. The production of foodstuffs and other agricultural commodities for which reliance on imports is heavy must be increased. Most important of all, the extremely good opportunities which exist

for increased output of manufactured goods for the domestic market must be exploited. Only if all these possibilities are seized will it be possible to sustain the growth of the economy in the long run.

To bring about the exploitation of all immediate possibilities for increasing production, to strengthen the base of our economy for future growth and to provide social and community services for all our people, and in particular those in the low income groups, it will be necessary for the country to spend a sum of \$10,500 million on development during the next five years. The public sector's share in this total is \$4,550 million and that for the private sector is \$4,950 million. If these targets are reached – and the Government is confident that they will be – average income in the country will rise by over five per cent. Although this rate of increase is modest, it will be a considerable achievement, in the face of relatively unfavourable external factors, to protect per capital income levels from declining and help them to rise, at the same time to lay the foundation for a new economic structure. Moreover, the anticipated rise in income levels will accumulate to substantial improvements in a few years' time. As far as employment is concerned nearly 380,000 new jobs are likely to be created in Malaya and 80,000 in Sabah and Sarawak making a total of 460,000 new jobs for Malaysia. This will reduce unemployment from its present rate of six per cent of the labour force to about five per cent in 1970 a rate comparable with that of even some of the most developed countries in the world. This will indeed be a considerable achievement and will result in the creation of sufficient employment to match the growth of the labour force.

Even more important the immediate income and employment goals of the Plan are the preparations it embodies for accelerated development in the long run. The emphasis given in the Plan to education and training, to rural development and the diversification of economic activities, to family planning and to applied agricultural and industrial research, will yield sizeable returns in the years ahead. The First Malaysia Plan has been formulated as the initial phase in a 20-year Perspective Plan of economic and social development, which envisages the attainment of a level of income per capital of \$1,500 by 1985. The achievement of this long-run target will require that the First Malaysian Plan is implemented successfully and that a rising tempo of development is attained in subsequent Five-Year development plans.

A major share of the responsibility for attaining the income and employment objectives of the Plan will lie with the private sector. In the past, private enterprise has served the cause of development in Malaysia with considerable effectiveness. It has injected into the

economy a degree of vigour and initiative which is one of our greatest assets. The Government is confident that Malaysia's entrepreneurs, whose number and quality is increasing daily, will continue to render significant service in the solution of the challenging economic tasks ahead.

For its part, the Government will provide whatever technical and capital assistance are necessary. It will expand and orient its educational system to train the men and women required to modernise and energise the Malaysian economy. It will strengthen in Malaya, and expand considerably in the Borneo States, our transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems — all of which are the physical foundation of our economy. It will continue to improve the already high level of social and community services available in the country so that all Malaysians will have the opportunity of leading a fuller, better and more satisfying life.

For its part also, the Government will continue to strive for equality of economic opportunities for all Malaysians. It is all too evident today that despite the massive efforts of the Government in recent years, there are still insufficient opportunities for low-income groups to better themselves. Under the First Malaysia Plan, therefore, the Government will intensify its efforts to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population and other low income groups in urban areas to improve their levels of economic and social well-being. Our work in this direction will not slacken until we are completely satisfied that every Malaysian has the opportunity to participate in the development of his country and to receive in return the fruits of all his efforts.

For all these economic and social development programmes, the Government will spend a sum of about \$3,810 million during the next five years. The bulk of this allocation will be for economic projects. Of this allocation, over \$1,000 million will be for agricultural and rural development. The remainder will be for roads, ports, communications, power, water supplies and other economic services. More than \$800 million will be for social services, of which education expenditure will take up more than half. Housing will take up \$190 million largely for low-cost housing and accommodation for public employees in the industrial and manual group. This programme will enable an intensified phase of housing development to take place so that the most immediate problems posed by the housing shortage will be met. The allocation for social services also provides for a large programme of family planning to be initiated. Family planning will be popularised and family planning services will be made available to those who desire them. I have already referred to the serious problem posed by the country's very rapid rate of population growth. The family planning

programme will enable the groundwork for less rapid population growth to be laid. Action in this regard is of the utmost urgency, for if the current rate of growth of our population is not checked, it will be difficult for this country to provide increasing incomes and adequate education and social services to the future generations.

All the Government's economic and social development efforts will complement the programmes of the private sector and together they will provide substantial benefits to the people in the rural as well as the urban areas, particularly to those in the low income groups. Besides the \$1,000 million to be spent on agriculture and rural development projects. Which will directly benefit the rural people by raising their productivity and income levels, expenditure in other areas will also contribute to rural development. Much of the expenditure to be incurred for education, health, transportation and water supplies will be made in the rural areas. Malaysia's urban sector will also share in the development of social and economic services which will take place during the Plan period. Additional housing, education, health, transport and power facilities will contribute to making urban life more pleasant and more productive.

On a regional basis, the allocation for economic and social development expenditure by the Government (excluding that for Defence and Internal Security) will be about \$3,110 million for Malaya, \$3000 million for Sabah and \$400 million for Sarawak. The target for Malaya is about 32% more than similar expenditure in the last five years, while the targets for Sabah and Sarawak are greater by 47% and 57% respectively. The targets for Sabah and Sarawak are also substantially greater than those which the Central Government endeavoured to allocate when subscribing to the Inter-Governmental Committee Report prior to the establishment of Malaysia. Difficult as our financial position will be over the next years, the Government is determined to ensure that as much as possible is spent in the development of these two States. This is essential if their level of development is to be brought closer to that of Malaya. The targets for the Borneo States do provide for this. In fact, if the cost of accommodation facilities for the armed forces and police is taken into account, the total sums allocated to the Borneo States are more than 80% greater than the comparable amounts spent in 1961-65. They constitute the maximum amount of funds that can be used for the development effort within the technical and administrative capacities of both Sabah and Sarawak.

The development expenditure programme of the Government of \$4,550 million during 1966-70 also provides for \$70 million to be spent on expanding the nation's military and police capabilities so that

with the help of our friends abroad, Malaysia will be able to withstand any potential threat from its enemies in and outside the country. It is unfortunate that expenditure of the scale envisaged for military and police requirements is necessary. But we have no choice in this matter. For so long as any threat against our existence and ideals is imminent, we must be prepared to meet it. All our efforts at building up an independent, democratic, happy and prosperous Malaysia would come to nought if we were to be defeated by those powers and forces which are unceasingly attempting to subjugate this nation, its people, its ideals and its spirit.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the First Malaysia Plan is indeed a bold programme. And its financing will present a challenging task to the Government for, in addition to the cost of the development effort, the Government's need for recurrent expenditure is also rapidly mounting. Every endeavour will be made to curb expenditure for recurrent purposes through intensified attempts to minimise the cost of Government operations. Even then the increases that will be required in recurrent expenditure will be sizable in view of the expanding and widening responsibilities of the Government particularly in the fields of education, health, communications, defence and internal security.

It is therefore unavoidable that the Government has to seek additional financial resources through taxes and charges of various kinds and further domestic borrowing. In this endeavour, we call for full cooperation from all Malaysians who have the interest of their country at heart. The Government will be constrained in its endeavour to promote economic and social development if Malaysians themselves do not continue to play their part in shouldering their responsibilities. The Government appreciates that Malaysians are already contributing in taxation a portion of their income which is comparable with that in many other progressive countries. We ask simply that Malaysians accept the responsibility of contributing in taxation the same proportion of the country's national income throughout the next five years as they are doing today. We also ask that individuals, businesses and institutional investors increase their purchase of government securities. Honourable Members will, I am sure, agree that in terms of the substantial benefits that will accrue to us and our children, these sacrifices will be worth making.

The Government will supplement resources obtained through taxation and domestic non-bank borrowing by running down its accumulated assets and by borrowing from the banking system. The amount which it is planned to obtain from the latter source has been very carefully considered, for we are determined not to create in-

flationary conditions which would undermine this country's financial stability. Such a situation would prevent the attainment of our investment targets. It would also bring about much suffering for most of us since it would lead to a progressive reduction in the purchasing power of our incomes.

After allowing for the recurrent expenditure needs of the Government during the next five years, the funds which will be available for public development expenditure will amount to \$2,650 million. As the development expenditure programme requires \$4,550 million, the Government intends to finance the remainder of \$1,900 million by seeking foreign loans and foreign grant assistance. We will justify such support through continued financial policies which are sound and development policies which take every possible advantage of favourable opportunities for private and public economic progress.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Malaysia has received some assistance from many countries in and outside the Commonwealth in the last five years. For this we are indeed very grateful. In the five years, when our problems and difficulties will multiply, it is our hope that our friends abroad will respond to our requests for much greater assistance than we have received in the past. We are confident that our requests will not go unheeded for they, as much as we, firmly believe that there is much the developed nations can do to help the poorer nations in their endeavour to attain a higher standard of living. But, if for one reason or another, our confidence in their professed intentions is misplaced, then we shall have no alternative but to trim our development programmes. This would indeed be unfortunate, to say the least, for the programmes incorporated in the First Malaysia Plan have already been severely pruned and the level we have set is the minimum necessary for maintaining the tempo of development in this country.

Another problem which will effect the rate of economic progress in this country is the shortage of trained and skilled manpower. This will affect the development efforts of the Government as well the private sector. The problem is particularly serious in Sabah where there is an acute shortage not only of skilled but even of unskilled manpower.

These shortages have resulted in a rate of development in the recent past which is lower than might otherwise have been achieved. Although significant progress has been made in increasing the output of trained and skilled personnel, the problem is still of sizable proportions. It will continue to constrain the development of the economy in the next five years. And if bold measures are not taken to step up the develop-

ment of this nation's human resources immediately, the deficiency of skilled man-power will continue to plague us far into the future. This is a predicament which we must avoid. In this age of science and technology, the rate of Malaysia's economic development will be determined not only by our material resources but also by our success in developing and in utilising effectively the intellectual capacities of our people. It is for this reason that high priority is being given in the First Malaysia Plan to education and training. It is also for this reason that our education system is being re-fashioned. We want to meet not only the objectives of nation-building and universal literacy but also the economic goals of our country by producing an increasing number of Malaysian teachers, agricultural specialists, engineers, technicians, economists, doctors and administrators.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have already indicated to this House the nature of the many economic and social problems which confront this Nation. We cannot and must not underestimate their gravity. Malaysia is too dependent on rubber and tin. Our population is growing too rapidly. There are still wide disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Our supply of skilled and trained man-power is much too low. By their very nature, these formidable problems cannot be solved overnight. But if they are not progressively attacked and ultimately resolved, then the Malaysian economy will in time come to an awful standstill. We have no time to lose. We must intensify the onslaught on our basic problems now.

We the Government and the people of this country must brace ourselves to this challenge. We must undertake all that is required of us to meet it. This Government commits its energies and its resources to this task. In turn, each and every Malaysian must similarly dedicate himself to do all that is within his power and his means for the development of his country. Only in this way will national prosperity be progressively achieved. Only in this way will all our people — in Malaya, in Sabah and in Sarawak — be provided with the opportunity of an increasingly better and happier life. The stakes are high. If we fail, national unity will be jeopardized and our very existence as a nation will be imperilled. If we succeed, and succeed we must, we will have taken a major step forward towards the creation of a more united, secure and prosperous Malaysia.

Sir, I beg to move.

UCAPAN TIMBALAN PERDANA MENTERI DI PEMBUKAAN RASMI MASJID JERANTUT, PAHANG, PADA 17 DISEMBER, 1965

Saya mohon maaf kerana tidak dapat hadir bersama-sama di majlis pembukaan rasmi Masjid Jerantut, pada hari Jumaat yang mulia ini. Saya terpaksa berada di Kuala Lumpur kerana urusan Parlimen dan Pertandingan Sukan Semenanjung Asia Tenggara. Sungguh pun begitu, ingatan dan hati saya adalah bersama-sama dengan tuan-tuan dan puan-puan sekalian pada hari ini.

Dengan pembukaan Masjid ini, bandar Jerantut mempunyai sebuah bangunan yang cantik dan umat Islam di daerah ini sekarang sudah mempunyai sebuah tempat amal ibadat yang indah dan saya sukacita memberi ucapan tahniah kepada semua pihak yang telah menjayakan pembinaan Masjid ini. Saya harap dengan adanya Masjid ini umat Islam di Jerantut, khasnya mereka yang tinggal dalam bandar, dalam membuat amal ibadat kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa dalam keadaan yang sempurna. Dalam kita membuat amal ibadat, saya berharap umat Islam di Jerantut khasnya dan di Pahang amnya, tidak akan lupa kepada pekerjaan dan tanggungjawab yang lain yang boleh memperbaiki taraf hidup umat Islam dan membolehkan mereka mendapat kemakmuran dan kebahagiaan hidup dalam abad yang maju ini.

Kerajaan Pusat telah memberi wang sebanyak \$125,000 untuk pembinaan Masjid Jerantut ini dan bakinya ialah pemberian daripada Kerajaan Negeri Pahang. Masjid ini adalah lambang kerjasama yang erat di antara Kerajaan Pusat dengan Kerajaan Negeri dan perkongsian harapan di antara Kerajaan dengan rakyat. Dasar Kerajaan Pusat ialah untuk membina tempat-tempat ibadat Islam yang sempurna, bersih dan indah supaya dengan ini tinggilah mutu ugama Islam, yang maha mulia ini. Saya harap sangat-sangat Masjid yang indah ini akan dijaga supaya keindahan dan kebersihannya sentiasa terpelihara.

Walaupun negara kita diancam oleh berbagai-bagai seteru, tetapi Kerajaan Perikatan telah dapat juga menjalankan rancangan Pembangunan dan Kemajuan bagi rakyat terutama sekali untuk rakyat-rakyat di luar bandar. Rancangan-rancangan Kerajaan telah dapat dilaksanakan dengan baik kerana ada persefahaman di antara Kerajaan dengan rakyat dan saya menyeru supaya rakyat sentiasa memberi kerjasama kepada Kerajaan dalam usaha-usaha kerajaan untuk meninggikan taraf hidup dan membasmi kemiskinan dalam negara kita ini. Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama sedang dibincang dan didebat

dalam Parlimen dan akan diluluskan dalam dua tiga hari lagi. Apakala terlaksana semua projek-projek dan rancangan dalam Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia ini kita akan melangkah satu tapak ke hadapan lagi dalam usaha kita hendak melahirkan satu masyarakat yang adil di mana jurang perbezaan ekonomi di antara rakyat yang berada dengan mereka yang miskin dapat dikurangkan. Saya menyeru kepada semua rakyat di Jerantut dan Pahang supaya melipatgandakan usaha mereka; mempunyai tanggungjawab yang lebih terhadap kemajuan-kemajuan diri masing-masing dan negara. Negara kita kaya raya; Negeri Pahang kaya maka terserahlah kepada penduduk-penduduknya berusaha membuat kekayaan itu. Kita mestilah bercita-cita mahu hidup aman dan mewah dalam dunia ini dan cita-cita ini boleh dilaksanakan jika kita berusaha dan bekerja dengan penuh tanggungjawab dan keyakinan.

Saya berdoa mudah-mudahan tuan-tuan sekalian sentiasa berada dalam pereliharaan Tuhan.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE  
DEVELOPMENT ESTIMATES, 1966 IN THE DEWAN  
RAKYAT ON 17TH DECEMBER, 1965

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the following Motion standing in my name on the Order Paper be referred to a Committee of the whole House:

“That this House resolves that a sum not exceeding \$879,884,370 be expanded out of the Development Fund in respect of the financial year 1966, and that, to meet the purposes of the Heads and Sub-heads set out in the second column of the Statement, laid on the Table as Command Paper No. 32 of 1965, there be appropriated the sums specified opposite such Heads and Sub-heads in the 7th and 8th columns thereof”.

Sir, we have just completed the debate on the First Malaysia Plan and, as I have said just now. I would like to repeat here again that, the Government is very grateful to Honourable Members for their expression of support and appreciation about what the Government has been doing, is doing and will continue to do in uplifting the economic and social well-being of our people of our races throughout Malaysia.

The Development Budget for 1966 which I now present to this House represents the first phase in the implementation of our First Malaysia Plan. The total amount requested is about \$800 million and this is 10% more than the allocation for 1965. Of this amount about \$650 million is for economic and social development expenditure; another \$181 million is for defence and internal security purposes and the balance of \$40 million for the Contingencies Reserve, which is required to meet urgent and unexpected supplementary allocations during the year.

It is considered that total allocation of \$880 million will be adequate to meet the requirements for the first year of the Plan.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the formulation of this year's Development Plan has been guided by two considerations of economy and progress. By economy I do not mean a stand-still budget. Rather, and as in the past, it involves the elimination of unnecessary expenditure on less essential projects and the reduction of costs to the minimum, so that funds released thereby can be used to meet other important programmes.

In the last quarter of this year, the Government initiated an economy drive which is designed to keep the increases in recurrent and development expenditures within reasonable bounds consistent with the economic and financial position of the country. In other words, the objective is to ensure that the financial resources that we obtain through taxation and other measures are effectively and prudently utilised. This calls for vigorous pruning of expenditure proposals submitted by Ministries and Departments especially with regard to those items where substantial reductions could be made without jeopardising the purpose for which the projects were designed to meet.

At the same time, this Budget is a budget of progress. The emphasis on economy in the use of public funds does not mean, as I have said, stagnation or refusal to look upon new challenges, and new opportunities that present themselves to this generation of Malaysians. Far from it, we in Malaysia will continue to work for a larger increment of progress. The efforts so far we have been making and will continue to make in the years to come will enable this country to move forward economically, socially and culturally.

The provisions entered in these Development Estimates are concrete steps in this direction. They provide for the strengthening and building up of our defence capability to meet the threats of external aggression and internal subversion. In the present circumstances, no one can deny the necessity for these expenditures in order to safeguard the safety and sovereignty of our nation. The quest for national security and the maintenance of peace is costly. We are grateful for the assistance which we have received and will continue to receive from friendly Commonwealth countries. We thank them for their support in strengthening our forces by providing additional men, materials and training facilities for Malaysian military personnel.

In the economic field, the Development Budget provides for the progressive development of our land and agricultural resources. We will continue with our rubber replanting programmes and will intensify the diversification of our economy. The Budget also provides for the construction of new roads and bridges that will result in the opening up of new land development schemes besides making it possible for our farmers and traders to move their goods more speedily and at less cost.

Special mention should be made of Sabah and Sarawak where infrastructure development, such as roads, ports, civil aviation and telecommunications, has lagged behind the progress achieved in Malaya. It is our aim that the imbalance in the provision of such basic services should be rectified as speedily as possible and that these receive prior

attention in the First Malaysia Plan. A Government that is progressive and democratic and that has served this country consistently for a decade cannot and will not tolerate conditions of dualism that exist between urban and rural areas and concerted efforts will be made to remedy these.

In the education field, the provision for Malaya is for facilities needed under the new comprehensive schools system. The allocation for education this year amounts to about \$96 million against the total Plan allocation of \$440 million. Through this single endeavour we ensure to our young ones a good start in life which will prepare them to play a useful and meaningful role in our society.

There are other areas which require active Government assistance. One of these is in respect of the establishment of training facilities for skilled workers, apprentices, specialised research workers and technologists, who are urgently required by Government Departments, private enterprises and firms.

The needs for housing of all types are admittedly very great and the Government's effort will be directed to alleviating the shortages experienced among low income groups where the needs cannot or are not being met by private housing developers. Nevertheless, the efforts in the private sector are praiseworthy and it is my hope that property developers will also look to the needs of the lower income groups and in this way complement the activities of the Government in providing low-income houses.

Government revenue is increasing slowly, mainly because of the decline in the prices of our major export commodities. At the same time recurrent expenditure is increasing as a result of defence commitments and the rising level of development activities. The next few years will therefore be a period of some considerable financial strain, although it is expected that by the early 1970s the fruits of our present development efforts will begin to be felt. In order for us to continue with the task of laying down the foundation for further economic growth, we will need very considerable amounts of external assistance more than we have ever received before. The target that we have set for external assistance is \$1,900 million about \$1,000 million to be obtained in the form of loans, and \$900 million by way of grant assistance. Clearly, the needs are great and the task important since the success of the Plan will depend on whether or not we can obtain this level of foreign assistance which represents about 40% of the total expenditure under the Plan.

In order to meet these targets, the attention of all Ministries and Departments will be focussed on identifying projects that may be available for foreign financing and on assembling the necessary information needed for the preparation of project briefs for transmission to potential donor countries and international agencies like the World Bank.

I should now like to dwell upon the question of phasing of our development expenditure over the Plan period. The aim is to ensure a steady rise in the rate of development expenditure consistent with the availability of construction and supervisory capacity. In order to avoid any tendencies towards inflation or deflation. For this reason, the allocations for 1966 have been set so as not to exceed more than 1/5 of the total amount of development expenditure under the Plan. It is particularly necessary to watch very carefully the inflationary situation in Sabah, where it has become more noticeable in recent months, otherwise, the Government will continue to pay very high prices and get less value for the amount expended.

The Government's activities under the First Malaysia Plan are only a part of the overall effort to raise incomes and are mainly designed to provide the impetus for the activities of the private sector. This country offers the promise of a vigorous nation — it has favourable investment climate, a fast expanding economy and a potential market for a great variety of agricultural, manufactured and industrial goods. Very generous incentives are being offered to industrialists to establish their firms here. There is a record of good industrial relations. Within this framework, I see the possibilities for a wide range of industries that can be set up to cater for the domestic market as well as overseas markets.

Sir, it is up to our industrialists to take advantage of these opportunities and together build up and expand the base of Malaysia's industrial production.

Sir, a Government that is dynamic becomes impatient, if the free play of economic forces proves inadequate to the task, or too slow in its response. This Government has an array of policy instruments that can be used to assist and reward those that are willing to pioneer in fresh fields of activity and penalise the recalcitrant and the unconformists. My hope is that we shall not be forced to resort to drastic measures as the costs will be very high.

The success of the Plan will depend on the extent to which all of us get ourselves involved in this process. I, therefore, ask from each and every citizen of this country, from all walks of life, to give his or her

best in this effort. Much of the day-to-day administration and the leadership at the local district level will fall on Government servants, who in the past have shown a remarkable sense of urgency and purpose. The developed countries today are in the throes of the nuclear and space age. Ours belong to an age of development revolution and our people must not be contented with what the Government is doing for them. The people must equally be development-conscious, and we seek their full cooperation to participate in welding a strong and vigorous nation.

This Government also asks that, in the pursuit of the policies and programmes under this Plan, the whole Public Service should maintain a high level of efficiency and excellence should reduce red tape, break down traditional barriers and prejudices. Only with such an indomitable spirit can the country become truly progressive.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Budget, when approved.

- (i) will meet the requirements for the first year of the First Malaysia Plan;
- (ii) will provide for the strengthening of the defence capability of the nation against the threats of external aggression and against internal subversion;
- (iii) will also accelerate the provision of basic and essential services such as roads and bridges, education and health facilities, water supplies, community centres, etc, particularly in the rural areas, in order to redress conditions of imbalance between the town and the countryside;
- (iv) will advance the development of the nation's human resources and welfare through education and training to provide the skills and manpower requirements for an expanding economy; and
- (v) will ensure the economic and efficient use of public funds by enforcing severe pruning down of non-essential items of expenditure and through other cost reduction procedures.

Sir, I beg to move.

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ON THE  
FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN, 1966-1970 IN THE DEWAN  
RAKYAT ON 17TH DECEMBER, 1965

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi menjawab pandangan-pandangan daripada Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat dan juga bagi menggulung perbahasan di atas Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama ini, saya suka mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat yang telah menyokong usul yang saya kemukakan dalam Dewan ini. Sebelum saya bercakap di atas pindaan yang didatangkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Tanjong<sup>1</sup>, saya suka hendak menyebut dua tiga perkara yang dibawa oleh Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat untuk menambah keterangan-keterangan yang telahpun diberi oleh rakan-rakan saya — Menteri-Menteri di sebelah sini.

Yang Pertama sekali, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok<sup>2</sup> ada mengatakan yang saya ini tidak memberi kepujian kepada Ahli-Ahli Dewan daripada pihak Pembangkang di atas usahanya dalam lapangan pembangunan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sangat susah hendak memberi kepujian sebab tidak ada langsung usaha-usaha yang diperbuat oleh mereka itu, bahkan kebanyakan mereka itu sentiasa menidak-nidak dan mengecilkan pekerjaan-pekerjaan dan juga kejayaan-kejayaan yang telah dicapai oleh pihak Kerajaan. Kalau mereka itu ada sedikit pun membuat jasa, saya sedia hendak memberi ucapan terima kasih tetapi sebab tidak nampak langsung, susah sedikit hendak memberi terima kasih.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Raub<sup>3</sup>, ada mencadangkan bahawa mustahak Ahli-Ahli Dewan Rakyat ini menjadi Ahli Jawatankuasa Pembangunan Luar Bandar Negeri. Saya telah menimbangkan perkara ini dan telah menulis kepada Menteri-Menteri Besar dan Ketua-Ketua Menteri untuk hendak mengadakan perhubungan di antara Kerajaan Negeri dengan wakil-wakil Rakyat — baik di peringkat Persekutuan dan juga peringkat Negeri. Saya telah mengesyorkan supaya diadakan mesyuarat antara Menteri-Menteri Besar dengan wakil-wakil Rakyat dua bulan ataupun sekurang-kurangnya tiga bulan sekali supaya dapat semua wakil-wakil Rakyat mendengar keterangan-keterangan daripada Menteri-Menteri Besar dan Kerajaan Negeri dan dapat mendatangkan buah fikiran terhadap Rancangan-rancangan Pembangunan. Jadi saya nampak susah sedikit kalau hendak ditaruh Ahli-Ahli Yang Berhormat dalam Jawatankuasa Pembangunan Luar Bandar Negeri sebab Jawatan-

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lim Chong Eu.

<sup>2</sup> Encik Abu Bakar bin Hamzah.

<sup>3</sup> Encik Hussein bin To' Muda Hassan.

kuasa itu ialah dihadkan kepada pegawai-pegawai negeri sahaja dan Ahli-Ahli Majlis Kerja atau Exco Negeri.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Jelebu-Jempol<sup>4</sup> ada memberi pandangan bahawa pada fikirannya elok rancangan-rancangan pembangunan luar bandar yang dijalankan di serata daerah itu dikaji semula dari satu masa ke satu masa, supaya rancangan itu dapat berjalan dengan lebih sempurna. Saya suka yang perkara ini dijalankan di peringkat Jajahan dan juga peringkat Negeri bahkan memang dikehendaki yang Jawatankuasa Pembangunan Luar Bandar Negeri dan Jajahan itu sentiasa menyemak rancangan-rancangan yang telah dijalankan dan juga memperhatikan rancangan-rancangan yang sedang dijalankan, juga dengan cara yang semacam itu kemajuan-kemajuan kita dapat berjalan dengan teratur dan dengan sempurna.

Now, Sir, as usual, Honourable Member of the Opposition have sought to amend this Motion proposed by the Government, and, as usual, as has been customary on their part, they have sought to belittle the efforts and the success of the Alliance Government in building a more united, secure and prosperous nation. Certain Opposition Members in this debate have spoken as if they possess all the answers to Malaysia's problems. The interesting point, however, Sir, is the fact that they have offered no alternative programme which bears even the slightest comparison with the dynamic strategy of the Government's Plan. I should like to remind Member of this House that, while the Government appreciates and is ready to listen to constructive criticisms, I am sure the people of this country would not allow Members of the Opposition to indulge in distortion of facts to mislead the public. More often than not, they deliberately try to exaggerate the economic and social problems with which our country is confronted and belittle the Government's outstanding record of success in development.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong in moving and amendment to the Motion standing in my name, Sir, suggested that the words "just" and "equal" be added between the words "united" and "secure" in the original Motion. Now, in moving this amendment, he spoke at length, among other things, about the need for more equal distribution of the income of the people. Well, Sir, I consider this amendment is quite unnecessary. The whole concept and objective behind our Development Plan is to narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" while generating the growth and expansion of our economy. As I said in moving this Motion, we do not believe in out-dated doctrine or textbook doctrine; we believe in practical planning which can meet the situation and circumstances occurring in our country; and we believe in a plan which embodies principles and policies and policies which, in the past, have clearly produced results. Our concept of united, happy and

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<sup>4</sup>Encik Mohamed Idris bin Matsir

prosperous Malaysia is that there should be greater justice and equal opportunities for our people. We cannot, of course, make everyone equal in all respects because this is clearly not possible. But what we intend to do is to give equal opportunities to all our people of various racial origins to improve their economic condition and to have a decent standard of living in a civilised society. In doing this, we will not take away the rights and privileges of one section of the community and give them to the other. In doing this, we intend to give all sections of our people greater opportunities and a bigger share in the progress and prosperity of our country. Our Development Plan, particularly our rural development plan has been carefully planned and thought out with this objective in view, that is to say, to level up the income of our people, particularly the "have-nots".

Now, the Honourable Member for Tanjong talks about democratic socialism. Sir, quite obviously he is drawing inspiration from his colleagues south of the Causeway. It is interesting to see, Sir, whether there is real democracy practised there, or whether any form of socialism is being carried out there. We, in this country, as I have said in moving the Motion, do not believe in empty slogans, and I ask the people not to be misled by empty slogans. We believe in concrete results, in achievement and success. We here have shown to the people results in concrete form, in our villages, in our kampungs throughout the country. Therefore, Sir, the amendment by the Honourable Member for the Tanjong is completely unnecessary as was explained by my colleagues from this side of the House, and also by members of the Government backbenchers.

Now, Sir, many Members of the Opposition, especially the Honourable Members for Tanjong and Bungsar<sup>5</sup>, tried to make capital out of the need for an equitable distribution of income. We on this side of House, Sir, need no lecture on what should be done in this respect, because we are fully aware of the needs for more equitable distribution of income and the levelling up of income of the "have-nots". Our development expenditure will continue to be directed towards creating increased opportunities to all the low income groups to improve their levels of economic and social wellbeing. The large expenditure which we will be making in regard to agriculture and rural development, education, rural health facilities and MARA provide ample examples of the Government's determination to continue to bring about a more equitable distribution of income in the country. Also, Sir, our policy of encouraging the establishment of cooperative societies and also the proposal to establish, or has been established now, the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority will, I hope, go a long way towards fulfilling this objective of the Government.

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<sup>5</sup>Encik C.V. Devan Nair

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong has charged that the Government has frittered away its resources and is now having to rely to much on foreign aid. Sir, the answer to this allegation is that the rapid increase in Government expenditure over the last few years has been required by the increasing responsibilities for improving the lot of our people which the Government has undertaken. Now, as Table 2-9 of the Plan shows, development expenditure rose more than five-fold from 1960 to 1965. The results of this expenditure, in term of the rapid economic growth as described in Chapter 2 of the Plan and in terms of the additional economic and social services provided, are impressive indeed. Similarly, the growth of recurrent expenditure is explained mainly by the ever-increasing scope of public activity in education, health, defence and other services. It is only the rapidly increasing expenditure on defence and internal security that we regret having had to make. But we had no choice, Sir, in this. National survival requires that we defend ourselves against aggression by a bigger and aggressive neighbour.

In future, too the needs of the country will be increasing rapidly. The Government cannot fail in its duty to respond to these needs, even if the result is financial stringency. Because Malaysia has always managed its affair soundly in the past, and because the needs of the next few years are great, the Government feels that there is a strong case for increased foreign assistance. We would not choose to have the Plan so heavily dependent upon foreign assistance, but we prefer to make every attempt to obtain such aid if it is the only way that the needs of our people can be met.

Now, Honourable Member for Bungsar has suggested that the Plan should make still greater efforts to raise resources internally and avoid so much reliance on foreign financing. He has, Sir, even gone so far as to assert that the sizeable foreign financing target constitutes an attempt to cover up a basic lack of determination to mobilise internal resources for development. Yet, Sir, the Plan is very clear on this. In paragraph 164, page 72, the limiting factors on internal resource mobilisation for the public investment programme are clearly stated. The inflationary dangers of too much borrowing from the banking system are to be avoided. Now, Sir, even more important – and I would like to quote paragraph 164 – is that:

“the financial framework of the Plan has been prepared on the principle of continuing to place major reliance for Malaysian development on the private sectors. The mobilisation of resources for public investment through taxation and domestic borrowing will therefore be limited so as to leave ample means for the financing of the private investment which is crucial for Malaysia’s economic progress.”

The Government, Sir, will make every possible effort to raise more resources internally, but it will not to do so as the cost of inhibiting the growth of private investment or depressing the living standards of our people.

Now, Sir, I would invite the attention of this House to the attempts made by the Honourable Member for Bungsar and the Honourable Member for Batu<sup>6</sup> to create confusion about the employment targets of the Plan. Some of these criticisms, are totally unfounded. Sir, such as the statement that the target of 460,000 new jobs is far less than the increase expected in the size of the labour force which is in fact 460,000.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar has suggested that much of the increase in employment achieved during the past five years might have consisted of workers who were under-paid or under-employed. He implies that jobs on small-holdings and others outside the industrial sectors are somewhat of lower class, and not to be counted as on one-for-one basis. But all of this is mere speculation, Sir. Now, employment of FIDA, or other land schemes, or on land made cultivable by drainage and irrigation, is no less important because it is in small-holdings and not in estates or industry.

Another criticism, Sir, and this one is somewhat mischievous to my mind, the Honourable Member for Bungsar suggests that perhaps the Plan is being over-optimistic in estimating that the labour force of Malaya will increase by 380,000 which is about 10% more than the labour force growth in the last five years. He contends that this projection may not reflect adequately the growth in population in the ages at which young people start their working life. But, the Honourable Member here fails to note that the growth of educational enrolments means precisely that the labour force growth is not as great as would other wise be the case. Many thousands of our young men and women will be in schools and institutions of higher learning rather than seeking work, and I am sure that the Honourable Member for Bungsar would not wish this House to believe that it is bad to plan such an expansion on education.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar also suggested that the job targets represent a questionable strategy for development. He maintains that they emphasize agricultural employment rather than manufacturing, whereas generally in developing countries, he asserted, the emphasis is the other way round. The Government prefers to be realistic with respect to the speed of industrialization that can be attained.

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<sup>6</sup>Dr. Tan Chee Koon

One of the heritages of independence which we had was a very low level of manufacturing. Under the Malayan Second Five Year Plan, however, the output of this sector has increased by more than 11% per year. The present Plan contemplates almost as fast a rate for the next five years. Contrary to what the Member for Bungsar would have us believe, this is an ambitious target requiring all-out public and private efforts.

The Plan contemplates that manufacturing jobs will increase by more than 20% during the next five years, whereas agricultural employment will increase by less than 12%.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong and also the Member for Batu have referred to Malaysia's shortages of skilled manpower particularly the higher level skills. They have contended that the Government has neglected to provide such training in the past and that efforts are just beginning to be made to provide such training. This, of course, is not true, Sir, and I think that the Honourable Member for Tanjong ought to know that the Education Committee Report of 1956, of which he was one of the signatories, and also again the Education Review Committee Report of 1960, did make specific recommendations for the expansion of secondary and technical education. Again, also as a result of the far-sighted policy of the Alliance Government, a separate University was established in Kuala Lumpur as early as 1958. Since then, Sir, the University has been expanding rapidly and at the same time the Technical College and the College of Agriculture have also expanded. So, great efforts have been made in this direction, and it is quite untrue to say that the Government does not know what our manpower needs are. The rapid development of our educational system in the past decade to produce trained people at various levels, and our plans to continue to expand and improve the system as indicated in the Plan, are all aimed at meeting the manpower requirements of the nation. However, Sir, in view of the rapid development and transformation of our economy, it is necessary to carry out assessment of manpower needs from time to time to ensure that the development of our educational system is fully geared to meet the changing needs and ever-increasing needs for manpower.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong alleged that the Perspective Plan is not realistic because no action is taken on economic cooperation with Singapore. Now, the Plan is formulated on the basis of what judgement we can confidently make about our future economic prosperity. The Honourable Member will appreciate that since Singapore's separation from Malaysia, this Government has intended to cooperate largely with the Singapore Government in all matters for the

benefit of the people. However, utterances and actions by the leaders of the Singapore Government have not been conducive to such cooperation. If Singapore Government sincerely desires to cooperate with us on a mutually beneficial basis, we will not only be too pleased to do so. Lately, judging by the pronouncement made by the Minister of Finance of the Singapore Government, there appears to be a change in the attitude of the Singapore Government. However the statement by the Singapore Minister of Labour this morning, as reported in the papers, reflects an unpredictable attitude which we find difficult to understand. This ambivalent attitude is definitely not conducive to creating a favourable climate for discussions of closer economic cooperation. Cooperation must be based on mutual trust and confidence. Therefore, Sir, whatever cooperation that may eventually emerge is yet unknown. It should, therefore, be clear to everyone that it has not been possible to make an assumption on economic cooperation with Singapore. It is extremely difficult to take account of matters in preparation of the Plan on something which is yet undefinable.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu, I am afraid, has a very much confused, or he himself has a very confused notion of how the Plan was drawn up. He says that the Plan consists of a hotch-potch of projects from various Ministers and consists of a simple compilation of projects of all the various Ministries cut down to size and bound together in one volume by the N.D.P.C. Now, Sir, members of the N.D.P.C. he says, all have other important assignments and, therefore, they engage in development planning only as a part-time job. Then he goes on to make a recommendation which he obviously considers to be revolutionary. He suggests that we set up a Planning Department, or Ministry, with highly-trained technical staff to do planning work and coordinating the development efforts of other Departments. In fact, Sir this suggestion of his shows that he knows very little about the working of the Departments, as to how Government formulates development plans.

Now, N.D.P.C., or the National Development Planning Committee, is the main official level body within the Government, appointed to advise the Cabinet on development matters. Its members are drawn from various key Ministries and Departments and the staff of N.D.P.C., including the actual drafting of the Plan, is supported by the Economic Planning Unit, and the E.P.U. works in consultation with State Governments, Ministries, the Treasury, and other Departments. Now, the E.P.U., or the Economic Planning Unit, is a full-time Department technically competent to plan and coordinate and to make recommendations for consideration of the Government. Sir, we can only congratulate ourselves that the Government's organisations for development is in line

with the recommendations of the Honourable Member, and I am only sorry that he does not know the existence of these organisations.

The honourable Member of Tanjong has suggested that the 20-year Perspective Plan will bring Malaysia's level of income per capita only up to the level presently enjoyed by the people of Singapore. Here, I think he is simply playing with statistics. The latest data for Singapore — which are not very reliable — show that per capita income was \$1,350 in 1964. Malaysia's average in the same year was \$910. But, this simple comparison is quite misleading. Singapore is a small city State which depends mainly on trade for its livelihood, while Malaysia covers a large expanse of rural territory, including especially low-income agricultural areas on the Malayan East Coast and also the Borneo States. Income levels in Malaysia's large towns are probably no lower than that of Singapore. But what really counts is not just what the present level is but whether that level is increasing. To raise Malaysia's national average, including all the rural areas and not just the towns, to a figure of \$1,500 or more by 1985 will be a development achievement, to my mind, of considerable proportions. Who can say what will happen to Singapore in 20 years time?

The Honourable Member for Batu pointed to a few shortfalls in development expenditure, and with this in mind questioned whether the Second Five-Year Development Plan has been a success.

In no plan and in no country, can anybody reasonable expect that all development targets will be fully met. In comparison with many other countries, Malaysia's performance is certainly one from which considerable satisfaction can be drawn, if we are to judge our past achievements objectively. Our major objectives are specific and clear. And so is the evidence of our achievements. It has been clearly set in print in the Plan and — it is for all to see, for all who care to witness — the results on the ground have far exceeded our original targets in most cases.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Bungsar has stated that the financial progress for the last five years was not realistic. He says it was "misleading". He has alleged that the original target of \$2,150 million refers only to the expenditure by the Federal Government whereas the Treasury Memorandum clearly stated that the amount of \$2,651.7 million of public development expenditure includes States Governments and Public Authorities. Sir, I would not have bothered to rely on these frivolous observations, if he was genuinely misinformed; but like many Honourable Members of the Opposition, he was deliberately distorting facts. I am inclined to excuse the Honourable Member this time because, when we prepare the Second Five-Year Plan, the Honourable

Member for Bungsar was only a trade unionist in Singapore and could not have an interest in our development efforts. But, Sir, for the benefit of Honourable Member, Sir, I would like to point that on page 55, paragraph 17, it is clearly stated that the estimated requirements to fulfil the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan are about \$5,050 million. Of this amount \$2,150 million will be required for investment by the Federal State and State Government and public enterprises such as the Central Electricity Board, the Malayan Railway and the Penang Port Commission. Now, it is absolutely clear that the original target of \$2,150 million is the total target of public-sector investment, including State Government and all others.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu, while agreeing with the Government that agricultural research is of considerable importance, claimed that there was no increase of expenditure for the period 1966—70. This is untrue, Sir, The Development expenditure for agricultural research in this First Malaysia plan will be in the region of \$17 million for Malaya as compared with the \$5 million in the past five years.

The Honourable Member for Batu also charge that not sufficient attention is being given to the FLDA land schemes. Now, Sir this criticism is clearly unfair and unobjective. No one will question the immense nature of the programme and the many difficulties associated with the implementation. We would admit without hesitation that we would like to have done much more. What is important is to appreciate the fact that this Government is progressively increasing the momentum of land development, while at the same time taking steps to train enough field personnel to establish, operate and manage an increasing number of land schemes. Also Sir, FLDA land scheme is not the only scheme that we have — there are other scheme. There are the fringe alienation and controlled alienation which are being undertaken by the Government.

Now, Sir, a number of Honourable Members of the Opposition criticised the size of the allocation of public development expenditure for industrial development. They considered the allocation too small. Here again, they have misunderstood the role of the Government, vis-a-vis the private sector in regard to industrial development. It was stated very clearly in the Plan that the main operational responsibility for industrial development will be with the private sector and that the role of Government will continue to be to provide whatever assistance and encouragement as are necessary. Much of the programme of the Government will comprise promotional measure like protective tariffs and tax incentives for which capital expenditure is not involved. A full discussion of this programme is contained in Chapter VIII.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar has gone to great pains to examine and consider the First Malaysia Plan. He has deliberately attempted to discredit the boldness and soundness of the Plan. In doing so, it is clear to me that he is deliberately attempting to belittle the achievements and the work done by the Government. In considering our past achievements he has asserted that we have presented the picture only in financial terms and not in physical terms. He referred to Table 2-6 as the only indication of achievement in financial terms. I wonder whether he did read the many sections, particularly in Part II of the Plan which went to great lengths to indicate progress in physical terms?

Now, Sir, listening to him, I wonder whether he did in fact undertake to study the Plan carefully before coming to this House? If so, did he really understand the issues involved? If he did all these, the unmistakable conclusion is that he was prepared to flout facts and reason for the shallow purpose of more destructive criticism. To him, Sir, nothing that this Government does is good for the people.

So, Sir, it is abundantly evident that none of the criticisms made in the course of the debate on the Plan has succeeded in refuting our contention that this Plan is sound, bold and imaginative. Therefore, Sir, we cannot escape the conclusion that the First Malaysian Plan provides a realistic blueprint for meeting the objectives set out in this Motion. Therefore, Sir, it is with great pleasure that I commend to this House the First Malaysia Plan.

SPEECH BY THE MINISTER FOR NATIONAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE GRADUATION CEREMONY AT THE DEWAN LATIHAN MARA ON 18TH DECEMBER, 1965

It gives me genuine satisfaction, indeed, to hear of the continuing progress the college is making in the training of an increasing number of Bumiputeras to take a more active part in the commerce and industry of this country. In my address at the first graduation ceremony exactly a year ago the college had a total enrolment of 181 students — today the figure has increased to 226. Last year there were 50 graduates, this year we have 54. I am encouraged also to hear that plans are afoot to expand the college to cater for an estimated enrolment of 500 residential and about 200 non-residential students in the proposed new college at Batu 3, Klang for completion by 1968. The college not only will offer courses of studies now being undertaken, namely, Accountancy, General Business Management studies, Secretaryship and Stenography but also a number of new subjects including Banking, Statistics and Hotel Management. In line with the important role being played by the Chinese and Indian businessmen in the business life of the nation, I feel that Bumiputera businessmen who really want to be successful in their chosen fields should at least be conversant in either Mandarin, Hokkien, Cantonese or Tamil, apart from English and the National Language. On the strength of this belief we propose to teach colloquial Mandarin, Hokkien and Tamil to students in this college as soon as it is practicable to do so.

MARA invited Dr. O.G. Pickard, the Principal of Ealing Technical College, London firstly to look into the question of linking this college with Ealing in regard to conducting external examinations, and secondly to help the college in planning the proposed expansion, mentioned earlier. I am pleased to say he has given me very encouraging preliminary reports on the subjects and I would like to see those directly concerned with these subjects to study the full report when it comes in, I understand, during the next fortnight or so and get on with the work of planning and implementing it, as soon as possible.

I understand that the proposed site for the new college covering 100 acres has already been approved by the State Government of Selangor and I would like to take this opportunity of thanking them for their generosity and cooperation on this matter.

Last year, I mentioned that it must be our policy ultimately for this college to have its own examinations, acceptable and recognized by

Government and by the business organisations in this country and I am pleased to hear that this college is now preparing a plan for the appointment of a governing body comprising of prominent members of the Government, Commerce and Industry to formulate policies aimed at the development of effective cooperation between the Government and the Business Community, in particular to the type of training businessmen would like the college to undertake to meet the specific requirements of commerce and industry, maintaining the high standards of academic and all round performance so essential for the future well-being of this college and lastly to offer facilities for employment for our graduates. At this juncture I would like to take this opportunity to thank the business community in this country for their enlightened management policies and cooperation on matters concerning the employment of our graduates in their firms, to-date. It gives me added pleasure to hear that the graduates have acquitted themselves well in their work and that their employers are pleased with their performance. As a result of this happy development, there is a considerable increase in the quantity and quality of students applying for admission into the college which is indeed a tribute to the teaching staff in particular, Encik Basha Merican the former Acting Principal of this college who retired in September this year, for all their hard work and leadership qualities in developing this college to what it is today. I trust this will spur the teaching staff on in their rewarding work to development and increase the number of trained manpower which is of vital importance for the industrial development of this country, in the particular context of the First Malaysia Plan. In this we are extremely fortunate to have the services of an energetic and experience officer, Encik Arshad bin Ayub, to serve as Principal of the college with effect from 1st December, 1965.

I trust that this healthy cooperation between the college and the business community will grow from strength to strength. Plans are afoot to conduct sandwich courses, visits to commercial and industrial organisations, especially, their factories, and courses during students vacation. I hope arrangements will be made to run these courses, as soon as possible.

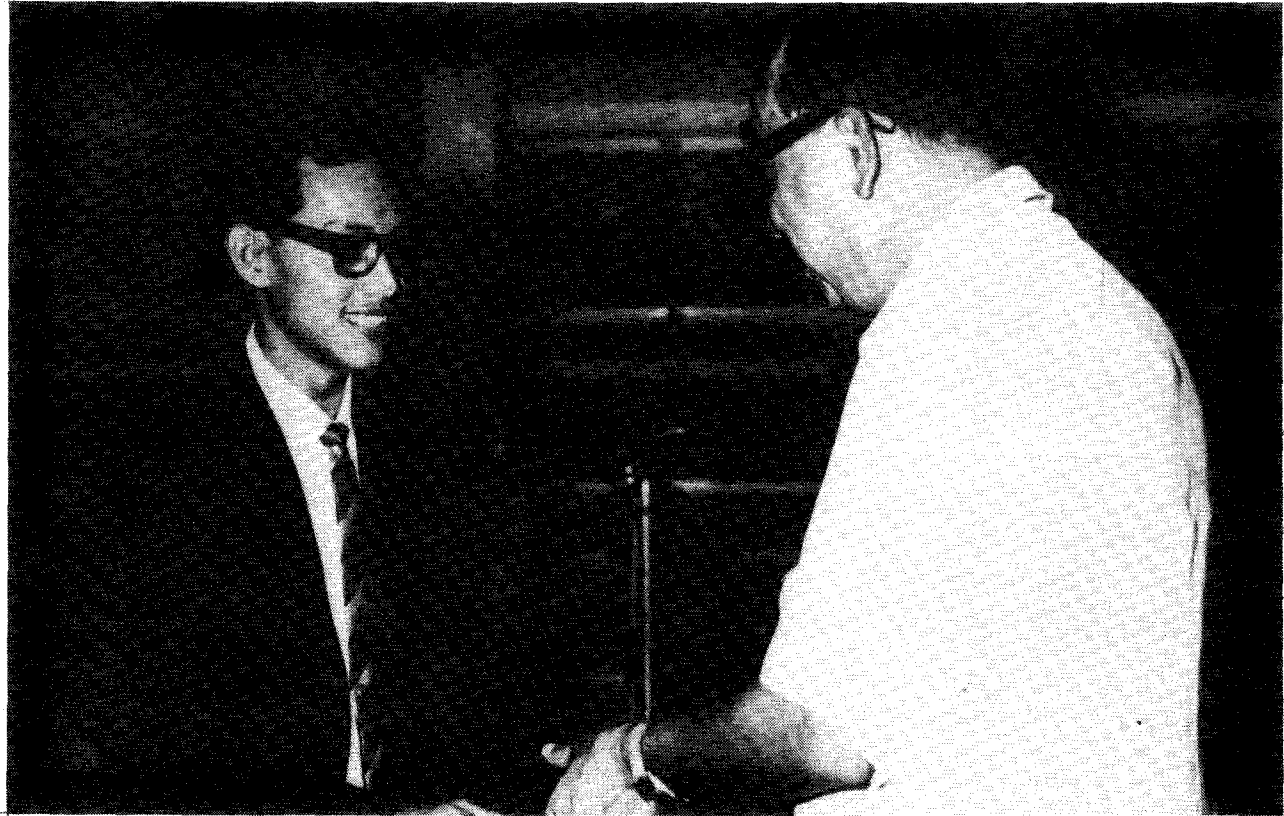
I am very pleased to say that many firms are already responding to our appeal to have students of this college trained during their vacation, particularly, Socfin, Malayan Estates Agencies, Cooper Brothers, Raslan & Ong, Malayan Batteries Ltd., Textile Cooperation of Malaya and Colgate and Palmolive. What I have suggested, thus far, on the question of employment opportunities in commerce and industry applies equally well to Government. I feel that the times has come for Government to look into the employment possibilities for the graduates of this college in certain specific jobs in their organisations where the educa-

tion and training of the students suit them for example, audit, income tax, labour and in some cases the administrative departments.

Before I sit down, I would like to say a few words of advice to those students who are graduating from this college. Competition in the business world is fierce. Only those with initiative, a willingness to plan and make decision and the capability to work hard and productively will survive the gruelling pace. You can get on the top jobs on merit and performance – in other words the business world is a meritocracy in which only the fittest and the most enterprising will be able to stay in business and make profit. The business executives/managers are living in a dynamic and constantly changing environment in which those with character, integrity, adaptability and possessing a strong will to survive, will achieve success in their endeavours. From what I know of the training you have received here and the favourable impression you and your predecessors have created in the business world, I had every confidence that you all will become worthy of my hope and aspiration to accelerate the pace of Bumiputera active participation in commerce and industry. I hope you understand and share this confidence with me and make every effort to continue working as hard as you have done during your student life here.

To those students who are still continuing with their studies I would exhort them to apply themselves more diligently to their studies so that they will continue to better the standards of performance of their predecessors and at the same time condition their mind through more extensive and intelligent reading of business literature and develop more contacts with businessmen to enable them to meet the challenge of a successful career in business.

With this, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all once again especially members of the staff and the business community for responding so well to our endeavours to train and create opportunities for the sons and daughters of Bumiputeras to increasingly participate in business and industrial life of our country. This, as you know is part of our National policy to redress the difference in the standards of living and job opportunity between the urban and the rural sectors of the population for the good of the country as a whole.



*Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein di Upacara Penyampaian Sijil di Dewan Latihan MARA, Petaling Jaya pada 18 Disember, 1965.*

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT THE  
CLOSING OF THE THIRD SEAP GAMES, KUALA  
LUMPUR ON 21ST, DECEMBER, 1965

Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong dan Raja Permaisuri Agong. Ampun Tuanku Beribu-ribu Ampun. Patik sekali lagi menjunjung kasih yang tidak terhingga kepada ke bawah duli Tuanku dan Seri Paduka Adinda Raja Permaisuri Agung kerana sudi bercemar duli ke Majlis yang bersejarah pada petang ini.

Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri, Your Excellencies, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies & Gentlemen,

This short and simple ceremony this evening bring to a close the Third SEAP Games.

I stand here with feelings of both pride and regret, with pride because these Games have achieved brilliant success, and with regret because this is the time for parting between friends.

For seven days we have seen sporting stars, both men and women, even boys and girls, from our six neighbour nations competing in happy and friendly rivalry. The all-round performances they have given, the standard they have set and the records they have produced are truly beyond expectation. These SEAP Games have established new records in 37 events and of these no less than 6 were better than Asian Games figures, and one shattered the world mark.

To all the record breakers we extend our praise and congratulations, but all the other winners, and all the losers too, rightly share in the glory and success for each and every individual and team have contributed to the splendid spirit of sportsmanship that has prevailed throughout these Games from beginning to end. All competitors throughout these games have displayed a genuine sense of honour and respect for the traditions and glory of sport.

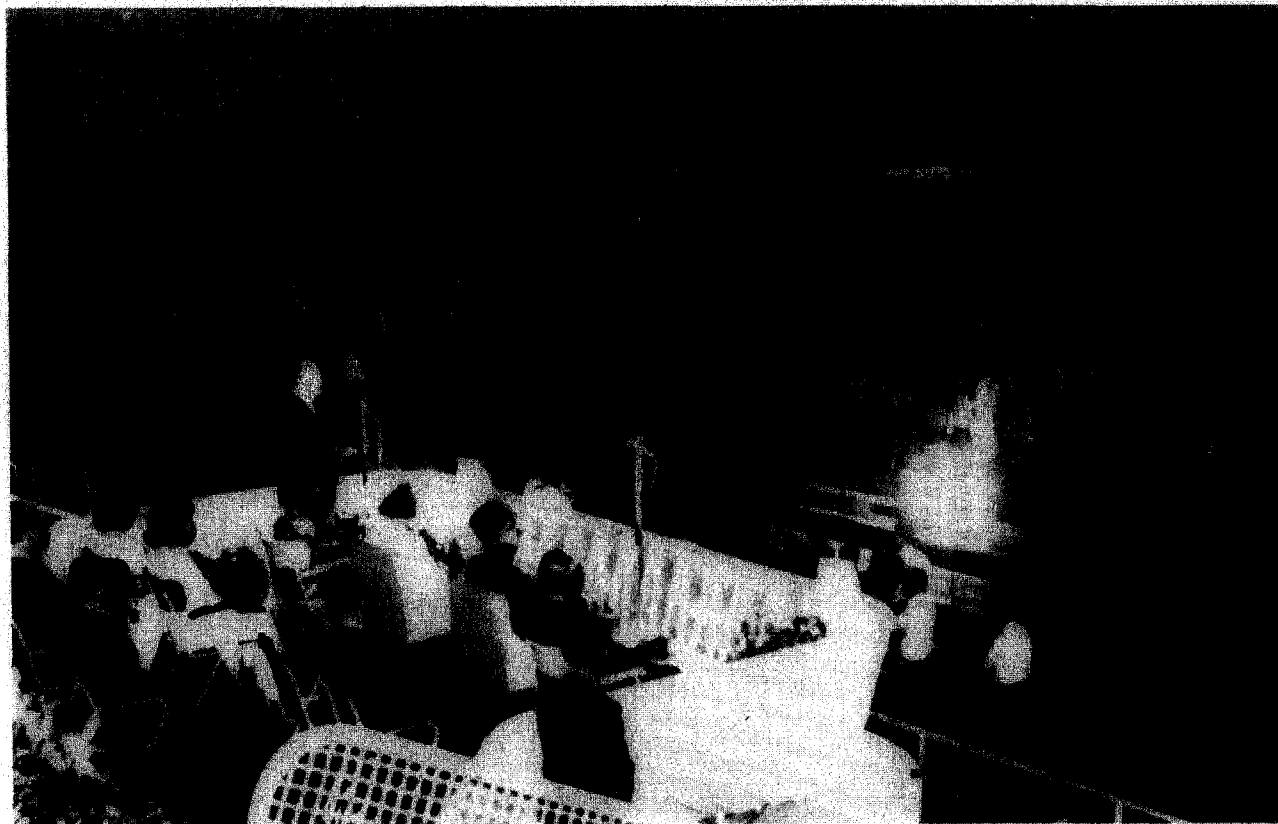
Thrills and excitement are all over now, but the memory of this great festival of sportsmanship will linger in our hearts for a long time to come.

I would like to express to each and every person associated with the organisation of these games my sincere thanks for the great efforts and sacrifices that they have made and to say that our gratitude your reward and the success of these games has been rightly due to you.

Soon the flame that has symbolised these games will be extinguished, soon the SEAP Flag that has flown throughout these games will be lowered and all the participating teams will be returning home. It is my hope that all will retain in their hearts the happiest memories of these Third SEAP Games which we in Malaysia have had the honour of holding in Kuala Lumpur.

It is now my humble duty, on behalf of all who have taken part in this memorable week of sport, to invite His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to declare that the games are ended.

Dengan ini, patik dengan amat sukacitanya mempersilakan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong apakah kiranya sudi mengisytiharkan bahawa pertandingan Sukan Semenanjung Asia Tenggara ini tamat.



Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein sebagai Presiden Persekutuan Sukan Semenanjung Asia Tenggara sedang berucap di Upacara Penutup Sukan Semenanjung Asia Tenggara Yang Ketiga di Stadium Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur pada 21 Disember, 1965.

STATEMENT BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT A  
PRESS CONFERENCE IN RANGOON ON 28TH DECEMBER,  
1965

I am very happy to have made this visit to Burma at the kind invitation of the Burmese Government. We in Malaysia have always been conscious of the traditional ties of friendship existing between Burma and Malaysia and of the need to strengthen these ties and to develop closer friendly cultural and economic relations between our two countries.

In the course of this visit I called on His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers. I feel greatly honoured that His Excellency General Ne Win showed me so much warmth, cordiality and friendship. We played golf together on two afternoons, and this gave us many opportunities to discuss matters of common interest in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

In our discussions which ranged over a wide field we touched on economic and political developments in South East Asia. We agreed that such an exchange of views on vital matters of mutual interest is beneficial to both countries. The goodwill visit had provided us with the opportunity to learn more about each other's efforts to improve the standard of living of our respective peoples.

Burma and Malaysia bring developing countries anxious to devote their entire resources to economic development and national consolidation. In this respect there is a strong conviction on both countries that all nations should have the right to choose freely their own economic and political systems in keeping with their national interests and aspirations.

I was happy to have explained to me certain aspects of Burma's foreign policy. On the solution to international issues Malaysia shares the same view with Burma that such issues should be resolved through peaceful negotiations on the basis of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of each country.

During the tour I was most impressed with the tremendous effort and encouragement to revive, sustain and develop the rich cultural heritage of this country. As we are also engaged in similar effort it is my view that we can foster better understanding and friendship between our peoples by greater cultural exchanges. Similarly, there should be more exchanges in the sport, economic and cultural fields.

Malaysia has long trading relations with Burma but lately the trade has declined. As developing nations, efforts should therefore be made to increase this trade which would be mutually beneficial. To this end there should be more frequent visits by trade missions between Burma and Malaysia.

I delivered an invitation from the Prime Minister of Malaysia to His Excellency General Ne Win to visit Malaysia. I am happy that His Excellency has accepted the invitation and I hope that he would be able to visit Malaysia soon.

I wish to thank the Burmese Government for affording me and my delegation the opportunity to visit several places of interest such as Thauγγyi, Inle Lake, the Defence Services Command and General Staff College of Kalaw, Mandalay and the Air Force Training School at Meiktila.

Where I went I was touched by the sincere and unreserved expressions of welcome and goodwill. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to the Burmese leaders, military officers and other government officials who have made this visit such a fruitful, enjoyable and memorable one.

NEW YEAR MESSAGE FROM THE DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTER, ON 31ST DECEMBER, 1965

Today Malaysia enters its third year of existence — 1966. The year that has just passed saw the separation of Singapore from the rest of Malaysia on 9th August, 1965. As we all know, the decision to separate Singapore from the rest of Malaysia was made for the sake of peace and security of the people of the two territories. The differences between the Government of Malaysia and Singapore have gone to such an extent that it would engulf the country into serious racial trouble unless action was taken to reduce tension. It was hoped that with separation Malaysia and Singapore which have many inseparable ties of history, geography and economy would move forward as two independent territories in cooperation and in friendship.

Throughout 1965, I am very proud of the way in which our people of all races in all parts of the country have manifested their loyalty and have stood solidly behind the Government in facing the threat to the country, both from aggression from without and subversion from within. Our youths have responded magnificently to the National Service call-up and have joined the various voluntary services in the defence of our country. There is still a small section of our people who are indulging in anti-Malaysia and anti-National activities and their presence in our midst constitutes a threat to our Society.

I call upon all true Malaysians of all races to be on guard and to be in a state of preparedness against the threat to our security and to devote all their energies and efforts towards the development and progress of our people and our country.

As has been stated many a time, it is the cardinal principle of the alliance Government to weld together our people of diverse racial origins so that in diversity we will have real unity. It is our determination to eliminate imbalances in our unity. It is our determination to eliminate imbalances in our society so that we will have a just society with a more equitable distribution of wealth, bridging the gap between the “haves” and the “have-nots” of all races closer. We want to provide plenty for all Malaysians, irrespective of race, colour and creed. It is our aim and prayer to provide a better and happier life to all our people.

As an earnest example of the Government's intention, the Government has just introduced in Parliament a bold and imaginative Economic Development plan for the next five years. Despite mounting ex-

penditure in defence and security the Government has decided to allot a large sum of money for development. The Government is sincerely determined to maintain the tempo of development both in Malaya and in Sabah and Sarawak so that our people, particularly the "have-nots" and those who live in the rural areas will be able to obtain better amenities of life and to have a standard of living compatible with a decent civilised society.

The implementation of this Development Plan calls for hard work and sacrifices of our people from Malaysians of all races. Success of a Development Plan must not depend only on investment of Government funds but also on the investment of human efforts. I would therefore like to call upon all our people to work harder and to devote all their energies and efforts in whatever work they are doing as their contribution towards the implementation of our Development Programme and towards the progress and happiness of our country. The successful implementation of this First Malaysian Development Plan will carry our people further forward towards the goal of progress and prosperity. We in the Government will do all we can to see that this Plan is successfully implemented.

The Alliance Government has been in power for the years and during this decade it has not only maintained but greatly strengthened harmony and goodwill and friendship among the different races. It has also brought Malaysia greater prosperity for all our people. The aim of the Alliance Government is to build a strong united Malaysian nation and of a just and satisfying society for its multi-racial and multi-cultural population. Therefore let all resolve to work harder towards the achievement of this aim of a united and happier Malaysia.

As you know I have just paid an official visit to Burma. The goodwill visit was very successful and fruitful, in that, it has further strengthened the ties of friendship between our two countries.

In the course of this visit I called on His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers. I feel greatly honoured that His Excellency General Ne Win showed me so much warmth, cordiality and friendship. We played golf together on two afternoons, and this gave us many opportunities to discuss matters of common interest in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding. In our discussions which ranged over a wide field, we touched on economic and political developments in South East Asia. We agreed that such an exchange of views on vital matters of mutual interest is beneficial to both countries.

The goodwill visit has provided us with the opportunity to learn more about each other's efforts to improve the standard of living of

our respective peoples. Burma and Malaysia being developing countries are anxious to devote their entire resources to economic development and national consolidation. In this respect there is a strong conviction in both countries that all nations should have the right to choose freely their own economic and political system in keeping with their national interests and aspirations.

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On this New Year Day I would like to thank every Malaysian everywhere for his support and loyalty to the country. Together with hard work and in unity we can make Malaysia happier and a prosperous country in which we and our children will be proud to live. I wish everyone a happy and prosperous New Year.

May God Bless Us All.

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*Printed by: Inventra Print Sdn. Bhd.*

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