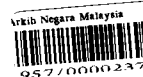




STARAN AKADIAK

DI-TERBITKAN OLEH JABATAN PENERANGAN,
PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU



PEN.8/63/140 (PARE)

MEETING OF DEWAN RA'AYAT
PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON MALAYSIA

Text of speech by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, at the meeting of the Dewan Ra'ayat today (August 12, 1963):-

Mr. Speaker - I beg to move.

"That this House, noting the desire of the people of North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore to be federated in Malaysia with the existing States of the Federation in accordance with the agreement signed in London on 8th July, 1963, hereby endorses that agreement."

Sir, the agreement signed in London was the culmination of a long process of negotiation and discussion, between the representatives of Governments, who were and are fully agreed, that the establishment of Malaysia would be in the best interests of the peoples in the States which will become component parts of this new nation. The tendency in the world today is for the smaller States, with the same identity of interests and sharing the same ambition and hopes for the future, to combine and pool their resources for their common good. The establishment of Malaysia is in trend in this direction, because I believe that only by doing so, will our country and our people be able to survive the stresses and strains facing any new emerging nation in the 20th century and to chart our destiny for the future, ensuring to the country peace and stability, and to the people harmony and prosperity, with each man and woman enjoying at least the basic needs of modern society. Malaysia has no expansionist connotation, as it is not our purpose, nor is it our desire to venture into the realm of colonialism or neo-colonialism. These are concepts which are totally alien to our way of thinking, and as far as we are concerned have already been irrevocably buried in the limbo of the past.

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In the process of bringing Malaysia into being, we have always adhered to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. From the time when Malaysia was first thought of, there had been close and constant consultation between the representatives of the peoples and of the Governments of the States concerned.

All these I have told Honourable Members before and there is no need for me to repeat here, as you are aware that we have had meetings of the Consultative Committee which was set up at the instance of the members of the Borneo Legislature. After that we had the Cobbold Commission which comprised members from the United Kingdom Government and ourselves and the report of the Commission was thoroughly discussed by the people of Sarawak and North Borneo at all levels of their representative bodies. The consultations among the peoples of Borneo and Sarawak in respect of Malaysia culminated in the recent elections which had Malaysia as its main issue. The results are already known to Honourable Members. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, we have not the slightest doubt as to the wishes of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak and that Malaysia had the support of a vast majority of these people. At the same time we had invited community leaders, village elders and councillors and other people of a representative character to visit Malaya to see for themselves how Malaya is being run so that when they returned home they would be able to discuss the prospects of Malaysia more intelligently with their own people having known what it would be like to join up with Malaya.

The concept of Malaysia developed and grew and we have always been satisfied that it has the complete and unwavering support of the majority of the peoples in the various territories, which will become parts of Malaysia. Every possible step had been taken to ascertain the views of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak. Of course in a democracy like ours, we also believe in the fundamental freedoms and hence opposition political parties had been freely expressing their views on this subject. They had been saying that they agreed in principle with the concept of Malaysia, but were opposed to the manner in which Malaysia

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was being brought about, or they considered that Malaysia, as at present proposed, would not be complete.

However, in the debate in this House on the 18th of October, 1961, the House resolved that this House agreeing in principle with the concept of Malaysia comprising the eleven states of the Federation, the States of Singapore and Brunei, the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, endorses the Government's initiative in taking action for its realisation, the progress of which will be reported to the House by the Honourable the Prime Minister from time to time.

Now the concept has become a reality and Malaysia will come into being on the date scheduled, or soon after as recommended by the Secretary-General who has accepted the task of ascertaining the views of these peoples in the territories, as requested by the three countries at the recent Summit Meeting in Manila. In addition a referendum had been held in Singapore, the result of which generally indicated that a great majority of people in Singapore are in favour of Malaysia. A referendum was not held in the Borneo territories because they thought that the people in these territories would not yet know the meaning of a referendum and, if held, would agree unreservedly with the views held by the Government of the day, or the few who would vote against it would do so merely in compliance with the particular party opposed to Malaysia. All the States have now agreed to join except Brunei. As I have said earlier no State will be forced to come in against its will and the Brunei exclusion is a proof of that.

In effect, Malaysia has been generally accepted as a logical evolution in the political and economic progress of our States and the new States which will now join us. When Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak through the wish of the majority of the peoples of those States throw in their lot with us, we must surely welcome them with open arms.

The only reason for any delay is not so much to pander to the tantrums and wiles of others, who under the guise of champions of democracy are bent on hindering and embarrassing the smooth coming into being of Malaysia but a desire to work sincerely for peace. Those people in Borneo are our brothers who have common historical and cultural ties and have gone through the same experience of administration as practised by the Colonial Government. They on their own would never for a long time hope to achieve independence and enjoy the right of living on terms of equality with the free peoples of the world. Their continuance as subject people of the colonial rule will expose them as targets to communist designs and would not share with us the joy and happiness, the pride and privilege of being one with us who are free and independent. Malaysia would be the bulwark against any communist efforts at capturing these territories and ensure the security of the area and above all Malaysia would bring about the demise of colonialism in this region. The only people, I can understand, who have valid reasons to oppose Malaysia are the communists who certainly are against national independence and personal freedom. Malaysia would certainly frustrate their plans to colonise this area and to spread their own form of imperialism over these defenceless and harmless people. The communist imperialism is more diabolical, more destructive and more sinister than any imperialism which the world has ever known or experienced. Communism is not simply a political creed but it is an all embracing ideological concept which is religion in itself except that ^{it} is a man made religion for the purpose of destroying religion that is given by God. As I have said just now the communists are the only people who have valid reasons to oppose Malaysia. Of course in a democratic country like ours we have every right to express our ideas and certainly no one would object to anyone making his feelings known regarding his attitude towards Malaysia, but in opposing Malaysia let us not fall prey to the wiles of the communists who alone would benefit from

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any failure to implement the Malaysia Plan. When I look at the opposition against Malaysia by those non-communist elements I could not help thinking that this is the first time in the whole history of the world that democratic people are opposed to giving independence to subject peoples. The right thinking people of Malaya cannot help but feel that Malaysia is the logical evolution in the political and economic progress of these new emerging States. I would emphasise once again that peace and security of our area could only be guaranteed by the eradication of colonialism through constitutional process and providing for these territories a new deal which would make them equal partners in the free nation.

As you are aware, I have just come back from Manila. There I had taken the opportunity to explain to President Soekarno and President Macapagal that Malaysia was something which the people themselves wanted. It was not the outcome of any imperialist design for the purpose of perpetuating imperialist interests in our part of the world. The paramount consideration has always been the interests of our people and our country and those of the new States joining us. We have never been and will never be a party to anything which we sincerely feel will not be for the good of the 10 million or so people who will now become members of the new nation. The hopes and destinies of these people are sacred matters and we will not sacrifice them on the altar of personal glory or political expediency. They have overwhelmingly come out in support of Malaysia and, come what may, it is our task and our duty to see that we do not fail them.

On the other hand, we also value the good will of our neighbours. The people in Indonesia and the Philippines are bound together with our people by close historical ties and culture going back for several centuries. At the same time we share with them and other countries in this region,

the responsibility for maintaining peace and stability, particularly in our part of the world. These considerations were dominant at Manila and as a result we were able to reach complete accord and understanding. Jointly, we have reaffirmed our faith in the democratic principles in guiding the affairs and shaping the destinies of our people and our aim to work together for our common good.

In view of this, we have agreed in Manila to invite the United Nations Secretary-General or his representatives to ascertain, by a fresh approach prior to the establishment of Malaysia, the wishes of the peoples in Sabah and Sarawak. On our part, we are already satisfied that the preponderant number of the people of the Borneo territories want Malaysia. So do many of our friends throughout the world who have come out openly in support of it. But Indonesia and the Philippines are our close neighbours and it is essential that we should take into consideration their reaction to it, to ensure that they will also be able to join in welcoming the birth of the new nation. That is the spirit and term of the Manila agreement.

We feel confident that the United Nations Secretary-General will give every priority and co-operation in this matter. He has been kept fully informed through his representative in Manila and we have further cabled him, inviting him and his representatives to come immediately to the Borneo States for this purpose. We are satisfied that provided they start immediately, the task of ascertainment can be completed in time before or soon after 31st August.

If, however, the Secretary-General and his representatives were to find themselves unable to complete their task in time, we will have to accept a slight delay, probably for a few days, in the establishment of Malaysia.

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We fully appreciate that all our preparation for Malaysia will be thrown out of gear. But we have to accept this inevitability in the interest of goodwill and understanding and above all peace in Asia. I therefore ask all concerned to bear with me. We had always been committed to the 31st of August. But as a clear indication of our sincerity of motive and purpose, we are agreeing to this course of action despite all the difficulties and embarrassment, which are bound to result from this change of date.

I feel sure that the United Kingdom and other Governments, who are joint signatories of the Malaysia Agreement in London will appreciate the wisdom of our action. It is to their and our interest to ensure that Malaysia is brought into being with the goodwill of all our friends and neighbours. We have done all we could to clear the doubts and misapprehensions of our close neighbours, and it will be a pity to prejudice the future of Malaysia by taking an uncompromising stand in this matter.

We have agreed to the idea of observers witnessing the Secretary-General's teams carrying out the tasks in the Borneo territories. All parties have already understood it that these observers will in no way interfere with the work of the Secretary General and his team. We have received assurances from the Secretary General that he will carry out his task with the utmost despatch and with the least possible delay.

His working teams are expected to arrive in the Borneo territories any moment now. The latest information is that the advance party is arriving today. We have already received the concurrence of the British Government and the Governments of the Borneo territories who also have undertaken to give their fullest co-operation in facilitating the task undertaken by the Secretary General.

I am thankful for the understanding shown by Mr. Donald Stephens, Chief Minister designate of Borneo, and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew who out of regard for me would have no objection to slight delay in celebrating Malaysia.

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The opposition parties in a letter to me sent late last night, copy of which appeared in the press this morning, urged me to dissolve Parliament and hold a general election before proceeding with the debate on Malaysia. This is a last minute idea to embarrass and harass the Government when the opposition as well as the whole country knows only too well that discussion and debates on Malaysia had been going on in this House for well over a year. Views and opinions had been aired in this House fully and freely, objections had been made and recorded. No challenge had been issued to the Government to resign at any time before, and at this very late hour this was suddenly done. Obviously the opposition does not expect the Government to be childish enough to take them seriously and give in.

Elections had been held recently in the local and town council election and the issue of Malaysia was played up by the opposition, and what is the result of it all? The nation returned the Alliance by an overwhelming majority in the Federation; a landslide victory was achieved by the Sabah Alliance and a good majority voted for it in Sarawak. And here now comes the challenge from the opposition which said "if these conditions are met the way would be opened for national unity on this important issue which is going to affect the lives and destinies of everyone of our people". There can never be unity with ^{who} parties/ hold divergent views in politics and it is in the national interest that we keep the opposition at arms' length. Their views are unhealthy, and on Malaysia issue are destructive, so much so that they can be branded as enemy agents. In the national interest there can be no pact with them.

The letter went on to say "We the opposition parties welcome the Manila Conference and pledge full support to you in the implementation of the accord achieved in that conference." Let me tell the opposition that I would like to make it clear to all Honourable Members that the Manila talks did not deal with the actual formation of Malaysia. The Manila Accord only provides suitable mechanics for the purpose of enabling Indonesia and the Philippines to welcome Malaysia. The steps we are taking now in agreeing to the task to be undertaken by the Secretary-General, i.e. to ascertain the views of the people of the Borneo territories and even to the possible deferment of the date

Borneo territories and even to the possible deferment of the date of Malaysia, springs entirely from our desire to maintain the cordial relationship between Malaya and her two neighbours.

While I welcome your support for the Manila talks let me reiterate here that it does not aim at frustrating Malaysia. The most it can do is to delay for only a few days the Malaysia Day to enable our neighbours, Indonesia and the Philippines, to welcome Malaysia and join with us in celebrating it.

It was also alleged by ^acolumnist in the Malayan Times that we did not send a strong team of officials as did the Indonesian for the purpose of building up a good impression among the opinion makers of Manila. Let me tell this House that there was no need for us to do that. Our case is already made. There was no need for us to go beyond it, and the opinions that count with us are those of the people of this country, the territories of Borneo and Singapore and the party to the agreement signed in London, i.e. Great Britain and other friendly countries.

We realise that opinions in Manila and in Indonesia are against Malaysia because each has its own particular reason for it and its axe to grind in regard to the new nation. I do not wish to go into it for fear that I might sour the relationship that has been built up among our countries as the result of the Summit Talks. The Manila Accord is itself a proof that what we have set out to do we have achieved. There is no need therefore for us to win over any opinion makers from anywhere, so long as we are satisfied that the coming of Malaysia will be heralded ^{by} angels of peace and welcomed by those neighbours of ours, Indonesia and the Philippines. The officials had played their cards well in a manner so sober and dignified that whatever may be expressed in Manila the fact remains that they had made a good impression on the people of Philippines as a whole. Sensationalism may be a creed with some but sober thinking and sober politics have brought Malaya to the fore among the happiest and most prosperous nations in Asia, and so let us keep sober and sane.

Talks and empty boasts which may impress others do not worry us much. All we have set out to do is to ask for peace and we give thanks that that has been agreed. There is no point therefore in playing up to a talk which is likely to harm the prospect of peace. Therefore I do not wish to say any more on the subject as the people of this country are able and capable to form their own opinion, and from their reaction to the Manila Talks I am satisfied that the whole country is with me except of course those who are against me and they are against me in any case.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, during these last so many months the United Kingdom Government, we and our future partners have been working closely together in connection with Malaysia. Our discussions and negotiations had always been carried out in an atmosphere of friendliness and understanding. We all have always been firmly convinced that Malaysia will be in the best interests of Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. What remained to be done was working out the constitutional framework for realising the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Malaysia. It was also all the time appreciated that there should be safeguards for the special interests of the component States. We are in various stages of development and a happy and prosperous nation can only be built on a basis of mutual trust and confidence. Our objectives are the same but the territories have their own special interests and by giving full cognisance to this, we feel confident that we can together build up a thriving and happy nation.

Nevertheless we have also been aware that there should be a strong and effective central Government. Without a central Government with the necessary powers to carry out the constitutional and administrative responsibilities, Malaysia will not be a success. We have already seen what happened to Federations which, in deference to local and provincial interests, had been set up with inadequate powers in the centre. Such Federations cannot last for long and all the trouble taken to set them up has been in vain. Peoples' hopes and aspirations would be frustrated and the set-back in their social, economic and political progress will be disastrous. We would not wish this to happen to Malaysia and had therefore been taking a firm stand on the need for a strong central Government.

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We regret that Brunei which originally intended to come into Malaysia, has decided not to do so. This is a proof, I repeat, that no State is forced against its will to join Malaysia. Whatever they have decided, we will continue to be their good friends and neighbours as we have always been in the past. We wish them happiness and prosperity in the future.

What happened in relation to Brunei should nail the lie that we have been throwing our weight around. We respect the right of these peoples to decide for themselves. In the case of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak we have decided to go ahead with Malaysia. There had been close and constant contacts between representatives of the people, and the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee merely provided machinery for what had been ^{going} on all the time. The Lansdowne Committee was set up to work out the necessary constitutional arrangements for bringing in Sabah and Sarawak together with the safeguards to be provided for the special interests of their peoples. Concurrently the officials of the various Governments have been in close touch in order to work out the necessary Governmental machinery. In all cases, we were like members of one family preparing the blueprint for Malaysia, rather than members of opposing factions trying to get the best for themselves. These tedious months of negotiations had been months well spent. Not only have we worked out the framework for Malaysia but we have also nurtured in the process, the meeting of minds and the understanding of each other's needs and points of view without which Malaysia will not succeed.

I would also like to take this opportunity to record our appreciation of the attitude of the United Kingdom Government. From the beginning they have been unwaveringly in support of Malaysia. In the light of recent history, you will appreciate that they have come to realise that protectorates and colonial territories are things of the past. They also realise that the millions in Africa and Asia, formerly under their colonial tutelage must now be allowed to work out their future destinies. But they also have a responsibility to ensure that their erstwhile colonies do not immediately plunge into chaos and confusion or become political vacuums with the attendant uncertainties and miseries for the people of their former colonial territories.

No doubt, taking these matters into consideration the United Kingdom has on their part been satisfied that Malaysia is the answer, although this will mean surrendering of sovereignty over the new States now joining us. Their ministers and officials have been giving their fullest co-operation and it was fitting and appropriate that the climax to these negotiations and consultations took place in London with the signing of the Malaysia Agreement on 8th July this year.

I would also like to record our appreciation of the support and co-operation of the representatives of the Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak Governments, particularly the Prime Minister of Singapore and the official and unofficial leaders of Sabah and Sarawak. Their unstinting support and unshaken faith in Malaysia have enabled us to weather the storms of the preceding months. Their high sense of purpose and political maturity hold out great promise for the future. We therefore feel confident that our partners in Malaysia are partners worth having. We will be facing the critical times ahead, in the knowledge that we have with us, for better or for worse, people dedicated to the cause of the nation as a whole, who will share in our joy and prosperity and stand firm with us in the defence of our rights and of our country.

I must also thank my able Deputy, Tun Abdul Razak, and those Ministers and officials who had been representing us in the negotiations and discussions on Malaysia. They have been bearing the brunt of the work on our side. We are grateful to them and their real reward will be in the knowledge that they have played their part in making Malaysia a reality.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the birth of Malaysia will mean realisation of the hopes of the millions of people in our country and in the States joining us. For better or for worse they have decided to band together and bring into being the new nation. Our duty and our obligation have been and will always be merely to guide and channel the desires and aspirations of the people along lines which we consider to be for their ultimate good. In the process we have had the support of all those who have at heart the interest of our people and our country, not only for the present but also for the years to come. There are others who, for motives best known to themselves, have

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criticised and opposed us. We on our part are firmly convinced that Malaysia and only through Malaysia can our country and the new States survive the stresses and strains of the modern world. Only through Malaysia can we become a virile and prosperous nation ensuring peace, stability and happiness to our people. We will not be 'swayed' from our course by the cries of those who are out to wreck Malaysia for their own selfish ends. With the grace of God, Malaysia should become a reality on the 31st of August or thereabout. Much depends on the speed which the Secretary-General of the United Nations can complete his work. We will then be ready to face the future and with the overwhelming support of our people here and those in Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, who will be throwing in their lot with us, we have every confidence that we will succeed. We sincerely believe in the correctness of our decision and the wisdom of our action. Let posterity judge for itself.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I therefore ask this House to accept this resolution.

KUALA LUMPUR
12 hb Ogos, 1963.

(di-kelurakan pada pukul 1.15 t/hari).
