



"Sarawak Historical Events"

(The Formation of the Federation of Malaysia)

1961 - 1963

— Compiled By HO AH CHON —

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(The Formation of the Federation of Malaysia)
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By Ho Ah Chon



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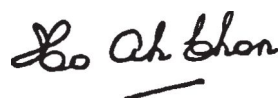
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HO AH CHON

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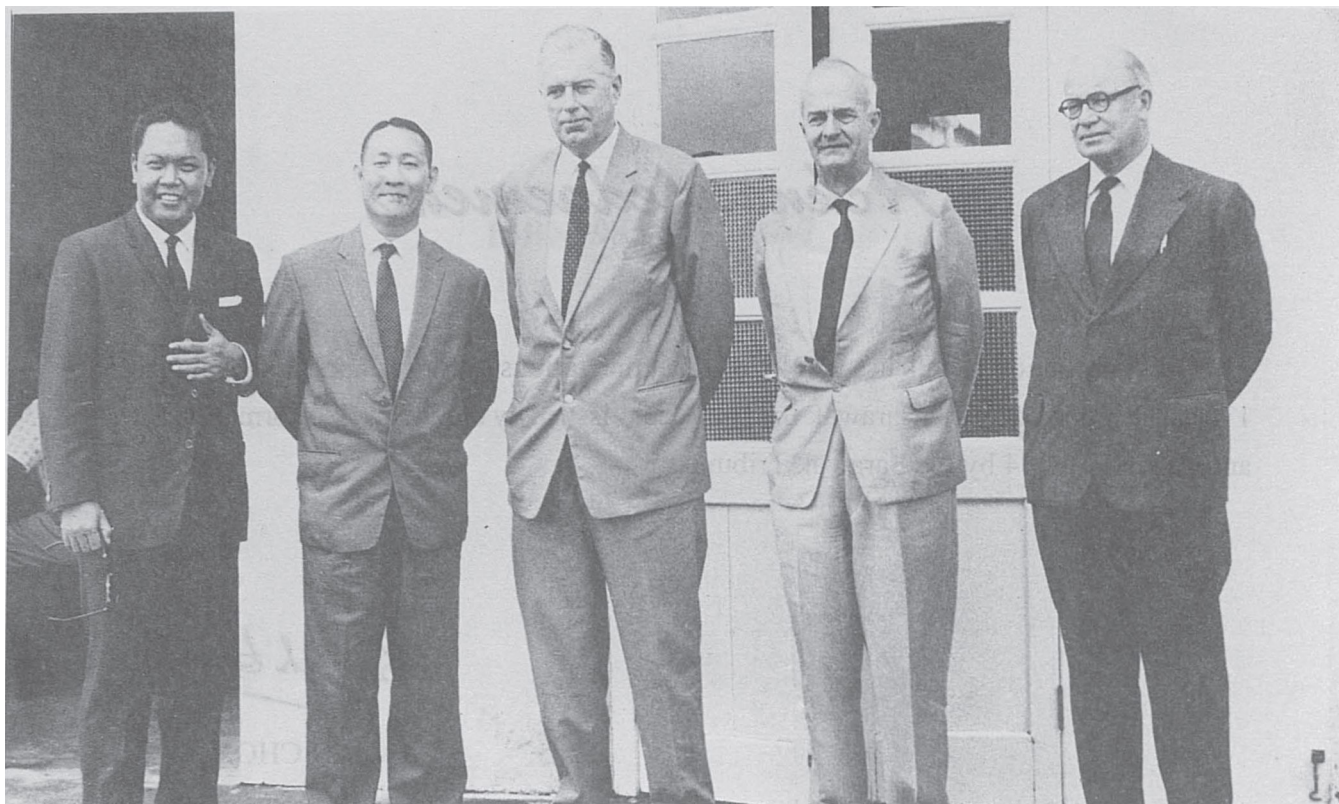
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ILLUSTRATIONS



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

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

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

(S.I.S.)



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

(S.I.S.)

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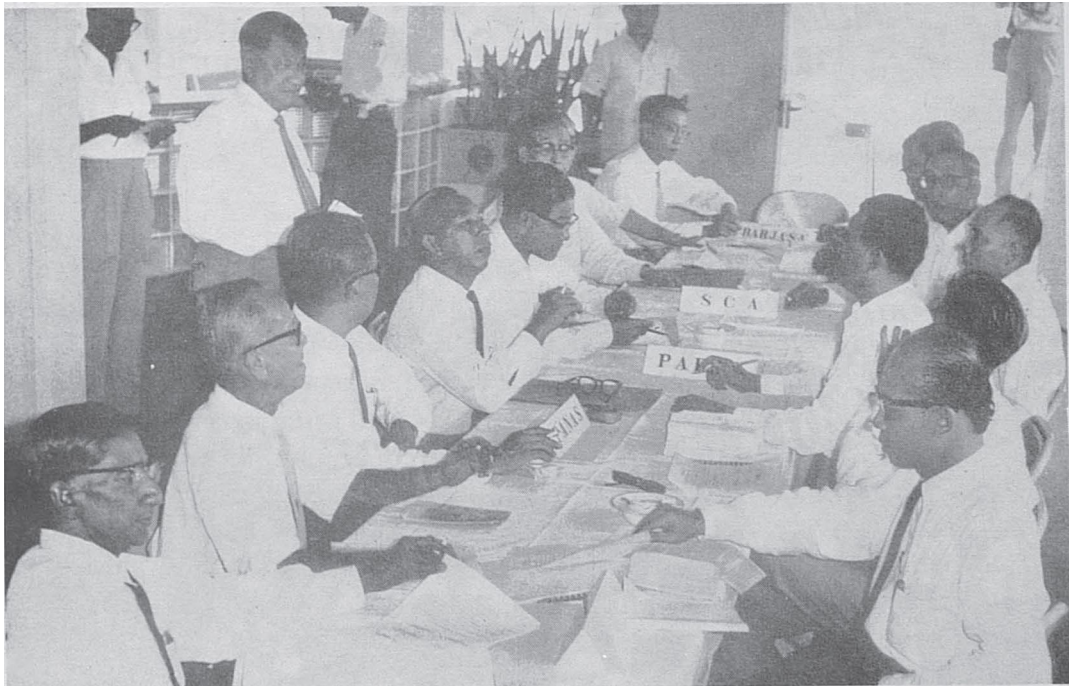
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ILLUSTRATIONS



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

(S.I.S.)



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

(S.I.S.)

ILLUSTRATIONS



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

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

(S.I.S.)



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

The Party was defeated in the last general elections and managed to secure only five seats in Council Negri. *Picture shows one of the Supp rallies in progress during 1962.*

(S.I.S.)

MALAYSIA COMMITTEE MEETS IN JESSELTON ASSURANCE GIVEN BY MALAYA

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

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

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

Sarawak was represented by Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, of Kuching, Inche Ainnie bin Dhobie, of Sibuluan and Mr James Wong of Limbang, all members of Council Negri.

A communique issued after the meeting said that the Committee had discussed the status and right of the individual territories within the Malaysia framework and such subjects as language rights, freedom of religion, educational policy, land rights, immigrational problems and economic relations.

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

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

Apologies to Brunei

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He stressed the need for such co-operation to be speeded up and improved because, he said, "when under the plans for Malaysia these co-operative efforts will become activities within the same

national boundaries - so the more easily maybe benefit of each territory's experience and wisdom be made available to one another."

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

Policy of Liberation

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

The charges of imperialist designs were totally absurd and impossible within the concept and meaning of the Malaysia Plan as envisaged through the constitution of the Federation of Malaya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Sarawak parliamentarians interested"

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe of Sarawak was the next speaker and expressed the interest parliamentarians in his country had taken in the Malaysia proposal.

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

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

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

After the opening speeches the meeting went into a closed session at the conclusion of which

a communique was issued.

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

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

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

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

"The delegates also discussed such subjects as language rights, freedom of religion, educational policy, land rights, immigration problems and economic relations.

The communique then stated that the committee agreed:

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

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

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

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

Composition of the delegations

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

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

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

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

MALAYSIA TALKS IN KUCHING

PARLIAMENTARIANS CONFIRM SUPPORT

'GREAT STRIDE MADE'

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

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

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

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

The final communique issued at the end of the meeting, held from Monday to Wednesday under the chairmanship of Mr Donald Stephens of North Borneo, disclosed that Religious Freedom; Representation in the Federal Parliament; Civil Service staffing; Migration; the National Language; Economic Development; and Finance, were some of the main point raised and discussed.

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

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

During the second and third committee sessions they discussed the papers presented by the North Borneo, Sarawak and Malayan delegations dealing with the constitutional and political problems relating to the Malaysia concept, and the economic basis of Malaysia. The Malayan delegation presented a booklet in question and answer form on the issues involed in the concept of Malaysia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Representation in Central legislature

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

They were assured by the Federation delegation that the universal practice in all democratic countries is to give weightage of representation to less densely populated areas. This principle would apply to the Borneo territories which are all rural.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Economic Development - "The Federation of Malaya delegation assured the three Borneo territories that the rate of economic sense because I am convinced that given the facts and knowing that the safeguards they want can be attained, they will all gladly see their country become a partner in Malaysia."

'Snags in plenty but

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

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

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

many, too soon for their liking."

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

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

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

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

"I know for certain however that many of us have different views regarding the manner and capital development would be much more than their present development with the aid of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He added: "I do not say this in a defeatist in which we are to achieve this object. I think, if we are to get anywhere at all, we must also consider it the duty of this Committee to try to channel the views of all concerned in such a way that a concerted effort may be made towards the achievement of this desirable object."

'Problems can be solved'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Bright new moon' - Dato Ong

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

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

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

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

After referring to the results of the recent London talks between Malayan and British Prime

Ministers, he said: "Our present meeting is held at a momentous time: I say this because very shortly the Joint Commission will be set up and will be arriving here to ascertain your views.

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

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

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

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

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

'Doubts and fears proved groundless'

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

"In a world in which exists a real threat to democracy and nationhood from the Communists, the smaller nations standing along will constantly face the threat of Communist domination and enslavement. The battle is being waged by the communists and the tactics of Communist warfare are many and varied, stretching from subversion to actual armed conflict.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Colonialism - best fertiliser for Red imperialism'¹

"Colonialism is the best fertiliser for Communist imperialism, and subject nations are the best nurseries for the expansion of this pernicious growth. But on the other hand, in independent nations with freedom, democracy and justice, Communism will not be able to take root."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Prosperity in abundance'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, spoke next and after briefly tracing the progress

made towards Malaysia since the Jesselton meeting said: "This rapid development of events within the course of four months is the result of a complex of internal and international forces thrusting us in the direction of Malaysia.

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

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

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

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

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

'The nationalist answer'

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

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

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

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

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

"I hope that all of us will state the specific local interests which need to be protected and reserved. So long as the reservation of these local interests do not retard the development of a strong, stable and prosperous Malaysia, we must make accommodation for each other's problems.

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

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

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

'Give lead to public thinking'

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

"After having drawn attention to the interests of our communities that require special protection,

we must formulate solutions which will safeguard these interests and advance the common good. It is up to us to transmit to our people our faith in our future together in a Federation of Malaysia."

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

He was quickly ruled out of order by the Chairman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Sarawak's views

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the Sarawak delegates said Sarawak would be quite happy to leave external affairs and

all matters connected with defence, including internal security, in the hands of the Central Government.

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

'Misgivings must not become obstacles' - Brunei

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

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

The territories must also make it clear what powers they wanted to retain and what they wanted to concede to the Central Government. Brunei was quite happy about Malaysia because it would have equal status with the present states in the Federation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Much food for thought'

"But the pace which you from North Borneo, Mr Chairman and Mr Yeo as leader of the host delegation, have set in the last two days has given us so much food for thought that the Federation delegation asked for an adjournment to consider its replies. All this is quite unprecedented.

"But the able support which North Borneo and Sarawak leaders have received from their fellow delegates - everyone of whom was a performer in his own right - and the eloquence of our friend from Brunei (Dato Setia Pengiran Yusof) who has filled us with poetry, have left us in no doubt that the future central Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia is going to be a lively chamber, not just for

eloquence and oratory, but also for some hard hitting, longhouse talk of the sweetness of sugar cane, varying with its distance from the root, and of the uniform bitterness of beer."

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

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

Mr Lee went on: "We have got to know each other much better in the last two days. Once the exchange of greetings were over, we wasted no time in getting down to business. We now know clearly the views of the people of Sarawak and North only the views of the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore and the opposition of the Government of Singapore."

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

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

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

'No concrete answers' - Brunei

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr PangTetTshung of North Borneo, who spoke next, hoped that the Malayan delegates did not think that his delegation had been unduly difficult.

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

He added: "We are grateful to the Malayan delegation for the answers it has given and we look

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

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

Friendly and stimulating' - chairman

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

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

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

"But it is vital if our Committee is to be what we call it, namely, a Solidarity Committee, that we must start off with faith and confidence in the Malaysia concept - if we try to see a sinister motive in every little thing connected with this concept; if even before marriage as it were we think too much of possible divorce, I think we are starting on the wrong foot in our work.

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

"Delegates present at the meeting were:

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

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

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

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

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

'ENSURE SAFEGUARDS' - SINGAPORE ADVICE TO SARAWAK

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

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

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

and the Federation harder and more exacting.

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Commission will study deliberations of MSCC'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"As Singapore, Sarawak and later North Borneo, and may be even Brunei, continues under

colonial rule, so will the discontent grow and in this discontent the organisations of the Communist Party will grow and thrive.

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

Example of Malaya

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MALAYSIA AND SARAWAK

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

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

3. The declared aim of the British Government is to grant independence to all colonial territories as soon as they are ready for it. Hitherto this has been thought of simply as independence for Sarawak standing by itself or, more recently, in association with North Borneo. Now an opportunity is provided for independence as part of a larger Malaysian unit. There are obvious advantages in this. In area Sarawak is not much smaller than the Federation of Malaya but its population is under three quarters of a million compared with seven million in the Federation. It would find it very difficult and very expensive to stand alone as an independent territory. The peoples of Malaya and Borneo have cultural, economic and historical ties which make them fit naturally together as a group. This is universally recognised and at the recent Solidarity Consultative Committee of meeting in Kuching all the delegates supported the concept of Malaysia. What is more difficult is to decide in what way Sarawak can best fit into this concept.

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

5. The present Federation of Malaya comprises eleven states each of which has its own state Constitution and government with certain powers reserved to it, the principal of which are control over local government, land, agriculture, forestry and state publicworks. The federal government controls external affairs, defence, internal security, civil and criminal law and the administration of justice, federal finance, trade, communications, education, health, labour, co-operatives and federal public works, to mention the most important. There is also a list of subjects on which both federal and state governments can legislate but the federal law prevails if it conflicts with any state law - the list includes social welfare, scholarships, town and country planning, protection of wild life, sanitation, drainage and irrigation. The residual power of legislation rests with the state i.e..

the state retains the power to make laws with respect to any subject not specifically allocated to the federal government. Each state has its own ruler or governor or head of the state, and its own state public service.

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

7. It is generally agreed that a federal government must have control over external affairs, defence and internal security. Sarawak would thereby have, through the federation representation abroad, participation in the armed forces of the Federation (which would certainly contain Sarawak units), and the federal authority for the maintenance of law and order. What other federal powers would Sarawak like to keep as state powers? The Prime Minister of Malaya has already agreed that migration to Sarawak from the other states of Malaysia is a matter on which the Sarawak Government can maintain control. The method by which this may be achieved can be devised by Constitutional experts. If it becomes necessary for the development of the economic potential of Sarawak to have more people from other parts of Malaysia to have more people from other parts of Malaysia this will be decided by the people of Sarawak themselves.

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

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

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

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

12. It would be desirable that labour legislation should be uniform. Generally speaking, Sarawak

is less advanced in this sphere than Malaya and could therefore benefit much from Federal experience.

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

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

14. On the other hand there would be additional expenses. Sarawak would have to bear its share of the cost of federal representation abroad and of defence - it would have to do that anyway when independent, and it will be less as part of larger unit than of a small one. Taxation in some categories is higher in the present Federation of Malaya than in Sarawak. The probability is that as part of Malaysia national taxes in Sarawak would have to go up. The Financial Secretary, in his recent budget speech, has said that this is inevitable even if Sarawak continues for the time being as a colony. Improved services and communications have to be paid for and the price of independence is invariably a bigger budget.

15. People have wondered whether the fact that Islam is the official religion of the Federation of Malaya would affect religious freedom in Sarawak as part of Malaysia. This has been clarified at the recent Consultative Committee meeting, although Malaysia would have Islam as the official religion of the enlarged Federation there would be no hindrance placed on the practice of other religions. Complete freedom of religion would be guaranteed in the federal constitution. Sarawak has at present no established religion and it would not be required to accept Islam as its state religion.

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

17. As part of Malaysia there would be two civil services functioning in Sarawak. The state service, over which Sarawak would have complete control, and the Federal Service, Control over the latter would naturally have to rest with the new Federal government but in all Federal service appointments made to the Borneo territories the people of Borneo would be given priority. There would also be opportunities for Borneo Federal officers to serve in other parts of Malaysia and in external affairs posts overseas. Clearly it would be to no one's advantage that there should be any breakdown in service caused by staff dislocations, and present serving officers would carry on in their posts. The progress in Borneanisation of the local service would continue.

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

18. The question which the average kampong and longhouse dweller is most likely to ask is "How will I be affected if Sarawak joins Malaysia?" He will not notice any immediate change. When the Federation of Malaya was formed transitional arrangements will be necessary with the Borneo territories. In the long term he may expect to reap the benefits of partnership in a vigorous, young community of independent peoples. If he finds the idea of Sarawak joining Malaysia still too novel he should stop to ask himself a second question, "What is the alternative?" Independence will come to Sarawak within a measurable period of years. This is promised and inevitable. The present state of world opinion suggests that the period will be shorter rather than longer than we anticipate. This opportunity to attain independence by joining Malaysia is unlikely to recur and Sarawak may be left with no other alternative than a perilous existence as a small, defenceless country in a large and predatory world.

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

MALAYSIA TALK IN K.L.

CONCEPT RECEIVES FULL SUPPORT

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

The other main point dealt with in the communique are:

- * Transfer of Sovereignty
- * Citizenship
- * Aid to Islam and other religions
- * The special position of the indigenous peoples
- * Constitutional safeguards
- * Representation in respect of Sarawak
- * Economic aspects of Malaysia

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

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

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

The Committee also agreed:

- * That there should be an intensive programme for exchange of visits of people at all levels between the Malaya and Borneo territories.
- * To submit a full record of the proceedings of the meetings to the Commission of Enquire for North Borneo and Sarawak.

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

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

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

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

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

Delegations reiterate support for Malaysia concept

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

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

The communique went on to say: "The Federation delegation tabled papers relating to the economic aspects of Malaysia's trade and tariff arrangements currency and the Central Bank. "The Menteri Besar of Perlis, Datu Sheikh Ahmad, one of the observes from the Federation of Malaya, explained to the Committee how a small and previously under-developed state such as Perlis has benefited from membership of the Federation since Merdeka.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Person regarded as British subjects...

A person who would have been a British subject if the territory in which he was born had been British colony, in the case of Sarawak from the commencement of the Brooke Regime or in the case of North Borneo from the date of commencement of the Chartered Company regime, would be regarded as a British subject.

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

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

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

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

"The special position of the indigenous peoples: In Malaysia the special position of Malays

in the present Federation would be equally shared by the indigenous people of all constituent territories for such period as might be necessary to improve their standards in the fields like economy, education and public services. At the same time the legitimate interests of other communities would be safeguarded.

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

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

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

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

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

MALAYSIA WOULD RAISE LIVING STANDARDS IN BORNEO SAYS TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

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

The Tunku said that measures would be introduced to accelerate industrial development in the Borneo Territories, and to minimise the disequalising effect of free play of the economic forces so that "the gap between a relatively backward state and the advanced would be narrowed and not widened."

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

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

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

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

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

Borneo territories would lose subject status

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

economic interests.

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

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

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

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

Opportunities for leadership

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Falsehood being spread by subversive forces

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

territories for themselves.

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

The Tunku continued: "The Borneo Territories too have their own aborigines who live in the most primitive way in the very deepest part of the country. But even the industrious and vorole Ibans, Kayan, Kadazans and Melanaus - to mention a few of your indigenous peoples - suffer today such neglect as we Malays used to suffer. It saddens my heart every time I think of the fact and welfare of the sons of the soil of Sarawak and Sabah."

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

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

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

He ended by saying that he hoped to announce the Chairman of the Commission within the next few days. The leaders of the delegations then spoke.

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

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

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

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

FOURTH MALAYSIA CONFERENCE COMMITTEE TO PRESENT MEMORANDUM TO COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

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

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

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

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

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

Too much emphasis on fear of communism

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meeting opened by Yang di-Pertuan Negara

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

matter of time.

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

He added: The prospect before you is a fair and promising vision of a great state, endowed with political and economic

sovereignty, rich and prosperous enough to give its people a standard of living comparable to the best in the world, powerful and viable enough to sustain its integrity from encroachment and to make its contribution to the peace of this region.

Mr Donald Stephens speaks of racial tension

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dispel fears of Chinese people...

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

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

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

Brunei delegate speaks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Voyages of discover," says Malayan leader

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

He added: The prophets of doom and division have been working among us for so long now, carefully building myths to frighten and bewilder us, but we have blown away these myths in a breath of exploration and discovery, and now we find another myth perpetrated by confused, hysterical people who are frightened at the prospect of our unity about neocolonialism.

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

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

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

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

"This will be the measure of our mettle.

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

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

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

MSSC ISSUED JOINT COMMUNIQUE

IN a joint communique issued in Singapore on Friday, the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee said that it went into committee session on February 1 to review the work it had so far done in Jesselton, Kuching and Kuala Lumpur.

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

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

The Federation delegation reaffirmed:

1. That the Central Government being responsible for internal security which includes public order throughout the Federation of Malaysia must have both legislative and executive authority in respect of this matter; it would not be practicable to delegate this responsibility to individual states.
2. That the desirability of providing constitutional safeguards when an individual state is given autonomy in regard to a particular matter which is not conceded to all states has already been agreed to in principle at the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee Meeting in Kuala Lumpur last month. However, any specific proposal as to the form such safeguards should take could be submitted to the Commission of Enquiry.
3. That it has already been accepted that there should be control by the Borneo Territories over the movement of people from other parts of the Federation of Malaysia into those territories. Furthermore, with control of internal security in the hands of a strong Central Government, communist elements would be effectively contained, not only in North Borneo, but throughout the Federation of Malaysia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ASSURANCES AND SAFEGUARDS FOR BORNEO TERRITORIES

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

The memorandum, described as a blueprint for Malaysia, embodies proposals and recommendations arising from the meetings held in Jesselton, Kuching, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

They include a number of assurances, ranging from religious freedom and representation in Parliament to the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools and the allocation of development funds and scholarships, and safeguards, ranging from control of migration and the civil service to the position of the indigenous peoples. The citizenship proposals for the peoples of the Borneo Territories are described at length.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MEMORANDUM - in full

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) To collect and collate views and opinions concerning the creation of Malaysia consisting of Brunei, North Borneo (Sabah) Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya.
- (b) To disseminate information on the question of Malaysia.
- (c) To initiate and encourage discussions on Malaysia; and
- (d) To foster activities that would promote and expedite the realisation of Malaysia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Malaya.

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

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

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

The Committee accepts the principle that the Federation of Malaysia should have a constitutional head of state and there is no reason to discontinue the system of the appointment of Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The sovereignty of the Ruler of each state of the Federation of Malaysia will be guaranteed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each of these states will have in its constitution provision for conferring on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong the position of Head of the Muslim religion in the state whose legislature would make laws for regulating Muslim religious affairs and for constituting Council to advise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in matters relating to the Muslim religion.

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

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

The Committee has taken it for granted that these provisions in the Constitution safeguarding the fundamental liberties of the people of the Federation of Malaya would be extended to the people of the Federation of Malaysia whose rights could be enforced by the courts which could

countermand and invalidate any attempt to undermine any of those rights whether by legislative or executive action or otherwise.

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

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

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

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

17. **The Chief Executives:** With regard to the appointment of the chief executive of the state, namely the Chief Ministers in North Borneo and Sarawak respectively, the Committee has not applied its mind on how this should be affected.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Malaysia to preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages.

21. **Position of English:** English is an international language would maintain its place in Malaysia.

22. **English as medium of instruction:** It has been very much in the minds of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo that the people of Sarawak and North Borneo that the acceptance of Malay as the national language might create problems relating to the policy of making English as the medium of instruction in schools.

There has been uncertainty of the role of English in schools in the Borneo territories. The Committee welcomes and accepts the explanation that the use of English as medium of instruction in schools will in no way conflict with the acceptance of Malay as the national language of Malaysia.

23. **Complete integration desirable:** The Committee has also noted that although the advancement of education is at different stages in different territories its development has been on similar lines whether in the Borneo Territories or in the Federation of Malaya.

As from 1962 free universal primary education is introduced in the Federation of Malaya and the school leaving age is 15. It is therefore hoped that the transitional period which will precede a complete integration of the educational system would be as short as possible so that the Borneo territories would quickly achieve parity in education with the other states in the Peninsula.

24. **Migration:** The Committee dealt very extensively with the question of immigration into the Borneo Territories.

While the concept that the Central Government should be responsible for immigration is acceptable in view of the excellent control and fortunately similar laws that exist today in the Borneo Territories, Singapore and Malaya, it is a matter of great apprehension to the delegations from the Borneo Territories that there might be free movements from Singapore and the Peninsula into the Borneo Territories.

At the moment these territories are very sparsely populated and therefore may attract settlers from the overcrowded and densely populated areas of Singapore and the peninsula states.

The Borneo Territories are anxious to protect their lands, trade and employment from being taken up by people from other parts of Malaysia. They are also anxious to see that no undesirable elements from other parts of Malaysia are allowed entry into the Borneo Territories, and noted that there are now adequate security arrangements for this purpose.

25. **Safeguards desirable:** The Committee is not oblivious of the fact that if the future states of Borneo desire quick progress and development they will need to attract labour and technical men and these should be obtained at reasonable rates.

However, in fairness to the Borneo Territories the Committee feels that the territory concerned should be given an opportunity to determine the rate and scope of development it may wish to adopt, having taken into account the population problem such development may create and at the same time keeping in step with the general tenor and trend on the general development of the whole Federation of Malaysia in accordance with the national plan.

There are of course certain safeguards which are available to the state in view of their autonomy in matters of land, agriculture and the machinery of state government and control over local government and control over local governments.

The adoption of certain policies in regard to these matters can have the effect of discouraging or even prevention the migration of people into these states. But the Borneo Territories will not be completely happy unless they are provided with constitutional safeguards.

26. **Control to be devised:** The Committee therefore welcomes the statement from the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya that he is extremely sympathetic with the view of the Borneo delegations in this matter.

The Committee is therefore satisfied with the assurance that there would be no unimpeded migration into the Borneo states from the other states of Malaysia and the constitutional provisions whereby such control will be affected can be devised by constitutional experts.

27. **Citizenship:** The Committee dealt with the question of citizenship at some length since this subject is of paramount importance to the peoples concerned.

The position is further complicated to that the people of the Borneo Territories, Singapore and

the Federation of Malaya are governed by distinct and different citizenship and nationality laws.

The Committee has noted that with regard to Singapore there is already an understanding reached with the Government of the Federation of Malaya whereby on merger all Singapore citizens and Federation of Malaysia citizens, would automatically acquire Federation of Malaysia nationality and will, as nationals, have equal rights, carry the same passport, enjoy the same protection and be subject to equal duties and responsibilities under the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia.

The Committee agrees with the view that there should be a single Malaysia nationality.

28. **Brunei subjects as citizens of Malaysia:** With regard to Brunei the Committee is satisfied with the proposal that a subject of His Highness the Sultan should automatically become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia.

29. **Position of British subjects permanently resident in Sarawak and North Borneo:** In the case of North Borneo and Sarawak the committee has accepted the formula that on the date on which the Federation of Malaysia comes into existence, every British subject born in either Sarawak or North Borneo or naturalised before that date will become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia, provided he is permanently resident on that date in the territory in which he was born or naturalised or in one of the other territories of Malaysia.

30. **Person absent:** However, subject to paragraph 33, no person shall become a citizen of the Federation of Malaysia on the appointed day who has been absent from the territories comprising the Federation of Malaysia for a period of seven years upwards immediately prior to the appointed day.

31. **Position of British subjects not permanently resident:** A British subject born before that day in either Sarawak or North Borneo, whose father was himself born in the same territory or was a permanent resident of the territory concerned, will also be entitled to Federal citizenship. The word "father" referred to means father by blood but not by adoption of a child.

32. **Permanent residence:** A suggestion was made that a person shall be deemed to be "permanently resident" in a territory who has completed a continuous period of 15 years residence in that territory.

This presumption would not of course exclude persons who have not completed the specified period from establishing permanent residence.

The period, it is felt would be a matter for consideration by the Commission of Enquiry.

33. **Continuity of residence:** In calculating the period of residence periods of absence which are not inconsistent with essential continuity of residence should not be taken into account.

The Committee appreciates that the question of "Permanent residence" is a judicial matter and acknowledges the fact that in practice it is subject to a liberal interpretation which would prevent any miscarriage of justice in cases where citizen lives abroad but maintains substantial connection with his home in the territory concerned.

34. **Citizenship by registration etc.:** The Committee is generally satisfied with the proposal that the provisions of the present Federal Constitution *mutatis mutandis* will apply after merger to citizenship by operation of law, registration or naturalisation.

Some transitional arrangements might be desirable in regard to citizenship by registration.

35. **Arrangement for persons born during Brooke and Chartered Company regimes:** The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that Sarawak became a colony only on July 1, 1946, while North Borneo was transferred from the Chartered Company on July 15 in the same year. Before those dates the people did not have the status of British subjects.

The Committee therefore accepts the arrangement that a person who would have been a British subject if the territories in which he was born had been a British Colony, in the case of Sarawak from the commencement of the Brooke regime, or, in the case of North Borneo, from the date of the commencement of the Chartered Company regime, will be regarded as a British subject.

36. **Position of indigenous peoples:** It is acceptable to the Committee that on the creation of Malaysia the indigenous peoples of the Borneo Territories should be placed in the same position as the Malays under the present constitution of the Federation of Malaya.

They are the "founder citizens" and to place them in a position different from that of Malays from

the constitutional point of view would only create anomalies.

The special provision in the present Federation of Malaya Constitution relating to Malays should be extended to the indigenous peoples of the Borneo territories so that they would equally share whatever advantages might be derived therefrom.

These provisions relate to the reservation of such proportion as may be deemed reasonable of positions in the public service, scholarships and other similar educational or training programmes and special facilities relating to trade or business in order that they may be able to take their rightful places along with the other communities.

37. **Legitimate interests of others safeguard:** The Committee is satisfied with the guarantee in the existing constitution of the Federation of Malaya that the rights and legitimate interest of the other communities in the Federation of Malaysia will adequately be safeguards.

38. **State, Federal and concurrent lists applicable:** Having accepted the principle that all the Borneo territories would join the Federation of Malaysia as states equal in status with the other existing states of the Federation, the Committee is cognizant of the arrangement that the State list, Federal list and concurrent list of the present Federation of Malaya Constitution defining the present powers and Governments will, subject to local autonomies and paragraph 41, be applicable in the new Federation of Malaysia.

They may of course be some administrative problems in the case of integration of services and such like matters but the Committee is confident that all those could be resolve by a joint working party of officials.

In this regard the Committee is of the view that nothing should be done so as to disrupt the machinery of government and reduce the efficiency of the services concerned.

39. **Assurance on Civil Service.** With regard to the public service in the Borneo territories it is agreed that all state civil service appointments would be under the control of the respective State Governments.

In the case of federal services, the Committee welcomes the assurance given by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya on January 6 at the Kuala Lumpur meeting of the Committee when he stated:

"I can also give a categorical assurance that there would be a progressive Borneanisation of the public services in the Borneo Territories and in addition the people of the Borneo Territories would have new opportunities to serve in high appointments in the Federal service.

"Of course, as I have declared before, nothing should be done to disrupt the present machinery of Government. Expatriate officers who are now serving the various territories would continue to do so until suitable local officers are found to take their places.

40. **Service in Armed Forces:** The Committee also welcomes the Statement of the Prime Minister in the same speech that the local people of the Borneo Territories should participate in the defence of Malaysia.

"Their young men should be encouraged to enlist in the army, navy or the air force of the Federation of Malaysia and take a legitimate pride in being officers and other ranks in such forces.

"Programmes will have to be arranged whereby those in schools who aspire to make the armed forces their career will be given suitable training either in our own military college or overseas."

"The warriors of the Borneo Territories should stand shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the peninsula in the protection of Malaysia.

41. **Amendment safeguard:** In the course of its deliberations, the Committee referred to the fears entertained by some delegates that it would be possible for the Federal Government to amend the constitution and withdraw whatever powers it had agreed to give to the states.

The Committee is of the opinion that when an individual, state is given autonomy in respect of a particular matter which is not conceded to all states some form of safeguard will be desirable. The assurance in this regard was most welcomed. The form such safeguard will take is a matter to be worked out by constitutional experts.

42. **Existing laws to continue until replaced:** With regard to the question of the validity of the existing laws in the Borneo Territories until replaced by Federal law, the Committee is satisfied with

the explanation that subject to modifications, existing laws on Federal matters would continue until amended or repealed by Parliament.

Existing laws on state matters will continue until amended or replaced by the State legislature.

43. **Economic Aspect of Malaysia:** The Committee made a thorough study of the papers relating to the economic aspects of Malaysia which were tabled by the Federation delegation.

The Committee is adequately assured that the future economic and trade policy of the Federation of Malaysia would not deviate from those precepts which are admirably suited for the purpose of the common prosperity and welfare of the people of Malaysia.

44. **Allocation of development funds and scholarships:** Assurances on the allocation of development funds were most welcome. The Committee endorsed the principle that the amount should not depend on the size of the state but on priorities, so that the less developed state would get a greater share of such funds.

In regard to the Federal and Colombo Plan scholarships, candidates would be selected on a fair basis depending on merits.

State scholarships would remain purely a state matter. Account will be taken in the allocation of Federal, Colombo Plan and other overseas scholarships and training facilities of the need to narrow the gap in educational and technical standards amongst people in various states.

WE, the members of the delegations to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee from Brunei, Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, having completed our deliberations in Singapore this day do hereby attest this Memorandum:

Done at Singapore this third day of February, 1962.

CHAIRMAN: MRD.A.Stephens;

Brunei Delegation (Observes)

Leader: Dato Setia Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed Daud; **Members:** Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Mohamed Yusuf; Haji Jamil bin P.U.K. Awang Haji Umar; Dato Temenggong Lim Cheng Choo; and Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Mohamed Zain.

Sabah Delegation: Leader: O.K.K. Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun; **Members: Mr Pang Tet Tshung; O.K.K. G.S. Sundang; and Mr Lai Eng Kong;**

Sarawak Delegation: Leader: Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe; **Members:** Mr. Ong Kee Hui, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang; Dato Abang Haji Openg; Mr Ling Beng Siew; and Mr James Wong.

Federation of Malaya Delegation: Leader: Inche Mohamed Khir Johari; **Members:** Inche Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof; Mr V. Manickavasagam; Dr Burhanuddin bin Mohamed Noor; Mr Lee Siok Yew; Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee; and Inche Abdul Ghani bin Ishak.

Singapore delegation:

Leader: Mr Lee Kuan Yew; **Members:** Inche Ahmad bin Ibrahim; Mr S. Rajaratnam;
Dato Abdul Hamid bin Haji Jumat.

EXTRACTS FROM CLOSING SPEECHES BY DELEGATION LEADERS: Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun (North Borneo)

"I think we can feel that we can congratulate ourselves for the work we have done. Patting oneself on the back is not what we are here for, but after these months of hard work getting Malaysia down on paper it is not unnatural that we should feel happy and elated now that our work is done, and I think the work is well done..

"I think that even our severest critic, if he is honest and sincere in his criticism, must admit that the Memorandum is an important document. For us in the Borneo Territories it is important because it embodies all the safeguards which we have asked for; because it should once and for all clear all the doubts and misgivings which many still profess to have.

"The Memorandum is indeed a blue print for Malaysia and should I hope help to make the work

of the Cobbold Commission easier because of the painstaking work which has been put into it by experts of all the government concerned.

"Our thanks are due to the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, for having proposed this great Malaysia Plan, an historic plan which shall have its effect on the lives of all of us and of our children and our children's children.

"Without our Tunku's proposal we would today still be thinking in our own way, working for a future which would be perilous indeed for us of the Borneo Territories. To the Tunku therefore we must express our heartfelt thanks for the proposal which was responsible for the existence of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee and for shining before us the torch which lights the road to a happy secure and prosperous future -THE ROAD TO MALAYSIA."

Dato Setia Pengiran Ali (Brunei)

"At the beginning of this series of meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the Committee was faced with many difficulties, doubts and allegations in respect of the proposed Malaysia Plan: but after several meetings had been held, all of them were disposed of satisfactorily.

"Even though we, on our part, did not submit questions, seek information or give our assurances on this question of Malaysia, let it not be said that we are not aware of the respective stands taken by the other delegations.

"The Committee has succeeded in preparing a memorandum which contains the views of the various delegations, with regard to the proposed Malaysia Plan."

"I wish to stress that the views contained in this memorandum have been expressed by this Committee with all sincerity of heart and have in no way been dictated by foreign elements. But we have no right, however, to commit our Government in this matter."

"The question whether Brunei will join the Federation of Malaysia depends on His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, who should study the memorandum of this Committee, the views of the people which have been collected by the Commission in Brunei, while also examining other aspects in the interests of our country.

"We are convinced that good intentions and sincere wishes will have the blessing of God Almighty. God will not be a party to those who want to subvert their country, nation and religion."

Mr Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)

"This last meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee has been a gruelling one. However, no one need make any apologies for having made the other sweat it out to find the answers to questions important and unimportant, points big and small and sometimes even when the points have been agreed to, it was not easy to find a form of words which would satisfy all of us.

"For after all, this is an important document. It marks the end of our labours to give form and definition to the concept of Malaysia.

"There may have been no departures from the trend of thinking and argument that started in Jesselton and progressed in Kuching and Kuala Lumpur. But to put it into one document to which every member present expresses his support and agreement is a remarkable achievement of reasonableness, tolerance and a desire to accommodate one another's difficulties.

"With the conclusion of the task of documentation, a new phase opens. It is the duty of each and everyone of us in our respective Legislative Chambers to marshal support and mobilise the large reservoir of nationalist solidarity now diffused over the communities in our five territories.

"That is the new task we together and separately must accomplish. We all know that Malaysia is historically inevitable and that it will come about in any case. But if we do our task well, then it will come about with the maximum of understanding of the true objectives of Malaysia and the maximum of goodwill for the many difficulties that had been resolved only by reasonable compromise and the taking of the middle road between two separate and contending points of view, on the many details of how Malaysia is to be brought about.

"Our work can make the day Malaysia is established an event to be awaited with eager expectation of a new and pleasant journey on the road to survival in unity and prosperity in strength. We must do everything to dispel the evil slurs and aspersions on the concept of Malaysia."

Inche Mohamed Khir Johari

"It is a matter of gratification for all of us that this Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, after only four meetings and within a short period of just over five months, have been able to agree on a memorandum which we all have just signed setting out a practicable and realistic framework for the setting up of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"In the Federation of Malaya we have, under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman and backed by the determination of the people, been able to achieve independence in spite of the various obstacles from all sides. In the same way it is our firm conviction that nothing can stop the onward march of the peoples of Singapore, Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak towards genuine independence through federation with the 11 states in Malaya in the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"I am sure that as a result of our work all genuine doubts and misgivings will be allayed and the mutual benefits that will accrue from our belonging together in a united, independent and democratic Malaysia will become clearly apparent to all who love freedom and are proud of the land of their birth or adoption and hold dear their way of life, their cultural heritage, their own welfare and the future of their children.

"The Malaysia that we have together conceived will be a happy land of free people, enjoying peace and prosperity, under a stable and strong central Government which will ensure the security of the lives and property of our people and at the same time accommodating the special interest of each territory through the granting of local autonomies within a federal system of government."

'No question of domination'

"We from the Federation of Malaya, who have already achieved our own independence would like to share the benefits of freedom with our brethren in this part of the world with whom we have so much in common.

"There is no question of the Federation of Malaya trying to dominate the other territories in the proposed Federation of Malaysia, for with the establishment of Malaysia the Federation of Malaya itself will cease to exist and will be replaced by a greater Federation of Malaysia in which the 11 independent states which now form the present Federation and the other four territories will take their places as equal partners in the Federation of Malaysia.

"All the talk about the flag of the Federation of Malaya replacing the British flag is sheer nonsense, for when this Federation comes into being we all will have a new flag for the new nation which will symbolise the unity of the 15 member States of Malaysia.

"I would like to end this speech of mine with a little note of caution. Let us not think that with the presentation of this memorandum which we have just signed and which has our unanimous agreement, our work is by any means over.

"We must realise at all times the presence, both within and outside our territories, of forces which, for their own selfish ends, try to wreck the good work that we have done and are trying to do. But so long as we are united we can be confident that we will succeed, for I believe that -

Divided, we fall;
United, they fail.

Mr Donald Stephens (Chairman)

"To my dying day I will never forget the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee. Here I saw the Malaysia Plan take shape into something tangible; something solid;

something in which I can say at last, without any reserve, that it has my full and complete support.

"As the person who was the first to raise the doubts and misgivings felt by myself and by the people of Sabah, and as someone who was dedicated to seeing that these doubts and fears can only be cleared by the safeguards which I feel are necessary if Malaysia is to come about, I have naturally paid special attention to all the safeguards which I feel the people of North Borneo as a whole would want.

"I can say that from the answers which we have received to all our questions, and the assurances and re-assurances which we have received in regard to these safeguards, only a blind man would fail to see that all the possible and reasonable safeguards which North Borneo would want, have in fact, been fully guaranteed by the proposers of Malaysia, namely the Federation of Malaya.

"We should be grateful for the kindness, patience and consideration which the delegates of the Federation of Malaya have shown throughout our meetings.

"There must have been times when some of our questions looked almost silly; others must have been very irksome; but the patience which was shown by the delegates of the Federation throughout all our meetings was, I think, the greatest proof of the sincerity of the delegates when they say that Malaysia is a plan meant to be for the good of all of us of the five constituent countries and not for any one single country.

"As for me I have long since been convinced that Malaysia is the only hope of my country's survival in these turbulent times, and that it is only Malaysia which can give us any guarantee of our future security.

"I hope and pray that all the people of the Borneo Territories will also be able to see how necessary it is that we should get together with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore so that, we would have a nation big enough to be truly viable economically and one which would be politically unencroachable.

"We can already feel the cold winds of hate being blown at Malaysia. While at one time, when the forces who bear us ill will felt that Malaysia was just so much talk and was not within our means to achieve, they pretended to support the idea.

"But now they know that the vast majority of the people of Malaysia is their only sure hope of containing Communism out of Malaysia and of keeping Communism out of Malaysia, these forces have come out openly against Malaysia.

"I have heard radio stations outside Malaysia condemning Malaysia as the work of 'colonial stooges' and 'neo-colonialist' these expressions are well known, they are the brand which the communists put on all who will not toe the Communist line and who dare fight Communism in our part of the world.

"Resolutions have been passed condemning the work of this Committee. Communist-inspired resolutions which merely show the true colours of those who passed these resolutions.

"In a way I think we should be grateful for these resolutions because they have now clearly drawn the line between ourselves, the believers in Malaysia as a bulwark against Communism in this part of the world and the forces which seek to destroy Malaysia, to see that we, the countries of Malaysia, remain disunited and weak the easier for each of us to be gobbled up in time by Communism.

"Now that we see the danger clearly, now that we know who are our friends and who the enemy is; let us keep the unity of purpose created by this Committee alive by an unrelenting battle against these forces which would seek to destroy Malaysia.

'Pocket Parliament of Malaysia'

"I think I would not be completely wrong in saying that here in this Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee we have in fact seen a pocket Parliament of Malaysia at work.

"The principles which governed our meetings were the principles of democracy; the debates, which we have had at our meeting have been debates by parliamentarians of the countries which will constitute the Federation of Malaysia.

"Some of our debates have been heated and so they should as in all parliaments; but it has been heart warming to see, to know, that everything was done for the best and that there were no hard

feelings and we all part today as friends.

"May be in the years to come when the Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia reaches its full bloom and we have retired from work and have to look after our grandchildren instead of taking any active part in parliamentary work, it would be a source of some consolidation for us to be able to tell our grandchildren that we, the members of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee were the first to have had a foretaste of what the Federation of Malaysia Parliament would be like!"

PANAS CHAIRMAN PAYS TRIBUTE TO MALAYSIA COMMITTEE

The Chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, Abang Haji Mustapha, paid tribute to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee for preparing the groundwork "for the establishment of a powerful Federation of Malaysia" when he declared open the party branches at Kampongs Tabuan Ulu and Tabuan Lama, in Kuching Rural District, last Sunday.

He also praised the British Government for agreeing to the creation of Malaysia as well as the Sarawak Government for the "timely step" it had taken in issuing its paper setting out and explaining in simple term what Malaysia meant to the people of Sarawak.

Abang Haji Mustapha added: "This is most desirable in order to assist the people in making up their minds on what views they making up their minds on what views they should present to the Commission of Enquiry."

The district councils, he went on to say, were also "worthy of our sincere appreciation" for their all-out effort to propagate the Government paper on "Malaysia and Sarawak" among the rural people.

He added: "Their tasks are by no means simple but by understanding and sharing the same aspirations for achieving independence they are carrying out their civic responsibilities to best of their ability."

The chairman ended by appealing to every inhabitant of Sarawak to support and work hard for the creation of the Federation of Malaysia in which, he said, lay the future stability, security and economic advancement of the people.

LONDON TALKS ON MALAYSIA SET: TENGKU CONFIDENT 'DESTINY OF BORNEO AND MALAYAN PEOPLES LINKED'

The Malaysia talks between the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya and Britain will begin in London on Wednesday, July 18, 1962, it was announced in Kuala Lumpur this week.

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, will fly to Britain on Sunday, July 15. The other members of the Federation mission, including the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak and the Minister of Finance, Mr Tan Siew Sin, left on Friday for London.

Members of the official Malayan delegation include the Permanent Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, Dato Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid; the Commissioner of Police, Dato C.H. Fenner; the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Inche Mohamed Ghazali bin Shafie; the Secretary for Defence; Inche Abdul Kadir bin Shamsuddin; and the Attorney-General, Mr C.M. Sheridan.

Four Council Negri members, who took part in the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee as representatives of the Sarawak Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, flew to Singapore on Friday to see the Tengku off at the invitation of the Singapore Premier, Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

They were Temenggong Jugah, Mr James Wong, Mr Ling Beng Siew and Pengarah Montegrai. Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe, chairman of the Sarawak parliamentary delegation, and Mr Ong Kee Hui, who were also invited to Singapore, were unable to go - Mr Yeo said that he had to preside over the annual conference of the Sarawak Co-operative Central Bank and Mr Ong said that he had heavy civic duties and other commitments.

Publication of Cobbold Report

A Federation Government spokesman said that the London talks would have a flexible time-table and that it was likely the Malayan mission would return before the end of the month.

The spokesman added that the talks would very likely decide the date on which the Cobbold Report would be issued for publication, perhaps as a White Paper.

It was possible, he added, that in view of the length of the Report, it would be published with a summarised version.

Before leaving Kuala Lumpur for Singapore on Thursday, the Tengku said that the people of the Borneo Territories realised that their destiny and that of the people of Malaya were linked.

He said he strongly felt that the territories in the Malaysia area should come together and work for the common good of all - that was his mission to Britain and that was the background for his future work.

The Tengku then said he was going to London with the full hope that everything was going to be alright - Britain and Malaya understood each other.

He pointed out that the problems of internal administration, internal security, and defence matters affecting Malaysia would take sometime to iron out with the British Government. He said Malaya would have extra territories to look after and would have to increase the strength of its defence forces.

But at the moment the country could not spare the money as it was committed to so many development projects.

The Tengku went on to say that it was a "mistake" to say that the Federation of Malaysia would be officially formed on August 31 this year though he hoped to make an important announcement about Malaysia on that day.

He added : "We have agreed in principle that merger will be established. That alone is not sufficient; you have got to make preparations before merger can actually take place.

He said he could not see any difficult point in his forthcoming talks with the British Ministers - if 80 per cent of the people in the Borneo Territories were for Malaysia, he added, he could not see any difficulty.

At a Singapore news conference the Tengku said the Malaysia constitution would be the same as that of the present Federation of Malaysia.

Amendments would, of course, have to be made for the entry of Singapore and the Borneo Territories.

The Tengku described the Federation constitution as being "good enough" and added: "It has led us through to this state of contentment and happiness. It has worked".

Talks will be 'most momentous'

Meanwhile, Mr Tan Siew Sin, national president of the Malayan Chinese Association and Minister of Finance in the Federation Government, this week described the Malaysia talks in London as the "most momentous in our history".

He warned that the Communists would "spare no efforts" to wreck the concept of the Malaysia. Mr Tan, who was speaking at a dinner given in his honour by the Ipoh and Menglembu M.C.A. at Ipoh, said: "We are living in a most crucial period of our destiny. The forthcoming talks in London of Malaysia will be the most momentous in our history.

"If they are successful, as we have every reason to believe they will be, it will open a new era which none of us at the moment can foresee".

The benefits of Malaysia, Mr Tan said, would not only be for Malaysia but for South East Asia as well, and "our past achievements will pale into insignificance".

"If we succeed, we will have proved that a small and young country can set an example not only for South East Asia but for all Asia.

"But there is one danger. Before Malaysia can be accomplished, the Communists and their sympathisers will spare no effort to wreck it. We can expect in the coming months an intensification of their efforts to wreck it."

This attempt, Mr Tan said, would be cloaked by communal tactics and he added: "The approach will not be crude. It will be done with cunning and finesse, with skill and determination. It will be done in such a way that none, except the most experienced, will suspect it. Let us therefore, all of us, be on our guard".

Jolly good chance'

The British High Commissioner in Malaya, Sir Geofroy Tory, said before leaving Kuala Lumpur for London last week that there was a "jolly good chance" of bringing about Malaysia.

In London, Sir Geofroy will report to the British Government on the Malaysia scene, prior to the forthcoming Anglo-Malayan talks on the Cobbold Commission Report.

The British envoy said that he believed in the Malaysia concept and that the London talks would be successful.

PREMIERS TO DISCUSS TIME-TABLE

TENGGU HOPEFUL FOR 'SOME AGREEMENT'

Snags hit Malaysia talks

The talks in London between the British and Malaysia delegations on the recommendations of the Cobbold Report reached a critical stage this week over what is believed to be the time-table for the entry of Sarawak, North Borneo and Singapore into the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

According to Reuter news agency (quoting conference sources) the Malaysians were believed to be pressing for a positive time-table for the transitional and permanent stages (August 31, 1962 and August 31, 1963 respectively were mentioned in one report) while the British delegation wanted to make sure that there was enough time for the transition of Sarawak and North Borneo into constitutionally equal partners in an independent Malaysia.

This difference, it is understood, was the main reason for the stalemate in the talks earlier in the week but "good progress" was said to have been made at Friday's meeting.

The Malayan Prime Minister and delegation leader, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said on Thursday that he hoped for "some agreement" on Malaysia when he lunched with the British Premier, Mr Harold Macmillan, on Saturday.

Another major development in the conference, now in its second week, was the arrival in London on Friday of the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, for consultations.

Two-stage approach agreed to

The talks, which began on Tuesday, July 17, were at first reported to be progressing so well that they were expected to end in the latter part of this week with the agreement of a two-stage approach to the formation of Malaysia.

The Malayan Prime Minister said late last week that the conference had accepted that merger must pass through a transitional stage in which experience would be gained.

However, Reuter reported that many thorny issues still remained to be settled and that conference sources had said one of them would be the position of the Governors of Sarawak and North Borneo in any association of their territories with Malaysia.

After the ministerial session on Monday the Tengku said that he expected "an important decision" to be taken the next day, adding that "many things" had been agreed upon.

However, the talks broke up on Tuesday with unspecified points yet to be worked out and the British and Malayan official he declined to comment on the situation but press speculation continued.

A "major disagreement" had come to a head between the two governments on the time-table for the birth of Malaysia, according to the Commonwealth correspondent of the Scotsman.

The Times reported that a critical point appeared to have been reached and the Guardian said there were important differences and that a serious hitch had developed.

However it was learned on Friday that talks were resumed that day and that further "good progress" had been made. Reuter reported that moves to create the new Federation quickened in tempo as officials prepared for the luncheon meeting between the Tengku and Mr Macmillan.

It also stated that the presence in London of the Singapore Premier, Mr Lee, would be likely to give impetus to the talks and that officials had said that although Mr Lee possibly would not be in the current bilateral conference he would be seeing the Ministers of both delegations so that the Malaysia talks in fact would have a three-cornered character.

It is now known that the talks will stretch into next week.

Defence talks.

Discussions were also held during the week on the defence of Malaysia and the costs involved

by Tun Abdul Razak and Mr Peter Thorneycroft, the Malayan and British Defence Ministers and Mr Tan Siew Sin, the Malayan Finance Minister.

Officials said that they discussed the defence of Singapore and the expansion of internal military forces in Malaysia.

Among the people the Tengku met and talked to this week in London was Mr Anthony Brooke, former Tuan Muda of Sarawak and nephew of the Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke. The meeting was purely private.

Meanwhile the President of the Philippines, Mr Diosdado Macapagal, stated in Manila on Friday that he would like to see a confederation of the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, and the Borneo Territories.

This, he added, would supersede the proposed Malaysia Federation.

The Tengku said that he was confident that the real sons of the soil in the Borneo Territories were 100 percent behind the Malaysia Plan and that only those who had not the real interests of the country at heart opposed it.

He warned the Borneo Territories and Singapore that if they did not join Malaya in the proposed Federation of Malaysia, and if they later found themselves in danger, they should not expect Malaya to come to their aid.

As for reports that if Malaysia were formed, the Borneo Territories would be swamped by Malays, the Tengku said that these were the work of agents provocateurs.

Earlier, he had pointed out that the Cobbold Commission would soon be issuing its report and added: "If their report is favourable, than I will be going to London to finalise the arrangements for Malaysia."

'BORNEO'S 3 WILL NOT BE JUNIOR PARTNERS' - LEE

In Hong Kong on Tuesday, Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said that the obstacle to the formation of Malaysia was fear of the Borneo Territories that they would be entering into a scheme as "Junior partners"

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Malayan students there, Mr Lee said that Singapore and Malaya must convince them that this was not so.

He added that the Borneo Territories were also afraid that in the event of merger there would be a "free for all" scramble for jobs and Singapore and Malaya must work out practical safeguards against such an eventuality.

He went on to say that Singapore and Malaya, despite their geographic "dislocation", were economically and politically one.

The Prime Minister called on the students to play their part to make Malaysia a success and warned there were "turbulent times" ahead.

He returned to Singapore on Wednesday after his world tour.

1961 - TURNING POINT IN SARAWAK'S HISTORY?

The year 1961 may have been a turning point in Sarawak's history: 1962 looks like being a year of decision - all because of the Malaysia proposal.

This review says that 1961 may well prove to have been a turning point, "not because of any cataclysmic change but because it saw the promulgation of an idea which has since dominated political thinking in the Borneo Territories"

It adds: "In May, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman, announced his concept of a Federation of Malaysia embracing the states of the existing Federation of Malaya, the State of Singapore, the State of Brunei and the British dependencies, Sarawak and

North Borneo.

"The idea was not in itself a new one, but it was the first time that it had been publicly proclaimed as a practical and realisable ideal by a statesman in office.

"It is once aroused intense interest throughout the region and events since then have moved at a speed to which the Borneo Territories have hitherto been unaccustomed.

"The idea was taken up at a regional commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference held in Singapore in July and a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was formed to develop it and ascertain public opinion towards it.

"Two meetings of this Committee were held later in the year, one in Jesselton and one in Kuching. After a meeting in London in October the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Malaya announced their agreement that such a federation was a desirable aim and that a Commission should be appointed to ascertain the views of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak on the proposal and, in the light of these views, to make recommendations.

"The Commission was due to visit the Borneo Territories early in 1962. Whatever the outcome of the Commission's enquiry, the stimulus to political thinking which the ventilation of the Malaysian concept has given to the Borneo peoples is bound to accelerate the tempo of constitutional development in Sarawak. If 1961 was a turning point, 1962 looks like being a year of decision."

'Closer association with North Borneo

The review then says that association with North Borneo was brought closer by the conclusion of a Free Trade Area agreement between the two territories, to take effect from the beginning of 1962. Two meetings of the Inter-territorial Conference were held, one in Jesselton and one in Kuching and there were frequent exchanges of visits, both between representatives of the people and between Government officials. An official visit was also made to Pontianak at the invitation of the Governor of Kalimantan Barat.

The review next mentions the adoption by Council Negri (at its October/November meeting) of the White Paper proposals for constitutional advance.

It explains: "These proposals retain the present system of indirect election to the legislature and the present number of elected seats (with some small difference in distribution) but the next elections will be conducted on the basis of adult suffrage instead of the present limited franchise.

"Provision is also made for a reduction in the number of nominated members and the introduction of a member system during the life of the next legislature, as a fore-runner to a fully fledged ministerial system.

"Election to the new legislature are due to take place next year. These proposals were framed without the concept of Malaysia in mind, but they were deliberately made flexible and can be adjusted if necessary to meet changing circumstances"

It then refers to the setting up of a Public Service Commission to advise the Governor on appointments and promotions in the Public Service pointing out that the Commission has majority of unofficial members.

Turning to the economy and development, the review states: "Financially 1961, though not up to the record level of 1960, was not unsatisfactory year. Revenue was up to expectation (RM 81 million as against an estimate of RM 76 million) and recurrent expenditure was kept close to the estimate.

"The sustained revenue yield, despite a drop in the export prices of rubber, pepper and timber, was due partly to an unbudgeted reimbursement from the British Government for part of the cost of employing overseas officers, under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, in which Sarawak has participated.

"With sagging export prices it becomes more important than ever to keep a close watch on recurrent expenditure so that the capital development so essential to the country can proceed.

"In fact, capital development went on according to plan. It was possible to make a contribution of over \$16 million to the capital fund and about \$27 million was spent on development work (compared with \$23 million to 1960)

Road building progressed

"In particular, the road building programme got into its stride and over 66 miles of new roads were constructed during the year (compared with 37 in 1960)

"The Public Works Department has now raise its annual target of new road construction to 90 miles a year; this is some of the most difficult road building conditions in the world.

"Other major works projects completed during the year were the new Port of Kuching (which was opened in June) and two new Government office blocks to accommodate the Agriculture and Land and Survey Departments.

"The secondary schools at Mukah and Simanggang, though not quite completed by the end of the year, were sufficiently advanced to enable the schools to open at the beginning of 1962 as programmed".

"Not in the category of major works but nonetheless notable is the new War Memorial, erected on a site where it was possible to observe Remembrance Day in a manner more impressive than hitherto.

"The accent has been placed firmly on rural development. The bulk of the Government's capital expenditure goes on the Rubber Plantating scheme, improved communications and the expansion of education facilities, all of which directly benefit the country people.

"Planting of high yielding rubber fell away slightly in 1961. Nevertheless, by the end of the year, a total of over 50,000 acres had been planted out of the 90,000 acres aimed at by the end of 1963.

"Satisfactory progress was also made with the Coconut Planting Scheme.

"As for communications, besides the road programme already mentioned, a regular air services to Long Akah in the Baram River was instituted by Borneo Airways Limited at the beginning of the year and extended to Bario in the Kelabit Uplands in July.

On the subject of education the review says: "Fifty-one primary schools were opened during the year.

"As usual, education has been in the forefront of public interest through the year. In August Council Negri approved proposals for a gradual conversion of Chinese grant-aided secondary schools to the English medium of instruction.

"In December, a comprehensive new Education Ordinance, was enacted based largely on the previous ordinance, but clarifying a number of points particularly in relation to the Director of Education's control over schools".

Turning to the Medical and Health front the review has this to say: "The health services of the country were put ot stern test by an epidemic of cholera which broke out in July. Severe though the outbreak was, causing 61 deaths, it would have been far worse but for the untiring efforts of the staff of the Medical and Health Department, splendidly supplemented by voluntary aid.

'Other projects went smoothly'

"Despite this emergency the programmes for eradicating malaria and suppressing tuberculosis proceeded smoothly.

"A Mental Health Ordinance was enacted by the legislature, replacing the out-of-date Lunacy Ordinance".

The review goes on to say: "The threat of communist subversion, though still underground, remained to menace the peace and good order of the land.

"A Restricted Residence Ordinance was enacted in Novermber to provide the Government with additional reserve powers to control the situation.

"Early in the year a First Division Trade Unions Congress was established and a meeting of the re-constituted Labour Advisory Board was held on December 1.

"The importance of mineral exploitation to the development of the country was marked by the holding in Kuching of a very successful Geological Survey (a joint Department with North Borneo) and attended by delegates from many territories in the region.

"Kuching also had the novel experience of a visit from the helicopter of HMS Bulwark, one of many welcome visits from Her Majesty's Service and from diplomatic representatives".

Talk Terms' Mandate Given

SURPRISE SUPPORT BY ONG KEE HUI

OUR IGC TEAM THAT WILL SEEK SAFEGUARDS

Council Negri Welcomes Malaysia

SARAWAK'S LEGISLATURE - Council Negri - at its meeting held in Kuching in September unanimously resolved to welcome the decision to establish Malaysia next year and gave to a team of eight Supreme Councillors a mandate to negotiate the terms and constitutional arrangements on behalf of the country.

The motion was passed after a four-hour debate during which 17 unofficial and nominated members had expressed their views at what was described by the President, Mr A.R. Snelus, as a historic meeting.

The debate was marked by -

- the support to the motion given by Mr Ong Kee Hui, whose party - the Sarawak United Peoples' Party strongly opposes the Malaysia Plan
- requests by several Councillors that Sarawak should have the right to secede from Malaysia.
- an attempt to amend the motion deleting that part which gave the date for the establishment of Malaysia - August 31, 1963.
- Mr Jakeway is at present the OAG
- a call for more frequent meetings of Council Negri in order that it could hear reports of the progress made by Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees.

THE MOTION

That this council -

(a) welcomes the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded;

(b) notes that an Inter-Government Committee has been established to work out the detailed constitutional arrangements and the form of these safeguards, which will be laid before this Council;

(c) authorises the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Financial Secretary, the Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang, Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Chia Chin Shin to represent Sarawak on this Committee; and

(d) authorises the Governor in council to nominate as additional members of the Committee or as members of Sub-committees thereof such unofficial members of this Council and such public officers as may be desirable.

Mr Ong's decision in favour of the motion, which came as a surprise to many in view of his decision not to take part in the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee, came after he had said that there was no alternative - "things being as they are".

He said that he gave his support because "we must pursue this, we must try, under present circumstances to secure ensure that if Malaysia were to come about, the interests of the people would be safeguarded".

Mr Ong also wished those appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee and its subcommittees "good luck and success" adding: "They have a very happy responsibility to discharge and I only wish that it were possible for me to render them any assistance in any way."

The right to secession requests were answered by the Attorney-General, Mr P.E.H. Pike, who pointed out that the Cobbold Commission had advised against its inclusion. He also warned that it could be a two-edged weapon.

The amendment was proposed by Mr Chieng Hie Kwong (Sibu Urban District Council) who felt that there should be more time given for the consideration of the safeguards proposed and for the Inter-Governmental Committee to do its work.

It was withdrawn by permission of the House, at the request of Mr Chieng himself, after he had been assured by the Attorney-General that the decisions as to the necessary safeguards would have been taken "long before" August 31, next year and that the work of the Committee would be concluded by the end of this year.

As to the call for regular meetings of the Council Negri during the period of negotiations (made by Capt. D.R Gribble-Nominated) the Attorney General gave the assurance that if the progress made was worth reporting earlier than the Budget meeting (towards the year's end) he was sure Council would be called.

'Matter of greatest importance'

In opening the meeting the President of the Council Mr Snelus, referred to the motion on Malaysia and said: "This is a matter of the greatest and most vital importance for the future of this country."

He said that he was glad to report "no absences to record" and hoped many of the Unofficial Members would speak.

In his speech introducing the motion the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, stressed that Sarawak must be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation.

"It will be vital", declared, "that there be a strong Central Government, and this will require that the interests of Sarawak and North Borneo be considered in the light of the overall interests of Malaysia."

He continued: "If Malaysia is to be enabled to contribute to the peace of this part of the world, it must have a strong Central Government, and it must command the respect and loyalty of all its component parts."

"A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. We must, therefore, be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation. There must also, of course, be sound Government both on the Federal and on the State levels, and it is therefore, necessary that the present standards of administration in Sarawak should be maintained".

In his speech the Attorney-General -

- criticised those Chinese newspapers which had called the Cobbold Report a dishonest one
- countered the accusation that the British Government was acting in breach of its moral obligations under the Nine Cardinal Principles by agreeing that Sarawak should become one of the States of Malaysia.
- urged the Unofficial members of Council Negri appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees to act as the spokesmen for Sarawak by putting forward the claims for safeguarding the special interests of the country

Mr Pike began his speech by describing how the Malaysia "ball" began rolling and outlined the work of the Cobbold Commission and its assessment of the views of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the project.

'Hard-core of opponents'

Referring to the "hard-core of opponents of Malaysia", Mr Pike said that the Commission had estimated it to be about 20 per cent in Sarawak and added: "I would go further than this and suggest that many of this hard-core would oppose Malaysia after independence as weU, because Malaysia does not suit the tactics of those whose game they are playing."

He went on to say: "I venture to suggest that no fair-minded person who has read the Report of the Cobbold Commission could fail to be impressed with the thoroughness and complete fairness

"One has read, in certain organs of the Chinese press, allegations of bias and even dishonesty. I suggest that such accusations are indicative of the weakness of the case which they have against the Report - that the only answer they can find to the assessment made by the Cobbold's Commission is that it is a dishonest one.

"None of the persons making these allegations of bias and dishonesty has ever suggested any reason for such a grave and unwarranted accusations against the Report of a Commission headed by a man of Lord Cobbold's integrity and impartiality.

"By all means disagree with the conclusions of the Report if you wish, but in doing so do it honestly and without resorting to unsupportable allegations of this sort."

Mr Pike then touched on the talks held last July in London between the British and Malayan Governments based on the Cobbold Report and of the agreements reached to bring the Federation of Malaysia into being by August 31, 1963.

He said that it had also been decided that the "formidable task" of working out the details of the new constitutional arrangements and the safeguards for Sarawak and North Borneo should be performed by an Inter-Governmental Committee on which the British Government, the Government of the Federation of Malaysia and the Governments of Sarawak and North Borneo would be represented.

In referring to the visit to Sarawak by Lord Lansdowne, the Committee's chairman and Tun Abdul Razak, the Vice chairman, Mr Pike said: "I believe that visit proved of great value to all concerned, and it culminated in a preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee being held in Jesselton on August 30.

"At that meeting, Lord Lansdowne and Tun Razak re-emphasised the need for a spirit of goodwill and co-operation amongst members of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and emphasised, too, the need for safeguards, not only for Sarawak and North Borneo, but also to ensure that the Government of the new Malaysian Federation was sufficiently strong to achieve good government".

He said that Lord Lansdowne had also announced that the Committee's headquarters would be in Jesselton but that meetings would be held in Kuching as well, and that there would be five sub-committees, namely: Constitutional, Fiscal, Public Service, Legal and Judicial and Departmental Organisation.

The task ahead

Turning to the terms of the motion - "that this Council welcomes the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded" - Mr Pike said:

"The political parties of North Borneo are to be congratulated on their statesman like action in coming together and presenting to Lord Lansdowne an agreed twenty points on which they wish assurances or safeguards of one sort or another.

"It is the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committee that will have the task of safeguarding Sarawak's interest, and it is important, therefore, that the members of this Committee and of the sub-committees should be persons who can and will strive for the necessary safeguards, but who will also be ready to approach the problems, not from the purely parochial interests of Sarawak, but from the broad long-term interest of the people of all the States concerned.

"It is to be regretted that this step was not taken in Sarawak, for I believe that there is general agreement among nearly all of the political parties on the points which they regard as of over-riding importance.

"It is to be hoped, furthermore, that the representatives of Sarawak and North Borneo will achieve between themselves a large measure of agreement, since clearly it will be of great benefit to both territories if they can speak with one voice.

"In the task before the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees, it will be vital for us all to remember that conflicting views and interests will have to be reconciled if a genuine partnership is to be formed."

Mr Pike then stressed the importance of having a strong Central Government - "it will be vital and siad that it would require that the interests of Sarawak and North Borneo be considered in the light of the overall interests of Malaysia.

He continued: "If Malaysia is to be enabled to contribute to the peace of this part of the world, it must have a strong Government, and it must command the respect and loyalty of all its component parts.

"A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. We must, therefore, be prepared to make concessions in the interest of creating a strong new nation. There must also, of course, be sound Government both in the Federal an on the State levels, and it is, therefore, necessary that the present standards of administration in Sarawak should be maintained."

Importance of flexibility

After listing the names proposed to represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee, Mr Pike said that the motion also authorised the Governor in Council to nominate as additional members of the Committee, and as membrs of the sub-committees, such unofficial members of Council "and such public officers as may seem desirable."

He said that Lord Lansdowne had emphasises that the composition both of the Inter-Governmental Committee and of its sub-committees should be regarded as being as flexible as possible.

The question of Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee was considered by the Governor in Council, he pointed out.

It was not possible to consult Council Negri before the preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee was held in Jesselton at the end of August and since that was not possible, the Governor in Council had decided that Sarawak's representatives on the Committee should be the Members of Supreme Council, who were his advisers on all matters of policy, at least until Council Negri had been consulted, when it would be open for different persons to be authorised to represent Sarawak.

Mr Pike continued: "A Honourable Members will already be aware, one member has felt forced to withdraw from this Committees. It is also considered that members of this Council who are not members of Supreme Council, should be appointed to sub-committees, and after taking the advice of the Supreme Council, His Excellency has it in mind to nominate as our representatives on tin-five sub-committess and the following persons:-

To the Constitutional Sub-Committee-

The Cheif Secretary,
The Attorney-General and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him,
Wan Abdul Rahman bin Datu Tuanku Bujang,
Mr James Wong, and
Pengkulu Umpau.

To the Fiscal Sub-Committee-

Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha,
Mr Chen Ko Ming,
The Financial Secretary and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him.

To the Judicial and Legal Sub-Committee

The Attorney-General and such members of his staff as he may wish to have with him
Mr A.I.N. Richards.

To the Public Service Sub-Committee-

Deputy Chief Secretary,

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe,
Mr Ainnie bin Dhoby,
Mr Dagok anak Randen.

To the Departmental Organisation Sub-Committee-

Deputy Chief Secretary,
Secretary for Local Government,
Under-Secretary (Resources and Works),
Mr Mak Yau Lim.

Provision to ensure flexibility

He then said: "While it would be perfectly proper and feasible for members of this Council to insist upon Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee being appointed by this Council, it would not, perhaps, be equally to feasible for this Council to nominate representatives to be varied from time to time.

These must, therefore, I suggest, be provision such as is contained in paragraph (d) of the motion, enabling the Governor in Council to appoint the members of the sub-committees and also to appoint additional members to the main Committee, in order to ensure the necessary flexibility.

"It will be very important that the Unofficial Members on the Inter-Governmental Committee and on its sub-committee and also to appoint additional members to the main Committee, in order to ensure the necessary flexibility.

"It will be very important that the Unofficial Members on the Inter-Governmental Committee and on its sub-committees should put forward the claims for safeguarding the special interests of Sarawak. I suggest that if these claims are put forward by Unofficial members, they will carry more weight than if they come from the Officials.

"There may be a suspicion that views expressed by Officials do not really represent the feelings of the Unofficials or of the people of Sarawak, and it is important, therefore, that the Unofficial Members should regard themselves as the spokesmen on these matters both on the Committee and its sub-committees.

"The Official will, of course, give all the advice and help which it is within their power to do, and will give the benefit of their experience in matters of the sort which will be discussed, but it is, I suggest, the Unofficials who must 'make the going'.

"It is, therefore important, Honourable Members, that you make known in this debate what you regard as the essential safeguards, because your views expressed in this Council will be a mandate to your representatives on the Committee."

Mr Pike then reiterated that it would be necessary to maintain the present standards of administration in Sarawak after Malaysia and said: "This is recognised by everyone to be absolutely vital, particularly during the years of transition.

This need has been recognised by many people who made representations to the Cobbold Commission, and has been accepted completely in the Report of the Commission and has repeatedly been emphasised both by the British Government and by the Federation Government.

Expatriate officers

"I believe that this Government and the British and Malayan Governments will do everything in their power to ensure that the expatriate officers now serving in Sarawak will be encouraged, by the term and conditions which will be offered to them and by the atmosphere which will prevail, to remain on and serve Sarawak after Malaysia.

"Those officers can be assured that they will be given the opportunity to retire with compensation if they so wish, but they will also be given the chance to continue to serve as favourable terms, and to perform the essential and rewarding tasks which will lie ahead in this rapidly developing country,

Sarawak.

"It is to be hoped that the vast majority of these officers will decide to remain on and this decision will, of course, be made much easier for them if it is found possible to give them a reasonably clear indication as to how long their services will be required.

"Our decision is made much less difficult than has been the case in many territories because in Sarawak and North Borneo, unlike most other places, there has been a strong demand by the people of these countries for expatriate officers to remain."

Referring to the agreement reached on the Malaysia proposal, Mr Pike asked: "The question we must each ask ourselves is, what practicable alternative is there to Malaysia?"

He went on: "It is easy to say, as some have said so volubly and resolutely, that the British Government is acting in breach of its moral obligations under the Nine Cardinal Principles of the Rajah.

"But can it be seriously contended that these obligations must be honoured to the letter no matter how circumstances in Sarawak, in South East Asia, or in the world at large have altered?

"Do those principles, laid down by so many years ago require that Sarawak must be led forward to self-government and independence on its own, even if it involves the certainty that the country will be unable to stand on its own feet, or would quickly lose its newly gained independence?

"An alternative to Malaysia, which some people would like, is the continuance of British rule. But, quite apart from the impracticability of this in the face of the growing expression of anti-colonial sentiments all over the world, what would it achieve if, as I suggest, Sarawak could never, in the conditions of the world today, stand alone?

"Can it seriously be suggested that this is how the Rajah would today have viewed these obligations? And if they are to be so literally interpreted, is it not clear that the British Government would be no less in breach of them if it were to grant Sarawak independence as part of a Federation of Borneo States?

British Government a trustee

"We should merely be continuing for a little while longer the present status of Sarawak - with the certainty that in a few years time some other arrangements for Sarawak to join a larger entity would have to be made, and with the probability that it would be on less favourable terms than can be obtained today.

"The British Government is a trustee for the people of Sarawak, and a trustee must, in determining what are the best interests of the beneficiaries, take account of what is happening, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but in that part of the world in which he lives and, indeed, in the world at large .

"In the context of the world of today, can it seriously be contended that Sarawak could survive politically or economically as a nation on its own?

"Could Sarawak afford to maintain its own army, navy and airforce; its own Embassies and Consulate; and the foreign service necessary to support them?

"Surely there can be but one answer to this question. And if that be so, is there any alternative to Malaysia which is more attractive to the majority of the people of this country? Your vote on this motion will give the answer to this question."

In seconding the motion, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, said that the question of Malaysia and the merger of Sarawak into it was regarded as a matter of "Life and Death" by most of the indigenous people and on which also lie their future survival and well-being.

He explained: "This is because if in case Sarawak should fall or be let to fall, into the hands of the Communists or be subjected to Communist forms of administration, then our fervent hopes and aspirations of continuing to uphold, maintain and enjoy peaceful, free and democratic ways of life as had been hitherto enjoyed by us would be thwarted as to the nil and void.

"Therefore, other than by merger into Malaysia, we cannot find or think of a better alternative more beneficial to our national interests than to grasp this golden opportunity whereby we would

be given the chance to govern ourselves under a free and democratic form of autonomous government whilst at the same time enjoying complete independence, guaranteed stability and constitutional safeguards."

The Datu Bandar then expressed "deep concern" at the proposed move made "by certain groups from a certain body" to appeal to the United Nations "on this question of vital national interest in a futile attempt to impress on this world body that the people of Sarawak are against the Malaysia Plan."

Familiar tactics

He added: "Honourable Members are well aware of the familiar tactics of groups who ignore with complete disregard and contempt the majority views and wishes of the people who are in favour of Malaysia and their views are so recorded in the Cobbold Report.

"I do not think it necessary to elaborate in detail as I confidently believe all Honourable Members here understanding and in an atmosphere and with an attitude of give-and-take."

"Only by so doing," he said "will we be able to safeguard the best common interests, aspirations and harmonious relationship of all the various multi-racial communities who sincerely regard Sarawak as their true home."

He also said: "It is popular fact today that the spirit of Malaysia has now flooded throughout Sarawak. This state of affairs is convincingly evident by the apparent majority support the people gave to Malaysia supplemented by the fact that official commitments regarding Malaysia, even though preliminary, have already started to take course.

"Therefore, I would justifiably say that it is now the rightful duty of each and everyone of country and the people in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation towards the building up of a democratic, free, strong, stable, united and Happy Malaysia."

THE DEBATE

Opening the debate Capt. Gribble (Nominated) said that as a result of a meeting he had with unofficial members he would confine his remarks to one specific point which not only he, but many others, felt very strongly.

He went on to trace the events from the time the Malaysia proposal was first mooted to the appointment of the Inter-Governmental Committee and said: "For Sarawak the members to sit on the Inter-Governmental Committee have already been chosen. Today, nearly 17 months after the proposal was first made, and after all the events I have mentioned have taken place, is so far as I know, the first opportunity that the Unofficial members of this Council have been given to debate the matter and to express their views.

"These gentlemen have been elected by the people of their Districts and Divisions to represent them at Council Negri, and are relied upon to ensure that the terms on which they live their lives are the best terms possible.

"We are being asked today to welcome the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963 on the understanding that the special interest of Sarawak will be safeguarded. We are also asked to authorise several honourable members of the Council to represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee.

"In doing so we are merely being asked to ratify decisions which have been made. This being the case it appears that the approval of this Council is little more than a formality and it would also appear to be the intention that, when the terms of Sarawak's entry into Malaysia have been finalised, a meeting similar to this one will be called, once again to ratify decisions, major decisions, which have already been made.

"I do not for One moment question the ability or integrity of the Members who have been nominated to represent Sarawak on the Inter-Governmental Committee. In fact I will go so far as to say that, had the representation been left to election by this Council, it is almost certain that these same gentlemen would have been chosen.

"As this opportunity was not given, however, they cannot be sure that they have the wholehearted support of Council Negri to aid them in their negotiations and this fact, I contend, inevitably adds a considerable burden to their already immense responsibilities.

"I appreciate that additional members will be nominated to serve on the various sub-committees, but these will not necessarily amount to more than a few people, in addition to those already chosen."

Capt. Gribble went on: "On the terms which I have already mentioned the present Council Negri will be faced, in due course, with a major decision concerning the future of this country, for which the members will be held responsible long into the future, but this decision will be one on which they will have very little opportunity to voice their opinions, as things stand at present.

"This being the case I have to request that the Government will arrange for regular meetings of Council Negri, at intervals of not more than two months, throughout the period of the Inter-Governmental Committee deliberations, to enable the members sitting on that Committee, and its sub-committees, to report back to the whole Council and discuss with them the progress of the negotiations.

"I also ask that these meetings be held, if possible, in Committee, to enable all members to speak freely and as often as they wish.

"I should add that, in making this request, I do not make it alone, but with a mandate from the majority of the un-official members present here who concur with the views I have expressed.

"The arrangement I have suggested will serve a dual purpose. Firstly, by relieving the members of the Inter-Governmental Committee of some of the great burdens of responsibility placed on their shoulders and, secondly, by ensuring that all the members of Council Negri will have a full opportunity to express their views and have a voice in the decisions yet to be made - decisions which must inevitably affect the life and future of every member of the people of this, so far, peaceful and happy land."

Capt. Gribble's speech was acclaimed by the Unofficials.

Third DAC Accepts Plan

Mr Ling Beng Siew (Sibu Rural) spoke next and told the House that the Third Divisional Advisory Council had just passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution to accept the Malaysia Plan with certain conditions.

He then said: "It is true that one of the Cardinal Principles enshrined in our present should be given a chance of governing their own affairs.

"It is also true that it is the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government to help and guide dependent territories to obtain independence and as a result many parts of her realm have, in the past few years, become self-governing and independent states.

"It is incorrect to say that the peoples of Sarawak have lacked aspiration for independence as the Africans or West Indians have. Far from it.

"Nevertheless, let us look around and take stock of what we have been, and are happening in South East Asia today. Will Sarawak in becoming an independent state, be able to stand on its own, defend her own shores and frontiers, and solve her own numerous internal problems? I doubt it and my doubts are shared by many people in this country.

"The Malaysia Plan propounded by Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, descended upon us in May last year like something out of the blue, but it was very timely.

"There is no need for me to describe here the events since then which culminated in the agreement reached at the recent talks in London between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963.

"On his return from the London talks, the Tengku stated that the peoples of Malaya would welcome us as their brothers on equal terms. His Deputy, Tun Razak, also stated in Kuala Lumpur recently that the present Malayan rural development scheme would be expanded with a view to extending it to the three Borneo Territories.

These assuring words were spoken by two great men of integrity and wisdom. I can see no reason why we should dispute their sincerity."

'Much more to gain financially'

Mr Ling continued: "Malaysia must and will be established. We will have nothing to lose but gain. In Malaysia, Sarawak will become an independent state and through Malaysia we will have much more to gain financially and economically.

"It is futile to decry the inevitable or attempt to disrupt it. What is to be done now is to work out constitutional arrangements and special safeguards for the benefit of our country.

"I had the privilege of attending the preparatory meeting of the Inter-Governmental Committee in Jesselton last month. I was much impressed by the sincerity and tolerance of the British and Malayan representatives on the Committee."

Mr Ling then said: "I would stress that I was born and bred in Sarawak. I live here and will die here. I always call my honourable colleague, Temenggong Jugah my "*aped?*" and he in turn regards me as his "anak" and a true Sarawakian.

"If this Council ratifies our membership on the Inter-Governmental Committee, I can assure members that the five of us unofficial members will co-operate and work together as a united team. We will not overlook the special interests of Sarawak.

"I do not deny that our task ahead is an easy one, but I am confident that with goodwill and tolerance and a spirit of give-and-take, we will overcome our difficulties and solve our problems.

"The journey to our destination is not long, but curvy. We are, however, not afraid for we have good and friendly travelling companions. With care, endurance, and vigorous determination we will reach our goal in good time. That goal is the inauguration of Malaysia on August 31, 1963. We all are looking forward to that glorious day."

Next to speak was Mr G.W. Geikie (Miri District) who said that he agreed to the concept of Malaysia with reservations because who had not heard of an alternative plan suitable for the future happiness and prosperity of the people of Sarawak.

However, Mr Geikie pointed out that he fully supported the feeling of the Fourth Division Advisory Council that Sarawak must have the right to secede.

It was his opinion that his right should only be exercised on a country-wide referendum. It would neutralise any to opposition to the Malaysia Plan and would act as a deterrent to any future changes in the Constitution considered to be unacceptable by the people.

Directly after Mr Geikie had sat down, the Resident of the Fourth Division, Mr J.C.B. Fisher, rose to confirm that the Divisional Advisory Council had decided that there should be able to secede but that the suggestion of a referendum had not been discussed.

Mr Fisher then briefly touched on the other main points discussed by the Council - religion, national language, election of the Head of State and the eligibility of the Head of State to become head of the Federation.

Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (Baram) said that he hoped that the proposers of the Malaysia Plan - Britain and Malaya - would see to it that the interests of the people of Sarawak were safeguarded.

He suggested that if Malaysia was found to be impracticable within the next five to ten years, Sarawak should have the right to secede.

The Temenggong then expressed the hope that the formation of Malaysia would result in increased development in the Baram.

Mr Yeo Cheng Hoe (Nominated) spoke next and touched on the part played by the Sarawak parliamentarians on the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

He said that their task was only to explore the concept of Malaysia - it never had any mandate from Council Negri to do other than that.

Mr Yeo added: "This motion before the House bears eloquent testimony to what I have said on so many occasions - that at no time had anyone, least of all myself, signed or sold away our country."

However, said Mr Yeo, now that the House was going to give a mandate to its representatives to negotiate the full terms for Sarawak's entry into Malaysia, it should do so in the careful manner in which Britain was seeking terms to protect the interests of the Commonwealth before joining the European Common Market.

He added: "It is not good enough just to be co-operative. We must not be led into a position where we may find our people pointing an accusing finger at us for having betrayed their trust by not getting the best of bargains. We must see to it that we build a new nation conveyed in equality and with discrimination towards none. It is only on such a foundation that any nation can long endure."

Mr Yeo then said that of all the safeguards there was none to compare with that of the right to secede through a State referendum.

He added: "If Malaysia is all that is being painted, there need be no fear of anyone wanting to leave it. But if we burn our bridges and cut off all avenues of retreat, what will our younger generation think of us when things go from bad to worse? I am afraid they may even dig up our dead bodies and desecrate them."

Mr Yeo then said he supported the motion with this reservation.

Caution against haste

In his speech Mr Chieng Hie Kwong expressed regret that the British Government was not pursuing its plan for a Federation of the Borneo Territories in view of the Malaysia proposal. However, he said, Unofficial Members now must see to it that the interests of the people of Sarawak were protected. He also appealed to all political leaders to discard their differences and make a joint effort to see how best Sarawak could fit into Malaysia.

Mr Chieng cautioned against haste and spoke of the need for more time in order that the people

could be consulted on the arrangements made for Sarawak's entry into Malaysia.

After giving his views on what he thought should be the main terms and conditions, Mr Chieng then formally moved an amendment to delete "the 31st August, 1963" from the motion in order to allow more time for the consideration of the safeguards, pointing out that the Inter-Governmental Committee had first to start work.

Speaking on the proposed amendment, Capt. Gribble asked: "If this amendment is accepted where do we go from there? Everybody but Sarawak, as far as I am aware, has agreed to Malaysia by August 31, next year." He then asked for a clarification.

Mr James Wong (Limbang) asked: "Supposing that we are unable to obtain the necessary safeguards to protect the special interests of Sarawak to the satisfaction of House by August 31, 1963, what then? Notwithstanding this will Malaysia be rammed through?"

Referring to the agreement that the legislatures of Sarawak and North Borneo would be "consulted" before the terms of Malaysia were accepted by the British Government, Mr Wong asked what the word was intended to mean and what would be the degree of consultation.

Opposition to the amendment was expressed by Mr Chen Kon Ming (Sarikei) who felt that August 31, 1963 would give ample time "for everything to be worked out properly".

He added: "If we should put off the target date this would do a lot of harm."

Not acceptable by Government

In replying to the speeches made on the proposed amendment, the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, said that the Government could be accept it.

He explained: It seeks, in effect, to vary the decision in principle which was taken in London by the British and Malayan Governments.

"That decision was that Malaysia should, subject to the necessary legislation providing, amongst other things, for the safeguarding of special interests of Sarawak, be brought into being by August 31, 1963.

"No amendment therefore to this motion such as has been moved have any effect on that decision which has already taken place.

"Furthermore, August 31 is the date on which the transfer of sovereignty is proposed and this, of course, pre-supposes that decisions as to the necessary safeguards of the special interests of Sarawak will have been achieved long before that date.

"Indeed, the timing which it is contemplated is that the deliberations of the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees will be concluded by the end of this year.

"I think that all the arguments which could possibly be put forward for obtaining the safeguards we require can certainly be put forward very much sooner than August 31 next years and that long before then we would have either obtained or failed to obtain all that we wish in the way of safeguards.

"If no agreements is reached then of course, there will be nothing to implement on August 31 or on any other date. Everything will depend upon the negotiations which we are now asking this Council to give - mandate to the Inter-Government Committee to enter into".

Referring to Mr Wong's query as to what was meant by the term "Consult' means to ask advice of or to seek counsel from, and that is what we are now doing on this motion and what we intend to do between now and when the negotiations are complete."

As for the assurance sought by Capt. Gribble that Council Negri would be consulted regularly during the period of those negotiations, Mr Pike said: "That assurance I can give him. I would, however, point out that so far no meetings of the Committee or of any sub-committees have yet taken place and there has, therefore been nothing to report.

"The next regular meeting of this Council would be the budget meeting at the end of November or early in December but if the progress of the Inter-Governmental Committee and its sub-committees is such that there is something worthy of being reported to this Council earlier than that meeting I have no doubt whatever that the Government would call an earlier meeting of this Council."

Mr Pike then said that he entirely agreed with Mr Chen Ko Ming in thinking it would be a grave mistake to postpone the date upon which Malaysia was to come into being.

He added: "Such as postponement would only provide more time for what I suggested is a small but extremely vocal minority to continue to oppose Malaysia at any price and to continue their resolute opposition and their attempts by whatever means they can make use of to stir up opposition to Malaysia."

Amendment withdrawn

Mr Cheing Hie Kwong then rose to express satisfaction that his doubts had been clarified by the Attorney-General and said that he would like to withdraw his amendment. The President of the Council said he would seek the permission of the House before allowing this. Since the House did not "pursue" the amendment the President then said that permission had been given by the House to withdraw it.

The debate was then resumed on the substantive motion.

Mrs Tra Zehnder (Nominated), who spoke next put in a the right of secession.

She said that most of the people in Sarawak knew nothing or little about Malaysia but had agreed

to it, because they had been told that it was good for them.

She added: "Now since we are told that Malaysia is good for the people of Sarawak, why are we not being allowed to withdraw from Malaysia, if later we find it not so good as promised. If Malaysia is really good for us, we will not want to withdraw, even though we are allowed to."

Mrs Zehndar also suggested that there should be more members on the Inter-Government Committee and sub-committees adding that Dayak, Melanau and other Native civil servants should be invited to join them because of their special knowledge.

'More support with better understanding'

Mr Chen Ko Ming said that with better understanding of the concept and plan, more and more people had come to give Malaysia their support.

He went on to describe the views of the Third Divisional Advisory Council on Malaysia.

He went on to describe the views of the Federal Parliament, he submitted that seats could be allocated on a population and areas basis as follows: Malaya-95; Singapore-18; Sarawak-31; North Borneo-19; and Brunei-2. Total-165.

On secession, Mr Chen submitted that it was futile because if it were granted Malaysia would be doomed to failure even before it was realised.

"Evil elements would spare no efforts to create trouble and make things difficult," he added. It was vital that every effort should be made to secure the best possible safeguards for Sarawak, and then work wholeheartedly for Malaysia after that.

Mr Chan also pointed out that the Advisory Council had agreed unanimously that there should be no right to secede.

"Borbrusima' nor Malaysia"

Mr Dagok anak Randen (Upper Sadong) outlined the new views of his District Council on 18 Malaysia issues.

His Council, he said, wanted the name "Malaysia" to be substituted for "Borbrusima" - Bor for Borneo; Bru - for Brunei; Si for Singapore; and Ma for Malaya. It was also in favour of a right to secede.

Mr Remigius Durin (Bau) said that the people freedom of speech, but also the freedom of religious worship. The people of Sarawak will also be treated equally. Regarding education, English should be taught as a medium of instruction in all secondary schools in Sarawak, following the present education policy. There should be no State religion.

Mr Mak Yau Lim (Lawas) began his address by appealing for the preservation of racial harmony and for all to work together with a common aim and strive for the interest of the country as a whole. He then went on to give a lengthy account of the views of the Fifth Division Advisory Council on Malaysia and hoped the Sarawak's representatives on the Inter-Governmental Committee would listen to public opinion and do their utmost to strive for the necessary safeguards.

Datu Abang Haji Openg (Standing Member) reminded the House that he was the only member, appointed by the Rajah now remaining on the Council.

He expressed satisfaction as to the speech made by the Attorney-General but said that if the House agreed he would request that additional members be appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr Tan Chong Meng (Simanggang) said that although agreement had been reached by the British and Malayan Governments the majority of the people in Sarawak were still doubtful that the Malaysia Plan would bring happiness and prosperity and were not yet prepared to accept it.

He added: "It is unjust of this Council to accept this Plan and agree to implement it on August 31, 1963. Our country is still a colonial country and the rights of the people cannot be fully represented until they are given self-government and independence.

"So in order to seek the right views of the people I would suggest a national referendum to finalise

the views of the people about Malaysia.

Mr Tan Went on to stress that none of the members of Council Negri had a mandate from the people to accept Malaysia and that it would be wrong for them to make a decision at this juncture in their name.

Another request for assurance

Next to speak was Mr James Wong (Limbang) who said: "Today is the first occasion that we have the chance to debate on this issue, but unfortunately we are not now given the opportunity to ask whether we accept the principle of Malaysia alone, but that we could welcome the decision in principle of the British and Malayan Governments to establish Malaysia by August 31, 1963, on the understanding that the special interests of Sarawak will be safeguarded.

"I must admit that I am gratified by the assurance given by the Attorney-General in his recent answer to the amendment to the motion that this House should be consulted frequently in the course of the negotiations by the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-Committees.

"But I would still, at this stage, seek an assurance that if the necessary safeguards to protect the special interests of Sarawak as a whole are not forthcoming then the deadline of August 31, 1963 should not apply.

"I will add a rider to this request of mine I am not anticipating for a moment that we shall not reach an agreement satisfactory to Sarawak and to Malaya but then, but I would like to be prepared for the worst, in case we do not reach a satisfactory agreement on the question of safeguards.

"I think you will no doubt appreciate our feelings on this issue that we cannot accept Malaysia blindly. The constitutional safeguards to protect the interests of Sarawak must be fulfilled inviolably and not be subject to changes at the whims and caprices of a parliament in which a Malayan majority predominates.

"While there is a need for a strong Federal Government within Malaysia, it is equally important that autonomy given to the states should not be blithely brushed aside by the Federal Government.

"There have been recent changes and amendments to the Malayan Constitution and we should lend credence to my misgivings on this matter.

"There is possibly a need for regional control owing to the size and distance and special problems of Sarawak and Sabah. For instance there may be a need for a State judiciary owing to the peculiar laws and customs we have in this country. On the question of geology, for instance, there is a need of Pan-Borneo representative from the Federal Government, with a regional control over the Borneo States.

"A fair balance must be struck between State and Federal control. How this is very important and fundamental, and I have no doubt that our Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees, will bear this in mind throughout the negotiations with our Malayan counterparts."

'No domination'

Mr Wong continued: "I would like here to second what the Datu Bandar has said that Malaysia must be entered into with a spirit of goodwill and co-operation and that there must be a certain amount of give-and-take, but it is best to leave the actual workings to the respective working committees.

"I would also like to support what Datu Openg has said that if the need does arise there might be a necessity to enlarge, not to the point of unwieldiness, the membership on the Inter-Governmental Committee and sub-committees."

"Malaysia," Mr Wong went on, "must not be used for the domination of one community or race over another nor the creation of a second-class citizenship in Sarawak. That would make a happy and harmonious Malaysia a non-starter from the start.

"Sarawak has been a happy country, and still is. In the campaign for Malaysia, the question of special privileges for the natives and indigenous people has been over-played and over-

emphasised.

"I would like to be veiy brutal, and very frank here in connection with this subject because I feel the interest of Sarawak and its peoples as a whole transcends all else and that we in Sarawak must march forward with one heart and one soul.

There must be no discrimination towards our progress if we are to catch up with Malaya, otherwise we shall be forever relegated to a second class position. I say again if this country is to forge ahead then she must utilise all resources available in this country.

"Already we are short of men in all spheres. Either we have to use and train all that we have - and this includes the non-native Sarawakians - or we have to get men from abroad. There is no option. We are building a new nation.

" Let us start with the right foundations, let us not discriminate and create seeds of misunderstanding that can be used by those of ill-intent to evil purposes. Let us say to all the under privileged that they will be helped irrespective of face, colour or creed.

"If per the indigenous people are at the present the most under privilege, then they should be given all possible help. Put do not reduce this to a mathematical formula of a quota for this, and a quota for that.

"Ours is an expanding economy, and a free one. There is room an opportunity for all in Sarawak who are prepared to work and sweat. No one need rob from anyone.

"We are sure, within the foreseeable future, the interests of the natives will be looked after. The preservation of the customary rights and ~adat lama' in Malaysia would also assure the preservation of native rights."

Continued Mr Wong, "Malaysia, as some members have pointed out, is rather a "Hobson's Choice' for us in Sarawak. We are not given the option by the British Government to say - 'well we will give you 15 years on that time we shall have independence - because obviously with the world as it is today pressure is building up to give us our independence at the soonest possible moment, or it will be forced upon us.

"Malaysia appears to be the only answer, apart from having independence in our own sweet time.

Much heart-searching

"I am myself now speak as one who has done much investigation and heart-searching in the last year over this matter of Malaysia and as one who happens to have lived in Malaya before the war, and has visited Malaya since then.

"I am myself convinced that subject to the safeguards of the special interests for Sarawak, Malaysia is the best way in which we in Sarawak can obtain independence.

"I have no reservation on this at all. Malaysia will make it possible for us in Sarawak to preserve this form of parliamentary democracy which today you are sitting in this House - to live a way of life we are used to, and to have an orderly and stable form of government which we are all used to.

"To cite a few advantages of Malaysia, I would say it is common knowledge that in Malaya today you have a very prosperous, stable, happy country - in fact one of the happiest countries, except for Sarawak, if I may say, within Malaysia!

"So when we join Malaysia, we will benefit from Malaya's experience since they obtained independence during the first five years. I feel and hope that apart from substantial financial assistance in the rural development field, "Malaysia will also mean for us" - if the Tengku keeps his promises, which I have no doubt we will, accelerated development for the people as a whole, especially in the rural areas.

"One of the most important things of Malaysia of course is that it will provide for us a mutual security within and without Malaysia.

"In the economic field, of course, it will make this Malaysia unit a more economical and more viable one, for even today we have a common currency bond with Malaya, and traditionally we have always traded with Singapore, and to some extent, Malaya.

"But I must emphasise that it does not necessarily mean that we hope for substantial gain by

coming into Malaysia: I believe that we are still one of the few countries in South East Asia that has very good borrowing powers."

Commenting his recent visit to Malaya with two Sarawak Government officials to investigate and to learn how the States and Federal governments operate between themselves, Mr Wong said: "I feel the impression we have received is that Malaya is very progressive, and the Government machinery is functioning very well. Above all we have been met by people who have been most helping telling us what we wished to know.

"We have come back with the impression that several heads of the departments there seem to be aware of our needs, for a slow gradual transition after Malaysia before we reach parity with Malaya."

Safeguard the safeguards

Turning to the question of safeguards, Mr Wong said: "The greatest need when Sarawak enters Malaysia is not only the question of safeguards alone, but the safeguard to safeguard the safeguards and in this respect I do not know how it can be achieved, but I suppose that there can be no amendment to State and Federal Constitutions without a four-fifths majority."

On the questions of relationship Mr Wong felt that the desirability of having it for Sarawak should be investigated as every other State seemed to have its own.

Mr Wong next made an appeal to the expatriate officers to stay on adding "Sarawak needs them and we cannot afford to let them go even with the golden handshake."

On the subject of scholarships he felt that it was vital Sarawak should be given additional awards and that Britain could contribute by giving direct scholarships during the transition period, and years after, until Sarawak had gained parity with Malaya.

He hoped that Britain would be generous with Sarawak and said he understood (subject to correction) that Colonial Development and Welfare assistance would be still given to the country after Malaysia.

Referring to the Datu Bandar's remarks that Malaysia was a matter of life and death for the indigenous people, he said: "May I add an amendment here that it is a matter of life for all of us in Sarawak."

He added: "Malaysia must mean, in Sarawak, that each and everyone will benefit and enjoy his privileges and have a better and higher standard of living within a happy - and I repeat a happy - new country."

MR ONG'S SPEECH

Last to speak was Mr Ong Kee Hui (Kuching Municipal) who agreed that the meeting was historic one in that the Council was called upon to make a decision which would decide the future of the people of Sarawak.

He recalled another historic occasion in 1945 when the Council was asked to approve the Cession of Sarawak by the Rajah to the British Government.

Mr Ong then said: "History seems to be repeating itself. We are asked today to approve a motion which will give a mandate to certain members of this Council to negotiate an agreement which will change the future of this country.

"We are asked to do this under circumstances more or less similar to those which prevailed then - in the face of opposition by a number of inhabitants of this country with haste and perhaps without adequate time being given to allow the people to fully understand the need for and the implications of the proposal put forward.

"Many of those who are said to be in favour of the proposal have very frankly indicated that they are prepared to accept Malaysia because the Government has told them it is the best for them in the same way as that agreed to Cession because that was the Rajah's wish and there was nothing they could do about it.

Feelings in the ulu

"The same uneasy and unhappy feelings prevail in the ulu - that of a child somewhat bewildered and feeling that it has been abandoned by its father on whom it has relied for support and protection.

"Speeches by Honourable Members reflect somewhat a feeling of uneasiness at the grave responsibilities which are being put on our shoulders.

"At a time like this I agree with the member from the Fifth Division, who made an appeal that there should be close co-operation in this House so that in deciding the future of the people of this country we do so with a real regard for their future interests.

"For that reason although members have spoken at length, I feel that I will be failing in my duty if I do not intervene however short my intervention may be.

"First of all there is the different between the concept of Malaysia and the Malaysia Plan. Many people like myself, while agreeing to the concept of Malaysia are not yet prepared to accept the Malaysia Plan as originally proposed by Tengku Abdul Rahman i.e. Sarawak and North Borneo entering as states in the Federation of Malaysia on the same terms as Malacca and Penang.

Mr Ong continued: "It is about time that the people of Sarawak and the world at large are told the truth and the real facts concerning Malaysia. There has been so much propaganda both for and against that people are apt to lose sight of the real issues involved.

"On the other hand there are also many people who say that they accept the Malaysia Plan but demand so many conditions that they in fact have also rejected the Plan but are really agreeing to the concept of Malaysia.

"Yet newspapers and propaganda organisations for Malaysia stick a label on one as anti-Malaysia and the other as pro-Malaysia. It is important, that we get this straight. Is there in fact any difference between the concept and the plan or are we merely playing with words?

"To my mind and I believe and to many others, the two (i.e. the concept and the plan are two different things.

"The concept of Malaysia, as we see it, is the association of the territories in South East Asia within the Malay Archipelago which are under British control or influence to form a bigger political

"Some people in the Federation of Malaya and in Singapore envisage inclusion of other territories within the Malay Archipelago now under the control of the Republic of Indonesia, but this has never been accepted as the basis of the concept of Malaysia as we understand it.

'Closer association' idea

"So far as I am aware no organisation or individual who has expressed views publicly has yet rejected this idea of closer association of these territories of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

"The advantages of such an alignment or association are realised by many people and have in fact been mooted and considered by the British Government from time to time.

"We all know that the merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya has been actively pursued by one side for a number of years and it was the fear of the people of Malaya of the large Chinese population in Singapore that has kept the two territories apart for so long after the British Government had made up its mind to liquidate its interests in this part of the world.

"Similarly here in Borneo we have been pursuing with varying degrees of enthusiasm on the part of the three territories for the past few years the idea of closer association or federation.

"The concept of Malaysia is therefore not new and has been generally considered by most politically conscious people to be a good idea.

"What people have not thought about, and now that the establishment of a state of Malaysia is proposed, what people in the Borneo Territories are not wholeheartedly prepared to accept, is a plan to bring this about suggested by the Prime Minister of Malaya in May, 1961. The circumstances under which the plan was mooted is well-known.

The first reaction by the people of the Borneo Territories was that of loud and strongly expressed opposition. Since then there has been departure from the original plan and we are now to be given certain safeguards.

"Had we, when the plan was announced by the Prime Minister of Malaya received it with enthusiasm and without any reservation, would there be talk of safeguards?"

"I often wonder to myself whether we would have an Inter-Governmental Committee in which honourable members would be able to negotiate terms on behalf of the people of Sarawak for entry into Malaysia.

"It is easy enough for us and for myself knowing that the British Government is committed to Malaysia and knowing nothing we do here will prevent it coming about to jump in on the Malaysian band wagon and ride to a position of prominence to Malaysia.

"But would we, by thus they place in us by electing us as their representatives in this Council? Reference has been made to the fact that in association with political parties in Brunei and North Borneo the party to which I have the honour to belong has sent an appeal to the United Nations. My answer to the criticism is very simple.

"We do it as a duty we feel we owe to the people of the Borneo Territories to ensure that all that is done or will be done will be in accordance with the principles to which we as parliamentarians subscribe. Both the British and the Malayan Governments have nothing to fear or to be ashamed of if they give the people of the Borneo Territories a square deal.

For our children and children's children

"In doing what we did my colleagues and I are of course sticking our necks out and probably courting trouble for ourselves in the days to come. But it is not of ourselves we think, but of our children and of our children's children.

"My honourable friend and colleagues opposite who was Sarawak's leader to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee meetings expressed the fear that we would have our graves dug up and our bones desecrated by them if we should fail in the trust they have given us.

"I have no such fear. As one who believes in some heaven or hell in the hereafter, I fear more meeting my forebears who have lived in this happy land before me. Let not they point an accusing finger at me for having like Judas, sold Sarawak for 30 pieces of silver.

"My approach to Malaysia has always been a constructive one. For that reason that together with some members of this House I attended the meetings of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee.

"In doing so, if I may say so, like my Honourable friends, we have been criticised. We have even been said to have signed away Sarawak for large sums of money. The fact that today this House has before it this motion, which is moved by the Attorney-General, is I think indicative that we have done no such thing.

"With regard to the motion I think that things being as they are, there is no alternative. We must pursue this, we must try, *under* present circumstances to secure for the people of Sarawak such terms and conditions which would ensure that if Malaysia were to come about the interests of the people of Sarawak would be safeguarded and for that reason I support the motion.

"I would wish my colleagues on the Supreme Council and other Honourable Members who would be appointed to the sub-committees good luck and success. They have a very heavy responsibility to discharge and I only wish that it was possible for me to render them any assistance in any way."

Government replies

The Government reply was first made by the Financial Secretary, Mr Hepburn, who said: "I don't intend to say anything about the financial implications of Malaysia - there are many financial things to be considered, and it is one of the subjects which the Inter-Governmental Committee through

the Fiscal sub-committee will give attention to.

"I am sure that the Committee will bear in mind things said by Members touching on finance. All the members who will sit either on the Inter-Governmental Committee or the Finance sub-committee are sitting in this House today."

Mr Hepburn then said: "Two members referred to the word selling and I myself think that is not the correct approach. There is no proposal before the House to sell anything.

"As I understand it the proposal is to pool resources with other people into the merger of a bigger unit, and I would make that point there is no proposal to sell Sarawak or to sell anything.

"With regard to the specific question asked about Colonial Development and Welfare assistance: so far no country which has attained its independence has continued to receive C.D. & W. assistance, but any commitment outstanding has been honoured.

"It is, therefore, unlikely that Sarawak on attaining independence would continue to receive C.D. & W. assistance."

In winding up the debate the Attorney-General, Mr Pike, referred to Capt. Gribble's complaint that the Council had not been consulted for 17 months and said: "I think it is a little unfair to suggest 17 months. That was the date, in May, 1961, when the genesis of an idea was born with Tengku Abdul Rahman.

"It was not, I think, even a plan at that stage, and certainly we could not have consulted this Council have possibly been consulted until after the Cobbold Commission had reported because, quite frankly, the Government had nothing to place before the Council.

"It was in possession of little more knowledge than the man-in-the-street. It is possible that this Council might have been consulted a month or so earlier but I believe that to be the extreme limit at which any useful consultations could have taken place.

"I would also like to remind Members that if they felt this was an advantage in the past 17 months, there are procedures of this Council by which they can force the Government's hand - questions, motions, they could all force the Government to divulge what little information they may have had at that time, but none of these means was adopted.

"It was also suggested that we should call more frequent meetings of this Council to report back to it and I gave an assurance on the amendment to the motion that this would be done if any useful purpose could be served by having a meeting earlier than the December meeting for the Budget."

Mr Pike went on: "I think that the Member also suggested that this Council should meet in committee. I don't think that would be appropriate. If it were thought suitable this Council could, of course, exclude strangers and achieve it in that way. But my own opinion is that if we report back to the Council we should report back to the Council in public. There can always be non-council meetings of members outside of this Council."

Point about secession

As to the point raised on secession Mr Pike said: "I am not going to attempt to say what the Committee is going to recommend on that." He then quoted the Cobbold Report on the subject - *A number of witnesses suggested that there should be a trial period with a right to secede from the Federation after a stated number of years'

"We believe that inclusion of the secession clause would mean a continuation throughout the trial period of political and perhaps racial divisions.

"We feel that if it is decided to create a Federation the decision should be made wholeheartedly and without reservations. We do not recommend the inclusion of a secession clause.

He added: "For what it is worth that accords with my personal view and I was glad to hear Mr Chen Ko Ming speak somewhat forcibly on the same lines.

"The ability to secede can be a two-edged weapon and could be used in a way in which the people of this country would not wish if a certain type of Government happened to be in power at the time.

"I think one should view it from all angles before you rush into it and ask for the right to secede, it can operate both ways.

"I am glad that so many Members had taken the opportunity of expressing views on their matter and that they have brought forward all the points upon the Committee and the sub-committees will have to bend their mind in the future meetings which they are to have.

"Perhaps I might have one further point on this Question of secession and that is this if you have a right to secede you presumably wish to secede for some particular purpose.

"Now as I suggested Sarawak could not stand on its own feet at any time in the future in the present conditions of the world today - to what would you be seceding?

As for the suggestion that additional Members should be appointed to the Inter-Governmental Committee, Mr Pike said: "Provision is made, of course, in the motion of just that contingency but we already have nominated five unofficial members and three Official members and this is a very large number of persons to add to a Committee which contains membership from H.M. Government, Government of the Federation of Malaya and the North Borneo Government.

"The North Borneo Government has only three Unofficial members, we already have five and it may therefore become difficult to add further members to our Committee."

Mr Wong's fears

Mr Pike continued: "The fears which Mr James Wong has expressed again as to not achieving the desired safeguards by August 31, 1963 are little unreal because if we had not achieved what we wish long before that date there would be no possibility of Malaysia being implemented on that date.

"We must achieve it long before that date and indeed if we do not achieve it long before that date, it means it is not achievable.

"I shall not express any views as to the methods by which the safeguards will be safeguarded. We hope that the safeguards will be written into the Constitution. That will be the most satisfactory way of safeguarding.

"State citizenship will no doubt be considered and I would point out that it is only those States of the Federation which were the subject of Rulers prior to the Federation of Malaya that have separate heads.

"One cannot very readily be the subject of a Governor. I think that is a difficulty you are up against in trying to achieve a separate citizenship for Sarawak or North Borneo."

The motion was then put to the House and approved by a show of hands.



Checking the Revolt Resolution Won The Day - Say Tom Harrison

ONE of the lessons the Brunei revolt has taught Sarawak is that greater attention should be paid to the small racial groups - in the modern world one small group can break up a whole pattern.

So says Tom Harrison, Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Sarawak Museum, in a challenging article.

Mr Harrison, who was in charge of all irregular forces in the Sibuti, Baram, Upper Limbang and Trusan headwaters to prevent the rebels from escaping into the Interior, points out that though some racial groups may be small in Sarawak they cover a wide area of the county.

The Kadayans, which played a major role in the revolt, he adds, are less than 10,000 strong in Sarawak. But they are closely related to the Tidongs and other numerous peoples who cover a very wide area in Indonesia Borneo.

Here is Mr Harrison's story:

The situation when I arrived at Lutong on December 11 was that a very large section of the inland population of North West Sarawak, including all the Kenyahs, Kayans, Kelabits and Muruts and the Ibans in the Upper Limbang and on the Bakong branch of the Baram, had in some way expressed their complete readiness to take an active part in quelling the rebellion.

Secondly, that a number of British Government Officers who had happened to be on the spot or were at their stations immediately responded to the situation, gave the necessary leadership, rallied and organised this feeling and by the time I got there, there was already a considerable and rapidly growing armed force at the disposal of whoever was prepared to use it.

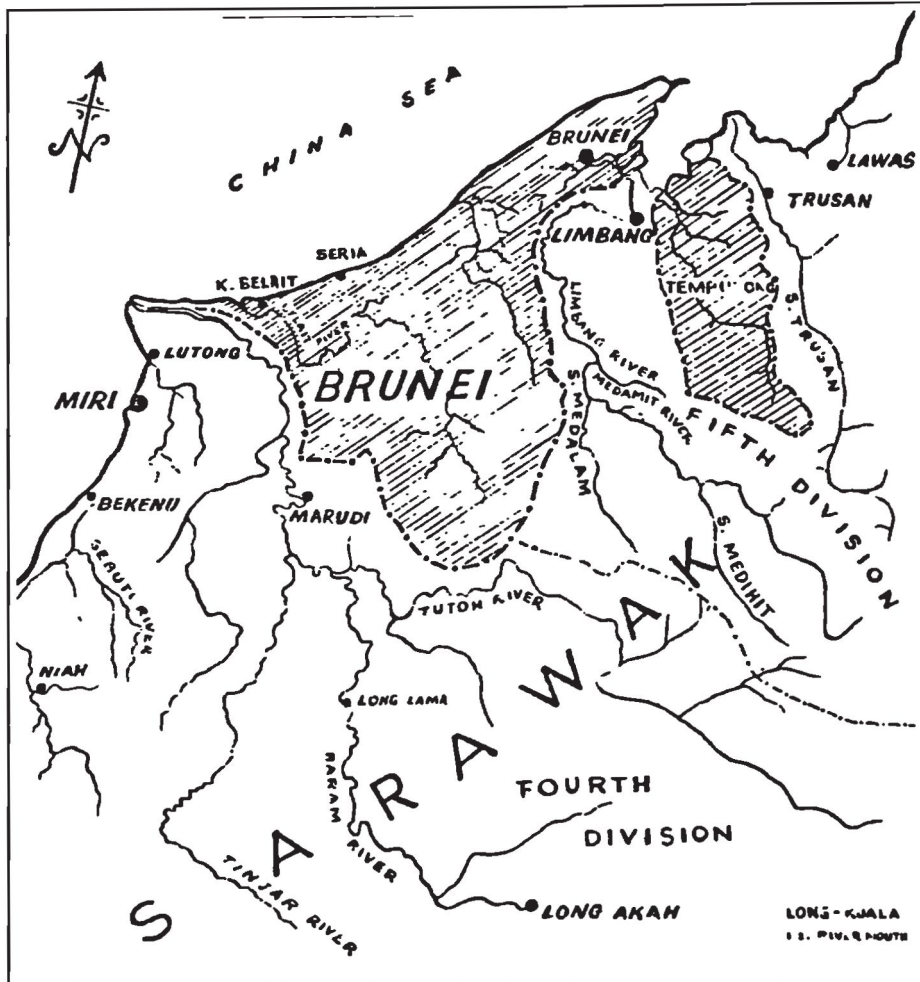
I would like to mention first in this Mr Nick Coysh, a Rubber Development Officer, who was at Marudi at the time and, of course, the leadership of Mr John Fisher, the Resident, who gave the go-ahead to the whole movement.

The call to arms was at once taken up by Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, Penghulu Gau, Penghulu Keding and the other Baram chiefs.

Mr Richard Morris was not in a position to do anything in the Fifth Division because he had been taken prisoner by the rebels, but fortunately a police officer, Mr A.P.G. Prince, was in Lawas and also Mr Mervyn Swyny, a courageous man in the Public Works Department. They together did a magnificent job in rallying this type of support in those places.

In fact, wherever there were leaders to give a positive direction to the local feeling the rebellion, which was entirely in the hands of the Malays and Kedayans, did not spread outside Baram and the Lower Limbang.

Therefore, by December 12 we had the position where the military were fully engaged with the rebels in active fighting within the State of Brunei and about to be so engaged in the general area of Bekenu and Sibuti, in the Fourth Division.



The position was still obscure at Limbang, and great care was being taken in planning any operations in case it endangered the lives of the Resident, Mrs Morris and the other prisoners there. It was already clear, however, that the rebels were going to be completely squashed by the great force of British arm coining in from Singapore and elsewhere into West Borneo.

The real concern of the military then became, as far as the inland areas were concerned, to prevent the rebels escaping inland, setting up any form of guerilla organisation inland or simply causing havoc into Indonesia from where undoubtedly a number of them had recently returned after training in the use of arms.

It was therefore decided to deploy the massive and still growing irregular forces along the whole are between the North Borneo border on the Trusan River, right away behind Brunei, behind the Temburong district of Brunei, over the headwaters of the Limbang, again all along the border area behind Brunei in the Tutong and Belait districts, and across the Baram down to Marudi.

An additional force of about 100 guerillas was brought down to Miri itself to assist there under the leadership of Mr Willian Geikie and other Miri district Councillors.

At this stage we had the Motor Launch "Rainbow" on patrols between Marudi and Kuala Baram, loaded with armed Kenyahs under Mr. William Scott of the Tanjong Lobang School and Mr Eric Vennell of the PWD, both of whom did splendidly.

Finally, there was the more complicated, immediate question of Bekenu, in the Sibuti area, further down the coast from Miri.

Therefore by about December 13 we had managed to put out effective blocks over a large part of the backstop area mentioned, assisted by additional officers, notably Mr. R.E. Clark of the Land and Survey Department, Mr Manson Toynbee, of the Education Department and Mr Barry Balbernie, of the Agricultural Department.

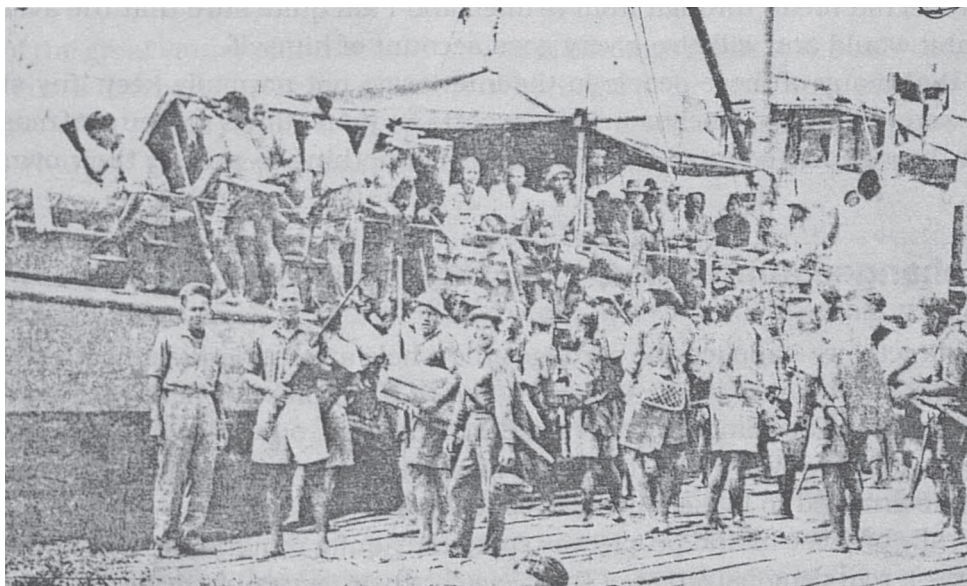
'Situation at Bekenu extremely obscure'

But in the case of Bekenu, where the situation was extremely obscure and where I had twice received salutes in reconnaissance aircraft overhead from people who appeared to be rebels holding the kubu, we decided that the irregulars could take a fully positive and aggressive role as well.

Here we moved some of the Marudi forces very rapidly into the Bakong River under Derrick Reddish of the Borneo Company and John Bagley of the Medical Department who, with Penghulu Baya Malang, led two powerful overland groups of mixed Kayan, Kenyahs and Ibans down the Sibuti River behind Bekenu - this attack being co-ordinated with the Green Jackets, the regular army, who simultaneously attacked Bekenu from the coast up the Sibuti River.

This worked veiy well indeed and completely bottled in the rebels in that area. There was no question of their escaping inland - they were attacked from both sides and also additional troops were put in by helicopter on top of them to places I designated, on December, 15.

PREPARING TO GET ON BOARD



Baram volunteers boarding the Government launch "Taffy" bound for the Ulu Tutoh area.

That was the earliest piece of the whole of this operation to be really mopped up. Bekenu and that whole area were effectively cleared of rebels by December 18.

Now all the time the army were cleaning up and putting on the pressure in Brunei itself and the attack had gone in to Limbang. So having finished with Bekenu and quickly brought Reddish and Bagley out again, we put Reddish quickly brought Reddish and Bagley out again, we put Reddish up in the top of thr Trusan River, with other forces, mainly Kelabits and Muruts.

The role of the irregulars after this was entirely that of serving as backstop. Increasingly this had to be tied up with regular army units as the soldiers were freer of the main battle. I would stress of course that theirs was always the main role in Brunei itself and then in Limbang, but that we irregulars had to take a burden off the Army shoulders inland. In fact not one single rebel has so far escaped alive into the interior or got through our cordon as far as we know.

And there is no evidence that anybody is likely to do so in the immediate future.

I have been asked how it was possible to cover such a huge area on the map.

The answer to that is easy. Geographical knowledge of the area is important and this was one thing I was personally able to contribute because I have travelled all over the Fourth and Fifth Divisions, also all along and inside the border with Kalimantan and Southern North Borneo.

In fact, although it looks tremendous on the map - owing to the terribly rugged terrain, there are very few actual routes which any sane human being can hope to use and succeed for getting away.

Many of the irregulars were people who had been with us in SRD during the war in 1945 and were very proud to show on this occasion their war medals.

We were able to learn very largely from that past experience with the big organised Japanese forces, in on case over 700 strong, who attempted to escape inland to Indonesia during 1945.

Using that experience and those veterans we were able to concentrate on a limited number of escape routes which, in fact, are the only practical ones available for anyone thinking of going to the border.

I would like to emphasise here that we did not arm masses of people all over the country. All that happened throughout this operation was that buckshot cartridges were given on allocation to licensed shotgun holders in areas where there was seen the possibility of the rebels escaping or the rebellion extending.

We did not arm large areas where there was no such threat. Nobody had received any sort of outside weapon - re - volver, rifle or anything else.

But there are two aspects to this thing of giving these cartridges one, that they would be positively useful if any rebel did break through from Brunei; and I am quite sure that the average Kenyah, Kayan or Kelabit would and will give a very good account of himself.

Secondly, that many of these people in the interior do not normally keep any stock of these cartridges and were getting extremely worried at reports and sometimes rumours of masses of people moving about through the country. They felt they had nothing to protect their own women and children with.

Cartidges changed atmosphere

Therefore, directly we supplied the cartridges the whole atmosphere changed. I have seen this in remote villages, such as up in the Ulu Akah and at such places where we landed - at tiny or improvised airstrips in RAF Single Pioneers and helicopters.

The moment we issued even five cartridges per man everybody was solid from then on, not worried any more and determined to make a positive contribution.

In fact the rally of these inland people was something quite remarkable and nothing to do with politics or race - a real demonstration of their love for their own country - Sarawak.

The question has also been asked as to how we did keep track of the rebel movements. Well, that is a very easy one because, as I have said before, they could only use very limited routes.

You cannot take a bee line across the country anywhere in the interior of Sarawak - the country is much too rough. By using helicopters, and even more using Beaver and Single Pioneer fixed-wing aircraft very close observation was able to be kept on the movement inland.

In fact, as I have said, nobody did get far inland. As well as receiving salutes from the ground to the air I actually received a surrender from two men below the Medalam, in Limbang. They held up their hands in the boat to the aircraft, dashed away downstream and were never seen again.

They were the only two people we know of who really looked as if they were ever going to penetrate

the interior at all. It may well be that there will be some people getting up there. There are two or three reports in the Fifth Division. But by the time they have got far inland, into the area I am talking about, they are going to have had an awful mauling from the army, gunfire, aeroplanes and reconnaissance.

And they are jungle not people who are doing this rebellion - they are coastal Malaya and coastal Kedayans who are not at home in the jungle at all. It will be a remarkable fine performance on their part if they do manage to establish any sort of activity for inland.

The helicopters of course, have only a limited use in the interior, though they played an invaluable role in the whole operation.



Troops disembarking from an RAF Twin Pioneer on landing at Marudi

But one of the great values of the helicopter was in landings made in the sub-coastal areas such as along the Tutoh River and in the lower Trusan where again, the very fact of landing in a helicopter, in the middle of a village square, dishing out some ammunition and a spot of leadership, immediately changed the whole atmosphere. Giving the people some information and determination from first hand made all the difference.

Most of the villagers had completely run out of batteries and had no radios working at all. Others were listening attentively to Indonesia. The picture was terribly obscure to them and a helicopter landing with a friend and some ammunition was worth half a battalion at that particular moment, psychologically.

So the further question arises - what did the irregulars shoot at and what did they capture?

The answer to that is extremely little. I am very glad to say that is so, because our job was to stop people getting in there.

By the ordinary methods of travel all through that area, of course, within a day or so of all these people being armed, everybody knew about it over a wide area down to the coast. I feel quite sure if we had not done this, and this I know is also the view of my seniors in the army and elsewhere, if we had not done this, the rebels would have probably escaped inland.

But they were not prepared to tackle these warlike ex-head hunter types of the interior and therefore they were compelled to stay down on the coastal areas.

That made it easier for the army to deal with them, though the thing is not completely dealt with yet because even the coastal country is difficult enough. God knows!

The irregulars did prevent them from spreading inland and also it was essential to give some positive leadership to those inland people to stop all sorts of other silly ideas developing and even the possibility of the rebellion itself spreading from mere muddle and misunderstanding.

So the question is - where are the rebels now and what are left of them?

The general view seems to be that they now are confined to the coastal plain and the immediate sub-coastal belt. Many of them have gone back home, trying to pretend that they are just ordinary farmers and never did any harm to anybody.

'If some do break through.....!'

If some of them do break through and start working up rivers now, the irregulars will not be able necessarily to hold them, but what the irregulars do is act as a stop. Immediately there is a need for anything more, there's that much notice, that much intelligence and the regular forces can immediately fly in and deal with the situation, if that is necessary.

One occasion of that kind has occurred. It was based entirely on rumour, but a serious rumour, and we took it seriously.

A unit of Gurkhas was flown in to an inland place very quickly indeed; with very enterprising flying by RAF Twin Pioneers and the whole situation was dealt with in a matter of a few hours - that is the sort of future picture I would see, unless of course, something much more elaborate and something quite different develops.

That is something we are working on now and the irregulars may have a further part to play in any long term thinking about this whole area.

Some people have asked me if there are any lessons Sarawak can learn from this revolt.

Well, of course, there are all sort of lessons for the Administration and Intelligence and so on which are right above my head. But in my mild capacity as Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Sarawak Museum, there is an ethnological problem that comes out of this - that is that you cannot afford to ignore small racial groups.



Ulu Tinjar volunteers under Penghulu Balau Lejau, being met by P.C. Peter Lilin at Marudi.

The Kadayans have played a major role in this. There are only about less than 10,000 of them in Sarawak but they have not been taken into account. There are practically no responsible Kedayans in any positions. They are not represented adequately in Government and this applies equally to many other group in the north.

The large groups have received overwhelming amount of attention not only in administration but, for instance, over the radio where only the large groups have any programmes at all.

Although the population of people like the Kedayan, the Kenyah, Kayans, Kelabits and Muruts, are relatively small, they occupy enormous areas of this country.

Moreover, they are, what is called, politically backward, or what I would call, happy fellows. But they can be got at and confused.

In my view, what happened at Bekenu, among the Kedayan, there, who I know quite well and who are extremely industrious farmers, is that they did get completely confused and misled.

They are guilty all the same, no one is denying that, but there is a lesson that the same sort of thing can happen widely and I do not think the argument is sufficient that this group is small one, therefore we can ignore it.

SARAWAK WILL SAIL.... 'With Good Ship Malaysia'

Council Negri approves terms and safeguards

Council Negri took the vital decision to "sail convoy with the Good Ship Malaysia" when March 1963 it approved, without dissent, the Inter-Governmental Committee Report.

This was followed up by the endorsement of a proposal to provide that the next Supreme Council will consist of a Chief Minister, three officials and five elected members of Council Negri and to increase the number of elected seats in the next Council Negri from 24 to 36 - a reduction of the originally agreed number of nominated seats from 15 to 3.

The debate on the the Inter-Governmental Report took up most of Friday's meeting and no fewer than 17 unofficial members spoke. The Attorney-General, Mr. P.E.H. Pike, who introduced the motion explained many aspects of the recommendations in detail and praised the remarkable degree of tolerance and respect for the views of fellow members by the representatives of the various Governments on the Committee.

He paid special tribute to Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, for his sympathetic approach and understanding of Sarawak's problems.

Economic benefit emphasises

He was followed by the Acting Financial Secretary, Mr John Pike, who emphasised the financial and economic importance of the agreement, which, among many other matters, sought to ensure that \$300 million would be made available for development in the next five years - a total entirely beyond the resources of an independent Sarawak - and to provide for a large and steady increase in State services by 10 per cent a year for the next 10 years.

The eloquent speeches of the unofficials and the issues raised reflected the intense interest of members in seeing that the people of Sarawak would be well satisfied with the terms and safeguards for its entry into the new Federation.

Some anxiety was apparent particularly on the subjects of a federal religion, education, national language and the permanence of safeguards.

And before the Report came up for discussion a petition was presented by representatives of five Christian Churches "beseeching Council Negri to do all within its power to ensure that all human rights at present enjoyed by the people of Sarawak be maintained in Sarawak within the Federation of Malaysia."

Nevertheless, the points of comment and criticism did little to obscure the solid measures of real agreement reached - that Malaysia is the best long-term solution for Sarawak's future.

The resolution on the change in the composition of the new Council Negri took many by surprise. The legislature for which elections will be held during the coming months, will now have 36 elected, not more than three nominated, one standing and three ex-officio members.

This means that the new Council Negri, elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage, will be a completely representative body and it will no longer be possible to contend that the strength of nominated members makes it in effect unrepresentative. From the 36 elected members, 24 will be elected to the Malaysian House of Representatives in Kuala Lumpur.

An unfortunate feature of the debate was the emphasis on the religious problem. Safeguards were carefully explained and misunderstandings corrected, including the mistaken notion enshrined in the petition, submitted by Mrs Tra Zehnder, that the Federation of Malaya does not subscribe to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

Council Negri also took steps to revive the old Sarawak black, red and gold flag for its State flag and the tune of the old Sarawak National Anthem for its State Anthem though fresh words will be

sought.

The Deputy Chief Secretary, Mr A.R. Snelus, one of the few officials whose service commenced under the Rajah's Government, delighted Council by singing the melody for the benefit of those members not familiar with it - and was loudly applauded.

THE MOTION

That this Council - (a) adopts the recommendations contained in the IGC Report; (b) welcomes the creation of the proposed Federation of Malaysia by August 31, 1963; and (c) authorises the Governor to select such members of the IGC as he may think fit to initial, on behalf of Sarawak, the draft of the agreement for the establishment of Malaysia to be entered into by the Government of the United Kingdom and Malaya.

Tun Razak urges Sarawak Alliance 'Go All Out To Win' GRAND ALLIANCE CONVENTION A BIG SUCCESS

Malaya's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Tun Abdul Razak, on Sunday called on Sarawak Alliance leaders to go all out to win the coming general elections to ensure that the plan to form a Grand Alliance (consisting of the Alliance parties of the Malaysia region) would be carried out.

Tun Razak's appeal came at the end of a two-day convention of Alliance parties held at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur.

More than 10 delegates and observers from Alliance parties from Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah attended it and the heads of all delegations declared their full support for Malaysia.

Tun Razak warned that the "new ship of Malaysia" was bound to face storms after it was launched on August 31 and added:

"There will be difficulties, but you must dedicate yourself to the tasks ahead. The new ship will not be sailing in calm waters all the time."

He then told the delegates: "Our very existence depends upon you all winning the elections. The question of survival is most important to any politician. Our survival depends on the support we get from the people."

Earlier, Tun Razak, who was elected chairman of the convention, announced the creation of an ad hoc committee to plan the formation of the Grand Alliance on Malaysia Day. It will consist of two representatives from each of the five Alliance parties in the Malaysian territories.

The convention also gave a mandate to the Malayan Prime Minister to finalise the Malaysia negotiations with the British Government in London.

On his return to Kuching the leader of the Sarawak Alliance delegation, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, said that the convention was most successful.

He also said that the Alliance's election campaign was set and that there was no doubt every effort would be made to achieve success.

Other members of the Sarawak Alliance delegation who attended the convention were: Sarawak National Party: Mr K.K. Menon; Party Negara Sarawak: Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Moasli and Mr Leong Ho Yuen; Sarawak Chinese Association: Mr Ling Beng Siew and Mr Ting Tung Ming; Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak: Datu Tuanku Bujang bin Tuanku Seman and Mr Alfred Mason; Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak: Penghulu Francis Umpau and Mr Bangau anak Renang.

OPENED BY TENGKU

In declaring open the convention on Saturday, March 30, 1963, the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said that its main purpose "is to enable us to be acquainted with each other and at the same time giving us the opportunity to discuss, deliberate and exchange views among ourselves on major problems concerning the country and also the possibility of forming a Malaysia Alliance Party comprising all political parties in the new nation."

He went on to speak about the success of the Malayan Alliance Party as well as its "trials and tribulations" and said that it was one of the strongest political parties in South East Asia.

Turning to his own party, the United Malays National Organisation, the Tengku pointed out that there was provision in the constitution to enable non-Malays to become associate members. However, UMNO might consider other indigenous non-Malay people from Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak to join as full members.

Similar opportunity might also be extended to other people in Malaya "Who no longer look to other countries but owe their undivided loyalty to this country."

The Tengku then referred to Indonesia's present opposition to Malaysia and its accusation the Malaya was neo-imperialist.

He said: "The main aim of Malaysia is to obstruct the Communists from gaining a foothold in the Borneo Territories, and that is why the Parti Kommunis Indonesia has strongly opposed it: What I regret a little is that other Indonesian leaders have been influenced by the Communists.

"Similarly with the Philippines which the Indonesian leaders had managed to influence to oppose the Malaysia Plan, so much so that President Macapagal himself has accused Malaya of being a neo-colonialist in his important speech to the Filipino nation."

He continued: "Despite the fact that the Philippines is still pressing on with its claim on Sabah, we are aware that country has the same stand as we have, that is, anti-Communist.

"Apart from that, the Philippines also has an agreement with us under ASA (Association of South East Asia) which is an organisation to promote co-operation among member-nations for the advancement of the countries and peoples in the organisation.

"I shall be going to Manila on April 1 to attend the ASA Foreign Ministers' conference, and I shall take the opportunity to explain fully the aims and objects of Malaysia.

"I believe my proposed meeting with President Macapagal will bring good and erase the misunderstanding which has arisen over the Malaysian Plan."

As for President Macapagal's proposal to set up a confederation "of countries of the same stock", the Tengku said: "The motive is good but that question is a very big one and it has many complications which can only be resolved after detailed examination and deliberation which would take a long time."

Indonesia itself, he added, also had its plan, which was mooted some time ago, to establish a Greater Indonesia comprising Malaya and other countries in the Malay Archipelago.

The Tengku went on to refer to those involved in the plan, including Azahari.

He said that the Greater Indonesia plan was not successful because the people of the other countries did not agree to it because the conditions of the people and administration were different from those in Indonesia.

But Malaysia accepted

He added: "On the other hand, the Malaysia Plan has been given support by the people of those territories themselves because the sons of the soil are of the same stock, the language spoken is the same and the system of administration is the same, the currency in use is the same, the economy is the same and the way of thinking is also the same.

"Therefore the people of the territories which would join the Federation of Malaysia have gladly accepted the Malaysia Plan."

He next said that although opposition against Malaysia had now cooled down, the work of those who were against it still went on actively.

He added: "Prime Minister' Azahari and 'General' Zulkifli are being assisted and made a tool of to carry on with the Borneo revolt. We are also aware that other activities are being carried out with the object of making the formation of Malaysia difficult.

"The newspapers of March 29 carried a report of a new warning by Dr Subandrio who threatened that new tension would arise if the Malaysia problem was not settled early. We are not afraid of warnings in whatever form or from any quarters against Malaysia because we are aware that the formation of Malaysia has the support of the people and is for the well-being, prosperity and security of the territories envisaged in the plan.

"Now there are only a few problems left which have not yet been settled in connection with the formation of the new Federation. As regards Brunei, agreement has been reached on most of the terms for its entry into Malaysia, and agreement could be reached soon, I am sure, on those matters which have not yet resolved.

"As for Singapore, the Working Committee is still holding consultations on matters pertaining to finance and administration. I believe these too could be settled soon.

"As regards Sabah and Sarawak, it can be said all matters have been settle.

"Meanwhile there is also talk in the Federation of Malaya of dissatisfaction regarding the allocation of Parliamentary seats to those territories. In their view, 40 seats are too much for one million people.

"I myself and my colleagues feel that for a start the allocation is very reasonable, in order that the people of Sabah and Sarawak do not harbour suspicion that their position in Malaysia is weak and that they do not have a sufficiently strong voice to safeguard their rights, and to put forward matters which could improve the lot of the people in those territories.

"So I ask of the people of the Federation of Malaya to be more liberal to our new brothers and I am sure there will be some good in return."

Ministers from Borneo

The Tengku continued: "Our brothers in Borneo still lack in many things because they are not yet free from colonialism. Political awakening among the people in those territories has just come into being. It is therefore obligatory in our part to assist them. I believe they will not use in vain the voice and right given to them.

"We hope that when Malaysia has been formed, people from the Borneo Territories will sit in the Malaysia Cabinet as Ministers and give their service for the benefit of Malaysia as a whole. There is one thing I would like to repeat in this assembly and that is the people in the Borneo Territories should not feel that they are being colonised.

"I hope they will give their co-operation to the future Federation of Malaysia. Government and that the natives themselves would not hesitate to come forward to hold high posts in Government to replace British officers.

"If they do not do so, our enemies who are always accusing us of being a tool of British imperialists, would go on making such accusations.

"If the people of the Borneo Territories need the assistance of officers, it is best for them to seek assistance from here and we are prepared to send officers from Malaya. This is better than asking British officers to continue their service there."

"As for the (Sarawak) Alliance Party, although it has many members yet its leaders do not agree with each other. The leaders of the party are apparently wasting their time quarrelling among themselves, and I fear this state of affairs will weaken the Alliance party.

"I would like to advise them to stop quarrelling and concentrate all their energies and devote their time to strengthening the Alliance Party. Their defeat in elections would open an opportunity to make Malaysia a failure.

"We, on our part, here can assist with advice and resources but only the people of Sarawak themselves can help themselves. The future of Sarawak depends on the result of the elections. Therefore I wish to remind you all that when you go back to Sarawak you should come to agreement among yourselves and work with determination. Otherwise, if anything were to happen you as leaders would be responsible."

SARAWAK LEADER SPEAKS

Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, who spoke on behalf of the North Borneo delegations, said that he regarded the meeting as a "gathering of members of the same family". It could not be delayed much longer for the brothers to come together.

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, who led the Sarawak deligation, said that it was high time for the people of the Malaysian territories to consolidate their strength and speak with oness of purpose

and strength.

All the States In Malaysia, he said, must at all times main as one solid family and strengthen themselves to maintain democratic government.

He went on: "We, in Sarawak, have watched with keen interest what has been taking place in Malaya in the past decade. I admire the Malayan people's unity of purpose, through which they won 'merdeka' in 1957. We were impressed by the determination with which they fought wit communists, and built up a free independent and prosperous Malaya, as it is today. Sarawak feels happy and proud to recall that during Malaya's Emergency, time of our brothers, the Sarawak Rangers, fought shoulder to shoulder with Malaysans.

"With this rich historical bond between the peoples in the Malaysian territories, with our bond of friendship mutual understanding and goodwill, with our singleness of purpose to shape and build a strong prosperous and democratic nation, wherein lie freedom and justice for all, we, the political parties of the five territories which support Malaysia are gathered here, preparing to welcome the birth of a new nation - the Federation of Malaysia, and also to shoulder the responsibilities thereof.

"We are very pleased to have this opportunity to meet all the dignified personalities from Malaysian territories, and we are fully confident that we can achieve our aims by mutual help and co-operation. It is high time that we are united to consolidate our strength, in order that were able to attain our objectives.

"It is our sincere intention that we must, at all times, remain as one solid family and strengthen ourselves to maintain a democratic government and although it is likely that differences of opinion may arise with mutual respect and understanding, I feel that there is nothing which cannot be settled at a conference such as this."

'Challenging time ahead'

In a major speech delivered on Sunday, Tun Razak urged those present and "those who subscribe to our ideals and objectives and who generally believe in freedom and democracy to exert their utmost efforts not only to bring Malaysia into being but also to see that it is a reality and to succeed in becoming a strong, united and happy country."

He said: "We live in a difficult and divided world and for Malaysia in the next few years will be challenging time. There will be problems, there will be difficulties for us to overcome, but I have no doubt that if we are united and if we stand together to defend the ideas and the principles to which we subscribe, we shall overcome all these difficulties. Let us remember that, if there are no difficulties in this world, there will be no triumphs."

Tun Razak then said he was pelased that the leaders of Sabah and Sarawak had been able to accept the Inter-Governmental Committee's recommendations ""with a spirit of compromise and goodwill".

He added: "All these arrangements are not intended to be permanent. They should be reviewed from time to time to see whether they meet with our needs and requirements and whether they serve our paramount objective of building a united and happy nation."

Malaya, he went on, welcomed "our brothers and sisters in the new territories as equals" and extended to them the hand of friendship.

He added: "And I hope they in their turn will appreciate that we have nothing but goodwill and understanding towards them and our sole desire is to work together as members of one united nation.

"I hope that in the course of time, it would be possible for the people of these new territories to regard Kuala Lumpur as their capital and not merely as a distant city and to regard the Central Government here, of which they will be full members, as their won Government be full members, which is designed to serve not only one part of the territory or one section of the community, but the whole of Malaysia and all the citizens of whatever race, colour, or creed."

Turning to development and defence for which he is responsible Tun Razak said: "These two subjects, are of vital importance to our new nation. Indeed, they are vitally important to any nation, because if we compare a country to a river, the two banks must be, on one side, economic

development and on the other, defence and security.

"If these two banks can be kept solid and strong, then as the water of the river flows steadily, the country marches forward and prospers."

On development, he said: "Naturally as a new and young nation our people in all walks of life, towns, villages, kampongs and the longhouses, all expect to get development with a change in the status; they expect changes in the ways of life; they expect improvements to their standard of living; they expect better amenities of life.

"Indeed, these are all the rising expectations of a new, independent and developing nation. It would be our duty to meet these needs to satisfy these rising expectations to the best of our ability and resources."

'The real concept of Malaysia'

He continued: "We have got to get our thinking on the subject quite clear and start on a framework free from fear and doubt."

"Fears have existed both in the ranks of our various parties and also in several sections of the community that the formation of Malaysia would be an economic drain on the resources of Malaya and would affect the impetus of both our development programme here in Malaya and each of the three territories.

"I think that these doubts have arisen in the minds of those who have not got a clear picture of the concept of Malaysia.

"The real concept is this: that Malaya itself is a country with considerable development potential in the form of natural resources, both material and human.

"Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore are four territories each with their considerable economic resources and development potential.

GRAND ALLIANCE CONVENTION -

"Therefore, it is logical and it is an undeniable fact that the coming together of these five territories, their harnessing into one viable whole, their economic resources, and the combination of concentrated efforts towards progress and development of Malaysia will result in definite gains to each territory concerned and will give a greater impetus to our present development programmes which are already well underway.

"There is no need for me here to prove this point at length. I am sure that history would prove it and our children and descendants will realise that we, in establishing Malaysia, have taken the right step for the interest of all our territories and of ourselves."

Tun Razak then recalled "the fears and doubts" expressed by each state in Malaya before merdeka ("each State felt that they were giving up too much to the Federation without receiving sufficient in return") and said: "It is incredible to see how soon they were forgotten and events have proved, in the form of tangible progress, that the concept of Malaya under our present Constitution was correct, that our system of Federation with a strong Central Government was correct, and that it worked well in practice.

"So with Malaysia, the concept is logical and the same principles and practice will prove right and correct. In other words, the teething troubles which we already experienced before and after the birth of an independent Malaya are no different to the teething troubles which we can expect in the first few years after the birth of Malaysia.

"Therefore, it seems to me now the most important task for all of us and indeed our first task is to help everyone to fully understand the correct concept of Malaysia.

"It is essential that in doing so, we can go ahead together on the economic development of the new nation based on a framework for the future which spells hope of progress and prosperity.

'A co-operative society'

"I think that we should regard that the coming together of these territories for Malaysia is the coming together of people each with their own assets to join a co-operative society to be a success, to get an advantage from the society, members must be prepared to give, it is to be a 'giving and getting'; there must be give and take, that is the spirit which will make Malaysia and development within Malaysia a success."

Tun Razak continued: "In thinking of Malaysia prior to its actual establishment, some people tend to forget what tremendous national energies will be released which, at present, are either suppressed or non-existent before independence.

"Independence will act a vitamin for the rejuvenation of the whole nation. We in Malaya have experienced this already and it is the harnessing of this new found vitality which, in my opinion, has helped us to make such strides already since achieving independence.

The memorandum submitted by Temenggong Jugah and the Kapit councillors stressed that the Alliance had always stood, and still stood, for the independence of Sarawak through Malaysia.

The councillors pointed out that the District Council elections were fought on the Malaysia issue, and the results showed that the majority favoured Malaysia.

The elections went on smoothly. Although the urban areas returned a number of SUPP members who opposed Malaysia, the rural areas returned pro-Malaysia members.

The memorandum also stated that the Council considered the result of the elections as the expressed wish of the people and that therefore there was no need for a referendum.

It went on to state that they supported the Malaysia Agreement signed in London. The Constitution of Malaysia, stated the memorandum, "truly reflects parliamentary democracy".

PARTY POLITICAL BROADCASTS

SARAWAK Chinese Association: (Delivered by the president, Mr Ling Beng Siew)

As you all know, we are going to face the most crucial period in the history of this country within the next few months. I refer to the coming general elections when a great many of you under the new franchise will go to polls to elect your own State Government in Malaysia.

In the past, we took little or no interest in politics. Probably there was no need to, but today we cannot afford to be complacent. On the eve of our attaining self-government and with the withdrawal of colonial rule each one of us must now play his part to ensure that Sarawak becomes free, democratic and prosperous.

The Sarawak Chinese Association was formed a short while ago to bring as many loyal Chinese of Sarawak together in order that they may continue to maintain and strengthen the traditional goodwill with the other races and to work hand in hand for the welfare of Sarawak's future. These objects we are now actively pursuing.

One of our main tasks is to tackle the educational problems facing us. In a progressive state there should be compulsory and free primary education with adequate opportunities to continue for at least three years' secondary education. These should be opportunities for the study of Chinese.

On the question of citizenship in Malaysia the SCA has urged the Government to open up more land and accelerate rural development. We believe in complete freedom in religion.

The SCA is a member of the Sarawak Alliance. Our aims and objects are clear and honourable. I appeal to all of you to support us in the coming elections and help us to make Sarawak a free, prosperous and peaceful country for everyone to live in.

Sarawak United People's Party (Delivered by the chairman, Mr Ong Kee Hui)

Our party was formed as you know with the primary objects of -

- * securing self government and independence for Sarawak
- * to raise the standard of living of the people of Sarawak, particularly of the workers and economically backward section of the community
- * to maintain and foster racial harmony among the people of Sarawak

It is our declared policy to attain the subjects listed by constitutional means and if the people support us in this election we shall form a government based on parliamentary democracy, that is, a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We have been consistent in our stand for the attainment of these objects and have never wavered from these in spite of attempts from various quarters to damage and weaken us.

Although it has been alleged by our opponents that we are a Chinese political party. I can tell you that about half of our 51,000 members comprise of Ibans, Land Dayaks, Malays, Melanaus, Kayans and Kenyahs, and other races who live in Sarawak.

Our leaders include all races and candidates in the coming election as you will see represent nearly all races in Sarawak. This is quite different from the composition of the other political parties, which if I may say so, bear strong racial characteristics.

We have all along held the view that Sarawak belongs to the Sarawakians and the British Government must hand over the sovereignty of this country to the people of Sarawak. This was in fact what the British Government had pledged to do when it took over Sarawak, an independent country with its own Rajah.

The proposed Federation of Malaysia which envisaged the transfer of the sovereignty of this country to Malaysia is a denial to the people of Sarawak of their right of self-determination and does not give to the people true independence, and therefore we are firmly opposed to it.

It is our belief that the people of Sarawak desire true independence and not independence in name only. It is only when people are free and independent can they determine of their free will what political association they desire. Malaysia to our mind should be an association of free peoples and if this principle had been adopted much of the tension and troubles which have arisen in this part of the world could have been avoided.

In the event of the Malaysia Plan being forced through it is obvious that the state government must be strong, united, and devoted to Sarawak. Only such a Government will be able to stand up to the Government of the Federation of Malaysia which will be dominated by Malaysians. Only such a government can safeguard the interest of the people of Sarawak. Can political parties as we know them in Sarawak, founded on a communal basis and banded together be united and strong? Can political parties which lean heavily on an alien party now ruling in Malaya and dependent on such outside help and inspiration be the champion of the Sarawak people and guardian of their interests?

We in the Supp say no but our opponents say yes. Here lies your choice and it is for you to decide. As you know we the Supp have never hesitated to speak out for the people and to stand up for the rights of the people and for democratic principles.

There are now six political parties contesting in the elections, but it does not mean that the parties have equal strength. Some of these parties were formed recently and many of their members were splinter groups of one party. Five of the parties had ganged up to fight the Supp but one had since dropped out. Whatever the number of political parties or splinter groups opposing us, we in the Supp, with the support we have from the people, are confident of the outcome.

The Supp is a national movement comprising people from all walks of life of all classes and of all races. We have no affiliations outside this country and do not rely on outside assistance but we are dependent on the support of the people of Sarawak from whom we derive our strength.

This support has been given to us because the Supp was not formed for the purpose of securing prominent official positions for its leaders. We have dedicated ourselves to the service of the people of Sarawak. Our aim is to build in Sarawak a nation of free and contented people by a programme based on socialism adapted to the needs of this country. It is not our policy to achieve this by expropriating or taking anything away from any section of the community but by speeding up economic development and providing more or better opportunities for the more economically backward communities.

We therefore pledged that a government run by us will allow and encourage free private enterprise although it may be necessary for the State to take a more active role in industrial

development to improve the lot of the working people, and to own or operate certain essential public utilities or basic industries.

The Supp is a moderate socialist party with a programme for improving the standard of living of the people of Sarawak, and fostering the harmony of all the different races by a spirit of mutual assistance, self-reliance and endeavour. Any allegation that Supp is a communist party is quite unfounded, is a smear against the party and must be disregarded.

It will be our aim to accelerate community development in the rural area to improve the standard of living of our people. While social services, such as education and health should within the resources available be improved as rapidly as possible, we would lay the emphasis on economic development.

We would speed up work on roads, which will make more land available and bring our rural people in closer touch with the towns and make it possible for them to enjoy the modern amenities of life.

The coming elections are vital to us all in that the outcome of them will affect the life and future of the country and of our children. Unlike previous elections the coming elections will result in the setting up of an elected government. This is a form of self-government which we in the Supp have been demanding since we formed the party and which had at last been belatedly conceded. Your votes are therefore important and you should vote.

There are people who say that with the emergency and the presence of armed forces everywhere it will not be safe to go to the polling booth. This is wrong. No one can stop you from casting your vote. This is a right which you can and must exercise. This is the most effective weapon which the people have for getting the government of their choice.

In a multi-racial society as we have here it is our conviction that the attainment of political advancement and the achievement of political ends must be by constitutional means. To do so by violence will bring misery and unhappiness to many and may create racial conflict. This must be avoided.

We want a fair fight in the election but not bloodshed. We therefore deplore any act of violence. The situation may be different if the integrity of our land is violated. It will be then our duty as true Sarawakians to defend it.

Sarawak National Party (Delivered by the secretary-general, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan).

As secretary-general of Sarawak National Party, I feel it incumbent on my part to address the people of Sarawak, regardless of whether or not you belong to any political institution, so that every one of you will be fully well kept in the know of the policy of my Party.

Since the elections will be held for the formation of the new government, it is upon your good sense of choice of the right candidate, that the Sarawak National Party depends.

In the present tier-system of elections, unless you weigh the consequences very carefully as to who should be elected, you will in all probability be making a lifelong mistake by bringing a wrong pattern of government into power to your utter dismay.

The British Government, which is so generously helping us to align ourselves with Malaya for the formation of the family of Malaysia, wherein only our salvation lies for independence, must deserve untold praise. The Snap looks towards your help to achieve self-government for this country.

The Malayan Government, the founder of the Malaysia project, is ever willing to help us, and its sincerity will be proved by pouring in millions of dollars into this country after Malaysia takes shape at the end of August this year.

You should not, however, forget the fact that some of our posed well-wishers are working to disrupt our unity under all sorts of pretexts, and it is up to you to eradicate this evil. As I have already said, if you make a wrong choice in the elections, please remember that the fault is none but yours and yours alone.

The policy the multi-racial Snap, which has a following of a leading majority over all other Sarawak political organisations, if elected into power through your help has in substance, to offer you, according to its avowed policy, every benefit.

Here they are - all for you - and the Snap is Your Most Obedient Servant.

- * It will take care of your safety and security, weeding out the undesirable characters, based upon principles of clear-cut democracy.
- * It will work to bring about an improved standard of living for everyone residing in Sarawak.
- * It will ensure that better educational and medical facilities are provided.
- * It will boost up the country's economy in every way, encouraging investment of foreign capital.
- * It will work on a calculated plan for distribution of land for those without it and who are prepared to till on it.
- * Unemployment problems will be solved.
- * Social and welfare status in every walk of life will be enhanced and racial harmony heightened to the utmost.
- * Citizenship facilities will be improved throughout the country to bring them in line with any other part of the Borneo Territories.

I have touched only on the fundamental policy of the Snap - as an introductory guidance what you can expect if the Party is brought into power through your assistance. The Snap depends on you and please remember, it works for you.

ALLIANCE STAND ON PANAS WITHDRAWAL

THE Sarawak Alliance issued a statement on Sunday declaring its attitude on the withdrawal of Party Negara Sarawak saying:

"Any political party that has withdrawn from the Sarawak Alliance will be considered outside the Alliance and will be treated as such.

"The Sarawak Alliance will not have any party with one foot in the Alliance and the other foot out."

This attitude was unanimously approved at a meeting of the Alliance National Council held in Kuching on Saturday, April 27, under the chairmanship of the chairman, Temenggong Jugah.

It was stated that the withdrawal of Panas was done without prior consultation with member-parties of the Alliance and without "the knowledge and blessing of Tengku Abdul Rahman, head of the Grand Alliance."

The meeting also appointed a Special Elections Operations Headquarters Committee "to take such action as may be necessary and or conducive to the victory of the Alliance in the current elections."

Talks were also held in Kuching between a Malayan Alliance delegation and the Sarawak Alliance leaders on recent political developments in the country and on the elections.

Senator T.H. Tan, secretary of the Malayan Alliance and a member of the visiting delegation, also clarified his previous statement on the withdrawal of Panas.

'Good luck to Panas'

He stated that what he said was: "The withdrawal of Panas is a matter for regret, because all the five parties unanimously formed the Sarawak Alliance, with the creation of a unified Sarawakian nation within the framework of Malaysia as one of its avowed aims.

"If since the formation of the Sarawak Alliance, Panas has different ideas and different aims and wishes to go it alone, well, good luck to them."

Senator Tan explained that the statement was intended to politely bid farewell to Panas as "it is illogical to expect the Alliance to support a breakaway party." To wish it 'good luck' was a common courtesy.

He added that Tengku Abdul Rahman could not be expected to support anyone "who has broken away from a sister Alliance organisation in Sarawak."

He then said: "The unalterable policy of the Alliance is: either a party is inside the Alliance, or stays out. the alliance is not used to two-faced politics, and has no time for two-faced politicians.

"Knowing Tengku Abdul Rahman personally and intimately for nearly 15 years, in capacity as honorary secretary of the Alliance. Party of Malaya, I can say with some authority that Tengku Abdul Rahman will only support those within the Alliance, and not, definitely not, those who are out of it.

"I like also to take this opportunity of expressing the views of the visiting delegation from Malaya that we are confident that the Sarawak Alliance, without Panas, has every chance of winning the current elections."

Strong resentment

Senator Tan's remarks were strongly resented by Panas leaders and an emergency meeting, presided over by the vice chairman, Mr Leong Ho Yuen, was called on Monday to discuss them.

In a newspaper interview, Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Moasli, the secretary-general, strongly accused the Malayan Alliance delegation of interfering in domestic politics and of assisting the Sarawak Alliance to engineer its election campaign.

He said that Senator Tan and his colleagues should first and foremost not meddle in the forthcoming elections and that the Sarawak Alliance should tackle its own problems with vigour and should not seek the help of Malayan politicians.

He stressed that his Party had withdrawn from the Alliance on its own initiative and was not influenced by any other political party outside Sarawak.

He said that if Panas were to remain in the Alliance it would not be able to fulfil its duty and prepare itself for the elections. The Sarawak Alliance had been wasting much time and not preparing for the elections.

The chairman of Panas, the Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, told the Sarawak Tribune that he knew the full consequences his Party would face in dissociating itself from the Sarawak Alliance.

He said that when he made the decision to break away he realised that his Party would not be eligible to join the Grand Alliance when it was formed. He also said that Senator Tan had no right to interfere.

SARAWAK ALLIANCE CONFIDENT OF VICTORY' - TEMENGGONG JUGAH

THE Sarawak Alliance is confident of victory in the forthcoming elections as many of its candidates has been returned unopposed said Temenggong Jugah, chairman of the Sarawak Alliance in a political party broadcast this week.

Criticising Panas for withdrawing from the Alliance, Temenggong Jugah said that once its leaders boasted that theirs was a party which received the support of Tengku Abdul Rahman and the Malayan Alliance Party.

He alleged that the Panas leaders were disappointed because among other things their chairman was not elected to be the chairman of the Alliance.

Temenggong Jugah also quoted statements made previously by the chairman of Panas to the effect that Tengku Abdul Rahman had promised, to help Panas in the event of general elections in Sarawak.

ALLIANCE COULD WIN IF.....!

CONFIDENCE that if the Sarawak Alliance stood together it could beat the communists and come out victorious in the coming elections was expressed by Mr Donald Stephens, president of the United National Kadazan Organisation, in Jesselton on Monday.

Speaking at the Party's annual general meeting, Mr Stephens said that the Communists in Sarawak did not represent a large group but were active and worked to subvert the country continuously. It was lucky that the Sarawak Government was able to find out about them in time and stopped them from trying to turn Sarawak into what Malaya had to suffer during the emergency.

He said that nothing could stop Malaysia and that this Party was willing to sacrifice up to the limit to see that Malaysia came about as planned - "we are not afraid to shed our blood if necessary," he said.

Mr Stephens reiterated his Party's stand regarding the Philippines' claim and said he hoped that the Philippines would stop pursuing the claim since nobody in the country wanted Sabah to become a part of the Philippines - "something which has been proved time and again."

On Brunei "economic ills", he said that they sprang from the fact that it had "too much money

and not enough of it gets to the common people."

Drastic changes were called for in Brunei "because the old order cannot go on after what has happened in that country."

He added: "The people should now be taken into Government's confidence and ways and means must be found to get the people of the country who had been fooled into taking part in the rebellion to be actively connected with the work of governing the country."

SARAWAK GENERAL ELECTIONS

FIFTY-six candidates are contesting 19 seats in the Miri District Council elections. Nominations closed on Friday, April 26.

The Sarawak Alliance is fielding 16 candidates, the Supp -18; Party Negara Sarawak -10; and Independents 12. The number of serving councillors is 13.

The candidates are:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| Ward 1 - Bazaar (2 seats) | - | Chan Yong Kaw - Sarawak Alliance
Chia Chin Shin -
Chia Kien Hui - Supp
Yang Siew Siang - " |
| Ward 2 - River (2 seats) | - | Abang Seruji bin Yusof - Alliance
Mohamed Sepawie bin Mohd Jahar - Alliance
Heng Kea Seng - Supp
Kho Hang Boon - "
T.K. Muip bin Tabib - Panas
Tuah Azahari bin Haji Bojeng - Panas |
| Ward 3 - Kubu (one seat) | - | Haji Shahadan bin Bojeng - Panas
James Friday Young - Alliance
John Tan - Independent
T.C. Lim - " (Symbol - Fish)
Teo Siang Ann - Supp
Wee Kit Chong - Independent |
| Ward 4 - Merbau (one seat) | - | Khoo Choo Ken - Independent
Sim Song Chay - Supp
Tang Chiok Sing - Alliance |
| Ward 5 - Merpati (one seat) | - | Miss Liew Kim Moi - Supp
Obe Hairuni bin A. Wahab - Panas
Reduan bin Tuah Johari - Alliance |
| Ward 6 - Bintang (one seat) | - | George Edward Jolly - Alliance
Tan Hai Beng - Supp
Udik bin Hassan - Panas |
| Ward 7 - Kropok (2 seats) | - | Lau Kim Kuan - Independent
Lee Sie Tong - Supp |

		Lee Teck Fook - Independent Lim Chee Hian - Supp
Ward 8 - Pujut (one seat)	-	Abang Zen bin Abang Sarkawi -Panas Abdul Rahman bin Awang Timbang - Alliance Anthony Sia Tiew Lieng - Supp
Ward 9 - Lutong (2 seats)	-	Amir Yusuff - Panas Chai Hon Kong - Supp Edward Jeli - Alliance Haji Wan Sazali - Alliance James Ping Thing Pang - Independent John Leong Thee Yun - Independent
Ward 10 - Kuala Baram (one seat)	-	Yahaya bin Ibrahim - Panas Abdul Ghani Khan bin Muntos Khan - Alliance Vun Sui Hin - Supp
Ward 11 - Tanjong (one seat)	-	Ahmat bin Garam - Supp G.W. Geikie - Independent Mahari bin Mokhti - Alliance Suleiman bin Awang Marang - Panas
Ward 12 - Lopeng (one seat)	-	Tan Sik Theng - Supp Sigai bin Othman - Independent (symbol umbrella) Yang Shun Chai - Alliance
Ward 13 - Riam (2 seat)	-	Yong Yaw Nam - Independent (Symbol - scissors) Bong Chin Meaw - Supp Lee Chok Moi - Supp Ngie Chung Jin - Alliance Voon Nam Thian - Independent (Symbol - rake)
Ward 14 - Bakam (one seat)	-	Liew Khian - Supp Haji Yusop bin Drahman - Panas Mohamed bin Sarudin - Alliance

Binatang

THIRY-six candidates are contesting 15 seats in the Binatang District Council elections: nominations closed on Saturday, April 27.

The Sarawak Alliance has 10 candidates to the field and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party -11. Independents number 13 and there are two Party Negara Sarawak candidates. There are nine serving councillors among the candidates.

One ward is uncontested - Serdeng (Ward No 2.) where the candidates is Muda bin Haji Yusuf, of the Sarawak Alliance.

The following are the candidates:

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Ward 1 (Semah) | - | Jaraie bin Ja'afar - Panas
Sandom anak Nyuak - Alliance |
| Ward 2 (Serdeng) | - | Muda bin Haji Yusuf - Alliance |
| Ward 3 (Mupong) | - | Nyandan anak Linang - Supp
Ringgie anak Bandan - Alliance |
| Ward 4 (Pulau Bunut) | - | Chiu Ming Tung - Supp
Lau Gang Ing - Alliance
Joseph Legak anak Seman - Independent |
| Ward 5 (Rejang) | - | Pau anak Jamit - Supp
Lema anak Saing - Independent
T.R. Brangah anak Maleng - Alliance |
| Ward 6 (Maradong) | - | Jimbat anak Ingan - Independent
Tan Tung Wen - Supp
Antas anak Pengiran - Alliance
Ling Siong Ping - Independent |
| Ward 7 - (Ulu Binatang) | - | Bunsu anak Tungkat - Independent
Cheing How Sing - Supp
Ensuli anak Ajah - Alliance
Lau Ngik Cheong - Independent |
| Ward 8 - (Mador) | - | Lee Bun Chiang - Independent
Boon anak Undi - Alliance |
| Ward 9 - (Kertong) | - | Tiang Sion Kwong - Supp
Ting Yew Leh - Independent |
| Ward 10 - (Tulai) | - | Wong Ka Ming - Supp
Wong Song Ing - Independent |
| Ward 11 - (Narasit) | - | Wong King Tuong - Supp
Sia Kie Tuh - Independent |
| Ward 12 - (Binatang East) | - | Tiong Siu King - Supp
Teng Tun Hsin - Independent
Ling Cho Yu - Alliance |
| Ward 13 - (Banatang West) | - | Abang Alias Dadar Undin bin Bakar - Panas
Abang Haji Amir bin Haji Kadir - Alliance |
| Ward 14 (Kelepu Road) | - | Lu Huat Taih - Supp
Chan Pak Hui - Alliance |
| Ward 15 (Kemantan) | - | Cheng Sie Kwong - Supp
Ha Ma Lee - Independent |

Kuching Rural

EIGHTY-eight candidates are standing for election in the Kuching Rural Distral. Nominations closed on Wednesday May 1.

There are 34 seats to be contested. Of the 88 candidates, Party Negara Sarawak is fielding 22 candidates; the Sarawak United Peoples' Party - 22; Alliance 23; and Independent 21.

The candidates are:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| Ward 1 - Padawan | - | M. Jagat anak Bateh - Alliance
Lai Min Jun - Supp |
| Ward 2 - Bengoh | - | Segus anak Ginyai - Panas
Lim Chiew Teck - Supp
Achek anak Swear - Independent
T.K. Besong anak Semas - Alliance |
| Ward 3 - Pangkalan Kut (2 seats) | - | Micheal Ranyed Jackson - Independent
Gregory anak Kuyang - Panas
Sawer anak Ganek - Supp
Lee Shoon Nam - Supp |
| Ward 4 - Semadang | - | T.K Sembus anak Sanggo - Alliance
Mawang anak Sumeh - Supp
Midun anak Jagat - Independent |
| Ward 5 - 19th Mile | - | Jong Khin Heng - Supp
George anak Maon - Panas
Tsai Cheen Hen - Independent |
| Ward 6 - 17th Miles | - | Austin Jaga - Panas
Koo Nyan Fui - Supp |
| Ward 7 - 15th Miles (2 seats) | - | Thian Pin Khiaw - Alliance
Rona Pusat - Independent
Chia Soon Sem - Panas
Lim Yau Khui - Supp
Weng bin Marzuki - Panas
Bong Joon Chiok - Supp |
| Ward 8 - Merdang | - | Daniel Dais anak Sang - Independent
Bujang anak Kabul - Independent
Madam Tan Geok Hong - Supp |
| Ward 9 - Muara Tuang | - | T.K. Haji Dol - Panas
T.K. Sarbini bin Abang Haji Junaidi - Alliance |
| Ward 10 - Samarahan | - | Sedek bin Osman - Independent
Awang Taha - Panas
Haji Ibrahim Haji Ahmat - Alliance |

Ward 11 - Sampun	-	Bujang bin Tudin - Panas Jampang anak Haka - Supp Nyangk anak Bangka - Alliance
Ward 12 - Nonok	-	Aban bin Rebi - Panas T.K. Abang Sulaiman - Alliance
Ward 13 - Sambir	-	Drahman bin Mohamed - Panas Baiti bin Narawai - Independent
Ward 14 - Batu Blat	-	Wan Dahlan bin T. Hamid - Panas Abg. Mat bin Salleh - Alliance
Ward 15 - Beliong	-	Tamby bin Pi'ee - Panas Jong Syn Choi - Independent Arsat bin Sulaiman - Alliance
Ward 16 - Muara Tebas - (2 seat)	-	Inche Sapeh Tuah - Panas Sami bin Nor - Supp Mohd. Mortadza - Alliance Haji Su'ut Tahir - Alliance
Ward 17 - 3rd Mile - (2 seats)	-	Andrew Jika Landau - Panas Lim Khe Tit - Independent Chin Poh Luke - Independent Lim Kheng Sze - Supp Kong Fen Fatt - Alliance Lai Chong Kiat - Alliance Chan Kai Kiong - Supp
Ward 18 - 7th Mile (2 seats)	-	Chang Chung Sing - Alliance Andrew Regib Mikuk - Independent Chang Kim - Supp Ching Fui Siong - Supp Leong Kim Chong - Alliance
Ward 19 - Batu Kawa	-	Bismillah bin Agus - Panas Chong Kiun Kong - Supp
Ward 20 - Matang	-	Then Mong Siu - Alliance Salekan bin Marto - Supp Awang Draub bin Pengiran Badar - Independent
Ward 21 - Gita	-	Abang Osman bin Abang Haji Moasili - Panas Dawi bin Abdul Rahman - Alliance
Ward 22 - Maong	-	chok Choi Fock - Supp Chin Sin Poh - Independent Lee Wah Sen - Independent
Ward 23 - Sekama - (2 seats)	-	Sim Kheng Hong - Supp Kong Yun Chong - Supp

- Wee Chong Hong - Independent
 Chong Saw - Independent
 Ping Bak Cheng - Independent
- Ward 24 - Bintawak** - Abang Haji Mustapha - Panas
 Awang Ejie bin Awang Omar - Alliance
- Ward 25 - Astana** - Abang Marzuki bin Abang Mohamed Noor - Alliance
 Abang Haji Hood - Panas
- Ward 26 - Tupong** - Mohamed Nor Haji Hassan - Independent
 Abang Haji Abdul Rahirn - Independent
 Abdul Kadir bin Hassan - Alliance
- Ward 27 - Sibulaut** - Ojet bin Hassan - Panas
 Abdul Wahid bin Abdul Wahab - Supp
 Abdul Kadir bin Hassan - Alliance
- Ward 28 - Santubong** - Mat bin Bojeng - Panas
 Abdul Rahman bin Haji Abdullah - Alliance

Agreement signed in London All Set For Malaysia

Representatives of Britain, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak signed an agreement in London just after midnight on Tuesday creating the Federation of Malaysia, which will come into being on August 31.

Brunei at the last moment decided to stay out of Malaysia for the time being after a failure to agree on the question of the precedence of the Sultan among the Malayan rulers. The Sultan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, and his advisers flew to London for the negotiations.

The simple but historic signing ceremony took place in Marlborough House ten days after the conclusion of intense and complicated negotiations between the Singapore and Malayan representatives over the financial aspects of the merger and later between Singapore and Britain over the question of War Department land.

The news that the agreement had been signed - it was originally fixed for June 27 - was immediately welcomed by several Commonwealth and foreign countries, including the United States.

But in Jakarta, President Soekarno expressed disappointment, accusing the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, of breaking his promise. He also doubted the success of the forthcoming 'summit' conference between the heads of state of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia.

'Bold and imaginative development'

At the London ceremony, Mr Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, said that "we are now about to sign the birth certificate."

He hoped that this bold and imaginative development and evolution of "our Commonwealth it will establish a new focus of peace, freedom and stability in South East Asia."

The British Prime Minister said that Malaya and bustling, dynamic Singapore had provided the success story of Asia and that story would continue on a much larger scale with Malaysia.

These territories were blessed with great material wealth with a diversity of human stocks. They provided a pattern, an object lesson, of multi-racial harmony.

"I hope that this will be extended throughout South East Asia and copied throughout the free world." Mr Macmillan observed.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Prime Minister, who flew to London on Sunday specially to sign the agreement, said that Malaysia would be a member of the Commonwealth and would be very proud of it.

He referred to the difficult negotiations which had taken place and said in some quarters Malaysia had been welcome but in others it had been described as an imperialist design.

The Tengku referred to the absence of Brunei but added: "However, we do not despair. We hope that with the states we have here we will make a go of it."

Mr Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, paid a tribute to Mr Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, with whom he had been negotiating and said that Mr Sandys had shown an absolute dedication and zeal which he had never yet met even in the most dedicated communist with whom he had to deal.

Mr D.A Stephens, Chief Minister-Designate of North Borneo and the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, for Sarawak, welcomed the signing of the agreement with cries of "Hidup Malaysia" and "Merdeka Malaysia".

After the signing ceremony Tengku Abdul Rahman handed the red pens used by his delegation to an aide to be kept in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur.

Tengku intervenes in dispute

The final decision to sign the agreement was reached after the personal intervention of the Tengku over the question of War Department land in Singapore.

This was told to Reuter by Mr Lee Kuan Yew after a long session with the Tengku in his London hotel which ended only an hour and a half before the actual signing.

He said that for the sake of the Tengku he had made concessions on the issue of British War Department land in Singapore.

Britain, he added, had agreed to hand over a total of just over 1,330 acres with a payment of \$10 million for other War Department land held without title.

This was much less than we wanted (\$5 million) but I settle for the sake of the Tengku," said Mr Lee.

The agreements embodies the final arrangements which have been agreed between Malaya and Singapore and the terms for the establishment of a common market in all the territories of Malaysia.

TEXT OF MALAYSIA AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the agreement relating to Malaysia:

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore desiring to conclude an agreement relating to Malaysia agree as follows:

ARTICLE I: The colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak and the State of Singapore shall be federated with the existing states of the Federation of Malaya as the states of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore in accordance with the constitutional instruments annexed to this agreement and the federation shall thereafter be called "Malaysia".

ARTICLE II: The Government of the Federation of Malaya will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya of an Act in the form set out in Annexe A to this agreement and that it is brought into operation on August 31, 1963 (and the date on which the said Act is brought into operation is hereinafter referred to as "Malaysia Day").

ARTICLE III: The Government of the United Kingdom will submit to Her Britannic Majesty before Malaysia Day Orders in Council for the purpose of giving the force of law to the constitutions of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore as states of Malaysia which are set out in Annexes B, C and D to this agreement.

ARTICLE IV: The Government of the United Kingdom will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of an act providing for the relinquishment, as from Malaysia Day, of Her Britannic Majesty's sovereignty and jurisdiction in respect of North Borneo Sarawak and Singapore so that the said sovereignty and jurisdiction shall on such relinquishment vest in accordance with this agreement and the constitutional instruments annexed to this agreement.

ARTICLE V: The Government of the Federation of Malaya will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment before Malaysia Day by the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya of an Act in the form set out in Annexe E to this agreement for the purpose of extending and adapting the Immigration Ordinance, 1959, of the Federation of Malaya to Malaysia and of making additional provision with respect to entry into the State of Sabah and Sarawak - and the other provisions of this agreement shall be conditional upon the enactment of the said Act.

ARTICLE VI: The agreement on external defence and mutual assistance between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Malaya of October 12, 1957 and its annexes shall apply to all territories of Malaysia, and any reference in that agreement to the Federation of Malaya shall be deemed to apply to Malaysia, subject to the provision that the Government of Malaysia will afford to the Government of the United Kingdom the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities at present occupied by their Service authorities within the State of Singapore and will permit the government of the United Kingdom to make such use of these bases and facilities as that Government may consider necessary for the purpose of assisting in the defence of Malaysia, and for the Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South East Asia.

The application of the said agreement shall be subject to the provisions of Annexe F to this agreement (relating primarily to Service lands in Singapore)

ARTICLE VII: (1) The Federation of Malaya agrees that Her Britannic Majesty may make before Malaysia Day Orders in Council in the form set out in Annexe G to this agreement for the purpose of making provision for the payment of compensation and retirement benefits to certain overseas officers serving immediately before Malaysia Day, in the public service of the colony of North Borneo or the Colony of Sarawak.

(2) On or as soon as practicable after Malaysia Day, Public Officers' agreements in the forms set out in Annexes H and I of this agreement shall be signed on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Malaysia shall obtain the concurrence of the Government of the State of Sabah, Sarawak or Singapore, as the case may require, to the signature of the agreement by the Government of Malaysia so far as its terms may affect the responsibilities or interests of the Government of the State.

ARTICLE VIII: The Governments of the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak will take such legislative, executive or other action as may be required to implement the assurances, undertakings and recommendations contained in Chapter 3 of, and Annexes A and B to the report of the Inter-Governmental Committee signed on February 27, 1963, in so far as they are not implemented by express provision of the Constitution of Malaysia.

ARTICLE IX: The provisions of Annexe J to this agreement relating to common market and financial arrangements shall constitute an agreement between the Government of the Federation of Malaya and the Government of Singapore.

ARTICLE X: The Governments of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore will take such legislative, executive or other action as may be required to implement the arrangements with respect to broadcasting and television set out in Annexe K to this agreement in so far as they are not implemented by express provision of the constitution of Malaysia.

ARTICLE XI: This agreement shall be signed in the English and Malaya languages except that the Annexes shall be in the English language only. In case of doubt the English text of the agreement shall prevail.

The Signatories

On behalf of Britain: The prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan; the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys; the Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee, Lord Lansdowne; and the Duke of Devonshire;

On behalf of Malaya: The Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman; his deputy, Tun Abdul Razak;

the Finance Minister, Mr Tan Siew Sin; the Minister of Commerce, Dr Lim Swee Aim; the Malayan Ambassador to the United States, Dato Ong Yoke Lin; and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, Dato V.T. Sambathan.

On behalf of Singapore: The Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his Finance Minister, Dr. Goh Keng Swee.

On behalf of Sabah: The Yang di-Pertuan Negara - designate, Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun; the Chief Minister-designate, Mr Donald Stephens; Mr Khoo Siak Chiew; and Mr G.S.Sundang.

On behalf of Sarawak: The chairman of the Sarawak Alliance, Temenggong Jugah Barieng; the chairman of the Party Negara Sarawak, Abang Haji Mustapha, Datu Bandar; and the Chairman of the Sarawak Chinese Association, Mr Ling Beng Siew who are all members of the Supreme Council.

ALLIANCE TRIUMPHS



LEADERS MEET SIR ALEXANDER TO DISCUSS FORMATION OF GOVT.

THE Sarawak Alliance emerged triumphant on Monday when the Divisional Advisory Councils elected 23 Alliance members and supporting councillors to Council Negri out of a total of 36.

The way is now open for the Sarawak Alliance to form the Government and it was announced on Thursday, after a two-day Alliance meeting at Sibu, that 42-year-old Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the Alliance secretary-general, had been designated Chief Minister.

The Alliance Council Negri members and other Party leaders were in Kuching at the week-end to continue their discussions.

On Friday, Mr Ningkan and seven Alliance leaders had a two-hour meeting with the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, to discuss the formation of the Government. Another meeting was held on Saturday. Both meetings were held in the As tana.

Victory for the Sarawak Alliance, which won 16 seats, was assured when seven councillors who stood as Independents in the elections, gave it all-out support.

The coalition between the Sarawak United People's Party and Party Negara Sarawak led to the election of 10 members - five from the Supp and five from Panas, including two pro-Panas Independents. The other three are Independents from the Fifth Division who have so far not declared on which side of the House they will sit.

The Alliance and pro-Alliance Councillors completely dominated the Second, Third and Fourth Divisions, winning all the six, eleven, and six seats respectively. The Supp/Panas coalition won all its seats in the First Division.

The Alliance members of Council Negri are: Mr Tutong anak Ningkan; Penghulu Tawi anak Sli; Penghulu Story anak Ngumbang; Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan; Mr Kadam anak Kiai; Mr Dunstan Endawie anak Enchana.

Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng; Penghulu Jinggut anak Attan; Mr Tajang Laeng; Mr Sng Chin Joo; Pengarah Banyang; Penghulu Francis Umpau; Mr Francis Bujang; Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu; Penghulu Abok anak Jalin; Inche Kamar bin Bubin; Tua Kampong Isa bin Haji Ali.

Mr Sim Boon Liang; Inche Mohammed Pauzi bin Hamdani; Mr Sandom anak Nyuak; Temenggong

Oyong Lawai Jau; Penghulu Baya Malang; and Mr Abing Nawan.

Members of the Supp/Panas coalition are: Supp - Messrs Ong Kee Hui; Stephen Yong; Charles Linang; Chan Siaw Hee; and Chong Kiun Kong; **Panas** - Abang Haji Mustapha bin Abang Haji Moasili, Datu Bandar; Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Mustapha; and Mr Leong Ho Yuen.

The two successful Independents in the First Division are: Abang Haji Abdul Rahim bin Abang Haji Moasili, who is a strong supporter of Panas and Mr Dagok anak Randen, who was put up for election by Panas.

The rest, three Independents, come from the Fifth Division. They are: Mr James Wong, Mr Racha Umong and Mr Mak Yau Lim.

The racial composition of the elected members is as follows: Iban 14 (13 in the Sarawak Alliance and one in the Supp); Chinese - nine (two - Sarawak Alliance; five - Supp; and two - Independent); Malays - three (two - Panas and one - pro-Panas Independent); Kenyahs and Kayans - four (Alliance); Melanaus: three (Alliance); one Land Dayak (pro-Panas Independent); one Kedayan (Alliance); and one Murut (Independent).

Ten of the 36 elected members have previously served in Council Negri.

THE DIVISIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The Divisional Advisory Council elections were preceded by a period of intense political activity with much of the concern concentrated on the Fourth Division, where the Independents were in strength and held the decisive vote.

Directly after the elections, the Alliance and pro-Alliance members of Council Negri together with party officials met in Sibu to discuss, behind closed-doors, the formation of a Government, the nomination of a Chief Minister and the allocation of ministries.

ON Thursday it was announced in Kuching that Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan had been unanimously elected Sarawak's first Chief Minister-Designate.

At Kuching Airport, Mr Ningkan, Mr Ningkan, who was garlanded together with other leaders and given a huge welcome, addressed a crowd of several hundred Alliance members and supporters.

He pledged that the Alliance Government would give proper place to the interests of all communities domiciled in the country and hoped that the people would continue to give their support to the Alliance so that the newly elected Government would be a strong and efficient one. He added: "In return we shall do our utmost to serve the people of Sarawak."

Leaders of all the political parties within the Alliance including Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, also addressed the crowd. Flags and welcome banners fluttered gaily as cries of "Merdeka Malaysia" and "Hidup Malaysia" and Iban gongs filled the air.

Later Inche Abdul Rahman Yakub told reporters that the Alliance Council Negri members now consisted of 23 with the addition of four Independents from the Fourth Division - Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, Mr Abing Nawan, Tua Kampong Isa and Penghulu Baya Malang.

Strong opposition

The new Council Negri, which is expected to hold its first meeting in August, will be the liveliest

in its history with such figures in the Opposition as Mr Ong Kee Hui, Mr Stephen Yong, Mr Chan Siaw Hee, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha and Mr Leong Ho Yuen.

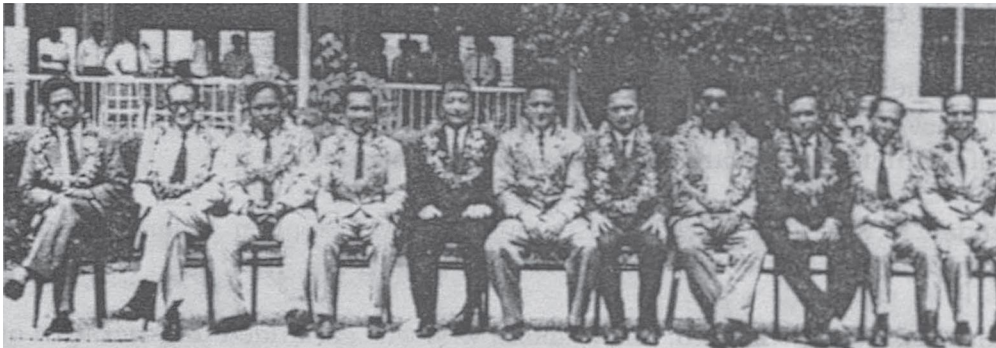
The main business of the forthcoming meeting of Council Negri will be to elect six members to the Supreme Council among whom the chief Minister will be formally appointed by the Governor.

The present Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, will continue to chair the Supreme Council until Malaysia Day - August 31, 1963 - when the Chief Minister takes over. He is also expected to nominate up to three people as members of Council Negri, with the advice of the Chief Minister. Other members will be the Chief Secretary, Attorney-General and Financial Secretary, Datu Abang Haji Openg (Standing Member) and the Speaker, yet to be appointed

The next important task of Council Negri will be to elect 24 members to the Malaysian House of Representatives. Under present arrangements the legislature is not barred from choosing those who are not members of Council Negri. Another task is the selection of four Senators - two of whom will be elected by Council Negri and two nominated.

THE DIVISIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

THE first division Advisory Council: At its meeting held in the Kuching Rural District Council Chamber, 10 members to Council Negri were elected. Of the 10 members, who were elected unopposed, five belong to the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, three to Party Negara Sarawak and two are pro-Panas Independents.



Picture above shows the 11 members of the third division Advisory Council who were on Monday elected Council Negri.

Eight of them stood on the Sarawak Alliance ticket while the other three, who originally stood as Independents, support the Alliance.

From left: Penghulu Francis Umpau; Mr Sim Boon Liang; Mr Francis Bujang; Penghulu Jingtut; Temenggong Jugah; Mr Sng Chin Joo; Mr Tajang Laeng; Inche Mohammed Pauzi; Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu; Mr Sandom anak Nyuak; and Pengarah Banyang.

They are: **Supp** - Mr Ong Kee Hui; Mr Stephen K.T. Yong; Mr Charles Linang; Mr Chan Siaw Hee; and Mr Chong Kiun Kong; **Panas** - Abang Haji Mustapha bin Abang Haji Moasili, Datu Bandar; Abang Othman bin Abang Haji Moasili; and Mr Leong Ho Yuen. **Independents** - Abang Haji Abdul Rahim bin abang Haji Moasili and Mr Dagok anak Randen, who both support the coalition.

Five of the ten have served in Council Negri - Mr Ong Kee Hui, Mr Stephen Yong, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha , Mr Dagok anak Randen and Abang Haji Abdul Rahim.

The meeting began with an address by the chairman of the Advisory Council, Mr R.H. Morris who, after offering his congratulations, said: "You come here backed and supported by the confidence of the electors who returned you and the councils you represent.

"There is, as you will see only one item on the agenda and that is the election of ten members to the Council Negri - ten members who will sit in the Sarawak legislature and represent the quarter of a million people who live in the First Division.

"I am sure you will all forgive me if I enlarge a little on this for it is important that those who are elected to the Council Negri should remember, at all times, that they are the representatives of all the people and not merely the delegates of those electors who may have cast their votes for them.

"It will be necessary for those who are elected to Council Negri to think always of the electorate as a whole, indeed of Sarawak as a whole. This does not mean that you will disregard the policy for which you stood and still stand but it does mean that in your efforts to implement that policy you will have to pay due regard to the interests and the wellbeing of all the people of Sarawak including those who may have lent their support to some other policy, to a policy with which you may disagree.

"All democratic governments stand upon public opinion and the surest way to destroy a government is to take away the good opinion which is its foundation. A democratic government must fall if it loses the confidence of the people.

"Any government based on sectionalism and concerned primarily with sectional interests cannot and will not retain the confidence of the electorate.

"During the excitement of the recent elections things were sometimes said which caused hurt to good, sincere and honest people whose policy differed from that of their critics.

"I am sure I speak for you all when I say that I hope there will be no more of this type of criticism, that a spirit of tolerance will prevail and that all those who are concerned for the well-being of Sarawak will recognise and accept that different views may be sincerely held.

"The task which lies ahead of us all is a far more onerous one than any we have experienced in the past for independence brings with it greater responsibilities, and these responsibilities will have to be borne by the elected representatives of the people both in the State and Federal legislatures.

'Noisy chattering monkeys'

I should like to tell you of a personal experience. Shortly after the Japanese surrender I was travelling up one of the great rivers of Sarawak.

"On the river bank near where we dropped anchor there was a small group of noisy chattering monkeys. It seemed to me that they were the only inhabitants, but I was mistaken for behind the trees which lined the river bank there was a large village where the hardworking people of Sarawak went quietly about their business.

"There is an object lesson in this for far too frequently one tends to pay too much attention to the noisy few."

NOMINATIONS were then called for and 10 were made. The meeting was taken adjourned for 15 minutes for Councillors to think more about nominations, but when it resumed no more were made.

The 10 nominated were then declared elected. Following this, addresses were made by the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha and Mr Ong Kee Hui.

The Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, who is chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, said that he had the full support of his colleagues in as far as his policy was concerned in the Council Negri.

"Our main objective is to work for the well-being of the people and the country," he added.

Referring to the criticism made as a result of the decision to work with the Supp, he said that the move was "wholly for national interests."

He then said: "I feel that everyone of us here has the same aspiration - that is, to serve and look after the well-being of the people and the country's security."

Mr Ong Kee Hui, who heads the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, said: "I would like, on behalf of my colleagues to thank you and to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by my friend, the Datu Bandar.

"The formation of a coalition between Party Negara Sarawak and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party has caused quite a few political observers to raise their eyebrows.

"In your opening remarks you referred to monkeys chattering on the river bank and perhaps what has happened between Panas and Supp has also given rise to the same scene which you have described.

"Those who understand the people of Sarawak and their tradition and spirit of friendly co-operation among all races who dwell here should, however, not be surprised at such a get together between Panas and Supp.

"Our one obstacle to co-operation was our different attitude or approach to the subject of Malaysia. If both parties subscribe to the ideals of democracy and accept the principle of self-determination and are willing to let this matter be resolved on this basic principle there is no reason why this obstacle should remain.

'Common bond of loyalty'

"Further, we have a common bond of loyalty to Sarawak and love of our country and its people, and our common desire to do what is best in the national interest. In times of national crisis it is usual for patriots in any country to sink their differences whether personal or sectarian to protect their country.

"This, we in Supp, have decided to do and we are indeed happy that our friends In Panas have agreed with us to take the same road. We only hope that others will follow this call for national unity and work with us in the national interest of the people of Sarawak.

"We have the courage to face our critics and to ignore the chattering monkeys on the river banks, and we hope that others will also come forward and work in the common task of rehabilitation of our country and its people, which suffered so much during the past year through natural disasters

such as floods, and enable us to face the uncertain future as a united people."

THE Second Division Advisory Council, which met at Simanggang, elected the following six Alliance Councillors, who are all Ibans:

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (22 votes); Penghulu Tawi anak Sli (20 votes); Pengarah Story anak Ngumbang (14 votes); Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan (13 votes); Mr Kadam anak Kiai (13 votes) and Mr Dunstan Endawie anak Enchana (15 votes).

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan from Lubok Antu, is an ex-Sarawak Ranger, and Penghulu Tawi anak Sli, from Batang Lupar, is a retired Government clerk.

Pengarah Story, also from Batang Lupar, is a Senior Chief, while Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan (Saribas) is the Secretary-General of the Sarawak National Party and Sarawak Alliance.

Mr Kadam anak Kiai, also from Saribas, is an ex-police inspector, while Mr Dunstan Endawie is an ex-teacher who had also worked as a clerk in the Kalaka District Council.

None of those elected has previously served in Council Negri.

THE Third Division Advisory Council, at its meeting held at Sibu, elected 11 members to Council Negri - all members of the Sarawak Alliance.

The eleven, who received 17 votes each, are:

Kapit - Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Penghulu Jingtut anak Attan, Mr Tajang Laeng and Mr Sng Chin Joo.

Kanowit - Pengarah Banyang, Penghulu Francis Umpau, and Mr Francis Bujang.

Mukah - Mr Sim Boon Liang and Inche Mohammed Pauzi bin Hamdani.

Binatang - Mr Sandom anak Nyuak.

Matu/Daro - Abang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu.

The Mukah and Binatang councillors originally stood as Independents.

Only three of the eleven have previously served in Council Negri Temenggong Jugah, Pengarah Banyang and Penghulu Umpau.

Ten others, who were put up for election, each received 10 votes. They were:

Mr Chong Hua Tong; Mr Kong Kek Mew; Mr Ting Pik Kong; Tuai Rumah Tiboh anak Lantai and Mr Yap Tean Jin (from the Sibu Rural District Council); Mr John Lau Kiing Chong; Mr Chai Then Twei (Sibu Urban District Council); Mr Wong Chiang Hung, Awang Drahman bin Awang Una and Mr Loh Pak Ung (Sarikei District Council). Those from the Sibu councils are members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party while the Sarikei councillors are Independents.

IN his address to the Council before the election took place, the chairman, Mr A.F.R. Griffin, congratulated the new members and said: "Since the last meeting of this Council on February 27 much has happened. The general election went off remarkably smoothly, the credit for this must

go to the election officers and their polling teams who put in a lot of hard work and hard travelling. The good humour of the voters on the one hand, and the patience shown by the polling teams on the other hand contributed to making the elections a success.

There has been a great deal of criticism expressed about the present three-tier electoral college system. While it exists, it is your duty to see that this system works - criticism of the system at this stage will not help anyone.

The stationing of units of the British Army in the Third Division, followed by the calling in of all firearms in certain districts from non-natives came as a shock to many of the public. It is clear from recent events that these security measures were timely.

"Unlike the First and Second Divisions, we are not faced with the border bandit trouble, but we have our own problems and that is stamping out of the Clandestine Communist Organisation activities in our midst.

There is plenty of evidence to show that these have influenced a large number of young Chinese - some boys and girls who should be attending school have disappeared. In other cases boys and girls have disappeared from their homes and their parents have no knowledge of their whereabouts.

'Not thinking of nationalism'

The Clandestine Communist Organisation is not thinking in terms of nationalism, but of making Sarawak a part of Communist China. Unless this organisation is completely eradicated it will destroy the heart and soul of this country.

"If some security measures appeared restrictive, they were done to safeguard the public interest - with the advent of Malaysia, this organisation will have little chance of survival.

The arguments against Malaysia have been long and bitter- that is over and past. Let us now work for unity and make Malaysia the success it deserves.

"One way in which unity can be achieved is by having a common language. I would urge those Chinese members of this Council, who speak no Malay, to learn Malay, and at least acquire a working knowledge of that language."

THE Fourth Division Advisory Council, at its meeting held at Miri elected six members to Council Negri.

They are: Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (18 votes); Penghulu Baya Malang (18 votes); Mr Abing Nawan (18 votes); Penghulu Abok anak Jalin (17 votes); Inche Kamar bin Bubin (17 votes); and Tua Kampong Isa bin Haji Ali (17 votes).

The first three - all Kenyahs - are from the Baram District Council and stood in the general elections as Independents and now support the Alliance; the next two are members of the Bintulu District Council and are Alliance members; while Tua Kampong Isa, a Subis District Councillor, stood in the elections as an Independent though he is a member of one of the Alliance parties.

Two Miri District Councillors, Mr Sim Song Chay and Mr Lim Chee Hian, who stood for election

to Council Negri polled five votes each.

Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, who is the paramount chief of the Kenyahs and Kayans, was a member of the last Council Negri; Inche Kamar, a Melanau, is a retired Forest Ranger; and Tua Kampong Isa is a prominent coconut planter. Mr Abing Nawan is the son of the Temenggong.

THE Fifth Division Advisory Council, which met at Limbang, elected the following three to the Council Negri:

Mr James Wong (Limbang District Council - 12 votes; Mr Racha Umong (Lawas District Council) - 11 votes; and Mr Mak Yau Lim (Lawas District Council - 8 votes)

They are all Independents. Haji Abu Bakar, who also stood for election, polled five votes.

Both Mr Wong and Mr Mak were members of the last Council Negri. Mr Racha Umong is a Murut and a leading figure in the Borneo Evangelical Mission.

Alliance statement

FOLLOWING the elections the Sarawak Alliance issued this statement:

"The overall result of the General Elections clearly shows the Sarawak Alliance has the support and confidence of the majority of the people. We are therefore heartened and gratified by the result and would now like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to all who have supported us.

"To the people of Sarawak we give our reassurance that we shall carry out our election pledges. We shall serve with honesty and dedication for the welfare and progress of the people and the country.

"Our tasks ahead are not going to be easy but we face the future with confidence and optimism. With determination and devotion we, together with the people of Sarawak are prepared to meet the challenges of building a new nation. As long as we strive for the interests of the country and as long as we have the goodwill and co-operation of the people we shall succeed.

"We are glad opposition leaders realised the need for national unity and friendly co-operation. This is what we in the Sarawak Alliance have always stood for. We now hope that they will work in the national interest for the people of Sarawak."

THE Sarawak Alliance demonstrated its first show of strength on Monday when it defeated two motions tabled by the Supp Councillors at the first meeting of the Third Divisional Advisory Council at Sibu.

One motion called for a referendum to be held before Malaysia to determine the will of the people and the other urged Government to bring all political detainees held under the PPSO to court for trial.

The motions were submitted at the meetings of the Sibu Urban and Rural district councils, which are both Supp-controlled.

The Alliance's chief speakers - Temenggong Jugah and Awang Hipni both criticised the Supp for

turning the Council into an anti-Malaysia forum.

They said there was no need for a referendum because the results of the general elections in Sarawak demonstrated that the people supported Malaysia.

Referring to the motion on the release of detainees, Awang Hipni attacked Supp for seeking the release of subversives who were trying to foment armed communist revolution in Sarawak.

He said that it appeared the Supp was more interested in being the spokesman for the subversives than the people of Sarawak and declared: "The Divisional Advisory Council's primary function is the fostering of local government, and it should not be turned into a political forum on subjects which it has no power to deal with. The Sarawak Alliance fully supports the continued detention of all communist cadres in Sarawak."

ELECTION: 'TASK EFFICIENTLY PERFORMED', SAYS GOVT.

THE Sarawak Government this week expressed satisfaction with the manner in which the general elections to District and Divisional Councils had been conducted by the Returning Officers and all other staff concerned.

A Government statement said that the onerous task had been conscientiously and efficiently performed in addition to normal duties and despite unusual difficulties of communications and added anxieties and responsibilities brought about by flood conditions earlier in the year as well as the emergency following the rebellion.

It added that this was particularly creditable when borne in mind that the electoral process had been spread over an extended period - going back to the preparation of electoral rolls commencing in mid-1962. It had also involved all levels of the Administration, supplemented by the invaluable contribution made by Local Authority and Departmental staff members.

The task represented a much larger commitment than the pilot operation of 1959 on account of the considerably enlarged franchise, the statement said.

It observed that the successful completion of the elections had also provided valuable experience to those concerned and set a high standard for emulation in future years and that the task had been facilitated by a further demonstration of the good sense and patience of the Sarawak electorate.

CHIEF MINISTER DESIGNATE IS STAUNCH ANTI-RED

IN Ningkan was born at Betong, in the Saribas District, second Division, in August, 1920, and educated at St Augustine's School there.

For a number of years he worked as a dresser in the Brunei Shell Company hospital at Kuala Belait. He was the chairman of the Shell Dayak Club and founder president of the Dayak Association from 1958 to 1960.

On his return to Betong he became one of the founders of the Sarawak National Party which was



ABOVE: *Chief Minister Designate Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan thanks the crowd of Alliance supporters at the Kuching Airport who turned out to welcome him and other Alliance members who arrived from Sibü after two-day meeting.*

BELOW: *A section of the Alliance supporters including many women members.*



formed in April, 1961.

The Party first adopted a strong anti-Malaysia stand but as the benefits of the proposed Federation became clearer, Mr Ningkan became instrumental in changing this policy and turned out to be one of the champions of Malaysia.

Mr Ningkan was also one of the prime movers in the formation of the Sarawak Alliance in October, 1962, and is its secretary-general. Since then he has been working tirelessly for the Alliance and for its victory in the elections.

Mr Ningkan is noted for his strong anti-Communist stand, his non-communal outlook in politics

and his determination to see that the Dayak people are given every encouragement to achieve parity with the more advanced communities in Sarawak.

Mr Ningkan is married and has one son. His interests are journalism, law, photography and farming and he has visited North Borneo, Malaya and Thailand.

ALLIANCE HITS AT BROCKWAY STATEMENT

THE Sarawak Alliance said on Friday that frustrated anti-Malaysia forces were "lying the world over" about facts on Malaysia.

In a statement released in Kuching it said the latest example of the "deceive the world campaign" had occurred in London when a Labour Member of Parliament, Mr Fenner Brockway, signed a recent statement issued by the Movement of Colonial Freedom saying that an anti-Malaysia coalition government was being formed in Sarawak.

It said: "The Alliance really hopes Mr Brockway was misinformed. Every one knows that the Alliance is forming the first elected Government of Sarawak, following the severe defeat of anti-Malaysia Supp in the recent Sarawak general elections.

"In case Mr Brockway does not know it yet the Alliance has much pleasure to inform him - that the Alliance is forming the Government of Sarawak and that the Alliance hopes to announce the composition of its Government soonest."

New 'Cabinet' Meets

Ningkan appointed Chief Minister

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, secretary-general of the Sarawak Alliance, was on Monday appointed to be the first Chief Minister of Sarawak.

The appointment was made by the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, who also nominated three people to the Council Negri and established the new Supreme Council.

The three nominated are: Mr Teo Kui Seng, Inche Abdul Talib bin Mahmud and Mr Ling Beng Siong.

Besides the Chief Minister and the three ex-officio members (the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary), the Governor, on the advice of the Chief Minister, appointed the following five Council Negri members to the Supreme Council: Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, Mr Teo Kui Seng, Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu, Mr Dunstan Endawi anak Enchana and Mr James Wong Kim Ming.

The Supreme Council met for the first time on Friday and Saturday under the chairmanship of the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell.

Mr Ningkan's appointment was made after the Governor was satisfied that Mr Ningkan "is likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Council Negri."

Mr Teo Kui Seng, managing-director of a shipping company, is the assistant-secretary general of the Sarawak Alliance; Liche Abdul Taib, a barrister, was until his new appointment serving in the Legal department of the Sarawak Government.

Awang Hipni is a Matu District Councillor and Council Negri member from the Third Division; Mr Dunstan Endawi is a Kalaka District Councillor (Independent) and Council Negri Member from the Fifth Division.

Mr Ling Beng Siong is a company director and Sibu Rural District Councillor.

The appointment of a number of Supreme Councillors to ministries will be made later.

Mr Teo was a founder member of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and was an important member in it until his resignation in November, 1962. He then joined the Sarawak Chinese Association and is now its assistant secretary-general. He is also assistant secretary-general of the Sarawak Alliance executive committee and a member of the Alliance National Council.

Mr Teo is married and had five children.

Awang Hipni who is a Melanau, served in last Matu/Daro District Council.

As a Councillor he had taken keen interest in the educational and civil affairs of his community. He is one of the staunch supporters of the Malaysia Plan.

He was returned uncontested as an Alliance candidate for Kampong Seka'an Besar in Matu District and is now vice-chairman of the District Council.

Mr Dunstan Endawi, who is 26 years of age, was born at Saratok and educated at St Peter's School, Saratok, and St Augustine's School, Betong.

He served as a school teacher for two years after which he became a farmer. In November, 1962, Mr Endawi joined the Kalaka district Council as a Revenue Collector.

He stood as an Alliance candidate (Sarawak National Party) in the recent Kalaka District Council elections and was successful.

Mr. Endawi is married and has a daughter.

Mr James Wong Kim Ming, 41, was born at Limbang and educated at St Mary and St Thomas's Schools, Kuching. He was a student at the Serdang Agricultural School in Kuala Lumpur when the Japanese entered the war and forced his return to Limbang where he worked as a padi planter.

After the war he managed his father's rubber estate - and then founded the Limbang Trading Company (general and timber merchants).

Mr Wong has had log experience in the field of local government - he served as a Limbang District

Councillor for 10 years. For several years he has been a member of the Fifth Division Advisory Council and Council Negri. His service to Council Negri has been regarded as one of the most outstanding.

In the recent general elections Mr Wong stood as an Independent in Limbang District and was returned. Later he was elected to the Advisory Council and Council Negri.

For many years Mr Wong has served on the Development Board. He is a member of Rubber Board of Administrators and Rubber Fund, Natural Resources Board and Sarawak Development Finance Corporation.

He has represented Sarawak as a delegate at international conferences and served with distinction on the Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee and the Inter-Governmental Committee (Constitutional Sub-Committee).

He is also widely travelled and visited Britain twice on a local government study course and on a parliamentary procedure course sponsored by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Mr Wong is married with eight children.

Mr Ling Beng Siong (Nominated Councillor)

Mr Ling, 32, was born and educated at Sibu, and is the brother of Mr Ling Beng Siew, a former member of the Council Negri and the Supreme Council.

He is a director sawmill firms and a bank.

Mr Ling served in the last Sibu Rural District Council and in the recent elections stood again and was returned.

He is a member of the Sarawak Chinese Association; Chairman of the Board of Management of the Boi Ing School; and member of the Board of Management of the Ling Chu Ming School.

The Governor has also publicly expressed his appreciation of the services to the country of the following out-going members of Supreme council who now have relinquished office - Mr .R. Snelus, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, Mr Ling Beng Siew, Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, Mr Ong Kee Hui, Pangarah Montegrai anak Tugang, and Mr Chia Chin Shin.

Biographical notes

Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan was born at Betong, in the Saribas District, Second Division, in August, 1920, and educated at St Augustine's School there.

For a number of years he worked as a dresser in the Brunei Shell Company hospital at Kuala Belait. He was the chairman of the Shell Dayak Club and founder president of the Dayak Association from 1958 to 1960.

On his return to Betong he became one of the founders of the Sarawak National Party which was formed in April, 1961.

The Party first adopted a strong anti-Malaysia stand but as the benefits of the proposed Federation became clearer, Mr Ningkan became instrumental in changing this policy and turned out to be one of the champions of Malaysia.

Mr Ningkan was also one of the prime movers in the formation of the Sarawak Alliance in October, 1962, and is its secretary-general. Since then he has been working tirelessly for the alliance and for its victory in the elections.

Mr Ningkan is noted for its strong anti-communist stand, his non-communal outlooks in politics and his determination to see that the Dayak people are given every encouragement to achieve parity with the more advanced communities in Sarawak.

Mr Ningkan is married and has one son. His interests are journalism, law, photography and farming and he has visited North Borneo, Malaya and Thailand.

Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, who is 27 years old, was educated at St Joseph's school in Miri and St Joseph's School in Kuching.

After that he was awarded a scholarship to study law at the University of Adelaide, in Australia.

He achieved brilliant success there and after obtaining his degree was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of South Australia. He served as Judge's associate in the Supreme Court of South Australia in 1959.

On his return to Kuching Inche Abdul Taib joined the Legal Department of the Sarawak Government in February, 1962. He is specialist in comparative religion and Malay literature.

He is married and has a daughter.

Mr Teo Kui Seng, who is 55 years of age, was born in Kuching and attended St Thomas's and the Min Teck Schools. He went to Singapore to complete his education, passing the Matriculation examination for entry into Hong Kong University.

The death of his father forced his return to Kuching in 1927 when he joined the Sarawak Steamship Company Limited as a junior clerk. He achieved brilliant success with the company and is today its Managing Director.

Mr Teo has had long and wide experience in the public and social activities. He is on the Board of Trustees of the Chung Hua Primary and Secondary Schools' Properties; on the Board of Management of the Kuching High School; a member of the Kuching High School; a member of the Kuching Port authority and the Brooke Dockyard Advisory.

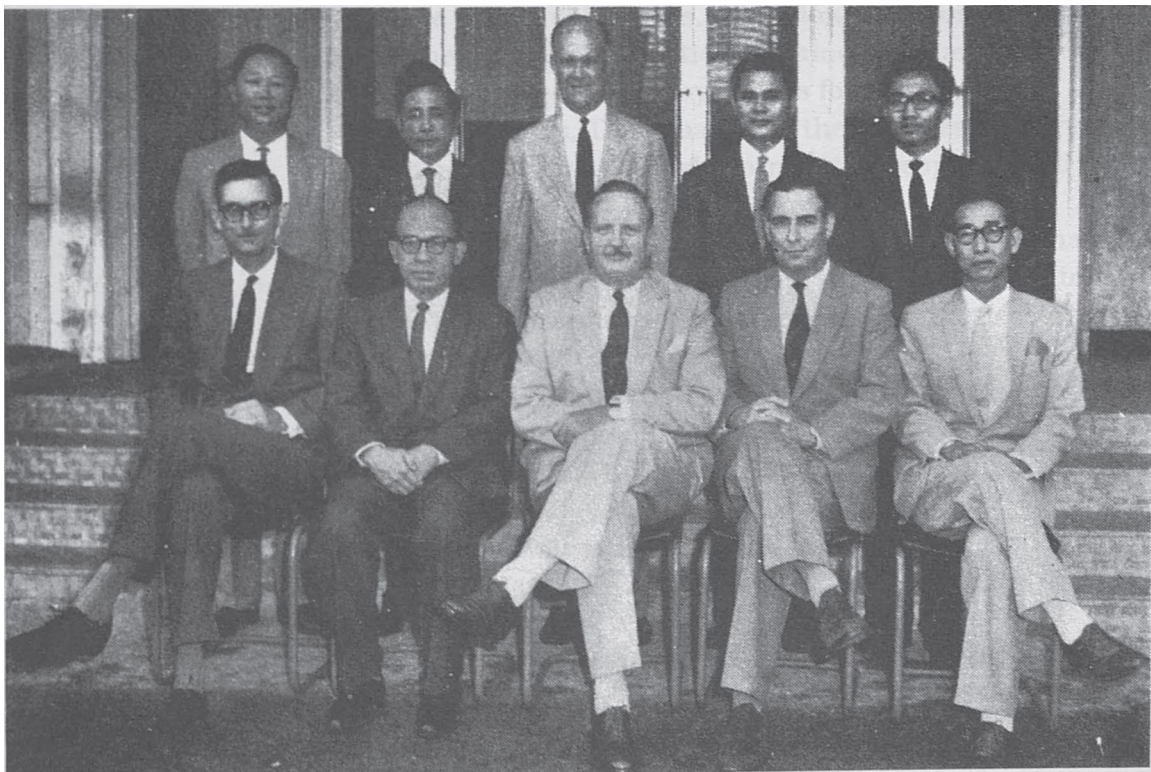
Board; and until recently a member of the Tourist Advisory Committee. He is also president of the Sarawak Badminton Association, a member of the Sarawak Amateur Football Association and the Teochew Association.

He is first served on the Kuching Municipal council (then a Board) in 1954 as a nominated member and later won a seat in the first Kuching Municipal Council elections in 1956.

On being transferred to Sibu two years later he resigned his seat but stood for election to the Sibu Urban District Council and was returned. He served there until his return to Kuching early last year.

NEW CABINET MINISTERS ANNOUNCED

The ministers allocated to Members of the Supreme council of Sarawak, and approved by His Excellency the Governor, were official announced on Friday.



Standing:- Mr. James Wong Kim Ming. Mr. Awang Hipni. Mr. Endawi. Inche Abdul
Sitting:- Taib bjn Mahmud. Stephen Kalong Ningkan.

They are:

Minister for Natural Resources - Mr Teo Kui Seng; **Minister for Communications and Works** - Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud; **Minister for Local Government** - Mr Dunstan Endawi anak Enchana; and **Minister of State** - Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu and Mr James Wong Kim Ming.

The Chief Minister is Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan and the Supreme Council also includes three ex-officio members - the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary.

With the exception of Mr Teo Kui Seng, the appointments of the other Ministers take effect from August 1.

Mr Teo will assume office as from October 1 and until then the Financial Secretary will temporarily be in charge of the Ministry of Natural Resources, in addition to his other duties.

Deputy Chief Minister

It was also announced by the Chief Minister on Friday that Mr James Wong would be his Deputy and would be charged with certain special duties.

'Malaysia Day' Fight

'Summit' Conference at crucial stage

Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya were this week, locked in the most crucial and dramatic battle in South East Asia's political history - over the issue of Malaysia.

The venue for this was Manila where since Wednesday the heads of the three Governments concerned, President Soekarno, President Macapagal and Tengku Abdul Rahman, have been holding their "summit" conference. It will end on Sunday, August 4.

Up to Friday, Malay's Prime Minister, while conceding that the United Nations should conduct an "assessment" of its won choosing as to the desires of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo on the question of Malaysia, was fighting desperately hard to keep August 31 as Malaysia Day.

Indonesia, apparently backed by the Philippines, strongly demands that this "assessment" should be a plebiscite or referendum (which might take months) and that Malaysia Day should be postponed until then.

It was agreed to refer the matter to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, and the problem then became - how he would conduct the assessment and how long he thought it would take.

U Thant replied on Thursday night that the U.N. General Assembly would have to be consulted first and that it did not meet until September. The reply was discussed at a meeting of the three Foreign Ministers who were also dealing with other controversial Malaysia issues.

Brightened suddenly

The prospects for an early Malaysia until then were low but they suddenly brightened on Friday when U Thant sent a second message saying that he might be able to do an assesment without consulting the General Assembly; that US\$400,000 would be required for it; and that he could go ahead and finish the job in about six weeks.

Following Friday's meetings of the Foreign Ministers, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Ganis Harsono, said that the Indonesian position remained the same - there should be a referendum in Borneo, and it should come before Malaysia was formed.

Conference sources said that in the talks, Dr Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Mintster, suggested that in any act of self-determination in British Borneo, the people should have just one choice "Malaysia or independence."

However, a new turn in Indonesia's attitude was brought to light when Mr Khaw Kai Boh, a Malayan Minister who is also attending the conference, said that Indonesia had switched the main line of its attack on Malaysia from the question of a referendum in Borneo to the proposed Federation's defence tie-ups with Britain.

Mr Khaw said that the principal Indonesian objection was to a section in Article Six of the London agreement on Malaysia giving the British Government power to occupy its present bases in Malaya and Singapore, and to use them for the defence of British Commonwealth interests, and "for the preservation of peace in South East Asia."

Indonesia, which has said it regards Malaysia as a British tool, wants British troops off its borders, and it understood to be contemplating an agreement that states that the defence of South East Asia will be the responsibility of Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines.

There is a feeling in Manila that in any case Indonesia is going to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Borneo and conference sources say they believe Indonesia would oppose the presence of any British troops in Borneo while a referendum, or other form of self-determination, was in progress there.

Britain' wholly satisfied'

In London, Mr Dunstan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons on Friday that the British Government had received no request about postponing August 31 as Malaysia Day.

He said that the British Government was "wholly satisfied" that the majority of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo was in favour of joining Malaysia.

Early on Saturday, it was reported that Malaya appeared to be considering the possibility of deferring Malaysia Day for about two weeks.

The pressures building up around the conference seemed to be growing greater and more complicated at the time of going to press but hopes were expressed that the Foreign Ministers would resolve their differences in time for the meeting of the 'Big Three'.

One concrete achievement by the chief executives of the "Manila Agreement" providing for the future establishment of "Maphilindo", a loose confederation of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia.

The Philippines foreign Minister, Mr Salvador Lopes, said the agreement was "a statement of principles to which the three countries subscribe.

BEFORE THE SUMMIT

In Jakarta last week the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, expressed surprise at reports that Malaysia would definitely be established on August 31.

He was speaking to reporters after a discussion with President Soekarno. Later at a mass rally, President Soekarno, in a fiery speech, described Malaysia as "a creation of the imperialists" and said he would go to Manila, "for sake of the Indonesia people to expose this British project of Malaysia."

He said now that the Tengku had sent invitations to a number of countries, including Indonesia, to attend the ceremony of the formation of Malaysia on August 31, the world could see who was the liar - "it is the Tengku not Soekarno" he declared.

In Kuala Lumpur, Tengku Abdul Rahman welcomed the news that President Soekarno had decided to go to Manila and said: "This is good, I am glad he has decided to go. There is a lot we can discuss in a peaceful manner."

Before leaving Kuala Lumpur on Monday for Manila, the Tengku said at a brief press conference: "I am going on a peace mission whether successful or not. It is good thing to meet and for us to talk things over rather than at a distance. Malaya wants peace and good relations with her neighbours.

"There will be no discussions on the question of plebiscite at any time. How can I compromise? Why don't they stick to their words? I will stick to my words, I am no more optimistic than they are."

Willing to see Soekarno before meeting'

On his arrival in Manila, the Tengku said that he was willing to meet President Soekarno before the opening of the summit conference but that he himself would not seek the meeting.

The Tengku was accompanied by the Minister without portfolio, Senator Khaw Kai Boh and the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie.

Manila, Sunday: Philippine officials were today not unduly optimistic about the conference. Originally they had hoped the conference would merely rubber-stamp decisions of the Foreign Ministers' conference last month.

They said that the part laid out for the Philippines in the talks appeared to be that of a peacemaker - if that was possible.

Mr Salvador Lopez, the new Philippines Foreign Secretary, said at an impromptu press conference that self-determination in British Borneo must precede the formation of Malaysia.

He said that this was the implication of the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' last month.

In Kuala Lumpur, usually-reliable Government sources said that Indonesia might demand the removal of British bases from Malaysia during the summit meeting.

They believed that President Soekarno considered the defence clause, and particularly its

wording - that Britain may have free use of the Malay Peninsula for the preservation of peace in the Commonwealth and South East Asia - as offensive.

The Indonesian President was understood to be in favour of a new clause stating that defence of Malaysia and preservation of peace in the area shall be a matter for Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

In Jakarta, the Indonesian Defence Minister and Chief of the Armed Forces, General Abdul Haris Nasution said that the people along the border of Indonesia and British Borneo must get intensive military training to face the formation of Malaysia.

Jakarta Radio quoted the Defence Minister as saying at territorial claim but said she would foil and crush Malaysia because it was against colonialism wherever it existed.

Subandrio accuses

Meanwhile Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, said in a lecture in Jakarta to police officers that the relationship between Indonesia and Malaya should be clear whether they be friends or enemies.

Dr. Subandrio said: "As long as Malaya, Indonesia's closest neighbour, remains a British tool, it will remain the nest of counter-revolutionaries of rebels dangerous to Indonesia.

"The imperialists are trying to form Malaysia as a manifestation that aims to attract a number of regions in Indonesia, so that Indonesia will collapse," he added.

Dr Subandrio accused Britain of trying to create a gulf between Indonesia and Malaya, and declared: "The British have appointed Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Malayan Prime Minister, as the leader in South East Asia to compete with President Soekarno. It proves that the Tengku and his friends such as the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, want Sumatra to join Malaya."

THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OPENS

Manila, Tuesday: President Soekarno and Tengku Abdul Rahman smiled, chatted and shook hands at the opening and closing of the conference today.

The Tengku and President Soekarno also waived their right to speak at the opening public session, fearing a further generation of hostility.

Opening the 'summit' before a crowd of about 500 in the hall of newly decorated Foreign Office building, President Macapagal said that the Tengku and President had asked him to make the only speech.

He said: "They assured me it would be more auspicious for me to do so. Let us hope that by the time the conference closes, we shall speak with one voice and one aspiration for the Malay peoples."

The President said that Malaysia and "Maphilindo" (the proposed greater confederation of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines) were "the short and long term implications of the problems we are confronting today."

"We shall deal with them fully, freely and frankly in the manner of brothers and neighbours, and such we shall endeavour to solve the deeper issues of which these are the outer manifestations.

The President praised President Soekarno and Tengku Abdul Rahman who, he said, were great leaders of their peoples and leaders of world stature.

We are in the last stages of the liquidation in South East Asia of the last pockets of classical-type colonialism. This has given rise to opportunity for independent countries in the area to begin seeking their rightful share of responsibility for security and stability in this part of the world," he

This was the opportunity of challenge facing Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines, he added.

President Macapagal said that the task facing the three countries was admittedly a great one, but it came at a favourable juncture in world affairs, when a partial nuclear test ban had been signed, and there was favourable climate for the formation of "Maphilindo."

Historic occasion

He went on: This is an historic occasion. This is the first time in history that three leaders of Malay origin have come together for consultations regarding common problems.

"Behind this occasion lay a history of colonisation and Asia's long struggle for independence, and the dawn of freedom, based on justice and equality of law."

President Soekarno was "one of the chief architects of Asian solidarity and his statemanship has been instrumental in enabling us to forge a new sense of unity in the Malay people."

The maintenance of our security, the economic progress of our people, will depend upon the statesmanship of this great leader of 100 million people who respect him," he added.

The Tengku was 'a great leader in his own right,' the President said. Malaya had gained its freedom, had abundant resources and enjoyed a high degree of prosperity and well being.

Malaya had also solved its racial problems in harmony and co-operation, he said. It was a smaller country than either Indonesia and the Philippines, but true to the saying that "lasting freedom is never granted but must be won by sacrifice", it had to work hard for preservation of its independence by fighting a communist rebellion.

The President said that the Tengku, by coming to the conference had proclaimed that enduring peace and stability in South East Asia was something that could be achieved.

Another aspect which made the conference historical was that it came at a time when the three countries were involved in great events:

- * Indonesia with internal threats to its security and the recovery of West New Guinea, and the achievement of territorial integrity.
- * Malaya with threats to its security, the establishment of working democracy, and "now the embarkation on a new federation called Malaysia."
- * The Philippines with "the rediscovery of our identity, and reorientation of our foreign policy towards the Asian homeland."

President Macapagal then said that some people asked if the conference was going to be a success. "By taking place at all, it has already achieved a measure of success. The conference is an important milestone for Asia," he declared.

President Macapagal went on: The world watches this conference with interest. If we succeed in resolving the problems facing us we shall have contributed in a constructive way to the preservation of peace."

All the chief executives were smiling and good humoured. They came together minutes before the formal opening, and the Tengku and President Soekarno shook hands, spoke and smile. They shook hands again before leaving the hall at the close of President Macapagal's address.

'The right note'

Today's opening was staged in the crowded hall of the Foreign Ministry. The three state leaders sat together beneath an enormous canvas by the Philippines painter-patriot, Juan Lima.

"In this context, after having considered the report, and recommendations of the conference of Foreign Ministers of the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of Indonesia held in Manila from June 7-11, 1963, the three heads of Government approved and accepted the same.

The painting, "the Soliarium," depicts dead gladiators being dragged from the brutality and indignity of colonial rule.

Philippines Marines in American-style ceremonial uniforms lined the corridors and stairways of the newly-decorated Foreign Office.

The Tengku and President Macapagal arrived about 15 minutes before the opening ceremony. President Soekarno, dapper and smiling broadly in his grey Commander-in-Chiefs uniform, arrived

precisely on time.

Asked for comment in the Presidents speech, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Malayan Ministry of External Affairs, said he thought it had struck the right note.

At night the three leaders met for a State dinner at President Macapagal's Malacanang Palace.

Wednesday: The first closed-door session been today but just before then the Malayan Prime Minister paid a surprise call on President Soekarno. The two spoke together for about 20 minutes before the conference opened.

Malayan officials said the call was a courtesy one, made at the Tengku's own initiatives.

The talks were held in the chamber of the Council of State in the Malacanang Palace, the residence and office of the President of the Philippines.

The three chief executives, attended by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Lopez, and Me Khaw kai Boh, Malayan Minister without Port-folio, sat round a circular table.

Three-hours meeting

A communique issued at the end of the three-hour session indicated that Malaya was ready to have the summit meeting recommended to the United Nations what steps it should take in giving the Borneo peoples of Malaysia self-determination.

Observers doubted that this meant Malaya would be prepared to postpone Malaysia for a U.N. referendum, as President Soekarno had demanded.

However, until now the Tengku had also said that the method to self-determination in Borneo was something for the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, to decide.

The communique read: "The three heads of Government together with their ministers met this morning in a very cordial and brotherly atmosphere.

"President Soekarno and Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman expressed their sincere gratitude for the untiring efforts of President Macapagal and the Philippine Government to bring about the summit conference in Manila.

"The three heads of Government reaffirmed their determination to establish the closest co-operation among the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of the Philippines, and the Republic of Indonesia.

"The secretary general of the United Nations has been informed of this decision in order to advise him of the role of this decision in order to advise him of the role which he would be requested to play in implementing the relevant clauses of the agreement.

The three heads of Government will continue the discussion on Thursday morning, August 1."

In the agreement signed by the Foreign Ministers it stated that Indonesia and the Philippines would welcome Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo Territories was ascertained by the U.N. secretary general of his representative.

Indonesian officials said that they took this as a pledge to hold a U.N. plebiscite in Borneo, and that the Tengku had agreed to postpone Malaysia until a referendum was held.

The Tengku said all that Malaya had agreed to was an "assessment" which could be carried out by officials and in any case Malaysia would be formed as scheduled on August 31.

The "approval and acceptance" of the Foreign Ministers' agreement meant, observers believed, that the chief executives had agreed that there was room for discussion and negotiation in the issue, and that they were prepared to talk.

Friendly and smiling

The Tengku and President Soekarno were again friendly and smiling as they settled round the table.

President Macapagal told reporters the summit "has already succeeded" and added: "The mere fact that we are holding the summit is an indication of success."

The Tengku said: "We will succeed if we try our best."

The three chief executives called in the press at the close of the session and the Tengku and President Soekarno stood unsmiling as President Macapagal read out the communique.

All the Foreign Ministers expressed themselves satisfied with the morning's proceedings. Philipines official quarters said it was their belief the U.N. was going to be brought squarely into the dispute.

The Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, said: "Soekarno is really a charming man. He can charm anybody. But at the same time there was one bad moment."

It is believed that there was some tension for the first 30 minutes of the talks, but that the meeting then became fairly relaxed.

At one stage the meeting called in Mr Alfred Mackenzie, the official U Thant has appointed as his Liaison Officer at the summit.

After the meeting Inche Mohammed Ghazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Malayan Ministry for external Affairs, had a 20-minute conference with Mr Mackenzie.

M-Day postponed?

Meanwhile rumours circulated that the Tengku had in fact decided that the birth of Malaysia could be postponed.

Indoneian sources claimed the Tengku said in the closed session that keeping Indonesian friendship was more important than August 31 as a date for the founding of Malaysia.

But Malayan officials said that they were content with what had been decided so far. And it was believed they were hoping that U Thant would decide on an "assessment" rather than a referendum. It was understood that a summit leaders had sent a cable to U Thant asking him to let them know as soon as possible how long he would take to ascertain the wishes of the Borneo Peoples.

In the afternoon the Foreign Ministers met, and it was understood they were trying to thrash out a method of granting the Borneo people self-determination that would satisfy all parties.

Conference sources said that Indonesia had proposed that the self-determination employed by U Thant should be based on a United Nations resolution passed with Afro-Asian backing earlier this year.

This resolution is a guide to the conduct for mergeers of former colonial states, and among other things it states that self-determination should be on a basis of universal adult suffrage.

The Tengku was known to have been banking heavily on hopes that U Thant would agree that an "assessment" by U.N. officials over a period of about two weeks should be adequate.

This would mean that Malaysia could come into existence on time - and the Tengku was fighting hard for this.

The Prime Minister was understood to have told his delegate at the talks, Inche Mohammed Ghazali bin Shafie, that he should walk out of the other parties insisted on self-determination through this resolution.

Thursday: The Ministers met for more than three hours in the morning and early afternoon and resumed at 4 p.m.

The Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, told reporters that discussion of self-determination for the Borneo peoples and the Philippines' claim on British North Borneo was finished.

Asked later if this was true, Inche Ghazali said: "No." Asked the same question, Dr Subandrio said the Indonesian Foreign Minister said: "Yes."

Discussion on defence

Also under discussion at the Foreign Ministers' meeting was defence (and in particular Britain's defence relations with Malaya and Malaysia) and "Maphilindo", the proposed Confederation of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Conference sources said that Dr Subandrio raised Indonesia's objections to Article Six of the London Agreement on Malaysia which prolongs the life of the Anglo-Malayan mutual defence and

assistance agreement of 1957 and guarantees Britain the right to maintain bases and other military facilities in Singapore.

It also gives Britain freedom after Malaysia is formed to use the bases whenever the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur may consider it necessary to help defend Malaysia. British Commonwealth interests and "for the preservation of peace in South East Asia.

The sources said that Dr Subandrio took the attitude that Article Six was a violation of last month's Foreign Ministers' conference whose report said that Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines shared responsibility "for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation."

Their responsibility to maintain security and peace was to "preserve their national identities" and ensure peaceful development in South East Asia, the report said.

Later conference sources said the message sent to U Thant from the summit asked that he assist in bringing about self-determination in Borneo "in the letter and spirit of resolution 1541" (the Afro-Asian resolution the Tengku opposes).

Officials said it was a generally understood fact that the motion strongly implied a plebiscite. They also said that if U Thant was to act under this resolution he would have to get the approval of the General Assembly which did not meet again until September.

Meanwhile the summit chiefs delayed meeting again until the foreign Ministers provided them with a solution. Contact was being maintained with U Thant through his liaison officer, Mr Mackenzie. The secretary general was believed to have cabled asking for more details.

Mr Mackenzie also talked by telephone with a senior U.N. official, Mr C.V. Narasimhan, who has already carried out an investigation in the Borneo territories. He was asked how long he thought it would take to make an "ascertainment."

Meanwhile President Soekarno received a number of horticulturists and discussed the cultivation of orchids. Later he made a pilgrimage to the home of the late General Emilio Arguinaldo, a patriot.

The Tengku went shopping and bought a shawl for his wife. In the afternoon he played a round of golf with a protocol officer.

U Thant sends reply

Friday: It was learned that the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, had sent his reply to a request sent on Wednesday by the three heads of states. It was under discussion today by the Foreign Ministers of the three countries.

According to Mr Salvador Lopez, the Philippines Foreign Secretary, Thursday's meeting made "substantial progress" on the crucial question of self-determination for the Borneo States and the Philippines' claim to North Borneo. And Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Prime Minister, told reporters he believed the summit would end satisfactorily "if everyone sticks to his word."

The Tengku described the talks as "so far, so good" and said: "I think everything will be at right."

Call by Sarawak & Sabah 'DON'T DELAY MALAYSIA' STRONG REACTIONS TO MANILA AGREEMENT

Sarawak and Sabah are determined to be come independent states of Malaysia - on August 31, 1963.

The elected Government of Sarawak and the Sabah Alliance Party, which will shortly assume power, made that clear this week.

They have also made it clear that they are opposed to a referendum being held in their states

under the supervision of the United Nations - as demanded by Indonesia and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party.

But they are not opposed to an agreement reached on Monday at the Manila summit conference that the United Nations Secretary-General (U Thant) or his representative should conduct an assessment of the wishes of the people of Sarawak and Sabah as to whether they wished to join Malaysia. But they want this to be accomplished as soon as possible so that the August 31 date may be kept.

The Manila conference, which was attended by the leaders of Malaya (Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister); Indonesia (President Soekarno) and the Philippines (President Macapagal), ended on Monday with a compromise agreement.

The implications

One of the agreements reached was that the U.N. Secretary General or his representative should, prior to the establishment of Malaysia, send teams to Sarawak and Sabah to settle the question of self-determination.

This has implied that Malaya no longer insists on August 31 as the foundation date for Malaysia and the Malayan Prime Minister said on Tuesday that he would be prepared to postpone the creation of the new Federation for a few days, if it was necessary. However a Malayan Cabinet statement issued on Wednesday hoped that Malaysia would be established on August 31.

It also implied that Indonesia would stop demanding a referendum and drop its confrontation policy. But President Soekarno, who hailed the Manila conference as an Indonesian victory, said in Jakarta on being before a referendum was held in the Borneo Territories.

In the meantime anti-Malaysia activities are still going on in Jakarta and a spokesman for General Abdul Harris Nasution, the Defence Minister and Chief of the Armed Force said that Indonesia would keep on opposing Malaysia and would "crush" it if it was formed in a manner not in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned. He also said: "Our defence along the border is still on the alert."

On Wednesday the British Government received a formal request from the Malayan Government to permit United Nations teams to visit Sarawak and Sabah and it has been reported that it has agreed in principle to the investigation.

U Thant has in New York, it is learned, already held discussions with representatives of the 'summit' conference countries and Britain.

Telegram to U Thant

During the Manila conference the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, sent a telegram to U Thant, in which he stated that it was unnecessary for a referendum or plebiscite to be held in Sarawak because of results of the general elections clearly showed that the majority of the people supported Malaysia.

He added that the Sarawak Alliance had already formed a new Government.

Later Mr Ningkan said: "We welcome the Manila agreement about the assessment of the wishes of the people on Malaysia by a United Nations team. We will assist the UN team in its work, and we are confident that Malaysia will be established, as declared already, on the 31st of this month."

Mr Stephens explained that the move was to avert any delay in bringing about the country's independence by August 31. If Malaysia was not formed on the scheduled date of August 31, Sabah would exercise its right of self-determination on that date with a view to joining Malaysia at a later specified date.

Mr Stephens emphasised: "We in Sabah cannot agree to a postponement. We have completed our preparations to take over the reins of the Government from the British on August 31 this year.

"We have gone through the democratic process of electing the people to the Federal Parliament and to the Senate. We have elected our Head of State, formed the State Cabinet. In fact, we are

prepared and ready for Independence."

Mr Stephens told the House that although "We are willing to see the United Nations official or officials here, I cannot honestly say that Sabah would welcome their visit to this country." It would be, he added, an uncalled for intrusion "which we are willing to tolerate only out of respect for the Tengku."

Mr Stephens continued: "Let us give notice here that we want no other interference in this country, either by the United Nations or our-so-called freindly neighbours who pretend to be so worried about our future."

The chairman of the SUPP, Mr Ong Kee Hui, was reported to have said that the holding of a referendum was not "very difficult" - about two weeks would be enough time for it. On Tuesday, the Secretary-General of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, Mr Stephen Yong, called for a plebiscite to assess the people's wishes."

Mr Yong said that a team of assessors could not adequately cover the whole country and make a proper assessment adding: "We have had experience of this before" (an obvious reference to the Cobbold Commission).

He also said that the recent elections could not guide the people's feelings on Malaysia and stated: "We know as a fact that many of our supporters were afraid to vote in view of the tense atmosphere caused by the emergency and the unfortunate and unnecessary arrests and detention of some of our candidates."

Mr Yong contended that impartial observers in Sarawak held the view that the elections were not based so much on the Malaysia issue but on racial considerations.

However, the chairman of Party Negara Sarawak, the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji MUsstapha, welcomed the Manila agreement for an "assessment" and hoped that it could be completed so that Malaysia could come into being on August 31.

Mr Stephens has also called for an emergency meeting of the Alliance Executive Committee to be held on Friday to discuss the Malaysia issue. It is understood that the meeting will seek to adopt a "tough line" to oppose any postponement of Malaysia.

According to an Alliance source an alternative resolution the meeting is expected to adopt will insist on Sabah getting independence on August 31, this year - with or without Malaysia.

Mr Stephens said: "Those who took part in the Manila talks thought they could do what they wished to do without first consulting Sabah. They are entirely wrong. If they try to force anything on us and we don't like it, all I know is that we will fight against it with all our might."

Call by Legislative Council

In Jesselton on Thursday the Legislative Council agreed that the people of the colony should be given the right of self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

The Council also reaffirmed its earlier decision that Sabah must attain independence by joining Malaysia on August 31.

The motion calling for self-determination, tabled by Mr Donald Stephens, was unanimously adopted after the 16 elected members were sworn in.

The voters' registers were in readiness and could be used again at any time, he added.

'Elections - a referendum'

In a broadcast made on Thursday, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, reiterated that there was no point in holding a plebiscite in Sarawak "because I maintain that the elections were, in fact, a referendum."

He explained: "As you are all aware the election issue was in fact, Malaysia. The election itself was conducted on strictly democratic lines and the defeated opposition knows that they had fought a hard fight on this issue - and lost.

"I do not see any reason why they cannot accept the defeat with grace and good sense, instead

of agitating again for a 'general referendum'.

"We do not want the Malaysia date to be delayed. For us that date is very significant, for on that date we will celebrate Malaysia Day or Independence Day.

"I do hope that the United Nations authorities will be able to satisfy themselves soon that Malaysia was in fact an election issue so that the August 31 date may be kept throughout the Federation.

"If, however, there has to be a short delay to allow the Secretary-General's representatives to complete their task, I hope that we shall quickly be informed so that a definite new date can be fixed.

"The terms of reference of the UN team have not yet been made known, and we have to wait and see what course the UN investigators themselves will be prepared to follow.

"Whatever their terms of reference, we do earnestly hope that they will satisfy themselves fully before Malaysia Day so that its significance may not be lost to the generations to come."

'Could wreck Malaysia'

The Sabah Alliance Party also cabled a message opposing any postponement of the Malaysia

The telegram, signed by Mr Donald Stephens, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alliance Party and Chief Minister Designate, was addressed to Tengku Abdul Rahman. It said that any such postponement could wreck Malaysia as far as the Borneo Territories were concerned.

The cable also reiterates the Alliance's stand that there should be no referendum before Malaysia and that Malaysia must be established on August 31.

Mr Stephens said that President Soekarno who "preached self-determination for the Borneo Territories but only determination by himself.

"The Indonesians refused to accept the verdict of self-determination in Sabah and Sarawak and are now trying to delay Malaysia with the hope that by doing so they will be able to wreck Malaysia," Mr Stephens added.

'Stand up and fight' - Lee

In Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said in a press statement that many people in Malaysia would not be happy if there was any delay in the formation of the new Federation.

Later at a political rally Mr Lee said that Singapore was not bound by the Manila agreement adding: "As far as I am concerned, the date for the formation of Malaysia is still August 31 because we signed an agreement in London saying so."

"The only people who are happy about this talk of the possibility of Malaysia being postponed are the enemies of Malaysia. This includes the communist sympathisers in Singapore who are stooges of the Indonesian Communist Party," he declared before flying to Kuala Lumpur on Thursday to persuade Tengku Abdul Rahman to stick to August 31 as Malaysia Day.

He then said: "This is the time for Malaysia to stand and fight." Mr Lee was also reported to have said of President Soekarno in an interview: "Do you think we should give in to an international blackmailer?"

Manila agreement

The Manila agreement followed a 50-minute private talk on Sunday night between the Malayan Prime Minister and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio. The news came 12 hours before the close of the six-day conference when it seemed that total agreement was out of the question.

The summit chiefs also signed a joint communique which approved the recommendations for the Foreign Ministers' conference last June and the Manila Declaration.

The joint communique stipulated that when U Thant carried out his "ascertainment" he should

take note consideration:

1. The recent elections in Sarawak and Sabah but nevertheless further examining, verifying and satisfying himself as to whether -
 - * Malaysia was a major issue, if not the main issue;
 - * Electoral registers were properly compiled;
 - * Elections were free and there was no coercion; and
 - * votes were properly polled and properly counted.
2. The wishes of those who, being qualified to vote, would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offences or absences from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak.

The communique, described as a "joint statement", said the three countries would abstain from use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interest of any of the 'Big powers'.

At the ceremonial closing of the conference Reuter news agency reported that President Soekarno was in an angry mood when he spoke. Observers believed he was far from happy with the compromise agreement.

The joint communique then said that the three countries would send observers to witness the work of the teams and that Malaya would seek the co-operation of the British and Borneo Governments in arranging for the UN teams to work.

Malaya agreed to ask Britain to co-operate in "seeking a just and expeditious solution" to the Philippines claim to North Borneo by arbitration and conciliation.

The countries also agreed -

- * to take concrete steps towards the establishment of a confederation (Maphilindo) among themselves;
- * that the peace and security of the area was primarily the responsibility of the Governments and peoples concerned; and
- * that the foreign bases "temporarily in summit countries should not be permitted "directly or indirectly" to subvert the independence of other signatory countries.

Visibly annoyed

He was also visibly annoyed by Malaya's Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who spoke before him to about 500 diplomats, senior Philippines Government leaders and members of the delegations of Malaya and Indonesia.

The Tengku struck a raw nerve with the Indonesian leader when he said in a written speech that "communism is more destructive than imperialism" and that the summit had ended with Indonesia relinquishing its policy of confrontation of Malaysia for a "peaceful approach" to the proposed Federation.

Senator Khaw Kai Boh, who assisted Tengku Abdul Rahman, later denied that President Soekarno was angry.

While the Tengku spoke, Dr Soekarno, in his special blue grey Supreme Armed Forces Commander uniform, slumped in his chair, unsmiling, with his feet thrust out on the red carpeted dais.

The happy buoyancy he exhibited when he entered the Foreign Ministry had dissipated and when his turn came the Indonesian leader spoke out strongly against the "old established order" and the "exploitation of man by man, nation by nation."

His speech gave no indication that Indonesia would change its attitude to Malaysia which it

has branded "an Imperialist creation."

Imperialism, he said would be destroyed by the great army of the world's "new emerging forces" - the rising nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the socialist countries.

'Possible catastrophe averted'

In his speech, President Macapagal said that Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines in their agreement had "averted a possible catastrophe in South East Asia".

He said that from now on the three countries would not allow "outside interests" to divide them and that the success of the summit "marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of our countries as independent states".

"In this sense the Manila Declaration is a declaration of independence," he added. Mr Macapagal said the three nations of Malay stock had agreed to assume their "rightful share of responsibility" in the security of South East Asia.

He said that they were pledged to keep out foreign and communist subversion, and to aid each other in economic development.

The Tengku returns

Back in Kuala Lumpur, the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, told a press conference on Tuesday that he would be prepared to postpone the creation of Malaysia on its scheduled date of August 31 for a few days, if it was necessary.

"I don't want to be rigid about this, it is the right thing, we have to allow certain leeway for the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative to work. I don't suppose we can oppose to postponing the establishment of Malaysia for a few days," he added.

The Tengku also said: "We have got to announce a definite date in the Parliament".

He did not think that the ascertainment of the views as a result of the Manila Accord would take weeks and added: "I don't think there is any difficulty in ascertaining the views of the people in the Borneo states."

He referred to the joint agreement in Manila in which U Thant or his representative would look into the recent elections held in the two states and said: "No doubt we have got to seek the approved of the British Government".

Shortly after his hour long conference at the Residency his official home, the Malayan Premier received Sir Geofroy Tory, the British High Commissioner, to discuss about the summit meeting. "In England everybody is for Malaysia. I don't think postponement will worry them," he said.

The Tengku reaffirmed his statements that there was no question of plebiscite or referendum in the Borneo Territories.

The appointment of three observers by Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines with U Thant or his personal representative should not obstruct the United Nations terms' work, he said.

"They are only observers and they will not directly concerned with investigations. They will only see things and they will not interfere in the work of the United Nations men, he added.

The Malayan Prime Minister next said that Indonesia had "very strong feelings" about British and American bases in this region which they considered to be a threat.

"As for Malaya," he pointed out, "we consider that this region is fraught with danger and for this reason we have our defence arrangements with Britain. But our defence arrangements with Britain are not perpetual or permanent. They can be revoked by either party".

He said that Indonesia wanted these foreign bases not to be used to serve the interest of the Big powers and added: "We have to accept it as a fact that Indonesia's policy of confrontation towards Malaysia has been withdrawn although they did not say so."

Soekarno accuses Britain

In Jakarta, President Soekarno said that Malaysia would not come into being before a referendum was held in the Borneo Territories.

He told a mass rally marking the birth of Prophet Mohammed, that Indonesia had gained a victory at Manila.

It was agreed that "Malaysia would not be formed before the voice of North Kalimantan (Borneo) people was heard." To ascertain whether or not the people there want to join Malaysia could be done through a referendum under the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, he said.

Dr Soekarno then declared: "The Kalimantan people possess a flaming spirit. I am confident they will reject Malaysia."

He also accused Britain of trying to wreck the summit meeting.

Meanwhile the official news agency, Antara, reported that the Indonesian defence Minister, General Nasution, had told a mass rally at Pontianak, West Kalimantan, that Malaysia must be crushed "either through peace or war".

"We cannot sacrifice our principle of anti-colonialism though we want peace," he declared.

The General also denounced the Borneo elections, saying: "A general election under colonialism is not an election at all."

In an obvious reference to the Chinese communists who have crossed the border from Sarawak to Indonesia, he declared that Indonesia had been framing Borneo 'rebels' adding: "It is no longer secret that we give them military training and war equipment to drive the colonialists out of North Kalimantan."

Other Indonesian Views.

The General Chairman of the biggest Indonesian Nationalist Party, Dr Ali Sastroamidjojo, commenting on the outcome of the summit conference, said that it was now up to the United Nations Secretary-General to ascertain the wishes of the North Kalimantan people.

"So August 31 - the planned date of the formation of Malaysia - has lost its political significance which has been the main cause of tension between Indonesia and Malaya," he added.

The Official organ of the powerful Indonesian Communist Party, *Harian Rakyat* (People's Daily), said in an editorial, "The people of North Kalimantan have actually expressed their voice through the proclamation of December last year and this independence proclamation cannot be ignored."

British reaction

In London, British officials said that Britain would apparently not object if U Thant suggested measures to verify the results of the steps already taken in Sarawak and North Borneo to consult public opinion.

These include recent elections which resulted in majorities for pro-Malaysia parties in both cases, they added.

Britain is not likely to consider holding a referendum in the territories, as requested by Indonesia. Apart from the delay this would cause to the creation of Malaysia - still scheduled for August 31 - it was thought unlikely that the Government would be willing to accept the implication that the Borneo elections were not an honest expression of public opinion.

In addition, agreement of a United Nations - conducted referendum would create an unfortunate precedent, as far as Britain is concerned for direct United Nations intervention in colonial matters which the Government had always resisted hitherto, observers said.

THE UN BILL - SPLIT BY THREE

Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines have already agreed to split the cost of the United Nations investigation in British Borneo, according to Inche Mohammad Chazali bin Shafie, Permanent Secretary at the Malayan Ministry of External Affairs.

Malaya at first said that Indonesia and the Philippines should pay since they wanted the investigation, but later agreed to join in.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, has formally presented a Malaysia Bill to the Conference of State Rulers in Kuala Lumpur. The Bill will be brought before Parliament next week.

The Tengku also reported on the recent summit meeting to the Conference.

The South East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato) Council of Representatives may discuss Malaysia and the recent Manila summit agreement at its regular monthly meeting in Bangkok next week.

Diplomatic sources in Bangkok said that the topic was not on the agenda but it might be brought up when current political developments in the area were discussed.

THE MANILA DECLARATION

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the federation of Malaya, assembled in a summit conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963, following the meeting of their Foreign Ministers held in Manila from June 7 to 11, 1963.

Conscious of the historic significance of their coming together for the first time as leaders of sovereign states that have emerged after long struggles from colonial status to independence;

Desiring to achieve better understanding and closer co-operation in their endeavour to chart their common future;

Inspired also by the spirit of Asian-African Solidarity forged in the Bandung conference of 1955;

Convinced that their countries, which are bound together by close historical ties of race and culture, share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities and to ensure the peaceful development of their respective countries and their region in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples; and

Determined to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and their neighbours in a world dedicated to freedom and justice.

Do hereby declare.

ATTACK BY LABOUR SPOKESMAN

In a press statement issued in London on Thursday, Mr Arthur Bottomley, Labour Opposition spokesman on Colonial Affairs, said the British Government had got itself into "an absurd position" over Malaysia.

"Last week I put a private notice question to Mr Duncan Sandys (Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary) asking him what he knew about the plan to invite the United Nations to carry out an investigation in the Borneo Territories in order to find out the feelings of the peoples about joining Malaysia," Mr Bottomley said.

"Mr Sandys did not consider the question seriously and now a week has elapsed without anything being done. Neither the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary nor the Commonwealth Secretary are available to give a decision.

"It now appears that, as a result of Mr Sandy's attitude, a decision was taken concerning

territories for which Britain has a direct responsibility without Britain's views being made known.

This may lead to great uncertainty and confusion only three weeks before the Federation is due to come into existence. For this we must hold the British government directly responsible," he added.

First, that they reaffirm their adherence to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Bandung declaration;

Second, that they are determined, in the common interest of their countries to maintain fraternal relations, to strengthen co-operation among their peoples in their economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote economic progress and social well being in the region, and to put an end to the exploitation on man of one nation by another;

Third, that the three nations shall combine their efforts in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations and for the eradication of the vestiges thereof in the region in particularly and the world in general;

Fourth, that the three nations, as new emerging forces in the region, shall co-operate in building and new and better world based on national freedom, social justice and lasting peace; and

Fifth, that in the context of the joint endeavours of the three nations to achieve the foregoing objectives, they have agreed to take initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo.

Manila, August 3, 1963.

Soekarno

President of Indonesia

Diosdado Macapagal

President of the Philippines

Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj

Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT

The following is the full text of the joint statement at the conclusion of the summit meeting.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines, and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya met at a summit conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963.

1. Moved by a sincere desire to solve their common problems in an atmosphere of fraternal understanding, they considered, approved and accepted the report and recommendations of the Foreign Ministers of the three countries adopted in Manila on June 11, 1963 (here after to be known as the Manila Accord)

2. In order to provide guiding principles for the implementation of the Manila accord the heads of government have issued a declaration known as the Manila Declaration, embodying the common aspirations and objectives of the peoples and governments of the three countries.

3. As a result of the consultations amongst the three heads of government in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Manila Declaration, they have resolved various current problems of common concern.

4. Pursuant to paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Manila Accord the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative should ascertain prior to the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia the wishes of the people of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (15), principle 9 of the Annex, by a fresh approach, which in the opinion of the Secretary-General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination with the requirements embodied in Principle 9, taking into consideration:

(1) The recent election in Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak but nevertheless further

examining, verifying and satisfying himself as to whether -

- (2) The wishes of those who, being qualified to vote, would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offences or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak.
 5. The Secretary-General will be requested to send working teams to carry out the task set out in paragraph 4.
 6. The Federation of Malaya, having undertaken to consult the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak under paragraph 11 of the Manila accord on behalf of the three Heads of Government, further undertake to request them to co-operate with the Secretary-General and to extend to him the necessary facilities so as to enable him to carry out his task as set out in paragraph 4.
 7. In the interest of the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government deem it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams, and the Federation of Malaya will use its best endeavours to obtain the co-operation of the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in furtherance of this purpose.
 8. In accordance with paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, the three Heads of Government decided to request the British Government to agree to seek a just and expeditious solution to the dispute between the British Government and the Philippines Government concerning Sabah (North Borneo) by means of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of the parties own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- The three Heads of Government take cognizance of the position regarding the Philippine claim to Sabah (North Borneo) after the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia as provided under paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, that is, that the inclusion of Sabah (North Borneo) in the Federation of Malaysia does not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder.
9. Pursuant to paragraphs 6,7,8 and 9 of the Manila Accord and the fifth principle of the Manila Declaration, that is, that initial steps should be taken towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo, it is agreed that each country shall be set up a national secretariat for Maphilindo affairs and as a first step the respective national secretariats will consult together with a view to co-ordinating and co-operating with each other in the study on the setting up of the necessary machinery for Maphilindo.
 10. The three Heads of Government emphasised that the responsibility for the preservation of the national independence of the three countries and of the peace and security in their region lies primarily in the hands of the Governments and the peoples of the countries concerned, and that the three Governments concerned, and that the three Governments undertake to have close consultations (Mushawarah) among themselves on these matters.

Heads of Government further agreed that foreign bases - temporary in nature - should not be allowed to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three countries. In accordance with the principle enunciated in the Bandung Declaration, the three countries will abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

President Soekarno and Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman express their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by President Macapagal in calling the summit conference which, in addition to resolving their differences concerning the proposed Federation of Malaysia, resulted in paving the way for the establishment of Maphilindo.

The three Heads of Government conclude this conference which has greatly strengthened the fraternal ties which bind their three countries and extended the scope of their co-operation and understanding, with renewed confidence that their Governments and peoples will together make a significant contribution to the attainment of just and enduring peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

The Thai Foreign Minister, Mr Thanat Khoman, has welcomed the Manila summit agreement and said that he hoped it would be honoured by the signatory countries.

He told reporters in Bangkok that he believed the agreement would not affect the eight-nations South East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato).

(The agreement has a clause which bars the use of collective defence arrangements to serve the particular interest of any Big Power)

Mr Thanat said that Seato was intended to preserve peace in the region and not to serve the particular interest of any big power.

Mr Nahru, India's Prime Minister and Mr Averell Harriman, United States Under-Secretary of State, have sent congratulatory messages to Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines on their recent agreement on Malaysia.

The American State Department has said in Washington that it wished well to the establishment of Malaysia, as well as to the new consultative organ of Maphilindo, established by the Heads of Governments of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia.

CHIEF MINISTER WARNS TROUBLE-MAKERS

THE Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, launched his "get tough with the CCO" campaign this week in two speeches - one made in Sibü and the other in a broadcast from Kuching.

In Sibü where he spent Tuesday meeting Alliance leaders in the Third Division, Mr Ningkan told a crowd of several hundred welcomers: "There is a small number of misguided and disloyal people in this country who continued to dish out communist-inspired lies, trying to fool our people and disturb the peace of our country.

"I urge them to abandon their subversive activities immediately, for if they persist on their destructive course, it will be our duty to clamp down on them so that our people shall live in peace and harmony.

"Therefore to the rumour-mongers and trouble-makers I say: cease your activities forthwith and come and join hands with our people in building a free and prosperous nation. Do nothing to provoke our people."

In his broadcast from Kuching Mr Ningkan said: "I think it is a great pity that now when Sarawak has already freed herself from the yoke of colonialism some of her own sons should be misled by false ideologies.

"While my Government is prepared to consider sympathetically the cases of those who were genuinely led astray, I must stress that there is no excuse for those who still shout from rooftops that they were being oppressed by colonialists."

'Hard work and co-operation'

In his Sibü speech the Chief Minister thanked "all the people of Sarawak who had supported us", and to those who voted against the Alliance he said: "We extend our hands of friendship and look forward to your co-operation. Help us in the task of building a happy and prosperous nation."

He said: "As we told you during the election, the Sarawak Alliance stands for freedom, justice, security, progress and prosperity. To ensure that our country is free, secure, progressive and prosperous, we shall need from all our people hard work and co-operation.

My Government shall see to it that more land will be allocated to the farmers, and more assistance will be given to them. To open up more land for cultivation we shall build more roads. But, you know full well that more roads and more land by themselves will not bring prosperity, unless all of us work hard, and be self-reliant."

Mr Ningkan finally addressed his "Native bretheren" as follows: "Live in traditional peace and harmony with our Chinese brethren, do not ever try to take the law into your own hands, for the Government will see to it that law and order is maintained."

IN his broadcast on Thursday, the Chief Minister said: "Independent Sarawak has formed its first Government. The names of its ministers have already been announced, and we are now busy tying up the loose ends as it were to consolidate the Government machinery.

"I wish to take this opportunity of assuring the people of Sarawak that this Government will do all in its power to promote the well being of its peoples regardless of race, creed or religion.

"We have a Government based on democratic ideals - a Government that fully believes in freedom of thought and speech.

"In spite of what might have been said in the heat of the elections by the different parties about their respective oppositions, the time has now come for all of us to regard ourselves purely as Sarawakians and to work for the national interests of the country as a whole.

"As a Dayak perforce I will cast a backward glance merely to remind ourselves - you and I - that the present Sarawak owes a great deal to the British pioneers of the early days, especially the Brooke Rajahs.

"It is they who laid the foundations of democracy and the finishing touch had been given during the last 17 years during which Sarawak was a British Colony.

"This has enabled us to imbibe what was best in British administrative methods; in social and public health affairs and to build up an educational system best suited to the peculiar needs of this country.

"Economically, Sarawak is sound in every respect. The blue prints of its long term development plans have already been worked out and with more aid under the Malaysia development scheme, our country would forge ahead to greater heights.

"Therefore, Sarawak in every respect is prepared to shoulder all its responsibilities as a member nation of the Federation of Malaysia,

On the road to nationalism

"Yes, we are now set on the road to nationalism. It may not be a smooth road. There may be anxious moments ahead and there may be many pitfalls. But I am confident that the good sense of all loyal Sarawakians would prevail in moments of doubt and danger.

"When we say 'Hidup Malaysia' we should not merely pay lip service to Malaysia. It should be an exhortation as well as a prayer and I sincerely hope that Sarawakians of all races would always consider it as their watchword and sincerely co-operate with the forces of law and order in the establishment of peace and security.

"Talking of security, I feel that it is my duty as Chief Minister to also pay tribute to the Security Forces - belated though it may be.

"I do not wish to lull my listeners into a false sense of security by saying that 'all's well In the Kingdom of Denmark.'

"Unfortunately, as a result of the December rebellion and the continuing border raids we are still in a state of semi-emergency.

"Thanks to the vigilance of our security forces, the border raids seem to have ceased temporarily. But there is still an uneasy peace along the border.

"I would urge our security forces - which includes the Police, the Army and our newly-formed Border Scouts - to consolidate their activities, so that lasting peace may be secured.

"This reminds me of the words last Saturday of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, at the unveiling ceremony of the Limbang Memorial. Said Sir Alexander: "At no time In the history of this country has there been a greater challenge to the spirit of its citizens or a greater threat to its way of life."

"While on the subject of security I feel it is my duty to thank the British Army authorities for helping to raise our own Border Scouts.

"Here I must stress that the Border Scouts had been trained and are being recruited primarily to defend their own homes and hearths.

"I repeat, Sarawak at this juncture of her march towards full nationhood needs peace to ensure a prosperous future.

"I would, therefore, like to remind all Sarawakians - and others outside who now seem to evince great interest in our internal affairs - that we are imparting military training to our men not with the intention of creating an army of oppression or aggression, but merely to help preserve peace and strengthen the security of our own country.

No favouritism.

There have recently been rumours that the security and police force in this territory were being strengthened and increased to oppress who disagree with the Government.

"I think it is a great pity that now when Sarawak has already freed herself from the yoke of colonialism, some of her own sons should be misled by false ideologies.

"While my Government is prepared to consider sympathetically the cases of those who were genuinely led astray, I must stress that there is no excuse for those who still shout from rooftops that they were being oppressed by colonialists.

In conclusion I would like to refer to our new Supreme Council. The fact that there are no Malays in it had received unfavourable comments in certain quarters.

"Here, I would like to say to our brothers, the Malays, that there was no favouritism or bias in the allocation but would assure them that the Malays would be truly represented in the Federal Parliament."

"At Sibuan, the Chief Minister discussed current problems with Dayak, Malay, and Chinese leaders in the Third Division.

The leaders told him of the immediate need for better relations especially between Chinese and Dayaks because subversive elements were spreading false rumours in an effort to create tension between the two communities.

At the end of a full and frank discussion which lasted several hours, it was decided that a public appeal should be made, especially to the Dayaks and Chinese in the Third Division, in the interests of the country as a whole.

During the discussion, word was received from the Resident, Third Division, (Mr A.F.R Griffin) that leaders of the Dayak and Chinese communities concerned had met in Binatang and had amicably settled their differences in the traditional Sarawak peace-making ceremony - "Bebunoh Babi."

The assembly was greatly relieved to learn of the efforts by the parties directly concerned to settle the dispute whatever its cause was, but the leaders, however, were of the opinion that the tension that was caused was the work of agitators of the Chinese Communist Organisation.

After learning the facts, the Chief Minister was satisfied that a hard core of communist elements are now actively trying to sow discord among the people of Sarawak who had lived together in friendship and amity from time immemorial.

The Chief Minister, in a statement issued on Wednesday, warned the people of Sarawak, especially those in urban areas, not to listen to rumours, and to always remember that they should not take the law into their hands under sudden acts of provocation.

He urged the people to immediately contact their respective leaders, the police or any Government officer when they suspected the presence in their midst of undesirable elements.

'Threshold of exciting era'

Mr Ningkan then said: "I wish everyone in Sarawak to remember that we are at the threshold of a new and exciting era - an era full of promises for every loyal Sarawakian whatever his or her racial origin may be."

"It is therefore the bounden duty of everyone, young and old in Sarawak, to work together in peace, friendship and harmony to achieve the golden future that awaits this country as a partner in the federation of Malaysia. Peace be to you all - Hidup Malaysia."

RESPONSIBILITIES OF MINISTERS LISTED

THE responsibilities the three Sarawak Ministers allocated portfolios were listed in a Government Gazette Extra-ordinary published on Monday. They are:

Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud
Minister for Communications and Works

Schedule **Business of Government**

Communications

Land Transport Department (General)
Ports and Marine
(i) Brooke Dockyard
(ii) Bouys and Lights (State)
(iii) Port Authorities
(iv) Waterways (State)

Roads and Bridges (State)
Drainage and Irrigation

Fuel and Power

Electricity Supplies and Gas (State)
Sarawak Electricity Supply corporation
Office Equipment (State)

Public Works

Public Works Department (General)
Federal Works
Research and Investigation
Water Boards
Water Supplies

State interests in:

Borneo airways Limited
Malayan Airways Limited

Mr Teo Kui Seng,
Minister for Natural Resources

Schedule **Business of Government**

Agriculture

Agricultural Department (General)
Agricultural Extension
Freshwater Fisheries (including prawn farming)
Rural Agricultural Education Soil Surveys
Food and Agriculture Organisation (State Aspects)

Forestry

Forest Department (General)
National Parks

Land

Lands and Surveys Department (General)
Land Classification and Subdivision
Land Settlement
Land Use
Town and Country Planning
Town Development

Minral Resources

Mining and Mining Leases (State)
Prospecting Licences (State)
Quarries

Mr Dunstan Endawi Enchana, Minister for Local Government

Schedule **Business of Government**

Arts Council
Boy Scouts
Libraries (State)
Literature Bureau

Community Development
Charitable Trusts
Fire-fighting
Girl Guides
Guardianship of Infants

Local Government

Divisional Councils
Elections (but only for so long as indirect system operates vide para. 25(6) of I.G.C.)
Local Authorities
Local Government (General)
Municipalities
Valuation for Rating

Museum

Antiquities
Archaeology
Archives
Museum Department (General)
Relations with Missions
Recreation, Sports and Athletics
Sarawak Youth Council
Sarawak Welfare Council
Youth Clubs

Under the Gazette Notification the Chief Minister is empowered to allocate responsibilities to Mr James Wong Kim Ming and Awang Hipni bin Pengiran Annu, both Ministers and of State.

SALARIES FOR GOVERNMENT MINISTERS PROPOSED

COUNCIL Negri, which meets in Kuching on Wednesday, August 21, will be asked to approve three Bills providing for the remuneration of the Chief Minister, the Ministers and Speaker and allowances for Members of Council Negri.

It is proposed to pay the Chief Minister an annual salary of \$26,400, together with a fixed monthly entertainment allowance of \$800. The three Ministers, who have been assigned portfolios, will each receive an annual salary of \$21,000 together with a fixed monthly entertainment allowance of \$500, while the other two will each receive an annual salary of \$12,000.

The Speaker's remuneration will be \$1,000 a month and an entertainment allowance of \$5000 a quarter, and Members of Council Negri will be paid a monthly allowance of \$250.

Another Bill provides for the salaries, allowances and privileges of the Chairman and Members of the Public Service Commission. It is proposed to pay the Chairman a monthly salary of \$1,500 and in the case of the Deputy Chairman and each of the other Members, a monthly salary of \$500.

SARAWAK INDIANS PLEDGE SUPPORT

THE Chief Minister has received the following telegram from the pro-tem committee of the Sarawak Indian Congress: "The Indian community of Sarawak request you and the members of the Cabinet to accept its heartiest congratulations on your appointment as the first Chief Minister of the National Cabinet of our country and wishes you every success in your immense task of steering the country towards progress, prosperity and happiness. The Indian community pledges its wholehearted support in your effort...."

Said the reply: "The Chief Minister and members of his Cabinet thank the Indian community of Sarawak for their good wishes. The Indian in Sarawak, like those in Malaya and Singapore, have played a valuable part in the affairs of this country and the Government hopes that they will continue to take as great an interest as they had hitherto taken in their land of adoption."

LIMBANG MEMORIAL UNVEILED



Picture left shows the Governor unveiling the Limbang Memorial. On the right shows Madam Rabai anak Chulo, mother of the late PC Insoll anak Chundang, laying the wreath at the Memorial.

THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US' - BY SIR ALEXANDER

THE Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, in unveiling the Limbang Memorial commemorating those policemen and Royal Marines who were killed during the insurrection, said on Saturday, August 3, that at no time in the history of the country had there been a greater challenge to the spirit of its citizens or a greater threat to its way of life.

He said: "These men will not have died in vain if they have inspired us throughout the land to put aside all bitterness and jealousy, all self-seeking and dissension and to put our lives and abilities, unreservedly as they have done, to the services of our country in whatever task we are called upon to undertake.

"Our way of life is not perfect but we have the means, if we have the will, to make it better for those who come after.

"And if we fail, the night of misery which many of you experienced here, will quench the torch of liberty handed on to us by those who have fallen."

Earlier the Governor reminded those present that close to the spot of the Memorial nearly nine months ago four men of the Sarawak Constabulary and five men of the Royal Marines died.

He said: "Their homes were far from here, some in other parts of Sarawak, some ten thousand miles away. Different in background, different in race, different perhaps in religion, in habit and in custom they had in common that for which they died, the ideal of liberty and its preservation and abhorrence of the mean sneaking brutal intrigues which threatened this land and for a time overran this place."

The units taking part in the parade include detachments of the Sarawak Constabulary and Field Force and of 42 Commando, Royal Marines. The Band of the Sarawak Constabulary was in attendance.

After the Governor had unveiled the Memorial, sited near the river in front of the Police Station, the Last Post was played followed by the Reveille and two minutes' silence. Then came the laying of the wreaths and closing prayers.

He also presented the insignia of awards to those who gave outstanding service during the

insurrection.

The recipients were: Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry - Inspector Abdul Latip bin Besah and P.C. 392 Bisop anak Kunjan; Queen's Medal for Chiefs (Silver) - Penghulu Ngang anak Bundan; Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct - Abang Omar bin Abang Samaudin; Mr Gawan anak Jangga; and P.C. 1341 Muling anak Kasau; Certificate of Honour - Mr Mervyn William Swyny and Mr Paul Ho Huan.

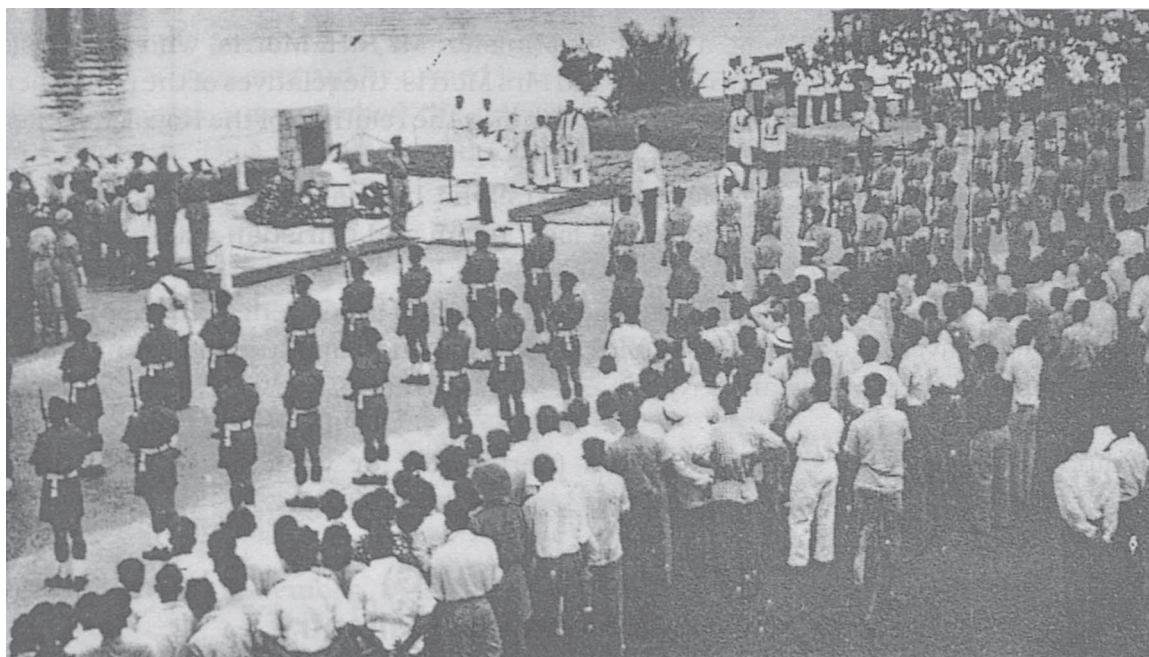
Miri presentation

Another presentation ceremony was held at Miri on Monday by the Governor.

Before the presentation ceremony, which took place in the Miri Community Hall, the Governor inspected a Police Guard of Honour, the Constabulary Band was in attendance.

A reception, attended by more than 200 people, followed the ceremony.

The recipients were: **Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry** - Corporal 778 Saini Bin Bakar; **Colonial Police Medal for Meritorious Service** - Senior Inspector Julaihi bin Hanaffie; **Queen's Medal for Chiefs (Silver Gilt)** - Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, M.B.E.; **Queen's Medal for Chiefs (Silver)**-



Picture above shows the Governor taking the Royal Salute at the conclusion of the ceremony.

The Governor then said: "Many of you here today suffered and valiantly resisted the brutality and senseless crime - you can compare, as no one else can, the way of living as we know it with the way death and destruction as others would have had it. And in your gratitude towards, and pride in those who died in the struggle you have spontaneously raised this memorial.

'They have gone in the high noon of their lives - they will not enjoy on earth life and laughter, the comity of friends, the pride of family and all things great and little, gay and sad which make up the ordinary man's life, things that we take too readily for granted.

"But their memorial should not be in stone only for if their deaths are not to be in vain it is for us who remain to show the same valour and purpose in living as they showed in dying. "And in this time of danger, this time of great moment to the people of Sarawak can we raise a greater

memorial, a memorial of the spirit, can we truly use the liberty they died to defend and regain?"

The Governor ended by saying, "We remember today others who have died in Sarawak for the same cause and we acknowledge the spirit of private citizens who have stood up against evil and attacked it, we record with gratitude the valour of the Forces, the Gurkhas, the Royal Marines, the Green Jackets, the Royal Navy, the Royal Air Force and our own Constabulary Field Force and Rangers - the thousands of volunteers and all the voluntary agencies.

They would all say with cheerful modesty that it is all in the day's work. But it is work which at the going down of the sun and in the morning we must carry on."

Armed forces represented

The unveiling ceremony was attended by Lady Waddell; Major General W.C. Walker, Director of Operations; the Commissioner of the Sarawak Constabulary, Mr P.E. Turnbull; Brigadier F.C. Barton, military commander in West Sarawak; Group Captain Dennis, Air Task Force commander; Lieut. Colonel B.I.S. Gourlay, Commanding Officer of 42 Commando, Royal Marines; Lieut. Commander G. Drake, Royal Naval Liaison Officer; and Major Henry Redice, representing the Brigade Commander, 99 Brigade Headquarters.

Also present were Mr James Wong, a Sarawak Minister; Mr R.H. Morris, who was Resident of the Fifth Division at the time of the insurrection, and Mrs Morris; the relatives of the policemen killed and men of the 42 Commando Royal Marines representing the relatives of the Royal Marines killed.

In addition were those Royal Marines and others who had taken part in the defence; and recapture of Limbang. Prayers were said by the local Imam and Christian priests.

Penghulu Arin; Penghulu Gau; Penghulu Balan Lenjou and Penghulu Keping; Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct - Penghulu Baya - Malang and Tuai Rumah Pasang anak Batoh; Certificate of Honour - Mr Bujang anak Nyuin and Mr Lian Tapan.

In addition, the Governor's Commendation (Certificate) for valuable services during the Emergency and the floods were presented both at Limbang and Miri.

CITATIONS (LIMBANG) **Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry** **Inspector Abdul Latip bin Besah**

At about 2.00 a.m. on December 8, 1962, Inspector Abdul Latip heard sounds of firing from the direction of the Police Station. Taking his Sterling gun he left his house and was immediately fired on from several directions. He returned the fire but was wounded in the arm by a shot from a shotgun.

He hid until daybreak when he concealed his weapon and came out to reconnoitre. He was then captured by the insurgents.

The personal example of Inspector Abdul Latip both before and during the attack was in no small measure responsible for the very gallant defence of the Police Station by a few men for more than four hours.

P.C. 392 Bisop anak Kunjan

After the Limbang Police Station had been under attack for two hours during which time P.C. Bisop had seen four constables killed, he and one other, were left holding the station against numerically superior forces.

Alternately firing Bren gun and rifle they continued to hold out for another two hours and eventually surrendered only when they realised that the lives of Government officers and their families were in danger.

Queen's Medal for Chiefs (Silver) PENGHULU NGANG anak Bundan

Penghulu Ngang made a major contribution to stabilising the situation in the Upper Limbang. His leadership and loyalty were a major factor in the immediate response of the people in the area as a result of which they ambushed and captured eleven rebels.

Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct Abang Omar bin Abang Samaudin

When Limbang was overrun by armed insurgents Abang Omar was on leave prior to retirement. Without hesitation he approached the rebel leaders and after considerable argument obtained permission to organise a volunteer group including members of the Red Cross for the purpose of relieving distress and suffering.

He provided food and medicines for those imprisoned and at the risk of his life passed messages to those prisoners held in the jail by the rebels.

After the liberation of Limbang, he assisted and largely organised relief for the numerous refugees and then assisted in the restoration of communications.

Mr Gawan anak Jangga

On the morning of December 9, 1962, news reached Nanga Medamit that Limbang had been captured by rebels.

In the absence of the Penghulu who was upriver, Gawan took command and summoned Ibans from upriver and by December 11 had rallied a force of some 300 persons armed with shotguns. On that day a boatload of rebels approached with weapons in the firing position and were ambushed by Gawan and his party. When called upon to surrender they threw down their arms and were taken prisoners.

Despite stories of a large rebel force proceeding to rescue the prisoners, Gawan and his force stood resolute and finally brought their prisoners down to Limbang where they handed them over to the military authorities.

Gawan displayed outstanding qualities of leadership and by his courage and resolution maintained the morale of the upriver peoples.

P.C. 1341 Muling anak Kasau.

P.C. Muling was guarding the Limbang jail with another Police Constable when it was attacked by armed men. They succeeded in driving them off after which P.C. Muling moved to the District Office to telephone for help.

While he was there a number of armed men entered; one of these he shot dead and the remainder fled. He then tried to fall back on the Police Station but finding it under attack he could not reach it. Instead he attacked the rebels from the flank. When his ammunition was exhausted he hid his

He was later captured but escape and hid until Limbang was relieved. P.C. Muling's courage and devotion to duty throughout were of a high order.

Certificate of Honour Mr Mervyn William Swyny

Mr Swyny was in Lawas when the revolt broke out in Brunei. With his drive and enthusiasm he rallied his P.W.D. force and others to build secure perimeter fences, construct weapon pits and fill sandbags. He personally directed the clearance of trees and undergrowth surrounding the defence positions to secure good fields of fire.

By his great energy and initiative in organising the defences of Lawas Mr Swyny gave invaluable assistance to the security forces.

Mr Paul Ho Huan

Mr Paul Ho played an invaluable part during the Brunei rebellion. The school of which he was Headmaster lay at Bab Kelalan on the easiest escape route from Brunei.

During a period when all was uncertain and obscure he rallied the large upland Murut community. When the first outside officer arrived a few days later he continued to play a leading role in maintaining the situation.

CITATIONS (MIRI) Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry Corporal 778 Saini bin Bakar

Corporal Saini was the officer in charge of Niah Police Station when the next Police Station at Bekenu was overrun by armed insurgents. Despite knowing that they intended advancing on Niah Corporal Saini rallied the local people into a Home Guard Unit armed with their own shotguns.

When he was ordered to evacuate the station by his superior officers he displayed considerable initiative in returning to the station daily to report the local situation to the Divisional Headquarters. His leadership helped to rally the inhabitants of Niah to resist occupation by the insurgents.

Colonial Police Medal for Meritorious Service Inche Julaihi bin Hanaffie

Senior Inspector Julaihi joined the Sarawak Constabulary as a recruit in 1948 and was

promoted to the Inspectorate six years later in 1954.

Most of his service has been spent at the Police Training School where he has been responsible for the instruction of over fifteen hundred men including over one thousand recruits in Law and Police Duties.

The steady increase in knowledge and efficiency of the rank and file since 1955 when he began instruction at the Police Training School is due in large measure to Senior Inspector Julaihi's unflagging keenness and devotion to duty.

Queen's Medal for Chiefs (Silver Gilt) Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, M.B.E.

The Paramount Chief of the Baram responded immediately to the call for armed reaction to the Brunei Rebellion and rallied the Kayans and Kenyahs to the defence of Sarawak. He helped to make Marudi a nucleus of resistance and armed organisation behind Brunei State.

His energy, leadership and resource set a fine example to everyone and did much to strengthen the resolve of the people to resist outside aggression.

Queen's Medal for Chief (Silver) Pengahulu Arin

On the outbreak of the rebellion in Brunei Pengahulu Arin of the Bakong immediately volunteered for active service against the rebels.

Soon afterwards he led a large force of irregulars joined by a group of Kayans and Kenyahs under Pengahulu Baya.

His immediate support gave powerful momentum to the movement over the watershed to seal off the Sibuti River and attack the rebel stronghold at Bekenu.

Pengahulu Gau

Pengahulu Gau made an outstanding contribution in rallying the inland population to seal off the inland routes to prevent the escape of the rebels. He gave them a positive and dynamic lead at a time of confusion and uncertainty.

Pengahulu Balan Lenjou

By his immediate support for the Government and by leading his people to prepare the defence for his area Pengahulu Balan Lenjou played a major part in repelling aggression.

Pengahulu Keping

At the time of the Brunei Rebellion Pengahulu Keping inspired his people to rally to the side of Government immediately.

As a result of his action volunteers poured into Marudi demonstrating their loyalty and helped to ensure that the rebel elements in Sarawak were quickly defeated.

Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct Penghulu Baya Malang

Penghulu Baya was among the first of the Baram leaders to come to Marudi and Volunteer for active service in quelling the rebellion.

He was not merely prepared to arm and assist his own people from the Tutoh but to show leadership and courage in leading a force - armed only with shotguns - straight to the heart of the rebel movement in Sarawak by crossing the watershed into the Sibuti and cutting off the rebels there.

Tuai Rumah Pasang anak Batoh

When Bekenu and Sibuti in the vicinity of Niah where Tuai Rumah Pasang's house stands were seized by armed insurgents he never hesitated in declaring his opposition to them and in giving aid and shelter to Government officers and their families.

He was ready to help in every way providing men and shotguns and encouraging his people generally. By his calmness, wise talk and arguments Tuai Rumah Pasang swayed doubtful elements to the Government side.

Certificate of Honour Mr Bujang anak Nyuin

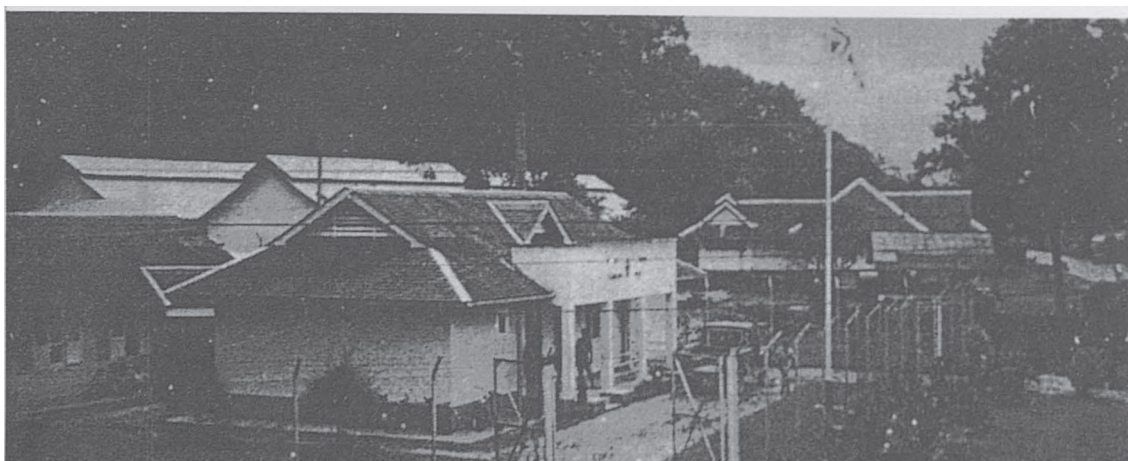
Junior Agricultural Assistant Bujang was serving in Marudi District in December. He gave major assistance in initially raising and then organising irregular forces at Marudi.

He joined the striking force crossing the watershed into the Sibuti River and rendered valuable and courageous service to the officers leading the force.

Mr Lian Tapan

Mr Lian, at one time a Corporal in the Field Force but now retired at P'Umor, showed great initiative and leadership at the time of the Brunei Rebellion.

He gathered together all other ex-Field Force and Constabulary in the area formed them into a defence unit at Bario Airfield. He also subsequently led patrols along the escape routes.



Limbang Station - main target of the rebels.

THE GALLANT STORY OF THE DEFENCE OF LIMBANG

by Alastair Morrison

In the following story, Alastair Morrison, Information Officer, Sarawak, tells how a small band of brave Sarawak policemen defended Limbang Police Station against hundreds of rebels, armed with shotguns, during the early hours of Decemebr8, 1962. It is a story of unflinching devotion to duty in the face of heavy odds, and one that should be an inspiration to every loyal Sarawak.

This is a story of heroism - Sarawak heroism - of how a handful of police held out against a violent onslaught by hundreds of rebels. It is a story that must be told to Sarawak in full.

THE night of December 7, 1962 saw a small police detachment responsible for law and order in Limbang. The Inspector in charge of the Station and some police returned from a Landrover patrol of the Pandaruan and Kubong Roads outside Limbang town at midnight and reported all quiet.

Although there was some cause for anxiety in the Fifth Division, it had not been possible to reinforce the Limbang detachment at that time - Limbang itself being an extremely difficult place to defend against any serious threat.

The Government station is strung out along a narrow stretch of land between a steeply rising heavily wooded hill and the river. There is no easily defended central strong point. This fact was well known to the rebels who attacked Limbang shortly after 2 o'clock on the morning of the 8th.

BY that time between three and four hundred rebels, armed with shotguns, had stealthily moved into the whole area from the downrrier end of the bazaar to the Roman Catholic Mission.

Shortly after 2 o'clock they opened fire on the police station, the bachelor police barracks and the house of Inspector Latip. The OCS, Inspector Latip, came out of his house firing his Sterling.



Inspector Latip

He was soon shot through the arm and succeeded in crawling across the road and hiding himself in the river behind the bank.

He stayed there until found at 10 a.m. the next morning. He hid his Sterling in the river bank and this gun was still there when the place was recaptured by Royal Marines four days later.

The station and barrack room behind were occupied by nine of the 18 policemen then in Limbang. The rebels crept quietly close to the wire fence and opened a barrage of shotgun fire while some climbed over the fence.

The policemen on duty had little chance because the station was never intended for defensive purposes. It was and is simply a town police station for everyday police business, designed for peace, and not for war.

Coporal Kim Huat, who was in charge of the men in the police station, took up his station in the recreation room at the upriver end of the station building from where he fired on the rebels. Here, very early in the attack, he was hit and seriously wounded, dying a little later.

P.C. Wan Jamaluddin bin Tuanku Alek had dashed into the barrack room at the back of the police station to warn the men sleeping there. On his way back he attacked the rebels outside and was responsible for killing one of them.

His body and the body of the dead rebel were found grouped together at the corner of the police station building the next day.

P.C. Essa bin Maratim, who was in the barrack room, fired on the enemy and killed one man who attempted to gain entry to the barrack block from the covered way leading to the station itself.

Much later, when his ammunition was exhausted, he climbed up into the loft over the barrack room with his rifle.

P.C. Insoll anak Chundang attempted to open the arms cage to obtain more ammunition and was shot down in the act and died instantly.



Essa bin Maratim



Bisop anak Kunjan



Sanggah anak Jampang

Police Constable Bisop anak Kunjan with the Bren Gun and Police Constable Sanggah anak Jampang with a rifle, hopelessly outnumbered though they were, continued to resist the rebels from the Charge Room.

P.C. Bujang bin Muhammed was seriously wounded while firing from the window of the Police Sergeant's office and died at about 8.30 a.m. the next morning

They were completely surrounded by rebels who were now all over the police compound and even

right under the windows of the office only a few feet away from the men who were still grimly holding out.

It was not until 6.40 a.m. that they finally gave up in response to an order by the Resident, Mr R.H. Morris, who had been taken to the station at gun-point.

Five dead rebels were lying outside the police station and a number were wounded.

At the Government office, Police Constable Zaini bin Titun was on duty. He heard the firing break out around the Police Station and found rebels coming into the office, an antiquated building in poor repair, which is open on all side. He fired on the rebels but was quickly over-powered.

Police Constable Muling anak Kusan, who was on duty at the jail nearby, left his post there and attacked the rebels from the flank.

The result of this action by Zaini and Muling was one dead rebel. In addition, in the two actions at the Police Station and the Kubu, nine rebels were wounded, several of them seriously.

Police Constable Muling was captured later in the morning between the Kubu and the Police Station. He succeeded in escaping the following day and ran and hid in the jungle.

Police Constable Essa in the police barrack loft remained there without food or drink apart from some rain water he collected in his hand through the billian ataps, for four days until Limbang was relieved.



Zaini bin Titun

*Muling akan
Kusan*

He kept his rifle with him the whole time. All the other members of the force were also taken prisoner, five of them in their married quarters half-a-mile along a road.

The fight put up by the police in Limbang, was a splendid example of good morale, devotion to duty, and aggressive spirit. The police never had a chance against such overwhelming numbers but they showed great bravery and tenacity in holding out to the bitter end until ordered to surrender by the Resident.

Even here, the Resident at first refused to give such an order and only did so when threatened with instant death. Those who were able to take part in the actual fighting were a representative cross-section of Sarawak's racial make-up.

Of the killed. Corporal Kim Huat, whose home was in Quop, was half Chinese and half Land Dayak.

Wan Jamaluddin and Bujang were First Division Malays; Insoll came from the Saribas.

Of the survivors, Sanggah is a Land Dayak from Kampong Tijireng, Lundu; Zaini and Essa are Melanaus from Mukah; Bisop, a Sea Dayak, comes from Rumah Jawa in the Undup, and Muling from Spaoh in Betong District.

These men have written a splendid page in Sarawak's history and one which will never be forgotten.

THREE more commendations have been made by the Governor for valuable services during the Emergency. The recipients are - Inspector Wan Abdul Rahman; Probationary Inspector Peter anak Legan; and Sergeant Major 1444 Rentap anak Jemut.

MALAYSIA DAY CELEBRATIONS: DETAILS

DETAILS of the arrangements for the Malaysia Day Celebrations were announced at a press conference given by Mr Teo Kui Seng; the Chairman of the Malaysia Day Celebrations Committee on, Tuesday.

The Celebrations will take place on Saturday, August 31. His Excellency the Governor will depart on the morning of Friday, August 30. Prior to his departure the Governor will at 8 a.m. deliver a farewell message to the country from Radio Sarawak. He will leave by river after a farewell ceremony at Pangkalan Batu at 10 a.m.

Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, will arrive at Kuching Airport later on the morning to attend the celebrations. Union Jacks will be lowered for the last time at sunset.

On August 31, ceremonies will be held in every district headquarters to mark the birth of Malaysia. Detailed plans are being worked out locally. The sum of \$400,000 has been allocated for the expenses of which \$100,00 is being met by the Malayan Government.

The principal ceremony will take place in Kuching. at 8 a.m. there will be a ceremonial parade on the Central Padang, preceded by a 21-gun salute. A proclamation will be read by the Chief Minister. The State and Federal flags and the Governor's personal flag will be hoisted. The Governor will be sworn in by the Chief Justice. A parade will be followed by a march past.

In the event of heavy rain a gun will be fired from the Police Training School at 7.30 a.m. to cancel the parade and the ceremony of reading the proclamation and the swearing in of the Governor will take place in the Council Chamber.

The main emphasis of the remainder of the programme will be on youth and sporting activities. A festival of sport had been organised and tennis, softball, soccer, rigger, hockey, athletics, basketball, table tennis, badminton, cricket, a 'Big Walk' and a swimming gala are being organised.

Astana reception

On the evening of August 31, the new Governor will give a reception at the Astana and there will be a lantern procession by school children and associations with prizes for the best lanterns and floats. This will be followed by a display of fireworks. It is hoped to provide fireworks displays in every district.

There will be a Boat Club regatta starting at 10 a.m. on Sunday and on Monday a special Sarawak Turf Club meeting and tuba fishing in the Sarawak River. On Monday evening there will be a camp fire for Scouts and Girls Guides followed by a display of fireworks from the Royal Malayan Navy Ship K.D. Seri Selangor.

On Sunday, September 1, the Governor, the Chief Minister and their wives will leave for Kuala Lumpur with Tun Razak in order to attend the Malaysia Day Celebrations in Kuala Lumpur. They will return on Wednesday.

Malaysia Day - September 16 1963

NEW ERA DAWNS

SARAWAL ACHIEVES SELF-GOVERNMENT

Malaysia will come into being on Monday, September 16, 1963 it was officially announced on Thursday after high level talks in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore between the leaders of the governments of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys.

The announcement was received with great satisfaction in Sarawak and Sabah which on Saturday, August 31, 1963 became internally self-governing states.

In Sarawak the inauguration of the State Government was not marked by large-scale celebration which have been reserved for Malaysia Day, though its great significance was not lost on the country. The Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, made a nation-wide broadcast just after Friday midnight.

The event had reinforced the determination of the Sarawak Alliance Government and the people to move firmly on to Malaysia Day - and complete independence through the new Federation.

During August 1963 also saw the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission carry out most of its programme of verifying the views of the people towards Malaysia.

The tour was marred by two brief but ugly riots staged at Sibu and Miri by communist-inspired Chinese United People's Party in protest against Malaysia.

Effort to soften crisis

The UN Mission was accompanied by observers from Britain and Malaya but not from Indonesia and the Philippines which apparently have decided not to send any.

The date for the creation of Malaysia was announced as Malaya made another attempt to soften the present crisis provoked by Indonesia by sending its top External affairs official, Inche Ghazali bin Shafie, to Jakarta for talks with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio.

An official announcement of the date was proclaimed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in Kuala Lumpur and announced in Kuching by the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan.

It read: The Agreement reached in London on July 9, 1963 between the Malayan Government, the British Government, the Singapore Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak was to the effect that Malaysia should come into being on August 31, 1963.

"However at the Manila meeting the Philippine and Indonesian Governments declared that they would welcome Malaysia provided that the wishes of the peoples of the Borneo Territories are ascertained by the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative.

"The Secretary-General has indicated that he expected to complete the task assigned to him by September 14.

"The Malayan Government, with the concurrence of the British Government, the Singapore Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak and in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 of the Malaysia Act which makes it a statutory requirement to proclaim before August 31 the day for the coming into force of the Act, has decided that Malaysia shall come into being on September 16, 1963"

Indonesia and Philippines informed

The Malayan Government has officially informed Indonesia and the Philippines of the new date. A statement from the Ministry of Information in Kuala Lumpur said that there was no breach of faith involved in the decision.

Malaysia had not been established - its foundation date had only been proclaimed. Furthermore the ascertainment now being carried out by U Thant's teams was not a condition for the formation of Malaysia.

The stated position of the Malayan Government was that "Malaysia is not conditional upon the ascertainment, which Malaya agreed to only in deference to the request of the Philippines and Indonesia so that they will be able to welcome Malaysia.

"The gesture by Malaya firstly in agreeing to the ascertainment by the secretary-general, and subsequently to deferment of the date of Malaysia Day is only to ensure that Malaysia is born with the support and blessing of the Philippines and Indonesia which have expressed misgivings regarding it.

"As the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, put it: 'I have gone a long way in all humility to see peace.... The world will know to what extent I have humbled myself for the sake of peace'. It is now time for the Philippines and Indonesia to make their gesture.

A Commonwealth Office spokesman said in London that the announcement had been made because it was essential to fix the earliest date consistent with the timetable of the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant.

It had also been issued in view of the strong feelings in Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak in favour of the creation of Malaysia and in view of the disquieting effect which continued uncertainty was bound to create.

The spokesman added: "We are confident that the Secretary-General's report will show that the wishes of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak are in favour of Malaysia.

"Numerous processes have been employed to ascertain the wishes of the people of these Territories - the Cobbold Report; resolutions by the Legislative assemblies of both territories; participation of representatives of the peoples of both territories in the Inter-Governmental Committee which drafted their new State Constitution; and the general elections in both territories held this year on the basis of universal adult suffrage which resulted in clear majorities for the pro-Malaysia parties."

Observers: Compromise accepted

Indonesia, which had agreed to send four observers and four clerical assistants to the Borneo States to watch the UN Mission at work, changed its mind because of what it called "technical difficulties created by the British."

These "technical difficulties" boil down to the fact that the Indonesians wanted to use their own military plane to take their team to Borneo and the British Government did not agree to this. Furthermore Indonesia wanted to send four senior officers to help its four observers although it had been agreed that they should only be of clerical grade.

The Philippines, which had also approved the British compromise figure, held back because of a similar disagreement over the status of the "clerical assistants." However the absence of the observers from the two countries did not deter the UN teams from going ahead.

Britain had announced on Friday, August 23, that it had no objection if any of the observers from Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia wished to be accompanied by a junior assistant of a clerical grade making a maximum total of eight from each country.

The Philippines in accepting this proposal suggested that Indonesia and Malaya accept the British proposal, said the Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr Salvador Lopez, the same day.

In Jakarta, the Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, announced that Indonesia had agreed to send an eight-member observer team and told reporters after a meeting on Saturday, August 24, with President Soekarno that the observers would leave by special plane "in a few days as soon as the clearance is arranged".

His announcement followed a series of meetings with President Soekarno over the previous 48 hours amid mounting reports that the Malaysia countries were adopting a tough attitude towards Indonesia's 'stalling' of the UN assessment.

Meanwhile, Mr Duncan Sandys flew into Kuala Lumpur on Saturday, August 24, 1963 for talks with the Malayan Premier, Tengku Abdul Rahman, and the leaders of Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore.

- * Shortly after his arrival Mr Sandys was closeted with Tengku Abdul Rahman for 90-minutes talks and is believed to have told the Tengku:
- * A date had to be fixed for Malaysia Day soon;
- * Britain was not going back on its figure of four observers and four clerks for the Indonesian and Philippines observer teams:
- * Malaya had the support of the United States, Australia and New Zealand on Malaysia.

Mr Donald Stephens, the Chief Minister of Sabah and Mr Ningkan, Chief Minister of Sarawak, in talks with the Malayan Prime Minister, had been pressing for Malaysia to be formed on August 31 - the original date.

'No retreat again' - Tengku

Meanwhile the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, intimidated that he was not prepared to retreat again in the face of Indonesia and Philippine demands.

He said that if the findings of the UN teams were not adhered to because of a squabble over the observers than "we will carry on with Malaysia, and face whatever may be the consequences."

In Singapore on Sunday, the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, said after talks in Kuala Lumpur that the participants of the Malaysia project would agree to a new date instead of the previously announced August 31 for its formal proclamation.

But there should be an advance in the political and consitutional position in Sarawak, Sabah (North Borneo) and Singapore on August 31.

In Jakarta on Monday it was stated that the departure of hte observer team had been delayed, at least until the next day. A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said that Britain had not yet given a landing permit in Kuching for an Indonesian Air Force C-47 aircraft.

The plane was due to fly the eight-members observers team to Kuching via Singapore, where the observer team from the Philippines was to have joined the special flight.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Ganis Harsono, said that the delayed departure would also hold up the start of the UN survey.

Visa applications fo rthe eight-man team were lodged with the British Embassy in Jakarta on Monday and an Embassy spokesman said they wre being processed by the appropriate authorities.

However, British Governrrmet sources in Kuala Lumpur stated that Britain would not permit an Indonesian Air Force transport fo fly to Borneo - it was one issue on which Britain was not prepared to give way.

In Manila, the British Government was reported to have refused three senior Philippine officials permission to enter British Borneo as "assistants" of the observer team.

The Philippine Foreign Secretary, Mr Lopez, in a statement on Monday disclosed that a "last minute problem had arisen" and that he had instructed his observers in Singapore to "stay put" until a settlement had been reached. Indonesia was having the same kind of trouble, he added.

Talks please Borneo leaders

The Malaysia talks in Kuala Lumpur ended on Tuesday, when the Borneo Chief Ministers left for Singapore saying everything was settled so far as they were concerned and they were quite happy.

In the meantime, the Malayan Government announced that it wanted the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, to come to Singapore to meet the Deputy Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, "with the object of clearing up any misunderstanding that may have arisen over the question of observers

and Malaya's stand in connection with this matter."

Tun Razak left for Singapore on Tuesday but before he reached there word came that Dr Subandrio was not willing to come because his health was not good, and he could not travel by air. He hoped that Tun Razak would come to Jakarta.

Dr Subandrio also accused Britain of delaying "the integral implementation" of the recent Manila agreement.

Meanwhile about 800 left wing youth front demonstrators staged a protest rally against racial discrimination in the United States and Malaysia in Jakarta. And it was reported that the Indonesian Defence Minister, General Nasution, had said that Indonesia would continue to "confront" the Malaysian States until the people of Northern Borneo were granted the right to self-determination.

On Wednesday it was learned that Malaya would reopen direct talks with Indonesia on Malaysia and that Inche Ghazalie Shafie, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, would fly to Jakarta that day to represent this country in conversations with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio and take a message from the Tengku.

From Jakarta, the official Indonesian news agency Antara quoted "circles close the Government" as saying Indonesia was now not likely to send observers to Borneo because of "technical difficulties created by the British."

The agency quoted the sources as pointing out that "Indonesia will thus eventually reserve the right to determine its attitude towards the results achieved by the United Nations team."

On Wednesday, too, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio warned the leaders of Sarawak and North Borneo that they should "refrain from adopting a hostile attitude" towards neighbouring Indonesia and Philippines.

Dr Subandrio said that the leaders, Mr Ningkan and Mr Stephens, should not be hostile "because they can rely on the protection of Britain."

In his statement, read to reporters by the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Dr Subandrio did not say why he was giving the warning to the leaders.

But observers thought that he was referring to their declarations that both Sarawak and North Borneo would become self-governing states on August 31, irrespective of whether Malaysia was proclaimed by that date.

Dr Subandrio said that Mr Ningkan and Mr Stephens had "not yet experienced the joy of living in an atmosphere of freedom."

"Indonesia desires to live in harmony with its neighbours but it should be stressed that these neighbours should not adopt a hostile attitude based on the strength of others," he said.

'Little summit' in Singapore

In Singapore the Sabah and Sarawak leaders held secret talks with Mr Duncan Sandys and Tun Abdul Razak, the Malayan Deputy Premier.

Authoritative sources said the "little summit" centred on internal Malaysia matters such as the number of seats for the Borneo States in the Federal Parliament and choosing a Governor for Sarawak.

The two North Borneo and Sarawak leaders then went to Eden Hall, residence of Lord Selkirk, the Commissioner-General for South East Asia, there they had a working luncheon with Mr Sandys, later Tun Razak joined them.

Asked by reuter to comment on Dr Subandrio's warning to the Borneo leaders, Mr Stephens said: "Dr Subandrio must stop making mischief in my country. We want to live in peace."

Malaysia on September 16 welcomed **FIRST VICTORY**



*Council Negri in session Left (nearest camera) - the Supp Opposition:
Right: Alliance Government.*

ALLIANCE TEAM SHOWS ITS METTLE

The Sarawak Alliance Government scored a resounding victory for "independence within Malaysia on September 16" when the newly elected Council Negri held its first meeting in Kuching this week.

Its first motion, asking for reaffirmation of support for Malaysia, endorsement of the recent London Agreement, and welcome for a new Malaysia date, was carried with the unanimous support of the Opposition Party Negara Sarawak Councillors and Independents.

By a show of hands 38 members of the legislature voted for the motion. In spite of this overwhelming support, a division was insisted upon ("for the United Nations") and only five hands were raised against - those belonging to the Sarawak United Peoples' Party bloc.

This victory was even more significant in that the Alliance team rose to every occasion in the debate convincingly to meet and defeat the challenges and criticisms levelled against Malaysia. The new Ministers showed every sign of self confidence and parliamentary ability.

The three-day meeting was ceremonially opened on Wednesday by the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell who, in his address, condemned the "perpetrators" of the recent riots and called upon those responsible for the border troubles "in the name of humanity" to give the word and stop "this senseless strife".

The meeting was the first of its kind to be held in the country under a full parliamentary system - of Government and Opposition. This immediately produced a stimulating effect and the "cut and thrust" of debate was evident from the start.

In the chair was the Speaker, on this occasion, Mr A.R. Snelus, - the Deputy Chief Secretary. A permanent Speaker has already been appointed - Dr M. Sockalingam.

Members of the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission and some observers the legislature cleared all doubts as to Sarawak's decision to join Malaysia.

GOVERNOR CONDEMNS MEN BEHIND RIOTS

The Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander Waddell, in fiery denunciation of the recent riots at Sibul and Miri declared that those responsible for them were "downright traitors."

In his address to the first meeting of the newly elected Council Negri in Kuching on Wednesday the Governor said: "I utterly condemn the irresponsibility and viciousness of these stupid riots. At any time their conduct would have been outrageous at a time of independence for Sarawak I call

them downright traitors."

Said Sir Alexander: "We have seen in these last days disgraceful, shameful scenes at Sibu and Miri and lesser affrays elsewhere - an indelible blot on our good name for tolerance and amity.

"It is not so long ago that the claim was made that special account be taken of the votes cast in the towns because they were more politically mature and sophisticated. So much for maturity.

"Compare these ugly scenes in which there was no respect for law, no thought of other persons' rights and safety, with the quiet dignity of the rest of the country - the so-called immature.

"It has been claimed that this was a spontaneous expression of feeling, as permitted in democratic societies, and that these were mere enthusiasts.

"Is one asked to suppose that cudgels and staves came spontaneously to hand, that containers were quite fortuitously filled with acid, that rationing depots appeared out of thin air, that the throwing of gathered stones the vicious attacks on the police, are legitimate democratic processes?

"If one points the finger at the hooligans responsible one is accused of causing prejudice. But surely the facts speak for themselves, and so do the photographs now published abroad.

Apology to UN Mission

"It is inevitable that the irresponsible conduct of the few should gain greater public currency than the restraint and dignity of the vast majority of our citizens.

"The unusual and calamitous is ever, I fear, more notable than the usual and serene but let not these events disguise the soundness and goodness of the people of Sarawak, their law-abiding nature, their traditional goodwill and their determination."

Sir Alexander then addressed the United Nations Malaysia Assessment Mission (which sat through part of the proceedings) and said: "I apologise to them for the conduct of a small minority during their stay here - they will know that all Sarawak is not like that."

Referring to the Mission he said: "I have welcomed this Mission in the spirit in which Tengku Abdul Rahman helped to promote its presence, in the spirit of goodwill, in the hope that it will lead to lasting peace in the region. Moreover, we have nothing to hide, indeed we have a good deal to show.

"The Mission has been given every facility we have to command in pursuing its exhaustive - and I imagine exhausting - research and I for one have the fullest admiration for the manner in which they have tackled the job.

"I am not wholly aware of the extent to which democratic processes of election are current or pursued in other countries in South East Asia but I am confident that the Mission will find that the elections here have been properly conducted in accordance with traditional British practice, on a universal adult franchise, public registers of voters and the secret ballot box in accordance with strict and detailed legislation.

"I have complete confidence in the integrity of the system and its operation and if there be some who have preferred sly allegations the fact remains that the electoral rolls, procedures and results have been open to scrutiny by the public and political parties and to challenge in the Courts of law but apart from two election petitions calling for a recount, where contests were close, no challenge has been made.

"And of the issues at stake there is, in my mind, no doubt whatsoever having viewed the political scene over these last years."

Turning to the "intrusions into our land from across the border", Sir Alexander told the members of Council Negri: "You are only too familiar with the despicable force applied against us, the abusive propaganda to which we have been subjected, the threats, the attempts at intimidation and coercion, the death and destruction which have befallen innocent citizens of this land, people who seek no more than their inalienable right to a future of their own choosing and to live at peace with their neighbours and the enjoyment on their land.

"But in all this Sarawak is not dismayed and is resolute in its own protection."

'Sarawak is not North Kalimantan'

"On this whole business of conflict let me state for those who have ears to hear that -

- * Sarawak is not North Kalimantan, never has been and never will be;
- * The TNKU is a foreign propagated, and now exploded, myth;
- * There is no revolution in Sarawak - only a democratic evolution through universal franchise;
- * Sarawak has no need for any one to liberate her. She has made own choice for freedom;
- * Least of all do we have any need for this foreign Azahari and his comic band of self appointed ministers, military governors and generals. They are a joke - albeit a joke in bad taste.
- * Sarawak has for generations lived at peace with its neighbours indeed with mutual cordiality and mutual benefit, threatens no one but only desires, and intends, to conduct its but only desires, and intends, to conduct its affairs in the way of its own choosing.

"If I am wrong in any of these propositions, you, honourable members, of the Government and Opposition will say so.

"All this senceless strife could stop at a given word - that it can be stopped has been shown by the sudden cessation of fresh armed intrusion into Sarawak these last few days. In the name of humanity I call on those who can give the word to do so."

Historic occasion

Earlier in his address Sir Alexander referred the meeting as "a historic occasion when Sarawak has already entered upon internal State Government as a prelude to full independence in Malaysia" and said: "As this is the last occasion on which I shall have the honour to appear before you I intend today to make a personal testimony.

"First, let me welcome to this Council those who take their seats for the first time and congratulate you upon your election.

"In this House there are 36 elected members, three members nominated on the advice of the Chief Minister, three officers of State, and one remaining Standing Member whose place not only gives us an honoured link with the past but also shows how far we have travelled over these last years. From these memebtrs we have for the first time a full ministerial Government responsible to this House and to the people.

"Some four days ago I handed over to the Chief Minister the conduct of State affairs and you will all, I am sure, wish him well in shouldering his great responsibilities.

"I have the fullest confident in his ministry and my call to the country is this - if democracy is to mean anything you must, whether you have won or lost in the elections, give your undivided loyalty to the Government.

"You may not always agree with it, you have the right, indeed the duty if the need arises, to criticize, but you have no right to deny it or to erode its structure for the Government is not a person or group of persons or a political party, it is Sarawak, it is the will of the majority.

"I do not need to remind you that everyone of you is here not for sectional interest, not for personal prestige, not for party advante but to serve sincerely the people of Sarawak, all the people of Sarawak, all the time."

He continued: "This is not a time for looking back but as I am about to take my leave of you and of the country I cannot but cast my eye back over the plateau of achievement of the last years. In the vista there stand out a number of peaks -

- * the great polical advance and in particular the development of indigenou political thought and achievement, and the evolution of a full ministerial Government;
- * the enormous strides in education nurtured councils. Much as our educational advance is criticized, it is a fact that we outstrip our near neighbours except for Malaya and indeed the percentage of persons of school age attending school, primary and secondary, is as a matter

of interest twice as high as in China.

- * Next, the great advance in rural development in agriculture, in road development and the massive impetus of the people themselves in adopting new methods and pushing forward to a higher standard of living, greatly strengthened by the spectacular control of disease, particularly malaria, in recent years.

"We should not, take credit for ourselves. We are on the springboard of development, a springboard created by the skill, care and patience of those who have gone before.

"It is for you to take the next great leap ahead, and you will not fail. You reach the shore of independence with well known, well tried partners at your side.

Blueprint for future

"For the future, we in Sarawak have lived and worked for partnership with our real and tried friends in Malaysia. We have worked out with them in great detail and meticulous care and with great satisfaction the blueprint for the future - a prosperous stable future.

"We have watched with pride the great progress of Malaya under the leadership of Tengku Abdul Rahman and we rejoice at the prospect of joining in the new Federation and adding to the common weal the strength and particular character of Sarawak while equally drawing with our friends the added strength and prosperity which comes from the corporate whole.

"One hears sometimes of throwing off the yoke of Colonialism. It all depends how you look at it but I suggest the more accurate picture is that you are assuming the yoke of responsibility.

"Beware of catch phrases about colonialism - they are often used by those who have made a mess of independence by bad management, vanity and idleness to mask economic chaos and the frittering away of carefully built up resources.

"After all the purpose of all political systems should be that the people live better, eat better, think better and enjoy themselves more. Unfortunately, slogans and speeches however long, militant or anti-colonial are not edible. Deeds not words are what the people need."

Sir Alexander next stated that the "vital questions" of land use and development would shortly be brought to the legislature and that a development plan "of unprecedented size and scope" was in its final stage of compilation by the Government within Malaysia.

He then paid tribute to the Civil Service saying: "There is none better, more diligent or more loyal and I gladly acknowledge the unfailing support I have had, none more than when the going is rough.

"Adjustments to serve the ministerial system have been made. In this transition no doubt problems will arise, none, however, that cannot be determined with proper understanding, on the part of the service, of the nature of a political government on the part of the Government, of the proper functions of the civil service.

"The principles of this relationship are well established and will I am confident be followed here in order that the Ministers may have the most efficient organ for the preparation and execution of policy as the centuries of democratic Government have been able to devise."

"We will follow your fortunes"

Finally, Sir Alexander said: "For me this is the end of the road; for you the way stretches clear and wide ahead. My wife and I are profoundly grateful for the privilege of serving you. We will remember with affection the kindly welcome we have always received in the longhouses, kampongs and bazaars and our many journeys on the coast, on the rivers and in the ulu of this wonderful country.

" We take away memories of a rewarding, if sometimes strenuous, sojourn here and will follow your fortunes in the future with personal interest and pride. Our doors, albeit small, in England will be open to you as yours have been to us."

Tributes by Chief Minister

The Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, replying, paid tribute to Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and the Chief Secretary and Mrs Jakeway.

He said: "It is my sad privilege, as Chief Minister, to say farewell today to Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and the Chief Secretary and Mrs Jakeway - Sir Alexander and Mr Jakeway, as you know, are attending Sarawak's Council Negri for the last time."

Thanking the Governor "for his advice, and the kind words he had spoken", Mr Ningkan assured him, "on behalf of this House and the peoples of Sarawak, that the precepts that he and Lady Waddell had set will always be followed in the conduct of our affairs whether in this House or outside."

Mr Ningkan said: "As the last British Governor of Sarawak, Sir Alexander had occupied the gubernatorial chair for more than three and a half years.

"During this comparatively short period, Sir Alexander, by his wise administrative, had not only helped this country to become self-reliant in many respects, but has the distinction of seeing it achieve independence through the Federation of Malaysia.

"His experiences, gleaned in other British territories where he had served with distinction, have stood him a good stead here in the task of steering Sarawak through its constitutional changes.

"Posterity will remember Sir Alexander as an able administrator who had played a distinguished part in the country's democratic and economic progress, and his discerning wife, Lady Waddell as a woman of no mean resources who has also played her own part besides her distinguished husband, chiefly in the realm of social welfare.

"Everyone in Sarawak, including the honourable members of this House, know all what Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell have both done for this country.

"As Governor, Sir Alexander has encouraged the growth of Sarawak's local government, and the building up of the country's most important social service - education.

"He has also introduced measures for the Borneanisation of the Civil Service, and has, in general injected a new life into the community as a whole.

"The great interest he has evinced in rural development, and the improvement of communications in the country, is already bearing fruit, and the Waddell stamp is clearly imprinted on everything that Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell have undertaken for the benefit of this country."

'Names in letters of gold'

Mr Ningkan then said that one of the institutions that would be cherished by the people of Sarawak was the Sarawak Centre for the Blind, in the founding of which Lady Waddell had played a conspicuous part as patron of the Sarawak Society for the Blind.

He added: "The Waddells have certainly inscribed their names in letters of gold on the pages of Sarawak's history, and I should say, so have the Jakeways.

"Their great qualities of leadership, their examples of devotion to duty, and their impartiality as administrators of justice, inspire in us all sentiments that we should at all times cherish and admire."

Mr Ningkan went on to say that as well as saying goodbye to Mr Jakeway on behalf of the House and the people of Sarawak, it was also his pleasant duty of congratulate him on his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fiji.

Said Mr Ningkan: "Mr Jakeway, who became Chief Secretary of Sarawak in 1958, is one of the most widely experienced officers in the Colonial Service.

"Beginning his career as a cadet in Nigeria in 1937, he rose to be Secretary to the Government of Seychelles in 1946, and was attached to the Colonial Office from 1949 to 1951. He had held the post of Chief Secretary in British Guiana since 1955 before coming to Sarawak.

"As a colonial administrator, Mr Jakeway has already played a distinguished part in helping two other colonial territories on their way to independence - Negeria which achieved its goal last year

and British Guiana which now enjoys complete internal self-government,

"As Sarawak's Chief Secretary, and Sir Alexander's right-hand man, Mr Jakeway has played a part unequalled in the history of colonial administration, especially in Sarawak.

"Like Sir Alexander, he has travelled extensively throughout Sarawak and has come into personal contact with all its peoples. He has closely studied Sarawak's problems, political, social and economical, and his assessments have always proved correct.

"I cannot pay a better tribute to Mr Jakeway than to say that he is a true British democrat - a democrat in the truest sense of the word.

"Accustomed to hold the helm in steering the ship of state through turbulent political waters toward self-government, Mr Jakeway, together with Sir Alexander has brought us to the port of freedom."

•Great tasks ahead'

Continuing Mr Ningkan said that there might be uncharted seas before them as they assumed responsibility, but they did so with confidence - confidence in the fact that they would sail in company and protection.

He added: "We will carry on the good work begun by the men to whom we are paying tribute today. There are great tasks ahead of us, and I hope that the training and experience our officers have gained under the British administrators, and the sense of fair-play and devotion to duty that they had all imbibed, will help us all in the years to come."

Mr Ningkan observed: "It is a pity that the British should still continue to be branded as colonists. As Mr Jakeway himself said in a broadcast speech before he went on long leave this year: The British colonial record is there for all to see.

'Colonialism has become a dirty word in some quarters but in the sense that the British use it, I am proud to be dubbed a colonial administrator.'

Finally Mr Ningkan said: "There is nothing eloquent than that Honourable Members. The pledge has been kept, and today it is our duty to thank those who had helped Britain keep her pledge."

"On behalf of this House and on behalf of all the people of Sarawak I wish Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell and Mr and Mrs Jakeway many years of continued happiness and prosperity."

Council Negri by an overwhelmingly majority, approved a motion which reaffirmed its support for Malaysia, endorsed the London agreement signed on July 19 and, "while regretting that the Federation of Malaysia could not be brought into on August 31", welcomed the decision to establish it on September 16.

The motion was moved by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, and a total of 16 members, including all five members of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party, spoke.

When the vote was taken after a debate, which occupied most of the meeting, 38 members voted for the motion. Only the five Supp members voted against it.

The debate featured the strong support given by the Datu Bandar, abang Haji Mustapha, leader of the Opposition Party Negara Sarawak, and the Independents.

Chief Minister explains

In introducing the motion, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, recalled the "complete agreement throughout the Malaysian territories" reached that Malaysia should be established on August 31 but pointed out that the date had to be postponed because the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, at the Manila talks had agreed to an assessment of the peoples' view in Sabah and Sarawak concerning Malaysia.

He said: "The postponement of the original Malaysia date agreed upon by Britain and Malaya as well as Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, led to the recent meeting at Kuala Lumpur of the leaders of Malaysia and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandays.

"After a continuous, three-day talk it was agreed that Malaysia should be established on September 16.

"Announcing the new date, Mr Sandys sent a cable to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, informing him that September 16 had been agreed as the new date on which Malaysia will be established, and that the agreement had been ratified by the States concerned with the approval of Britain.

"It was also officially agreed that in Article II of the Agreement relating to Malaysia (concluded in London on July 9), the date "16th September" should be substituted for the date "31 st August", and that the Malaysia Act of the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya should, with any consequential amendments, come into force on September 16.

"At the end of the talks with Mr Sandys, an agreement was signed in Singapore on August 28. It was signed by Mr Sandys, for Britain; Tun Rasak, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, for Malaya; the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, for Singapore; the Chief Minister Designate of Sabah, Mr Donald Stephens, for Sabah, and myself on behalf of Sarawak."

THE DEBATE

Municipal Council) who opposed it.

Mr Chan said that a "great percentage" of the people opposed Malaysia "because they do not want to see Sarawak become a new colony of Malaya". They wanted "real independence."

"Because of their enthusiastic attitude towards this aim and aspiration:, he said "they are smeared as Communists by the pro-Malaysia elements and even quite a number of them have been detained without being tried in the courts by the colonial Government."

Mr Chan, in pointing out that Brunei had also decided against joining Malaysia said: "It is clear therefore that those who oppose Malaysia are in fact nationalist."

He continued: "Although the British Government had denied that Malaysia is an imperialist design, it is a fact that the British Government accepted the Malaysia proposal without hesitation, whereupon an early proposal for the closer association of the three Borneo territories, which was in fact the common aspiration of the people of the three territories, was dropped."

"The British Government", he said "believes that Malaysia is the best solution for Britain to preserve her interests in the Borneo territories through her trusted agent.

"And Malaya is regarded by the British Government, without securing the full support of the people of this country for such an idea, indulges herself in the transfer of the sovereignty of this country to Malaya.

"I do not think the pro-Malaysia members in this House can be certain about the benefits that could be gained by Sarawak after joining Malaysia. These people are short-sighted and imagine that the country will be prosperous after joining Malaysia."

Mr Chan then referred to a newspaper report which said that "of 285,000 people living in central Kuala Lumpur, some 50,000 are - one in six - housed in squatter-type dwellings without benefit of sewerage or proper drainage; many are without power and water supplies as well."

From this, he pointed out, it was obvious that even within the capital of Malaya, living conditions were still miserable.

How could one believe that when Malaya itself was still making efforts to improve the living conditions of its people, it will be able to help Sarawak achieve prosperity, he said.

Funds from the Malaysian Government, he said, would be in the form of loans with disadvantageous conditions.

He instanced the agreement reached between Mr Lee Kuan Yew and Tengku Abdul Rahman that any loan given to the Borneo Territories should be on condition that 50 per cent of the labour force would come from Singapore.

Turning to external security problems, Mr Chan said: There are some who might say that it is impossible for Sarawak to exist by the side of a powerful neighbour after its independence. But I would like to point out that even Malaya with its present defence capabilities would still be hardly a match for our neighbour, Indonesia, without the presence of British forces and this was admitted by the Prime Minister of Malaya.

"So, those who say that Malaya will be able to protect us from any "invasion" are not telling the truth. I do not know if those who advocate this point of view do realise that there are numerous small nations in the world which have existed sedately so long without involving the others in cold war."

Those who sought independence through Malaysia, he said, were "fully aware that without the support of the right-wing elements will have no chance to be in the position to rule the people and to preserve their vested interests."

'The smart chaps'

He recalled that not long ago, people, including a lot of members of the House, had firm

convictions that Sarawak was not in a position to achieve independence.

They had said that they preferred Sarawak to remain for some 10 or 20 years under the colonial rule and one of their excuses was that it was too premature for Sarawak to be in a position to achieve independence, "because the Sarawakians still cannot look after themselves."

Mr Chan then asked: "Why then after such a short lapse of time, are they now advocating a contrary view? Is this because they have become smart chaps able to take over the administration of the Government after a trip to Kuala Lumpur? Or is it because they have found a new boss to replace the old one?"

The answer, he said lay in the latter, "because they say that Sarawak delegation have represented the people when one of the delegates was a defeated candidate in the local elections.

He then attacked the agreement and called for "a fairly conducted plebiscite to be held under circumstances which ensure freedom from fear, intimidation and arrest and also freedom of the press and of speech and assembly."

Another attack

Mr Stephen K.T. Yong, speaking against the motion said that it was not true that Sarawak had attained its independence on August 31 as was reported in the press. Nor did he think it correct to say that Sarawak had full internal self-government.

Mr Yong observed that perhaps "it was a good decision that we did not have any celebration on that day because there was nothing to celebrate about. In fact it was nothing to be happy about."

He said that the Malayan Government must have also thought for the moment that the British Government had in fact given full internal self-government to Sarawak, because according to a recent news item of the British Government had rushed off a protest note to the British Government over this.

Added Mr Yong: "Apparently now the Malayan Government is satisfied because we heard later on, yesterday it was, (Tuesday-Ed.) that there was a meeting with Mr Sandys in Kuala Lumpur, and it was explained - and the explanation has apparently satisfied the Malayan Government - that what actually happened was the Governor would remain and would take on all the powers that were vested in the Malaysia Government, which of course we know to all intents and purposes, would be the present Malayan Government.

"Therefore, it does seem clear, I think, that the so-called independence on August 31 was only a mirage. It was a term devoid of any substance, and I think it is fair to say that it was only a stop-gap measure. And all that has not been brought about on that day. And this is a device to try make the best of a bad bargain.

"Now we all know - we were also told over the press and the radio that the postponement of Malaysia was because of the desire of Tengku Abdul Rahman to please Malayan Government agreed to let the United Nations team come in here.

Mr Yong said it was "rather unusual" while agreeing to a "term of inquiry" to come to this country, to announce a date for Malaysia.

Mr Yong then went on to say that it gave rise to the question whether or not there was any sincerity in the agreement to an enquiry. He said that one cannot agree to an enquiry and then before the result itself is known, take a course which might be contrary to its findings. "If you agree to an enquiry the natural thing to do is to wait for the result of the enquiry," he said.

He added that "the Government line on Malaysia had been talked about, put over the means of propaganda - radio and newspapers - that Malaysia is a good thing for Sarawak and for its people - and all very well done too."

Continued Mr Yong: "When people make more enquiry about it they should not ask too many questions. It is good for you. You will be prosperous once you join Malaysia: the golden era is to be born in Sarawak.

This attitude Mr Yong declared, had been "assumed by many ex-councillors". He said: "From my own experience I found that in the Divisional Advisory Councils when the Inter-Government

report was tabled for discussion, it was given, in fact only a day or two before the meeting to the councillors.

"It was not humanly possible to go through this report properly and yet we have reports all over the country of these councillors making recommendations for adoption. Now it does seem to me to be a farce. In any way, I think one must admit the success of Government propaganda in this respect.

'Search your hearts'

Declaring that it was "a very important decision to make," Mr Yong said that all honourable members must search their hearts deeply and say whether the people of this country realised the true implications of Malaysia.

He added: "Do they know what they are going in for?" Will the promises held to them be realised?", and added: "We may soon pass away, our children, and grandchildren would perhaps ask us to account why at that time -1963- did we make such a decision."

Continuing Mr Yong said: "I do feel that if we really want to be free, and independent, there is no reason why we must join up with another country which is already independent.

"The terms that had been made known to us, in my submission, are not conducive to true independence of Sarawak. It is nothing but an integration of the country into the Federation of Malaya.

"We have got the potentialities for us but we must remember once we go in we cannot get out." Finally, Mr Yong asked whether they had really brought to the people the pros and cons of the proposals. He said: "Now we have people saying that a lot of trouble was being caused by communists or undesirable elements. One must not put all the blame for any trouble in the country on some sections or some people whom they all think could put the blame on.

"There is no doubt that with the introduction of the proposal of Malaysia we have more tension in the country internally and externally which need not have been brought about at all if the British Government had allowed us to develop politically along natural lines which the British had pledged to do. In this case I say the British Government has let us down, and have in fact handed us over to Malaya."

'Not something new'

The Deputy Chief Minister, Mr James Wong, speaking in support of the motion, stressed that the question of Malaysia was not something new. For the last two years it had been debated and discussed in this House, in the towns, in the district councils and Divisional Advisory Councils and, in fact, in all villages as well.

He said: "The pros and cons have been weighed, the political parties have made issues of them, and no one can deny the fact that the last elections were fought on one issue alone - the issue of Malaysia.

"The last Council Negri in its discussions on the Inter-Governmental Committee Report, and previous to that, have stated their views, newspapers have carried them all and in fact the people of Sarawak are aware of them.

"Therefore, the last elections have been a referendum to assess the views of the people.

"It is unfortunate for the anti-Malaysia elements that they have been defeated. They have been defeated because the majority of the people in Sarawak after careful consideration, have been told the pros by the pro-Malaysia elements, and the cons, vociferously, by the anti-Malaysia elements - and they, the electors of this country - exercising the rights of universal franchise, and the use of the secret ballot, have cast their votes.

"And their votes have been pro-Malaysia. They supported the Alliance which is pro-Malaysia; they have supported Party Negara which is pro-Malaysia as well as the Independents, who have been accused by the anti-Malaysia elements of being people of no weight, and of no views.

"I would like to assure this House that the Independents believed that being independent they stood the best chance of being elected, and because they knew that the electorate would judge them by what they are, and by what they stand for.

The issue is quite clear. I would cite an instance - myself. I am an Independent. I have sat on the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, the Constitutional sub-committee of the Inter-Governmental Committee, in the last Council Negri, and spoke for Malaysia."

Mr Wong then admitted "that Malaysia was not a thing which I accepted initially with open arms. He said: "It was not a thing which many people accepted with open arms immediately. In fact it was on record that the chairman of Party Negara himself had been against it initially, and so was the present Chief Minister.

"But in the fact of the matter is as an Independent in the last Council Negri and in a submission of papers to Mr Narasimhan signed by four of the then Council Negri members, we submitted that the issue of the elections would be based on Malaysia.

"And we went back to the electorate: my views as an Independent in this country are known. There have been some who have been rejected. There is a case of one Member who stood in an urban area and who had been rejected by his constituency, because of his pro-Malaysia views. To come back to myself, I was elected, and so were other Independents, on our pro-Malaysia views, which are well known. We naturally sided with the pro-Malaysia party - the Alliance.

Asked Mr Wong: "Is there anything strange in this? Is there anything unprincipled in this?" and replied: "It is because we are principled men and believe what is best for Sarawak, for our children and our children's children, that we have supported Malaysia. We are prepared to stand for it with those who are prepared to support it."

Courage of Independents

Mr Wong then declared: "I say that the Independents of this country should be judged by their stands after they had been elected. If they have the courage to stand with the Alliance, then they had been elected on their pro-Malaysia views. If they have had the courage to voice anti-Malaysia sentiments, then we will say that they had been elected on that vote."

He observed: "Accusations have been made that Malaysia is a British trick, to preserve British interests in this region. This is a very unfair accusation and cast aspersions on the ability and good sense of the people of Sarawak that they are so immature and that they are not able to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, and what is right and what is wrong.

"We maintained that in Sarawak we are quite realistic people. If we had not been, then the people would have been swayed by agents provocateurs; by people who have promised all sorts of things to the electorate such as that if they had independence it would be a very good thing - they would be very strong, and they could stand by themselves."

Mr Wong then said that the people of Sarawak were realists. They had realised that as a small country they could not survive on their own. He added: "One does not have to go very far, or listen very hard, to hear the ominous rumblings - threats by our powerful neighbours that they would like to swallow us up.

"Malaysia has been accused of being that reason for it. The fact which I would like to emphasise is, that even without the issue of Malaysia, the incursions across our border, the threats against our security, against our way of life it would have been the same.

"In fact I would go further and say that without the support of the Malaysia concept, without the support of those who are prepared to support us to preserve our way of life, we would probably today be submerged."

Referring to Mr Stephen Yong's suggestion that "Britain has let us down" Mr Wong asked: "Would he then say that he would like the British to remain as the colonial power in Sarawak for the next ten or 15 years? Would that be possible?"

Here Mr Yong: "The fact of the matter is there is no question of not giving independence to us. The British have now given us independence. The people of Sarawak have chosen what sort of

independence they wished to have - independence within Malaysia."

'No illusions'

He continued: "When the people of Sarawak, and members of the councils accepted Malaysia, they did so without any illusions. Malaysia is not going to be any paradise; it does not mean that we will achieve 'Nirvana' immediately.

"There will be difficulties, there will be adjustments, there will be teething troubles, there will be misunderstandings. But we have accepted Malaysia because it is within it that we stand the best chance of preserving our way of life, our democratic traditions, and in fact even our culture, and preserving among other things a place in the sun for our children and our children's children.

"Some Chinese have been told that Malaysia means a trap and that they would be forced to wear the Malay Songkok. How false this is! It is quite easy for those who have been to Malaya to see for themselves how amicably people of all races are living together there - Chinese, Malays, Indian, in fact every race there is living and prospering together.

"They are free to worship, free to do what they like and they are free to do business. These are no Chinese business tax licences being cancelled - you find a lot of Chinese taxi drivers and Chinese businessmen. In fact, Malaysia, offer all the Chinese in Sarawak - no other place in South East Asia could offer - all as the best to preserve their right to live and to work together with other races in this country.

"They would also enjoy the privileges of citizenship which has not probably been realised by the Chinese in Malaysia they will have rights, which means a right to vote by secret ballot, and this is the greatest advantage the Chinese can have in Sarawak when they enter Malaysia."

Referring to the question raised by a previous speaker that Me Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore had made a statement to the effect any loan to Sarawak must carry with it 50 per cent of the labour force from Singapore, Mr Wong said: "I would like here and now to refute this. The fact of the matter is the Malaysia Agreement, which was signed in London between Sarawak, Sabah, Singapore, Malaya and Britain, was signed by these parties concerned, and guaranteed by the Malaysian Parliament that we shall get the money we need for development in this country, which is \$300 million for the next five years."

Mr Wong said: "This money" will come to us not from Singapore, at the discretion of the Prime Minister of Singapore. It will come to us from the Malaysia Government. As to where this money will come from is a matter for the Malaysian Government. We do not have to accept 50 per cent of our labour from Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

"We do not have to accept any loan from them. Any arrangements to be made with the Malaysian Federal Government is entirely between Singapore, the States and the Central Government of Malaysia.

"As for as we are concerned the Central Government of Malaysia is answerable to us who are keeping the pledge and the promise. Our immigration restrictions and immigration autonomy gives us complete right to prevent anybody within the Malaysian States to come in here without our permission."

Governor's stirring message

Mr Wong then referred to the "stirring message" of the Governor, and said it was "food for thought" for members in the House.

He said: 'We are living in difficult times. There are traps from without, there are traps from within. And it is, therefore, incumbent and vital for us, including the members of the Opposition, that we should work together if our love for Sarawak is to see that it remains peaceful and happy.

"This Government, would welcome any constructive criticism from any source."

Continued Mr Wong: 'We have achieved our internal self-government on August 31 which is a thing that many people have fought for. It is a matter of great pride and happiness to us that before

we achieved our internal self-government on August 31 which is a thing that many people have fought for. It is matter of great pride and happiness to us that before we achieve full independence within Malaysia we should have a test today to sit here and enjoy the priviledges of internal self-government."

On the question of the motion that Malaysia should come on September 16, Mr Wong said this was a matter for all the people of Sarawak, including those who had fought against the Malaysia concept.

He added: "They should accept with good grace their defeat in the last elections and bow to the will of the people of Sarawak that Malaysia should come about on the 16th of this month. This date has not been selected with any disrespect for the United Nations team."

Mr Wong then said that it should be placed on record that Sarawak, Sabah and the State of Singapore, including the British Government, were not apathetic to the summit and the Manila agreements, but out of respect for the Tengku, the Government concerned, even Britian, had accepted that the United Nations team should come to assess the views of the people of Sarawak.

Continuing Mr Wong said: "Frankly speaking we feel that there is no need fot this assessment. The Sabah people feel there is no need for it because the people have already decided in the last elections as to what they want.

"Already the people of this country have been disppointed that August 31 was not Malaysia Day. already there has been mounting clamour at all levels by the people as to why we should how to threats from abroad.

'Well, we have have to explain to them that we have to bow because of the Tengku's position and the Tengku's wish to maintain peace and amity with our neighbouring countries with whom we shall have to live."

Wish of the people

Finally, Mr Wong said that the date had been fixed "not of disrespect to the United Nations but because the wish of the people in the Malaysian region is that we should have Malaysia by that day.

Referring to "reports elsewhere" that there had been accusations in the last elections of intimidation and influences by military forces in this country, Mr Wong said: "I hope these accusations have not been made with any seriousness because it is quite well known why the forces are here. They are here to protect us from external threats to this country,"

Another Alliance member, Mr Sim Boon Liang spoke in support of the motion. He said that since Sarawak had already achieved self-government on August 31, the shortest way for Sarawak now to achieve full independence in peace and prosperity was through Malaysia, "for we want to gain freedom without shedding peace in this region.

"I support Malaysia, because Malaysia is the only country in South East Asia where we Chinese are living happily and are not presecuted, for being Chinese and being industrious, prosperous and successfull. You know, in some other countries, Chinese are treated so badly and Chinese shops are burnt and looted."

Mr Sim then referred to the Inter-Governmental Commiittee report and said that if they had read and studied it carefully, they could have found detailed constitutional arrangements and the form of necessary safeguards, which would be incorporated in the Sate Constitution on Sarawak's entry into the Federtion of Malaysia, "No one could say therefore that Malaysia would be established without the necessary safeguards:, he said.

Mr Sim ended by saying that when the Federation of Malaysia was established, there would be no reason why Indonesia and the territories of Malaysia should not live side by side with amity, as it would be in the interests of both if the present rulers of Indonesia would realise there was nothing in Malaysia of which they had to be afraid.

Iban support

The next supporter of the Malaysia Day motion was Temenggong Jugah andk Barieng. Pointing out that Malaysia was first discussed as far back as 1961, he said everybody knew about Malaysia before the elections.

Voters were not forced or threatened by the Sarawak Alliance, and the people themselves chose Malaysia, said the Temenggong, adding, "If anybody should have opposed Malaysia, it should have been the Ibans because they were ignorant of it. They realised the benefits of Malaysia - racial unity and prosperity - only later. When they had realised that Malaysia would be beneficial they decided to support it."

Said the Temenggong: "Only one party opposes Malaysia. Members of this party have been going to the longhouses to create agitation against Malaysia.

"But you can see for yourself that many people are now supporting Malaysia.

"People have been saying that the Ibans are aggressive. We are not. We want Malaysia to be established as soon as possible.

Support for the motion also came from the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, chairman of Party Negara Sarawak. Drawing attention to the fact that his was the first political party in Sarawak to give full support for the formation of Malaysia, the Datu Bandar said: "One may wonder as to why I and those Honourable members who are supporters of Panas are taking our seats on this side of the House. The answer is obvious and for me to elaborate this stand will not remedy the whole issue."

He added that his party would "stick and stand fast" in giving its full support for the creation of the Federation of Malaysia.

Referring to remarks by Mr James Wong, the Datu Bandar said: "The Deputy Chief Minister has stressed that my Party supports Malaysia. I accept that compliment with thanks.

"In order to refute some of the misunderstandings and misgivings of the members from my side of the House I would like to bring into the picture what has transpired on the Malaysia issue since May, 1961.

"The important question is 'Is Malaysia acceptable to the people of Sarawak?' Let the House ponder yet another question, and that is Was the proposal for the closer association of the two Borneo territories, that is Sabah and Sarawak, ever appreciated and accepted by the peoples of both territories?"

The Datu Bandar said that there were doubts and more misgivings from the latter, and asked, "Where is the proposal today? He said it had died a natural death when the Malaysia issue became the topic in all the territories concerned.

Those who opposed as well as those who supported the Plan worked hard, the latter to achieve its establishment, and the former to defeat the proposal. When the majority succeeded, then that was the time for the opposition to ponder and make a new move.

'The common cause'

The Datu Bandar emphasised that although he preferred to accommodate himself and his colleagues on the opposite side of the House he did not intend to depart from his Party's firm stand on Malaysia.

Said Datu Bandar: "I have to stand up to defend the common cause. If there is an alternative to Malaysia then let us debate it, with the approval of this House of course.

"The Malaysia issue, was not mooted this morning, or yesterday, or last month or last year, but since May, 1961.

"I repeat once again that Malaysia is almost a household word in this region. Even in the opposition homes, in the padi fields, in pepper gardens, by day and by night, over the radio, this issue of Malaysia has been communicated to the people and talked about by the people.

"The last general elections in Sarawak were decided on the issue of Malaysia. Members of my

party stood on the platform of the Malaysia issue. I and several of my members were returned to the District and Divisional Councils and Council Negri.

"Our desire is to achieve the independence of Sarawak by the quickest means and that it through the merger of Sarawak with the Federation of Malaysia.

"One cannot guarantee that any well prepared food is good to eat, unless and until one eats some or the whole of it."

Urging that this should be applied to the national issue at stake, the Datu Bandar said: "The independence already agreed for Sarawak on August 31, 1963 was stolen away and in its stead we were given self-government. This is in accord with the wish of the last Rajah."

Touching on the legality of the London Agreement on Malaysia signed in London on July 9, 1963, the Datu Bandar said that at that time Sarawak had not achieved its self-government and last Government was then the governing power.

He added: "I and several of my colleagues who signed the Agreement brought with us the mandate of the people of Sarawak. Any signatory to that Agreement at that time, was genuine and valid, legally and constitutionally.

"It was an Agreement to establish Malaysia on August 31, 1963. Very unfortunately and owing to circumstances its implementation had to be altered.

"The main issue now brought before this House by the Chief Minister is to confirm the date, September 16, 1963, as Malaysia Day and the date for Sarawak to achieve its full Independence and sovereignty.

"We have here in this House 36 full elected representatives and the mandate from the electorate demands that we agree to a resolution for the establishment of Malaysia. If the motion is defeated then we have to accept and face the consequence."

Colonial constitution

Next to speak was Kapitan Chong Kiun Kong, a Kuching Rural District Council Supp member. He said that the present constitution of Sarawak, was colonial in nature, although there were some amendments.

Kapitan Chong said that this constitution would remain when Malaysia came into being, since this was a colonial type of constitution, could they say that Sarawak had independence through Malaysia? he asked.

Describing it as "a form of transfer of power from the colonial office to the Malayan Government at Kuala Lumpur", Kapitan Chong said: "The morning the Deputy Chief Minister said that it was only through Malaysia that the Chinese could have the right and privilege to work and to do business and have citizenship rights."

He added: "This feeling is not shared by us, because it pre-supposes that if Sarawak is on its own, the Chinese in Sarawak will have no right, or privilege to work or to do business or will lose their citizenship rights. That is nonsense.

"The Chinese have made Sarawak their home and are part of Sarawak. They are Sarawakians. As citizens they will have the right and privilege to work and to do business with others whether there is Malaysia or not."

Views of Independents

Six more members then spoke in support of the motion. They were: Mr Mak Yau Lim and Mr Racha Umong (both Lawas D.C., Fifth Division); Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (Lubok Antu, Second Division); Inche Abdul Taib bin Mahmud (Minister for Communications and Works); Mr Teo Kui Seng (Minister Designate for Natural Resources); and Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau (Baram D.C., Fourth Division).

Mr Mak Yau Lin reiterated his views and those of his councillors saying that when the Malaysia question was brought up for debate in the last Council Negri, he was asked by the District and

Divisional Councils in the Fifth Division to convey their unanimous pro-Malaysia views to the House.

He did so when the Cobbold Commission visited Sarawak and again a few days ago, when the United Nations fact-finding team arrived in Limbang.

Both the Lawas and Limbang District Councils in the Fifth Division had informed the UN team that they were in favour of Malaysia. They also submitted memoranda to the team, stating their pro Malaysia stand.

'Be united'

Mr Racha Umong said that his constituents had discussed and agreed with the Malaysia proposal since 1961.

Now that the majority of the people in Sarawak and Sabah supported Malaysia, "we should all be united so that our country can have a strong central Government in Malaysia," said Mr Racha Umong.

Riots deplored

Mr Tutong anak Ningkan (Lubok Antu, Second Division) told the House that though he lived far away from Kuching, "hundreds of miles away, very near the border of Indonesia", his elders had given their full support for Malaysia to be established on September 16.

He added that his people strongly deplored the recent anti-Malaysia incidents that took place in Sibuan and Miri.

Take your own State of Sarawak, for example. Many of the services you need are already run by the State - through your municipal councils, your local district councils, or semi-government corporations or boards for your benefit - to give your roads, water, postal services, rural services, police services, and many others.

Now that you understand what the State is, what its objects, you will understand how necessary the State is to human life, security and progress.

You will also understand how childish and stupid the Communists are when they say that with the victory of Communism the State will disappear. One of the great authorities of Communism, Marx, says this, and his partner, Engels, said, that under Communism, the State will not only disappear but will be placed in a museum.

But as I have shown you - if the State disappears, health, transport, education and economic action on a countryside scale, they too will all disappear. It is not the State which belongs in a museum, it is the theory of communism.

PRO-MALAYSIA PARTIES TO CONFER

A conference of pro-Malaysia parties will be held in Jesselton over the week-end (February 16 and 17).

This was at the instigation of the Sabah Alliance Party which felt that the time was auspicious for a meeting of all political parties which supported the formation of Malaysia, alliance leader Mr D. Stephens said on Thursday.

Pro-Malaysia parties from Brunei, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya have sent representatives to the conference.

The Sarawak Alliance has sent a four-man delegation consisting of Temenggong Jugah and Barieng, Mr Ling Beng Siew, Mr Chia Chin Shin and Haji Su'ut Tahir.

Malaya's delegation is being headed by Dr Lim Swee Aun, Minister of Commerce and Industry. Other members of delegation will be Inche Ismail Yusof, Assistant Minister of Labour, Senator T.H. Tan, Secretary-General of the Alliance Party of Malaya, and Tuan Haji Khalid bin Awang Osman, the Assistant Minister of Rural Development.

Brunei's delegation comprises representatives of the Brunei National Party, Yang Mulia Haji Abu Bakai (leader), Inche Ahmad Latif bin Buyong (secretary), Inche Morsilin bin Baik, Inche Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Rahman and Inche Mohammed bin Perit.

The Singapore People's Action Party's delegation of five is being led by Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Toh Chin Chye and includes Mr Rajaratnam, Minister of Culture, and Inche Buang bin Osman Junid, a member of Singapore's Legislative Assembly.

The Sabah Alliance Party is being represented by leaders of component parties.

The conference had been called in order to proclaim to the world that peoples of the states which would comprise Malaysia were overwhelmingly in favour of the formation of Malaysia, said Mr Stephens.

"It will reiterate in no uncertain manner that Malaysia is not neo-colonialism but that Malaysia is something which the peoples' representatives in the five countries which are to form Malaysia, have decided for themselves as the best guarantee they can have for a secure, happy and prosperous future as a nation in South East Asia and to tell the world that they will do everything within their means to see that Malaysia will come about as planned," Mr Stephen added.

'Borneo States Favour Malaysia' - U Thant

The United Nations Secretary-General, UThant on Saturday, September 14, 1963, released the report of the UN Malaysia Assessment Mission which found that the great majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak "strongly supported" Malaysia.

The nine-man Mission was sent by U Thant, with the agreement of Britain, to satisfy Indonesia and the Philippines as to the wishes of the people.

Reporting on what is called a "grass roots" survey, the Mission said it had found "a high degree of unity" among political leaders and trade groups that the territories should link up with Malaya and Singapore in the larger South East Asian grouping.

It had found "little evidence of articulate and organised opposition to the Federation."

The Mission, headed by Mr Laurence Michemore, a US national, and composed entirely of UN Secretariat members, said it was "satisfied that through its hearings it was able to reach a cross-section of the population in all walks of life, and that the expressions of opinion that it heard represent the view of a sizeable majority of the population.

Principal findings

The principal findings of the Malaysia Mission are that:

- * The Sarawak and North Borneo have reached a stage of self-government that would enable their people to make a responsible choice of their future.
- * Their decision to join Malaysia was the result of the freely expressed wishes of their peoples.
- * The "great majority" of the people of North Borneo have strongly supported the Malaysia proposals from the time of the elections to the present.
- * An analysis of Sarawak election returns showed 634,208, or 61 per cent, in favour of Malaysia; 48,983 or 22.2 per cent, opposed, and 37,136, Or 16.8 per cent., neutral
- * Of the 183,191 Sarawak citizens who took a definite stand on Malaysia, 73.3 per cent, were in favour and 26.7 per cent, opposed.
- * Sarawak's elected representatives stood in favour of Malaysia, 284 to 123, or 66.2 per cent, to 28.7 per cent. The other 22, or 5.1 per cent., could not be classified in either group.
- * In North Borneo, doubts and reservations appeared to be limited to groups, largely in the Interior and may be attributed to "satisfaction with the status quo, lack of information or lack of clear understanding of the proposal or suspicion of unfamiliar ideas."
- * Popular support for Malaysia in North Borneo has increased since the elections.
- * Questioning of Sarawak's non-political groups, including commercial, trade union, ethnic, religious and social organisations, showed that the Malaysia question was widely discussed among the people and that the majority favoured the merger.
- * Malaysia was a major issue in recent elections in both territories and the "vast majority" of

the electorate understood the proposal to join Malaysia.

- * Electoral registers were in good order "even by standard of countries with larger experience with the procedures and technical problems of voter' registration."
- * The elections were freely and impartially conducted with active and vigorous campaigning by groups advocating divergent course of action.
- * In North Borneo, almost no complaints of election irregularities were heard.
- * In Sarawak, there were complaints of coercion and unfair election practices, but the Mission was satisfied that nothing occurred that could have reversed the election result.
- * Voters were properly polled and counted.
- * An estimated 800 persons in Sarawak fled to Indonesia but this number was insufficient to affect the election outcome.
- * The number of persons detained in Sarawak under the Security Regulations was 62 at the end of May and 103 at the end of June. Of these, 75 to 80 per cent, were voting age (21) and all opposed the Malaysia Plan, but the number involved was not sufficient to have affected the total result.
- * The actions of Sarawak's Council Negri, or legislative body, in welcoming the establishment of Malaysia "May be regarded as the expression of the wish of the people through the established legislative institutions."

Having considered the constitutional, electoral and legislative arrangement in Sarawak and Sabah, the Mission said it believed the territories had "attained and advance stage of self-government with free political institutions," so that its peoples had possessed the capacity to make "a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes."

U Thant said he had concluded that the majority of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak wanted to join Malaysia.

In a separate statement he said: "I have come to the conclusion that the majority of the peoples of Sabah and of Sarawak have given serious and thoughtful consideration to their future and to the implications for them of participation in a Federation of Malaysia."

While regretting that the work of the UN Missions had to "be accomplished within certain deadlines" U Thant said that "while more time might have enabled the Mission to obtain more copious documentation and other evidence, it would not have affected the conclusions to any significant extent."

U Thant said he had been observing "the rising tension in South East Asia on account of the difference of opinion among the countries most directly interested in the Malaysia issue since the beginning of the year.

He added: "It was in the hope that some form of United Nations involvement might help to reduce tension that I agreed to respond positively to the request made by three Manila powers. I would hope that the exercise in which my colleagues and I have been involved in this regard will have this effect and that the coming into being of Malaysia will not prove to be a continuing source of friction and

tension in the area."

Final conclusions

The Secretary-General's "final conclusions" on the survey mission said he believed that the majority of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak "have concluded that they wish to bring dependent status to amend and to realise their independence through freely chosen association with other peoples in their region with whom they feel ties of ethnic association, heritage, language, religion, culture, economic relationship and ideals and objectives.

"Not all of these considerations are present in equal weight in all minds but it is my conclusion that the majority of the peoples of the two territories have taken them into account and wish to engage with the peoples of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore in an enlarged Federation of Malaysia through which they can strive together to realise the fulfilment of their destiny," he declared.

In making his conclusions U Thant said he had given consideration to the circumstances in which the proposals for the Federation of Malaysia had been disclosed and he had also been aware that the people of the territories "are still survive for a more adequate level of educational development."

"If Malaysia should be threatened by outside interference, and her Government should feel it necessary to call on Britain for support, the British Government will, of course, honour their treaty obligations and give Malaysia all the help they can to maintain her independence and integrity."

Mr Sandys ended by saying he was confident that Malaysia would offer her inhabitants widening opportunities for economic and political advancement and would make a positive contribution to stability and progress in South East Asia. Her leaders had made it clear that it would be Malaysia's foremost desire to live in peace and friendship with all her neighbours. It was to be hoped that they would welcome her in this same friendly spirit.

SANDY VISITS SECURITY FORCES

Mr Duncan Sandys, the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, on Sunday made a strenuous tour visiting British troops in the First, Second and Third Divisions.

Starting at Semengok Camp, near Kuching Airport, Mr Sandys, accompanied by Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, Commander-in-Chief, Far East Command and Major General W.C. Walker, Director of Operations for the Borneo Territories, met Officers and men of 846 Royal Naval Air Squadron, 42 Royal Marine Commando and the Queen's Royal Irish Hussars.

The party then flew by RAF helicopter from Kuching to visit a unit of 42 Commando at Pangkalan Tebang, in the First Divisions, about three miles from the Indonesia border.

The party then return to Kuching, where they transferred to a RAF Twin Pioneer for Sibu, where Mr Sandys visited the 1/2 Gurkha Rifles.

After lunch the party flew to Simanggang to see officers and men of the 1 / 10 Gurkha Rifles after which it returned to Kuching.



Picture shows Mr Sandys speaking to a member of the Field Force at Pangkalan Tebang.

The Mission devoted a large section of its report to complaints received from groups in Sarawak, particularly the anti-Malaysia, Sarawak United Peoples' Party. The report said:

"The Mission expressed its considered opinion that though it is satisfied that there have been several instances of unwarranted (and in some cases illegal) manifestations of over-enthusiasm by local government officials to further the interests of the political party supporting the Malaysia Plan, such instances cannot be regarded as indicative of any calculated or sustained plan on the part as indicative of the Central Government.

"These instances are regrettable and can only be explained as being inevitable in the working of all human institutions, being due no doubt to the personal factor.

"The Mission is further of the opinion that the overall picture it has gained throughout its travels in the territories in such as to justify its conclusion that the election was conducted as fairly and as freely as is reasonably possible in human affairs.

"The Mission, therefore sees no reason to find that the wishes of the people were not properly ascertained through normal democratic processes at the elections held in June in Sarawak."

Non-political reactions

The report went on: "In addition to hearing the views of political parties, the mission made use of every opportunity to find out the opinions and reactions of non-political groups and organisations on the proposed Malaysia Federation.

"By questioning the representatives of the several commercial, trade union, ethnic, religious and social organisations which submitted written memoranda and also appeared before the Mission at its hearings, the Mission concluded that the question of Malaysia was widely discussed among the people and that the majority of the population understood and were in favour of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

"The Mission found that the great majority of the people of North Borneo have strongly supported the proposed Federation of Malaysia from the time of the elections down to the present.

"The Mission noted that high degree of unity reflected by national leaders of political parties, members of political parties, chiefs and headmen, representatives of civic, religious, commercial, labour and ethnic groups and other persons who appeared before it ...

"There exists an expectation that federation will be conducive to harmony among ethnic groups, and that it will offer better opportunities for educational, social and economic advancement in rural areas."

He Said: "Whatever the origins of the proposals of Malaysia may have been it seems to me in the light of actual events including the present exercise that we have witnessed in Sarawak and North Borneo the same leading to self-government.

"I fervently hope that the people of these territories will achieve progress and prosperity and find their fulfilment as component states of Malaysia."

The announcement during the inquiry of the September 16 date for the formation of the federation had led "to misunderstanding and confusion and even resentment among other parties to the Manila agreement which could have been avoided if the date could have been fixed after my conclusions had been reached and made known."

U Thant expressed his gratitude to the Governments of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia for the confidence they had placed in him and to the British Government for the full co-operation they had given to the UN Mission as well as to the authorities of the two territories.

He also paid tribute to Mr Michelmores and his staff who, he said, "accomplished a sensitive and difficult task in a relatively short period but at the same time in a thorough and wholly adequate manner."

'BRITAIN IS PLEASED' - SANDYS

Mr Duncan Sandys, the British Commonwealth Secretary, commenting on the Secretary-General's report said this week in Kuching that the British Government had noted with satisfaction the result of the independent enquiry by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

He added: 'We are glad to see that this provides final confirmation that the majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak desire to join Malaysia. Before this enquiry, the wishes of the inhabitants had already been conclusively established by various democratic processes extending over a period of two years.

"The investigation of the Cobbold Commission, the studies and negotiations of the Inter-Government Committee, on which the peoples of both territories were represented, and finally free election held on the basis of adult suffrage all produced the same answer, namely, a clear majority in favour of Malaysia."

Mr Sandys said that the British government hoped that the Secretary-General's finding would put an end to the doubts that had been expressed in neighbouring countries about the true wishes of Sabah and Sarawak and that the peoples of those territories would be left in peace to follow the path they had freely chosen for themselves.

Continued Mr Sandys: "On September 16, Malaysia Day, British rule in Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore will come to an end and their peoples will achieve independence within the wider ambit of Malaysia.

Last Minute Dispute Solved And Now

On to Malaysia!



Dato Abang Haji Openg

HEAD OF STATE APPOINTED: FEDERAL MINISTERSHIP FOR TEMENGGONG JUGAH

The first Governor of the State of Sarawak was named on Friday - 61-year-old Datu Abang Haji Openg bin Abang Sapi'ee, a well-known and widely respected figure and a Standing Member of Council Negri.

At the same time it was announced that Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, chairman of the Sarawak Alliance and an elected member of the legislature, is to become Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs, resident in Sarawak.

The appointments, described as satisfactory by the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, were made as a compromise solution to the delicate problem of choosing Sarawak's Head of State.

The Sarawak Alliance Government had, ever since it assumed power, strongly favoured Temenggong Jugah. But the Malayan Government insisted that since the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, was an Iban, then the Governor should be a Malay.

The situation remained deadlocked until the British Government acting as mediator, took steps to bring about a meeting in Kuala Lumpur.

A special mission of Sarawak Alliance ministers and party leaders, headed by Mr Ningkan, flew to the Federal Capital on Wednesday accompanied by the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell and Temenggong Jugah. A three-man delegation from Party Negara Sarawak, led by the chairman, Abang Haji Mustapha, the Datu Bandar, also visited Kuala Lumpur at the same time.

There after intensive discussions with the Malayan Government leaders and the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys, the compromise agreement was reached.

It broke the last major internal dispute and now paves the way for Malaysia to be established and to be celebrated joyously on Monday, September 16.

On returning to Kuching on Friday in a Royal Air Force Hastings aircraft, the Chief Minister, Mr Ningkan, held a press conference at which he read out a joint statement signed by the Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman ; Mr Duncan Sandys and Temenggong Jugah and himself.

The statement read:

"The London Agreement on Malaysia provides that the first Governor of Sarawak shall be appointed on the nomination of the Queen and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

"The Malayan Government had maintained that since the Chief Minister in Sarawak is an Iban, the first Governor should be a Malay.

"For the sake of unity and goodwill on the eve of the formation of Malaysia, Temenggong Jugah has generously asked that his name should not be considered for the first Governorship.

"This has enabled general consent to be given to the appointment of a Malay, it being understood that, when the term of office of the first Governor expires, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong will be graciously pleased to give favourable consideration to the appointment as Governor of the person whom the Chief Minister may recommend.

"Meanwhile, recognising the outstanding position which he holds in the life of Sarawak, the Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra, has offered Temenggong Jugah a post in the Federal Malaysian Cabinet as Minister for Sarawak Affairs resident in Sarawak, which he has been pleased to accept.

'Happy and fully satisfied'

Following this, Mr Ningkan then read out a prepared statement made by him.

He said: "My delegation and I are very happy and fully satisfied with the outcome of our visits to Kuala Lumpur. The appointment of a Malay Governor for the first two years and the creation of a special post of Federal Cabinet Minister for Sarawak Affairs resident in Sarawak for Temenggong Jugah will now satisfy everybody in Sarawak.

"We are grateful to the Tengku and his Cabinet for their understanding, sympathy and accommodation. We are also grateful to Mr Duncan Sandys, Sir Alexander Waddell, our outgoing Governor, and Sir Geofroy Tory for their good offices for they have contributed immensely to our successful talks.

'Temenggong Jugah, a highly respected leader, will play an active part and a very important role in Sarawak Affairs. He will be our direct line to the Federal Cabinet and the Tengku on all important Federal matters.

"We feel it is more helpful to the people of Sarawak to have Temenggong Jugah as Federal Cabinet Minister for Sarawak affairs during the transitional period.

"He still can be the chairman of the Sarawak Alliance and also can be very active politically."

Soon after the press conference the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, issued the following statement from the Istana:

"It is announced that in accordance with Article 49 of the Constitution of the State of Sarawak, having been nominated jointly by Her Majesty the Queen and His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Datu Abang Haji Openg, O.B.E. has been appointed by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to be Governor of Sarawak for a term of two years beginning with Malaysia Day."

Crisis recalled

The crisis over the new Governor's appointment came to a head on Saturday, September 7, when the Malayan Prime Minister publicly declared that Temenggong Jugah was unacceptable to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

A special meeting of the leaders of the alliance was held in the Chief Minister's residence in Kuching to discuss the problem. Present were also the Ministers and Temenggong Jugah.

The deadlock, coupled with Malay's dissatisfaction over the Singapore Government's declaration of "de facto" independence on August 31, and other problems, necessitated the return to Kuala Lumpur of the British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys. Mr Sandys was at the time on a visit to Ceylon and the Maldives Islands.

Mission to Kuala Lumpur

In Kuching it was decided to send a mission to Kuala Lumpur to meet Mr Sandys and Malayan Government leaders.

On Wednesday, the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, accompanied the Chief Minister, Mr

Stephen Kalong Ningkam, and 12 other Sarawak Alliance leaders, including Temenggong Jugah, left by air.

The other alliance members in the party were: Inche Abdul Taib Mahmud; Mr Dunstan Endawi, Mr T.Y. Tan; Mr Chia Chin Shin; Mr Ting Tung Ming; Mr Dennis Luat; Mr Alfred Mason; Haji Su'ut bin Haji Tahir; Inche Mohamed Haji Bakri; Mr Jonathan Banggau and Inche Mohamed Mortadza bin Haji Daud.

Also in the same plane, RAF. Hastings were three members of Party Negara Sarawak - the Datu Bandar, Abang Haji Mustapha, the chairman; Mr Leong Ho Yeun, vice-chairman; Mr Andrew Jika. Before leaving Kuching, the Datu Bandar spoke in support of a Malay being appointed Governor.

The Sarawak United People's Party through its chairman, said that while it had no objections to the appointment of Temenggong Jugah, preferred a Head of State with no previous political affiliations.



Sir Alexander Waddell the last British Governor, saying farewell to his successor Data Abang Haji Openg, on 15th September, 1963.

SARAWAK witnessed the departure from its shores, the last of the British Governors in the territory.

It was indeed a heartbreaking scene at the Pangkalan Batu to see both Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, bidding farewell to their friends and their land they have grown to admire and love.

A seventeen-gun salute marked the last gesture of respect for Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell as the Loch Killisport cruised down the river followed by a flotilla of sampans and local crafts.

On the hillock at Fort Margherita facing Kuching Town, the Band of the Sarawak Constabulary in their resplendent black and white uniform play the Auld Lang Syne as Loch Killisport cruised by.

It was indeed a very touching and unforgettable scene to see Lady Waddell standing on the brige of the British frigate, waving goodbye with a white handkerchief to crowds lining both banks of the river.

Sarawak on the eve of its independence within the Federation of Malaysia, gave Sir Alexander and his wife a terrific farewell ceremony which will long remain in the minds of all people.

Sir Alexander, who has for the last past three and a half years been Governor of this territory, will on his return to England retire and settle down to quite and peaceful life.

The Head of State-designate, Datu Abang Haji Openg and the Chief Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, accompanied by Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng saw the Governor off at the steps of the Pangkalan Batu before he stepped into his sampan to board Loch Killisport, anchored at the Steamship Wharf.

Three cheers of "Hip Hip Hurray" rang through the throats of the crowd as Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell proceeded to the frigate in the Astana sampan manned by six paddlers.

As they approached Loch Killisport, another 17-gun salute was fired from the frigate itself, welcoming Sir Alexander and wife on board the ship.

Sir Alexander inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by the Mariner and later proceeded to the bridge to wave goodbye to the crowd and the many friends who had come to see them off.

Pangkalan Batu was a hive of activity before the Governor arrived in his sampan from the Astana.

At 12.30 sharp, Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell, accompanied by the Private Secretary, Mr. M.J.



Christie and the A.D.C., Assist. Superintendent Ali Kawi left the official Governor's residence and were rowed across by six paddlers dressed in white.

Sir Alexander dressed in his ceremonial uniform was greeted by Police Commissioner, Mr. P.E. Turnbull and Brigadier F.C. Barton on the steps of Pangkalan Batu, as he stepped out of the sampan.

Simultaneously, Lady Waddell was presented with a bouquet of orchids by 10-years-old Threasa Chang of the 4th Pack St Teresa School Padungan.

He then inspected a Guard of Honour in front of the Supreme Court, mounted by units of the Royal Marine Commandos, Sarawak Constabulary and Field Forces.

The Constabulary Band was in attendance and played the "Flowers of the Forest" as Sir Alexander inspected the Guard of Honour.

Sir Alexander also inspected the Constabulary Band and the whole ceremony lasted about ten minutes.

He later met and had some parting words of advice with Heads of Departments, Cabinet Ministers, including the Chief Minister, Temenggong Jugah and the Governor designate, Datu Abang haji Openg.

Sir Alexander also bid farewell to the Kuching press and said to Tribune reporter: "Very nice co-operative press"

He was then accompanied by Datu Abang Haji Openg, the Chief Minister to the steps of Pangkalan batu, where he took leave and said goodbye to them.

Before Sir Alexander boarded the Astana sampan, he said to Datu Openg:- The Astana is all yours now" with open arms.

As Loch Killisport cruised down the river, carrying Sir Alexander and his wife home, a flotilla of sampans, speed boats and local craft drifted along to wave farewell to them.

Meanwhile, Sir Alexander Waddell in a farewell message to the peoples of Sarawak broadcast over the air at 1.00 p.m. said:

"To say goodbye is never easy but it is particularly difficult to say goodbye to Sarawak - the more so at a time of historic change and of great events".

"Of these I will not dwell but you can be sure that tomorrow Malaysia Day and in the future our thoughts, our hearts and our prayers will be with you as you step out on the great high road of



independence with the star of hope and promise before you."

Sir Alexander recalled the many visits he had into the ulus and of the wonderful time he had experienced in the longhouses with the various chieftains either in the Rejang, Baram or the ulu Paku in the Second Division.

Sir Alexander added: "Those are but a few of the memories that come crowding in - there are millions more and of gay and tragic events none more than in the last crucial year of endeavour.

"But the sum is of a wonderful country with a charm and vigour and tradition that is unequalled in the world, with its peoples of dignity rugged individuality and warmth at heart.

"These things you must not lose for they are Sarawak and you will add immeasurably to the strength of the new nation upon which you enter tomorrow.

"We will withstand and repel any threats from within and from without for our cause is right, based on decent principles and dedicated to the happiness and welfare of all".

The Governor went to say: "It has been my privilege to induct a new Government; it is their lot to shoulder the responsibility I now put down.

"The measure of their statemanship has been shown in the last weeks, a statemanship derived from the qualities I have described, a statemanship which, in the tradition of Sarawak, aims at a happy outcome.

"You will all I know support the new Government to the full in the days that lie ahead when the State flag, of revered origin, is unfurled tomorrow.

"To your new Governor, Datu Openg," Sir Alexander said, "I offer a heartfelt welcome.

On getting aboard the Governor took another salute from a Royal Navy Guard of Honour. The

Band of the Royal Marines played as Sir Alexander inspected the Guard.

Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell were next seen high above the bridge waving as the frigate slowly moved off. A 17-gun salute boomed from Fort Margherita. The Governor returned the salute. It was a touching moment, made sadder as the frigate sailed past Fort Margherita where the Constabulary Band played "Auld Land Syne."

As H.M.S. Loch Killisport gathered speed downriver, the crowd lining the river bank seemed conscious, that as the last of the British governors of Sarawak had departed, one chapter of the country's history - 17 years of benevolent British rule - had closed and a new chapter - independence with its great challenges and promises - had opened.

Governor come and go, and in taking pleasure in the appointment of the first of our own today. We also have to say farewell to one who has for the past five years served Sarawak and her people devotedly and unstintingly.

Sir Alexander and Lady Waddell leave the shores of Sarawak for home. Country wide tributes have already been paid to the Governor and his lady, but it would be appropriate here to add that in their departure, it will also mark the end of a chapter to Sarawak's history which began seventeen years ago when the Act of Cession brought the territory under the direct rule of Her Majesty's Government. These had been much controversy and apprehension at that, but development since have proved that in spite of colonial rule in Sarawak has not fared at all badly.



Inche Khir Johari read the Malaysia proclamation

6,00 Witness Proclamation Ceremony

KUCHING. TUESDAY:- More than 6,000 people of all races yesterday watched the Malaysia proclamation ceremony at the gaily decorated Central Padang.

Strictly security precautions were taken to thwart possible disturbances by subversive elements, but all was quite.

Among those present were Inche Mohamed Khir Johari representing the Central Government, Mr. Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, and official representatives of New Zealand, Australia, Canada, India, Pakistan, Sabah, Brunei and Singapore.

A 21-gun salute from Fort Margherita preceded the arrival of the Head of State on the Padang.

Platoons of the Royal Marine Commandos, the 5th Bn. Royal Malay Regiment, the Sarawak Constabulary and Field Forces with boy scouts, girl guides, ex-servicemen. Red Cross and Boys Brigade contingents were on parade.

Inche Khir Johari read the Malaysia proclamation by the first Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Rahman. The Federation flag was raised and the national anthem 'Negara Ku' was played.

The declaration of Sarawak's independence as a State within Malaysia was read by the Chief



The new Governor of the State of Sarawak, Datu Abang Haji Openg is seen here being sworn in by the Chief Justice, Sir Campbell Wylie.

Minister, Mr Stephen Kalong Ningkan, after which the new state flag was hoisted and the state anthem played.

Then followed the wearing in of the Head of State by the Chief Justice, Sir Cambell Wylie.

The Head of State, Datu Abang Haji Openg accompanied by the Commissioner of Sarawak Constabulary, Mr P.E. Tumbull and the Commander of British Forces in West Sarawak, Brigadier F.C. Barton, then inspected the parade.

As the parade marched past the dais where the Head of State the Chief Minister and Inche Khir Johari were standing, Dato Abang Haji Openg was taken ill and had to sit down towards the end of the march past.

Dr. Daniel Kok was summoned from the guests gallery to the dais with Dr. Chong Chung Hian and both gave assistance. The Governor was then helped to his car by the bodyguards and taken immediately to the General Hospital.

Meanwhile the parade went on uninterrupted and at the end of the March Past th state anthem was played.

In the Hospital the Governor was examined by a medical specialist who found that his condition did not give rise for concern. He was then allowed to return to the Astana to rest.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, later called on the Governor at the hospital before flying off to Singapore.

In the evening about six hundred guests attended a Malaysia Day reception at the Astana given by the Governor and Datin Masniah.

As the Governor was still weak the Speaker of Council Negri, Dr. M. Sockalingam deputised for him, and with Mrs. Sockalingam received the guests.

The Governor and his lady were seated and greeted the guests as they filed past them.

Roads along Malay kampongs and in and around Kuching, including many houses, were

illuminated last night and many kampong roads were also gaily decorated with both state and federal flags. A number of colourful arches also decorate the town.

In the town centre no business was done yesterday. Along the waterfront many vessels, including sampans, were lighted up.

The headquarters of Party Negara Sarawak at Khoo Hun Yeang Street; the Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak at Rock Road and the Sarawak Chinese Association at Abell road were also illuminated.

The headquarters of the Sarawak United Peoples Party at Central Road was quiet but huge anti-Malaysia banners made of cloth, were prominently displayed around the building.

The state and federal flags were seen flying from the windows of the Sarawak Indonesian association along Gambier Road to mark Sarawak's entry into Malaysia.

In the night a fireworks display by the Royal Malayan Navy ship, K.D. Seri Selangor, lying at anchor off Pangkalan Batu took place.

Throughout other parts of Sarawak, ceremonies were also held to mark Malaysia Day and the state and federal flags were flown side by side in government and public buildings.

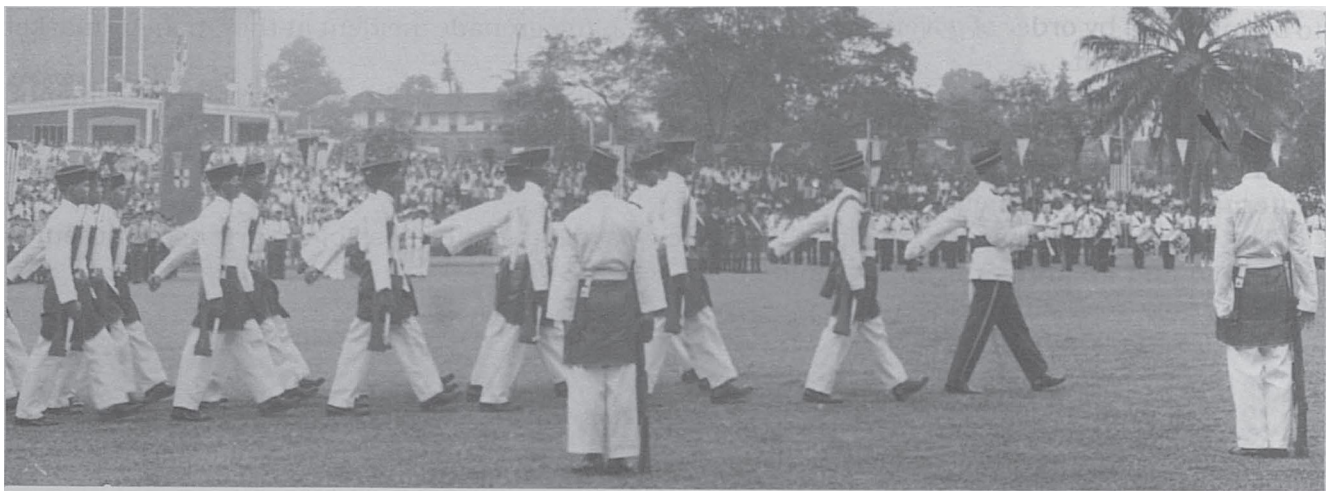
The evening was to have also seen the lantern and float procession organised by the Celebrations Committee and at which schools and associations were to have taken part. This programme had to be cancelled by order of government following the hand grenade incident at the Open Air market on Saturday night.

The measure was taken in order to safeguard the public and to facilitate security arrangements. Although there was disappointment because so much time and money had been put into it by some associations who were to have participated in this processions, have been asked not to destroy their lanterns or dismantle their floats.

The Committee hopes that during the next few days it might be possible to arrange for them to be judged and an announcement would be made.



The parade marched past of the Red Cross Society



The Malaysia regiment



The Scouts





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