

emergency and confrontation triumphantly, and that Malaysia will emerge as a happy and prosperous country in which its citizens of all races will have a just and proud place.

HOW TO BUILD A UNITED NATION

"OUR GREATEST ASSET IS RACIAL HARMONY"

Tun Razak. when addressing the 'TV Men Club of Singapore in the island city on 23rd June. 1965. contended that Malaysia was determined to uphold and protect its national security and sovereignty and to forge ahead with progressive development towards prosperity.

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

Our immediate task is to build and consolidate this new nation of ours to face the challenges of the present. It is important that all of us should do everything possible to consolidate our country and not allow any section of our community, much less any person to say or do anything that would disrupt our country and the unity of our people.

I am glad that the spirit, solidarity and determination of even-one in all parts of Malaysia is extremely high. Malaysia is determined to uphold and protect its national security and sovereignty and to forge ahead with the progressive and dynamic development towards greater prosperity and a happier life for all Malaysians—inrespective of their racial origin and creed.

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

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

It is of the utmost importance that the various races in Malaysia should remain united. Our greatest asset is racial harmony; our salvation is national unity. In a multi-racial society where racial differences coincide with economic differences, where each community has been nurtured to live in their own separate cultural and traditional compartments, and in a society like this, it is highly dangerous to experiment with any frivolous theories or pet dogmas of a minority group of people. While we continue to build Malaysia, our urgent job is to sustain national solidarity and the maintenance of law and order in this country.

What is imperative is the imbibing of a sense of belonging to one nation and a common identity and loyalty. Ironically, confrontation has provided an impetus to this process of nation-building of our various communities. But recent utterances and doings of some people have seriously undermined our national unity and our progress towards nationhood. "It would take time for the people particularly the people of Sarawak and Sabah who are separated from us by many hundreds of miles to realise and appreciate that they belong to one nation with us and to regard us as one people with them.

Malaya became independent in 1957. Malaya consists of different States. In 1948 before we had the Federation of Malaya some of these States were independent sovereign States and it took some time for the people from Kedah to accept the Government in Kuala Lumpur as their national Government. It took some time for people in Kelantan and Terengganu to regard the people of Johore as their own brothers and sisters, members of one nation. It took some years for the administrative set up to be adjusted, for the machinery of Government to be put into a proper working order. But with patience, tolerance and the spirit of compromise and goodwill we succeeded in establishing a ~~Malay~~ Central Government and we succeeded to some extent in moulding the various communities together.

We succeeded in taking away State loyalties and sub-ordinate them to the loyalties to the Central Government. We must not be impatient and force the pace because if we do we shall disrupt the very thing we intend to establish. Constitutionally and administratively we are a federation of States. We must therefore give time for the various State governmental machinery to adjust themselves and for the Central Government and the various State governments to work together in harmony and in cooperation.

In order that our people of various races who under the British were allowed and encouraged to live as separate and different communities, to adjust themselves and to make them feel that they are members of one nation. In a multi-racial society like ours we must continue to make adjustments as we move along the road to one nationhood. We must do everything possible to encourage our people through our education policy, through the use of our national language and towards one culture to feel that they are one.

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

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

The western concepts of equality, liberty and democracy must necessarily be viewed in the context of our social organization. Man is born free; yet is not free. He is born equal to others and yet not equal to others. But society changes and with it man comes nearer to the fulfilment of his ideals. Change implies understanding just as man must evolve a reasonable and workable scheme to make life tolerable; so must Malaysians evolve a workable and tolerable way of life. No form of society is eternally changeless; it changes with experience and time. Accepted political concepts change; even the most rigid- Stalinism is an example where the rigidity of Stalinism perceptibly changes with increase of material wealth of the people.

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

society; otherwise anarchic production; hence planning and organisation to ensure the most efficient utilisation of wealth of society for the benefit of the greatest number of its members. Thus we find capitalism incorporating the best that could be found in socialist planning, in organization and production.

That is the way even in capitalist countries of the West—England, France and closer to us. New Zealand—the essential of the welfare state inherited from past socialist governments, still operate; that socialism is not dismantled merely because a more conservative government is in power. The Alliance Government is no exception to the rule of the trend prevailing in modern society. We do not only accept the props of democracy—Parliament and judiciary system—but Western techniques of organization of productive forces in society. We realise that purely capitalist techniques of planning and organisations do not suit conditions in our country. So we find new techniques suitable to our own conditions and our own way of life.

The Rural Development Programme for example incorporated the best features of socialism and adapted to our way of life—the gotong royong spirit of traditional Malaysian society; equal rights for all citizens equal rights before the law—that exists in Malaysia; equal rights to vote and to be voted into or out of power; that too exists in Malaysia. Malay special right is distinctly different—it is a means, a legal means, a constitutional means, to rectify economic imbalances in society. It is the duty not only of the Government but of our people to rectify all these inequalities and imbalances. We must endeavour to help the less fortunate of our people by evolutionary and gradual methods but without taking the right of others. We will do this within our constitutional set up under our system of Parliamentary democracy. Our policy is to endeavour to level up and not level down. We want to give our people of all races the rightful place in our society in our country. It is important for us to look at all our problems through the right perspective. We would be doing a great disservice to our country whoever it may be if we endeavour to draw a wedge between the different communities or to rise to power through communal issues.

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