

has resulted in occasional frustration both in State Headquarters and at Federal Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

There has however been a steady improvement in the administrative machinery. In fact, there will be even greater improvement. greater co-ordination and greater co-operation, I propose sometime later this year to hold either in Jesselton or Kuching or perhaps in Kuala Lumpur a Malaysian Government Seminar lasting several days.

At this seminar each one of us who has the responsibility of administering the Government will be able to meet and discuss with our counterparts any problems we may have connected with our work and to discuss, suggest and devise ways and means whereby we can speed up and streamline the whole machinery of Government

We shall place particular emphasis on the development programme machinery so that the people of Sabah and Sarawak—no matter whether they live in urban areas or in remote rural areas—will get the best service and the quickest service.

## SEPARATION OF SINGAPORE

### ANNOUNCEMENT WAS TIMED TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY'S SECURITY

*The reason for the dramatic announcement of the separation of Singapore from Malaysia was given by Tun Razak when he addressed the University of Malaya Graduates Society at the Arts Lecture Theatre, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur on 1st September, 1965. In the accompanying speech he explains that the decision was made and announced in such a manner as to protect the sovereignty and security of the country in a time of national crisis.*

The last few weeks have been a momentous period in the history of our nation.

It has also been a sad period, with the withdrawal of Singapore from Malaysia; but nevertheless, we must not be despondent. It is my belief that provided both Singapore and Malaysia maintain a harmonious and co-operative relationship in defence, trade and our respective national economics, then the people of both nations will benefit and go forward to a brighter and better future.

After the decision was made that Singapore should leave Malaysia, my Government was accused of lack of consultation leading up to the reaching of the decision.

But it must be remembered, and sometimes here in Kuala Lumpur far away from the fighting on the borders of Sabah and Sarawak, it is forgotten that we are in the midst of an Emergency—an Emergency in which our very sovereignty and independence is threatened by external aggression.

The first essential to win through this battle of Confrontation is internal national unity. We must put ourselves above thoughts of personal power and selfish aims so that we are strong within the shores of our young nation. Therefore, under the circumstances of this Emergency, events leading up to the separation of Singapore, were kept as secure and secret as possible.

A decision made by a select few top leaders is not undemocratic if in fact such a decision is designed for the definite good of the nation's citizens, designed to protect the sovereignty and security of the country during a period of national crisis.

Some diplomats were upset that their countries had no part and were not consulted before we made this momentous decision. Although we ask our friends in the free world to help us in Defence and in Development, we are an independent sovereign nation, determining our own future and in coming to this major decision we take full responsibility. We had to bear uppermost in our minds the interests and well-being of our people and our country and we cannot now be accused, even with the greatest stretch of the imagination, of being neo-colonialist puppets.

With regard to the question of Singapore, consultation was confined to the minimum number of people so that false rumours and despondent speculation would not be given the chance to lower our national morale.

Some say that this action was undemocratic but if you read the history of democracy in the free world you will find that other nations before us in similar states of Emergency and national crisis have used exactly the same technique, in the interests of the nation's security.

The majority of major decisions during World War II by a great democratic leader like Churchill were in fact made, in close conclave, by Churchill and his own few selected Ministers. Similar cases can be quoted relating to the wartime President of the United States and other democratic leaders in times of national crisis\*

It is in fact easy, as a democratic leader, to shirk one's responsibility and spread it by greater consultation because the responsibility to decide also carries with it the responsibility of the consequences: but in a Democracy it takes a big man to make big decisions and then take entire responsibility on his o\*u shoulders.

Such shoulders must be strong and firm and Tunku. our Prime Minister, although too old to practise body-building, has nevertheless got the strongest set of shoulders of any democtatic leader in the free world and will use his shoulders to take the burden of responsibility of any decision that is for the benefit of his country, his beloved Malaysia and the people to whom he has devoted his entire life to serve and serve well!

Let us not regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as the two components of an unhappy marriage who. after being divorced, have recriminations, and each fight for the maximum alimony or compensation for their own support, after the breaking of their life together!

No. let us regard the separation of Singapore from Malaysia as similar to the separation of two "Siamese twins"! The separation of two children bom together as one body in the womb of Malaysia.

The operation of separating "Siamese twins" is delicate and intricate and is a great feat of modern science in this modem world. One has got to think of the nerve system, of the bloodstream. of the bones and everything else by which they arc joined' ,

But modern science can now successfully separate two "Siamese twins" so that they can walk independently, act independently and prosper independently. And yet throughout the world you will find in every case of the separation of Siamese twins there remains a mental bond between them, after their purely physical separation.

They are still brother and sister, or still sister and sister and have an instinctive bond which is stronger and deeper than the skin which originally joined them together!

This is how I like to think of Singapore because although there have been differences. there is still a bond that unites us in our differences, and there is no reason whatsoever why we should not walk forward, firmly, together towards the future and progress in harmony and in goodwill like a couple of separated twins!

Since the separation of Singapore from Malaysia the horizon of our hopes for the success of Malaysia are in no way clouded! No!

In fact the clouds and doubts have dispersed and have revealed a new un-darkened dawn, a new determination, and a new decade in our Development; all pointing the way towards an even brighter future for Malaysia, and for Singapore and her people, as sister shareholders in our future security and our pre-planned prosperity—partners in peace, prosperity and protection from aggression!

In this spirit, and in this spirit alone, will the peace and prosperity of our part of South East Asia be secure for centuries to come.

The separation of Singapore from Malaysia and the silence of the announcement had naturally produced anxiety and uneasiness in the minds of certain sections of our people including those in Sabah and Sarawak. It is hoped that these anxieties and disappointments will soon die away as the two countries. Malaysia and Singapore settle down under the new set-up and with the removal of tension and strain there will emerge closer understanding and co-operation between the two countries for the mutual benefit of our respective people. As regards Sabah and Sarawak, we have firmly assured the people of the two territories that we are determined to stand by them through thick and thin. They joined Malaysia out of their own free will and have fitted well with the other States of Malaysia. We shall do all we can to help them in their developments. They need our help and our assistance and we shall do our best to fulfil their needs.

What of the future of Malaysia? I sincerely believe that we have a great future, and that the potential of our future progress

is almost unlimited; but there are certain conditions which must be fulfilled if we are to progress in the way which we all, as sincere Malaysians, earnestly desire.

The main condition is unity—racial unity, unity in our attitudes, unity in our loyalty and unity in our determination to make Malaysia maju. But you must remember that there are in our midst, political opportunists who will always try to disrupt this unity!

Opportunists who, with an eye on the main chances of obtaining personal political power to the detriment of Malaysia, will mislead us and our people.

I do not think that you, my audience tonight, all fully-fledged graduates, launched into life with the benefit of a first-class education are likely to be misled by these opportunists; but, as members of a new nation, you must remember that there are many layers of our social structure, ranging from the sophisticated graduate to the uneducated labourer.

Tonight, I talk to graduates; tomorrow, I may be talking to an adult education class of good genuine Malaysians who have been denied, because of our colonial heritage, the benefits of a first-class education but nevertheless are determined, even later in life, to learn to read and write.

Communism and political propaganda thrive on illiteracy, whereas Democracy thrives on an intelligent electorate,—a nation of voters free to think for themselves and decide for themselves the type of Government by which they wish to be governed.

Political opportunists such as the Communist-influenced leaders of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and other extremist parties are making use, not only of Confrontation and our national emergency but are also making use of that proportion of electorate who are misled by sweet words and poisoned propaganda!

Let me explain what I mean. Really, to understand what I am trying to say, I should like you all, if you have not already been there, to go and see our National Zoo; because in that Zoo is the finest education, not entirely an education of wild life, but also an education on "political wild life" as practised by opportunists

These poor animals which previously roamed the jungle, with freedom of will, freedom of action, and freedom of voice, lost

their freedom because they were trapped by sweet words, sweet food and tit-bits from the animal "menu"! Then having been lured by these nice things, the door of the trap is closed, and for the rest of their lives they live in complete captivity.

So it is, with subversives, ultra-socialists and Communist opportunists. They use the same methods.

Their technique is exactly the same as the Game Warden, catching his game, both big animals and small, to lead them into captivity!

Nice words, slick slogans, and fiery speeches is all that these political opportunists can offer but. so many of our people are misled and caught politically; the same as animals in the jungle; they fall for these nice words and promises, forgetting that after falling for the bait of Communism and the bail of political opportunists. they too, like the animals in the Zoo, will spend the rest of their lives either behind a bamboo curtain or a permanent iron curtain!—suffering under the yoke of drab socialism with no more freedom, no more opportunities to express themselves and their individuality.

It will take lime—even with the maximum funds we, as a nation, can afford for education and—even with the most progressive education programme we can plan and implement.

It will take time to produce the real basis of a sound Democracy - an electorate which can reason and think for itself,—an eleciorate which is immune to the distortions of disruptive political opportunists!

Therefore, and I would like to make this absolutely clear, we are at this moment of national crisis, defending our sovereignty on two fronts. On an external front of physical aggression by Sockarno, and on an internal front of subtle subversion by those within our shores who are disloyal to the concept of Malaysia and who are determined to undermine our concept of Parliamentary Democracy.

You, as graduates, are not expected to take up arms and fight Me troops in the jungle, but you have an equally important part to play in the battle for our sovereignty and independence. You have a part in applying your professional ability to the task of

nation-building, but you also have an even greater part to play in your own human contacts, from day to day, in spreading the right spirit of Malaysia, the spirit of sensible stability which will make all of us immune from subversion from within.

Dictatorial regimes like that of Indonesia and others, pride themselves of having the finest propaganda machine available to back-stop the criminal, aggressive actions of their leaders.

Their propaganda, they think, penetrates the hearts and minds of our people and they hope, eventually Malaysia will collapse from inside!

This is not true; this is not possible; and, with the grace of God, will never be possible, because we here in Malaysia have a propaganda machine which, by the law of human nature,—and time will tell—will completely outpace the propaganda of Indonesia or any other Communist puppets. Our propaganda machine is not mechanical, is not the blare of radio, of television, of films—that is publicity, not propaganda.

Our strength lies in the hearts and minds of our own people, passing from word to mouth, their own inward conviction that we are proud to be Malaysians, proud to live in a free world, proud to progress and use our own abilities to the best of our knowledge, proud, above all, to be free and democratic!

This is our democratic propaganda—a human machine—greater than any machine invented by man!

Democratic propaganda lies in the sincerity of saying what you believe whereas the propaganda of subversion and Communism lies in the mistaken ability of believing what is said to you.

And this, Ladies and Gentlemen, tonight is my message to you and also to all right-thinking Malaysians.

Let us forget, in this time of crisis, our political aims, our personal aims, and our personal ambitions, and let us resolve here and now to spread the true spirit of Malaysia. When the time comes that we have overcome the crisis of Confrontation, and the difficulties which now beset us, and I know we will, then, and only then, we can revert to the normal lives of thinking of ourselves and our own future, because our future is intricately tied up with the future of Malaysia. If we are disloyal to Malaysia, we are in fact being disloyal to ourselves!