

SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO MALAYSIAN STUDENTS AT MALAYSIA HALL, LONDON, ENGLAND ON 13TH NOVEMBER, 1964

I am extremely happy to have this opportunity of meeting you here today. In fact every time I came to London I had always asked for this opportunity of meeting and talking to our students here. I would be even happier if I could meet every single Malaysian student studying in the United Kingdom and Ireland. But there are now, I believe, more than 4,000 Malaysian students studying here and this number would increase even more when students from Sabah and Sarawak join our fellow Malaysian students.

Ladies and gentlemen, standing here, looking at you and talking to you makes me feel fifteen or twenty years younger, not only because you have a rejuvenating effect on me, particularly the girl students, but also it brings back to my mind my own student days here in London when I lived a similar life under similar circumstances that you are now experiencing today.

Perhaps the only difference between my days as a student in London and your days here is that during my days we were under the Colonial Government and our country was not independent, and therefore the main talk during my student days apart from talk of work was that of the independent movement or Merdeka for our country.

Now ladies and gentlemen, we are in a much happier position in that our country is now a free and independent sovereign nation, day by day gaining in strength in spite of the attempts by Soekarno and his colleagues to crush and dominate us.

I am happy to tell you here tonight, particularly those who may not have returned home for some years that the spirit, solidarity and determination of everyone at home in all parts of Malaysia is extremely high in spite of anything Soekarno does or says about confrontation.

Now in spite of the landings of Indonesian troops and paratroopers at Pontian and Labis and a further sea landing at Sengkai Kesang on the border between Johore and Malacca; in spite of Soekarno's infiltration and subversion along the borders of Sabah and Sarawak, Malaysia remains a united nation, determined to uphold and protect our national sovereignty and to forge ahead with the progressive and dynamic development plan towards greater prosperity and a happier life.

I feel that it is essential that each one of you here, whatever you may be studying, or in whatever part of the United Kingdom you may be, you should be kept up-to-date, day by day, with the events in Malaysia, not only so that you may be rest assured that your parents and families are happy and safe, but that also, as ambassadors of our country, you may, in your contacts throughout the world and your contact with the citizens of the United Kingdom, be fully conversant at all times with the events, the thinking and the progress of Malaysia, so that you convey an accurate picture of truth of your nation.

The ideal way of achieving this would be to have air-mailed to each one of you, every day, a copy of our Malaysian newspapers; but the cost of this would be exorbitant and it is my suggestion that we will set up in our High Commission, here in London, a small but efficient editorial staff to produce say, twice weekly, a newsheet which will be a synopsis of daily happenings in Malaysia; and it should not be difficult, with an efficient system of dispatching, and an accurate record of your addresses, and changes of address, to make sure that each and every Malaysia who is separated from his homeland is kept in daily touch with the happenings of Malaysia.

I hope that you are all happy here — tonight at any rate you look very happy and all look very well.

Our country, Malaysia has been the subject of Indonesian confrontation for more than a year now. Although people talk about confrontation in reality it is now no longer a confrontation but military aggression by Indonesia on our country. Since this establishment of Malaysia President Soekarno has been sending his armed forces — both regulars and irregulars to Sabah and Sarawak. But lately he has been sending guerillas into the old Federation of Malaya which Indonesia recognised as an independent and sovereign nation which had become independent in 1957.

Soekarno has so far sent his armed men to South Johore and the border of Johore and Malacca. We are therefore facing for the first time since we became independent a serious threat to our survival. That is why we have to declare a state of emergency in order to arm the Government with necessary powers to deal with our enemy - Indonesian agents and their abettors.

The Alliance Government decided to do it with great reluctance and much regret because it was the Alliance Government which four years ago brought an end to the twelve years old emergency in Malaya. But under the serious circumstances and because Indonesia is forcing a threat to our survival the Alliance Government has no choice but to take what-

ever measures necessary to safeguard our people and the security of our nation.

As you know we brought up Indonesian confrontation in the United Nations Security Council and by a majority of 9—2 the Council voted a resolution condemning Indonesian aggression against Malaysia. Only Russia and Czechoslovakia voted the Resolution. Therefore it was clear to the world that we have been subject to an unwarranted act of aggression by Indonesia and that Malaysia is the aggrieved party in this Confrontation.

Whatever differences we have with Indonesia, whether Soekarno likes or agrees with our democratic system of Government and policies or not he has no right or business to send his troops to commit acts of aggression against our territory.

If there is to be international peace, if the rule of law and respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty are to be the fundamental basis in which nations regulate their relations with one another, the use of force must be stopped. I am very happy to say that the world has realised the real situation in Southeast Asia today and we are glad that among the Afro-Asian nations there is a growing realisation of the danger to peace in Southeast Asia as a result of Soekarno's aggression.

I have just come from a short visit to the United Arab Republic and I had talks with President Nasser and other top leaders of the United Arab Republic and they all showed an understanding of the situation and expressed great concern. On my way back I will be stopping in a few other countries I will take the opportunity to explain to President Bourgiba, President Ahmed Ben Bella, King Hassan and the Emperor of Ethiopia. Indonesian aggression against us and its latest developments. It is most tragic that Soekarno should be blind to Afro-Asian opinion because as I have said in Cairo I found opinions completely the opposite of what Soekarno would have liked his people to believe regarding the birth and existence of Malaysia.

The United Arab Republic as leader of the Afro-Asian world has accorded the recognition we deserve that we are an independent and sovereign nation which rightly should enjoy the respect of its neighbours. I am very grateful to the leaders of the United Arab Republic and particularly to President Nasser for his understanding of our problems and his deep concern of the situation in Southeast Asia brought about by Soekarno's aggression against Malaysia. Soekarno's defiance of the United Nations Security Council resolution and his belligerence and continued aggression against us is alienating him from Afro-Asian nations and opinions. The difference between the United Arab Republic

and Indonesia is that the United Arab Republic respects the rule of law. It recognises the right of small nations to lead their own lives. Indonesia is the opposite of the United Arab Republic.

As you know we have all along stopped for peace and international understanding and cooperation. Since we have achieved independence in 1957 this has been the line and policy followed by the Alliance Government. We realised that as an emerging nation it was our duty to devote resources and wealth to the economic development of our nation, giving our people amenities of life and the higher and better standard of living which they had so much desired before independence.

It has been our declared policy to give our people a 'new deal' so that they can lead a decent life in a modern society. We can only do all these things under peaceful conditions. Therefore it is indeed sad that we have, as a result of Indonesia aggression on our country, to divert part of our national resources to defence and security. This was not brought upon us by our own doing but has been forced on us by Soekarno's hostility. We are determined to defend our independence and integrity if need be to the last drop of our blood.

We are now engaged in a gigantic task of economic upliftment of our people. The rural development programme is aimed primarily at raising the standard of living of our people in the rural areas. We are now in the final phase of our Second Five-Year Plan. We have spent 2,000 million dollars during the past four years and by the time we complete our Five-Year Plan we will have spent 2,600 million dollars.

Our ultimate object is to enable our people in the kampungs to earn 300 dollars a month. At present some of our settlers in our land settlement schemes are already earning between 150 to 200 dollars a month from their holdings. We have altogether 60 land schemes. More are being started. We are determined that nothing should distract us from the task to which we have pledged ourselves.

It reflects the mutually opposed attitude of our Government and that of Soekarno towards our respective peoples. To us because we are vulnerable to public opinion by virtue of the fact that ours is a democratic system, bread and butter for the people is uppermost in our minds; to Soekarno it is rockets and guns and atomic bombs. This is the basic difference between dictatorships and the democratic system.

Next year, 1965, will see the completion of the Second Five-Year Plan and I am glad to say to you with pride and modesty that the implementation of this Plan has succeeded even beyond our own greatest expectations. Work and action is under way for the preparation of the

First Malaysian Development Plan which will be launched in 1966. This will be a vigorous and I hope dynamic Development Plan which will bring together the tremendous development potential of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak with emphasis on progressive industrialisation, urban development, rural development and a particular drive on agricultural diversification.

The tendency in the world today is for some people to classify everything in the form of an 'ism' —Communism, Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, Socialism, Capitalism.....'ism' after 'ism'. All these theories are very nice if one is a theoretical politician merely lecturing and talking without being harnessed with the responsibility of governing and implementing a Government programme of development. But once a politician is harnessed and saddled with responsibility he, like a sensitive racehorse, is curbed by the weight of harness and the weight and responsibility for the rider he carries on his back.

The Alliance Government in Malaysia is sensitive of its responsibility to the people we represent and after much thought and planning we have evolved a philosophy and thinking, a political way of life which is not a mass of airy-fairy talk of 'isms' but a practical approach with positive action aimed at solving our own problems and implementing our own development plans towards progress.

The only thing we are really interested in are results. How these results are achieved is not so important. The fact is that we must achieve results and this we have done. All theories are well and good but the real test is sheer practicability and in Malaysia we do not so much believe in theories as we do in realisation. It is important in a democratic society that the Government is always exposed to public opinion and feeling. Any Government will not be long tolerated unless it represents the hearts and minds of the people. And I am glad to tell you that the Alliance Government was given a mandate to rule Malaysia for another five years and that the people gave this mandate because they are confident that the Alliance exists for their benefit and ultimate good. We have brought good results to the people. Of course there are some who are inclined to apply their own yardstick and their own standard on the Alliance party and this has been to some people their costliest mistake. To do this we need the preparation of a blend of political philosophy flexible attitude of mind, selecting from the historical past of the world the best ways of life, best suited for our people without being fantastically dogmatic one way or the other, without being very left, without being very right.

We have been accused of being too rightist in our politics. This is, of course, not true. The Alliance is a middle- of-the-road party. It is a prag-

matic and nationalist party. We are secure in the belief that we are right in our methods - a rightness which results in development in Malaysia. This is our tangible monument - proof of our own success. I believe in the levelling up of the have-nots and the under-privileged so that they will have a level of income and a standard of living compatible with the 20th Century.

Three days ago in Kuala Lumpur, as in all State capitals, the National Solidarity Week was inaugurated with a mass rally in which tens of thousands of citizens took part and pledged their loyalty into the nation.

The National Solidarity Week has been a great success. The celebration was held to make manifest to the world that we are a united nation and intend to live and build this united nation into a strong and prosperous nation in Southeast Asia. In our multi-racial society we have lived for generation in peace and in our country every citizen whatever his origin has the same status and opportunity and a place under the sun. Confrontation has brought all the races in Malaysia together. Indonesia confrontation, economic subversion and military aggression have all failed miserably.

It has had the effect of uniting and stimulating the peoples of Malaysia.

We are still at a loss to find the reasons behind the Indonesian confrontation and aggression against us. We have done everything to be friendly with Indonesia. We have travelled far and wide to meet Indonesians, to talk peace, but all failed because Indonesia is not interested in maintaining peace and friendship with us. Indonesia wants to dominate and colonise us. We are ready to resume talks with Indonesia at any time, and anywhere, provided Indonesia withdraws her troops from Malaysian territory and respects our independence and sovereignty and stop aggression against us. We are very glad so far we have been able to withstand Indonesian aggression against us. This is because the present Government has the full cooperation of the people, and that is the reason why every Indonesian aggressor is either killed or eliminated. As a self-respecting and honourable nation we cannot tolerate aggression from any quarter. Indonesian aggression has aroused the patriotism of every loyal Malaysian and our people have never before stood together in such unity at anytime in its history than today in the face of these external acts.

It is of the utmost importance that the various races in Malaysia stay united.

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

What is imperative is the imbiding of a sence of belonging to one nation and a common identity and this I am glad to say, we are achieving solely through our educational system and national language. And ironically, confrontation has provide an added impetus to this process of nation building among our various communities. It is important that the spirit of compromise and understanding always exist in Malaysia because until a truly homogenous society emerges in Malaysia we will have to make adjustments here and there as we go along to nationhood. And in this journey, to nationhood, it is imperative that we should appreciate the sensitivity of various communities. It is important that the rich help the poor, the stronger the weak and that at all times we must work and help each other.

It has been my pleasure to meet you tonight and it is during moments such as these that I find my youth again, for whatever your inclinations are, you represent the hopes of our nation for tomorrow; you are bound to play your part in the shaping of our nation.

For good or ill, you are the generation that will one day take over the leadership of the nation. A nation survives because it is composed of humans and since a large part that makes up the population is its younger generation, the nation is continually infused with an idealism that renews its life and its being. The fact that I now stand before you is my tribute to the youth of to-day; Malaysia is a young nation and has need for its youth.

Goodnight.