

more *resilient* and of a higher quality beyond our greatest expectations.

if we are to become a nation of the same quality of a strong resilient metal like steel, the ingredients necessary for the chemical composition of making a strong and united nation must all be of the very purest quality.

## **CONSTITUTION: EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL**

*"Our Constitution has been so drafted as to make Malaysia a meaningful and purposeful concept within the needs of all people of all races in order to make them happy and contented"* said Tun Razak when he addressed the Debating Union, University of Malaya on 20th July, 1965. Opportunity was taken by him to deny the allegation that the Alliance Government believes in the supremacy of one race over the other.

Since independence in 1957, Malaya and now Malaysia, had made tremendous progress in the field of development. We have achieved more and developed more than could be attained in seventy years of rule by a colonial power. In every corner of our country today, there is on the land in our kampongs, in our new villages, in our towns and in our cities, hundreds of projects. We can rightly be proud of what, as a new and young nation, we have achieved in the years since independence. All of you will remember the period before independence when critics and doubters said that we were not yet ready to govern ourselves and that independence would probably be the beginning of the end of prosperity and stability in Malaysia.

Merdeka to all of us has meant the beginning of the beginning of bigger and better days, the foundation of the furthering of our stability and security within our shores; steady progress towards a better way of life in both the rural and the urban areas. All these things have amazed and brought praise from every other free nation in the world today. The countless visitors to our country have been warm in their appreciation and admiration of what we have achieved in the years since independence.

In Malaya our Second Five-Year Development Plan has been implemented with complete success. Indeed when we launched this Plan in 1961, most people thought that the target as set for ourselves, that is \$2,200 million expenditure on the public sector was too great to be implemented. However we were able to gear the machinery of Government and co-ordinate the work of Government departments and offices in all its branches. Today even before our fifth year of the plan comes to an end we have already exceeded our target. At the end of this year, that is the last year of the Plan, we shall have spent in the region of S2.600 million or \$2,700 million. It is clear that in implementing our development programme, the Alliance Government has successfully applied the right principles and followed the right methods. We have now applied these principles and methods to Sabah and Sarawak and it is hoped that in the next few years our people in Sabah and Sarawak will be able to obtain the same benefits from development as our people in Malaya.

Now what are these principles which we apply in the implementing of our national development, particularly our rural development programme? The foundation for positive action was based on the principle of partnership between the Government and the rural people themselves. With the tempo of modern travel the Alliance Government made it possible to make a journey into the heart and soul of the development needs of any kampong in record time; by the use of the 'Red Book'.

The Red Book was conceived, designed and put into practice by the Alliance Government for the purpose of ensuring that, no matter how far away any kampong or village may be, nevertheless the hopes and needs of its people are forever near to the heart of Government. Similarly, let us look at a map of Malaysia and I feel with confidence, in the future, that what the Government had already done in Malaya, not only can they do in the development of Malaysia but can do so even better, from the experience in practice which we have already gained.

On the economic aspect of our development I feel we must be cautious in accepting theories and practices which apply in other countries, and although our main aim is better growth and better prosperity, let us remember that prosperity in both the rural and urban areas should not always be judged by the same material gains which are the yardstick of progress in the

more advanced nations of the world. Economic growth is a necessary goal for Malaysia, but it must not be considered to outweigh all others, nor should it be assumed that every action that increases wealth is necessarily right. The increase of wealth, the raising of our overall standard of living, is an essential factor in our economic development. But such economic development will only be satisfactory if it acts to preserve the meaning of life, not destroy it.

Therefore our development should have a focus not entirely on material gain, but a focus also on the human, social, cultural and religious aspects of our lives, so that we can build up a Malaysia which is not only economically stable, but which is also a nation of people who are happy within themselves, self-reliant, and secure within their own sincerity of purpose.

Our objective is to level up. that is to help the less fortunate of our people to enjoy better amenities of life, indeed to get full benefits in all that a civilised society can give.

It is not my intention to go into detail of our development programme. As has often been stated, the emphasis in that programme has been to help the less fortunate of our people or what are commonly known as <sup>44</sup>have-nots/ Our rural development programme is planned and implemented with zeal and enthusiasm. One important aspect of our rural development plan is land development. We have now throughout the country sixty-two land schemes of 4,000 acres each and each scheme land is alienated, jungle trees felled, roads built, water supply laid on. houses built for settlers and each family is alienated with 10 acres of land of which seven acres are planted with either high yielding rubber or oil palm and the rest is utilised for residential purpose as well as for the planting of fruits and vegetables. A monthly subsidy is given to each family by Government on loan. Amenities such as schools and health clinics are also provided. On each lot it is estimated that a family will earn a basic income of about \$350 per month at a fairly conservative estimate of price of rubber or oil palm. A few of these schemes now produce income. As and when the land produces income a settler is expected to pay the Government loan by easy instalments. In one instance, where Government has asked the settlers to pay about \$40 a month, the settlers themselves volunteered to pay double that amount because they are earning such a good income. The settlers are given permanent titles to their land.

Now what can be more socialistic than these land development schemes of ours. In the communist countries people are just made to work on the land. In our country the people not only work on the land but they also own it. The aim is, on the one hand, to help our rural people to increase their income and to give them greater share in the economic and business life of the country, and on the other, to build houses and homes for people in the urban areas, who are without homes. We will also assist the less fortunate of our people in the urban areas with amenities in the same way we are doing for the rural people. Our national development plan is national in scope and character, designed to help our people of all races, whoever they may be so that the "have-nots" in our society will have a share in the progress and development of our country and will enjoy a standard of living compatible with life in a decent and civilised society.

To achieve development, to achieve economic growth, to achieve a happy and highly developed Malaysia, means hard work, harnessing of all our energies and the ability of our leaders to take action towards sound economic development of a happy and stable Malaysia.

Now coming to the subject of defence. As a small developing nation quite obviously we are in no position to have armed forces, that is Army, Navy and Air Force, of sufficient strength to defend ourselves adequately against external threat or aggression. That is why since independence in 1957 we decided to maintain our defence expenditure at a low level so that we could devote our resources to economic development, to give the people a better and higher standard of living and better amenities of life they have wanted for so long. Until the establishment of Malaysia in 1963 our defence expenditure was only eight percent of our total budget. However with the establishment of Malaysia, with a bigger territory to defend and a longer coastline to protect, we have to increase our defence forces.

As a small nation we have no means to defend ourselves adequately against external threat or aggression. Therefore, on the day we achieved independence in 1957 we signed a Defence Treaty with the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom supported by Australia and New Zealand undertook to defend us against external aggression. The Treaty was entered into by us voluntarily and freely and it could be reviewed at any time.

With the present confrontation, of course, we are grateful to our friends, Britain, Australia and New Zealand for assisting us not only in the expansion of our armed forces, but also with men, ships and planes to help defend our territorial integrity. This defence arrangement can only be temporary and the time must come when we have to provide for the defence of our country and ourselves.

Now we in Malaysia stand for freedom, democracy and justice. Malaysia carries with it ideals which are dynamic and positive providing for our people democracy, freedom and justice and economic stability, and these ideals provide great contrast to Indonesia's so-called guided democracy, which has only empty slogans and has provided nothing for the people. Indeed Indonesia's so-called guided democracy means that the people have to suffer more and more.

These ideals that I have mentioned are enshrined in our Constitution. Our Constitution has been so drafted so as to make Malaysia a meaningful and purposeful concept within the needs of our people of all races, in order to make them all happy and contented. The whole concept in our Constitution is based on the idea of "give" rather than "take" To give to those who have not without taking from those who have.

Many of you must have heard lately of allegations against the Alliance Government, that we believe in the supremacy of one race over the other and that we have not provided for equal rights to all our citizens. I would like to rebut these allegations because clearly our Constitution does not provide the supremacy of any single race or community. All Malaysians of all races are equal under the Constitution and their rights and privileges are zealously guarded. The Constitution, however, provides for the safeguard of the special position of the natives. This does not mean supremacy or privilege but rather a special position which requires special attention. The Constitution recognises that where there is disparity, a system of parity is provided in order to make everybody happy. It is known to everybody that the natives are economically backward and, therefore, in order to give them a fair chance to compete with other races they are given this special attention in the Constitution or in plain language a handicap. This handicap gives the natives a chance to have a share in the economic and business life of the country.

As I said, by giving this special attention to this particular section of our community, the Constitution will not take away the rights and privileges of others and this arrangement serves to unite and promote solidarity between the natives and the other Malaysians.

Therefore, it is clear under our Constitution which the Alliance Government formulated and which it has repeatedly pledged to uphold, there is a fair place for every Malaysian in our country. The Constitution is so formulated as to be fair and just to all sections of our people so that they can move forward together in harmony, goodwill and friendship. The Alliance Government has always believed in the unity and harmony among our people of various races so that ultimately they can be welded together into one united nation. Of course the process of bringing this unity may take time because only a small section of our people, i.e., those who were educated in English schools are able to know and understand each other.

The great majority of the people have lived under colonial rule in separate communities and therefore we have to give them time to understand each other, to feel that they are friends and brothers. But the ultimate objective is clear. It is the firm intention of the Alliance Government whatever others may say, to move forward bringing our people of various races together in harmony and friendship, so that ultimately they will regard themselves not as members of different communities but as members of one nation. We have said this is the cardinal principle of our policy many, many a time and it does seem hardly worth repeating, but there are some people who for reasons of their own refuse to understand what we have said. Therefore, it is necessary for us to continue repeating this vital important policy of our Government

I have no doubt that most of our people have a deep sense of loyalty to our country and know that they must live together in harmony, friendship and unity because on this alone can we look forward to the future with real hope and confidence.

Despite what a few politicians have said about tension or division which have no basis and do not exist. I am happy and proud at the way in which our people of all races have stood together solidly in the face of the present national crisis. I have no doubt that if we continue to show our determination to live together and exist as a nation we shall come through the present

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 other's national 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.