

MALAYAN PROBLEMS

From A Chinese Point of View

by

TAN CHENG LOCK, C.B.E., J.P.

Formerly member: Legislative and Executive Councils, S.S.

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Formerly member: Legislative and Executive Councils, S.S.,

With an Introduction by

DR. WU LIEN-TEH, M.A., M.D. (Camb.), LL.D.

Edited by

C. Q. LEE.

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1947.

TO THOSE MEMBERS OF THE VARIED
RACES TO WHOM MALAYA IS THEIR
HOME AND THE OBJECT OF THEIR
UNDIVIDED LOYALTY AND WHO HAVE
FAITH IN AND ARE LOOKING FOR-
WARD TO A NEW MALAYA IN WHICH
ALL CAN LIVE IN PEACE HARMONY
AND HAPPINESS THIS BOOK IS
DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR.

"My policy is to create conditions in which different races can co-operate and which will reflect themselves in the happiness and freedom of people." — Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, Broadcast on the achievements of the UNO, December 23rd. 1946.



"Nothing is to be gained by cold-shouldering of the non-Malay races; there is everything to be lost by it. The most important political task in Malaya is to create a real and valid sense of loyalty to Malaya among all races." — John Eber, Secretary, Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action, Straits Times, August 8th. 1946.



"A Malay Renaissance, by raising the economic status of over two million Malays, will not fail to react upon, and be of immense benefit to, the country as a whole." —The Editor.

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FOREWORD.

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock C.B.E. needs no introduction except perhaps to the younger generations who arrived at the age of discretion after the re-occupation.

Starting public life from his home town of Malacca more than thirty years ago in 1912, he was nominated as a member of and served with distinction and ability on the Straits Settlements Legislative Council from 1923 to 1934 and on the Straits Settlements Executive Council from 1933 to 1935. He was awarded the Commandership of the Order of British Empire in 1933. Although a Government nominee his voice was the voice of the people.

This is a critical juncture in the history of Malaya when the country is at the parting of the ways. The Malayan Union—a structure initiated by the Labour Government for the gradual political advancement of the country—may be shortly replaced by the Malayan Federation plan sponsored by the Malay privileged classes and reactionary interests. Unless drastic changes are introduced into the latter plan, the effect will be to perpetuate the era of political tutelage from which Malays and non-Malays alike have outgrown. The domiciled races will labour under a keen sense of injustice and frustration which augurs ill for their future co-operation in the development of Malaya.

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's moderation, his sense of justice and fairplay and his sane and well-balanced outlook are in pleasing contrast to the mass of propaganda which is rousing the suspicion, jealousy and fear of the Malay for members of other friendly races. Although of necessity approaching problems from a Chinese standpoint, he has never been a mere advocate of narrow sectional interests. His criticisms and views are constructive and directed towards the general welfare of Malaya as a whole. It

is his sincere conviction that the interests of the various communities are co-related and that the Malay, the Indian, the British, the Eurasian and the Chinese can live and work together in peace, concord and amity.

This volume covers the author's activities as a public man during three periods. I. During the war when, as Chairman of the Oversea-Chinese Association in India, he submitted the Memoranda on Malaya at the suggestion of a Colonial Office Official of the late Conservative Government. II. Before the war, his Memorandum to Sir Samuel Wilson and his views on education as Council member which are still of current interest. III. After the war, his support of the Malayan Union culminating in his recent election as Chairman of the Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action. The occupation period—the period of incubation of the Malayan Union—advisedly comes first. It is felt the book will be useful to those who have hitherto neither the time nor the inclination to study Malayan Affairs, but who would now like to have a true perspective of the Malayan background.

The Editor takes this opportunity of recording his appreciation of and thanks to Mr. Tan Kok Tiong for his valuable advice and general help including the reading of the proofs, to Tannsco for the use of their office, telephone and other facilities and Mr. Loh Ah Fong of G. H. Kiat & Co., Ltd., who in spite of the amount of work he has to cope with as a printer, has managed to place the book before the reading public within a short period of his taking over the manuscripts. Acknowledgement is also due to Dr. Wu Lien-teh for his kind introduction and to Mr. John Eber for his illuminating account of the P.M.C.J.A., its aims and principles.

C. Q. LEE.

No. 357, ONAN ROAD,
SINGAPORE, 10th. April, 1947.

INTRODUCTION.

Persons interested in the contemporary politics of Malaya will be grateful to Mr. C. Q. Lee for putting into book form the principal speeches and writings of Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., who has been the indefatigable champion of the hitherto-silent majority of the mixed population inhabiting this important corner of the British Commonwealth.

Owing to the unaccountable secrecy with which the negotiations between representatives of the Malayan Union Government and the nine Sultans ('the sacred twelve') were conducted at Kuala Lumpur, the shock inflicted upon the general public was all the greater because of the unexpected severity with which non-Malay communities will be treated if the proposals as at present embodied in the Blue Book on Constitutional Proposals for Malaya are carried out.

It is indeed fortunate for all concerned that at this critical period a leader of the distinction and experience of Mr. Tan Cheng Lock has been found ready and willing to come forth and demand justice and fairplay for some 3¾ million Chinese and Indians, who, more than any one else, have contributed to the prosperity and wealth of this great land called Malaya.

The impartial Malay reader will incidentally find the Chinese standpoint—which to a great extent is also the standpoint of the other domiciled races—does not necessarily conflict with Malay interests. The book should further deepen the feeling of sympathy and understanding between Malay and non-Malay races, which drew the Malay Nationalist Party and other public bodies in Malaya together in defence of a common cause, and also be conducive to their better co-operation for the advancement and progress of their common land.

WU LIEN-TEH, M.A., M.D. (Camb.),
LL.D. (Hongkong), Master of Public Health
(Johns Hopkins), etc.
President of the International
Plague Conference, Mukden, Manchuria (1911).

PART I. — DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION.

I.

THE OVERSEA-CHINESE ASSOCIATION, INDIA. PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT INAUGURAL MEETING, BOMBAY, 24th SEPTEMBER, 1943.

Before proceeding with the business of the meeting I wish, on behalf of the Sponsors of the proposed Oversea-Chinese Association, to extend to you all a cordial welcome and to thank you for your presence at this meeting convened for the purpose of making a decision on the question of the formation of the Association. Some of you have come from a great distance to attend this meeting at the cost of much inconvenience and considerable expense to yourselves.

As laid down in the formal Appeal made by the Sponsors for support for the project to establish the Association, its principal objects, among others, are to protect and further the important interests of ourselves as Oversea-Chinese and to consider the many problems of post-war settlement affecting the Oversea-Chinese in the Eastern Asia Territories now in enemy occupation.

In order to carry out these and the other objects as outlined in the Sponsors' Appeal and to prepare for the time when many important questions about our future will have to be settled one way or the other, it is perfectly obvious that this is the appropriate time to organise ourselves into a body.

Apart from the many difficult problems of reconstruction that will inevitably face us in the post-war period, we shall necessarily have to concern ourselves seriously and actively with the vital question of our political, economic and social future.

It is a truism that emancipation from oppressive conditions, whether in the political, economic or social sphere, can only be

won by the concerted action and organised endeavour on the part of the people concerned. Success in this respect cannot be conferred upon them but must of necessity be achieved by their own united efforts. There is no other way. Heaven helps those who help themselves and in union lies strength.

So let us be up and doing to band ourselves into a strong and solid body, actuated and cemented by a strong public spirit, so that we may be enabled to work together in endeavouring to achieve the worthy objectives we have set before ourselves.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen has likened the Chinese people to a sheet of loose sand, because we as a people have had too much personal liberty without any unity, and he has prescribed as a remedy for our weakness that we must break down individual liberty and become pressed together into an unyielding body like the firm rock which is formed by the addition of cement to sand.

Under the twentieth century conditions and in these days of dynamic modern civilisation, the truth is brought home to us with ever increasing force that it is not enough for us to be capable of looking only after our selfish individual interests, important as that is, and that it is imperatively necessary for our own survival and self-preservation that everyone of us must perforce exert himself with zeal to do his proper share of caring for and safeguarding our collective interest as well, to perform which function effectively we must unite ourselves and work together in close and hearty co-operation and with team spirit.

A strong public spirit and sense of the need for individual sacrifice to protect and promote our public weal are the cement to bind ourselves into a firm body to make it possible for us to collaborate for our mutual benefit and for our collective salvation and security, without which we, as separate individuals, however capable, will be bound to be lost to wander in the wilderness of a dark future!

In view especially of the momentous days ahead of us, when out of the throes and travail of the present cataclysmic global convulsion there may be born a new and better world order, in which we as a community would naturally like to find a fitting and worthy place and be among its beneficiaries, we must pool our strength and resources and stand united in striving to improve and secure our future.

Before concluding I wish to direct your attention to the fact that one of the objects of the Association as specified in the Sponsors' Appeal is to study means of assisting the efforts of the United Nations in regaining the Japanese-occupied territories in Eastern Asia and of co-operating in the war efforts of China. This fact the Association when formed must take the necessary steps to bring to the notice of the competent British authorities with a view to the bringing about of the closest co-operation between them and the Association, which should help to secure for the Association the recognition and goodwill of the British Government and incidentally to dispel whatever misgivings that may have arisen in certain quarters in Bombay and also give a clear indication regarding the future policy and activities of the Association.

You may, therefore, permit me earnestly to appeal to everyone of you personally to do your best to make the Association, which I hope it is your wish to launch into existence to-day, a real success and a powerful and efficient body capable of making a substantial contribution towards the solution of the problems that confront us now and in the future.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE
ASSOCIATION TO THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, LONDON.

TAN CHENG LOCK, C.B.E.,
16, MILLERS ROAD, BANGALORE,

1st November, 1943.

THE RT. HON. COLONEL OLIVER STANLEY,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
COLONIAL OFFICE,
LONDON, S.W.1,
ENGLAND.

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to your notice the existence of the Oversea-Chinese Association, which was formed at a meeting of prominent Chinese held at Bombay on the 24th September, 1943, over which I presided and to acquaint you with its aims.

As its President and on behalf of its Committee I wish to offer to place its services and those of its members at the disposal of His Majesty's Government.

Its principal objects are :—

- (a) To deal with the problems of Chinese evacuees.
- (b) To consider problems relating to war damage and losses sustained by the Chinese in the Japanese-occupied eastern territories and all other post-occupational and post-war problems affecting the Chinese therein.

- (c) To study means of assisting the efforts of the United Nations in regaining these occupied territories and of co-operating in the war efforts of China.

Though the scope of the Association includes other territories besides Malaya and appears to relate to Chinese affairs particularly, in practice the Association will have to consider post-war problems affecting Malaya as a whole. So far most of our members are Chinese from Malaya, and practically all Malayan Chinese of any importance now living in India have joined the Association.

Our members from Malaya include (a) those born in Malaya who have spent all their lives in the country and (b) those who have spent most of their lives there. They are people who have a big stake and important and extensive interests in Malaya, and who have acquired intimate and valuable knowledge and experience of the country, which may be useful towards helping the solution of the many post-war problems affecting its future.

When questions should arise concerning our return to Malaya and all other matters relating to its post-occupational and post-war problems are considered, our Committee express the hope that this Association may be given the opportunity of putting its views before His Majesty's Government.

The question relating to reparation for war damage and losses sustained in Malaya vitally affects our members and the Chinese community of Malaya, and in this regard my Committee trust the Chinese community will be given adequate representation and be fully consulted in all matters pertaining to the settlement of this question and the solution of the problems arising out of it. Until the reoccupation of Malaya my Committee express the hope that His Majesty's Government will regard this Association as representing the Chinese community of Malaya in this and other respects.

Members of the Association, especially when its membership has been increased to the full extent possible, may, with their intimate knowledge of the territories concerned and their inhabitants and their connections therewith, be in a position to assist the efforts of the United Nations in regaining Malaya and the other Japanese-occupied territories.

With regard to the problems of Chinese evacuees, my Committee would be grateful if His Majesty's Government could favourably consider the question of allocating a suitable proportion of the Far Eastern Relief Fund, subscribed in London under the patronage of the Lord Mayor, to be distributed by this Association as relief to the needy Chinese evacuees of British nationality in India, of whose conditions and circumstances we should have a better knowledge than any other body and with whom we are in direct and constant contact.

It is also obvious that if this Association is entrusted with that responsibility, it will considerably help to make it a success and thus enable it to achieve its objects. My Committee hope that His Majesty's Government will give this matter their sympathetic consideration.

In this connection it may be recalled that the Chinese community of Malaya during the 1914-1918 World War and in this war made a hearty and very generous response on every occasion when they were called upon to subscribe to all sorts of War Funds and War Loans to help the war effort. Moreover, they have invariably subscribed liberally to any fund for the relief of distress in any part of the world when appealed to do so.

In view of the enormous material and other interests the Chinese possess in Malaya, my Committee would like to ask His Majesty's Government on their behalf for representation on any committees that are being formed for its reconstruction and reoccupation.

My Committee wish to co-operate in every way with all those concerned with the task of restoring normal conditions, economic, domestic and otherwise, in Malaya on its reoccupation, and we trust that His Majesty's Government will see their way to recognise this Association as representing the Chinese community of Malaya. This Association has also as its members Chinese from Burma, China and the other territories.

On our return to Malaya those of our members who are Malaysians will constitute themselves into a Malayan Chinese Association devoted to the interests of the country.

I may explain that the membership of the Association has been made to embrace *all* overseas Chinese in order to increase its utility, especially in the direction of assisting the efforts of the United Nations to recover the Japanese-occupied territories.

In order to assist in the registration of particulars of war damage and loss sustained in Malaya and the other Eastern Territories, so that records may be compiled now relating to possible claims, data are being collected by this Association from its members. I would be obliged to know whether such data with reference to Malaya and other British territories after collection may be forwarded to the Colonial Office for inclusion in the registers, which may be kept there for the purpose of recording such particulars.

I enclose herewith a list of the officers and Committee members of this Association for your information.

Herewith I also forward for your consideration a Memorandum which I have written on the future of Malaya, which may be of some little use to His Majesty's Government in dealing with the question of the future of the country.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

TAN CHENG LOCK.

LETTER FROM THE COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON,
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

55104/1/8/43

COLONIAL OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

16th February, 1944.

Sir,

I am directed by Colonel Oliver Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st November, 1943, reporting the formation of the Oversea-Chinese Association at Bombay on the 24th September last and to request you to inform the Committee of the Association that he has read with interest the principal objects of the Association set out in your letter.

2. The Secretary of State notes with appreciation the offer to place the services of the Association and its members at the disposal of His Majesty's Government on matters concerned with the liberation and rehabilitation of Malaya, and I am to assure you that it is the hope and intention of the authorities concerned to avail themselves of the assistance of those persons from all communities in Malaya, who are ready and gratified to co-operate in the task of rehabilitating the country. Opportunities have already been offered to such persons to put their names on record for the purpose, and in the meantime the Secretary of State will always be ready to receive any suggestions which the Association may wish to make on any aspect of the question.

3. The Secretary of State also notes the request in your letter that the Chinese community of Malaya should be represented on any committees formed for the reconstruction and reoccupation of Malaya. I am to state the members of the Association can rest assured that the Secretary of State fully appreciates the extent of the Chinese community's interests in Malaya and the

consideration to which those interests are entitled. It is his hope that at a later stage it may be possible to establish some closer liaison between Malayan residents now living overseas and those responsible for the formulation of future policy, but, in the meantime, he trusts that the suggestions in the immediately preceding paragraph of this letter will provide members of the Association with an opportunity of bringing their views to the attention of His Majesty's Government.

4. As regards the suggestion that the Association might be allocated a suitable proportion of the Far Eastern Relief Fund for distribution among needy Chinese evacuees of British Nationality, I am to explain that His Majesty's Government is in no way responsible for the administration of the Fund, but that the Secretary of State is arranging for the request in your letter to be brought to the attention of the Committee of the Fund.

5. I am to confirm that if, the data of claims for war damage in Malaya collected by the Association and its members are forwarded to this Department, they will be included in the record maintained for that purpose. Claims in respect of war damage in Burma should however be forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, Simla, who is maintaining a similar register.

6. Finally, I am to refer to the memorandum which you had yourself written on the future of Malaya, and to inform you that this has been read with *very great interest*, and that the views expressed therein will be of great assistance to all concerned in the consideration of future policy.

I am,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,
W. B. L. MONSON.

II.

MEMORANDUM ON THE FUTURE OF MALAYA.

Before proceeding to write the Memorandum proper the writer would like to take this opportunity to say that we, the Malaysians now temporarily resident in India and who are representative of the bulk of the domiciled population of Malaya, are extremely anxious about the future of Malaya after its re-occupation, and respectfully to point out that we feel strongly that it is only fair and proper that we, as part of its permanent inhabitants who must necessarily live, toil and sweat, and die in that territory, should be kept informed and consulted as to the plans and proposals that may be made in London with reference to our future and regarding measures of its economic, political and social reconstruction and rehabilitation and be given an opportunity to participate in the solution of the post-war problems confronting Malaya and in the making of plans for our future.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

British Malaya is divided into (a) the Straits Settlements (Penang, Singapore, Malacca and the Province Wellesley), (b) the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang), (c) the Unfederated Malay State of Johore and (d) the other Unfederated Malay States (Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu), (a) being a Crown Colony and (b), (c) and (d) being under the rule of their respective Sultans subject to their treaty obligation to follow the advice of their British Residents or Advisers in all State matters except in regard to Malay religion and custom.

The whole of British Malaya until its occupation by the Japanese on the 15th of February, 1942, was practically under the full and effective control of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Malay States, who was assisted by a body of dominant British

officials known as the Malayan Civil Service in the government of the country.

The population of Malaya according to the latest official estimates was in 1940 nearly five and a half millions comprised of approximately (1) 2,400,000 Chinese, (2) 2,300,000 Malays and other Malaysians, (3) 750,000 Indians and (4) other races including the European Britishers, whilst its area is about fifty thousand square miles. With the exception of the comparatively undeveloped states specified under (d) above, *the Chinese have largely preponderated in most of the rest of Malaya particularly in the urban areas.* About three-quarters of a million of the Chinese population should be locally-born and therefore British or British Protected subjects by birth according to British law.

The Malay kingdom of Malacca, which is regarded as the mother of Malaya and the original home of the Malays on the Malayan mainland, is said to have been founded in A.D. 1377 by the refugee prince of Singapura or the "Lion City" (Singapore), then a colony of the Sumatran Hindu Kingdom of Sri Vijaya, after its destruction by the rival Javanese kingdom of Majapahit with which it was at war. From Malacca the Malays must have since then spread out to the rest of the mainland, while their numbers have been also continually increased in recent years by immigrants from Sumatra, Java, the Celebes and the rest of the East Indies, with the result that a very considerable proportion of the Malay population are Malaysian (non-Malay) immigrants from the neighbouring territories and the descendants of recent immigrants therefrom. The Malays themselves are therefore comparative newcomers to Malaya, having dispossessed the still earlier aboriginal inhabitants *viz.* the Sakais, Semangs and Jakoons, who still exist in little settlements over some parts of the country.

A continuous stream of Chinese have emigrated from China into the South Seas regions since after 399 A.D. when the famous

Buddhist pilgrim, Fah Hsien, undertook his arduous journey on foot across China and the desert of Gobi over the Hindu Kush to India, where having accomplished his religious mission and collected the sacred Buddhist literature he took ship at the Hooghly to return by sea across the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Sunda and the China Sea to China, where he arrived back after an absence of 14 years.

In 1409 A.D. the celebrated Chinese Imperial Envoy, Cheng Ho (popularly known in the South Seas as Sam-Po-Kong), during the reign of Yung-Lo of the Ming Dynasty, whilst making a tour of the Chinese settlements in the South Seas at the head of an expedition consisting of a large number of Chinese warships, visited Malacca and the Chinese settlement there for the purpose of formally conferring upon the Paramisura or Ruler of Malacca, later to become a powerful Malay kingdom dominating the Straits of Malacca, an honour from the Son of Heaven and the protection of the mighty Celestial Empire. There has been a continuous Chinese colony for the last five hundred years at Malacca, and so for half a millenium the Chinese have dwelt in Malaya and have shared with its other inhabitants the vicissitudes of its fortunes. There should now be some ten million Chinese living in the Japanese-occupied territories in East Asia (outside but bordering China), and Chinese soldiers and civilians did some stout fighting in the defence of Malaya, Burma and Hongkong against the Japanese invaders.

In the opinion of Ian Morrison, the author of "The Malayan Postcript", the Chinese emerged from the two months of warfare in Malaya in 1941 and 1942 with flying colours, when the Chinese volunteers put up a good fight against the Japanese, thereby subjecting the Chinese population to the terrible reprisals immediately the Japanese armed forces assumed full control in Singapore. Of the native sections of the population the Chinese

put up the firmest front against the Japanese according to the same authority, who was an eye-witness.

The family of the writer of this Memorandum have lived at Malacca since Tan Hay, his male ancestor and the owner and navigator of a Chinese junk hailing from Fukien Province, South China, settled down there nearly two hundred years ago. His grandfather, Tan Choon Bock, was a founder and the managing director of the first line of steamships to open regular communication between the ports of the Straits Settlements in the sixties of the last century, besides being a pioneer tapioca and gambier planter on a big scale. The writer himself took an active part in the public life of Malaya as a representative of the Chinese community for some twenty-five years of his life, having served as a Municipal Commissioner at Malacca from 1912 to 1922, and as a member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council from 1923 to 1934, and of the Governor's Executive Council from 1933 to 1935, when he proceeded to Europe where he acted as a Representative of the Colony at His Majesty's Coronation in London in 1937. As a large proprietary rubber planter, owner of considerable house property, Trustee of his grandfather's Estate and a Director of some sixteen joint stock companies including the Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation Ltd., the Malaka Pinda Rubber Estates Ltd., and other industrial and rubber concerns in Malaya, he has important material interests in that country, to which he is deeply attached as his homeland. There is a reference about himself in (a) the London "Who's Who", (b) the "Biographical Encyclopædia of the World" of New York, (c) Rom Landau's "Seven" and (d) R. Emerson's "Malaysia".

Malacca was conquered by (a) the Portuguese in 1511, (b) by the Dutch in 1641 during the Thirty Years' War in Europe and (c) by the English during the Napoleonic Wars but not finally occupied by them until 1824, whilst Singapore became

British in 1819, previous to which in 1786 the British East India Company had acquired the island of Penang. Recently over a brief period of six months from December 8th 1941, to the end of May 1942 the Japanese overran and conquered the enormous territories in Eastern Asia including Malaya as far as the border of Burma with India.

The phenomenal prosperity of Malaya can be attributed to its natural resources, to British administration and the introduction of British and foreign capital and Western scientific inventions, *and lastly but not least to Chinese energy, enterprise and initiative.* Sir Frank Swettenham, the creator of the Federated Malay States, however, *put the Chinese next to nature as one of the bases of the success of Malaya.*

The Chinese community of Malaya, both Straits-born and China-born, have throughout the history of the country been on the whole remarkably peaceful, law-abiding, and industrious, and have invariably adopted a loyal attitude towards the Government of the land of their adoption. Their economic prosperity has been achieved by sheer hard work, solid merit and great enterprise, and at the cost of untold hardships, sufferings and sacrifices on their part, especially in the pioneering days in the hinterland prior to the advent of British rule, which has since conferred upon the whole country the blessing of peace, order, security of life and property and a wonderful material progress inherent in a stable, efficient and beneficent government, whilst they have throughout lived in perfect harmony with the other races inhabiting the country.

The generality of the Chinese community in Malaya are convinced from actual experience that British colonial administration has decidedly been more satisfactory than the colonial administration by other Powers, and Malaya will turn once more to Britain especially if she will work out a new type of relationship

with her and put Malaya well on the road to real self-government and freedom.

The Straits-born Chinese have been for generations staunchly and traditionally loyal to the British Crown. To men like the writer it has been a matter of great grief that the local Government has done little to encourage them to feel that Malaya was their real home in spite of constant pleadings on the part of our leading men. In recent years the Malayan authorities even turned a deaf ear to all our appeals that we should be enabled to completely identify ourselves with the interests of Malaya and British Empire and Commonwealth.

We, Malaysians of all races, both Asiatic and European, took many decades of patient and arduous labour to build up the magnificent edifice of the economic prosperity of Malaya, which was utterly demolished in ten brief weeks by ruthless invasion, chiefly as a result of a defective and inadequate system of defence and of not associating the people of the country with its government and with its defence on a basis proportionate to the requirements. This war has taught mankind many bitter but vital lessons from which we should seek to profit, and in the memorable words of a wise British statesman, Earl Grey of Fallodon, British Foreign Minister at the outbreak of 1914-1918 World War, we must "learn or perish"!

GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH MALAYA.

Malaya under the British had a purely *autocratic* form of government, at the head of which was the Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Malay States, who, assisted by a staff of specially selected *British bureaucrats* known as the Malayan Civil Service, ruled the whole country under the general direction of the Colonial Office in London.

The general public had practically no voice and no direct representation in the government of the country, except that the

British European Chambers of Commerce at Singapore and Penang had the legal right to elect their two respective members on the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements. The Executive and Legislative Councils of the Straits Settlements, the Federal (Legislative) Council in the Federated Malay States and the State Councils in the Unfederated and Federated Malay States, which were all dominated by official majorities, *were in reality merely advisory bodies*, on which all the unofficial representatives were nominated by the Government (with the two above exceptions). They were therefore utterly impotent as representative institutions and on the whole ineffectual for deliberative purposes and in the matter of representing public views, especially those of the Asiatic population. The local Head of the Malayan Governments, that is the Governor of the Straits Settlements and Commissioner for the Malay States, was completely under the direction of the Colonial Office in London, which, however, in practice usually leaves alone a colonial Governor in the exercise of his autocratic powers, and generally speaking does not intervene in the government of a Colony or Protectorate except on rare or special occasions, for instance, when there should be a riot or disturbance of the public peace such as occurred in Jamaica in recent years. *The Colonial Office in London had no contact or direct relationship with the people and public opinion in Malaya to all intents and purposes.* The unofficial European British community in Malaya on the whole did not take any real interest in the welfare of the country and its people, except in so far as taxation affected their own pockets and those of the firms and the vested interests which they represented and their own immediate well-being was concerned. Nor did the British public and Parliament in metropolitan Britain evince any practical interest in the affairs of Malaya.

The net result of it all was that Malaya was virtually at the mercy of and autocratically ruled by the Executive Head of the Local Administration and the Malayan Civil Service, who with

the support of the European British community sternly set their face against any kind of constitutional or political progress in Malaya. Their attitude in this respect was well typified by that of the "Straits Times", the powerful newspaper organ of the British community, which was traditionally absolutely dead against any kind of political change or concession and consistently upheld the policy of maintaining the *status quo* for ever in Malaya. But change for the better is essential in every sphere of human affairs to ensure progress.

In the future administration of Malaya it is essential that there should be established some workable form of direct liaison or contact between the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government in London on the one hand and on the other hand the people of Malaya through their representative associations and leading men, so that the British parliament and public and the powers that be in London may have first-hand and accurate knowledge of the real feelings and views of all classes of the population at any time. The Government in Malaya should make it its fundamental policy and aim to foster amity and harmony among the principal races, both Asiatic and European, which make up its composite population, to all racial elements in which equal rights, political, economic and otherwise should be accorded, so as to build up a Malayan community with Malayan consciousness and inspired by Malayan patriotism living in a free land within the British Empire and Commonwealth and to preclude the possibility of what has happened, for instance, in India, where deep, intense and universal racial hatred and distrust seem to be patently prevalent to the detriment of all concerned.

The Government of a country, even of a Crown Colony or Dependency, should be founded "on the basic democratic presupposition that nobody can know what it is like to obey laws and live under a form of government except those who are actually subject to the laws and those who actually suffer the

government. It is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. So it follows that the wearer should choose his shoe and that he cannot afford to allow others to choose for him. The subject should have a voice in making the laws and in choosing the government under which he must live”.

The people of Malaya should after the war be given a measure of *self-government* of which they are capable of exercising, and in the shortest possible time be granted by planned and regular stages full responsible government under the Crown and as a unit of the British Commonwealth and Empire in all matters of internal and civil administration, and then march on progressively towards full freedom.

Recently whilst publicly affirming that the administration of British colonies must remain the sole responsibility of Great Britain, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Oliver Stanley, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, declared almost simultaneously that the British Government's *ultimate aim is to see self-government established in the various British colonies*, and that their policy is to plan for the fullest possible political, economic and social development of the colonies within the British Empire and in close co-operation with neighbouring friendly nations. Lord Hailey has suggested that there should be instituted a Regional International Advisory Council for the Pacific area consisting of colonial Powers and other nations interested therein, which would have the definite function of advising progress achieved both in political and social matters and which would make periodical review of the progress made towards self-government in the Pacific colonies.

Though Malaya was to all intents and purposes one political, social and economic unit, yet there were seven separate civil administrations with as many customs and other essential state services in such a small compact area, which rendered the work of government more difficult, more wasteful and more expensive,

hampered internal trade, produced constant friction, created unnecessary trouble and led to all sorts of complications.

The whole of British Malaya should be united under one government, if necessary, on a federal basis, i.e., if it should not be found possible to adopt a completely centralised form of polity, which would be preferable. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished! The writer as a member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements made a strong plea in favour of a United Malaya, which the post-war period should afford a golden opportunity to bring about.

It may be noted here that, according to report, the Sultan of each of the Malay States now serves in the capacity of an Adviser to the Japanese Governor.

Constitutional reforms for Malaya have been badly needed and long overdue. Malaya has been among the most backward dependencies in the British Colonial Empire in the matter of political progress, though vastly superior to most of the rest of it in the economic sphere, while in intelligence, education, political consciousness and public spirit, Malaysians certainly compare favourably with the people of Burma, Ceylon and the West Indies, who have for quite some time enjoyed much more substantial political rights. Malaya, while being economically more independent than those other parts of the Colonial Empire, has been accorded less political rights, which anomaly should be rectified by taking advantage of the favourable opportunity to do so offered in the post-war period when change can be more easily achieved.

In place of the former out-of-date and unsatisfactory regime and as required by 20th century conditions, a new post-war constitution for Malaya should be framed, whereby such a measure of self-government should be given to the people as they are capable of exercising, and which should provide for (a) the establishment

of a Legislative Assembly for a United or Federated Malaya with a substantial elected unofficial majority, and (b) the election by the Legislature, for the duration of its term from its outset, of a Council of Ministers holding responsible administrative posts in the Government and constituting, with the officials holding office with respect to certain "reserved subjects", the Executive Branch of the Government. It may also be provided that members of the Legislative Assembly may be elected by Chambers of Commerce and other representative associations existing among the various communities as well as by popular vote.

In the early stages of self-government in Malaya the powers of the Colonial Office in London should be restricted to the exercise of the veto through the Governor in cases of emergency. This reserve power of the Colonial Office should not be used unless the safety of the country or public order demands it in times of emergency. In normal or ordinary times the Governor should be bound by law to follow the advice of the majority of his Council of Ministers and of the Legislative Assembly.

As soon as the war is over and Malaya recovered, His Majesty's Government may proceed to appoint a commission to examine the whole question with a view to the formulation of a complete constitutional scheme providing for a suitable measure of self-government for Malaya after considering such detailed proposals as the general public of Malaya may be invited to make.

The rights of representation in the Legislative Assembly and Government of Malaya, if it be apportioned as between the various communities making up the Malayan population on the basis of their respective numbers, which is an equitable principle, should be in the following ratio:—3 to the Malay community: 3 to the Chinese community: 1 to the other communities. The ratio of 3: 3: 1 suggested above, which is largely based on population figures of the various communities, does not even

concede to the Chinese community that measure of representation and share in the government of the country in strict proportion to their numbers, their economic importance and the amount of public revenue contributed by them. In the past the bulk of the public revenue in Malaya was produced by the Chinese community, which, it may be presumed, will continue to be so in the future. It may be added that the present constitution of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements provides for the nomination of three Chinese, one Malay, one Indian and one Eurasian unofficial members as representatives of their respective communities thereon. In the Executive Council of the Straits Settlements for the last ten years the sole Asiatic unofficial member was a Chinese.

The principle would have to be maintained that only those born in Malaya or who are British subjects by birth or who have acquired British nationality or Malayan citizenship by naturalisation can hold seats in the Legislature or the highest posts in the Government and exercise the franchise.

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the existence of the Chinese community in Malaya, particularly its China-born section, creates a difficult and complex problem. If so the writer would like to propose a practical solution.

Whilst the Malaya-born Chinese have of late years been considerably perturbed by the policy of Sir Cecil Clementi towards the Chinese and have consequently become anxious about their future, political and otherwise in Malaya, the China-born Chinese have never taken a practical interest in the politics of Malaya, though naturally they have always been interested in the political and other happenings in China. As far as Malaya is concerned the China-born Chinese have all along confined themselves to their economic activities and to the improvement of their social welfare.

They have consistently avoided taking any active part in Malayan politics, and in this respect have adopted a proper and correct attitude in their position as aliens. *Like the Straits-born Chinese they have maintained the friendliest relationship with the Malays and the others.*

The Chinese communists may have given some trouble to the police in Malaya, but Communism exists everywhere in the world and appears to be a world-wide international organisation.

Nevertheless when Singapore was in desperate straits at the time of the Japanese invasion of Malaya, it was the Chinese communists and Chinese volunteers, largely recruited from the ranks of the China-born Chinese community, who made an immediate and widespread response to the call of the Governor to assist in the defence of Singapore and for men for service in the front line, and who fought heroically by the side of the British in what they must have known to be a hopeless attempt to stem the advancing tide of Japanese invasion. The Chinese volunteers fought with desperate fury, and either perished or were shot by the Japanese (when they set about clearing up "seditious elements" in Singapore immediately after their occupation of the whole island), or if alive may be still fighting the Japanese as guerillas in the mountains and jungles of Malaya. If the Chinese had been trained and armed by the British in good time and numbers, the chances are that they would have given even a better account of themselves and played a very important part in the defence of Malaya.

If properly and fairly treated by the British in the future, as has been done to a good extent in the past, the China-born Chinese will not only be the economic necessity to Malaya that they have proved to be in the past, but also will form a most loyal and valuable element in the Malayan population, willing and able to take a vital part in the defence of Malaya under British leadership should an occasion arise in the future.

The Chinese are by tradition and nature very faithful and loyal and a most grateful people. This is the testimony of sinologues, missionaries and other foreigners, such as Professor H. Giles and the American bishop, J. W. Bashford, who had lived long among Chinese and knew them intimately.

The writer has every confidence that if the China-born Chinese are given a fair deal in Malaya they will, like the Straits-born Chinese, regard themselves in course of time as *Malayans first* and Chinese secondly as long as they make Malaya their home—a safe and logical conclusion to come to on the basis of the actual past record of the Chinese community in Malaya.

The best way of treating the Chinese is to trust them and to give an opportunity to those of them, who have resided in Malaya, especially if they have done so with their families, for a sufficiently long period and have become domiciled in the country, to acquire the right of Malayan citizenship by naturalisation, so as to enable them to identify themselves completely with the interests of the land of their adoption. That is the best and wisest course to adopt by way of solving the so-called Chinese problem in Malaya in the humble opinion of the writer. The writer when living in Switzerland was informed that he could have obtained Swiss nationality after five years' residence in the country.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

With regard to the question of Chinese immigration into Malaya the writer would like to express his views for the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

Malaysia or the Malay Archipelago, which extends for more than 4,000 miles from East to West with a breadth of about 1,300 miles from North to South, is approximately one million square miles in area, and with the exception of Java constitutes some of the unfilled spaces of the globe, into which the Chinese from

the overcrowded South Eastern Maritime Provinces of China have immigrated for the last over one thousand years, and which has served as a natural region to provide room for the overflow of the population from the neighbouring provinces of China and India in the same way as the people of Europe have overflowed into North America during the last two centuries. The entire Archipelago with its one million square miles and fertile soil seems capable of sustaining a population of five hundred to six hundred millions of people. *Throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia the Chinese has made his way economically without interfering with the lives of its other inhabitants and without doing them any harm.* If the Chinese, one of the greatest colonising powers of the world and who are excluded from entering every other empty space in the six continents of the earth, are told that in future they are also prohibited to migrate into Malaysia, they will naturally feel aggrieved and think that they have a just cause for complaint against this dog-in-the-manger policy, which will not make for international amity and may conceivably create a difficult international problem and situation.

Further one feels justified in anticipating that what has happened in the past and circumstances in the future may induce the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, *viz.* the United States of America and Great Britain, together with China, as the three leading Powers and vitally interested parties, to form as part of a world organisation for security, the central core of a Confederation of the countries in East Asia and the Pacific Basin for the purpose of promoting their economic collaboration and common prosperity as well as for the protection and defence and to act as the Guardians of Peace of these regions, especially as the Pacific Ocean bids fair in the future to constitute the centre of gravity of human civilisation and destiny and the great theatre of human events for all centuries to come.

The United States House of Representatives has just passed a Bill repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act, admitting on a quota basis 105 Chinese to the United States annually and granting them the right of citizenship. This American action is a political gesture full of significance.

Eighty per cent. of Malaya still consists of undeveloped jungles, so that there is plenty of room for the Malays, Chinese, Indians, Europeans and others to make their livelihood therein. For the past several hundreds of years the three Asiatic communities have lived in peace and harmony in Malaya, and there is no valid reason why they should not do so in future unless artificial difficulties are created to disturb that harmonious relationship between them.

The complete stoppage or rigorous restriction of Chinese immigration into Malaya, for instance, may seriously affect the country economically, especially during the post-war period, when labour will be essential to rehabilitate the whole country, which may be found to be devastated by war or in a much despoiled, neglected and damaged condition in consequence of the war. For instance, to reclaim and recondition the three and one third million odd acres of rubber lands alone, which may be found to be overgrown densely with the obnoxious and deep-rooted "lalang" grass and jungle trees, will necessitate the employment of many, many tens of thousands of sturdy, industrious Chinese coolies. It is a most exhausting and fatiguing kind of work to be done with the labourers fully exposed to the hot tropical sun whilst eradicating the tenacious "lalang", for which the Tamils, Malays and even Javanese are not suitable. As rubber production is reported to be restricted in Malaya under Japanese control, it is highly probable that the rubber areas there are badly neglected. For the restoration of the tin-mining industry Chinese labour will also be indispensable. Subsequently plentiful labour will always be needed to keep to the country going and further develop

it not only agriculturally but also industrially and in other important directions. China offers an unlimited supply of the best, the most industrious and reliable, and the most efficient class of labour for the purpose, whilst the Chinese, unlike the Javanese and the Indians, are willing to come in any quantity to fulfil the vital economic needs of Malaya.

During the whole course of Malayan history the Chinese have never been known to do any harm in any way to the Malays and the other inhabitants of the country. On the contrary they have done much good to them by helping the development of the country. But for Chinese energy in opening up the country economically one doubts whether there would be as many as 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions of prosperous Malays and Malaysians in the land to-day. The Malays have absolutely no cause for complaint against the Chinese except that they are not so prosperous as the Chinese through no fault of the latter. In the future there is no reason why the Malays cannot collaborate with the Chinese in business to mutual advantage and thus also to develop their commercial instincts and raise their economic status. Will the Malays do so?

Whilst agreeing that Chinese immigration into Malaya may be regulated, as it has been done in the past ten years, in accordance with the economic needs of the country and other circumstances, the writer thinks that it would be unwise and detrimental to Malaya to stop it altogether or even to restrict it solely for political reasons.

It is the firm conviction of the writer that the ideal to be aimed at by every community in Malaya is that they should learn to regard themselves as *Malayans First irrespective of their race*. This should make not only for inter-racial unity and harmony such as has so conspicuously characterised, for instance, Switzerland, but would also contribute to the unity, strength and stability of the Malayan State, which would thereby be enabled

to raise itself to the rank of a worthy and important partner in the great British Commonwealth of Nations.

ADMINISTRATIVE SPHERE.

In the administrative sphere the right of admission of His Majesty's Asiatic subjects into the Malayan Civil Service proper should be restored, and the position in relation thereto should revert to that obtaining prior to 1910, when Sir John Anderson, the then Governor, introduced the colour bar, whereby since then only British subjects of pure European descent on both sides are eligible to sit for the competitive Civil Service Examinations in London, through which members of the Malayan Civil Service have been recruited. In this way the door of the Malayan Civil Service has been effectively closed to the Asiatic and non-European subjects of His Majesty contrary to the letter and spirit of Queen Victoria's famous Proclamation on the subject. Thanks to Sir Cecil Clementi there was instituted in 1933 or thereabouts the Straits Settlements Civil Service opening certain of the lower appointments in the higher services of the Government to the locally-born Asiatic British subjects. This was of course a concession, though of a very limited nature, made as a result of persistent public agitation led by the writer of this Memorandum. The colour bar in the Malayan Civil Service and racial discrimination in any shape or form in the other Government services and throughout the whole country should be completely abolished and eradicated, so that all those services should be open to all Malaya-born Asiatics as well as to Europeans on equal terms with the latter and the "cancer of the modern world" may be removed from the Malayan body politic.

EDUCATION.

Free elementary education in English up to, say, the Fourth Standard and in Chinese as well as in Malay should be furnished by the Government with public assistance throughout the country.

The teaching of Chinese as a language subject should be made available to all Chinese students in English secondary schools.

The China-born Chinese community of Malaya organised almost entirely out of their own resources and maintained financially schools all over the country providing Chinese education for more than fifty thousand Chinese students (*i.e.*, equal to the total number of scholars enrolled in all the English schools in Malaya supported by the Government), with hardly any financial assistance from the Government. All these schools should have been run at public expense as far as possible or adequately subsidised by the Government, who should also exercise some measure of control over these Chinese schools and their curriculum. The Chinese must necessarily receive instruction through the medium of their native tongue as they can best develop themselves along the lines of their own culture and tradition, in which they can take deep root. The Chinese community, in addition to paying the major part of the taxation of the country, including the education rate, bore practically the whole burden of the cost of the education in Chinese of their own boys and girls, while the Malays and others were given their education in Malay and English at the expense of the Government.

Whilst the writer entirely agrees with Colonel Oliver Stanley's dictum that "we want to see good Africans, good West Indians, good Malaysians, not imitation Englishmen" (a doctrine which the writer himself preached at meetings of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council), it should at the same time be pointed out that the question of education in Malaya is not quite a simple one. In a British dependency like Malaya, English education has a definite economic and other important values, and the Straits-born Chinese, for instance, have for the last two generations received their education primarily in English, which, if supplemented with a good Chinese education, would have made them good British subjects, good Malaysians and good Chinese. A good

English education for obvious and important reasons appears to be necessary in a British colony and dependency.

Hitherto in Malaya the overwhelming number of boys when they finished off their English education had no other occupation open to them except to become clerks, which calling besides being of the "blind-alley" type was fast getting overcrowded, thus leading to considerable unemployment and distress among the middle-class people in Malaya. Therefore by way of relieving unemployment and creating more and better avenues of employment, *technical education of all kinds and grades* should be provided at convenient or populous centres up and down the country.

Trade schools to provide vocational training, which were recently started in Singapore and Penang, were a great success, and a number of them sufficient to meet the increasing demand for it should be opened throughout the country.

The only agricultural school in the country at Serdang, near Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, had not enough accommodation to meet the great demand for agricultural education, which is highly important in a country largely devoted to agriculture. The Serdang school should not only be enlarged to provide more accommodation, but there should also be room for more agricultural schools to be established at convenient places in the country. Moreover, rubber planting and agriculture generally speaking tend to become more and more scientific in character, and it is highly necessary to give those who should choose to engage in rubber planting, a thorough and scientific training, which should not only be of benefit to them but also to the rubber planting industry. Malaya with its three and one third million acres of planted rubber should be capable of absorbing in employment all the graduates, who will have passed out of its agricultural schools.

Technical education is a supreme necessity in this modern age of applied science and technology and the machine. The purpose of education should be to equip a person to earn a living and function efficiently as well as to impart knowledge enabling us to choose the right ends of life and appreciate what is good, true and beautiful.

In addition to a university, which should be founded in Singapore, to embody the then existing Medical College and Raffles College and new colleges to be opened and designed to give instruction in other of the more important branches of learning, and which should be capable of conferring degrees in various faculties, a proper technical college and similar institutions should be established in the country with the specific object of giving instruction in the various types of the higher technical and professional education. At the time it was not possible for a student to take up, for instance, engineering and law at any of the centres of learning in Malaya, and these needs should be met.

SOCIAL SERVICES.

Existing social services should be developed and new ones continually introduced to improve the conditions of life, *especially those of the poorer classes*, and the lot of the common man must be improved and his living standard raised with his purchasing power increased. What the common man wants is "a chance to do honest work, receive good pay, live in a decent house, eat good food, enjoy education and cultural facilities and be freed from the harrowing worries of unemployment, sickness and old age". Measures must be taken and means must be devised to bring about these desired results.

The housing condition of the poor and working people in Singapore and other big centres of population in Malaya was deplorable and highly unsatisfactory, and this problem should be

earnestly tackled in order to bring about a really substantial improvement in the housing accommodation of the poor by a gigantic programme of constructing suitable blocks of new tenement houses by the municipal authorities acting in co-operation with the Government.

Homes for decrepits and the destitutes should be established throughout the whole country by the Government instead of allowing these unfortunate people to perish miserably or to become beggars, which in Malaya was a crime under the law with the result that all beggars were sent to prison. The institution of these Homes is an absolute necessity, and the writer of this Memorandum sat on a Committee which reported on the subject but whose recommendations were not carried out by the Government.

Free hospitals, clinics and dispensaries should be established throughout the country in the big towns and other populous areas for the benefit of the poor classes. Some of these clinics should specialise in the treatment of tuberculosis (which takes a heavy toll of life in Malaya) and in the discovery of the early cases which are curable. Tuberculosis sanatoria providing for the modern surgical therapy of the disease should be started on Cameron Highlands, so that rich and poor alike may avail themselves of the most up-to-date methods of dealing with this scourge under the best of conditions. Venereal disease, which plays havoc with the lives of the people, should also be systematically combated and on an adequate scale. On rubber estates, tin mines and the big factories a system of compulsory medical service should be instituted for the benefit of the labourers and workers therein. The health standard of the whole population should be raised and the mortality rate reduced and all effective measures taken with these objects in view.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT.

While it is necessary that the Malays, (who are more backward than the other races), should be protected against unfair competition and exploitation, especially in relation to their tenure of lands for agricultural purposes and in their home villages, and should be assisted by the Government in every way to accelerate their economic and educational advancement and progress in other respects, *the interests and rights of the other races should not thereby be effected to their detriment and in such a way as to hamper their development and advancement.* The principle of "live and let live" and justice should be extended to all racial elements and all classes in the Malayan population in all respects.

The small agriculturists, vegetable gardeners, mining and rubber and estate other plantation labourers as well as people of the working classes and of small means of the Chinese and the other races should be allowed and encouraged by the Government to take up land on simple and easy terms (as was formerly the case in the Straits Settlements and other parts of Malaya over thirty years ago), on which they may settle down with their families and grow foodstuffs and fruits and other crops and also develop other industries including pig-rearing, which was so flourishing at one time at Malacca and elsewhere in Malaya, thereby helping to build up a large and permanent labour population in the country, which has been dependent so much on outside labour, and contributing to the subsistence production of Malaya, which has had to import huge quantities of foodstuffs of all sorts from abroad.

The Chinese, who are extraordinarily fine rice cultivators, capable of extracting from the soil two or more crops in a year, may be permitted and encouraged to own and work paddy-fields for the purpose of rice cultivation as in former days. This would immensely increase the rice production of the country, which has had to import from abroad one-half to two-thirds of its rice

consumption, which must be a highly unsatisfactory state of affairs, especially in war time.

The Government might reserve certain specified areas on an adequate scale to be allotted as small holdings to Chinese and Indians of the labouring classes in various parts of the country on similar lines as lands have been allotted to the Malays. Chinese and other non-Malay people were formerly permitted to hold land under "mukim extracts".

Malaya has been too much dependent on tin and rubber and a few other crops, and requires a much greater diversity in production. Therefore the extensive growing of a variety of suitable economic products and the development of local handicrafts and other industries are needed to broaden the basis of economic life, for all which purposes not only Malays but also the hardworking Chinese and the other races can be profitably and successfully employed. For instance, recently the small Chinese agriculturists in Malaya embarked on tobacco cultivation on an appreciable scale and made a great success of it, thus augmenting the productivity of the country.

Malaya is much more dependent upon rubber than upon tin. Every time there was a serious and prolonged slump in the demand for rubber with its price falling below the cost of production, there would result acute distress amongst the people, which would threaten to bring about a veritable collapse of the economic life of the whole country, as happened in the great crisis of 1931, when rubber was selling at 1½d. per lb. and the irreducible cost of production was 2d. per lb. Relief only came then through the introduction of an international scheme of compulsory restriction of production with the consent and collaboration of the big consumer interests of the United States of America, who realised that without this measure of control extensive rubber areas in the producing countries would have

reverted to jungles and gone out of cultivation to the detriment of both producers and consumers.

The President of the Goodrich Company has recently prophesied a world rubber demand after the war of at least two million tons yearly—almost twice the world's record pre-war consumption.

Referring to certain moves to place a tariff on natural rubber to protect the United States synthetic industry, President Roosevelt said that he hoped that, when he was out of the White House, such legislation would be vetoed. Synthetic rubber is a quite different product from natural rubber and used for different purposes, whilst its cost should be five to six times that of plantation rubber.

However, if things should go wrong with the plantation rubber industry after the war, it is to be hoped that His Majesty's Government will do all it can to arrange for the continuation of the International Plan for the regulation of rubber production in vogue in the East in December 1941. This course would be essential to prevent the financial collapse of Malaya, which would be disastrous in view of the imperative necessity to meet the huge cost of its post-war economic rehabilitation.

A study should be made of the question of establishing in Malaya after the war of manufacturing industries of the type that can draw their raw materials from local sources and be assured of a local market, such as that of rubber tyres and goods. The manufacture of fertilisers which must be used on rubber estates and of cement for use in the country would be highly desirable and profitable.

The industrialisation of Malaya must be given a start, if the country wishes to be ultimately a self-governing and a self-sufficient unit.

The Government should help to organise the formation amongst the Malays as well as the Chinese and other races of co-operative societies and stores, and thrift, loan and other benefit societies, which should have a big scope for the poor and small people of all communities in Malaya, and over which Government should exercise some sort of supervisory control to ensure that they would be run on right lines and in an honest manner.

LABOUR.

Workmen's Compensation Law was enacted in the early part of the last decade in Malaya, where a law was also recently passed legalizing trade unionism. The practical application of the just principle of the liability of employers for payment of compensation to workmen killed or injured in the course of their employment and the organization of trade unions for the protection and promotion of the common interests of the manual workers should be revived and further developed in practice after the war in Malaya.

Labour leaders experienced in the running of trade unions in Europe should be imported into Malaya to instruct the labourers in the principles and practice of the movement, in order that the labourers may effectively unite for the protection of their rights and interests. Minimum standards of wages in every big industry like rubber planting, tin mining, and tin smelting and in the big factories should be fixed with the approval of the Government and revised from time to time as circumstances dictate. There should be set up in Malaya after the war a Labour Advisory Board, consisting of the representatives of the Government, including the officer in charge of the Labour Department and of representatives of employers and workpeople in equal numbers to deal with such questions as wage rates, cost of living, unemployment, relief works, recruitment and employment of women and children.

In this regard John Stuart Mill has uttered a warning in these words:—“if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned, as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great and small, of communism would be as dust in the balance”. Even in the East this warning should be taken to heart and justice should be done to the working classes.

OPIUM SMOKING.

Throughout the history of Malaya during perhaps the last one hundred years or more a very substantial portion of its revenue was derived from the opium consumed by the Chinese population of the country. The pernicious habit of opium smoking should be completely done away with, and more drastic steps should be taken to eradicate the evil, which has caused a marked deterioration in the character and physique of the Chinese who indulge in it, especially the working classes. The Chinese immigrants usually took to the habit of opium smoking after their arrival in Malaya, partly because of lack of other forms of recreation after a hard day's work. Facilities for sports and games and other wholesome forms of amusement and recreation should be afforded to the Chinese both in the urban and rural areas where they are found in big numbers.

DEATH DUTIES.

Ostensibly as a war measure a scale of death duties of precisely the same high level as enforced in England ascending to a maximum rate of sixty per cent. (maximum rate reduced

to forty per cent. as a result of representations made by those affected, but rates for estates valued at several million dollars and under left unchanged) on the value of the estate of a deceased person payable in hard cash, was levied in Malaya since 1940. There was no scale of death duties enforced in Malaya more than sixty or seventy years ago. When it was first introduced the maximum rate was seven per cent., which was subsequently increased to twelve per cent. In 1931 it was raised to twenty per cent., which the writer believes is the maximum rate charged at the present time as death duty in the neighbouring colony of Ceylon, which has the same population as Malaya. In India practically no death duty is imposed even in war time.

The new scale of death duties charged was confiscatory in its actual effects in a small country like Malaya, which unlike England is not a manufacturing country, but in which the bulk of the wealth of the people consisted of rubber and other agricultural and mining lands and house property, which had such a limited market that when a big lot of such property was sold at one time for the purpose of procuring the cash to meet the death duty, values thereof would immediately depreciate considerably with the result that the sale of the whole property of a deceased person would usually realise not more than thirty to forty per cent. of its proper value. In 1927 or thereabouts a rich Chinese, named Lee Kiah Soon, in Johore died with his estate valued by the Government for the purpose of assessing death duty payable thereon at about Straits dollars 1½ millions, which was liable under the then scale of estate duties to pay the maximum rate of twelve per cent. of its value. When the whole estate of the deceased, on the trustees making default to pay up after a period of grace extending over a few years, was finally sold up by the Government to enforce payment of the death duty at only twelve per cent., the proceeds of sale (of his whole property) were just about enough to meet the payment due to the Government on this account. In consequence the beneficiaries

under the will of the deceased person received hardly any of the legacies and bequests devised therein to them. Instances like this could easily have been multiplied. If a rate of 12% of death duty utterly ruined the estate of a Chinese millionaire, who at the time of his death owned no money whatsoever to other people and whose estate was therefore unencumbered with any debt, it is inevitable that the scale of death duties ranging up to 40% in a small country like Malaya with its restricted property market and other limitations must be most devastating and disastrous to the estates of deceased persons worth more than \$500,000 or \$1,000,000. The Government may tax *but should not ruin people*, as this new scale of death duties is bound to do in respect of the richer estates. *It was a piece of class legislation aimed at the Chinese most probably.* Further it was a short-sighted policy on the part of the Government to inflict upon the country a scale of taxation which was utterly beyond the capacity of the country to bear, and which must necessarily result in the ruination of the rich estates, thereby causing a flight of capital from the country and inducing people to squander their money instead of saving it and accumulating wealth. It was verily a policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. This ruinous and confiscatory new scale of death duties was decidedly unjustifiable and unnecessary even as a war measure. After the war it is to be trusted that the Government will restore the former scale providing for a maximum rate of 20%, which was already so high that it was not quite within the ability of the country to bear it at times.

The payment of death duties did not concern the European community in Malaya, all of whom retired to their homeland to die.

THE FUTURE.

The question that recurs to the mind of the man in the street in Asia to-day is whether after the war there will be a

*genuine change of heart on the part of the Western Powers and the rest of mankind, which will be instrumental in bringing about a better ordering of the world as a whole based on the conception of international co-operation, and of justice, freedom and equality for all humanity, when not only Germany and Japan should have been crushed to the dust but the death-blow should also be dealt to "the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization", as a result of the inescapable lessons taught by the present world war; or whether there will be merely a restoration of the *status quo* of 1939 and 1941 with no change for the better effected in reality and substance, when the world will relapse to the age of Machiavellianism, characterized by international immorality and national selfishness, and of insane racialism, mechanised barbarism and the reign of brute force.*

If unfortunately for mankind the latter state of affairs should prevail, we fear that there may be in the course of the next twenty-five or fifty years another world war in comparison with which the present conflict will prove only a skirmish.

"The ideal destiny of man should be towards equality and unity throughout the earth", for the consummation of a world state and the era,

"When each shall find his own in every other's good,
And all men join in a common brotherhood".

Apropos of this point Confucius 2,500 years ago expressed what amounts to Chinese ethical, social and political philosophy in a nutshell in these words:—

(a) "Search into the nature of things, extend the boundaries of knowledge, make the purpose sincere, regulate the mind, cultivate personal virtue, rule the family, govern the State, pacify mankind".

(b) "Within the four seas all are brethren".

If this ideal should be impossible of achievement, and there must be regular and perpetual cycles of progress and decay accompanied by ever recurring wars of annihilation in human history, then the future outlook for mankind is indeed black. Idealism is as necessary in human life as realism.

So far as East Asia in which we live is concerned, we feel that in order to prevent a repetition of what happened before the war, which made it possible for wicked, cunning and militaristic Nippon to seize a great Empire so quickly as never before occurred in history, there should be a radical change from the state of affairs then prevailing, which has been responsible for the chain of events culminating in the military disasters which overwhelmed us in 1942.

The French, for instance, agreed to allow Japan to use their territories in Indo-China as a base of operations, which enabled the Japanese troops to sail from Saigon, land at Singora in Thailand and march victoriously down the west coast of the Malayan mainland to take Singapore from the back-door on February the 15th 1942, and subsequently to seize the whole of the golden Indies, the richest Archipelago in the world. Will the French be allowed after the war to reoccupy Indo-China as part of the French Empire? If so, will France unaided be able to defend Indo-China against aggression in the future better than they have done in the past?

Still less will tiny and far-away Holland be able to ensure from attack the 800,000 square miles of the golden Indies extending for some thousands of miles across the South Pacific Ocean, if these vast territories are returned to her after the war.

What will be the position of Thailand, whose people have been definitely pro-Japanese even since or before 1931?

In all the Pacific colonies of the Western Powers, with the possible exception of the Philippine Islands, their inhabitants were not trained and equipped for the defence of their countries on a national scale, so that they were quite helpless to defend themselves against the Japanese invaders.

The world is so inter-dependent that what happens in one part of it will affect the rest of it including Malaya.

Perhaps the best solution of the problem thus presented would be to institute, as part of a world organisation to maintain peace and security, an International Council of East Asia, on which Britain, the United States of America, China and the other powers with vital interests in this region should be represented, whose primary functions would be to supervise or co-operate in the administration of the Pacific colonies, and assume the duty and responsibility obligatory on the part of each and all of the parties concerned to materially participate in their defence, and to organise their inhabitants on a national scale to take part in preparing for the defence of their respective territories when attacked.

This will pave the way for the closest international co-operation in administering the colonial dependencies in the Pacific in accordance with general principles internationally agreed, and in making available for distribution to the whole world on an equitable basis the basic raw materials produced therein, which in turn will win the goodwill of other countries for the Colonial Powers and thus make for the stability of world peace, and which will also ensure that proper trusteeship for the inhabitants of the colonies will be exercised and the fulfilment of promises made, until the time arrives when they will be in a position to stand on their own legs.

Just as important as international co-operation to preserve world peace, is concerted international action to prevent inflation,

unemployment and world economic depression, as occurred after the last War and which brought about universal distress, and to wage war against poverty throughout the globe.

In particular the world looks to British and American leadership to bring about the realisation of the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, which should be applied to all humanity, and above all to help to ensure freedom from want throughout the earth by organising a universal war against poverty, ill-health and hunger among the masses of the people of this planet, success in which supreme task would have to be achieved, if necessary, by a reformed and planned economic system.

TAN CHENG LOCK

Dated 1st November, 1943.

16, MILLERS ROAD,
BANGALORE, South India.

III.

MEMORANDUM ON THE "QUISLING" RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MALAYAN ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY, ON 16th NOVEMBER, 1942.

At a general meeting of members of the Malayan Association, Bombay, on the 16th November, 1942, the following Resolution was unanimously passed :—

"That representations be made at once by this Association to the Imperial Government requesting the Imperial Government to declare forthwith and publicly that immediately upon the re-occupation of Malaya all "quislings" or persons who have assisted the Japanese either in the Civil Government of the Country or otherwise will, together with their families, be forthwith banished forever from Malaya. Provided always that continuing to carry on a pre-existing employment shall not necessarily be considered as assisting the Japanese."

The mover of the Resolution contended that "it is our duty to pass this Resolution, because when we return to Malaya we wish to see the place rid of 'quislings'." He explained that the Resolution amounted to a simple act of justice, and it was useless for people now in Malaya to plead that they were acting under coercion. "There is no necessity for people in Malaya to co-operate with the enemy, and the only reason one can deduce for their doing so is that the person would hope to gain something for his own benefit but against the interests of the Allied Nations." He suggested that once it was known in Malaya that the Imperial Government would adopt the policy outlined in this proposal there would no doubt be less willingness to help the Japanese.

The writer of this Memorandum wrote a letter dated 5th December 1942, to the Hon. Secretary of the Association to the

effect that the Resolution put forward and passed at the General Meeting held on the 16th November, 1942, on the subject of the so-called "quislings" in Malaya, should be subject to confirmation at the next General Meeting, in view of the fact that members, who were not present at the meeting on the 16th November, 1942, had no opportunity to vote or give their views on the Resolution, and that in the meantime members may be requested to express their views on the subject.

On February 1st. 1943, the writer addressed the following letter to the Honorary Secretary of the Association :—

"SIR,

General Meeting on 16th November, 1942—

Resolution re Quislings.

I am strongly opposed to the Resolution above referred to, which I consider unjust, unwise and impracticable on these grounds.

At the outset I would like to know what is the precise definition of the term "quislings", and if it is properly applicable to the subject and dependent peoples under which category the inhabitants of Malaya come?

Soon after the abandonment of Penang without any fighting to the Japanese in the early stages of the invasion of Malaya commencing on the 8th of December 1941, by its Military and Civil Authorities, Mr. L. D. Gammans, a member of Parliament, requested the British Government at a meeting of the House of Commons to threaten to punish for treason on the recovery of Malaya all persons, domiciled in Penang, said then to be serving in high official capacities under the Japanese in the settlement, and the Minister concerned did not reply and treated his question with silence, which was significant.

We all remember that practically only Europeans were evacuated from Penang at the time, whilst Asiatics were left behind to be entirely at the mercy of the looters and Japanese invaders. This racial discrimination thus practised then aroused resentment even amongst some of the British community in Singapore. The Secretary of State for the Colonies in refusing to give an answer to Mr. Gammans in the House of Commons must have thought of this act of gross injustice done to His Majesty's Asiatic subjects and the other Asiatic inhabitants of Penang, who were discriminated against by its Authorities, when they also attempted to escape from the Island with the European community then evacuated therefrom. The Japanese would not only have taunted the people of Penang with "British fair play" towards them for propaganda purposes and in the pursuit of their policy of systematic hostility and hatred of the white man, but also would have put any and all of them into a concentration camp to be tortured or made them face a firing squad in the typical, ruthless, Nipponese fashion, if such people should have showed any disinclination to assist or co-operate with them in any way. The people of Penang, who must also have been sorely embittered because of their treatment by the Penang Authorities at the time of the evacuation, had no alternative on earth but to submit to Japanese rule under which they had come through no fault whatsoever of their own.

We can be quite sure that the Japanese Military Authorities in all the occupied territories in the Colonial Empires of the European Powers have compelled every person therein to swear or acknowledge allegiance to their 'divine' Emperor, to invariably bow his head low when passing a Japanese sentry, to learn Japanese and generally to collaborate with them in every way whether he likes it or not. Japanese military rule in the occupied territories would automatically become a reign of terror if the people should dare to disobey them and make trouble.

It is our bounden duty to consider all these factors when we deal with any question affecting our people in Malaya and in the other conquered territories.

But for the fact that I and my family had already had passports issued to us—we having returned from Europe in July 1939, and but for the help I received from the Shipping Controller (a Mr. Hendley,) my family and I would never have been able to leave Malaya at all owing to the obstruction placed in our way by the Immigration Department in Singapore then ruled by a Malayan Civil Service official named Fleming. At the time I left Singapore on the 8th January 1942, I and my friends were convinced that only the dumb, deaf and blind could not have foreseen that it was much more probable that Singapore would fall than not. So it would serve no useful purpose for those not needed for its defence to remain in Singapore if they had the means of quitting it, especially to save their womenfolk from the horrors of war and Japanese atrocities.

Thousands of Chinese and other Asiatics must have been placed in a similar situation to that of myself and were not permitted to leave Singapore with their womenfolk even at their own expense at the time when not only they could have been of no use to its defence but would actually hamper it, and when the Government must have known that the chances were that Singapore would fall.

Imagine the feelings of all these and other inhabitants of Malaya, who were let down or thought they were left in the lurch or deceived in such manner and circumstances as to make them terribly embittered, when they should be told that we, who have had the good fortune to escape from Japanese rule and atrocities, have resolved to ask the British Government that immediately upon the reoccupation of Malaya all of them together with their families are to be banished forever from the country simply

because in order to have to eat, to get shelter and to live they have had in the face of overwhelming *force majeure* to submit to the rule of the ruthless conqueror and 'assist the Japanese either in the Civil Government of the country or otherwise', or to suffer death, hunger, or spoliation under circumstances absolutely beyond their control and in which they had no other alternative. Is this a 'simple act of justice'? It is most inconsistent and indefensible for the Resolution to exclude those 'continuing to carry on a pre-existing employment', for why because of a lucky accident should they also not show the same heroism as the rest of the population and defy the all-powerful conqueror in order to suffer death, torture, hunger or confiscation of their property and rights.

To carry out the principle underlying the Resolution to its logical conclusion any kind of collaboration with the Japanese even when arising out of the necessity to maintain one's life, economic or otherwise, or to sustain the life, whether economic or in other respects, of the community in Malaya under irresistible compulsion, should be punished with everlasting and wholesale banishment. In this way it is conceivable that half, if not all, of the population of Malaya, including the Sultan with their families, would have to be banished forever; for every one there must be compelled somehow to work in order to live and thereby assist the Japanese whether directly or indirectly in the governance of the country. It is utterly impossible for them to escape from Japanese rule and domination except by revolt or passive resistance, for which they are not organised and which they have no means to achieve with any chance of success, even if they thought they were morally bound thus to resist the Japanese.

When the right time arrives for them to resist the Japanese with some hope of success (unless the Japanese propaganda in the meantime should result in making them loyal subjects of the Mikado at heart, which is most doubtful especially in the case

of the Chinese, who naturally detest the Japanese), the inhabitants of Malaya if helped and organised would in all probability do so. But this Resolution, if the British Government should 'forthwith and publicly' declare its contents, might possibly deter them from wishing to resist the Japanese even at the right moment, as many of them might have been compelled to 'assist the Japanese either in the Civil Government of the country or otherwise', and thus would incur liability on the recovery of Malaya to be banished under the terms of the Resolution, though at heart they should hate the Japanese and wish their downfall.

Apply the principle underlying the Resolution to, and put it into practice, in occupied China and other occupied Eastern Asia territories, covering an area of two or more million square miles with hundreds of millions of inhabitants and also in occupied continental Europe on their recovery, and you can easily visualise the widespread chaos, devastation and injustice that would inevitably result, involving in unmerited misery untold millions of people, who would have every right and justification to plead that they were acting under 'coercion' of the most formidable and irresistible nature. For instance, all of the seven odd millions of workers with their families of the conquered European nationalities now forced to labour in the German war industry in Germany would have to be banished forever from their home countries after the war. Surely this cannot by any stretch of the imagination be designated 'a simple act of justice'. On the contrary I would rather call it an act of monstrous injustice! I can multiply numerous instances of this nature, but I will not waste time and words unnecessarily.

The conquered peoples of Europe, who at least are sure of their political freedom, if the United Nations should win, have infinitely stronger reasons for resisting their conquerors when there is absolutely no hope of success, than the miserable inhabitants of Malaya and of the rest of Malaysia, who, except

the Filipinos, have not been even promised that they will ever get their political freedom whichever side should win, though personally I believe that our people in Malaya know that they will on the whole be better off in the event of the Allied victory, for they must realize by this time the true meaning of Japanese rule and their co-prosperity New Order.

I would ask the members of the Association in this connection to

"Remember this, gentle folk, before you speak or act
The point of view is important as the fact".

Further there is a grim old saying that necessity knows no law, and it is from this standpoint also that we should endeavour to judge the position and action of our unfortunate and suffering brethren in Malaya now unhappily living under the tyrannical and militaristic rule of Nippon, against whose might they are absolutely helpless and powerless, through no choice of their own and much against their will.

I would like this letter to be read out at the next general meeting when the subject comes to be re-considered, and if this Resolution should still stand I wish to be completely dissociated from it, even if it be modified, and that this fact should be recorded in the minutes with my reasons for opposing the Resolution.

TAN CHENG LOCK.

16, MILLERS ROAD,
BANGALORE, South India.

30th April, 1943.

IV

MEMORANDUM OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH MALAYA, LONDON.

Below is a Memorandum on the reconstruction of Malaya which was drawn up by the Committee of the Association of British Malaya for submission to the Colonial Office.

RECONQUEST PERIOD.

- (a) Suggest political expediency requires reconquest by forces predominantly British in composition.
- (b) In order to destroy the military prestige of Japan in the eyes of the people of Malaya, it seems desirable that Malayan Regiments and Volunteers should form part of any Army of Occupation in Japan.

RESETTLEMENT (TEMPORARY).

- (a) Scheme for the appointment of a "shadow" government, with Governor and nucleus staff, should be prepared without delay in anticipation of reoccupation, as soon as reoccupation appears to be within measurable distance. (Say, a Governor, 2 executive officers, a legal adviser and a financial officer).
- (b) Emphasize the paramount importance of proper psychological return of the British, e.g., the right Governor, the correct declaration of future policy, including broadcasting etc., no financial pettiness, etc.
- (c) The new constitutional position to be settled as soon as possible, so as to reduce the period of military control to a minimum. The temporary military administration should be British.
- (d) It is assumed that the Rubber and Tin Associations are devising schemes for the immediate production of their respective commodities, and that relief measures for food,

clothing, medical supplies, etc. are now in process of organisation by the Government for the community as a whole.

RESETTLEMENT (PERMANENT).

Two principles are urged:—

- (a) The Malayan mainland should be constituted into one political and economic entity.
- (b) The domiciled inhabitants of Malaya must assume a greatly increased share in the government and administration of the country.

POLITICAL.

A. CROWN COLONY.

Malacca and Province Wellesley to become part of the Malay States, the islands of Singapore and Penang to remain the Crown Colony. Local government of the islands to be administered as enlarged municipalities, with extended powers, analogous, perhaps, to the administrative powers of our English County Boroughs—e.g. police, education, public health, etc. Legislative Council to be retained. Pan-Malayan matters to be decided by conventions between Federal Council and Legislative Council, with powers reserved to the Secretary of State in case of disagreement. Examples of Pan-Malayan matters are customs, currency, post and telegraphs, wireless and broadcasting, immigration, air communications, defence, etc.

Extension of representative nature of Legislative Council, Federal Council and Municipal Councils on principle of nomination by responsible bodies rather than on ballot-box principle.

High Commissioner of the Federation to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Crown Colony, with principal residence in Kuala Lumpur.

B. MALAY STATES.

- (a) Federation of nine States on mainland with one Federal Council with powers constituted under a new Treaty.
- (b) An upper Chamber composed of Sultans to be created. This Chamber would have no power over money bills and would have limited power to refer back certain matters of ordinary legislation. It would have complete control over Mohammedan religion and customs and Mohammedan inheritance on the mainland.
- (c) The old State Councils to be retained, but to be strictly limited in their powers; to be financed from Federal revenue and to have no purely State sources of revenue.

C. POLITICAL STATUS OF MALAYANS.

It is essential to face the fact that many non-Malays—especially Chinese and Indians—have acquired what is virtually a Malayan domicile and will expect to enjoy political rights and their fair share in the administration. At the same time the interests of the Malays must continue to be safeguarded.

It seems essential that the anomaly of the British "Protected Person" in Malaya must be abolished, and it must be assumed that all persons possessing or acquiring Malayan domicile, as heretofore suggested, shall automatically acquire British nationality.

Political rights (e.g. membership of Federal Council and Municipalities and general evolution towards self-government) shall be restricted to persons of British nationality by birth or naturalization, who have acquired a Malayan domicile for a period of not less than seven years and who have renounced allegiance to any foreign power.

The same restrictions regarding nationality and domicile shall not apply to government and municipal appointments to the

administrative and technical services, but it shall be understood that a reasonable balance of numbers shall be kept between the different races who possess British nationality, and that the special interests of the indigenous Malay population shall be safeguarded.

D. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

- (a) Economic Advisory Council with permanent secretariat to be set up under control of Federal and Legislative Councils, and to work in close liaison with any Colonial Economic Board in London.
- (b) Principle of Malay Reservation to be retained and possibly extended.
- (c) Immigration to be controlled.
- (d) Large-scale agricultural, industrial and mining development to be under licence and as part of agreed economic policy and approved development plan.
- (e) Encouragement of home-produced food and policy of small-scale subsistence production. Land suitable for rice and other food production to be reserved solely for such purposes.

E. EDUCATION.

It is considered that every effort must be made to develop a sense of Pan-Malayan citizenship on the part of all domiciled races, and for that reason a radical change in educational policy seems necessary.

Primary education to be universal and compulsory for all races. Medium of Education to be English and Malay. Danger to be avoided of top-heavy cultural and educational system. Increased bias towards technical and agricultural education.

F. SOCIAL SERVICES.

Appointment of fact-finding Committee of Enquiry to investigate desirability and financial practicability of extension of social services, including urban housing.

V

COMMENTS ON THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH MALAYA'S MEMORANDUM ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MALAYA.

RESETTLEMENT.

In view of the possibility that the cunning enemy by means of propaganda and the work he has done in Malaya may have somehow succeeded in deceiving its people and thus commended himself and his purposes to them, His Majesty's Government should be ready to return to Malaya with a well-defined policy—a policy that will take into consideration the needs, aspirations and feelings of the people who live there.

It is perfectly obvious that the political and economic union of Malaya, which is a small compact area of some 52,000 square miles, is ultimately inevitable and that the post-war period offers a golden opportunity to bring about its consummation.

The non-Malay domiciled inhabitants of Malaya feel that they have won as good a title to be regarded as the sons of the soil as have the Malays and the domiciled Malaysians who together form less than 50% of the whole population, and that they should be accorded an equal and adequate share in the government and administration of the country.

POLITICAL.

Either the whole of British Malaya, inclusive of the Islands of Singapore and Penang, should constitute a complete union as a unitary state under a centralized form of government, which would be preferable, or it may be federally united. Whether under a unitary or a federal system embracing the whole of Malaya, Singapore and Penang could, if absolute necessity should dictate such a course, be administered as autonomous municipalities, whilst forming an integral part of the Malayan Union.

To relegate the historic and ancient settlement of Malacca, the premier state and mother of Malaya, and the Province Wellesley to the status of being appendages of the native states would be a violation of the rights and sentiments and an outrage upon the sense of justice of their inhabitants. The Malay States are a lower form of government than the direct rule obtaining in the Colony of the Straits Settlements, which ought therefore to be preserved intact unless merged as a whole in a colonial superstate or Federation with the mainland. What would the people of Singapore and Penang say if these two islands were to be returned to Johore and Kedah to which they originally belonged?

The nine Malay States and the Straits Settlements should become the components of a United or Federated Malaya as one political and economic unit with a central legislature functioning for the whole at Singapore or Kuala Lumpur.

People can learn to do things new to them, as the Indians, Burmese, Ceylonese and West Indians, with whom Malaysians should compare favourably in intelligence and other respects, have learnt to exercise their franchise. The introduction of the elective principle in the Legislative Assembly and local representative bodies of a united Malaya would encourage its people to concern themselves for their share of the collective interest and thus help to diffuse public spirit among the governed; and if carried out on the basis of a mixed electorate of Malayan citizens of the various races to be created for the purpose (the Municipal Commissioners of Singapore were elected in this manner some 45 years ago) it would also help to promote intercommunal co-operation and friendship.

“The food of feeling is action. Let a person have nothing to do for his country and he will not care for it.”

Therefore both the principle of nomination or election by responsible bodies and the ballot-box principle should be practised in the selection of members of the legislative and local representative bodies in the Malaya of the future.

THE MALAY STATES.

It is an incontestable fact that the administration of the Malay States was carried on by their respective Residents and Advisers whether with or without the advice of the Malay Rulers, and the maintenance of the legal fiction of the autocratic power and independent sovereignty of the Malay Rulers does not seem to be compatible with the development of self-government, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. The Sultans should be transformed into constitutional monarchs in name as well as in fact and serve in the capacity of Advisers to the Government with substantial pensions provided for them to enable them to live in a manner commensurate with their high dignity.

The principle of indirect rule, which when made applicable to Malaya basically means the administration of its government through the instrumentality of the Sultans and Malay machinery, institutions and customs, being impracticable in the country unless its population is wholly or predominantly Malay, the virtual role of the Malay Rulers as Advisers to the Government should be regularized and legally formulated.

If the Malayan legislature is to be bicameral, the Upper Chamber with limited powers, which may serve as an appropriate corrective to moderate democratic ascendancy, should be composed not only of the Sultans but also of the "Elder Statesmen" and other public men of personal merit and long experience, who may be elected by the Lower Chamber from among those who are not its own members.

Above all, a complete scheme of constitutional reforms for Malaya should be formulated granting its people such a measure of responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal and civil administration as they are capable of exercising.

The Metternichian motto, "Govern and change nothing" would be an impossible and unwise policy to follow in the post-war twentieth century. The British Commonwealth and Empire is universally recognized as embodying a living principle and the concept of change for the betterment and progress of its peoples, the participation by all of whom of a common freedom is the sole bond that must preserve the unity of the Empire. The capacity to use freedom, the achievement of which is the beginning of responsibility, is learned; you are not born with it.

POLITICAL STATUS OF MALAYANS.

While the protection of the interests of the Malays should be continued mainly because of their comparative backwardness, it should be done in a manner consistent with the recognition of the rights and the welfare, and not to the disadvantage, of the other communities, which will create racial disharmony. All communities and classes of the population should be treated alike and on an equal footing, though the Malays should be helped in every way to rise to the level of the other communities in all spheres of activities.

Malayan birth should be recognised as conferring Malayan citizenship, *i.e.* British nationality, on any person of whatever race born in any part of British Malaya. In Dutch East Indies the native rulers are themselves Dutch subjects and the native states are Dutch territories, so that it follows that all those born within the confines of the Dutch Empire owe direct allegiance to the Dutch Crown.

While it is necessary to confine political rights to persons of British nationality by birth or naturalization, the period for

acquiring a Malayan domicile should be five years (a rule obtaining in important and enlightened countries), which qualification should make it eligible for a person, who is prepared to renounce allegiance to any foreign power, to obtain naturalization.

As regards government and municipal appointments and those in the administrative and technical services the principle of equal treatment as between domiciled Malaysians of all races in the land of their birth should be adopted. Further the colour bar in the Malayan Civil Service and the other government services should be abolished, and the position restored to what it was prior to 1910 and in accordance with Queen Victoria's famous Proclamation of 1858 in which it was laid down that "so far as may be Our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

Regarding Malay Reservations it should be ascertained as to what is their precise extent at present and whether more land has been already reserved for this purpose than necessary. In this connection it may be borne in mind that it is essential that in future a permanent local labour population of races other than Malay should be built up, so that Malaya may not be so dependent on outside sources for its labour supply. For this purpose Chinese and Indian labourers and small holders should be allowed and encouraged to settle down with their families in special Reservations to produce food crops and contribute to the subsistence production of the country.

Immigration ought to be regulated and controlled in accordance with the economic needs of the country.

One is not quite clear as to the significance and scope of the proposal that large-scale agricultural, industrial and mining

development should be under licence, which may create undesirable bureaucratic control over the economic activities of the people in general and lead to such abuses as favouritism, racial and class discrimination and even corruption, whilst putting unnecessary difficulties and obstacles in the way of business enterprise and initiative on the part of people who have no influence or are not *persona grata* in Government circles. Any policy that may tend to develop any kind or form of semi-monopolistic capitalism concentrating the control of big business in the hands of a very few groups belonging to the dominant class or race, with all its evils and dangers, should be deprecated and scrupulously avoided in the general interest of the population.

EDUCATION.

The Government should assume a greater responsibility than they have done in the past for the education of Chinese and Indians in their vernacular languages, if they are to be given an opportunity of developing themselves "along the lines of their own culture and tradition."

The aim of education should be to provide a person with the means of earning a livelihood and train him to function efficiently as well as to impart knowledge enabling him to appreciate the ultimate values of truth, goodness and beauty and live the good life.

To accord equal treatment and equal rights, political, economic and otherwise, to the different communities and all classes of the population is the surest and most effective way of promoting a sense of Pan-Malayan citizenship and encourage sentiments of homogeneity among the domiciled races of Malaya.

A comprehensive plan of educational reconstruction for Malaya should be prepared (a) to provide universal compulsory primary education for all races through the medium of their

respective native tongues, (b) to provide secondary education, (c) to provide vocational, technical and agricultural instruction and training and (d) to establish a university for higher and professional education.

SOCIAL SERVICES.

The lot of the common man should be improved and the amelioration of the conditions of the vast mass of the inhabitants of Malaya should be brought about by the appropriation annually of a substantial and increasing proportion of the country's revenue to finance and extend the social services, including the provision of sufficient housing, homes for decrepits and destitutes, hospitals, clinics and dispensaries for the free treatment of the poor, the raising of the health standard and reduction of the mortality rate and a beginning made to ensure freedom from want, to mitigate the extent and intensity of which with its concomitant physical and moral degradation among the masses of the people is one of the fundamental objectives of world statesmanship.

TAN CHENG LOCK.

16, MILLERS ROAD,
BANGALORE.

4th June, 1944.

VI

MEMORIAL RELATING TO MALAYA SUBMITTED TO HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, LONDON.

We, Malaysans, from different parts of the country now temporarily residing in India and awaiting the hour of Malaya's liberation to return to what we regard as our homeland to assist in its rehabilitation, wish to express our views and feelings regarding its future and its post-war economic and political re-construction for the consideration of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

2. We experience deep feelings of anxiety and uneasiness as to what is to be the future of Malaya and its inhabitants owing to the absence of any pronouncement by His Majesty's Government of their intentions and future policy regarding the country, in the formulation of which none of the leaders or representatives of its permanent inhabitants, now available, have yet been consulted as far as our knowledge goes.

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

3. Recent political happenings and developments in Jamaica, Ceylon, Burma and India taken in conjunction with (a) one of the latest pronouncements of Mr. Winston Churchill, viz., "Our responsibility to the Colonies is to lead them forward to self-governing institutions, advance the application of science and the building up of local industries, to improve conditions of labour and of housing, to spread education, to stamp out disease, and to sustain health, vigour and happiness," and (b) the solemn declaration regarding the non-self-governing territories of the world embodied in the United Nations' Charter adopted at the recent San Francisco Conference, viz., "To develop Self-Government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the

peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples, and their varying stages of advancements," have, paradoxically, encouraged hopes in us that these basic objectives will be pursued and consummated, as far as practicable within a definite time limit, by His Majesty's Government in relation to the Malaya of the future, and at the same time intensified our fears that Malaya, as in the past, may be relegated to the position of the Cinderella of the British Colonial Empire.

4. If unfortunately powerful reactionary or ultraconservative influences should be brought to bear to induce His Majesty's Government to believe that Malaya should be treated in a radically different manner from those territories above-named with a view to the maintenance of the *status quo ante* 1942 in substantial form indefinitely, then we are of the considered opinion that there would arise among large sections of the people of Malaya a sense of frustration and discontent, which would be the inevitable consequence of the general upheaval brought about among mankind by the war, which has profoundly transformed the world and compelled humanity to ponder again, and which whilst setting the final seal upon one era of human history characteristic of the nineteenth century has heralded the dawn of a new age and world order based, let us hope, on a new conception of freedom for the whole world, international co-operation and justice, born out of the travail of mankind imposed by the universal conflict.

5. In Malaya, in particular, such a state of discontent among its people would be liable to revive feelings of bitterness and resentment generated by their experiences, hardships and sufferings with all the lessons taught by them during the Japanese invasion of the country and its subsequent occupation by them. While there is no doubt that the peoples left behind

in Malaya will be glad to have the British back, it is equally certain that they will be extremely bitter at the failure to protect them from the Japanese who, we may be sure, will have also further stimulated anti-British sentiments during their occupation of the country. The only way in which to counteract this bitterness and resentment and instead to capitalise on the goodwill stored up against the day of liberation is to return to Malaya with a bold, generous and imaginative policy. In the seething post-war melting pot that will be political Asia such a policy will pay more dividends than one based on caution and distrust.

6. On the other hand should the established policy of His Majesty's Government be one of equity and impartiality "to ensure a square deal to the different communities" in Malaya, and to return thereto on its re-occupation with a generous scheme for its political, economic and social reconstruction, such an act of statesmanship would not only confer on its inhabitants a sense of satisfaction for the injury inflicted upon them during the war and be greeted as a tangible recognition of their traditional loyalty in the past, but would also vastly strengthen the ties which bind them to Great Britain; and Malaya with its population of industrious, enterprising and intelligent people, superior in important respects to those of any other Crown Colony, could be made an outstanding example to the others of what a contented and loyal member of the British Commonwealth and Empire ought to be.

7. It should be within the province and competence of the future Government of Malaya to maintain and foster the inter-racial harmony and friendship existing amongst the mixed communities making up its population and to promote and encourage their active co-operation by all means, especially by a policy of equal treatment, impartiality and justice to all of them alike without discrimination, thereby helping to create a true Malayan spirit and consciousness amongst all its people to the

complete elimination of any racial or communal feeling and to bring about a spirit of unity in their attachment to the British Commonwealth and Empire. The principle should be established by the Government that attack in any form on one section of the population should be considered as one against the whole—a policy which has been successfully carried out in Soviet Russia, the population of which comprises some 189 of the most diverse and one-time hostile peoples and races.

8. If a policy of "divide and rule" were attempted in Malaya, and Malays, for instance, were encouraged to dislike Chinese through preference given to the one community at the expense of the other, or *vice versa*, an attempt of this nature would, as experience has proved elsewhere, not only be sterile but also bring about such a state of affairs as would prepare the breeding ground and sow the seeds for the eventual growth of an anti-British sentiment in both communities to the detriment of the whole country.

9. We are strongly of the opinion that the only safe, sound and wise policy for the future Government of Malaya should be to rally to its support those true Malaysians, who passionately love the country as their homeland and those who intend to settle there, and who are united by the legitimate aspiration to achieve by proper and constitutional means the ideal and basic objective of Self-Government for a united Malaya within the British Commonwealth and Empire, in which the individuals of all communities are accorded equal rights and responsibilities, politically and economically, including a balanced representation of the various communities in the Government to ensure that no one community will be in a position to dominate or outvote all the others put together.

10. The old paternal rule is up to a point good, but to revert to it is essentially a sterile policy; it affords no scope for change and growth; while the connection between the Straits Settlements

and the Malay States is so intimate that it would be extremely difficult to set up self-government in the one but not in the other. Further the Colony, being less than one-thirtieth of the total area of the whole country, comprises a very tiny portion of British Malaya. In consequence self-government in the Straits Settlements but not in the rest of Malaya will not make any appreciable difference to the political status and constitutional advance of the country and its inhabitants as a whole. Hence the imperative necessity of a united Malaya in a political sense. Economically and geographically the country is a unit, and it can only be administered with a maximum of efficiency as a single unit.

DELEGATION TO LONDON.

11. We beg respectfully to suggest for the consideration of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies the advisability that His Majesty's Government before completing the drawing up of the "blue print" for the future of Malaya might invite a few of the representative domiciled Malaysians now in India and elsewhere outside Malaya to go to London for the purpose of consulting with them and obtaining their standpoint and views regarding problems and plans and proposals in connection with the political, economic and social reconstruction and rehabilitation of Malaya.

12. Colonel Oliver Stanley has said that "the first duty of a Colonial Secretary is to make himself personally acquainted with the King's subjects in the Colonial Empire." A visit by prominent Malaysians to London will not only bring them into personal contact with His Majesty's Government and the Colonial Office, but will also give them an opportunity personally to express their views and assist in the discussions for the solution of Malayan problems, which they are fitted by their experience and intimate knowledge of Malaya and its people to do and in which they are vitally interested.

DECLARATION OF POLICY.

13. His Majesty's Government on the re-occupation of Malaya will be confronted with immense problems, some of which are of an unprecedented nature, and in the resolution of which the views of the representatives of the people should be sought and given due consideration and weight. We may now be permitted to make reference to some of these problems.

14. It is of the utmost importance that before or soon after re-occupation the declaration of a clear-cut policy and the intentions of His Majesty's Government that will take into account the needs, feelings and aspirations of the people should be made relating to the political future of the country and the task of its re-construction and rehabilitation, which will also serve as a guide to the Civil Affairs Commission in their work of restoring law and order and setting in motion the country's economy.

Such a declaration of policy would include pledges that His Majesty's Government will (a) within a specified time after the war carry out the political unification of Malaya, (b) appoint a Royal Commission to examine the question of formulating a complete constitutional scheme providing for a suitable measure of responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal and civil administration, and (c) ensure equality of treatment and opportunity to the different communities in Malaya in all respects.

15. Such Civil Affairs Officials should be properly selected and tested for their suitability and competence to perform their respective functions, and in the higher ranks ought to be men possessed of vision, vigour, understanding and sympathy with the people, and capable of co-operating with them and their leaders in the execution of their onerous mission.

POST-WAR RELIEF.

16. The question of providing adequate funds for the economic rehabilitation work in Malaya including the repair and

restoration to good working conditions of property in private ownership damaged or destroyed as a direct or indirect consequence of the war is a matter of supreme importance to the welfare of the country and its inhabitants.

17. A cognate question is the subject of compensation out of public funds for losses sustained by owners of private property and damage done thereto on account of the war.

18. As the interests of the domiciled Malaysians, who have escaped and are outside Malaya at present are representative of and identical with those of the permanent population left behind in the country, who have a big stake in it, we are deeply concerned to know how these vital questions are to be dealt with by His Majesty's Government and whether sufficient funds can be raised and made available for the purpose of paying the compensation and giving the requisite financial aid and granting loans to the citizens of Malaya to rebuild, reconstruct or restore their businesses, houses and buildings, rubber estates and other agricultural lands, tin and other mines and other forms of property, movable and immovable, which may have been lost, abandoned, ruined or destroyed by direct or indirect enemy action or as a result of the war and enemy occupation.

19. What is the policy and what are the principles and methods that will determine the granting of such financial aid and loans and the payment of compensation to those members of the Malayan public who can justify their claims thereto? We wish to express the hope that in the formulation and execution of any scheme for the provision of financial assistance and loans for the benefit of the war victims and payment of compensation for war damage, the principle of justice and fair play and of impartiality and non-discrimination as between racial groups, sections or classes of the population will be strictly observed and scrupulously applied.

20. In this connection it may be recalled that at a meeting of the House of Commons on the 4th October 1944 the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Oliver Stanley, when questioned what steps he was taking at international meetings to consider the future of rubber, to protect the interests of the producer, and the organizations necessary to prepare, ship and distribute the product; and whether he would ensure that the Shareholders' Associations and agency firms obtained no advantage over the real producers, including the high proportion of Chinese producers, so that the purchasing power for the export of goods from Britain to the rubber producing countries might not be seriously affected by adopting a policy which failed to protect the producer, replied that the questioner could rest assured that at the meetings of the Rubber Study Group, all these considerations would be borne in mind by the official members of the United Kingdom delegation.

21. The domiciled population of Malaya, both Asiatic and European, who have all their assets and resources exclusively concentrated in the country, have suffered most from the war, so that they will be in a helpless position to finance reconstruction without Government aid, whereas the sterling companies and vested interests entrenched in London or elsewhere outside Malaya do enjoy a considerable advantage in their possession of strong financial reserves and other assets kept abroad. It would therefore be reasonable to suggest that the claims of the domiciled people should receive priority of consideration and special treatment by the Government.

22. The problem of preventing the undue exploitation of the prostrated economic condition of property owners of the country upon re-occupation on the part of outside capitalists by acquiring their rubber estates, lands and other properties at ruinously cheap prices may, for instance, be considered by

Government in shaping their policy of granting financial assistance.

23. We are also naturally interested in the question of providing the stricken civilians of Malaya on re-occupation with immediate relief, such as supplies of rice, clothing and other consumer goods and housing. We presume plans to tackle this problem in adequate measure are ready for prompt operation on re-occupation. In regard to housing indigenous lumber and timber may be utilised to construct dwelling houses to fulfil immediate and urgent needs, whilst saw-mills should be made to operate at once.

24. In the matter of subsistence production steps should be immediately taken to increase and encourage the cultivation of rice, sweet potatoes, maize, tapioca, yams, etc., and the raising of live stock, such as pigs, poultry and goats, while the fishing industry must be restored to full capacity.

25. The restoration of essential public utility services and of the vital industries of rubber and tin to re-animate Malaya's economy is urgent and imperative, for which purpose labour, rubber estate supplies and tin-mining requisites must be made immediately available, schemes for the provision of which may give prior consideration to the needs of the local population, who should be enabled to regain their means of livelihood in the quickest possible time.

MALAYAN CITIZENSHIP.

26. The question of Malayan citizenship is a matter of great concern to us. The status of the Chinese and other non-Malays born in the Malay States is highly unsatisfactory. In the new Constitution, which we trust will be formulated for Malaya, we hope Malayan citizenship will be created and defined. It has been a long-standing grievance of the non-Malays born in the

Malay States that they have no proper political status, though those born in the Colony are British subjects.

27. If Malaya is to become ultimately one country and one nation, the people born within its confines should have a common citizenship. This problem has sooner or later to be faced, and we would urge upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of establishing a common citizenship for all those born on Malayan soil, who are virtually British subjects. Inter-related with this problem is the vexatious question of the double nationality of Malaya-born Chinese, which has been used in the past as a weapon and a taunt with which to attack them when they asked for their rights as Malayan citizens. Surely the Malaya-born Chinese are not responsible for the existence of their double nationality, which is not such an uncommon thing in the world. Innumerable people born in Europe and belonging to various European nationalities, who have emigrated to and settled down in the United States of America and other territories and their descendants must have had double nationality. The way the difficulty is overcome in America may provide us with some guidance as to how to find a satisfactory method of settling the Malayan problem, in which Malaya-born Chinese would be only too willing to co-operate should they be invited to do so. We trust that His Majesty's Government will focus attention on this question and come to an understanding with the Chinese Government and be determined to settle it on right lines, in which they can be assured of the hearty support of those who desire to make the country their permanent home.

RACIAL COMPOSITION IN MALAYA.

28. As the racial composition and the immigrant origin of a large proportion of the population of Malaya has been used as an argument against its constitutional progress, we would like to state certain facts, which have a bearing on the subject.

29. The peoples of the North American continent, Australia and South Africa have been mostly made up of immigrants from Europe and their descendants, and yet nothing has been allowed to interfere with their rapid and phenomenal progress, politically, economically and socially during the last one or two centuries.

30. Prior to the 10th of January, 1874, the date of the Pangkor Engagement, which introduced the period of British intervention on the Malayan mainland, according to Sir Frank Swettenham in his recent book *Footprints in Malaya*, (a) the Malay Peninsula was a vast jungle without roads; the whole territory was very sparsely inhabited and practically the only law known or administered was that of force; (b) the Malay race was dying out; (c) Johore had very few Malays and was mainly populated by Chinese working for their wealthy compatriots in Singapore; its development so far had been done under the direction and with the money of the wealthy Chinese residents of Singapore; (d) Selangor was very thinly populated, especially as regards Malays; and of these few Malays only a proportion were natives of Selangor, the remainder being strangers from Sumatra and the Dutch Indies; (e) Pahang was a mass of undeveloped jungle, and very sparsely inhabited; and (f) the rich tin-mining district of Perak, called Larut, with Taiping as its principal town, was peopled almost entirely by two factions of Chinese miners.

31. When the vital and indispensable need of the country was population, Chinese immigrants, who in considerable numbers had been pioneers in developing the tin-mining industry in Perak, Selangor and elsewhere in the Peninsula since 1850, before the time of British intervention in 1874, were encouraged to settle down in the hinterland, where they were practically its sole workers and revenue producers, the taxation of whose industry provided all the money available for its development.

32. Ever since then Chinese immigrants have been legally admitted into the Malayan mainland to take a major part in its

economic development, for which purpose they have proved to be essential with the result that at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1941 the Chinese community was the most numerous section of the population of Malaya, which as estimated in December 1940 was approximately 5½ millions comprising :—

Malays (indigenous and immigrant)	41%
Chinese (Malaya-born and immigrant)	43%
Indians (Malaya-born and immigrant)	14%
Others	2%

33. According to, (a) the 1931 census 31% of the Chinese in Malaya had been born in that country, the corresponding Indian figure being 21%, and (b) the estimate of Sir George Maxwell, former Chief Secretary, F.M.S., not more than half of the present Malay population of Malaya consists of indigenous Malays, the remaining half being more recent immigrants from the Dutch Indies and their descendants. Even the indigenous Malays are comparative newcomers to Malaya, their ancestors having immigrated from Sumatra, while according to Sir Richard Windstedt the civilised Malays are descendants of the Proto-Malays (whose original home was in Yunnan Province, South-West China) mixed with modern Indian, Chinese and Arab blood, and on the authority of the author, Margaret Landon, the connection with Bangkok, and before that with the old capital Ayuthia, of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis, which had been principalities in the old feudal Siam, and which passed from Thai sovereignty to British protection only in 1909, ante-dated the arrival of Europeans in the Peninsula, even the Portuguese by centuries. The Malays of those four Malay States, where their numbers range from 65% to 90% of the respective populations, may have a strong admixture of Siamese blood in their veins.

34. The remarks about the Chinese community of Malaya apply generally to its Indian community except that the latter

are less in number and economic importance as compared with the Chinese.

35. The whole population of Malaya with the exception of the aboriginal Jakuns, Semangs and Sakais are more or less of immigrant origin.

36. Further a polity based on the exclusive or preferential rights of the Malays with the entire business of the country in the hands of the Malaysians, whose energy, labour, capital and enterprise are its mainstay, is an impracticable proposition.

37. If the Government should enforce a policy aiming at the removal of sectional barriers and the treatment of the different communities on the footing of equal rights and opportunities and duties and responsibilities and on the principle that no single community should be placed in a position to dominate the others, all obstacles in the way of its constitutional progress and development towards self-government should vanish, as has been amply demonstrated in the case of other territories with mixed communities and races.

CONCLUSION.

38. In conclusion in the task that lies before His Majesty's Government of finding solutions for the problems and in their efforts to overcome the difficulties indicated above and others that may arise in connection with the re-construction of Malaya, we respectfully venture to offer our services and co-operation, in doing which we are actuated by a sense of love and patriotic attachment to Malaya, and the ambition to help its progress towards the attainment of a status of an equal, worthy and proud partner in the British Commonwealth and Empire, in the defence of which her sons should be made to feel that they have a real stake, such as would compel their willingness and readiness to submit to the supreme sacrifice.

1945.

Bombay, India.

TAN CHENG. LOCK.

PART II. — PRE-WAR.

I.

MEMORANDUM TO SIR SAMUEL WILSON, DECEMBER 1932.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NON-MALAYS.

In a speech delivered in May 1930 at Malacca on the occasion of the first official visit of Sir Cecil Clementi to the Settlement as Governor of the Colony, His Excellency expressed the hope that the Chinese community of Malaya would interest themselves actively in the question of rice cultivation, in which their own people in their own country had shown such singular aptitude. He added that if the Chinese would take the matter up they would make a success of it.

In July, 1930, His Excellency appointed a Committee to consider "what are the best steps to be taken in order to encourage rice cultivation in Malaya." It was in the course of his participation in the labours of this Committee that the writer of this Memorandum, who served on it, learned for the first time to his astonishment that the high British officials of the Malayan Civil Service who were his colleagues on the committee were vehemently and vigorously opposed to the idea of the Chinese and the other non-Malays (of whom there have been rice planting colonies for several generations in various parts of Malaya) being given land by the Government for the purpose of rice growing.

It was also then he first came to know that the proprietors of Chop Chin Leong and Co. of Penang, who are Straits-born Chinese and British subjects, found it impossible to acquire land to plant padi by modern mechanical methods in Kedah, so that they were compelled to go outside Malaya to Southern Siam to carry out their original and enterprising scheme. He was further made to understand that it may become the aim of the Government and the State Councils in the Malay States to include in

the Malay Reservations all areas of potential padi land estimated to be from 600,000 to one million acres in this country. This policy will exclude even the Malayan-born Chinese from the right of acquiring land on which to grow rice, while foreign Malaysians from Sumatra, Java and other parts of the Dutch East Indies are granted this privilege. I should like to refer Sir Samuel Wilson to the Report of the Rice Cultivation Committee of 1931 and to the writer's rider added to it.

PREFERENCE FOR MALAYS.

The recent establishment of the closed clerical Service for Malays in the Federated Malay States, from which the non-Malays are excluded, and the general preference given to Malays in the matter of employment in the Government Service in this country furnishes further proof of the policy aiming at conferring an undue advantage on the Malays to the disadvantage of the Chinese and other non-Malays.

I should like to emphasise here that we are very sympathetic with the Malays and consider it the duty of the Government to assist them where they are badly handicapped in their competition with the other races. Let Government help them in every way so long as the interests of the non-Malays are not seriously and prejudicially affected thereby and when and where necessary similar assistance and treatment will be extended to the other races.

Free education is given only in the Malay vernacular, while Government contributes hardly anything and will no longer give any assistance towards the maintenance of the Chinese vernacular Schools, which in the Colony alone are attended by some 20,000 locally-born Chinese pupils, to which number they have been reduced from 24,000 in 1930 in consequence of the slump.

In most of the Government English and trade schools and in the School of Agriculture preference is shown to Malay boys,

especially in the award of Government Scholarships and free places.

DECENTRALISATION.

According to the Sri Menanti Scheme of decentralisation the four States of the Federation are to be placed on very much the same constitutional basis as the present Unfederated States, and a small representation will be given on each of their State Councils to the Europeans, Chinese and Indians, who will be decidedly and effectually out-numbered and overwhelmed by the British Resident and the Malay Sultan and his Chiefs who will constitute the bulk of the Council.

One naturally fears that the scheme will tend to produce, develop and perfect in the Federated Malay States a purely autocratic form of Government based mainly on the taxation of the non-Malay people, whose energy, labour, capital and enterprise are the mainstay of these States without their adequate and effective representation therein as is largely the case in the Unfederated Malay States. A powerful State Council dominated by the Malays and a pro-Malay British Resident may, for instance, shape the land, educational and other policies of the State, should it have control over them, to the detriment of the non-Malay inhabitants therein.

As shown in the British Malaya 1931 census report the Chinese and Indians combined form:—

71.5 per cent of the population of Straits Settlements.

63.7 per cent of the population of Federated Malay States.

51.5 per cent of the population of Johore.

53.2 per cent of the population of British Malaya.

Moreover the males, who are the workers, preponderate in the Chinese and Indian population of Malaya.

MANY IMMIGRANT MALAYS.

It may be pointed out here that after all a very large percentage of the Malays of the peninsula are either immigrants themselves or descendants of immigrants from Sumatra, Borneo, Java and the Celebes. In Johore, for instance, the native Malays are actually outnumbered by the other Malaysians, that is immigrants from the Dutch East Indies or their descendants.

The refusal to alienate land to the Chinese and other non-Malays who are subjects of the country for the purpose of rice cultivation, the establishment of services in the Government for the employment of Malays to the exclusion of the locally-born Chinese, Indians and other non-Malays, the provision of educational facilities for the Malays denied to the others, that aspect of the Decentralisation scheme designed to develop a more autocratic form of administration in each of the Malay States under the overwhelming control of the British Resident and the Malays, and other measures giving preferential treatment to the Malays at the expense of the other Asiatic races are indications of the trend of Government policy, which have made the Chinese (and I believe the other non-Malays), who have permanently settled down in this country as their home, feel grave misgivings and apprehension as to the security of their interests and future prospects and of those of their children in Malaya.

POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION.

Such a policy of preference for one race and discrimination against another (a) will for the first time in the history of Malaya create a distinct breach in the relationship between the Malays and the other non-Malay races inhabiting this Peninsula particularly the Chinese and Indians, which will inevitably in course of time widen into open antagonism between them, and (b) will tend to set up a sort of caste system dividing Malayan society into three principle sections based on race with the British, who naturally as the ruling class constitute the dominant group, as the

Brahmins of the land, the Malays as the next superior and twice-born caste, and the Chinese and the others as the lowest in caste rank i.e. as the Sudras or Pariahs.

It is strongly suspected in some quarters that the Machiavelian maxim of divide et impera is at the basis of the apparently pro-Malay policy of the local Government, which really aims at driving in a wedge between the Malay and the Chinese and other non-Malay communities and keeping them at logger-heads so as to prevent them from uniting to work towards the accomplishment of their common political and administrative aspirations in a changing Asia. But the Malays are bound in time to realise the wisdom of the biblical injunction that every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.

By alienating the sympathies of the Malayan-born Chinese through its so-called strong pro-Malay policy and by the recent enactment of the law known as the Aliens Ordinance to institute an unnecessarily harsh form of control directed primarily against the 1,250,000 Chinese resident in Malaya, the local Government affords some justification of the belief that it intends to execute in future an anti-Chinese policy, probably with a political objective, founded on fear and distrust, which the Chinese on the whole as a community have done nothing and have given absolutely no cause to merit, and which should not be a fitting return to them for what they have done to make Malaya what it is to-day and for their consistently good behaviour and continuous devotion to the British Government and the interests of this country during the last 100 years since the British occupation.

LOYAL BRITISH CHINESE.

The Straits-born Chinese, who have formed a continuous Colony in this country for more than 500 years and have been staunch British Subjects and traditionally loyal to the British Crown, and their brethren the locally-born Chinese of the Malay States, who are equally loyal and faithful to the Government and

to the interests of Malaya, have made and regard this country as their permanent home.

One authority says: "It is undeniable, however, on any theory, that the tie of kinship between dwellers in a new country and an old must diminish in intensity and in political importance with every passing generation."

The number of Malayan-born Chinese enumerated at the 1931 census was 534,000 and was more than doubled since 1921. By the effluxion of time many of them have lost all touch with China and have been strengthening and consolidating their attachment to this country. If accorded fair, equitable and equal treatment and made to feel that this country is their home the Malayan-born Chinese, as experience has proved in the case of the Straits-born Chinese of Malacca, Singapore and Penang, will become true Sons of the Soil, identify themselves completely and absolutely with the interests of this country and the Empire and give undivided allegiance to it. If their loyalty is doubted and they are distrusted and made to feel they are regarded as semi-alien and not wanted, they will lose hope in this country and in their despair will naturally turn their eyes to China. They will then incur the charge (already used as a weapon against them) of bearing a dual allegiance, which will not only do infinite damage and injury to their interests and welfare here but will certainly not be to the good of Malaya as a whole.

In this connection the British Government should negotiate a treaty with the Chinese Government whereunder the latter shall acknowledge the status of Malayan-born Chinese as British or British Protected Subjects except in the case of those of them who by statutory declaration should renounce their British nationality. The material interests of the Malayan-born Chinese are centred in this country, and it would be highly desirable and conducive to the good of Malaya that they should be attached to it by sentiment and patriotism as well.

Their status should not be such that they may be looked upon as semi-foreigners both in Malaya and China and run the risk of being degraded to the position of the miserable and non-descript type of man described in the following lines :—

“Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said,
This is my own, my native land?”

In my humble opinion the Government should have a fixed and constructive policy to win over the Straits and other Malayan-born Chinese, who are subjects of the country, and foster and strengthen their spirit of patriotism and natural love for the country of their birth and adoption.

Their position should not be allowed to drift so that they will be like a flock of sheep neglected and abandoned by the shepherd with the result that they would wander aimlessly and be liable to be led astray in wrong directions to their detriment and to the loss of this country.

A MALAYAN COMMUNITY.

The Government should aim “at building a Malayan Community with a Malayan consciousness closely united with the British Empire and getting the best that the British Empire has to give,” to achieve which its policy ought to be Malaya for Malaysians and not for one section of it only.

This is a young country, a land of great potential wealth and full of magnificent promise. If all sections of its cosmopolitan population will unite and work together in a true spirit of amity and co-operation and with a single-minded devotion to its good and prosperity as a whole its future greatness is assured. Our ultimate political goal, though it still lies in the distant future, should be a united self-governing British Malaya with a Central Government and Federal Parliament for the whole of it,

functioning at a convenient capital with as much autonomy in purely local affairs as possible for each of its constituent parts, in which every section of its locally-born domiciled population should be allowed equally and fully to participate.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Free Speech A Declared Aim.

Sir Arthur Young, a former Governor of this Colony, in his budget speech in the Legislative Council on October 14th 1918 made the following pronouncement of the educational policy of the Government:—"It is the aim of the Government to afford facilities for the free education of all children in English up to the fourth standard."

On July 1st 1926 a new scale of increased school fees was introduced for all standards in the English Schools commencing from the primary classes upwards. In accordance with the new educational policy of the Government announced in Legislative Council paper No. 93 of 1932, (a) School fees payable for both elementary and secondary English education are to be further raised after 1933, (b) secondary education will ultimately be made self-supporting and (c) new applications from Chinese and Tamil Vernacular Schools for financial assistance from Government will not as a rule be entertained in future.

The raising of school fees charged for elementary English education (up to the fourth standard), which as promised by Sir Arthur Young 14 years ago should be made free, is a distinctly retrograde step, while the increase in secondary education fees (i.e. above standard sixth) from \$6.00 to \$9.00 per pupil per month—to be effected in the immediate future with a view ultimately to making the parents of school children bear its whole cost—will make it too expensive for most parents to afford to pay for it, and will—in spite of a small extension of the scholarship system contemplated in Council paper No. 93 of 1932—

not make it available to every poor child from an elementary school who shows himself or herself capable of profiting by it. No elementary school child deserving secondary education should miss it by reason of his or her poverty.

MORE INEFFICIENT SCHOOLS.

It can be safely inferred that the policy of the Government to restrict English education in the above manner will result in more of the poorly conducted private English schools being started to meet the irrepressible demand for English education, and Government will have very little control over them.

Government contends that "it is idle to educate youths up to Cambridge School Certificate standard mainly at the public cost if there is no prospect of employment for them." By depriving such youths of the opportunity of obtaining a secondary education it will make many of them more unemployable. The only right policy is to open a sufficient number of trade schools and technical classes and schools so that more boys may be enabled to take up vocational training on leaving the elementary or the secondary school and be absorbed in suitable and profitable employment after their school career is completed.

When the new Trade School in Penang was opened in June, 1932, one-third of its 35 students were boys with either Junior or School Certificates. This indicates that boys with secondary education do not despise a vocational training in a Trade School and that a local Cambridge Certificate does not unfit a boy to work with his hands. Even one whose lot in life is to perform manual work has a perfect right to the inestimable advantage of a good education.

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

Education should be the means of imparting soberness of thought and strength of character to the youths of the country, and equip them with a suitable training to render them able to

earn their livelihood. Education should also be the preparation of the individual for the community. An English education is the best preparation for him in a British Colony for it is best calculated to give him the British outlook and bias. From point of view public instruction should be the first object of Government, and education ought to be within the means of all citizens and be made available to the meanest subject.

Those Malayan-born Chinese who, though educated, are unable to find work in the towns should be encouraged and assisted by the Government to take some agricultural pursuit as a means of subsistence.

While the pupils in all the English Schools in the Colony supervised and supported by the Government total 26,000, there are some 28,000 boys and girls in the Chinese Vernacular and in the unaided private English schools in the Colony to whose maintenance Government contributes nothing or hardly anything. Government has some responsibility for the education of these 28,000 local born children at least with a view to making them good and loyal citizens of Malaya in future.

The official memorandum on educational policy tabled at a recent meeting of the Legislative Council is intended to apply the axe of economy in the field of education by increasing school fees and is essentially of a negative character and devoid of any constructive merit. A commission of inquiry presided over by an educationist of high repute from Great Britain should be appointed by Government to go fully and thoroughly into the whole question of education in Malaya with a view to the formulation of a wise and liberal educational policy designed to benefit equally all classes of the population.

REFORM OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Domination by Officials.

The Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements since the change in its constitution and its consequent enlargement in

January 1923, has consisted of 14 official members and 13 unofficial members, of whom seven are Europeans, one is a Eurasian and five are Asiatics. All the unofficial members are nominated by the Governor with the exception of the two European members who are respectively elected by the Singapore and Penang Chambers of Commerce.

The two Chambers have not only had the elective franchise conferred upon them since 1923, but their representatives as elected members are accorded precedence over all the nominated members, and one or the other of them only is invested with the privilege of becoming the senior member of the Council.

The outstanding feature of the constitution of the Council is that it is still dominated by an official majority, so that its status is that of a purely advisory body. The proceedings of the Council though very orderly are as a rule formal, dull and brief, and are characterised by an absence of real debate. It does not and cannot function as an efficient public debating and deliberative assembly for legislation or other measures as long as the official majority and the present unmodified system of nomination of its unofficial members prevail. The official majority gives the unofficials a sense of their impotence and the futility of opposition, while being only nominated members they must find it difficult to keep in constant and close touch with the views of certain sections of the population. The general public, having no voice in the appointment of its members, take little interest in the proceedings of the Council and cannot have great confidence in them.

RESTRAINT OF NOMINATED MEN.

Further, the members who owe their seats to the Government naturally feel a certain sense of obligation to the Governor, who has also the power of renominating them at the end of their term of office. This circumstance does not tend to make for real independence of spirit and vigorous criticism of Government action on their part. There is an unwritten law that a nominated

member cannot serve more than a certain limited number of consecutive terms. Another defect of the system is that a nominated member who should unsparingly criticise and oppose Government measures and policy, as he conscientiously believes it to be his duty to do, may not be reappointed by the Government and so lose his seat on the Council when his term of office has expired, the effect of which will be to rob the Council of its most experienced and courageous members.

Even outside the Council the unofficials have little to do as unofficial advisers to the Government, for their advice is seldom sought perhaps because Government can now avail itself of the advice of the unofficial members of the Executive Council, of whom there are now three. Two of them have invariably been Europeans since 1923, when the constitution of this Council was altered to add thereto two unofficial members. Recently a third unofficial member in the person of a Malay gentleman has been appointed to the Executive Council.

In order that the inhabitants of the Colony may have a real and increasing share in the deliberations and decisions of the Government, the constitutions of both the Legislative and Executive Councils should be so amended as to ensure effective and active co-operation of representative members of the general public with the Government.

A SAFEGUARD FOR THE GOVERNOR.

In the first place it is absolutely essential that the official majority in the Legislative Council should be abandoned, provided that as a safeguard the constitution confers on the Governor what is known as the power of certification which will enable him to force measures through the Council, which in his opinion affect the safety or tranquillity of the Colony or are of paramount importance to public interest. The Governor must of course report to His Majesty's Secretary of State every case in which he shall exercise such power of certification.

The elective principle has already been introduced in the selection of the two members representing the Singapore and Penang European Chambers of Commerce. That these two members by virtue of their being elected representatives automatically become senior members of the Council strongly argues that Government fully appreciate the higher value of elected members, who are genuine and therefore superior articles in contra-distinction to the nominated members, who lacking a direct mandate from the public or any public body are comparatively speaking inferior goods. So far only the two Chambers have a right to the genuine article, and the Government can readily realise that the general public also should set a higher value to, and ask for the genuine, real and true article.

BRITISH SUBJECTS WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP.

Fifty per cent. of the population of this Colony are British subjects consisting of the Malays, Indians, Eurasians and Straits-born Chinese, who have made this country their home, where they have permanent interests, and to which they should also be attached by sentiment and patriotism. Although we have been under British rule for over a century, we have not yet been permitted to exercise the franchise in any shape or form.

On the other hand the corresponding position in other British Colonies seems to be entirely different. In Burma several millions of natives have been enfranchised. Jamaica, three-quarters of whose population are pure negroes, elects 14 out of 30 members of its Legislative Council, while Ceylon enjoys the right of voting at public election for 146 out of the 157 members of its State Council which concerns itself with administration as well as with legislation.

The state of society and the degree of economic and educational progress in this country bear favourable comparison with those obtaining in Ceylon and the other dependencies. But if Government is not prepared in this matter to go as far all at once

as those other Colonies, it might at least take a step forward in the right direction by making a modest beginning thereto.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Executive Council is a very important part of the Government of the Colony and is in some respects more important than the Legislative Council. Its members are the real advisers of the Governor, with whom in the execution of the powers and authorities granted to him by the Crown he has in all cases to consult. It is a real grievance of the Chinese that they have absolutely no representation on the higher Council, though in the Seventies of the last century the late Mr. Hoo Kay (Whampoa) C.M.G. served as an extraordinary unofficial member on it.

As far as the Straits-born Chinese community, now numbering 250,000 in the Colony, is concerned the proposal is that the Straits Chinese British Association in each of the three Settlements be given the privilege of electing its own representative on the Legislative Council in addition to the three Chinese members nominated by Government as at present, so that there will be 6 Chinese representatives thereon.

With proportionate increase in the representation of the Malay, Indian and Eurasian communities the Legislative Council will be so enlarged as to provide for an unofficial majority.

This proposal will give the Council a distinct unofficial majority which is indispensable in order to make it an efficient deliberative assembly and public debating chamber for legislative and other measures affecting the public welfare.

With regard to the Executive Council on which the European and Malay Communities have representatives, Chinese interests which are important should also be represented by a Chinese. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs, a British official and Government expert adviser on Chinese matters on the Executive Council,

cannot be expected to look at all Chinese problems with Chinese eyes. He will in fact look at the interest of the Chinese largely from the official standpoint and will often see it with very different eyes from those of the persons whom it directly concerns.

The Chinese at present are entirely without any representation on the Executive Council and it will be to the advantage of the Government to have a Chinese member therein to take part in its deliberations, speak from the purely Chinese standpoint and generally assist the Council especially when questions affecting the Chinese community come up for its consideration and decision.

**EXTRACT FROM MR. TAN CHENG LOCK'S SPEECH
AT THE MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
HELD ON 1st NOVEMBER, 1926.**

Lastly, Sir, I intend to make some remarks on the present constitution of this Council. Thanks to the liberal and sagacious statesmanship and initiative of His Excellency, a Select Committee was appointed soon after his arrival in this Colony to consider the question of reforming this Council. As a result of the recommendations of that Committee, this Council was enlarged to its present size by the addition of five nominated Asiatic and Eurasian members about four years ago, and at the same time the Singapore and Penang Chambers of Commerce were given the absolute right to elect their members on this Council. But against the decision of that Committee the Government has still retained the Official majority whose shadow, in the words of the Committee, still hangs over the proceedings of this Legislature.

My proposal, Sir, put in concrete form, boils down to this: that there should be added to this Council three elected members, who must necessarily be British subjects but different in race from one another, and who are to be chosen by mixed electorates of qualified voters amongst the Europeans, Eurasians, Straits-born Chinese, Indians and Malays of the three Settlements. Owing

to the complete absence of mutual antipathies among the races here, who have always lived together in perfect peace, harmony and friendship, the idea of mixed electorates should be a feasible one. Another distinctive feature of my scheme is that the three elected members must not be of the same race, but they must belong to any three of the races domiciled here.

My proposal will give this Council an Unofficial majority, which, I think, is essential—in the words of the Select Committee—to make it “an efficient deliberative assembly and public debating Chamber for legislative measures”; a stage which it has not yet attained through its mere enlargement without the possession of an Unofficial majority. If one believes in the doctrine that in all human affairs conflicting influences are required to keep one another alive and efficient even for their own proper uses, a real active party of opposition to the Government in power must be conducive to good administration. As the Council is at present constituted the sense of the futility and of the impotence of opposition tends to discourage opposition. To ensure effective and beneficial opposition to the Government, I think an Unofficial majority is indispensable, and if adequate safeguards are provided, the serious work of Government cannot be hampered by unreasonable opposition.

Another matter, Sir, for the favourable consideration of Government is the inclusion on the Executive Council of at least one Asiatic gentleman. With an Unofficial majority in the Legislative Council, the institution of public elections for the appointment of some, at least, of its members, and adequate representation on the Executive Council, a new era of keener interest in public affairs and greater participation in common efforts for the general good will dawn for the people of this country.

Sir, this is a young country, but a land possessed of great potential wealth and full of magnificent promise, and if its people will unite and work together in a true spirit of co-operation and

with a single-minded devotion to its good and prosperity, its future greatness is assured. Our ultimate political goal should be a united self-governing British Malaya with a Federal Government and Parliament for the whole of it, functioning at a convenient centre, say, at Kuala Lumpur, and with as much autonomy in purely local affairs as possible for each of its constituent parts. I think it is high time that we commence to take action toward forging the surest and strongest link of that United Malaya by fostering and creating a true Malayan spirit and consciousness amongst its people to the complete elimination of the racial or communal feeling. In the words of a former member of this Council, we should aim "at building up a Malayan community with a Malayan consciousness closely united with the British Empire and getting the best that the British Empire has to give."

ADMISSION TO MALAYAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Legitimate and Natural Desire.

The Colonial Office regulation that only British subjects of pure European descent on both sides are eligible to sit for the competitive examinations annually held in London for the recruitment of the Malayan Civil Service was introduced after 1910. Prior to that year British subjects of whatever race or creed were admitted to the Cadet Service in Malaya after they had qualified themselves for such admission.

Since 1912 there has been continual agitation in this Colony to get what is considered the Colour Bar in the Civil Service removed. It is a legitimate and natural aspiration of the people of this country to take part in its administration.

The question was in 1912 taken up in the Imperial Parliament by Mr. MacCullum Scott; and Mr. Harcourt, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in replying to him stated that the regulation was passed because the Chinese and Malays objected to non-Europeans of mixed blood being put in authority over them. Mr. Harcourt, however, further said:—"I should be ready

to consider the question of British-born Chinese or Malays being admitted to the Cadet Service if there were any chance of such candidates being successful in the competitive examinations and if there were a local demand for the concession, which at present does not exist."

But when such a local demand did exist in 1924 Sir Laurence Guillemard, the then Governor, said at a meeting of the Legislative Council held on November 3rd. of that year that as far as the Malay States were concerned he was not prepared to propose any alteration in the conditions of admission into the Malayan Civil Service, nor would he agree that the changed conditions of entry might be limited in application to the Colony only on the ground that it would practically amount to splitting again into two parts a Civil Service common to the whole of Malaya.

So it will be seen that every time the Government was approached with the same request it advanced an entirely different reason and a new argument to justify its refusal to accede to the request.

COMMITTEE APPOINTED.

Before Sir Cecil Clementi proceeded on leave in 1930, a deputation consisting of the six Asiatic and Eurasian unofficial members of the Legislative Council waited upon His Excellency to plead with him for the admission of the locally-born British subjects into the Malayan Civil Service, so that he might take the opportunity of consulting the Colonial Office on his arrival in England on this question.

As a result probably of these representations His Excellency on his return to Malaya from leave appointed a committee, which has now prepared a draft preliminary scheme under which it is proposed that certain posts, at present normally reserved for members of the Malayan Civil Service, will in due course be thrown open to locally-born non-European British subjects possessing suitable qualifications.

This scheme has by now, I believe, been sent to the Secretary of State for his consideration. We are of course very grateful to His Excellency for what he has done in this matter. Even if the Secretary of State should give his sanction to the scheme the doors to the Malayan Civil Service proper will still be closed to the locally-born British subjects, and the existence of the Colour Bar in the Service will continue to give cause for general dissatisfaction.

The communities here are markedly advancing in education and in respect of qualifications for full citizenship, and Imperial policy as applied in other parts of the Empire should be applied in this country.

There are in the country Asiatics whose families have lived here for several generations, who regard this country definitely as their home and know no other, whose stake in the country is enormous, whose whole fortunes are bound up with those of British Malaya and who have times without number given substantial and tangible proofs of their loyalty to the Empire and their allegiance to the King.

If the Imperial Government will be pleased to make the concession of opening widely the doors of the Malayan Civil Service to all His Majesty's locally-born subjects irrespective of colour and race, it will win their gratitude and promote contentment and foster loyalty in this important outpost of His Majesty's Empire.

SUMMARY.

1. The responsible leaders of the domiciled Chinese and other non-Malay communities are extremely apprehensive of the menace to their interests and welfare and those of their children that will result from the so-called strong pro-Malay policy of the local Government. It will create inter-racial disharmony in this country and is not in accordance with the principles of

impartiality and equal treatment for all, on which British Colonial administration is based and which have made the British Empire the amazing success it is to-day.

2. The Government's educational policy, besides being characterised by the same pro-Malay tendency, deliberately aims at the restriction of English education, will do harm to the cause of education in this country and diminish the opportunities for the children of poor parents to secure a secondary education.

3. A reform of the Legislative Council will not only increase its efficiency, but will also tend in the direction of giving the people here some of the elementary rights and privileges of free and civilised society and of teaching them at the same time the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, thereby leading them along the path of progress.

4. The Chinese community being an important and the most numerous section of the Colony's population, the appointment of a Chinese to be a member of the Executive Council will benefit both that community and Government.

5. The withdrawal of the Colour Bar against the admission of locally-born British subjects to the Malayan Civil Service will not only be an act of simple justice in that it will restore a birth-right formerly theirs and redress a long standing grievance, but will also earn the eternal gratitude and strengthen the devotion and loyalty of British subjects to the Crown.

The Hon. Mr. Wee Swee Teow has given me authority to say that he is in entire agreement with the views expressed above on the five subjects.

The above is a presentation of our grievances, which call for redress, and on this point Milton says. "That no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth, that let no man in this world expect, but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered

and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bounds of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for."

TAN CHENG LOCK.

PRESS COMMENTS.

THE "MALAYA TRIBUNE," DECEMBER 28TH, 1932.

The Permanent Under-Secretary of State cannot but have appreciated its complete candour and the seriousness of the issues raised.

1. Discrimination against non-Malays:—As Mr. Cheng Lock points out, the Chinese have always liked the Malays and been very friendly with them, but current developments are likely to impair the amicable relations hitherto obtaining. The services of the Chinese to Malaya and their numerical importance are clearly brought out in the memorandum. The Malays themselves may in the long run have cause to regret any "coddling." It is legitimately pointed out that great numbers of the Malays are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants just as are so many Chinese and Indians.

2. Educational Policy:—We go every bit of the way with Mr. Cheng Lock under this heading.

3. Reform of the Legislative Council:—We have fought for this for years, and mean to go on fighting for it. The administration of this Colony is an absurd and insulting anachronism. The cause of Council Reform hardly needs argument.

4. Chinese Representation on the Executive Council:—The Chinese claim to representation on the Executive Council was recognised over half-a-century ago.

5. Admission of locally-born British Subjects to the Malayan Civil Service:—This aspiration is so plainly just and commendable that it must soon be conceded. British subjects look to the Colonial Office for an elementary act of justice.

Truly a noteworthy achievement that aptly crowns a long and energetic career of devoted public service.

II.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN MALAYA. ENGLISH THE BASIC LANGUAGE. COMMON BOND OF UNION OF ALL RACES. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL SPEECHES AND PRESS COMMENTS.

The subject of Educational Policy was fully debated in the speeches on the adjournment at the meeting of the Legislative Council held at Malacca on February 12th, 1934.

The HON. MR. TAN CHENG LOCK, C.B.E., said:—

Sir,—I may be permitted to take this opportunity of extending a hearty welcome to Your Excellency and Members of Council from the other Settlements on their visit to Malacca. The idea of Your Excellency in holding a session occasionally in Malacca is to enable honourable friends to get information firsthand and to understand the needs of Malacca.

I will now, Sir, make some reference to the subject of education, the problem in connection with which has occupied the forefront of public discussion in this country since Council Paper No. 93 of 1932 containing a Memorandum on Government policy regarding education and school fees, was laid before this Council at its meeting held on 19th. October 1932.

Your Excellency and the late Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. S. Haynes, also made explanatory statements on the educational policy of the Government respectively at the meetings of this House held on October 25th. and December 4th. 1933. In so far as the primary aim of the Government in framing its educational policy is to "Malayanize the children of the permanent population, i.e. to make them true citizens of Malaya," to quote Your Excellency and "to unite all races in Malaya (who have adopted Malaya as their country and who have no other country)

in a common bond of sympathy, goodwill and Malayan patriotism," in the words of Mr. Haynes, and in so far as the underlying principle of that policy "aims at producing a law-abiding, thrifty and industrious population," as Your Excellency has put it, the Government has the warm and whole-hearted support and sympathy of every right-minded person and of everybody who loves this country as his homeland and has its true welfare at heart.

In so much as the ideal of Malayanization of the Government is to aid and encourage the progressive development of a United Malaya and the spontaneous evolution in the permanent population of all races in this peninsula of a truly Malayan consciousness, outlook and patriotism, so that the policy of preference for any particular race may in the effluxion of time be consigned to the limbo of oblivion, we cannot but entertain feelings of supreme gratification and of infinite and everlasting gratitude and unbounded admiration towards the Government for endeavouring to bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished. But I hope and presume that the term "Malayanization" does not at all imply that the Government has the least intention in view, however remote, ultimately to attempt the mixing ethnologically of the various races living in Malaya, so that the product of this race mixture will be a homogeneous amalgamation of the component races in whom the Malay characteristics will predominate, or to make non-Malays adopt the Malay language as their own and assimilate the so-called Malay civilisation and culture. If there is any suspicion that such an attempt is going to be made, it would be most energetically resisted by the non-Malays as something most obnoxious and baneful to their well-being and would be foredoomed to failure.

If, on the other hand, by Malayanization Government desires to foster and create a truly Malayan spirit and consciousness and a unity of outlook among the various racial elements composing the permanent population of this country, who, while enjoying

a common citizenship, will preserve their racial individuality, as has taken place among the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Indians of Malacca, then the Government will confer an inestimable boon on this country and its people.

If such a truly Malayan community is to be built up, it is necessary that a link or links should be forged to bind its diverse racial units together in some form of brotherhood based on the love of Malaya as their mother country and as an integral part of the British Empire.

As Your Excellency has said, a common language should be one of the most effective bonds between the permanent inhabitants of this country belonging to various racial groups.

Speaking as a British subject and a citizen of this British Colony, I think English should be the best common basic language to serve as a bond between the different sections of our permanent population, because Malay, the language of the people of this country, is totally inadequate and unsuitable for the purpose, especially in so far as the locally born non-Malays are concerned, and locally born non-Malays slightly outnumber the Malays in the Colony.

It is true that colloquial Malay has been the common medium of intercourse not only in the Malay Peninsula but also in the whole of the Malay Archipelago for several centuries past. It is an extremely simple language which makes it serve as an easy lingua franca. But a lingua franca is not much of a bond, and even Malay as a lingua franca cannot go far beyond its proper and limited function of serving as a mere means of communication between the various nationalities resident in Malaya and the East Indies. I agree that it is desirable that all people who live in Malaya, whether they are locally born or foreigners, should have a knowledge of colloquial Malay as an alternative means of inter-racial communication. But it is absolutely unnecessary

to go to a Malay school to gain a good working knowledge of spoken Malay, which every locally born Chinese, Indian, Eurasian and European invariably acquires without ever attending a Malay school. It is a patent fact that anyone of whatever race, who is born or who belongs to the second or third generation of a locally born non-Malay family in Malaya, must inevitably pick up and get to know enough colloquial Malay to enable him with a little practice to speak it well, without his having to study at a Malay school. I do not think it correct to say that Malay, as spoken by the Straits-born Chinese, is very much different from the speech of the Malays or even of educated Malays. Both the "Baba" or Straits-born Chinese and the Malay use practically and substantially the same version of the language, so that the one can converse with the other with perfect understanding and ease.

Written Malay or the language of literature is somewhat different from colloquial Malay. In speech sentences are usually very much shorter than in the written language, which is expressed in an involved style and is more difficult to follow and understand. The Malay language also contains a large number of loan words from foreign sources such as Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian rarely used in the speech of even educated Malays. While it is imperative that a Malay must be instructed in his written language for religious reasons and in order that he may conform to his indigenous ethos and become acquainted with his native culture and literature, it would be sheer and cruel waste of precious time for a Chinese or an Indian boy to spend three or four years in a Malay school to study literary Malay, which can be of no conceivable use to him in after life.

At a meeting of this Council held on June 25th. 1923, in answer to my remarks that "the Government believes that a Straits born Chinese child must first learn Malay or a dialect of Chinese, whichever is his home language, for, say three years before he can enter an English school," the honorary Dr. R. O.

Winstedt, who had just succeeded Mr. E. C. H. Wolff as Director of Education, said:—

“But there has never been any proposal and there has certainly never been any idea, of compelling or persuading Straits-born Chinese to waste—I entirely agree with the honorary member on the other side of the House—to waste three or four years in learning a dialect which is foreign to them or in studying Mandarin or in studying “Baba” Malay. The wellknown loyalty of the Straits-born Chinese and their aspirations and eagerness for everything British would make such a proceeding not only nonsensical but tyrannical. The fact that so many of them speak English in their own homes, apart from all other considerations, points obviously to English as the vehicle of their preliminary training. I trust that the honorary member on the other side of the House will accept my assurance on that matter. I have already had an interview with Mr. Song Ong Siang and the Straits-born Chinese Association and I have assured them that there will be no compulsion for Straits-born Chinese to learn anything but English, and that there was no intention to rob them of any facility for learning English. If other races are being asked or persuaded to start education in their own language, it is not with the idea of handicapping them, but with the idea of helping them towards a sounder English education when they are fit to go on to an English school.”

That, Sir, is the considered opinion on the subject of educating Straits Chinese in Malay in the elementary stages of a distinguished Malayan administrator with over 31 years' experience and knowledge of Malaya and its people, who is perhaps the highest living authority at present in this country on the Malay language and the Malay people. He certainly thinks it would not only be a misuse of time for a Straits Chinese child to devote three or four years to a study of Malay but a nonsensical and tyrannical measure to make him do so.

The home language of the Malayan-born Chinese varies in different parts of the country and even in the same district. The vast majority of them in Penang and in the Malay States and a good proportion of those in Singapore and Malacca talk some dialect of Chinese, while many in Malacca and Singapore, known as the "Babas," speak Malay or English or both at home.

As regards the latter class, in many cases Malay is being superseded by English, which is also used in the homes of a number of other locally born Chinese all over Malaya. English is moreover extensively used as a common language by the Straits-born and other Malayan-born Chinese in their clubs, in business and public throughout Malaya.

What is most perplexing to me and utterly beyond my comprehension is why, if the locally born Chinese cannot be given free or State aided elementary education in their own language, i.e. Chinese, it should be deemed fit and proper for them or beneficial to them to have that education in Malay which is not their native tongue and for which there can be no utilitarian or pragmatic sanction so far as it concerns them. Such a suggestion seems to me to be grotesque and unaccountable in the extreme and would be most difficult, if not impossible, of realisation in face of the stout and unanimous opposition to it from the people concerned. Everywhere in the world the race to be educated should have a strong voice in educational matters and direction. Being British subjects and traditionally loyal to the land of their birth, which is British territory, the Straits-born Chinese with perfect logic and justice demand they should receive their elementary education at the expense of the State in the language of the Imperial ruling power, which is also the official, commercial and common written language of the country, and which under the circumstances is the best and most useful language for them to learn at school—even in the elementary school—from the economic, educational, cultural and every other standpoint.

For strong and important reasons English should be the basic language of this country particularly in the Colony. By "basic language" I mean the language in which the mass of the people should be instructed to read and write and obtain a certain minimum standard of literacy, and which should form the principal instrument of organised education whereby each member of a new generation may acquire knowledge and be initiated into the collective, social and intellectual heritage of mankind, for which purpose the English language with its glorious literature, overwhelming in its variety and wealth, is unsurpassed. English, which is already the most widely spoken language throughout the world, is likely to become universal and is also well on the way to securing universal currency in this country and in the whole of the East. In Singapore and in other towns of this country the use of English has in recent years enormously increased at the expense of Malay, so that English does distinctly tend to become the common language of this country especially in the towns. A much-simplified form of English called "Basic English," which makes use of only 850 words, has already been proposed as an ideal universal language of the future and may prove even easier for the masses than, for instance, literary Malay.

In a British Colony, which is a member of the British Empire, English should form the best and strongest bond between its permanent inhabitants, and is the obvious and only common basic language which can impart to our heterogeneous population the common ideas and the common outlook, which must be British in a British Colony, and which is conducive to national solidarity. It has been truly said that the British Empire is ultimately based not only on a community of allegiance but also on a community of ideas, and that without such community of ideas no scattered Empire can resist the dis-integrating pressure of time and space.

A sociological thinker says that the prime motive power of human society originates from material conditions of existence,

i.e. from the manner in which men provide for their livelihood. From the purely economic standpoint, an English education is of prime importance to the people of this country.

The Straits Settlements Annual Report on Education for 1932, under the heading of "Industrial Education," when referring to the Singapore Trade School says:—

"No boy was admitted to the new first year course who had not completed standard VI in an English school, it having been found that the higher up a boy had gone in an English school the better student he made at the trade school; many had considerably higher qualifications."

All the textbooks on the subjects taught in the trade school are in English and not in Malay, while the principal and chief instructor are Englishmen who teach in English.

In the case of the fundamental industry of agriculture, a knowledge of English will enable one to know and appreciate the latest and most intelligent methods and the new and scientific ideas which have been introduced into the tilling of the soil, the raising of livestock and other farming activities and planting practices in all the important branches of agriculture.

On the commercial side, an English education is an indispensable necessity or an invaluable asset in this country.

The most organised agricultural, technical, commercial, industrial and adult education are all conducted in English and not in the Malay language in Malaya.

It has been argued that an English education breeds discontent. If hand work should form an essential part of a primary education in an English school and if an agricultural bias should be attempted and fostered in our English schools, I do not see how their products can despise manual or agricultural work and become disgruntled any more than the students of the

Malay vernacular schools should develop a strong distaste to manual or agricultural labour and become dissatisfied.

The people here, at least the Chinese, do not clamour for an English education as the doorway to official employment, as, for instance, in India, for which there is not much scope in this country. The Chinese are a self-reliant race and want English education largely for the sake of developing their intelligence and helping in the commercial advancement and industrial growth of this land of their adoption.

On the subject of the education of an Asiatic people in their vernacular tongue, I should like again to quote Dr. Winstedt, our Director of Education from 1923 to 1931, who at a meeting of this Council held on October 19th, 1923, when referring to the Indian Commission on Education appointed by the Governor-General of India, said:—

“At any rate this very distinguished body which reported on the Universities of India came to the conclusion (and, though expert educationalists' conclusions are not always commonsense, I venture to think that this had the added claim that it was commonsense) that the ideal—not always the practicable ideal but the ideal—was that every child should first of all be taught to think in its own mother tongue, that every child must have some vehicle in which to think and that one of the difficulties of our educational system in India was that from Macaulay's time downwards we had neglected that ideal.”

In Ceylon, a neighbouring sister Crown Colony, which has a population of some 5-1/3 millions, of whom two-thirds speak Sinhalese and most of the remaining one-third, consisting of Ceylon Tamils and Tamil immigrant labourers, use Tamil, the system of teaching elementary knowledge in the vernacular tongues and of the higher branches in English is practised. A

big experiment is made there in educating the children in Sinhalese and Tamil and treating English as a foreign language, partly in order to keep the native languages alive from nationalistic motives. The point I should like to stress strongly here is that the Ceylon Government has not attempted to educate the children of Ceylon Tamils, (whose ancestors emigrated from India and settled down in Ceylon) in Sinhalese, the language of the original sons of the soil. There the Sinhalese go to the Government Sinhalese vernacular elementary schools and the Tamils attend the Government Tamil vernacular elementary schools. If this principle, which I dare say is observed in India and all other parts of the British Empire, were carried out in Malaya the Government should not only run and control Malay vernacular schools supplying free elementary education to the Malays but also Chinese and Indian vernacular schools imparting free elementary instruction to Chinese and Indian children respectively.

In this country there are no Government Chinese schools and the Chinese as a whole do not ask Government to give their children free elementary education in Chinese. Instead they have organised and maintain at their expense 325 schools using Chinese as the medium of instruction and attended by some 22,000 students, mostly born in this country, and that is in the Colony alone. Government pays grants in aid totalling some \$45,500/- per year to some 37 of these schools, but Council Paper No. 93 of 1932 states that new applications from these schools for such assistance from Government will not be entertained in future. Government should, I think, continue to subsidise the Chinese vernacular schools in this country in order to exercise effective control and supervision over them and see that what the students are taught there will make them loyal citizens of Malaya in future, while at the same time by providing facilities for elementary English education, free or at a nominal cost, Government may induce the China-born parents to send their children to the English

instead of the Chinese schools. I can assure the Government that no Chinese, whether locally born or otherwise, will ever consent to send his children to the Malay vernacular school for their education, even if it can be obtained gratis under any circumstances.

On the sound and sane principle that a person should never lose touch with his mother tongue and should never lose sight of the noblest ideals of his race, the Straits Chinese, who are quite willing to adopt English as their basic language and attend only English schools, should in the Cambridge or higher classes there be taught Chinese as a language in order that they may understand the thoughts of their spiritual ancestors such as the inactionism and naturalism of Lao Tzu, the gospel of moralism and familism of Confucius, the altruism and utilitarianism of Mo Tzu, the fatalism, egoism and epicureanism of Yang Tzu and the legalism and militarism of Kung-Sun Yang, the five Chinese prophets who largely form the substance of the Chinese consciousness, the race-mould and type. At any rate every Straits Chinese should be well versed in the Confucian analects, doctrine of the Golden Mean and theory of the five cardinal virtues, viz. "Jin" (Benevolence), "Ghi" (Righteousness), "Lay" (Propriety), "Tee" (Wisdom) and "Sin" (Sincerity), and thus tend to become good Chinese as well as good British subjects.

The Straits Chinese, too, should be brought into harmony with their native Chinese ethos in order that they may preserve their customs, institutions and manners and be conversant with ancient Chinese classics and culture which are, I venture to say, dear to Your Excellency's heart as a Chinese scholar.

If it is admitted as an important principle of good government that it is the first duty and care of the State to provide a good primary education for the general public free or at a nominal cost, and if in this country it is agreed that, for obvious and cogent reasons, that education should not be given in Malay

to the Chinese and Indian elements in our permanent population to whom it is a foreign and useless language while Government is unwilling to impart it in Chinese and Indian at its expense, then elementary knowledge can only be taught to the Chinese and Indians in English at Government's expense in a British Colony. In the light of the policy and principle advocated in Council Paper No. 93 of 1932, it would be perfectly consistent with Your Excellency's ideas to announce that free elementary English education is the ultimate ideal aimed at by the Government.

That this has been generally accepted in the past as the ideal to be eventually achieved is clearly shown in Council Paper No. 6 laid on the table at to-day's meeting. Even the Education Board of 1923 at its meeting on February 27th. of that year affirmed that "universal English education should be regarded as an ultimate rather than immediate aim" and "recommended no change in the fees for elementary classes," though the same Board by a majority is said at the same time to have rejected "the principle enunciated by Sir Arthur Young," which seems to be highly inconsistent with the Board's affirmation quoted above and to call for some explanation.

The revised scale of school fees introduced from July 1st. 1926 was primarily intended to raise the fees for secondary classes in order to meet the increased cost of education and not to signify a repudiation of the ideal of universal free elementary English education.

The cost of implementing this policy may be prohibitive at present, but we only ask that the English ideal which has hitherto prevailed be continued to be kept in view as the ultimate goal which, though possibly lying in the distant future, is to be attained in the Colony only when circumstances and finance permit. In the meantime it is agreed that, for financial reasons at least, Government must conduct matters as they do while aiming

at supplying (in the precise words of Council Paper No. 93 of 1932) "a sound primary education at as cheap a rate as possible in English" and making it progressively cheaper as time goes on. Translated into action this means that the school fees charged up to standard VI should be gradually reduced as circumstances allow from \$2.50 or \$3.00 per pupil per month to 50 cents or \$1.00, at which rate school fees were paid in the English schools in the Colony about twenty years ago in my recollection.

Even on the question of cost I do not know how far the giving of free Malay education to non-Malay children could be justified. For, even supposing for the sake of argument a really good elementary Malay vernacular education of the modern type were provided free for all the races in the large towns of this Colony and all the domiciled Chinese and Indians were willing to avail themselves of it, I wonder whether the expenditure thereby incurred by the Government would be very much less than that of supplying elementary English education at cheap rates to the same number of students in the towns.

The cost of free Malay vernacular education in Malacca for 1932 was \$21.36 per pupil, whereas the expenditure from public funds in St. Anthony's Boys' School of Singapore was \$27.51 for the same year. The education furnished in the English schools should be of a very much superior and more modern type than that given in the Malay vernacular school in the "ulu" of Malacca.

The present cost of Malay vernacular education if modernised, for instance, by the employment of well educated and well trained teachers and supplied in the towns, where cost of living is higher, will probably be doubled or trebled.

I submit, Sir, that the policy of Malayanisation professed by Government with a view of knitting our permanent population of all races ultimately into a united Malayan community, inspired by a Malayan consciousness and patriotism and undivided

loyalty to this country and the British Crown and enjoying the rights and performing the duties of full Malayan citizenship without distinction or preference as to race, creed or class, will be best accomplished by making English, which also has inherent and incomparable merit from the economic, educational, cultural and utilitarian viewpoint, the common basic language and common bond of union of the settled population of this country in order to impart in them a unity of outlook and community of ideas and sentiments, which should be British in a British Colony. (Applause).

The Hon. Mr. A. P. Robinson said:—

Sir,—The honourable the Chinese member for Malacca has given us rather a remarkable review of the position regarding education and what is called the new policy as it is at present. The speech has served to clarify that position, because it gives something definite, out of all the different opinions which have been expressed here and outside, and it seems to me that what is now required is an assurance that the ultimate ideal of English as a universal language shall not be shut out.

Sir, no one will deny that the ideal for a British Colony, so far as language is concerned, is that that language should be English. Whether it is to be in the near future or in the far future may be doubtful, and different people will have different opinions as to that. But what has happened, arising out of the recent pronouncements on the subject, is that an apprehension—or, as I should call it, a misapprehension, has arisen that the Government is endeavouring to prevent the ultimate attainment of that ideal. Apprehension has arisen among the Asiatic British subjects and it is a strong feeling. In Singapore alone there is a Committee formed of 14 different Asiatic associations to consider and make representations on this subject. I have spoken to my friends who are concerning themselves in this and the feeling is really deep and sincere, because they regard this matter

of language as one which enables them to identify themselves with the status of British subject to which they attach great importance. It is worth while therefore, Sir, to calm these apprehensions if they are, as I think, misapprehensions.

I believe the controversy has largely arisen from a misunderstanding of the words which are inappropriate in their place. What is described as the "new policy of the Government" is, as Your Excellency yourself has pointed out, no new policy at all. There is nothing new in what is being done now, or different from what has been the practice these last many years. What is called the new policy is really only a continuation of what has been done up till quite recently. And if that is so, then the situation can be clarified and these fears dispelled by quite a simple explanation. Listening to my honourable friend's speech I gathered that little more is required than this—an announcement that the Government is not endeavouring to hinder or prevent the ideal to which they look, that it is not the intention of the Government to force the learning of Malay in schools on anyone unwilling to learn it, that Malay is for the present regarded as the basic language only in the same sense that hitherto it has been, and still is, the basic language of the Colony, and that neither the time is ripe for nor do finances permit of any change of policy in that respect. Sir, if such an announcement can be made—and it seems to me it can quite easily be made without any retraction, without attenuation of any policy or withdrawal of anything that has been said—then I believe, from what I have learnt, that the fears will be calmed and most of the people, at least the reasonable people, will feel satisfied. (Applause).

PRESS OPINIONS.

Malaya Tribune, February 15th, 1934.

The Catholic Spirit.

That spirit (the "Catholic Spirit," for which His Excellency appealed) in our opinion, was never more clearly and eloquently

expressed in the history of the Legislative Council than in the brilliant, erudite and logical speech of Mr. Tan Cheng Lock. It was a breath of fresh air among the musty cobwebs of mediaeval thought which now, it seems, do duty for public policy in our high places. It vindicated thoroughly the policy advocated consistently by the "Malaya Tribune" since its inception as a public organ, and it stands on record as a complete definition of the reasonable educational aspirations of the people of this British Colony. In a long, energetic, distinguished and honourable career of public service, Mr. Tan Cheng Lock has earned the gratitude of the public, of all communities, by his consistent and enlightened stand for progress along reasonable and carefully considered lines; but never more notably than by his able and courageous speech on Monday.

Straits Times, February 14th, 1934.

English v. Malay.

Thus it is not merely a question of whether school fees should be high or low, or whether English education leads to unemployment. Sir Cecil Clementi has raised the basic issue of whether English or Malay is the language which, for all purposes and from every point of view, is the most useful, the most desirable and the most valuable for citizens of the Straits Settlements. If that issue were confined to the academic sphere it would be harmless; it would merely be an interesting subject for argument. But unfortunately it has assumed a very real practical importance, for the choice of Malay as the basic language has become one of the governing principles of the Colony's educational policy. In our view Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, in one of the finest speeches of his political career, has conclusively shown that principle to be indefensible.

Straits Times, February 17th, 1934.

An Unwanted Gift.

His (H.E.'s) line of argument is that Malay is the language most commonly spoken in this country and therefore it is the only language in which a free education can be given. "The Government is determined," he says, "to afford all children in this peninsula an opportunity of learning the Malay language free of cost—but also without compulsion." To the objections that all locally born non-Malay children already know as much of the Malay language as they need to know, that the language is useless to them for cultural purposes, and that in any event they refuse to receive their education in it—to all these objections His Excellency makes no answer. The resultant situation would be Gilbertian if it were not so lamentable. The Straits Settlements, alone among the colonies of the British Empire, has adopted an educational policy of which its entire non-indigenous population refuses to make any use whatsoever. Surely there must be something radically wrong in such a state of affairs. This unanimous rejection of a basic policy, this unyielding refusal to take advantage of a type of education which Government is "determined" to offer, can be paralleled in no other country in the world.

Sunday Tribune, February 18th, 1934.

English, Please!

At the Legislative Council meeting at Malacca on Monday last His Excellency clearly showed that he has learned nothing from the controversy of recent months, and is stubborn in his unhappy prejudices. But he must have been deeply impressed by the noteworthy speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. Tan Cheng Lock—one of the finest, most courageous and most valuable speeches ever delivered in this Colony. And the purport of it, crystallised, was: The basic language of the Straits Settlements is English, and English must be the vehicle of education for the children of British subjects in the Colony.

Malay Mail.

A Valuable Speech.

We have heard it suggested that the debate on Malayan educational policy at the Malacca meeting of the Legislative Council has resulted in effect in an amicable settlement of this protracted and at times acrimonious dispute, and that as a consequence we shall hear no more about Malay being the language of Malaya, which all children must learn if they are to enjoy free education.

While we admit it possible by taking certain portions of the official speeches away from their context to give that impression, we think a careful study of them will do no more than suggest that the official attitude is not based quite so firmly on a conviction that it is unassailably in the right. For that we have, we think, to give thanks to the honourable Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, whose lengthy contribution to the debate not only puts the Chinese case as it has not been put hitherto, but is an extremely valuable contribution to the subject of the educational policy of this country in the future.

It was a well-reasoned exposition of the common sense point of view, and it is difficult to controvert Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's assertion that it would be "sheer and cruel waste of precious time for a Chinese or an Indian boy to spend three or four years in a Malay school to study literary Malay, which can be of no conceivable use to him in after life."

PART III. — POST-WAR.

I.

MR. TAN CHENG LOCK'S STIRRING SPEECH AT A DINNER GIVEN ON APRIL 2nd. 1946, BY THE CHINESE COMMUNITY OF MALACCA ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF SIR EDWARD GENT AND SIR FRANKLIN GIMSON, GOVERNORS OF THE MALAYAN UNION AND SINGAPORE.

Your Excellencies & Gentlemen,

I rise this evening to propose to you the toast of our honoured and very welcome guests, His Excellency Sir Edward Gent, our Malayan Union Governor, and His Excellency Sir Franklin Gimson, our Singapore Governor, and on behalf of the Malacca Chinese Community to warmly thank Your Excellencies for having accepted our invitation to this dinner to meet some of the leading representatives of this town of ancient fame and historical significance.

Founded in 1377 by the fugitive Parameswara or Ruler of Singapura, a Colony of the Sumatran Buddhist Empire Srivajaya, in consequence of the devastating sack and total destruction of the Lion City by the Javanese Empire of Majapahit, which was waging war with Srivajaya; conquered in 1511 by Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese conqueror in India; captured in 1641 by the Dutch as a result of their decisive naval victories in European and South American waters during the 30 years' war, which sealed the doom of the Iberian Empire, and incorporated into the British Empire finally in 1824 as part of the great settlement that followed the Napoleonic wars; Malacca, which has earned the title of the mother of Malaya, is steeped in history and possesses a wealth of relics of the past ages.

On one of the slopes of Bukit China Hills, the Chinese public cemetery grounds, in the outskirts of this town there is an old

well, which tradition says was used by Cheng Ho, popularly known as Sam-Po-Kong, the Chinese Imperial Envoy, and a little Temple erected to serve as a memorial of his sojourn in Malacca in 1409 A.D. for the purpose of visiting the Chinese Settlement here and conferring on the Chief of Malacca, its first Moslem Ruler, Mohammed Shah, the protection of the Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming Dynasty. Behind the self-same Temple there lies the grave of one Tin Kup, the first Captain China of Malacca, an official appointed by the Portuguese and adopted by the Dutch in later years to govern the Chinese according to their customs. It was Chan Lak Kuah or Chan Kup, a son-in-law and the successor of Tin Kup, who well over 300 years ago founded the Cheng Hoon Teng Temple at Kubu Road in this town, dedicated to Kuan-Shih-Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, a Bodhisattva and an incarnation of Buddha.

All that is ancient history, but coming down to more recent times one finds that Malaya, into which Malacca was the principal port of entry and whose history is synonymous with that of Malacca, under a wise British administration became prosperous beyond the dreams of the most optimistic up to the time of the dark days of the Japanese onslaught on this country on December 8th. 1941.

The termination of the recent world war has ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, and in Malaya, as in the rest of the planet, radical changes are taking place especially in the realm of politics. In consonance with the new trend of political thought, His Majesty's Government has seen fit to shift the emphasis of Colonial administration from law and order to social betterment and constitutional progress towards self-government. In pre-war days colonial Government in Malaya was limited to the maintenance of law and order, a modicum of health and education services and the collection of sufficient revenue to pay for them. As a result of this change in British

Colonial principles and methods, at least in theory, the Colonial Secretary at a Meeting of the House of Commons on October 10th, 1945 made a declaration of His Majesty's Government's policy calling for a constitutional Union of Malaya, the institution of a Malayan citizenship which will give equal citizenship rights to those who can claim Malaya to be their homeland, with the object of ensuring ultimate self-government in a United Malaya inspired by a sense of unity and fellow feeling animating all its inhabitants. This policy, if pursued to its logical conclusion, affords the mixed Communities of Malaya some hope that Malaya may one day become one country and one nation revolving within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of nations.

Unfortunately this wise and statesmanlike policy has been vehemently and persistently assailed by certain ex-Malayan pro-consuls, who are obsessed with their antiquated prejudices and predilections and hampered by their woeful lack of imagination, and other reactionaries in Great Britain with the idea of excluding the Chinese and Indians from participation in the administration and government of this country.

*One ex-Malayan personality has uttered the falsehood that the Chinese actually prevented the Malays from becoming artisans by combined guild action and everywhere excluded the Malays from commerce, in order to support his untruthful thesis that

* NOTE:—The relevant remarks extracted from an article in THE LONDON SPECTATOR of March 8th, 1946, (page 237) entitled "SHARP PRACTICE IN MALAYA" by SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT:

"The Chinese everywhere exclude the Malay from commerce. A Kelantan Malay began dealing in Malay rice, whereat the Chinese lorry-owners raised their charge for transport with such discriminatory effect that the Malay could only compete with Chinese dealers by buying lorries of his own. A Malay co-operative society arranged to dodge the Chinese middleman and sell direct to a British firm; that firm's clientele forced it to cancel the agreement by threatening to transfer their custom elsewhere. Cases of such boycott are innumerable."

the Chinese are bent upon the economic and political submergence of the Malays. This is of course a palpable untruth, which is too preposterous to be believed in, as the evidence of one's senses can testify.

One Whittingham-Jones in an article entitled "Malaya Betrayed" published for purposes of anti-Chinese propaganda in the May 1946 Number of the "World Review," went so far as to stigmatize the new constitutional scheme for Malaya as opening the door to Malaya ultimately becoming the 35th province of the Chinese Republic. Before the war the accusation levelled at them was that the Malayan Chinese wanted to make Malaya the 19th province of China. This myth, for which the Chinese are not responsible and which was originally concocted in the imaginative brain of some European writer of the globe-trotter type, has since been used as a weapon with which to attack the Chinese. I affirm that it is a lie and a slander reiterated maliciously to injure the Chinese out of jealousy and envy of Chinese economic success in Malaya, which has been won by sheer dint of hard work, by their industry, enterprise and initiative as well as by untold sufferings endured by them in the past, without any outside help and without any protection or aid from the Chinese Government throughout the whole period of Malayan history.

Yet these very same people, who have been imputing to the Chinese sinister designs on Malaya, were totally blind to the patent fact that it was not the Chinese, but the Japanese, who coveted Malaya and the Golden Indies with results disastrous to Nippon, which should serve as a warning to some future would-be aggressor. These foolish Sinophobes said and did nothing to help to stop Japan, but on the contrary encouraged her in her mad career and lust of conquest.

The Chinese have inherited a tradition of self-reliance and selfhelp. A Chinese proverb says "Nothing is difficult in this

world and nothing is easy in this world. Help comes to those who help themselves; with our own strength we shall live again. Dig within; within is the foundation of good, ever dig, it will ever well forth water."

When I reflect on all this anti-Chinese sentiment, it recalls to my mind the true words of Shakespeare who says:—

"Know you not, master, to some kind of men
Their graces serve them but as enemies?"

No more do yours; your virtues, gentle master, are
sanctified and holy traitors to you.

O, what a world is this, when what is comely envenoms
him that bears it!"

Chinese philosophy and history for centuries demonstrate that she is not a nation which harbours dreams of world conquest and expansion at the expense of her neighbour nations.

I plead with Your Excellencies, with His Excellency the Governor-General of Malaya, with His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament and public not to give the slightest credence to this nonsensical, impossible and impracticable fairy tale of Chinese nefarious intension to absorb Malaya, which they are too sane and intelligent to contemplate. China will have enough to do for all time to come to keep together and defend the 4 to 5 million square miles of her rich territories inhabited by 500 millions of her people; she has no need whatsoever of other peoples' territories.

The Chinese Community of Malaya, as they have consistently done in the past, from the millionaire to the humble coolie wish to live at peace and in friendship with the other Malayan Communities and are only intent upon earning their livelihood, and thus contribute their share to the prosperity of this land, with no desire to dominate or do any harm to any other Community.

Naturally those of them who intend to settle down in this country permanently and regard it as their homeland welcome the opportunity to acquire the rights of citizenship, so that they may completely identify themselves with Malaya and be loyal and faithful to the land of their adoption, to which they are prepared to give their undivided allegiance. This certainly should be to the good of Malaya as a whole and help to make it one country and one nation. Experience has shown that whenever aliens are treated as citizens they become citizens, whatever may be their religion or their race. It is undeniable also on any theory, that the tie of kinship between dwellers in a new country and an old must diminish in intensity and in political importance with every passing generation.

Equality of citizenship and political rights must necessarily involve equality of the obligation to submit to the supreme sacrifice in the defence of Malaya in the event of the next world war, which is said to be inevitable. Conversely equality of civic sacrifice and responsibility postulates equality of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Ian Morrison, the London Times war correspondent in Malaya at the outbreak of war with Japan, says in his "Malayan Postscript" that in his opinion the Chinese emerged from the two months of warfare in Malaya with flying colours and that of the native sections of the population the Chinese put up the firmest front against the Japanese. In consequence the Chinese community were hardest hit and suffered wholesale slaughter and the worst atrocities at the hands of the brutal and sadistic Nips during the period of their occupation. The Europeans then interned in Singapore and elsewhere in Malaya spoke with deep gratitude of the practical help and kindness which the Chinese at the risk of their lives extended to them during their imprisonment.

What is a nation? Why is Switzerland, with its three languages, its two religions and three or four races a nation, when some other country, which is homogeneous, is not? A satisfactory basis for a modern nationality is neither language nor religion nor race and not even a community of interest. Two things go to make up a nation, which is a soul, a spiritual principle. One of these two things is a heritage of common suffering and common rejoicing in the past, and the other, which lies in the present, is actual agreement, the will to live together and to make the most of the inheritance shared jointly.

By virtue of this definition Malaya can become a nation in spite of the heterogeneity of its population. The Malays, Indians and Chinese have lived, rejoiced and suffered together for at least half a millennium. In particular their common suffering during the three and half years of Japanese occupation should unite them strongly, for among national memories sorrows have a greater unifying force and value than victories.

If Sir Stamford Raffles, the noble, heroic and illustrious founder of Singapore gifted with a natural and instinctive Catholic humanity and blessed with freedom from any touch of colour prejudice had come down to earth to rule Malaya, both the Malays and the Chinese, whom he understood so well, would have fallen into British arms and united to form a nation to the immense benefit of all concerned including Great Britain. Let us hope that at least one of our three Governors will prove to be an incarnation of Stamford Raffles to carry on his mission, follow his way, and pursue his wise, far-sighted, beneficent and liberal policy.

In this connection, however, I may be permitted to say that Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, our Governor-General, and Sir Edward Gent have an advantage over those Europeans who have passed their lives in Asia and who are not likely to possess the most advanced European ideas of general statesmanship, which

our present chief rulers have carried out with them to blend with the results of Malayan experience.

In conclusion, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen, I earnestly hope and pray that His Majesty's Government, being convinced of the rightness and justice of its Malayan policy, will not beat a retreat in the teeth of the opposition of the old-fashioned and ultra conservative diehards, who desire to sabotage the Union plan, but will have the steadfastness and courage to enforce it substantially in its original form and in its essential details, in order to weld all Malaya into one country and one nation on the basis of the ideals of freedom and fairplay, which is bound to redound to the eternal advantage, equally and equitably, of the different Malayan Communities and forge the strongest link binding this country and its people to Great Britain for all time.

Gentlemen, I now give you the toast of Their Excellencies Sir Edward Gent and Sir Franklin Gimson.

SIR EDWARD GENT'S REPLY.

Who that knows anything of Malaya does not know the story of Malacca and does not honour the old families who for generations have given of their best in her public service and prided themselves on their British status? Their voice shall be heard in the political future of the country. The Secretary of State himself has given public assurance that it will be my task to ensure full consultation with all who have such rightful claims before decisions are reached on any constitutional changes in Malaya.

MALAYAN UNION.

I said in my recent broadcast that just as every circle in Malaya has shown its regret over the disturbance of Malay political feelings in the matter of the Malayan Union, so also, it is a matter of general concern in Malaya no less than to His

Majesty's Government that general approval should be found for any changes which may eventually be deemed desirable.

I thank you Mr. Chairman, old friend of Malaya and of myself personally and all in Malacca who are joined with you in this memorable and happy occasion—I thank you on behalf of myself and my friend and colleague, Sir Franklin Gimson, and your other guests for your kindness and hospitality this evening.



II.

SPEECH AT THE MALACCA CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MacDONALD, OCTOBER 12th 1946.

Your Excellency, Ladies & Gentlemen,

In rising to submit to you the toast of His Excellency Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, our Governor-General, I have great pleasure in extending to His Excellency, both in his official capacity as His Majesty's Representative and personally, the heartiest possible welcome of the Chinese Community of Malacca, this unique land of ancient lineage and rich historical interest, associated with the name of the great Laksamana Hang Tuah, the heroic personage of Malay history and tradition, the La Famosa of the Portuguese, where the Chinese have formed a continuous Colony for the last five hundred years.

It was since A.D. 414 when the celebrated and intrepid Buddhist monk and pilgrim, Fa-Hsien, having successfully braved the perils of an arduous overland journey on foot across the Gobi desert, Sinkiang, Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush to India, after an absence of 15 years returned to China by sea, when he stayed in Java for five months, that the Chinese have continued to visit the regions of the South Seas in increasing numbers.

The influence which Chinese merchants still have in the East Indies, Malaya and South East Asia generally and the great numbers of Chinese, who have settled there, bear witness to the importance of Fa-Hsien's travels and of the enterprise of that indefatigable voyager in the service of the Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty, the Mohamedan Hadji Cheng Ho, who during a period extending over 25 years from A.D. 1405 conducted seven expeditions—some of which consisted of over 60 warships with a complement of some 28,000 men and troops—to the South Seas

and Indian Ocean, during which he visited Java, Sumatra, Malacca, India, Ceylon, Persia, Madagascar and the East Coast of Africa to spread the glory of Chinese civilization beyond the China seas. Cheng Ho, popularly known as Sam-po-kong, is worshipped as a god in Java by the natives and in Malacca by the Chinese to the present day.

In passing it may be observed that like the people of the United States of America, New Zealand and Australia practically the whole of the population of Malaya with the exception of the aborigines, namely, the Sakais, Semangs and Jakoons, are more or less of immigrant origin. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Malaya are either actual immigrants from Indonesia, China and India or descendants of comparatively recent immigrant stock.

To understand better the Malaya of To-day and be better able to see and provide for its future, one ought to know something of the Malaya of Yesterday. One cannot appreciate the full significance of the immediate event unless it is related to other events on both sides of time and unless there is a thorough comprehension of cause and effect, whether agreeable or disagreeable.

Our chief and honoured guest of this evening is a distinguished son of a distinguished father, the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who in the third decade of this century became the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the first Labour Government in Britain. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald himself, I imagine, is a staunch and strong Liberal statesman, judging, for instance, from a speech which he made in Parliament in June 1939 when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in which he advocated that the main objective of the British Government in all the Colonies should be to train the people to stand securely on their feet and ultimately to manage their own affairs. Even

in those pre-war days he was not smothered with smug complacency regarding British Colonial administration like many other British politicians and administrators of the British Colonial Empire, but believed in a re-organization of the whole British Colonial rule and a re-orientation of British Colonial thinking. His policy was to teach men the wise exercise and enjoyment of freedom—that freedom which the British people themselves highly prize. I was so encouraged by his speech and by the pronouncements of members of the Labour Party on that occasion, when I happened to be living in London with my family, that I wrote to one of them, Mr. Noel Baker, and asked for an interview. He deputed his friend, Mr. Creech Jones, now Secretary of State for the Colonies, to see me in the House of Commons; and I submitted to the latter a formidable list of what I considered to be Malayan grievances, political and otherwise.

We may consider ourselves fortunate that in this time of change and transition Malaya has a democratically-minded statesman of the type and calibre of His Excellency as one of the chief physicians of the Malayan body politic and as our Governor-General, who without having any direct administrative functions has the power of co-ordination and direction of policy in Malayan affairs.

The history of the world is nothing else than the development of the idea of freedom. What is freedom? On this point a wise Greek thinker once said "the major problem of human society is to combine that degree of Liberty, without which law is tyranny, with that degree of law, without which liberty becomes licence."

So far under British rule in Malaya we have had civil, rather than political, that is to say, the passive rather than the active,—type of freedom. It is upon this basis of civil liberty,—freedom of the person from arbitrary arrest and spoliation, freedom of speech and writing, of association and public worship—that the

future Malayan structure of political freedom and responsible democracy must be reared. Political freedom for Malaya means the sharing and participation of the people of Malaya in the exercise of the sovereign power—that is to say, the power of governing and administering the country or, in Mr. MacDonald's words, the possession of the right to manage their own affairs.

It seems that the road to self-government for Malaya promises to be a long and weary one. We still have to travel as before the recent world war along the road of bureaucratic ossification for quite a while before we can reach the ultimate goal of self-government, if ever we shall reach that destination at all.

The absence from the recent White Paper on Malaya of any provision for concrete steps to be taken to institute representative government and the reservation in regard to Singapore show that His Majesty's Government envisage a long period of Crown Colony rule for Malaya.

Even the little that has been conceded in the White Paper, namely the formal assumption of full crown jurisdiction over the Malay States, which had already been virtually in actual practice in pre-war time according to existing treaties, with a view to the political unification of the whole of Malaya, and the proposed grant of common Malayan citizenship to those born and domiciled in this country and those who intend to make this country their permanent home, as mere preliminary measures, which as yet are of negative value, designed for the establishment of eventual self-government, has been bitterly and effectually opposed by the Patron Saints of reaction among the ex-Malayans and other circles in Britain, who pay reluctant attention to world-shaking events and incline to the status quo ante 1942 to preserve and perpetuate the privileged position and pigmentocracy of the pukka white man in Malaya.

The encouragement of immigrants and aliens, who have resided in a country for a specified period and have contributed to its prosperity, to make their land of adoption their real and permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty, by offering them common citizenship and treating them as its citizens will naturally cause them to become its citizens at heart as well. This will make for the unity of the country and strengthen the State.

So it has come to pass that the Malayan Union constitution, as embodied in the White Paper, is in the melting pot, though an assurance has been given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that all circles concerned will be afforded an opportunity for consultation before decisions are reached by His Majesty's Government on any constitutional changes.

According to the "Straits Times" new proposals to turn the Malayan Union into a Federation and create the office of High Commissioner are being formulated by the political Committee, on which only the Government, Malay Royalty and aristocracy, and the United Malay National Organization are represented, for submission next month to the Governor-General, the Malayan Union Governor, the Sultans and the United Malay National Organization, after whose approval of the new plan and after a decision thereon has been reached by the British Cabinet, they will be referred to the various Communities for comment.

That such consultation with, or comment by, the people of Malaya and other interested communities can be fruitful of results and be of any practical value or help to the rest of them after an agreement has been arrived at with one section of them, appears to us ordinary mortals to savour of a riddle inside an enigma. Though we know with what little wisdom and justice the world is governed, yet perhaps the particular brand of Olympian gods, who rule over us, know better and are truly sagacious, and we must possess our souls in patience and live in the hope

that the promised consultation will not be a mere farce and that we shall not to all intents and purposes be confronted with a *fait accompli* which sacrifices our interests, in which event those of us thereby adversely affected would be left with no alternative but to resort to a campaign of passive resistance and non-cooperation with the Government, which would be unfortunate and disastrous to the country as a whole.

Nevertheless we are deeply concerned and anxious and live in fear and trepidation as to what the immediate future has in store for us. It has been truly said that the mother of political action is pain, not pleasure, and that great movements only come when the few, stirred by the imaginative prick of an entirely ideal indignation, are joined by the many who have a concrete ground of grievance which unremittingly irritates them from inactivity into action.

The three outstanding defects in the British administration of Malaya have been, firstly, absence of criticism and public discussion on the management of its collective interests and on questions of public importance, secondly, absence of effective supervision and check that should be maintained over those who govern us, and, thirdly, lack of adequate planning and thought on the part of those placed in power over us. These failings are largely the inherent faults of bureaucratic autocracy, for the power of unchecked bureaucracy is a power without responsibility.

A contemporary writer has expressed the truism that to give men the power of gods is in fact to afford a reasonable presumption that they will behave like beasts and that with the best intention in the world the holder of absolute power will make men miserable, simply because he cannot put himself in their place.

Another political thinker says, "Every kind and degree of evil of which mankind is susceptible, may be inflicted on them by

their Government, and none of the good of which social existence is capable can be further realized than as the constitution of its government is compatible with, and gives scope for, its attainment."

While we appreciate the blessings of British administration, which has conferred on this country the rule of law and order as well as some degree of equality in the domain of civil rights, in contrast with the reign of terror, tyranny and naked brute force during the 3½ years of Japanese occupation, we also realize that the war though a tragedy of the first magnitude in human experience, yet in its capacity as the historical chief agent of civilization, has awakened the political consciousness of the people of this land.

The Britain of democracy has to-day a unique opportunity to accomplish her appointed mission of welding the peoples of Malaya into one united nation as an integral part of the British Commonwealth and Empire, thereby earning their friendship, goodwill and gratitude for ever, by steadfastly pursuing a policy of equal treatment, impartiality and justice, and ensuring the promised square deal to the different communities making up its mixed population in granting them political rights, to which they now aspire and to which they all are equally entitled, by virtue of their having to bear equally the burden of taxation and the defence of the country in any future war. Equality of responsibility in shouldering the duties and obligations of citizenship necessarily carries with it equality in the enjoyment of its rights and privileges.

Such a policy will be in accord with the facts and reality of the Malayan scene, and buttressed by undivided public support will become a lasting success, whereas a policy which is not in accord with the facts and lacks the complete support of the whole population can only be temporary and must eventually fail.

The British, Indians and Chinese, who have made this country what it is, are fully entitled to equal treatment and opportunity with the Malay and Indonesian element in its population, though the Malays being economically backward should be encouraged and helped as far as practicable by Government and the other communities to attain to an equal economic status. Ways and means should be devised and persevered in by Government in co-operation with the other communities to consummate this most worthy and highly desirable end. But a policy based on the maintenance of a privileged position for one section of the population to the detriment of the others cannot be a sound and lasting one. Such a policy will be interpreted as one to divide and rule and may eventually prove to be fraught with peril to Malaya as a whole and as an integral part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Those who commit injustice bear the greatest burden.

It should be the settled policy and firm aim of His Majesty's Government to excise every kind and degree of racial domination and discrimination from, and sternly to discourage any attempt to infect with this deadly virus, the Malayan body politic, which would endanger the fabric and unity of Malayan Society, and in the long run act as a centrifugal force tending to detach this country, and alienate the goodwill and friendship of its inhabitants as a solid whole, from Great Britain.

I submit that the best policy for His Majesty's Government to observe and implement in Malaya is to aim at achieving its unity on the just and equitable basis of the enjoyment of equality of political and other rights by the divers component parts of its cosmopolitan population, so that its various communal elements, namely Britons, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, Eurasians, Chinese and the others may live and share their civic responsibilities and duties and rights and privileges in a spirit of brotherhood and mutually beneficial co-operation in a united Malaya as an equal, worthy, willing and proud partner in the British Commonwealth of Free nations. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Before concluding I wish in the name of the Chinese Community of Malacca to thank Your Excellency for the honour you have done us by consenting to dine with us this evening and also to thank and welcome our other guests. Now, Ladies & Gentlemen, I call upon you all to honour and drink the toast of the Health of His Excellency Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S REPLY.

The Governor-General, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, pledged that the promise made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consult representatives of all local communities before any decisions are taken on the Malayan Union plans "will be faithfully carried out. The Colonial Secretary's promise was made in good faith, and it will be fulfilled here. Malays were a strong influence in moulding the character of the Colony and the Chinese influence for centuries had been second to none. Historical Malacca was a remarkable place. It owed something to each of the different nations. In fact much of its interesting character and attraction sprang from the fact that many people had co-operated together, whether they liked it or not, to make the Colony what it is to-day.

"I have got an entirely fresh sense of the great strength and contemporary qualities of the Chinese as distinct from the historic. In my travels through Singapore, Sarawak and Borneo I have noticed the Chinese are industrious and are an absolute part of the landscape. It is perfectly obvious to anyone who knows anything at all that the Chinese have played a remarkable part in the economic development of this country. Without any doubt they will continue to do so.

"That fact should be given proper recognition in all wider considerations of this country.

"It is true that the prosperity and well-being of the country cannot depend on the activities of any one race. It is bound up and is dependent on the co-operation between all the peoples who have made Malaya their permanent home—Malays, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians, Europeans and others. The first care of any one who wishes to see Malaya peaceful, prosperous and happy must be to maintain cordial and fruitful co-operation between all the races without exception. I know that this object lies very close to the heart of the Chinese Community in Malacca."

III.

PUBLIC MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PAN-MALAYAN COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION.

Speech at Kuala Lumpur on 23rd December, 1946.

One of the primary purposes of the formation of the Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action is to avoid separate action by the different communities in the whole of Malaya in regard to the question of Government consultation or negotiation with them on the Constitutional issue and to enable them to take joint action and present a united front vis-a-vis Government in relation to this subject of serious import to the whole Malayan population on the principle "United we stand, Divided we fall."

So far we have been like a sheet of loose sand without any unity and resisting power, so that it is necessary that we must become pressed together into an unyielding body like the firm rock by the addition of cement to sand.

The cement to bind us together into a solid body consists of the three principles of (a) United Malaya including Singapore (b) responsible self-government through a fully elected Central Legislature for the whole of Malaya and (c) equal citizenship rights for all those who make Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty. On this strong formation we intend to build an edifice of a new Malaya of which we are not only to be the architects but also the beneficiaries.

The Government itself has declared that its policy is to ensure and facilitate the progress of the people of this country towards unity and ultimate self-government within the British Empire and to promote a broad-based citizenship, which will include, without discrimination of race or creed, all who intend to make Malaya their home and the object of their loyalty.

So what we are asking for and aim at is what Government has promised to give us. But what the mouth speaks proves nothing; only by deeds can men be judged.

What we should like to see is that the unwise policy of the British Government in the past of being too late with too little and of giving minor concessions piecemeal will be replaced by a sagacious one of giving quickly what they can give.

However, the fear uppermost in our minds is the policy of the reactionaries to divide and rule us; already several of them have indulged in such wishful thinking as that Malaya will become another Palestine if the plan of a Malayan Union with common citizenship should be carried out.

We the Malays, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and Ceylonese are so locally intermingled in this country that we must reconcile ourselves to living together in peace and harmony under equal rights and laws and learn how to integrate ourselves into a single political community on the understanding, that the weaker ones among its various racial elements should have special claims to the assistance and goodwill of the stronger ones. We must associate ourselves more and more with each other, so that we may better understand and see the point of view of each other.

It has been truly said that the men who have made the world what it is are nothing except in so far as they are ministers or organs of a vitally practicable idea or some great impersonal cause.

The ideal, for which we must work and which we espouse and cherish, is the basic objective of attaining self-government in a United Malaya in which the individuals of all communities, who are prepared to give their loyalty to this country as their home, are accorded equal rights and responsibilities, politically and economically, with the qualification that there should be a

balanced representation of the various communities in the Government to ensure that no one community will be in a position to dominate or outvote all the others put together. Equality is the very root and foundation of democracy.

The recent World War with all the sufferings and miseries, destruction and despoliation, trial, tribulation and tragedy, which were inflicted on us and which we were completely powerless and in a position of utter helplessness to resist, has taught us the inescapable lesson that we must have a Government in Malaya, which has its roots in the life of the people and in which the masses of the people must participate, in order at least to prevent a recurrence of what happened in 1941—1945 in the event of another world war. Political action can only be expected where there is the spur of pain.

In this great movement which we have launched we must make it a cardinal principle to maintain the unity and solidarity of our stand and action at all costs vis-a-vis the Government.

We in Malaya have adopted and want to apply the dynamic Western conceptions of nationalism and democracy. Nationalism, if it is to be a unifying force, requires the elimination of communalism from political life. Democracy demands for its free operation an understanding of the conflicting claims of race and language and a willingness to compromise on major political issues after full and free discussion.

It has been announced in the newspapers that a nucleus of a sub-committee consisting of four unofficial members, who serve on the Malayan Union Advisory Council, has been appointed by Government and that through this sub-committee the domiciled non-Malay communities and others will transmit their views or any objections regarding the proposed constitution. This sub-committee so far comprises one European, one Chinese, one Indian and one Eurasian.

The Government has repeatedly given us the assurance that the promise made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consult representatives of all the local communities before decisions are taken on any constitutional changes will be faithfully carried out. We have taken this to mean that the promised consultations will be conducted direct with the Government. To depute a small sub-committee of unofficial members of the Advisory Council, (who have no executive authority whatsoever and have no voice or control or decisive influence in shaping Government policy) as a medium, through which the views or objections regarding the proposed constitution of the interested communities are to be transmitted to Government, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be interpreted to mean and be identical with consultation by Government with circles concerned in the New constitutional proposals. Such a method of giving an opportunity to the various communities for consultation with Government gives ground for the belief that the promised consultation will really be merely a formal matter and tantamount to the presentation of a *fait accompli* against which we should protest.

We should insist on having direct negotiation with Government in this matter of great pith and moment to the interest of the general public.

If Government should persist in forcing this Committee of Government Nominees on the public, we must take it to be a breach of faith by the Government for failing to fulfil their pledge.

Government should liquidate the nominated committee and substitute for it an elected constituent Council to draft and submit to Government a complete scheme for the reform of the Malayan Constitution.

The Malay masses too have been entirely ignored and are not being given the right of full and direct consultation with Government. The 60,000 strong Malay Nationalist Party has repeatedly

protested against this and shown that the Sultans and U.M.N.O. do not represent all Malays. Government turned a deaf ear. And the Malay peoples realise that the only way in which their rights can be won is by standing shoulder to shoulder with all Malaysians and demanding them on the basis of a national unity of those who make Malaya their home and the object of their undivided loyalty.

We are united on fundamentals. Let us approach the discussion of detail in a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation. Let us forget that we are called Chinese or Indian, and think of ourselves only as Malaysians.

PUBLIC MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PAN-MALAYAN COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION.

Speech at Kuala Lumpur on 26th January, 1947.

This public meeting of the people of Selangor is convened to-day for the purpose of registering a formal protest against the Constitutional proposals as embodied in the Report of the 12-Man Working Committee recently published by the Government.

Wise men say there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except in veracity of thought and action and the resolute facing of the world as it is. His Majesty's Government in attempting to foist the Federation Proposals on the people of Malaya have failed to look naked reality in the face, to realize that the facts of life—even in Malaya—are constantly changing and to change with them.

The judgement and vision of those British die-hard Tories and reactionaries, who framed the Federation Proposals, have been distorted by their desire to see things as they would have them. The secret of life is nothing but a just apprehension of, and its continuous adaption to, reality. The authors of the Constitutional Proposals and His Majesty's Government by approving

of them, even tentatively, have lost their sense of fact and all touch with Malayan reality.

The truth of the matter is that by virtue of the transformation and upheaval within them effected by the war and the concomitant sufferings and sorrows which the universal conflict has imposed upon them, the political consciousness of the inhabitants of Malaya has been positively awakened. This is the Malayan reality which must be seriously reckoned with by His Majesty's Government and the British Community in this country. Unless this is done there will be no real peace nor prosperity in Malaya.

The action of His Majesty's Government, who have repeatedly and consistently professed and paid devout lip-homage to such principles as "no return to the Past for Malaya," "development of citizenship and representative institutions on the basis of eventual self-government," "ultimate self-government in a united and prosperous Malaya" and "a scheme acceptable to all concerned which will ensure a strong central government in all necessary matters on a basis capable of developing self-governing institutions in which all whose homes and loyalties are in Malaya may play their part," has belied their words, since they have made a virtual acceptance of the Constitutional Proposals, which aim at restoring the *status quo ante* 1942 in an aggravated form and at sowing dragons' teeth in the Malayan interracial soil in order to divide and rule its people.

The Constitutional Proposals constitute a breach of the pledge of His Majesty's Government to ensure and facilitate the progress of the people of this country towards unity and ultimate self-government within the British Commonwealth and Empire, and to promote a broadbased citizenship which will include, without discrimination of race or creed, all who can establish a claim to belong to this country.

The most salient feature of the Federation Constitution is the vesting of the Sultans' sovereignty in the British Government, which will thus be enabled to utilize the nominal sovereignty of Their Highnesses as a powerful and effective weapon to suppress and enslave the people of Malaya as long as the British Government considers it safe to perpetuate autocratic rule in this country.

We demand that the Sultans be made real Constitutional Rulers like the King of England in that they should be guided by the will of the people of the country.

The provision made in the Constitutional Proposals to the effect that Their Highnesses as Constitutional Monarchs must seek and follow the advice of the British Resident and High Commissioner is a contradiction in terms.

Far from being calculated to foster the progress of the people of Malaya towards unity and self-government which is the professed goal of His Majesty's Government, the Constitutional Proposals are designed to establish a disunited and disjointed Malaya to be governed autocratically by a bureaucracy without any certain prospect of a progressive advancement towards self-government.

The proposals made in the Federation Plan for a new Federal Citizenship—will exclude from the acquisition of such citizenship by the operation of law hundreds of thousands of the non-Malay domiciled communities, who have to all intents and purposes no alternative homeland and who have made Malaya the object of their undivided loyalty and affection. The acquisition of Federal citizenship by application is made so difficult and dependent on the whims and fancies of the Bureaucrat that it may have the effect of leaving out of the Constitution more than 50% of the whole population of the proposed Federation, who will thus be reduced to the position of living in this country on sufferance.

From the point of view of popular representation the Constitution of both the proposed Federal Legislative Council and Executive Council is most unsatisfactory, as both will be dominated by Europeans and Government officials, while the veto and over-riding powers of the High Commissioner are so extensive and absolute as to confer on him more de facto power than the Prime Minister has in England and much more status. The principle should be observed that the payment of taxation carries with it the right of representation and that there should be no taxation without representation.

The purely autocratic scheme of Government formulated in the Constitutional Proposals is unsound in principle for the same reason that dictatorship as a system of the State is unsound in principle. You cannot be sure of getting an occupant at the top with the necessary energy and wisdom. For instance the quality of the Governors Malaya had had for many years up to 1942 was on the whole rather poor.

We stand for a free democratic State in Malaya with the fundamental rights and liberties of all its inhabitants, to whom this country has become their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty, guaranteed in the Constitution.

We reiterate that we uphold the three basic principles enunciated by the Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action viz:—

- (a) A United Malaya inclusive of Singapore.
- (b) Responsible self-government through a fully elected central Legislature for the whole of Malaya and
- (c) Equal citizenship rights for all who make Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty.

Furthermore we support the proposal of the Council of Joint Action, firstly, that the constitutional position of the Sultans

be based on the will of the people, secondly, that the religion and customs of the Malay people should not be interfered with, and thirdly, that the political, economic and educational standards of the Malays be advanced.

We have every right and are fully entitled to have a Constitution for Malaya based on those principles. We must persist in our efforts to obtain such a constitution, and vow that we will never rest until we have achieved our Merdeka or Freedom.

In the immortal words of a poet we affirm:—

“Thou rising Sun! thou blue rejoicing Sky!
Yea, every thing that is and will be free!
Bear witness for me, wheresoe'er ye be.
With that deep worship I have still adored
The spirit of divinest Liberty.”

IV

MALACCA PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, 5th. FEBRUARY, 1947.

A Mass Protest Meeting sponsored by the Malacca People's Constitutional Affairs Committee was held at the Malacca Club Padang on 5th. February, 1947, at 4 p.m. The first of its kind in Malacca since the Liberation, the meeting was widely acclaimed long before the scheduled day, provoking much interest among Malacca's fast rising politically-minded citizens.

Eager crowds, estimated to number 4,000 persons, some shouting slogans and some carrying banners, lined the roadway facing the Padang, which was already crowded long before the opening of the meeting.

The Chinese, Indian and other business houses voluntarily declared a holiday for the occasion to enable them to attend the meeting.

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, as Chairman of the Committee, opened the proceedings with his speech in English. This was followed by speeches in Malay and Tamil from a Representative of the M.N.P. and Mr. O.A.R. Arunasalam Chettiar respectively.

Mr. Goh Chee Yan next spoke in Hokkien.

The Trade Unions were represented by Mr. Low Mien Sien who spoke in Mandarin.

After this the Resolutions of the Committee as set out in the Manifesto were put to the meeting and were acclaimed and passed by the very large crowd present.

Mr. Lim Kee Jin then gave a short speech in Cantonese.

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's speech :—

The people of this ancient land of historical fame ("Malaka, Negri Bertuwah" as we "Anak Malaka" fondly and rightly call

it) of all classes and Communities, who by a time-honoured tradition have lived in this Settlement on terms of complete amity and in perfect peace and harmony, meet and unite to-day to formally protest against the undemocratic nature of the Constitutional Proposals and the undemocratic manner in which they have been formulated and presented for the acceptance of the Malayan public.

As a Baba, a true "Anak Malaka" or son of Malacca, where my family have been settled for nearly 200 years, I may be permitted to say that Malacca is the home and the only home of the pukka Malays and the Chinese Babas, both of which Communities have been intimately associated with each other and have lived here throughout the last five centuries like true brethren. May the Malays and the Babas maintain this spirit of brotherhood and mutual co-operation and helpfulness for ever and collaborate to perpetuate inter-racial friendship in this hallowed land of "Malaka", the mother of Malaya, with a view in particular, to helping to make all Malaya one country and one nation.

The Malacca Babas, while retaining their fundamental Chinese characteristics, have adopted the language and some of the customs of the Malays, with whom they have a perfect understanding and for whom they have an affection.

By virtue of their long and intimate relationship the Malays and Babas of Malacca should devote their united labour and dedicate their intellect to the slow and elaborate task of constructing Malaya into one single country and nation.

The British Colonies have often been described by the British themselves as a constitutional procession, each advancing in its own way and at its own pace towards the goal of responsible self-government, to which it is the avowed policy of His Majesty's Government to guide them.

In relation to Malaya His Majesty's Government's declared policy, in its own precise words, has been to draw up a plan for its future, which will foster the progress of its people towards unity and ultimate self-government within the British Commonwealth and Empire and to promote a broad-based citizenship, which will include without discrimination of race or creed all who can claim, by reason of birth or a suitable period of residence, to belong to the country.

In the light of the new Constitutional Proposals His Majesty's Government's performance appears to fall far short of its promise, and it seems to want to reverse its declared policy apparently with the object of re-establishing the status quo and making a return to the backward political position Malaya occupied prior to 1942.

In 1941 the British Empire consisted of two governmental groups. The first consisted of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, all of which are inhabited by White Peoples and have enjoyed complete independence in dealing with both their internal and external affairs. They constituted the self-governing half of the Empire.

The second group was made up of the remaining parts of the Empire scattered over Asia, Africa and America, which are populated by non-white peoples and which were governed by officials receiving their instructions from London. These comprised the other non-self-governing half of the British Empire in various stages of constitutional development.

So one sees that in the British Empire of 1941 real democracy was practically confined to those with a white skin.

War is the most forcible of teachers and, as we are aware, the recent world war has brought to a head the logical consequences

of the folly and injustice of such a policy, as manifested to-day, for instance, in India and Burma.

All things in this world perish into that from which they sprang. They pay retribution for their injustice one to another according to the ordinance of time.

India, Burma and Ceylon headed the Constitutional procession among the non-self-governing Colonies, by virtue of their enjoying full representative Government as contrasted with responsible Government,—that is, responsibility of the Executive to the representative legislature.

Next came Communities in which the deliberative body, called the Legislative Council, contained, side by side with officials and nominated unofficial members, a majority of elected members, such as Jamaica and the other West Indies Colonies.

In the next group came Colonies where the majority on the Legislative Council consisted of officials and nominated members, but where a minority of European elected members had been introduced, such as the Straits Settlements.

In the fourth group fell Colonies and protectorates in whose Government the elective principle and the Executive Council found no place at all, like the Malay States.

In the fifth or last group at the very end of the Constitutional procession were the Colonies and dependencies governed autocratically to the extent of 100% without any Legislative Council whatsoever, such as the African territories like Basutoland.

So it is obvious that Malaya as a whole was almost at the bottom of the Constitutional procession, although its people bear favourable comparison with those of India, Burma, Ceylon and Jamaica in point of intelligence, education and public spirit; and are on the whole even superior to the inhabitants of most of these territories in the economic field.

Under the Federation Proposals now before this country its Constitutional Status will be more unsatisfactory than before the war.

Clause 6 of the Federation Agreement provides that no Bill for the amendment of any of the provisions of this Agreement shall be introduced into the Federal Legislative Council without the prior approval of His Majesty and the Conference of Rulers, and that intervention by the Federal Legislative Council would be inappropriate in relation to certain clauses of the Federation Agreement dealing with (a) the appointment and functions of the High Commissioner, (b) the Royal Instructions for the due performance, or the proper exercise of the powers, duties and rights of the High Commissioner under the Agreement, and (c) the Conference of Rulers.

Clause 8 of the Federation Agreement stipulates that the Rulers undertake to accept the advice of the High Commissioner in all matters connected with the government of the Federation except those relating to the Muslim Religion or the custom of the Malays, while (a) clause 4 of the State Agreement provides that their Highnesses undertake to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a British Adviser to advise on all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim Religion and the custom of the Malays and (b) to accept such advice.

Clause 6 of the Federation Agreement, which makes it obligatory that no amendment of the proposed constitution can be made without the prior consent of His Majesty and the Conference of Rulers, taken in conjunction with the famous statement of policy made in 1927 by Sir Hugh Clifford, the then Governor-High Commissioner of Malaya, emphasizing "the utter inapplicability of any form of democratic or popular government in the Malay States", which was confirmed later by other highly

placed spokesmen of His Majesty's Government such as Mr. Ormsby Gore and Sir Samuel Wilson, justifies the conclusion that it is, in the words of an authoritative writer on Malayan politics, still the aim of the British Colonial policy in Malaya "to prop up the facade of autocratic Mohamedan Monarchies and to utilize the nominal sovereignty of the Rulers, as a bulwark against the encroachment of Western popular or democratic ideas and not to move beyond the present fact of Malaya primarily for the British and a privileged few".

The Federal Executive Council consisting of 7 official members besides the High Commissioner and 5 nominated unofficials will function in a purely advisory capacity, and clause 32 of the Federation Agreement provides that the High Commissioner may act in opposition to the advice given to him by its members.

There is no organic connection between the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, which will be dominated by Europeans and Government Officials and on which all Unofficial Members will be appointed by the High Commissioner. European British Subjects, who are not Federal citizens may be appointed both on the Executive Council and the Legislative Council as Unofficial Members.

The automatic acquisition of the Federal citizenship is made so difficult and restricted, in so far as non-Malays are concerned, that it will alienate and estrange hundreds of thousands of people, including those born in Malaya who are true Malaysians and have made Malaya their home and the object of their loyalty, as all of them will be denied the right of receiving citizenship by the operation of law.

Taking the Constitutional Proposals all in all we consider them to be undemocratic and retrograde in nature and conception and that they are incompatible with, and give no scope for, attainment of the promised self-government in the near future.

We demand for Malaya a Constitution based on democratic and liberal principles, which will guarantee the fundamental rights and liberties of its citizens and which will necessarily lead its people along the road toward the goal of unity and self-government within a specified time in a United Malaya, in which the individuals of the different Communities, who are permanently settled here and are prepared to give Malaya their undivided loyalty, may share the duties and rights of citizenship on an equitable basis, with the proviso that the stronger members of the Malayan Community must extend a helping hand to the weaker ones, particularly our Malay brothers who must be uplifted to the economic level of the other inhabitants of this land.

COMMENTS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL
PROPOSALS FOR MALAYA.

FEBRUARY 16th. 1947.

1. In so far as Ceylon has a mixed population comprising three major races viz:—Sinhalese (4 millions), Tamils ($1\frac{1}{2}$ millions) and Muslims or Moors and Malays (500,000), in addition to 30,000 Burghers, 10,000 Europeans and others, its constitutional problem has important points of similarity comparable to those of Malaya, and it should be appropriate to refer to the Recommendations in the Report of the Soulbury Commission on Constitutional Reform for Ceylon of 1945 (Cmd—6677).

2. Among the major recommendations and conclusions of the Commission are the following:—

- (a) The Parliament of Ceylon shall not make any law rendering persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other Communities or religions are not made liable, or confer upon persons of any Community or religion any privileges or advantages which are not conferred on persons of other Communities or religions.
- (b) Any Bill, any of the provisions of which have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and which in the opinion of the Governor-General, is likely to involve oppression or serious injustice to any such Community, must be reserved by the Governor-General for His Majesty's assent.
- (c) Universal adult suffrage on the present basis (i.e. Ceylon domicile of origin or 5 years' residence together with a Certificate of permanent settlement) shall be retained.

- (d) It is estimated that of the ninety-five elected seats in the House of Representatives, fifty-eight would go to the Sinhalese candidates and thirty-seven to the Minority candidates (i.e. Ceylon Tamils fifteen, Indian Tamils fourteen, Muslims eight) making, with the six nominated seats, a minority representation of forty-three in a House of one hundred and one.
- (e) There shall be a Second Chamber consisting of 30 members, and that it shall be called the Senate, fifteen of the seats in which shall be filled by persons elected by Members of the First Chamber and fifteen by persons chosen by the Governor-General in his discretion.
- (f) There shall be a First Chamber, consisting of one hundred and one Members, and that ninety-five of those Members shall be elected and six nominated by the Governor-General. The First Chamber shall be known as the House of Representatives. For the purpose of qualifying for Membership of the First Chamber, ability to speak, read and write English shall no longer be required.
- (g) The Executive Committees and the posts of three Officers of State (Chief Secretary, Legal Secretary and Financial Secretary) shall be abolished. In place of the present Board of Ministers there shall be a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the Legislature of whom one appointed by the Governor-General shall be the Prime Minister, who would hold the portfolios of External Affairs and Defence. The Ministers other than the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

- (h) There shall be *six* classes of Bills which are reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure including (i) any Bill relating to Defence; (ii) any Bill relating the External Affairs; (iii) any Bill which repeals or amends any provision of the Constitution or which is in any way repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, unless the Governor-General shall have been authorised by the Secretary of State to assent thereto; (iv) any Bill affecting currency or relating to the issue of bank notes; and (v) any Bill of any extraordinary nature and importance whereby the Royal Prerogative or rights and property of British Subjects not residing in Ceylon or the trade or transport or communications of any part of the Commonwealth may be prejudiced.
- (i) A Delimitation Commission would be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion to define new electoral districts.
- (j) Appointments to the Public Services would be made on the recommendation of a Public Services Commission to be nominated and appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion (i.e. after consultation with the Prime Minister but without being bound to follow his advice).
- (k) There would be a Judiciary in which the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court would be appointed by the Governor-General acting in his discretion with a Judicial Services Commission to advise him in regard to Subordinate Judicial appointments.

3. Ceylon has thus received from Britain a grant of full self-government, in all matters of administration, civil and military, internal and external, subject to only two limitations viz. His Majesty's Government's reserved power of legislation and power to reserve Bills for the Royal Assent.

4. The Soulbury Constitution which provides adequate and effective safeguards for the rights of the minority Communities was elaborated after full consultation with all sections of the population of Ceylon, the various Communities composing which, including the indigenous Sinhalese, have agreed to be known by the generic name of "Ceylonese" which is the equivalent of "Malayans" in so far as the term may be applicable collectively to the different racial elements making up the Malayan population. In Ceylon by 1939, more than 225,000 out of a total of about 670,000 Indian estate workers and their dependants had been registered as electors legally entitled to exercise the franchise.

5. Some other lessons which we in Malaya may learn from Ceylon's fight for freedom are :—

- (a) As long as there are people among a population who are more concerned with securing some advantage over the others than in obtaining freedom for the country as a whole, difficulties against the attainment of the goal are bound to arise and
- (b) The Constitution for a country must be such that all Communities making up its population should be enabled to live and work together in fullest harmony.

6. Any suggestion in a Constitution for Malaya that the Malayan state belongs to the Malays immediately reduces even the non-Malays who are born in the country to a position of inferiority. They cease to be citizens in their own right and are there as resident aliens on sufferance.

7. The specific problem in Malaya is how to integrate the several races living in it into a single political Community. This can best be done by basing the country's Constitution on the fundamental doctrine of equality of status and rights and duties of citizenship for all who regard Malaya as their real home and the object of their loyalty. The new Constitutional Proposals for

Malaya would bring about a situation incompatible with equal justice between the different communities of its mixed population. The Scheme has not in it any principle of growth which will lead to the development of the promised self-government even by planned stages. It lacks the seeds of continuing life and progress.

8. Our considered views on the Constitutional Proposals are briefly expressed in the following telegram which the Conference of Pan-Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce held at Kuala Lumpur on the 23rd February 1947 decided to despatch to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"This meeting of the delegates of the Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce comprising those of Singapore, Malacca, Penang, Selangor, Perak, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Trengganu and Kelantan unanimously resolves formally to register a protest against the Constitutional Proposals now before the people of Malaya, and after careful study of its contents is unanimously of the opinion that the Constitutional Plan embodied therein and prepared without consulting the feelings, wishes and aspirations of its inhabitants as a whole, is undemocratic and retrograde in structure and conception, and thoroughly inconsistent with His Majesty's Government's pledge to facilitate and ensure the progress of the people of Malaya towards unity and ultimate self-government within the British Commonwealth and Empire, and to promote a broad-based citizenship which will include without discrimination of race or creed, all who can claim by reason of birth or a reasonable period of residence to belong to this country, on the grounds:

- (a) That under the provisions clauses 6 and 8 of the Proposed Federation Agreement, judged in the light of recent and past experience, self-government for Malaya will be made extremely difficult, if not

practically impossible, of attainment by the people of Malaya within a measurable period of time.

- (b) That the clauses dealing with the qualifications for the acquisition of Federal Citizenship whether automatically or by application, are discriminatory in character and designed to exclude the vast majority of the Malayan Chinese from a legitimate share in the public life of this country; and
- (c) That it is obvious that the exclusion of Singapore from the Federation will entail endless difficulties and disadvantages on the economy and administration of this country without any compensating advantages whatsoever.

We consider the Constitutional Proposals to be contrary to the basic principles of responsible self-government in a United Malaya in which equality of status and rights will be ensured to the different communities, by which we stand, and respectfully urge upon His Majesty's Government :—

- (a) The unwisdom of forcing the Constitutional Proposals, which have been almost universally opposed by the inhabitants of Malaya, upon the country and of reaching final decisions in a precipitate manner in a matter of such serious import to the country and its people and
- (b) The necessity of appointing a Royal Commission to visit Malaya to examine the whole Constitutional position and problems of the country with a view, after consulting with all sections of Malayan opinion and considering any proposals that may be put forward, to the formulation of a Constitution for Malaya which will prove to be a foundation upon which may ultimately be constructed the edifice of a

Malaya with full Dominion status as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of free nations."

9. The most menacing feature, however, of the Constitutional Proposals is the stipulation under Clause 6 of the Federation Agreement that no Bill for the amendment of any of the provisions of this Agreement shall be introduced into the Legislative Council without the prior approval of His Majesty and the Conference of Rulers.

10. The provision of this Clause, taken jointly with the power of advice wielded by the High Commissioner and the British Adviser over their Highnesses the Rulers in accordance with Clause 8 of the Federation Agreement and Clause 4 of the State Agreement, and in the light of our actual experience of the manner in which, the policy of "the utter inapplicability of any form of democratic or popular government in the Malay States" was applied in the past, and in view of the obstructive spirit and powerful opposition of the diehard reactionary and ultraconservative elements among ex-Malayan personalities and others in Great Britain and in this country, exhibited recently against Constitutional reforms for Malaya, seems like the sounding of the knell of any hope of the people of Malaya ever obtaining any form of responsible self-government within any measurable period of time in the future.

11. In reviewing the events of the recent past one feels justified in coming to the conclusion, that if Messrs. Gammans, Winstedt and many other ex-Malayan high officials had not organized wide-spread opposition and propaganda in Great Britain and Malaya and had not "worked up" (using the exact words of Mr. Creech Jones in this connection) the intense hostility of the Malay Royalty and aristocracy against the Malayan Union Plan to stir them up to repudiate and deprecate the Malayan Union Scheme, the present Constitutional agitation and dispute would not have arisen in this country.

The real motive underlying the sustained antagonism of the British diehard conservative element to the Malayan Union Scheme has been the fear of the loss of the special and racial privileges enjoyed by the European Community through the advent of self-government in Malaya, combined with their determination to preserve the status quo as long as possible for their benefit.

12. It is the case of selfish reactionism masquerading in the lion's skin of disinterestedness and love for the Malays. The sober truth is that the so-called pro-Malay policy, the primary aim and motivation of which has been to divide and rule in order to maintain the status quo and the privileged position of the European Community in Malaya, has served as a traditional weapon in the hands of diehard conservatism to create disharmony between the Malays and non-Malays and intimidate and silence the latter whenever they express a desire for Constitutional reform and demand political concessions.

13. On this point J. S. Mill says, "Now, if there be a fact to which all experience testifies, it is that when a country holds another in subjection, the individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes are of all others those who most need to be held under powerful restraint".

14. *The precedent having been created and the basic principle firmly established under the terms of the Federation Agreement that no amendment of the country's Constitution could in any important respect be effected without reference to and the previous consent of the Conference of Rulers, it would be reasonable under the circumstances cited above, to infer that when at any time in the future it is proposed to introduce a reform in the Constitution in the direction of the attainment of the promised goal of self-government, such as the exercise of the executive power by a Ministry commanding the support of the legislature, one, or both of two things may happen viz :-*

- (a) A Government armed with its power of advice may secretly request the Rulers to negative any such popular demand for constitutional reform; and
- (b) Powerful British reactionary circles, such as Messrs. Gammans, Winstedt & Co: Unlimited, will successfully agitate in England and influence Malay Royalty and aristocracy by inventing bogeys, problems and difficulties against any such proposed reform being granted, in which event should the people oppose the wishes of Their Highnesses the Rulers they would be made to appear to be guilty of bringing about a conflict between the Malay subjects of the Sultans and the non-Malays.

15. Hence one's conviction and fear that under the Constitutional Proposals there will not be any advancement towards the reality of responsible self-government and that Malaya will stagnate in the status quo of autocratic government of the bureaucratic type for an indefinite period in accordance with the past British policy of giving minor concessions piecemeal and of being too late with too little in the realm of colonialism.

16. Any Constitutional Scheme for Malaya, should at least prove capable of being progressively modified and liberalised as the country becomes more highly organized, and as a minimum requirement it should embody a "blue print" for the future of the country embracing (a) a specific pledge by His Majesty and Their Highnesses the Rulers to further the progress of its people towards unity and responsible self-government within the British Commonwealth and Empire and to promote a broad-based citizenship, which will include, without discrimination of race or creed, all who regard Malaya as their permanent home and as the object of their loyalty and (b) a provision for the appointment of a permanent Constitutional Committee of the Legislature to assist the High Commissioner to keep the

composition of the Legislative and Executive bodies and the whole Constitution under constant review and revision.

17. In its weekly edition dated the 30th. January, 1947, the influential British liberal newspaper, the "Manchester Guardian", commenting on the new Constitutional Proposals says, "the substance of bureaucracy is to be jealously guarded, both through the composition of the Councils and through the overriding powers to be exercised by the High Commissioner. . . . the Federal Legislative Council will be nominally composed of 34 Unofficial Members out of 48. However, the Unofficial Members will include the presidents of the nine States. The domiciled Communities can only hope for a total representation of nine seats out of the 48. It is difficult to detect any evidence of intention to proceed toward the declared goal of self-government. It is equally difficult to detect the emergence of a Malayan nation".

18. Though the Non-Malay domiciled Communities form some 50% of the total population of the proposed Federation, they are to be accorded a representation of (a) 20% of the total of 48 seats on the Federal Legislative Council and (b) probably 16% of the 12 seats on the Federal Executive Council. The Chinese Community, which should constitute nearly 40% of the total inhabitants of the Federation, will receive a representation of (a) 12½% of an aggregate of 48 Members of the Federal Legislative Council and (b) possibly 8% of the total membership of 12 on the Federal Executive Council or none at all. Equality is the very root and foundation of democracy, and the first principle of democracy is that representation should be in proportion to numbers. The representation proposed for the Chinese Community on the Federal Legislative Council is diametrically opposed to every principle of justice and fair play, and has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the Chinese, especially in face of the patent fact that the Chinese have played, and are

still playing a vital role in the economic development and prosperity of Malaya and have contributed the major part of the necessary revenue to administer and develop the country.

19. Until the introduction of the franchise and the electoral system, for which a target date should be fixed within a period of five years, Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council should be either elected or nominated by selected representative Associations such as Chambers of Commerce, registered Trade Unions and similar bodies.

20. The problem of representation on the Legislative Council, which is of fundamental importance particularly when the population to be represented is not homogenous and is composed of a number of Communities differing from each other in race, religion, education, customs and language, has not at all been satisfactorily solved by the authors of the Constitutional Proposals. While affirming the principle that there should be no official majority on the Council, they have not drawn up a plan instituting a clear Unofficial majority, which is a pre-requisite if the Legislative Council is to function as an efficient deliberative body.

21. The Legislative Council should consist of 14 ex-officio and official members and 43 unofficials, which should be distributed, not in the arbitrary and haphazard way as is palpably done in the Constitutional Proposals but in a fixed ratio based on an equitable and democratic principle among the various Communities and interests, so that each Community and each interest will be accorded thereon adequate representation, so that no single Community even if supported by the Official Members can impose its will on the other Communities put together. In addition to this ample safeguards must be instituted to protect the rights of the minorities as is done in the case of the new Ceylon Constitution.

22. The Federal Executive Council comprising seven Official Members besides the High Commissioner and five nominated

Unofficials is a purely advisory body, against the advice of whose Members the High Commissioner may act in opposition in accordance with Clause 32 of the Federation Agreement, while its Clause 31 provides that the High Commissioner shall alone be entitled to submit questions to the Council.

23. There should be at least as many Unofficials as Officials on the Executive Council, so that more satisfactory representation on this body may be given to the major Communities and important interests in the country. As it is, the limitation of Unofficial Membership to only five does not permit of anything like adequate representation of all the important sections of the population and country.

24. The proposed Federation Constitution is defective in that there is no organic connection between the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, both of which will be dominated by Europeans and Government Officials. Europeans will be in a position to dispense with the necessity to become Federal citizens in order to be eligible for appointment as Unofficial Members on both Councils by virtue of the power conferred on the High Commissioner by Clause 41 (1) of the Federation Agreement.

25. The Executive Council should be so constituted that the elected representatives of the people will have a decided voice on it, and it should be capable of being expanded into the Ministerial system, whereby the political responsibility for administrative departments of Government will be progressively granted to the elected Members of the Legislative Council. Further the Constitution should make provision for the establishment of a non-political Civil Service Commission to control the Civil Service of the country.

26. It is explained in Chapter VII of the Constitutional Proposals that the Federal Citizenship envisaged therein is not a nationality, neither could it develop into a nationality. It is an

addition to, and not a subtraction from, nationality and could be a qualification for electoral rights, for Membership of Councils and for employment in Government Service.

27. It is obvious that the proposals in the Federation Plan for the acquisition of citizenship should be modified with a view to making eligible for admission automatically to citizenship all who, can claim by reason of birth or a suitable period of residence, to belong to this country, which they regard as their permanent home and the object of their loyalty, in consonance with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, provided those acquiring such citizenship otherwise than by birth will be required to affirm allegiance to the Malayan Federation.

28. The conditions for the acquisition of Citizenship by application as prescribed in the Constitutional Proposals make it extremely difficult, if not practically impossible, for those, who wish to make Malaya their real home and the object of their loyalty, to obtain it.

29. The Certificate of Citizenship secured by application being subject to loss or revocation by the High Commissioner, it is hardly necessary to make the qualifications for it so stringent and difficult for the average person to fulfil. Such qualifications should be prescribed in a simplified form, which may follow the practice of the U.S.A. and the sister Colony of Ceylon in this respect and shall be :—

- (a) Five years' ordinary residence:
- (b) Willingness to make a declaration of permanent settlement:
- (c) Willingness to take a Citizenship oath.

30. A special Government machinery should be erected to make it easy and simple for applications for Citizenship to be received and to enable them to be expeditiously considered and disposed of by the appropriate authorities.

31. A sin of omission committed in the drafting of the Constitutional Proposals is the total absence of any reference to the long-standing grievance of the domiciled population in Malaya in the shape of the Colour Bar erected in the Malayan Civil Service since 1910 depriving the sons of the soil, who are not of pure European descent on both sides of their right to enter the Service. The justice of the principle laid down in the 1858 famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, viz :—“so far as may be Our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge”, should be vindicated by inserting a Clause in the Federation Agreement conceding the right of all Malayan citizens to be freely admitted into this administrative service in accordance with the terms of the Proclamation.

32. The argument has been advanced that the people of Malaya are not yet fit for self-government. While acknowledging the truth that the grant of freedom is often attended by risk, it is well to bear in mind the wise saying of Aristotle, “The only way of learning to play the flute is to play the flute”.

33. The Federation Plan as formulated in the Constitutional Proposals is not only undemocratic and retrograde in structure but also is in part based on the principle of “divide and rule”, which renders it, if implemented, liable to foster inter-racial discord and friction.

34. The entire Plan should be reconstructed on a new basis by a competent body, such as a Royal Commission, which will re-examine the whole Constitutional issue affecting Malaya, and

which after examining and discussing any proposals for constitutional reform and consulting with various interests and all sections of Malayan opinion concerned with the subject of constitutional reform, will proceed to evolve a Constitution for this country which, while offering ample scope for the development of responsible self-government in a United Malaya, inclusive of Singapore, in which equality of status and rights will be ensured to all who make Malaya their real home and the object of their loyalty, will bring about the best feelings of friendship and spirit of co-operation and brotherhood among the different racial elements making up its composite population, so that such a Constitution may prove to be a foundation upon which may ultimately be built a future Malaya in the enjoyment of full dominion status as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of free nations, the ultimate ideal of British Statesmanship being the fusion of Empire and Commonwealth.

35. Lastly the assurance may be re-iterated here that the non-Malay Communities recognize the special position of the Malays in which regard the non-Malays are willing and will heartily co-operate in every way with them to safe-guard the vital interests of the Malays, especially with a view to the bringing about of the economic, political, and social advancement of our Malay brethren, which is essential to the establishment of a proper equilibrium between the different Communities in the economy of this country in order to evolve in the effluxion of time a truly contented and prosperous Malaya as one country and one nation, which should be the ideal of all right-minded persons who have the true interests of this land at heart.

MALACCA,

1947.

APPENDIX I.

TELEGRAM TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. GEORGE HALL, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES. MALACCA, 8th. JULY, 1946.

In view (a) of the report appearing in the local press on the 5th. July, 1946 to the effect that the Colonial Office intends to substitute a Federation for the Malayan Union and a high Commissioner for a Governor with all the implications which the proposed change involves and (b) of the official statement issued in Kuala Lumpur, simultaneously with the appearance of the above report, that the Government is hopeful of and intent upon an agreement with all sections of opinion in Malaya presumably on the important issue referred to under (a) above, we, leading citizens of this ancient and historical settlement of Malacca, respectfully urge upon his Majesty's Government the necessity, wisdom and justice of consulting all sections of Malayan opinion before arriving at a final decision on this question vitally affecting the welfare and interest of all and everyone of the different Communities in this country.

We offer to co-operate with the local Government in any endeavour it may see fit to make for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the public and the Communities to which we respectively belong on this matter of grave consequence to all the inhabitants making up the composite Malayan population.

Malacca 8th. July, 1946.

Signed: Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., J.P. Captain Mohamed Ali bin Maidin, M.B.E., E.D., J.P., Municipal Commissioner. Hon. Mr. Tan Eng Chye, Malacca Municipal Commissioner, Member of Malayan Union Advisory Council.

Hon. Mr. G. E. Gomes, J.P., Member of Malayan Union Advisory Council. Che Mohamed Ali bin Salleh, President of

the Malay Union, Malacca. Goh Chee Yan, President Malacca Chinese Chamber of Commerce. S. Shunmugam, (Middle Temple), Malacca Municipal Commissioner. Tan Siew Sin, Malacca Municipal Commissioner. Tan Soo Chi, Vice-President Malacca Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Chan Teck Chye, Company Director and Landed Proprietor. Chew Keng Chiong, Member of Malacca Chinese Advisory Board. Ngim Wee Chiow, Member of Malacca Chinese Advisory Board. Dr. Kwong Kin Cheong, Member of Malacca Chinese Advisory Board. Chua Poh Siang, Company Director and Landed Proprietor. S. K. Chan, Proprietary Planter. Chin Soon Boon.

REPLY FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY, MALAYAN UNION, JULY 25th. 1946.

Sir,

I am directed by H. E. the Governor to refer to the telegram dated the 8th. July, 1946, sent by you and the other signatories mentioned therein to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of constitutional changes in Malaya.

2. His Excellency is authorised by the Secretary of State to reply on his behalf that:—

- (1) As already announced the report in the press to which you referred in your telegram was entirely unauthorised;
- (2) The Secretary of State fully appreciates the rightful interest of the signatories to the telegram and of other circles in Malaya in constitutional arrangements in Malaya;
- (3) All circles concerned will be given an opportunity for consultation before decisions are reached by His Majesty's Government on any constitutional changes.

3. The Secretary of State thanks you for your assurance of co-operation with the local Government.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Sd: A. NEWBOULT.

Chief Secretary, Malayan Union.

TAN CHENG LOCK ESQ., C.B.E., J.P.,
96, FIRST CROSS STREET,
MALACCA.

APPENDIX II.

TELEGRAM TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. CREECH JONES, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, FROM THE COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION, SINGAPORE, 16th. DECEMBER, 1946.

"We delegates of the under-mentioned associations, including Malays, Chinese, Indians and Ceylonese respectively, desire

"(a) To bring to your notice the formation at our meeting on 14th. December, 1946, of a Council of Joint Action with a view to the organisation of concerted action by different communities throughout Malaya for the purpose of representing their views to the Government on the Malayan constitutional proposals now under His Majesty's Government's consideration, and generally on the future constitution of Malaya;

"(b) To seek your recognition of the Council as the only body which embraces all Asiatic communities of Malaya and with which Government may conduct negotiations on constitutional issues, thus enabling the Government to treat with one representative entity constituted on national lines and speaking with the united voice of Malaya;

"(c) To acquaint you with the following three principles adopted as the basis of our policy and aim;

"(i) A United Malaya inclusive of Singapore, (ii) responsible self-government through fully elected central legislature for the whole of Malaya, (iii) equal citizenship rights for all making Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty;

"(d) To inform you that our Council is resolved to demand the rejection of all previous discussions and agreements with the Sultans and U.M.N.O.;

"(e) To inform you that a meeting is being arranged for detailed discussions within a few days and that enrolment of other major public organisations is expected."

The cable is signed Tan Cheng Lock (Chairman), Malay Nationalist Party (Vice-Chairman), Malayan Democratic Union (Secretary), Malayan Indian Congress (Treasurer), Straits Chinese British Association, Ceylon Tamils Association, Singapore Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and Indian Chamber of Commerce, Singapore.

APPENDIX III.

**TELEGRAM TO THE RT. H'BLE, MR. CREECH JONES,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES FROM
THE PAN-MALAYAN COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION,
KUALA LUMPUR, 22nd DECEMBER, 1946.**

"We delegates of the undermentioned associations including Malays, Chinese, Indians and others respectfully desire :

(a) To bring to your notice the formation at our meeting on 22nd December, 1946, of a Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action with a view to the organisation of a concerted action by

the people in Malaya for the purpose of representing their views to the Government on the Malayan constitutional proposals now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government and generally on the future constitution of Malaya.

(b) To seek your recognition of the Council as the only body which represents all Asiatic communities of Malaya and with which the Government may conduct negotiations on constitutional issues, thus enabling the Government to treat the Council as the one representative body constituted on national lines and speaking with the united voice of Malaya.

(c) To acquaint you with the following three principles adopted as the basis of our policy and aim: (i) A United Malaya inclusive of Singapore; (ii) Responsible self-government through a fully elected Central Legislature for the whole of Malaya; (iii) Equal citizenship rights to all who make Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty.

(d) To inform you that the Council is dissatisfied with the action of the Government in having committed itself to a virtual acceptance of the new constitutional proposals arrived at by direct negotiations with the Sultans and the U.M.N.O. who represents only a certain section of the Malay community without having first consulted the people of Malaya, thus investing the plan with a stand of finality consequent upon the British Cabinet's provisional approval of it which is to all intents and purposes tantamount to confronting the people of Malaya with a *fait accompli*.

"This objection is supported by editorial comments of the *Straits Times* appearing in the issue dated 14th. October to the following effect: 'As Mr. Tan Cheng Lock says if the plan comes back with a stand of Cabinet approval upon it, even if the approval be of tentative character, there will be an air of finality about it; the Chinese and other non-Malay communities will hardly be able to repress a feeling that matters will have gone so far by

that time that consultations with them will be no more than a matter of form and that is certainly the last thing which Governor-General Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and Governor of the Malayan Union Sir Edward Gent intend or desire.' ”

(e) To inform you that the Council is resolved not to submit any proposals or to enter into any discussions or negotiations with the recently appointed consultative committee of Government nominees who cannot claim the status of representatives of the people of Malaya.

(f) To recommend to you that the Council of Action be appointed to conduct direct negotiations with the Government on the constitutional issue.

(g) To inform you that a meeting is being arranged for detailed discussions within a few days and that enrolment of other public organisations is expected.”

APPENDIX IV.

MANIFESTO OF THE MALACCA PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, JANUARY 28th. 1947.

“The possession of the power of self-government is in the modern world the most vital instrument in the struggle for both economic and cultural survival.”—Rupert Emerson.

Brethren, Friends and Countrymen: We are to-day passing through the most critical period of our history and, upon what we do or do not do now will *depend* the Malaya of the future and the Malaya which the generations to come will *inherit* from us.

All of us must do our bit to ensure that the *cardinal errors* of the past will not be repeated with even more disastrous consequences in the future. Each of us Malaysians, young and old

of both sexes, whatever his or her station in life, however humble that station may be, must make the problems of Malaya his or her *personal concern*.

J. S. Mill says:—"Opinion is itself one of the greatest active social forces. One person with belief is a social power equal to 99 who have only interests." Politics is not only for politicians, it is for all of us. Only thus can we build up a politically-conscious and politically-educated public, *jealous* and watchful of its *rights* and ever-ready to work, live and fight for them. The Malaya of the past was a perfect model of political *inertia* consequent on the corruption of riches. This must not be so again. Remember that *ONLY A POLITICALLY-RESTLESS PUBLIC CAN ENSURE PROGRESS* and can goad the powers that be into granting reforms.

It was originally hoped that the former European Colonial Powers would learn the lessons they should learn from the Second World War, but the passage of time since V-J Day has proved otherwise. Asia is on the march, and Malaya which is probably one of the most advanced economic units in Asia is, paradoxically enough, easily the most backward politically.

Reactionary forces in this country have managed to gain the upper hand for the time being, encouraged and aided by that gallant band of ex-Malayan Civil Servants who have retired to their homeland and who forget (conveniently?) that the word "CHANGE" is not only to be found in the language of Man but also in the language of Nature.

It is therefore up to us, the People of Malaya to show that our Will and our Destiny cannot be trifled with. We must not allow the Government to foist this mockery of democracy, in the shape of the present Constitutional Proposals, upon us. We must oppose and wreck them and upon their ashes and ruins build a New Constitution and a New Malaya.

Let this be the beginning of a glorious fight against REACTION, FEUDALISM and IMPERIALISM, so that whatever its outcome, and there is no doubt that we shall succeed if we are united, our children and our childrens' children will not hang their heads in shame at the thought that their ancestors in 1947 bowed before gross injustice through fear.

Hence the People of Malacca have decided to call a mass meeting on *Wednesday, 5th February, 1947, at the Malacca Club Padang at 4 p.m.* in order to pass the following Resolutions:—

- (1) This meeting of the people of Malacca assembled to-day condemns the undemocratic nature of the Constitutional Proposals which were from the very beginning obtained by undemocratic methods.
- (2) This meeting upholds the 3 basic principles initiated by the Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action, namely:—
 - (i) *A United Malaya* inclusive of Singapore;
 - (ii) *Responsible self-government* through a wholly elected central legislature for the whole of Malaya;
 - (iii) *Equal citizenship rights* for all who make Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty;

and furthermore supports the proposals of the Council:

- (a) that the constitutional position of the Sultans be based on the will of the people;
- (b) that the religion and customs of the Malay people should not be interfered with;
- (c) and that the political, economic and educational standards of the Malays be advanced.

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock will preside at the meeting.

MALACCA PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE.

APPENDIX V.

THE PAN-MALAYAN COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION.

By John Eber.

The PMCJA is the expression of a movement which has been developing for the last 20 years and of which Mr. Tan Cheng Lock has been the pioneer.

Colonial imperialist policy has ever relied on the truth of the slogan "Divide and Rule." The recent history of India shows that this method of ruling though effective from the point of view of the rulers has the result of stirring up among the ruled such animosities and jealousies that they are prevented from effective self-government. This only serves, of course, to emphasise the value of the "Divide and Rule" policy, as far as the ruling power is concerned; it facilitates control of colonies or "protected territories," and renders them impotent when the movement for self-government is on the brink of success.

However, it is possible for the ruled, as well as rulers, to learn by their mistakes. The history of Malaya shows surprising similarity in certain respects; even to-day, the "Constitutional Proposals" drafted by the Working Committee have a strong family resemblance to the constitutions of some Indian States.

During the war, the people of Malaya have awakened with a start to the realisation that they are one of the few groups of people left in the world who have not achieved even a semblance of representative self-government. A war on the scale of this last war cannot but force even the least politically advanced people to question themselves as to the relevant issues. Allied propaganda was to the effect that the war was a fight for freedom and democracy and the Atlantic Charter put such sentiments down on paper. Malaya suffered in that struggle for democracy and, by direct contact with the Fascist enemy, came

- (c) Equal citizenship rights for all who make Malaya their home and the object of their undivided loyalty.

The first act of the PMCJA was to oppose the undemocratic and secret method by which the new proposals were drawn up.

After the publication of the proposals, it was realised, with the best will in the world, they could not be accepted, since they were based on principles which were fundamentally unsound. All elections were refused, an artificial and valueless citizenship created, and the official majority continued to exist (although some of the officials were to assume disguise); the Malay Rulers were again required "to undertake to accept the advice of the High Commissioner," a requirement which rendered hollow the British claim that the Malay Rulers were to be sovereign (though constitutional) monarchs.

The PMCJA therefore had no alternative but to reject the proposals, and special emphasis was laid on the unreality of the claim that the interests of the Malays had been protected. It was pointed out that the interests of the masses of the Malays had been over-looked. With the setting-up of the Consultative Committee, it began to be very clear that the proposals, as they stood, were to be protected from any organised and powerful criticism, by the use of divisionist and separatist machinery. Such machinery has been tried in India and has been found to be successful in this function. The PMCJA was therefore resolved to boycott the Consultation Committee, as being composed of nominated individuals with no right or claim to act as the mouth-piece of the people, and as being designed to render impotent the criticism offered, by by-passing the opposition of the PMCJA, the unified expression of the opinions of the people.

The PMCJA will continue its opposition to attempts to split the unity of the people, to deny to them their right to

co-operate in the building of the future constitution of Malaya. The PMCJA stands for the unity of all races in Malaya, a unity based on a real equality of opportunity which requires a special consideration for the position of the Malays.

APPENDIX VI.

THE CHINESE MENACE.

By the Editor.

"If the Malays feared that the Chinese would usurp their rights, they would ease their minds with the knowledge that the Chinese had never thought, and would never think, of making Malaya a second China," declared Mr. Lee Kong Chian, President of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, in an interview published in the Straits Times under the caption, "Chinese allay Malay fears."

The Malays are under the impression the Chinese have already a strong hold on the economic life of Malaya. They live in fear of being pushed to the wall by the Chinese and other domiciled races. This fear has been recently intensified by subtle propaganda and is evident in every line and paragraph of the Working Committee's report. Superficially, therefore, it appears both reasonable and understandable they should try to deprive the Chinese and others of a just share in the administration of the new constitution and the means of strengthening that hold into a strangle-hold.

The banking interests of a country is as good an indication as any of the measure of economic control, exercised by any particular community. A moment's thought points clearly to the fact it is very far from being a Chinese monopoly. Insurance, shipping, the big agency houses in the import and export trade are mainly in European (mostly British) hands. Scan the share

report in the daily papers. There are a good number of rubber and tin-mining companies — limited liability concerns — listed. Then there are the industrials:—Straits Trading, Singapore Cold Storage, Malayan Breweries, Malayan Collieries, Singapore Tramways and others. The shares are on the open market, but, with the exception of a few rubber companies, is it not a matter of common knowledge that Asiatic (including Chinese) holdings in all these concerns are negligible?

It is, therefore, far from the truth that the Chinese dominate the economic life of the country. By initiative and enterprise they have managed to have a fair foot-hold. Others can achieve what they have achieved provided they are prepared to take the same risks. The bulk of what they have made or earned remain in the country. There is a lot of talk about China, but we hear of few, if any, rich and well-known Chinese family returning to China; whilst the non-Asiatics are but birds of passage. The numbers that permanently settle in Malaya all these years can be reckoned with the fingers of one hand.

The past always holds a lesson for the future. A moot point is how far the interests and activities of the domiciled races have been detrimental to the Malays? Let us compare the modern Malaya—with its efficient system of railways, its net-work of tele-communications and its well-metalled trunk and subsidiary roads linking all the important centres of administration and trade in the peninsula — with Malaya as it was at the beginning of this century and so graphically described in the following passage of Sir George Maxwell's book, "In Malay Forests."

"Throughout its hundred of miles of length and breadth the Malay Peninsula is practically one vast forest; and the towns, palatial and magnificent though the buildings of some of them are, are nothing more than specks in an expanse that sweeps from one Sultanate to another and is only limited by the sea.

"The inhabited area is infinitesimal in comparison with the extent of the forest that remained untouched. A Malay village is generally situated on the bank of a river — by the water's edge the houses built under the shade of fruit trees and behind them the flat, irrigated padi-fields. On all sides this area is shut in by a dark heavy line that uprears itself, around and above it, like the vaults of a prison. This line is the forest edge."

What a change had been effected in such a comparatively short time? Such a change would be impossible under any other than a wise British administration. But whose are the bones scattered on or buried under the sites of what were once the hearts of primeval forests and the fringes of malarial swamps?

In pre-war times about 50% of the revenue of the country was from opium. At one time it was as much as 60%. In other words, 60% of the cost of administration, including the salaries from the High Commissioner and Governor downwards to the humble peon, 60% of the emoluments to the Rulers, 60% of the cost of laying roads and all other improvements and 60% of the cost of providing free educational facilities for the Malays in the past were met from this source of revenue. This fact staggers the mind. If taxation conferred on the taxed the right of representation the shades of the opium-smokers of old should certainly be found among the seats of the mighty in the deliberative and executive assemblies of Malaya.

After the belated realization of the moral indefensibility and the scraping of the Opium Revenue on re-occupation, there appears to be no other alternative except the Income Tax to replace it.

Then there are other forms of taxation as death duties, conveyancing fees etc. Is it not the Chinese and to a lesser extent the other domiciled races, who mainly provide this grease for the smooth running of the machinery of Government, from which Malaya and all its inhabitants have reaped and are reaping the benefits?

With non-Malay representation as embodied in the Working Committee's Federal scheme at a minimum the Chinese and the other domiciled races fear the possibility of repressive measures aiming at limiting their activities in the economic sphere. The following quotations from the "Round Table" of December last, a journal devoted to the consideration of current events from the point of view of the British Commonwealth free from party bias, are a good reflection of world opinion on such measures.

"The Union of South Africa has achieved a certain notoriety as a country where racial discrimination flourishes." "International opinion is critical and South Africa is regarded as, par excellence, a country of racial discrimination." "The application by South Africa to incorporate South-West Africa and remove it from the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council" was rejected by the U.N.O. This is partly the reaction to the Indian Act "which discriminates against Indians on grounds of race" and as a result of which "trade relations with India have been severed."

What has the Pro-Malay Policy achieved for the Malays so far? Its meagre results in the past are an earnest of what can be expected from it in future. It is to the credit of the Malays that representative bodies like the Malay Nationalist Party backed by a section of the Malay press, realizing the futility of playing at cross purposes with the non-Malays and that they cannot remain forever tied to the apron-strings of a paternal government, have the courage to plunge into the stream of life and join issues with them in creating a regenerated Malaya, in which all its inhabitants can be welded into a united nation.

The party has been labelled as radical and extremist. But has not some old experienced statesman said: "The moderates of to-day were the radicals of yesterday and will be the conservatives of to-morrow?" Was not Mr. Winston Churchill himself radically inclined in his early years before he joined the Liberal Party and later became a Conservative?

The Chinese are fully alive to the fact that Malays and non-Malays alike are but pawns on the Imperial chess-board. The players do not necessarily include the British Labour Government, who is prepared to give all Malayans a square deal if their case is properly represented to it — free from the confusion of side issues.

It is not mere lip-service that the Chinese would welcome the betterment and amelioration of the conditions of the Malay masses. They think it only just and fair that a portion of the country's revenue should be devoted to the advancement of the Malays educationally and in other ways to enable them to come abreast of the other races and to start life on more or less equal terms. From a practical point of view a Malay Renaissance by raising the economic status of over two million Malays, will not fail to react upon, and be of immense benefit to, the country as a whole, the Chinese included. Leading members of the Chinese community should give their serious consideration to the raising of a fund for Malay scholarship in the future Malayan university—not in the spirit of the 50 million dollar "voluntary gift" to the Japanese—but as a simple gesture of good-will.



APPENDIX VII.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PAN-MALAYAN COUNCIL OF JOINT ACTION.

Speech at Public Meeting at Farrer
Park, Singapore, 30th. March 1947.

I am glad that I happen to be in Singapore at this time to enable me to be present at this mass rally of the people of this city for the purpose of again expressing our dissatisfaction with the new constitutional proposals and requesting Government by our united voice to vouchsafe to us and the rest of the people of Malaya further and adequate time to devote ourselves to the task of framing constructive criticisms in detail of the revised constitutional plans and preparing and submitting an alternative scheme to Government, after we have come to an agreement among ourselves so that we may present a united front vis-a-vis the Government.

We demand the right of direct negotiation with the Government in this matter of great pith and moment to our welfare.

The new Federation plan, as far as the evidence of our senses can testify, has been pronounced in unequivocal terms to be unacceptable by the great majority of the people of Malaya of all races with the exception of the European community the members of which have no desire whatsoever of making Malaya their permanent home.

Our criticisms of the Constitutional Proposals so far have been more or less of a negative character and the deplorable decision of the Government to give us barely three months to consider them has made it impossible for us to offer more constructive comments and submit a constitutional scheme (in place of the present very unsatisfactory one) that will have at least the acquiescence of the majority of the people of Malaya of all communities, especially those who want to make Malaya their real home and the object of their undivided loyalty.

It cannot be denied by any reasonable person, and all who love this country and wish to make it their homeland must be convinced that the prevailing constitutional controversy, particularly from the long range point of view, is and will be highly beneficial to the country as a whole, in so far as it has been in a political sense, an educative process to, and has tended to awaken the political consciousness and rouse the interests of the inhabitants of this land in public affairs, thus helping to promote their civic virtue and life.

In pre-war days Malayan society was of such a disposition that, generally speaking, almost every individual regarded only those of his interests which were selfish, and did not dwell on or concern himself for his share of the general interest.

We were accustomed to leave things entirely to the Government, which, like leaving things to Providence, is synonymous with caring nothing for them. The war has brought a radical change in our mental attitude and horizon and has awakened in many of us a new sense of freedom.

We are now beginning to realise the truth that, in the fight for our economic and cultural survival and advancement, the possession of the power of self-government equips us with the most potent and indispensable weapon. Without self-government and freedom none of us can aspire to anything beyond the mere animal state of thriving in peace and none of us can look forward to any share in the Government and legislation of the country which we have made our home.

But we cannot have freedom without unity. The first requisite to the attainment of self-government is the accomplishment of unity amongst ourselves i.e. among the major communities of the country.

The need of the hour in Malaya today is to combine freedom with unity.

As long as there are people in this country who are more inclined to obtain some advantage over the others than to secure freedom for the country as a whole it is inevitable that difficulties will beset our path to freedom.

The different communities of Malaya must develop the feeling of nationality of a Malayan type; they must learn to be united among themselves by common sympathies and be willing to cooperate with each other for common purposes, while at the same time preserving their cultural and intellectual independence.

We often say that the Government practices the old maxim of 'divide and rule.' But here in Malaya in this respect some of us appear to desire to create a division of labour as between Government on the one hand and the people on the other i.e. we divide; they rule.

It makes one's heart rejoice to see in this gathering the members of the various communities getting together and pulling their weight in the direction of the working for the common objective of achieving freedom for the country as a whole.

We see strongly represented at this public meeting the labour movement and the nationalist movement. In Malaya these two movements must go hand in hand in pursuit of the national aim of bridging the racial and religious cleavages among the Malayan population. Only in this manner can we reach the goal of freedom out of unity, and only thus can a system of government be devised for us in which the twin principles are balanced and combined.

We deny that there are any seeds of their own growth in the revised Constitutional Plan, which does not concede even the first elements of political freedom.

It looks as if the Government intends to impose the Constitutional Proposals on Malaya with the unessential modifications or minor changes, and this mass meeting has been convened to request Government to give us at least six months more time to enable us to negotiate direct with the Government on this constitutional issue, which may well determine the future destiny of Malaya.

In conclusion I now have much pleasure in endorsing what the previous speakers have said and giving my whole hearted support to the resolutions now before you.

