

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER,
TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEIN, ON THE
SECOND READING OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY BILL AT DEWAN RAKYAT ON 21ST
JUNE, 1960**

Sir, I beg to move that an Act to provide for the internal security of the Federation, preventive detention, the prevention of subversion, the suppression of organised violence against persons and property in specified areas of the Federation and for matters incidental thereto be read a second time.

As announced in His Majesty's gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of the Second Session of Parliament, the Government intends to declare the Emergency at an end at midnight on 31st July this year. I am happy to inform the House that our programme to this end is going according to plan and, in presenting a number of Bills for their second and third readings at this sitting of the House, I now call upon Honourable Members to play their part in this programme. The Internal Security Bill is the most important of those Bills.

The Hon'ble Prime Minister and other Members of the Government, including myself, have made it quite clear on a number of occasions that, because the Emergency is to be declared at an end, the Government does not intend to relax its vigilance against the evil enemy who still remains as a threat on our border and who is now attempting by subversion to succeed where he has failed by force of arms. It is for this reason that this Bill is before the House. It has two main aims: firstly, to counter subversion throughout the country and, secondly, to enable the necessary measures to be taken on the border area to counter terrorism.

Let me deal with terrorism first. In Perlis, Kedah, northern Perak and western Kelantan and across the Thai border, there are now still 583 armed terrorists of whom perhaps 90 might be on the Federation side of the border at any time. We know quite well that it is their intention to avoid contact with the Security

Forces and merely to remain in existence until a favourable opportunity arises for them to revive their so-called "armed struggle" against the people of this country. They remain, therefore, as a potential threat to the security of this country which cannot be disregarded.

We are fortunate in having a friendly neighbour with whose Government we are on the best of terms, and it is therefore the intention both of the Federation and the Royal Thai Governments, to continue taking the necessary action to eliminate the remnants of the Communist terrorist movement. For this reason we have already established a Joint Senior Staff Committee and Border Operations Committee for the co-ordination and execution of the necessary security measures on the border area. It is intended that these arrangements should continue after the end of the Emergency.

Under Section 47 of the Bill it is proposed to proclaim a border security area embracing parts of Perlis, Kedah, northern Perak and Kelantan. A Border War Executive Committee will be established to control all anti-terrorist measures in that area in place of the State War Executive Committees in these States. The State War Committee will, however, remain in being to wind up certain residual Emergency security measures. A Border Security Council, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, will take the place of the Emergency Operations Council and will be responsible for overall policy. The Director of Emergency Operations will become the Director of Border Security. It is the firm intention of the Government to continue to fight our enemies on the border until they are completely eliminated or until they are reduced to such a strength as not to constitute a security threat to this country.

Honourable Members will note from Chapter III of Part II that the death penalty will be retained solely in respect of those persons who are in possession of arms and ammunition in a security area without lawful authority and those who consort with them. There will be no death penalty in respect of food suppliers. I might mention at this stage that Government's policy with regard to rewards and surrenders will remain unchanged.

It is not intended to proclaim a security area in any other part of the Federation. Although there are three terrorists left in central Pahang and perhaps eight in the more remote areas of

eastern Pahang and Trengganu, it is considered that these insignificant remnants can be dealt with without the additional powers provided by Part II of this Bill.

Within the border security area the Federation Government will continue to have the assistance of the Commonwealth Land and Air Forces. While it might be possible for the Federation Government to employ only Federation Army units on the ground it is not considered advisable to do so. Most of our units have been engaged in terrorist operations for many years and it is now desirable that some of them should be given an opportunity of being stationed in their permanent barracks throughout the Federation and of undergoing normal training. The Commonwealth Governments concerned have expressed their readiness to make forces available as may be required. There are only four such battalions engaged at the present time and it is expected that this number will be gradually reduced.

With regard to Air Forces, the Royal Malayan Air Force, in addition to its communication and "mercy mission" duties, is fully committed to the supply of jungle forts which will be maintained either as security posts within the border security area or as administrative posts for the aborigines in other areas of the Federation. The Commonwealth Air Force is ready to continue the assistance which it has given over the past few years, including the very heavy supply dropping commitment which is well beyond the capacity of the Royal Malayan Air Force.

I would like to take this opportunity of expressing the Federation Government's appreciation of the generous manner in which this assistance is being extended thereby allowing the Federation Government to divert more of its resources to social services and rural development.

I come now to Part I of the Bill and, in particular to Chapter II, which provides powers of preventive detention. The principle of preventive detention has been debated frequently in this House and was debated at full length in connection with the amendment to Article 149 of the Constitution at the last sitting of this House. Let me make it quite clear once again that the object of detention is to safeguard the security of the country and not to punish persons for crime. A person is detained for what it is considered

he may reasonably be expected to try to do but not for what he is proved beyond doubt to have done. He is detained because he represents a risk to the security of the country and not because he is a member of a lawful political party. The Government has no desire whatsoever to hinder healthy democratic opposition in any way. This is a democratic country and the Government intends to maintain it as such. It is the enemies of democracy who will be detained.

We have already defeated these enemies—the Communist terrorists—who have taken up arms against the people of this country and against its democratic form of Government. Some of them remain, there are those who are seeking to achieve by subversive means what the terrorists failed to achieve by force of arms—namely, to overthrow democracy in this country.

There is nothing novel about the use of preventive detention for this purpose and reference has already been made in previous debates to the fact that such provisions exist in India and also in Singapore where indeed, the grounds for detention are more extensive than those provided in this Bill and include not just a threat to the security of the country but also threats to law and order and the maintenance of essential services.

If there must be preventive detention then there must also be in a democratic country, safeguards for the individual and those are provided in the Bill in accordance with the provisions of Clause 2 of Article 151 of the Constitution. Persons detained have a right to make representations to an Advisory Board which must consider such representations within three months and make recommendations thereon to the Yang di Pertuan Agong. If these representations fail then the case of the person detained must continue to be reviewed by the Advisory Board not less often than once in every six months.

The original order of detention is made, as expressed in Clause 8 of the Bill, by a Minister but only if His Majesty, acting on advice in accordance with Article 40 (1) of the Constitution, is satisfied that, with a view to preventing that person from acting in any manner prejudicial to the security of Malaya or any part thereof, it is necessary so to do. Further, when the representations have been made to the Advisory Board the recommendations of

the Advisory Board are similarly submitted to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The Government is responsible for the security of the country and it must, subject to the safeguards to which I have referred, be the final authority to decide whether persons should continue to be detained.

Let me make it quite clear that it is no pleasure for the Government to order the detention of any person. Nor will these powers be abused. The Alliance Government is prepared to stand on its record which is well demonstrated by the constant reduction of the number of persons in detention. From a figure of over 250 in 1957 the number, including terrorists, has been reduced to under 70. Even after a person has been detained every effort is made to achieve his release as soon as it can be shown that he is loyal to the country and is no longer a risk to the security of this country^ ;

The remaining chapters in this Part deal with a number of matters which are not covered by provisions in any other permanent law. I do not think that anyone who is a loyal citizen of this country and a firm supporter of democratic government would quarrel with these provisions which are solely designed to deal with those who may wish to demonstrate either their dislike of democracy or their disloyalty to this country.

It has been suggested that the life of the Bill should only be a period of one year and any extension should be subject to the approval of Parliament.

This Bill is moved under Article 149 of the Constitution and clause two provides for the continuance of the Bill until repealed or annulled by Parliament.

I cannot do more than remind all Hon'ble Members of the final sentence in His Majesty's gracious speech referring to the end of the Emergency: "It remains now for us all, with God's help still standing on guard against the sinister forces that do not rest in their attempts to undermine the Government by secret and subversive means, to ensure that this great victory is not wasted but become, instead, the starting point for building a yet more peaceful and prosperous Persekutuan Tanah Melayu".

Sir, I beg to move.