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Monday  
19th August, 1963

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT  
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

## CONTENTS

### **BILL—**

**The Malaysia Bill (*debate contd*) [Col. 1235]**

**EXEMPTED BUSINESS (Motion) [Col. 1272]**

FEDERATION OF MALAYA  
**DEWAN RA'AYAT**  
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

*Official Report*

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Fifth Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

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*Monday, 19th August, 1963*

*The House met at Ten o'clock a.m.*

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR,  
P.M.N., S.P.M.J., D.P.M.B., P.I.S., J.P.
- „ the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of  
Information and Broadcasting, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN  
PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and  
Minister of Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL  
RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Internal Security and Minister of the  
Interior, DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN,  
P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P.  
(Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications,  
DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungei Siput).
- „ the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' SULEIMAN BIN  
DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Muar Selatan).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI  
JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N.  
(Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives,  
ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR BIN JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare,  
ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Health, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB  
(Kuantan).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN,  
J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ the Minister of Education, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN  
BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of the Interior,  
ENCHE' CHEAH THEAM SWEE (Bukit Bintang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Labour and Social Welfare,  
ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry,  
TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN  
(Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Information and Broadcasting,  
ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF (Jerai).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, P.J.K. K.M.N.  
(Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungei Patani).
- „ TOH MUDA HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI ABDUL RAOF  
(Kuala Kangsar).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., P.I.S.  
(Segamat Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN MOHAMED SHAH, S.M.J.  
(Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID (Seberang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN HAJI YUSOF, P.J.K. (Krian Darat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AZAHARI BIN HAJI IBRAHIM  
(Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ DR BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN (Kampar).
- „ ENCHE' CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).
- „ DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.  
(Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N. (Kapar).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N. (Kulim Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Baling).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN PILUS (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ TUAN HAJI HASAN ADLI BIN HAJI ARSHAD  
(Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI HASSAN BIN HAJI AHMAD (Tumpat).
- „ ENCHE' HASSAN BIN MANSOR (Melaka Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN (Raub).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).

- The Honourable TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN  
(Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN HAJI KASSIM (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG (Batu Pahat).
- „ ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- „ CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Kluang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N. (Sepang).
- „ ENCHE' LIM JOO KONG, J.P. (Alor Star).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ ENCHE' LIU YOONG PENG (Rawang).
- „ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED NOR BIN MOHD. DAHAN (Ulu Perak).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED HANIFAH BIN HAJI ABDUL GHANI, P.J.K.  
(Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- „ TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, J.P.  
(Rembau-Tampin).
- „ ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.  
(Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ TUAN SYED HASHIM BIN SYED AJAM, A.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.  
(Sabak Bernam).
- „ TUAN SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, J.M.N.  
(Johor Tenggara).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- „ TENGKU BESAR INDERA RAJA IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN IBRAHIM,  
D.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).

The Honourable ENCHE' TOO JOON HING (Telok Anson).

- „ ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ WAN' SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED, K.M.N. (Kemaman).
- „ ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).
- „ ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- „ ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
- „ PUAN HAJJAH ZAIN BINTI SULAIMAN, J.M.N., P.I.S. (Pontian Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB (Langat).
- „ ENCHE' ZULKIFLEE BIN MUHAMMAD (Bachok).

ABSENT:

The Honourable ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM (Setapak).

- „ ENCHE' V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- „ ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED DAHARI BIN HAJI MOHD. ALI (Kuala Selangor).
- „ NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).

IN ATTENDANCE:

The Honourable the Minister without Portfolio, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

BILL

THE MALAYSIA BILL

Second Reading

Order read for resumption of Debate on the Question, "That the Bill be now read a Second Time." (17th August, 1963).

*Debate resumed.*

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad (Bachok):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-waktu Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri mengemukakan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-hadapan kita ini telah di-nyatakan oleh Yang Berhormat

itu bahawa tujuan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah bagi memberikan kuasa dan perjalanan kepada susunan<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan bagi membuat sa-buah persekutuan negara yang di-namakan Malaysia. Banyak telah di-perkatakan dalam Dewan ini tentang masalah burok baik Malaysia ini. Bagi Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu telah pun di-terangkan bahawa persatuan ini menentang Malaysia dan dengan yang demikian menentang Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sendiri.

Sa-belum saya berchakap panjang berkenaan dengan isi Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ada beberapa perkara yang saya fikir patut kita perbetulkan lebih dahulu di-dalam kita menghadapi sa-buah perbahathan yang penting mengenai negara<sup>2</sup> dan penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-negeri ini. Telah saya perhatikan perjalanan perbahathan di-Dewan ini memandangi

bahawa sebarang penentangan kepada Malaysia itu terutama daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu maka penentangan itu tidak jujur dan tidak ikhlas, yang ikhlas ia-lah membuat Malaysia itu sendiri! Di-dalam Dewan ini kita lebeh baik menghadapi sa-suatu masalah dengan chara yang tidak terlalu berat kepada tekanan<sup>2</sup> sentiment yang akan membawa kita tempat<sup>2</sup> yang tidak di-ingini. Sa-suatu bangkangan hendak-lah di-asaskan atas fact menurut kata beberapa orang Ahli Yang Berhormat di-sini. Saya pun berkata, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-suatu chadangan itu hendak-lah di-asaskan di-atas fact. Kalau ada pehak yang menyangka bahawa dia di-dalam perhitungan dengan Malaysia ini akan selamat-lah bangsa Melayu dan selamat-lah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu maka saya pun mempunyai perhitungan bahawa dengan Malaysia ini bangsa Melayu tidak akan selamat.

Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah menggambarkan di-dalam Dewan ini lebeh dahulu bahawa kita di-dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sendiri pun telah tenggelam. Maka ta' usah-lah kita hebuhkan kalau kita tenggelam pula dalam Malaysia; hadapi-lah penenggelaman itu. Itu pun satu lojik juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau nasi sudah menjadi bubor; daripada bubor lebeh baik jadi dodol. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sampai ka-mana-kah dapat kita terima chara pemikiran bagitu. Mengatakan bahawa penentangan kita semata<sup>2</sup> timbul dari rasa takut dan oleh kerana rasa takut kita tidak berani ka-hadapan, "gostan" kata Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Johor Tenggara. Saya tidak gostan kalau di-hadapan itu tidak ada jurang yang dalam. Sebab hanya orang yang ta' mempunyai perhitungan sahaja yang tidak mahu memberhentikan motor-car-nya dan gostan ka-belakang sa-kiranya di-lihat di-hadapan itu ada satu jurang yang dalam. Boleh jadi ada sa-tengah orang berfikir alang<sup>2</sup> membawa motor-car biar-lah melompat ka-jurang, tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, fikiran ini tidak dapat di-terima oleh Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul soal jambatan (*Ketawa*).

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Jambatan.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Kedegaran saya juga, jambatan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau jambatan itu benar<sup>2</sup> jambatan yang boleh di-lalui oleh motor-car yang sa-berat itu patut-lah kita lalui. Tetapi, memperjambatkan tali yang telah di-buat daripada jerami akan jatuh juga akhir-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang kita bahath ia-lah sama-ada benar<sup>2</sup> apa yang kita hadapi itu menguntongkan kita atau tidak. Pehak sa-belah sana kata itu tetap menguntongkan. Apabila keraguan<sup>2</sup> di-timbulkan di-dalam Dewan ini maka berkata-lah sa-orang Yang Berhormat keraguan itu timbul dari perkataan<sup>2</sup> yang ingin kalau yang terang hendak di-gelapkan, dan kalau yang gelap hendak di-jelitakan. Yang Berhormat itu juga, kata-nya dahulu biasa membuat macham itu, tetapi yang penting bagi kita pengajaran daripada apa yang telah berlaku dalam Persekutuan ini hendak-lah di-fahamkan. Mari kita lihat Perlembagaan—sa-telah di-jalankan chara *Jus soli*—sa-telah di-jalankan kera'ayatan yang timbul daripada pendaftaran dalam Bab 17 daripada Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang kemudiannya telah di-mansokhkan. Mari kita lihat itu semua-nya kerana itu semuanya ada-lah akibat yang telah timbul kapada kita. Dewan ini telah menyaksikan dan Perdana Menteri telah mengakui bahawa keadaan itu tidak di-ingini dan dengan demikian langkah<sup>2</sup> pembatalan hak itu di-lakukan. Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-hadapan kita ini ada-lah melakukan kesalahan lagi. Agak-nya alang<sup>2</sup> membuat salah, lebeh baik terus buat salah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keikhlasan penentangan kita terhadap Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-ragukan, dan kata mereka bahawa penentangan itu timbul daripada sentiment kepartaian yang hendak menjaga kepentingan politik terutama sa-kali Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu. Mudah mengatakan sa-suatu. Mudah juga di-jawab bahawa Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu di-kemukakan kerana kepentingan kepartaian bagi parti yang memerintah pada masa sekarang ini yang telah merasa sempit di-dalam

**Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar (Johor Tenggara):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh saya minta penjelasan sedikit? Kami di-sini berasa sedikit *confused* atau keliru berkenaan dengan perkataan Melayu yang di-gunakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, kerana daripada kenyataan<sup>2</sup> Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut menggunakan perkataan Melayu itu boleh meliputi semua keturunan Melayu, dengan ta' pandang ugama dan ta' pandang adat istiadat, jadi dia mengikut rumpun, atau keturunan. Jadi, nampak-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok itu hendak mengatakan Melayu ini mengikut ta'rif yang ada dalam Perlembagaan yang ada pada hari ini. Di-sini-lah datang kekeliruan-nya, jadi yang mana satu Melayu yang di-kehendaki-nya: Melayu mengikut rumpun, atau keturunan, atau race, atau Melayu mengikut tafsiran politik yang ada dalam Persekutuan yang ada hari ini.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dia minta penjelasan tetapi dia hendak bertanya. Di-dalam Standing Order ini ada mengatakan kalau dia hendak memberi penjelasan, tetapi kalau dia bertanya, itu tidak penjelasan nama-nya. Jadi saya tidak ingin hendak menjawab. (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang menjadi soal kepada kita ia-lah bahawa di-dalam fahaman yang ada dalam soal ini yang hak pengawal yang di-lakukan di-Sabah dan Sarawak itu ia-lah kepada anak<sup>2</sup> jati bagi negeri<sup>2</sup> itu, tidak kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara, kalau saya ta' salah, mengatakan bahawa dengan ada-nya Malaysia ini, kita akan membawa Islam dengan lebeh kembang lagi, bukan sahaja di-Tanah Melayu tetapi juga di-Sabah dan Sarawak itu sendiri. Saya pun terfikir ini juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana-kah Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara itu hendak mengembangkan Islam, kalau di-negeri dia sendiri—Tanah Melayu ini—dia ta' boleh buat. Ada-kah dia fikir bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Sarawak yang berugama Christian dan Kadazan yang kuat dengan keperchayaan mereka itu yang tidak mahukan supaya Islam ini di-

jalankan di-sana sa-bagai ugama resmi bagi negeri mereka dengan persetujuan Dewan Undangan mereka itu akan menerima-nya. Saya ta' fikir mereka itu akan menyambut akan kedatangan ustaz<sup>2</sup> dan lain-nya itu ka-sana. Saya harap, kalau hendak berchakap itu biar-lah practical sedikit. Biar-lah kita asaskan kapada kejadian yang di-hadapan mata kita sendiri—jangan-lah mimpi, mimpi siang hari, pagi<sup>2</sup> lagi sudah mimpi.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini perlu-lah kita fikirkan halus<sup>2</sup> dalam menghadapi atas perkara ini, bukan dengan gembar-gembor mengatakan yang ini satu perkara yang betul yang ta' ada lagi salah-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang ini baharu-lah saya hendak pergi kapada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini bertujuan yang pertama sa-kali ia-lah mengubah nama Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kapada Persekutuan Malaysia. Ahli Yang Berhormat rakan saya dari Kelantan Hilir telah menyebutkan tentang beberapa masaalah dalam hal ini. Mengubah negara kapada sa-buah negara baharu, ada-lah satu perkara yang besar. Menurut Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup> hendak-lah mempunyai hak supaya boleh Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia itu membinchangkan perkara<sup>2</sup> dasar negara di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Itu telah di-chontohkan satu daripada perkara yang dasar ini, umpama-nya ia-lah perkara immigration ia-itu tentang kemasokan orang<sup>2</sup> lain dalam negeri kita. Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini mengatakan:

"AND WHEREAS the Conference of Rulers has consented to the passing of this Act in so far as it amends Articles 38 and 153 of the Constitution or otherwise affect the privileges, position, honours or dignities of Their Highnesses."

Dua perkara yang hendak saya timbulkan dalam perbahathan ini. Pertama, Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-kirimkan dan telah sampai pada tangan saya pada 1 haribulan August, 1963, erti-nya pada 1-8-63 apa yang di-sebutkan di-dalam peratoran ini sudah di-buat. Melainkan, umpama-nya saperti fasal kedua tentang menentukan haribulan yang kemudian-nya di-ubah. Saya

harap Timbalan Perdana Menteri, atau Perdana Menteri sendiri dapat menerangkan ia-itu bila-kah persetujuan ini di-beri oleh Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Saya tahu sidang Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu bermeshuarat pada 7 hari-bulan, dan ini nyata-lah bahawa Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini telah di-tulis dan di-kemukakan kepada orang ramai sebelum di-persetujui oleh Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu, dan perkara ini ada terkandung di-dalam Bab 38 dan Bab 153 dari Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Oleh itu saya minta kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri menerangkan dengan ikhlas-nya bagi pengetahuan Majlis ini.

Perkara kedua, pada pandangan saya, biar pun Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu hanya menyebutkan Bab 38 dan Bab 153 sa-bagai bab yang patut mengenai Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu dengan chara langsung, tetapi dengan chara yang tidak langsung telah nyata oleh bab ini yang menyebutkan hak bagi membolehkan Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu bagi membahathkan perkara<sup>2</sup> yang bersangkutan dengan kepentingan negara dengan chara yang besar. Maka saya merasa bahawa Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia itu patut-lah di-beri peluang untuk membinchangkan perkara ini. Dia kata di-dalam bab itu: "To discuss matters of national policy," bukan kata-nya untuk meletakkan perkara national interest and the policy di atas meja Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup> (Conference of Rulers). Tetapi sudah-kah Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu melakukan discussion atau membinchangkan di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-bagai sa-suatu yang boleh di-lakukan oleh Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Saya minta-lah kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri untuk menerangkan dengan sa-halus<sup>2</sup>-nya dalam perkara ini, dan saya akan jawab apabila beliau telah menerangkan di atas perkara ini, kalau ta' betul.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebab-nya berlaku perkara ini yang menjadi perkara pokok pada fikiran saya ia-lah kerana di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, satu perkara yang besar yang di-lakukan oleh Kerajaan sama ada dengan

niat-nya yang betul, atau tidak, tidak-lah saya ketahui, tetapi satu perkara yang besar yang patut di-timbangkan dengan sa-halus<sup>2</sup>-nya oleh Kerajaan ini ia-lah yang ada kena-mengena dengan pertimbangan Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu ia-itu seperti yang terkandung di-dalam Bab 4 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Bab 4 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini mengatakan:

The Federation shall be known, in Malay and in English, by the name Malaysia.

Dalam cheraian (2) mengatakan:

The States of the Federation shall be—  
(a) the States of Malaya . . .

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dahulu dan di-dalam perjanjian Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu; saya hendak membuat prove dalam politik saya dan kalau siapa tidak percaya dia boleh-lah tengok sendiri, telah di-nyatakan bahawa negeri<sup>2</sup> itu negeri Melayu—Malay States. Sekarang nama itu telah ditukar kepada States of Malaya. Ada orang<sup>2</sup> di-sini tidak peduli hendak tukar nama pun apa gaduhkan tukar-lah sebab pada dia nama itu tidak ada apa benda—what is in the name—Shakespeare. Bunga ros akan jadi bunga ros—kalau di-tukar nama pun dia menjadi bunga ros juga; tetapi hal ini ada hubongannya dengan kedudukan politik dengan kedaulatan Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang menjadi Raja bagi negeri<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Fasal apa di-namakan States of Malaya? Dahulu di-namakan Malay States kerana negeri<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu Sultan-nya Melayu. Maka kenapa-kah Kerajaan Perikatan begitu berani sekali menghapuskan nama negeri Melayu itu dengan menyebut negeri<sup>2</sup> Malaya. Betul, bersesuaian-lah itu dengan dasar-nya. Tetapi saya tidak pentingkan dasar-nya. Yang saya pentingkan ia-lah hak yang ada pada kalimah<sup>2</sup> Malay States itu sendiri. Perkara yang seperti ini sama-lah seperti menukar hak<sup>2</sup> yang ada pada Sultan<sup>2</sup>. Baharu<sup>2</sup> ini kita tahu dalam Dewan ini telah meluluskan pinjaman kepada Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup> Melayu sa-banyak dua juta sa-tengah ringgit. Kemudian sekarang nama negeri<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu pula di-hapuskan, beri pinjam suroh beli tanah

Apa-kah lebeh-nya mereka itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Apa-kah yang membolehkan mereka itu sampai function seperti itu tidak boleh pergi kepada mereka itu? Kalau mereka itu berkuasa berkata-lah mereka itu kerana orang Islam tidak banyak di-negeri mereka itu dan kuasa Islam itu tidak kuat, tidak seperti yang di-agakkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara, sebab dia kata dapat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau Sarawak dan Borneo merasa bahawa di-dalam negeri-nya tidak ada orang Islam lebeh banyak dan tidak ada pengaruh Islam lebeh banyak, yang banyak orang yang bukan Islam, maka apa-kah salah-nya kalau chara hendak baik sahaja, chara hendak masuk rumah orang dan tompang bilek orang apa-lah salah-nya kalau—

“ . . . extension of any religious acts, observance or ceremonies . . . ”

itu di-sampaikan kepada orang Islam di-sana? Apa-kah yang boleh menahan mereka itu menerima kedudukan yang seperti itu kalau tidak kerana ta'sob yang sengaja hendak bertegang dalam perkara<sup>2</sup> yang besar seperti ini? Kita akui hatta kuasa<sup>2</sup> Duli Yang Maha Mulia di-dalam Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini pun tidak pergi kepada orang yang bukan Islam. Maka apa-kah yang akan menyakitkan penduduk Sarawak yang bukan Islam kepada—

“The function of the Conference of Rulers of agreeing or disagreeing to the extension of any religious acts, observances or ceremonies . . . ”

itu di-sampaikan kepada orang Islam di-negeri itu? Apa salah-nya? Tidak ada apa salah-nya, chuma hendak menang dalam rundingan. Itu sahaja.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir kalau bagitu-lah kedudukan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang hendak masuk dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, nyata-lah dari awal lagi “goodwill” itu tidak ada dalam perkara mengakui Islam sa-bagai Ugama Rasmi dan dalam perkara mengawal kedaulatan dan kuasa bagi Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam menjaga hal-ehwal Islam dalam Persekutuan Malaysia ini. Dia kata kerana negeri kami  $\frac{3}{4}$  daripada-nya orang yang bukan Islam, maka ini fasal-lah kami tidak dapat terima.

Jadi oleh sebab yang demikian adalah pula dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini mengatakan kalau hendak laku dan lut perkara<sup>2</sup> yang berkenaan dengan ugama Islam Ugama Rasmi kepada negeri mereka hendak-lah di-luluskan oleh dua pertiga daripada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Majlis Dewan Undangan negeri itu. Ini yang saya kata mimpi siang—macam mimpi siang. Bagaimana-kah dua pertiga ini akan meluluskan sedang mereka itu bukan orang Islam. Ini perkara yang patut kita fikirkan di-dalam perkara yang besar ia-itu perkara kedaulatan Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, semua ini adalah berlawanan dengan chakap Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri yang mana beliau hendakkan Central Government yang kuat—beliau ada chakap; tidak payah saya sebutkan. Beliau hendak supaya Malaysia ini mempunyai satu Central Government yang kuat. Maka di-beri-nya-lah mithal<sup>2</sup> External Affairs, Defence dan Security. Itu-lah yang di-jaga oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Dari segi ugama kita tidak lagi boleh buat apa<sup>2</sup>.

Central Government yang kuat bukan dapat di-wujudkan dengan mengatakan “kami membentok Malaysia dan kami mahu Central Government yang kuat”. Central Government yang kuat kita tidak ada. Central Government yang kuat atau Kerajaan Pusat yang kuat hanya dapat dengan menyusun perhubungan di-antara Kerajaan Pusat dengan Kerajaan Negeri sa-chara yang membolehkan Kerajaan Pusat melancharkan dasar<sup>2</sup> pemerentahan-nya serta mengawal perlaksanaan dasar<sup>2</sup> itu daripada bertentangan yang zahir, daripada Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> yang menjadi unit bagi Kerajaan Pusat itu sendiri. Maka kalau pertentangan<sup>2</sup> itu dapat kita lihat dengan terang di-wujudkan daripada awal<sup>2</sup> lagi oleh Perlembagaan Malaysia yang didorong oleh Bill ini, maka tidak-lah ada akan dapat kita wujudkan sa-buah Central Government yang kuat.

Saya rasa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam menchari sebab<sup>2</sup> bagi penerimaan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang tiga ini di-atas dasar<sup>2</sup> yang melemahkan kuasa Kerajaan Pusat itu, saya jumpa satu sebab yang

besar, ia-itu sebab-nya hendak sangat— at all costs—hendak sangatkan Malaysia ini, kita beralah, apa dia hendak, beri. Ada dua jalan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa dia hendak, beri, waima kita jujur kepada dia, atau pun hari ini kita beri besok kita perangkap. Kedua<sup>2</sup> itu salah.

Kalau kita jujur, memang hendak beri betul kuasa itu kepada dia, nyata-lah bahawa kita melemahkan Kerajaan Pusat. Kalau kita kata hari ini kita beri bila dia masok kita tahu buat kira<sup>2</sup>. Itu lagi salah dan akan menyebabkan Kerajaan ini terburai pada satu masa yang akan datang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Singapura anak emas Malaysia yang di-pujok banyak dan di-beri kuasa yang banyak. Adalah menunjukkan di-dalam layanan<sup>2</sup> ini bahawa Singapura itu satu unsur bagi melemahkan kuasa Kerajaan Pusat yang kuat. Bagaimana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Tiga perkara yang besar. Kita ambil satu dahulu ia-itu perkara pelajaran. Singapura di-beri kuasa bersendirian dalam soal pelajaran. Saya kesian kepada Menteri Pelajaran apabila dia mengemukakan cerita pelajaran dalam negeri ini. Bersharah-lah Yang Berhormat Menteri<sup>2</sup> Pelajaran, sejak dari Menteri Pelajaran yang pertama hingga-lah kepada Menteri yang ada sekarang ini, bahawa kita membentok sa-buah dasar pelajaran yang menuju kepada perpaduan bangsa dalam negeri ini dengan mendaulatkan bahasa kebangsaan ia-itu bahasa Melayu. Lebih kurang begitu-lah bunyi-nya, balek<sup>2</sup> itu-lah dia: Pelajaran yang di-sukai oleh semua orang, itu-lah jalan yang kita ikut. Saya nampak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan ini betul, tentang dia fikir bahawa perpaduan ra'ayat Persekutuan ini ta' boleh di-satukan dengan meriam, ta' boleh di-satukan dengan senapang, ta' boleh di-satukan dengan penjara dan ta' boleh di-satukan dengan dasar luar negeri—semuanya ta' boleh. Yang mustahak-nya ia-lah dasar pelajaran itu satu—sama sahaja—sama dengan ra'ayat-nya berfikir, sama akan membawa kepada reaction, sama akan membawa kepada hidup yang sama, tetapi apa-kah sebab-nya maka di-izinkan Singapura itu mempunyai dasar pelajaran-nya

sendiri: The peculiar conditions of Singapore—kedudukan<sup>2</sup> daripada yang lain daripada Singapura.

Telah ma'alum-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana Malaysia ini akan menjadi negeri yang angan<sup>2</sup> oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara, negeri yang chemerlang, yang aman dan baik, kalau sa-kira-nya dua buah negeri itu menjalankan dua dasar pelajaran, dan oleh kedua<sup>2</sup>-nya itu, Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini boleh di-pinda, dan mereka juga boleh duduk dalam Parlimen yang sama. Ini ada-lah fact. Singapura belum masok Malaysia lagi, dia sudah buat dasar pelajaran-nya sendiri, dan apabila Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bersetuju supaya Singapura berjalan di-atas asas Kerajaan Singapura sendiri dalam soal pelajaran ini, maka nyata-lah bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah bersetuju ia-lah dasar Singapura itu baik bagi Persekutuan Malaysia, kalau tidak, dia tidak tahan, tetapi dia bedek, boleh, ta' apa; tetapi ta' apa ia-lah kerana hendakkan sangat Malaysia—ta' apa-lah kepada orang perempuan itu, sebab saya suka berjalan malam dengan dia, merayu<sup>2</sup> pun boleh, kerana saya hendak kahwin dengan perempuan itu, merbahaya pun ta' apa.

Saya hendak tahu, apa-kah dasar Kerajaan Persekutuan, ada-kah Malaysia ini boleh mendapat rukun aman dan damai, atau it will be a farce. Saya rasa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini ta' boleh sama, sebab fasal yang pertama dia menggunakan multi-lingualism. Sudah sa-kerat daripada kerja Menteri Pelajaran out. Singapura menggunakan dasar berbagai<sup>2</sup> bahasa, tetapi kita di-Persekutuan menggunakan Melayu, Melayu, Melayu. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari sa-belah sana mengatakan: Kasehan! Tengok, kita beri Singapura macham orang Greek pergi ka-Kuala Lumpur. Saya ta' tahu-lah anology dia itu, tetapi benar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau Singapura itu menggunakan multi-lingualism, dan Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran Persekutuan yang bersemangat kuat serta di-sokong pula oleh Pengarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka—saya pun ada juga kawan di-sabelah sini yang menyokong saya—saya fikir ini ta' boleh jadi, dan ini boleh jadi kachau-bilau sedikit dalam

fikiran ra'ayat, sebab Singapura mengakui bahasa<sup>2</sup> yang berlainan dan dengan yang demikian bahasa<sup>2</sup> lain itu di-setujui oleh dia, sa-hingga pada satu masa nanti dia sendiri hendak putuskan. Dia ta' kata bahawa kami akan memutuskan nanti, sama ada kami hendakkan bahasa kebangsaan atau tidak—itu satu hal, ini tidak. Dia kata nanti kami fikirkan kemudian, maka ini dengan sendiri-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mahasiswa<sup>2</sup> yang lulus dari Nanyang University yang di-akuï oleh Kerajaan Singapura itu, terutama dalam hal teknik dan dalam perkara<sup>2</sup> yang tidak terus-terang berhubung dengan sastera, terpaksa lama-kelamaan akan masuk ka-Tanah Melayu ini, sebab bagaimana-kah chara-nya yang kita hendak mengatasi dalam soal masyarakat yang ada sekarang ini, sedangkan doctor<sup>2</sup>, engineer<sup>2</sup> kita ta' chukup. Ini ta' chukup, itu ta' chukup. Senyum sahaja Menteri Pelajaran Singapura, tetapi Menteri Pelajaran Persekutuan Tanah Melayu garok kepala. Kata Kerajaan Singapura, ambil-lah saya, ta' boleh dalam beberapa tahun ini, kata Kerajaan sini. Maka ambil-lah dia doctor<sup>2</sup> dari Philipina dan Canada, lama<sup>2</sup> masuklah dia. Apa salah-nya orang<sup>2</sup> itu masuk kepada kita. Yang salah-nya dia lagi kecil<sup>2</sup> telah di-ajar dan di-besarkan dengan dasar pelajaran yang berlainan daripada dasar pelajaran yang kita adakan. Perbezaan yang tidak tenteram akan timbul di-negeri ini, itu dia salah-nya dan itu-lah yang mesti kita fikir dengan halus-nya dalam perkara ini.

Nyata-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, membentok bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan di-negeri ini ta' akan dapat berkesan di-Singapura dan membentok warga negara yang sa-fahaman dan perpaduan yang sama, kerana dasar pelajaran kita ta' akan dapat di-ujudkan di-Singapura di-dalam hubungan kita dengan orang<sup>2</sup> asing. Sengaja hendak di-gelap<sup>2</sup>kan kata Ahli Yang Berhormat itu. Gelaplah—itu perkara yang benar. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara mengatakan yang dia sayangkan saya, saya pun sayang juga dengan dia . . .

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad (Muar Utara):** Sama<sup>2</sup> sayang!

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Mengatakan "saya bersetuju dengan Rangan Undang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia ini", Tuan Yang di-Pertua, "yang saya ini chukup baik", itu ta' apa-lah. Tetapi kata-nya "tolong-lah"! Suka saya menengok-nya. Rasa saya masaalah kasehan dalam perkara ini, mengatakan tolong-lah buroh<sup>2</sup> Singapura itu jangan datang ka-Tanah Melayu, kalau datang buroh<sup>2</sup> Singapura itu, habis-lah kita.

Agak saya dia tidak pun membaca pindaan Undang<sup>2</sup> Immigration, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Itu ta' usah di-bacha, ta' payah, Tunku chakup bersetuju, saya pun bersetuju. Mana boleh bagitu, sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya kita hendak berchakup jangan-lah nampak yang kita ini tidak baca. Tidak ada Undang<sup>2</sup> yang boleh menahan mereka ini hendak pergi kasanana, jaga baik<sup>2</sup>, mereka ini *Ahlan wasahlan*.

**Mr Speaker:** Perkataan Arab itu jangan di-gunakan.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Ma'ana-nya, silakan. Kalau hendak datang ka-mari, you are welcome. Jadi itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini patut di-fikirkan. Di-Singapura ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua; wakil Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara itu boleh berjalan ka-Singapura kerana dia dekat, saya ini jauh di-Bachok. Singapura ini sakit tanah, sakit kerja macham<sup>2</sup>, sakit jadi semua-nya sakit. Sa-bagai satu hasil ta'bie sahaja-lah bahawa mereka itu berakit<sup>2</sup> ka-Tanah Melayu. Ta' sampai hari ini lambat laun berakit<sup>2</sup> sampai juga. Kemuskilan yang besar pada Singapura hari ini ialah kemuskilan buroh dan dengan sebab kemuskilan itu-lah maka Kerajaan Singapura menuntut Kerajaan Tanah Melayu memberikan hak kepada-nya menyelesaikan buroh-nya. Nyata-lah tidak mustahil bahkan dekat benar-lah Singapura akan menyelesaikan kesulitan buroh-nya dengan jasa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-kah ma'ananya membawa kema'amoran buroh Singapura dengan bertambah banyak di-dalam Tanah Melayu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagini-lah hal-nya saya berchakup dalam bab ini.

Berkenaan dengan Kera'ayatan pula. Perkara yang besar di-dalam Malaysia ini dan dalam mana<sup>2</sup> negara pun perkara kera'ayatan itu ada-lah penting. Kuasa bagi sa-saorang mengaku dirinya ra'ayat negeri itu dan dengan yang demikian mempunyai hak<sup>2</sup> politik di-dalam-nya. Kera'ayatan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dahulu-nya di-ubah dan di-padankan dengan kera'ayatan yang di-nyatakan di-dalam bab 23 yang bertajuk "Kera'ayatan":

"23. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Part, the following persons are citizens by operation of law, that is to say:

- (a) every person born before Malaysia Day who is a citizen of the Federation by virtue of the provisions contained in Part I of the Second Schedule; and
- (b) every person born on or after Malaysia Day, and having any of the qualifications specified in Part II of the Second Schedule; and
- (c) every citizen of Singapore."

Sa-belum saya berchakap tentang layanan, biar-lah saya berchakap tentang manja-nya Singapura masok dalam Malaysia ini dari segi kera'ayatan. Borneo tidak, Sarawak tidak, yang Singapura, every citizen of Singapore—semua ra'ayat Singapura itu boleh menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu itu faham-lah kita. Kalau kita hendak masok Persekutuan Malaysia, kita faham, dia hendak masok Malaysia itu, tentu-lah dia menjadi ra'ayat Malaysia. Tetapi yang aneh-nya orang ini menjadi ra'ayat by operation of law. Mudah bagi orang Singapura menjadi ra'ayat by operation of law. Sedangkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-lah lama umur Perlembagaan ini baharu lagi kita tahu cerita kera'ayatan. Dalam Perlembagaan ini kera'ayatan itu dahulu-nya di-bahagikan kepada tiga; dahulu-nya saya kata, ra'ayat by operation of law—ra'ayat dengan kuat kuasa Undang<sup>2</sup>—kera'ayatan dengan berdaftar sa-sudah dudok lama di-sini dengan chara naturalisation. Kita sendiri ra'ayat negeri ini pun tiga markah, ada Sergeant, Corporal dan ada private yang di-atas sahaja ra'ayat by operation of law yang boleh menjadi Perdana Menteri, walau pun dia bukan orang Melayu, sudah sedap benar bagi Singapura. Tetapi alang-kah manja-nya

Singapura bila dia hendak masok sahaja pap; bersetuju, terus naik kepada darjah ra'ayat by operation of law. Siapa-kah ra'ayat Singapura itu dan dia menjadikan ra'ayat macham mana gaya-nya?

"53. (1) There shall be a status known as 'citizen of Singapore'.

(2) The status of a citizen of Singapore may be acquired—

- (a) by birth;
- (b) by descent;
- (c) by registration or enrolment; or
- (d) under the provisions of the Federal Constitution by naturalisation."

Yang akan datang ini semua-nya ra'ayat Singapura mudah menjadi ra'ayat kita tetapi kita terima dia kerana manja-nya entah kerana duit-nya lebeh, saya pun tidak tahu tetapi kita terima dengan baik, apa gaduhkan terima sahaja. Yang menjadi soal kenapa ra'ayat Singapura sampai begitu manja sa-hingga mereka itu menjadi ra'ayat by operation of law.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal<sup>2</sup> yang saperti itu perlu di-tanyakan dengan baik dan dengan halus, dan itu akan menyebabkan Singapura itu mengharamkan Persekutuan menjadi perkakas. Jangan jawab kerana ada layanan yang lain, jadi nyata kepada kita bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan telah memberikan kepada Singapura hatta perkara<sup>2</sup> yang tidak dahulu-nya di-berikan kepada Persekutuan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila itu berlaku, apabila ra'ayat Singapura dengan sendiri-nya menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan berlaku, maka bertambah siang-lah dan bertambah pagi-lah mimpi kita tadi, pukul 7.00 sekarang pukul 7.10 minit. Perkara yang saperti itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada hubongannya dengan cerita Perdana Menteri dan cerita<sup>2</sup> di-sabelah sana, cerita mereka itu bahawa Singapura itu adalah satu pulau kecil yang kalau ditinggalkan demikian akan menjadi Cuba—akan menjadi komunis. Kalau mereka itu menjadi komunis maka perkara yang patut kita perhatikan kepada mereka itu—komunis, kechenderongan mereka kepada komunis, dan kemudian-nya akan menjadi komunis, maka sudah pada tempat-nya kita mengasingkan mereka itu supaya tidak merosakkan negeri itu.

Kalau dia dudok di-luar, kata Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri, "senang sahaja akan menjadi negeri yang diserang oleh kominis". Siapa-kah yang boleh menjamin kita, sudah-kah dasar Pelajaran di-Singapura itu berlaku mengikut kehendak-nya sendiri, sudah-kah asas dan tapak bagi politik di-Singapura itu berlaku dengan kehendak-nya sendiri, siapa-kah dapat menjamin kepada kita bahawa di-masa hadapan, mereka itu tidak dapat mempengaruhi politik Persekutuan yang politik mereka itu ada-lah kominis atau chenderong kepada kominis atau menantikan masa sahaja untuk menjadi kominis . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Panjang lagi?

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Panjang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

**Mr Speaker:** The meeting is suspended for fifteen minutes.

*Sitting suspended at 11.35 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 12.00 p.m.*

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

*Debate resumed.*

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memberi kera'ayatan kepada Singapura dengan chara yang di-buat ini, seperti kata saya, ada-lah membahayakan kepada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-dalam politik-nya. Singapura walau bagaimana pun sama ada di-akuī atau tidak di-akuī, ada-lah sa-buah pulau yang di-dalam process menyampaikan dirinya kepada taraf yang ada sekarang ini telah longgar di-dalam kera'ayatan. Anasir<sup>2</sup> kominis di-Singapura itu tidaklah boleh di-perkecilkan. Pada hari ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada Kerajaan di-Singapura yang berchakap kuat bahawa dia menentang kominis seperti kita juga menentang kominis dan fahaman-nya. Tetapi apabila di-lihatkan kepada bentok politik di-Singapura itu ternyata kepada kita bahawa per-seimbangan kuasa di-antara Kerajaan yang mengaku diri-nya; saya ulang sa-kali lagi, mengakuī diri-nya menentang kominis dengan tentangan

terhadap Kerajaan itu ada-lah sama. Hasil<sup>2</sup> perbahathan di-dalam Dewan Undangan Singapura menunjukkan bahawa pengaruh gulongan kominis yang menentang Kerajaan yang ada sekarang ini tidak kurang daripada kekuatan Kerajaan dahulu. Maka oleh sebab yang demikian nyata-lah bagi kita memberikan kera'ayatan dan layanan seperti ini kepada Singapura amat-lah tidak sesuai.

Di-dalam Citizenship, Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, ada memberi satu kemanjaan yang tidak dapat di-mengertikan dengan mudah-nya, kepada ra'ayat Singapura. Kera'ayatan Singapura tidak boleh dipisahkan daripada kera'ayatan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Sa-hinggakan di-dalam bab<sup>2</sup> 25 (1) (2), umpama-nya bab 26, 27 dan beberapa bab sa-sudah itu semua-nya kedudukan ra'ayat Singapura itu amat besar sa-hingga menunjukkan bahawa mereka itu tidak sedikit pun ada bedza-nya dengan ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Tetapi lojik ini di-bengkokkan apabila kita pandang kepada konsep sa-buah negara di-namakan negara Malaysia, yang negeri<sup>2</sup> itu bersatu di-dalam-nya untuk membentok negara Malaysia. Kalau Singapura ini mempunyai kera'ayatan yang tidak boleh di-putuskan daripada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, yang saya tidak bersetuju, maka apakah pula ma'ana-nya di-wujudkan apa yang di-namakan citizen of Singapore, dan kalau di-masokkan negeri Kelantan tidak pula mempunyai citizen of Kelantan, negeri Selangor citizen of Selangor, tiba<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat Singapura mempunyai citizen of Singapore. Berpegang kepada identity Singapura—sifat zat Singapura itu menunjukkan keangkohan orang Singapura dan menunjukkan bahawa mereka ini akan mengambil untung daripada memasoki Malaysia, tetapi amat-lah menjaga kepentingan mereka, sa-hingga kedudukan mereka itu lebeh dari barang siapa pun di-dalam Malaysia ini. Tadi telah saya katakan bagaimana mereka lebeh daripada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu itu sendiri. Ra'ayat Singapura di-terima dengan operation of law, ra'ayat Sarawak dan Borneo Utara sa-lain daripada boleh menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu seperti

yang di-nyatakan dalam bab 23 ada pula kaedah baharu bagi ra'ayat Sarawak dan Borneo itu. Kaedah baharu ini ada pada Singapura, ada pada Sarawak dan Borneo tetapi sudah tidak mahu di-pakai di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu lagi, ia-itu ra'ayat saperti yang di-nyatakan di-dalam bab 26 Citizenship by registration—Kera'ayatan di-berikan daripada chara mendaftar dan kita tahu pada masa itu bahawa kesan-nya amat merbahaya kepada negeri kita. Sekarang ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita berhadapan pula dengan Sarawak dan Borneo. Kesalahan yang kita lakukan di-sini dahulu itu kita ulang pula di-Sarawak dan di-Borneo.

Pada pendapat saya sa-barang kera'ayatan bagi sa-sabuah negeri hendaklah di-asaskan atas kenyataan asal jadi-nya ra'ayat itu di-negeri itu, dan di-atas dasar dan asas keta'atan yang di-dapati dengan tanda<sup>2</sup> yang nyata daripada chara hidup dan daripada lama-nya kediaman atau sa-bagai-nya. Tetapi kera'ayatan by registration, kera'ayatan dengan pendaftaran adalah kera'ayatan yang begitu ringan yang memberikan sa-saorang itu hak sa-mata<sup>2</sup> kerana menyelamatkan dia di-dalam kawasan itu. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akan membawa kita kepada satu peringkat yang akan memaksa kita sa-mula, membatalkan-nya, itu ada-lah membahayakan negeri ini.

Di-dalam memperkatakan soal hak<sup>2</sup> yang timbul kerana kera'ayatan itu, bab 31 daripada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu ada menyatakan perkara itu dengan jelas-nya, dia itu berguna kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara, supaya di-perhatikan dengan halus. Sebab di-dalam kita mengejarkan sentimen kita berkehendakkan kepada masok-nya Singapura di-dalam Persekutuan kerana pada fikiran kita, kasehan-lah! nasib orang Melayu di-Singapura terbiar! Mari-lah kita bawa mereka-itu dalam Persekutuan ini. Chuba kita lihat apa yang boleh di-buat oleh kita di-dalam politik kepada mereka itu. Chara yang sekarang di-Singapura ada-lah chara demokrasi, Perdana Menteri dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat yang ada di-sini pun memandang kita jangan gadoh siapa ba-

nyak, siapa yang sadikit, asal kita boleh hidup dengan harmony, kalimah harmony ada-lah suatu kalimah yang baharu saya dengar, "harmony".

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Singapura ada harmony, harmony orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dudok di-bawah, orang lain dudok di-atas, ini harmony apa yang boleh di-buat, orang yang hendak menchari harmony dan untuk mendapatkan harmony di-tindeh oleh orang. Harmony akan kita ujudkan lagi apabila bab 31 itu berjalan:

"Notwithstanding anything in Article 47, a Singapore citizen is not qualified to be an elected member of either House of Parliament except as a member for or from Singapore;"

Apa yang akan jadi, tidak payah-lah saya terjemahkan. Apabila orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Singapura yang telah membayar begitu mahal harga diri-nya untuk mendapatkan harmony yang dipelupori oleh Perdana Menteri Ahli<sup>2</sup> di-sana tidak tahan pula, Ahli dari Muar Utara dan semua sa-kali, apakah yang akan dapat orang Singapura tidak boleh menjadi orang yang dipileh bagi Ahli Dewan Parlimen ini sama ada Senate atau pun Dewan Ra'ayat, melainkan dia di-beri khas di-kawasan Singapura, dia tidak boleh bertanding di-Seremban, dia tidak mustahak bertanding di-Seremban, yang menjadi soal kepada kita orang itu tidak boleh bertanding di-sini.

"A citizen who is not a Singapore citizen is not qualified to be a member of either House for or from Singapore."

Orang yang bukan menjadi ra'ayat Singapura tidak boleh menjadi Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat di-sini, dan orang yang bukan menjadi ra'ayat Singapura tidak boleh menjadi wakil di-sana bagi Dewan ini maka, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, macham mana-kah Ahli dari Muar Utara itu hendak membahathkan perkara ini.

**Mr Speaker:** Ahli dari Muar Utara di-jadikan target.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Ia-lah bagaimana Perdana Menteri Yang Berhormat hendakkan orang<sup>2</sup> kita ini membela ra'ayat Melayu dalam Singapura, ra'ayat Melayu di-Singapura itu sudah leteh dalam politik-nya, dalam ekonomi-nya, janganlah tuan memandang dalam segi itu

sahaja. Jangan mempermudah politik Singapura, sebab anasir<sup>2</sup> kominis di-Singapura itu tidak kenal chara berpolitik yang di-buat di-sini, maka dengan sendiri-nya sahaja ra'ayat Melayu Singapura tidak mendapat pertolongan daripada sini di-dalam politik untuk membolehkan kita menyuarakan di-dalam Dewan yang bertuah ini tentang nasib mereka. Lebeh merbahaya lagi, ada-lah kerana di-dalam Dewan Undangan Singapura itu sendiri pun tidak akan dapat orang<sup>2</sup> daripada bangsa Melayu itu sendiri yang hendak membela dengan rancangan Malaysia ini, masukkan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-dalam Dewan Undangan Singapura itu, jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nyata-lah membela nasib bangsa Melayu dengan Malaysia mimpi pukul 7.30 pagi. Ini satu kenyataan, jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam keadaan saperti itu mustahak-lah kita fikirkan dengan halus identity Singapore, sifat zat Singapura di-dalam memasoki Malaysia. Kalau sa-kira-nya sifat zat-nya bagitu keras untuk mengawal diri-nya, maka saya rasa masuk-nya tidak ada ma'ana kapada Malaysia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-telah saya berchakap berkenaan dengan kedudukan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut, halal-lah bagi saya untuk membahathkan soal perwakilan (representation) di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat. Mereka itu mahu masuk Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, tetapi jual mahal, banyak sangat harga-nya, tetapi perwakilan mahu banyak. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah berlawanan dengan erti perwakilan dalam demokrasi. Kami hendak masuk ramai, tetapi jangan kachau kami. Hai! amat-lah payah kita hendak memikirkan masuk mahu ramai, usek tidak boleh. Di-dalam sa-buah negara demokrasi teori perwakilan (theory of representation) ada-lah sa-embang dengan kuasa atas menjalankan kerja pada Kerajaan Pusat. Federation yang berasaskan kapada perbezaan yang akan membawa kapada perbezaan besar yang akan meruntuh atau mencherobohi kuasa Kerajaan Pusat tidak-lah di-terima. Sarawak dan Borneo di-beri bilangan yang banyak, kemudian besok di-fikirkan weightage-nya, kerana

hendak ambil hati mereka itu. Kalau tidak banyak dia tidak hendak masuk. Ini-lah keadaan yang ada pada masa ini.

Pada pendapat saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Malaysia sa-telah di-kaji—ini—di-kesampingkan yang lain dahulu—sa-telah di-kaji daripada rundingan<sup>2</sup> dan hasil<sup>2</sup> pepadanan tujuan, kehendak dan hajat bagi pehak yang berlainan dalam Malaysia itu, zahir pada saya bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu-lah yang rugi, dan ini ada-lah kesalahan bagi Kerajaan yang berjalan pada masa ini, sebab tidak menjaga kepentingan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chukai (taxation) ada-lah satu asas bagi representation. Dalam mana<sup>2</sup> teori pun, kalau kita tidak mahu bayar chukai, tidak ada fasal kita mendapat representation. Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Singapura, Sarawak dan Borneo Utara menyusun bagi kedudukan mereka itu di-dalam Malaysia ini sa-hingga pada taraf mereka dapat di-terima banyak dan bermacam<sup>2</sup>. Di-negeri Borneo ada chukai jualan atau sale tax yang akan di-dapati oleh negeri itu sendiri. Semua-nya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menurut theory representation di-dalam suatu Dewan sa-mesti-nya mengurangkan bilangan, tetapi sa-balek-nya bagi dua buah negeri ini bilangan itu tidak di-endahkan, bahkan di-tambah, sedangkan chukai pun di-beri kapada mereka itu. Pujok dan layanan yang istimewa, inilah dasar yang di-buat di-dalam perhubungan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> yang mahu bergabung dalam Malaysia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-malam sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pehak PAS telah menyebutkan soal perlantikan Lord President. Di-dalam menyebutkan hal ini, telah berkata bahawa kalau lantikan itu di-lakukan oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong dengan nasihat Perdana Menteri, maka ia itu akan merupakan satu pengaruh politik kapada kehakiman. Saya tidak tahu sama ada Wan Mustapha atau Dato' Haji Sardon, sebab dia sebut nama sa-malam, yang di-lantek itu, itu tidak berbangkit, tetapi akan menjawab-lah

Kerajaan—ini yang mustahak—dengan berkata kami ada-lah Kerajaan yang bertanggung-jawab, dan kami akan melantek orang<sup>2</sup> yang menasabah, dan rekod, fasal rekod Parti Perikatan menyatakan bahawa tidak ada salah-guna dalam kuasa ini di-lakukan. Ini berat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Saya tidak tahu bagaimana Kerajaan hendak jawab?

Apabila perkara tuduhan atas sa-orang pemimpin di-dalam sa-buah Mahkamah yang mengatakan menudoh bahawa dia telah menghasut ra'ayat, dia di-bicharakan. Maka satu perkara telah terjadi, ia-itu beberapa hari sebelum keputusan itu di-putuskan, Hakim yang menjalankan perbicharaan itu telah pergi ka-rumah Perdana Menteri. Kata orang apa-lah salah-nya dia pergi ka-rumah Perdana Menteri. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang mustahak bagi saya bagi menyokong bahawa chara ini ada-lah salah. Chara membolehkan Perdana Menteri cham-por hal ini, ada-lah salah. Maka dengan ada-nya chara ini, kejadian yang kecil macham itu boleh di-tafsirkan oleh sa-siapa pun sa-bagai satu kejadian yang tidak di-kehendaki di-dalam lapangan kehakiman. Kata orang puteh: Justice is not only to be done, but also to be seen. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perbuatan yang membolehkan Perdana Menteri memberi nasihat kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong ia-itu satu nasihat yang mesti di-ikuti oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong saperti yang terkandung di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang mengatakan:

“The Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet or of a Minister acting under the general authority of the Cabinet . . . .”

Shall act . . . . .

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Peratoran Tetap 36 (1), Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berulang<sup>2</sup> perchakapannya. Untuk menjaga atau menyelamatkan masa, saya minta kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua supaya jangan-lah di-ulang<sup>2</sup>kan perchakapan yang telah di-chakap-nya itu.

**Mr Speaker:** Peratoran Tetap 36 (1) tidak ada kena-mengena atas per-

bahathan ini. Peratoran Tetap 36 (1) yang di-katakan berkenaan berulang<sup>2</sup> itu, saya fikir ta' kena pada tempat-nya—chuba tengok betul<sup>2</sup>. Saya samemang hafal betul<sup>2</sup> dalam perkara ini (*Ketawa*).

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid:** Standing Order 44 (1)—the Honourable Member is irrelevant . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Ini 44 (1) kalau saya hendak beri amaran, saya boleh tahan, tetapi sampai hari ini saya belum menahan dia. Please proceed.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Bagus-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dapat berihat sa-kejap.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, demikian-lah hal-nya dalam soal kehakiman itu. Sekarang ini saya ingin memperkatakan tentang soal<sup>2</sup> yang bersangkutan dengan hal<sup>2</sup> dharurat. Sa-malam Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kelantan Hilir telah menyebutkan tentang hal ini. Yang saya hendak ia-lah perkara yang tidak dapat di-nyatakan oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri waktu mengemukakan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ia-itu pentafsiran bagi undang<sup>2</sup> dharurat yang termasuk di-dalam act ini. Saya terpaksa membachakan kandungan yang tersebut di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini:

“39 (1) In Article 150 of the Constitution (which makes special provision for legislation in the event of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong being satisfied of the existence of a grave emergency whereby the security or economic life of the Federation or of any part thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance) there shall be omitted in Clause (1) the words ‘whether by war or external aggression or by internal disturbance’.”

Timbalan Perdana Menteri sa-waktu mengemukakan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini telah tidak dapat memberi penjelasan kenapa lafadz<sup>2</sup> itu mesti di-buang, dan oleh kerana tiada sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya itu dinyatakan maka pada pendapat saya patut-lah perkara ini menjadi satu perkara yang kita bahathkan. Saya adalah bersetuju dan telah pun menyatakan persetujuan saya dahulu kepada undang<sup>2</sup> Bab 150 di-dalam Perlembagaan itu sendiri, dan pada pendapat saya Bab 150 itu hendak-lah di-kekalkan saperti demikian dengan tidak di-buang.

Chuma jika di-buang perkataan:

"whether by war or external aggression or by internal disturbance."

Pada fikiran saya ini ada-lah satu perbuatan yang salah. Tidak-lah terlintas, pada fikiran saya bahawa Kerajaan ini oleh kerana Menteri hendak bersharah dan di-sorak<sup>2</sup>kan oleh orang ramai, maka dia mengishtiarkan dharurat. Saya tidak-lah hendak berbuat demikian, tidak-lah saya terlintas bahawa dia akan melakukan sa-suatu yang membahayakan kepada pengishtiaran undang<sup>2</sup> dharurat ini, melainkan ada sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya yang besar.

"... whereby the security or economic life of the Federation or of any part thereof is threatened, . . . ."

Ini ada-lah satu perkataan yang boleh memberi pentafsiran yang luas, threatened erti-nya terancam. Anchaman atas ekonomi, anchaman atas kehidupan negeri ini dan keselamatan-nya tidak-lah boleh dapat meminda ta'arif ini. Saya tidak nampak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada suasana yang dapat dikatakan oleh Kerajaan bahawa suasana itu mengancam ekonomi dan keselamatan negeri ini, sa-lain daripada war or external aggression, atau pun internal disturbance. Yang Berhormat Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri telah mengatakan ia-itu kalau ada anasir<sup>2</sup> subversive yang hendak mengachan Kerajaan, kita akan istiharkan internal disturbance, dan ini boleh dimasukkan di-dalam perkataan itu. Disturbance boleh di-dengar oleh orang ramai dan disturbance yang di-sedari oleh pehak yang tahu, kalau kita tahu bahawa Chin Peng telah berada di-Mersing umpama-nya . . . .

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad:** Bachok!

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Bachok tidak ada.

**Mr Speaker:** Please proceed. Sifatkan ta' dengar sudah!

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu satu langkah yang baik.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kira-nya ini berlaku potential disturbance, maka dengan sendiri-nya boleh di-gunakan dengan perkataan disturbance kepada external aggression, umpama-nya Sarawak masuk Malaysia esok, banyak

kekachauan akan berlaku, maka ini boleh di-istiharkan kerana internal disturbance and also internal security and economic life of the country.

Jadi nyata pada kita bahawa dahulu itu sudah elok-lah—sudah sedap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Di-waktu dia buat itu kata-nya tidak ada lagi yang lebeh baik daripada-nya. Kemudian terasa dia tidak chukup, ini saya pandang tidak chukup kuasa bagi membolehkan arbitrary atau arbitrary unreasonable, ini kita tidak mahu. Dan ini iklan Undang<sup>2</sup> dahulu-nya berjalan ada-lah satu perkara yang besar bagi negeri ini. Saya bersetuju, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, iklan dahulu itu di-kekalkan bila masa hendak jalan, jalankan-lah tetapi biarlah dengan ada safeguard—dengan kawalan saperti yang di-sebutkan oleh Perlembagaan ini dahulu—whether by war, external aggression or internal disturbance. Saya pandang Kerajaan tidak mustahak kepada pindaan ini walau pun dengan masuk-nya Borneo, Sarawak dan Singapura.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita berhajat kepada wujud-nya sa-buah negara demokrasi. Dan bagi mengawal demokrasi ini berhajatkan kepada Undang<sup>2</sup> yang saperti ini. Tetapi jangan-lah Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sendiri membolehkan salah guna yang akan membahayakan negeri ini. Jadi saya minta-lah jawapan Kerajaan atau Menteri Kewangan atau Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri atau pun Yang Berhormat Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, kalau jawapannya tidak memuaskan hati, dalam Committee nanti saya akan bangkitkan lagi sebab perkara ini satu perkara yang besar kepada negeri ini.

Central Government—Kerajaan Pusat yang kuat dan berkesan lagi, apabila di-dalam Bab 42 ini saya sebutkan kerana perkara ini ada-lah kata-nya jangan berlaku demikian:

"42. (1) Subject to Clause (2), in relation to a Borneo State and in relation to Singapore, Clause (4) of Article 76 shall not apply, nor shall paragraph (b) of Clause (1) of that Article enable Parliament to make laws with respect to any of the matters mentioned in Clause (4) of that Article."

Tidak payah-lah saya buat reference untok-nya. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang di-nyatakan

di-tepi ini bahawa reference yang dinyatakan itu ada-lah berkenaan dengan Local Government—(Kerajaan Tempatan) dan Tanah. Kita tahu bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sekarang ini mempunyai National Land Council dan National Local Government Council. Kita tahu bagaimana kuasa yang telah di-berikan oleh Perlembagaan kepada dua Majlis Tertinggi ini—National Land Council dan National Local Government Council. Satu perkara yang patut saya sebutkan di-sini ia-itu khusus-nya di-dalam National Land Council walau pun Perlembagaan ini telah mengatakan bahawa tanah ada-lah perkara negeri yang di-masokkan di-dalam senarai negeri yang membolehkan negeri itu melakukan apa<sup>2</sup> yang patut bagi kemajuan tanah atau sa-bagai-nya. Tetapi National Land Council menurut Perlembagaan; dengan tidak usah saya hendak referencekan sebab kita sudah lama dudok dalam Parlimen ini, resolution—keputusan yang di-buat di-dalam National Land Council mengikat bagi di-jalankan di-dalam negeri, maksud-nya Perlembagaan itu menga-kuī Kerajaan negeri mempunyai kuasa di-dalam perkara tanah tetapi apa<sup>2</sup> keputusan daripada National Land Council di-jalankan sama ada negeri itu bersetuju atau tidak bersetuju, itu pun tidak betul. Sa-hingga pada State sudah contradicted di-beri kuasa kepada negeri tetapi membolehkan National Land Council buat keputusan, itu pun salah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang ini apabila masuk Borneo Utara, Sarawak dan Singapura mereka tidak di-mustahakkan mengikut apa<sup>2</sup> keputusan bagi uniformity atau di-putuskan di-dalam Perlembagaan bagi maksud uniformity. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini satu chontoh, satu chontoh yang menyakitkan hati. Kerajaan negeri yang sebelas itu pun dudok di-dalam Persekutuan Malaysia. Negeri yang hendak dudok di-dalam Malaysia, kuasa atas tanah ada pada Kerajaan itu dan ada pada Kerajaan Borneo tetapi mengapa di-asingkan Kerajaan Borneo Utara, Sarawak dan Singapura untok-nya berkedudukan yang berlawanan dengan kehendak dan kedudukan-nya yang ada di-beri-

kan kepada negeri<sup>2</sup> yang ada sekarang. Ini-lah masa-nya, saya katakan tidak akan dapat di-wujudkan sa-buah masharakat negara<sup>2</sup> unit. Bagi persekutuan negara yang saperti ini tidak akan puas hati sa-kira-nya chara layanan yang saperti ini tidak di-betulkan.

Peringkat kedua dalam perbahathan saya ini ia-lah kuasa bagi meluluskan Undang<sup>2</sup> bagi mewujudkan uniformity, yang di-luluskan oleh Perlembagaan dahulu itu semata<sup>2</sup> bagi uniformity—yang sa-rupa, tidak di-adakan dan tidak di-beri kuasa kepada Perlembagaan sedangkan wakil mereka itu ada di-dalam Parlimen ini. Mereka itu tidak payah mengadakan pilihan raya.

Kalau itu tidak dapat di-buat maka apa-kah harapan kita bagi meng-ujudkan sa-buah Central Government yang kuat yang dapat benar<sup>2</sup> memajukan negeri itu. Ini satu perkara yang patut di-fikirkan oleh Dewan ini supaya jangan berlaku di-dalam Perlembagaan kita layanan<sup>2</sup> yang merosakkan ketat-atan Central Government yang di-kehendaki oleh Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Financial Provision yang di-buat oleh Sarawak dan Sabah, sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson telah mengadukan hal di-dalam Dewan ini, kata-nya: “kita pun susah hendak beri banyak kepada Sarawak dan Borneo Utara,” pada saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hanya boleh mentafsirkan di-dalam hal ini satu sahaja, ia-itu Financial Provisions for Borneo States. Apabila di-conceive Malaysia ini telah di-gambar<sup>2</sup>kan, maka mula-lah janji<sup>2</sup> keluar, mula-lah chakap<sup>2</sup> keluar, study tour yang di-chadangkan supaya orang Melayu, orang<sup>2</sup> di-negeri itu boleh keluar negeri menggunakan wang study tour, berjalan sambil belajar di-gunakan oleh Sarawak dan Borneo datang ka-sini, dan bukan ra'ayat itu . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Apa ada kait-mengait dengan itu?

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Di-beri faham dengan mereka itu, kalau Malaysia itu jadi, chadangan luar bandar . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** What clause?

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Clause 45. Pada ketika itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bayangan Malaysia tidaklah di-bayangkan, kerana bayangan politik sahaja di-bayangkan, maka inilah yang Kerajaan Persekutuan telah mengikat dengan tuntutan<sup>2</sup> kewangan yang memaksakan mengubah jadual yang kesepuluh bagi negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo seperti kenyataan dalam Article 45 itu. Saya faham, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa kehendak wang yang hendak di-berikan Kerajaan Federal kepada Kerajaan negeri mesti-lah di-asaskan kepada sa-suatu yang concrete, kalau oleh sebab yang demikian di-buat-lah 1,151 batu jalan raya di-Sabah sa-bagai panjang jalan yang meliputi bagi negeri Sabah itu, saya tidak tahu sama ada dalam menilai jalan itu Kerajaan Persekutuan telah berchermat atau tidak, tetapi 1,151 batu jalan ada-lah satu angka yang besar bagi negeri yang belum terbuka seperti itu, boleh jadi ta'arif jalan negeri bagi negeri itu tidak sama dengan ta'arif jalan bagi negeri<sup>2</sup> yang lain dalam Persekutuan ini. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun apa hendak di-katakan kita hendak-lah insaf, bahawa di-asaskan memasoki Malaysia oleh Kerajaan Sabah itu dengan asas bantuan kewangan sa-mata<sup>2</sup> tidak akan mengekalkan bangunan negara Malaysia yang di-chadangkan hendak di-buat oleh Kerajaan itu. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa di-dalam susunan bantuan kewangan itu ada di-janjikan pula lagi sa-telah di-buat pemikiran bahawa ada kerja<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Pusat di-masa transition period, di-masa perpindahan, akan di-turunkan kuasa-nya dan perjalanan-nya dengan Kerajaan negeri, dan kita tahu bahawa Kerajaan Sarawak dan Sabah akan menggunakan wang bagi memuaskan perkhidmatan-nya itu, tetapi hendak memberi proportion, bahagian sa-sudah di-bayar harga perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup> seperti di-nyatakan harga sa-bagaimana di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu, sa-sudah itu hendak di-beri pula lagi dengan wang, saya rasa itu ada-lah berlawanan dengan kuasa<sup>2</sup> kewangan, yang patut-nya di-berikan kepada Kerajaan Pusat.

**Mr Speaker:** Panjang-kah lagi?

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Panjang lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Kita mahu pemberian yang seperti itu boleh di-lakukan, tetapi kita tidak-lah patut melakukan seperti yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan itu. Tidak menentukan angka, atau menentukan nisbah estimate angka asal Kerajaan Pusat di-dalam hak<sup>2</sup>-nya, baharu akan dapat di-jalankan di-Sabah itu, ini sa-patut-nya sudah di-dapati pada masa perundingan itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana ini bukan sa-kejap, dan bukan sa-bulan, Kerajaan Persekutuan ini dan anggota<sup>2</sup>-nya, dengan rundingan bagi mendapatkan persetujuan kewangan, tetapi saya hairan dan saya berasa salah bahawa pembahagian itu telah di-lakukan sa-mata<sup>2</sup> dengan chara proportion. Chara seperti itu boleh menimbulkan keraguan kepada estimate yang munasabah daripada asal yang akan di-dapati. Sementelah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan Sabah itu sendiri pada masa dahulu telah memberikan perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup>-nya dan telah mendapat hasil<sup>2</sup>, jadi apa-kah yang telah mengganggu, apa-kah yang telah menahan perundingan<sup>2</sup> dalam Persekutuan ini daripada mendapat satu angka yang munasabah bagi di-kemukakan di-sini.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! The sitting is suspended till 4.30 p.m.

*Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.*

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

## EXEMPTED BUSINESS

(Motion)

**The Minister without Portfolio (Dato' Suleiman bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That the proceedings of the House this day on the Malaysia Bill shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) until 7 p.m.

**The Assistant Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (Enche' V. Manickavasagam):** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That the proceedings of the House this day on the Malaysia Bill shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) until 7 p.m.

## BILL

### MALAYSIA BILL

*Debate resumed.*

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam susunan kewangan yang di-chapai di-antara Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> negeri yang akan masuk dalam wilayah Malaysia ini telah nampak satu chara yang baharu di-masokkan. Pada pendapat saya adalah satu chara yang tidak kena pada tempat. Bab 47 bahagian (2) daripada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini mengatakan saperti berikut—

“Any review under this Article shall take into account the financial position of the Federal Government, as well as the needs of the States or State concerned, but (subject to that) shall endeavour to ensure that the State revenue is adequate to meet the cost of State services as they exist at the time of the review, with such provision for their expansion as appears reasonable.”

Layanan baharu di-dalam kajian sa-mula, yang di-kemukakan di-dalam bahagian (2) dalam Bab 47 ini, menunjukkan bahawa keadaan kewangan yang tidak cukup di-sa-sabua negeri itu akan di-pertimbangkan, dengan tujuan menjamin, bahawa hasil negeri itu cukup bagi memenohi harga perbelanjaan perkhidmatan negeri, sa-bagaimana yang ada waktu kajian sa-mula itu, dengan kelulusan bagi bertambah luas-nya sa-bagaimana yang menasabah. Layanan saperti ini di-beri kepada negeri<sup>2</sup> baharu pada satu masa yang tertentu, tetapi layanan saperti itu tidak di-beri kepada negeri<sup>2</sup> yang ada ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-telah menjalani Perlembagaan yang lama telah terdapat pada kita bahawa keadaan<sup>2</sup> kewangan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> negeri itu berhajat di-perhatikan dengan halus bagi menjalankan perkhidmatan<sup>2</sup>-nya. Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengizinkan di-dalam kelulusan-nya bahawa Kerajaan Negeri itu boleh berlainan dengan Kerajaan Persekutuan. Maka oleh kerana perbezaan politik telah timbul pada Kerajaan<sup>2</sup>

Negeri keadaan yang menghajatkan kepada review bagi menjamin keadaan yang di-tuntut oleh bahagian (2) dalam Bab 47 ini. Saya fikir, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini ada-lah chontoh daripada masaalah yang sa-patut-nya di-adakan pertimbangan dengan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> yang ada sa-bagaimana saya sebutkan. Maka kemanjaan yang di-beri kepada Kerajaan baharu ini, tidak-lah patut di-buat dengan tidak mengindahkan kepentingan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> yang telah berjalan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ada satu bab yang bersangkutan dengan apa yang telah saya katakan tadi. Perjalanan Kerajaan sekarang ini, menurut Perlembagaan ini sa-kira-nya Kerajaan Negeri kekurangan wang, maka dia boleh meminjam daripada mana<sup>2</sup> Bank yang di-persetujui oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-lama pinjaman itu tidak lebih dari sa-tahun dan tidak lebih dari satu melion ringgit. Bab 49 dari Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini memberi satu kedudukan keistimewaan pula di-dalam kewangan kepada negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo dan Singapura dengan mengatakan—

“Clause (2) of Article 111 shall not restrict the power of a Borneo State or of Singapore to borrow under the authority of State law within the State, if the borrowing has the approval of the Central Bank for the time being of the Federation, nor the power of Singapore to borrow under the authority of State law otherwise than within the State, if the borrowing has the approval of the Federal Government.”

Ini menunjukkan kelapangan yang luas dalam layanan kewangan bagi Kerajaan Negeri yang pada akhir-nya menunjukkan perbezaan yang nyata sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi akan mengakibatkan pertelagahan dalam pandangan<sup>2</sup> terhadap Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> yang akan baharu masok dalam Malaysia itu sendiri. Ini akan membawa kepada keadaan yang tidak sihat, dan itu-lah yang patut di-hindarkan; dan itu-lah sebab-nya keadaan saperti ini tidak boleh di-lakukan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam satu bab yang mustahak berkenaan pertelingkahan di-antara Kerajaan Negeri dengan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, yang hendak *di-hantar* apabila kita berhajat kepada satu Kerajaan yang tegap dan kuat saperti apa yang

di-sebutkan di-dalam Bab 12 cераian (2). Di-dalam Bab 12 cераian (2) telah menyatakan satu pindaan yang dikehendaki kepada Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dalam Bab 71. Kelmarin sudah, pindaan ini hendak di-pinda lagi. Yang di-pinda itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah satu perkataan yang kecil sahaja ia-itu :

"In Clause (4) of Article 71 of the Constitution the words 'it appears to Parliament that' shall be omitted."

Saya telah memerhatikan apa-kah tujuan Kerajaan hendak membuat pindaan seperti ini di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Apabila di-buang perkataan "it appears to Parliament that", maka tinggal-lah perkataan yang tergantung pada Bab kecil (4) :

"If at any time it appears to Parliament that the Constitution of any State does not contain the provisions set out in Part I . . ."

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Seberang Tengah):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Standing Order 53 (3) mengatakan, "a debate may arise covering the general merits and principles of the Bill." Not details.

**Mr Speaker:** I think the Honourable Member is quite in order. Please proceed.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Bab kecil (4) berbunyi demikian, kalau di-buang "it appears to Parliament that"—maka dia akan menjadi :

"If at any time, . . . the Constitution of any State does not contain the provisions set out in Part I of the Eighth Schedule, with or without the modifications allowed under Clause (5) (hereinafter referred to as 'the essential provisions') or provisions substantially to the same effect, or contains provisions inconsistent with the essential provisions, Parliament may notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, by law make provision for giving effect in that State to the essential provisions or for removing the inconsistent provisions."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya nampak perkara ini ia-lah "it appears to Parliament that" di-buang ia-lah kerana hendak di-lakukan dengan tidak mahu memikirkan bahawa Parliament ini ia-lah tempat yang tinggi yang menampung perkara yang seperti ini. Jadi, ini

semua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-lah patut di-adakan, jika sa-kira-nya konsep ke'adilan hendak di-lakukan di-dalam susunan pentadbiran yang ada dalam Malaysia itu kelak.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menyentuh Bab 94 ia-itu perkara election. Unsur yang besar yang mustahak bagi sa-sabuah negara yang democracy, ia-lah suara ra'ayat yang di-salurkan menerusi wakil ra'ayat yang mendapat kuasa di-dalam pilihan raya mereka itu sendiri. Dalam Bab 94 ini, satu layanan seperti mana yang telah saya sebutkan tadi akan di-buat ia-itu tidak ada pilihan raya di-negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo seperti di-Sarawak dan Sabah, hingga until the end of August, 1968. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali daripada August menjadi September, tetapi yang menjadi soal pada saya ia-lah konsep election yang akan berlaku dalam Parliament ini. Parliament ini, kita akan adakan wakil<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat dari Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-ramai 104 orang dan baki-nya terdiri daripada Singapura, dan yang sa-lebih-nya itu ada-lah terdiri daripada wakil<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat yang di-pilih daripada ra'ayat negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo ia-itu Sabah dan Sarawak oleh Majlis Undangan Negeri itu masing<sup>2</sup>.

Saya mendapat faham, sa-chara berimbang rasa bahawa negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo itu tidak dapat menghantarkan wakil<sup>2</sup>-nya pada tahun ini umpama-nya, kerana keadaan negeri<sup>2</sup> itu tidak membolehkan pilihan<sup>2</sup> raya di-adakan ditempat<sup>2</sup> tersebut, tetapi mengekalkan mereka itu dudok di-dalam Dewan ini sampai 5 tahun, pada hal kalau persediaan hendak di-buat, tentu-lah perkara itu boleh di-lakukan dalam masa satu tahun, atau dua tahun. Perbuatan mengekalkan itu ada-lah berlawanan dengan konsep democracy itu sendiri. Saya ta' tahu apa-kah sebab-nya, maka Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu boleh menerima dasar ini, kalau saya hendak berchakap tentu-lah ta' berapa elok, neschaya-lah saya berchakap ini oleh sebab politik. Yang aneh-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada saya apabila pilihan raya hendak di-lakukan menurut Bab 94 (3) ini, mereka itu

boleh—"may either require the elections to be made from among members of the Assembly or permit others to be elected". Nyata, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mereka yang akan datang dudok di-dalam Dewan ini ia-lah orang<sup>2</sup> yang ta' pernah boleh bertanggung-jawab kepada ra'ayat, kerana mereka itu ta' pernah pun masok bertanding di-dalam pilihan raya. Ini ada-lah berlawanan dengan prinsip democracy itu sendiri, dan saya percaya perkara ini tidak-lah akan berlaku di-dalam Dewan ini yang mana akan mempunyai dua kelas Dewan Ra'ayat, satu kelas yang di-pilih dan satu lagi kelas yang tidak di-pilih, dan saya rasa kelas yang di-pilih dengan sendiri-nya merasa bahawa dia lebeh besar daripada kelas yang tidak di-pilih itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebab<sup>2</sup> bagi menentang Malaysia ini dan menentang Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang ada ini, telah saya kemukakan, dan boleh lagi saya panjangkan sa-kira-nya tidak kerana menghormati waktu yang telah di-tetapkan bagi saya untuk menyelamatkan masa Dewan ini daripada sampai kepada satu keadaan yang serba salah. Pada keseluruhan-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami ada-lah menentang Malaysia ini. Sekarang ini satu perkara yang tidak boleh saya biarkan berlalu dengan mudah-nya, sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya ia-lah soal ada orang yang mengatakan bahawa kalau di-tentang Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia ini berma'ana-lah kita tidak mahukan kemerdekaan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang mahu masok di-dalam Malaysia, sedangkan kemerdekaan itu di-sharatkan kepada ada-nya Malaysia. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita di-sini suka juga sama saperti orang lain menentang penjajah dan menghapuskan umur penjajah di-kawasan di-sekeliling kita ini. Tetapi patut-lah kita faham bahawa sa-kira-nya dengan chara yang hendak di-bawa ini akan mengakibatkan penenggelaman diri kita, dengan ini maka tidak-lah boleh kita lakukan.

Sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat semalam telah berchakap Arab katanya, menolak kejahatan lebeh berguna daripada masalah. Kita mesti menolak kejahatan dan bahaya, jangan-lah kita heboh sangat hendak menjadi

masalah. Dia chakap tentang komunis sekarang ini, saya mengatakan kaedah itu-lah kita mesti ikuti. Kita dapat dengan penyatuan Malaysia ini untuk masalah, tetapi hendak-lah kita memikirkan mudarat-nya, yang akan membahaya kita amat-lah berat. Maka oleh sebab yang demikian, oleh sebab ucapan<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri dan Timbalan Perdana Menteri dari satu masa ka-satu masa, mengatakan bukan-lah tujuan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini hendak memanjangkan kawasan-nya tetapi semata<sup>2</sup> hendak menolong orang, maka menolong orang jangan-lah sampai kita tenggelam. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau hendak Malaysia, hendak apa? Ini-lah perkara yang patut saya chakap di-sini. Bagi umat<sup>2</sup> yang belum merdeka kita suka-lah mereka menentukan kemerdekaan mereka itu sendiri melalui self-determination mereka itu sendiri. Mereka-lah menentukan nasib mereka sendiri. Kata orang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akan habis-lah negeri itu dimakan oleh komunis, ini saya tidak tahu apa hubongan-nya, tetapi Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri sudah tahu, dia tidak dapat membuat apa<sup>2</sup>, apa yang di-buat-nya kalau Brunei habis tidak habis dia tidak masok Persekutuan Malaysia.

Maka oleh sebab yang demikian terserah-lah hal ini kepada mereka itu sendiri, dan kalau kita jujur kita ikhtiar supaya Kerajaan Ingeris memberikan self-determination kepada mereka itu. Jangan-lah bungkus negeri itu beri kepada saya, saya bersetuju; kalau tidak biar-lah dia mati sendiri. Konsep ini bukan-lah membasmiikan penjajah dan konsep self-determination; menentang diri sendiri, yang tidak sesuai dengan negara demokrasi yang ada di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Jadi kita betulkan rumah kita dahulu dan kita jalan kewajipan ra'ayat kita bagi keselamatan kita.

**Enche' Tan Phock Kin (Tanjong):**  
Mr Speaker, Sir, from the speeches made in this House during the last few days, we have heard expressions of fears and suspicions as to what this Bill has in store for us. It is very obvious that, as far as this Bill is concerned, communalism will be enshrined

in our Constitution once this Bill is adopted. At the present moment, we consider ourselves as members of one nation and we belong to States which enjoy equal rights and share equal responsibilities. With this Bill, the new States are not being brought in as they are—namely, Sabah and Sarawak and the State of Singapore—but they are being categorised, under the States of the Federation, as the States of Malaya, with Sabah and Sarawak coming under Borneo States and then we have Singapore. As a result of this division, we have various provisions in the Bill that will differentiate the various States in this new Federation of Malaysia. Hence, I say, Sir, that this will give rise to anti-national sentiments. It is no wonder that some political parties in this House have expressed their fears and suspicions which this differentiation of States has given rise to. They fear that a certain community in a particular State may enjoy undue privileges. I am sure that the view expressed by the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, which represents predominantly Malay view points, is shared by members of the United Malay National Organisation though they are afraid to express themselves. So, I must say that those are genuine fears arising from certain provisions in the Bill. Similarly, Sir, there are so-called pro-Chinese elements, so-called champions of Chinese rights, in this House, who are under a misapprehension that the Bill may give certain privileges to the Chinese community, certain privileges to certain States, which are predominantly Chinese—and that prompted this so-called champions of Chinese rights to vote with the Government and to express the view points of the Government. However, we on our part feel that this Bill is not going to benefit anybody. It is not going to benefit the Malays, or the Chinese, or even the indigenous people of the Borneo territories because, we feel that this talk is introducing a very dangerous element into our Constitution. Hitherto, we have talked in terms of the people as a whole; but with the advent of this new Constitution, we will be talking of the rights and privileges of each particular State, and each particular State is being

connected with each particular community—hence you have the danger. You can see it very clearly today, yesterday and the day before yesterday, in the course of debate in this House, when there were the expressions of fears and suspicions as to what will happen because of certain provisions in the Bill.

Sir, I am afraid that with the coming into effect of this Constitution, these fears and suspicions will snow-ball. People in this country will talk with suspicions and fears about life; the people in another territory will talk of how certain things will benefit the others. Well, I say it will not be the case. People in some States will feel about their position, and some may even talk of agitating for certain privileges which are being enjoyed by some of the new States. So here, Sir, you can see two view points and both are based on very false premises. The P.A.P., for example, in Singapore is trying to play on communal lines; it is trying to tell the people of Singapore that if they sacrifice some political rights, they have got a lot to gain from the economic and social fields—freedom in education, in the labour field and, above all, the Common Market which will bring Singapore wealth and prosperity. But what is actually going to happen? As my Honourable colleague has pointed out, the power of the Federal Government in the field of internal security may diminish whatever privileges, or whatever rights the people of Singapore may have in the field of education and labour. And as far as the benefits of the Common Market are concerned, we need to look no further than to read the statements made by none other than the Honourable the Minister of Finance with regard to his petty quarrel with the people in power in Singapore. He even went to the extent of saying that if Singapore were still to remain in the hands of these people, he will see to it that they are not going to benefit from the Common Market. These are important considerations which the people of this country must consider. We must appreciate that some leaders of the Alliance are not as broadminded

as envisaged in the Bill, that some of them are so petty as to allow personal considerations to play a more important part than national aspirations.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the light of all these, it is no wonder that very large sections of the community here, in Singapore and in the Borneo territories, are beginning to have their fears as to what this new Constitution will have in store for them. I must say here, Sir, that the Alliance Government has blundered very badly in introducing the various provisions of this Bill. It has told the country in no uncertain terms that it is non-communal, that it is genuinely nationalistic; it has told the whole country that to achieve that there must be a very strong Central Government. In fact, Sir, the phrase "a strong Central Government" is being used as a bargaining point by the Alliance Government with Singapore. Yet, we see here in this Bill provisions that are going to undermine the strong Central Government that we have today. They are going to undermine the genuinely nationalistic objective of our present Federation of Malaya. It is proved beyond doubt that the Alliance Government has failed very dismally if it is genuinely its desire to work towards that objective. It has failed to put forward to us a Bill that is genuinely nationalistic—a Bill that is going to work genuinely for a strong Central Government—because the Alliance is communal in its outlook; and being communal it is in a better position to appreciate the aspirations of communalists—and as such it has succumbed to this very process of compromise. I must say here, Sir, that it will indeed be a sorry day for this country if this Bill goes through, and the Constitution based on the various provisions of this Bill come into effect, because it will give rise to the very things which we witness in this House during the last few days—fears and suspicions, which are not conducive towards the emergence of a united Malaysian nation as envisaged by us.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if we are going to succeed in establishing a united Malaysian nation, then we must not think along communal lines. The provisions

of our Bill must put forward the national aspirations of the people. We must appreciate that the present economic inequality is not due so much to racial barriers but more to the exploitation of men by his fellowmen. If only the Alliance could proceed to solve the problem on such lines, then I think we will remove once and for all the fears and suspicions that are prevalent in the various territories of the new Federation today.

Sir, it is obvious that as far as the new Federation of Malaysia is concerned, the people who are most interested that it should come into being is none other than the British Government. We can see it very clearly, but we regret to note that the Alliance Government should rush so blindly into this trap. Even as early as when the Federation of Malaya came into effect, it was quite clear to the framers of the Constitution—they had it in mind very clearly—that one day the Constitution would be amended to admit new territories, so that the Federation of Malaysia can come into being with ease—that it is going to come into being with the aid of the Alliance Government. We can see even today in Sarawak that undue pressure is being put on the people in that though public rallies were allowed in one territory they were not allowed in another; and we have seen even at the present moment, even without the coming into being of Malaysia, that the Malayan Government is playing its part in assisting the British Colonial Government in enforcing law and order in that territory. These give a very clear picture as to how the Alliance Government is being made use of and how it is collaborating so closely with the British Colonial Government. It is no wonder that other neighbouring countries are getting very suspicious about this new idea of Malaysia.

I feel sure that, in the course of the debate during the last few days, it is quite clear to the Alliance Government—and I feel that it is also quite clear to quite a few Alliance Backbenchers—that the Government has blundered and blundered very badly in making the various provisions in

this Bill; and I feel, Sir, that the Government will no doubt agree with me, if it spends some time to ponder over this question, over criticisms that have been raised in this House in the last few days, because this is a very important Bill and our whole destiny rests on it. Surely we are not going to rush it through without considering the various aspects of the Bill that are being criticised in the course of the debate in this House, and to give the Alliance an opportunity to do so, I would, Sir, move an amendment to the motion of the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister as follows:

Leave out the word "now" and add at the end of the Question the words "on this day six months."

**Dato' Mohamed Hanifah bin Haji Abdul Ghani:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong usul ini.

Amendment put, and negatived.

*Debate resumed on motion, "That the Bill be now read a second time."*

**The Minister of the Interior and of Internal Security (Dato' Dr Ismail):** Mr Speaker, Sir, in a rambling speech lasting for three and a half hours, the Member for Dato Kramat fortunately did make a few observations which require some reply.

Sir, the Honourable Member said that if there had been consultations with the Opposition on the question of Malaysia, much of what he considers as difficulties would have been avoided. Unfortunately, he did not state in what form he would have liked those consultations to have taken place. The Opposition had been told in this House by the Government as to the type of Malaysia which the Government would like the House to endorse. The Opposition had made it clear that it would totally reject the type of Malaysia which the Government had in mind . .

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat):** On a point of information, Mr Speaker, Sir. The Opposition had made it very clear right from the beginning that, although it agreed with the concept of Malaysia, it was the plan of Malaysia that it was opposed to. Although we had, in fact, asked

both inside and outside this House that we be allowed to take part in the discussions, we were not allowed to do so in the discussions on the agreement, neither was the Socialist Front asked. The Barisan Sosialis of Singapore was totally excluded in spite of requests; and the S.U.P.P. was, in fact, not consulted at all. Sir, in fact, after our fact-finding tour in the Borneo territories, the Honourable Prime Minister was so moved emotionally as to refer to us as "fifth columnists". That clearly shows the attitude of the Government towards us. With that stigma above our heads, how could we ever have the face to approach our Honourable Prime Minister to ask for discussions?

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** Well, Sir, I still think my statement stands. So, I say, in view of this uncompromising attitude of the Opposition towards the Government-type Malaysia, it would be a waste of time for the Government to consult it on the details of the type of Malaysia which the Government favoured. The only alternative left to the Government, therefore, is to take full responsibility for this Bill now before the House and let the Opposition criticise it; and I must say that the Opposition has spent a lot of time in criticising the Bill. It is quite obvious then from the speeches of the Honourable Members of the Opposition that, although they have spent much time in criticising the Bill, they have criticised this Bill in the light of their concept of Malaysia. As a result of this, their criticisms of the Bill verge on the ridiculous.

First of all, the provisions of this Bill are based on the principles on which the Government bases its concept of Malaysia. In brief, the Government's concept of Malaysia is that the States of Singapore and the territories of Borneo and Sarawak are to be federated in two ways, always bearing in mind the wishes of the people of these territories. In the case of Singapore, among other things, she is given autonomy in education and labour and a certain degree of autonomy consistent with the concept of a strong Central Government. Further, Singapore would

like its own citizenship in addition to the Malaysian citizenship with the safeguard that Singapore citizens should have corresponding rights with those of the Malayan citizens who are not Singapore citizens. In the case of the territories of Sarawak and North Borneo, they are to be federated on the same lines as other States in the existing Federation with certain safeguards. It is in the light of these two different ways in which Singapore and the Borneo territories have agreed to be federated with the Federation of Malaya that the provisions of this Bill have to be viewed.

Therefore, Sir, in the light of what I have said, the Member for Dato Kramat is wrong when he said that generally the clauses relating to citizenship, that is Clauses 23 to 34, are designed to distinguish and discriminate the citizens of Singapore from ourselves.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Clauses 23 to 34?

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** Yes, Clauses 23 to 34. In fact, Sir, these clauses are designed to amend the provisions of our citizenship to fit in with the desires of the people of Singapore who have a Singapore citizenship in addition to a Malaysian citizenship. The Honourable Member says that under Clause 27 (1) for purposes of qualifying to be a citizen an applicant must be ordinarily resident in the Federation outside Singapore for the required period. It says, if I am not wrong, not less than 10 out of 12 years, and for this purpose residence in the territories comprising the Borneo States and not in Singapore shall be treated as residence in the Federation. He therefore concludes that it is absurd for people to be ordinarily resident, say, for two years in Borneo and six years in other parts of the Federation, to make up the eight years and then to disqualify an equivalent period of residence in Singapore. However, if we look at it from the Government's concept of Malaysia, in which it is agreed that Singapore should have its own citizenship, there is no inconsistency in distinguishing periods of residence in

Singapore from periods of residence in the Borneo territories for the purpose of qualification for direct Federal citizenship.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** On a point of information, Mr Speaker, I think the Honourable Minister of Internal Security has forgotten the fact that in this section, outside of Singapore residence refers to residence in the Bornean States as well as in the Malayan States, and I said that I could not see how one could be ordinarily resident in all those States at once. Furthermore, there is the Immigration Bill, which makes it practically impossible for any one resident in Malaya to be resident in Malaysia at all unless he has a permit which can only be issued with the approval of the Minister of Internal Security.

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** Sir, I think the Honourable and learned Member does not understand that for the purposes of ordinary residence, residence anywhere in the Federation of Malaysia outside Singapore will be counted as periods of residence for the purpose of qualification for Malaysian citizenship.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** What I further mean is that he cannot be a resident in the Bornean territories at all unless he has a pass which will come under the jurisdiction of the "I will lock you up Minister".

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** But you can go there and the Bornean people can come here and settle here for two or three years, or even in Penang if they happen to like the Honourable Member so much to have his company for two years. Now, Sir, the period of residence in Singapore, except under Clause 27 (4), will only be considered for citizenship of Singapore, but it entitles him indirectly to the citizenship of Malaysia.

Sir, what is most extraordinary is that the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat finds it beyond his mental capacity to find out the reasons why on the question of language, as a qualification for Malaysian citizenship, that it varies in the various States

which will comprise Malaysia. He quoted Clause 26. It reads—

“Subject to Article 18, any person of or over the age of eighteen years who is on Malaysia Day ordinarily resident in a Borneo State is entitled, upon making application to the Federal Government before September, 1971, to be registered as a citizen if he satisfied the Federal Government—

(a), (b), (c) and (d) (in which it is mentioned about language);

(d) except where the application is made before September, 1965, and the applicant has attained the age of forty-five years at the date of the application, that he has a sufficient knowledge of the Malay language or the English language or, in the case of an applicant ordinarily resident in Sarawak, the Malay language, the English language or any native language in current use in Sarawak.”

The Honourable Member forgets, Sir, that Article 26 refers to citizenship by registration. This Article is similar to Article 17 which has been repealed in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. The object of Clause 26, as indeed the object of the repealed Article 17, is to enable residents in the Borneo territories before Malaysia Day to obtain their citizenship relatively easily as we have done in the case of Article 17 in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. It is, as in Article 17, a temporary provision. Clause 27, which refers to citizenship by naturalisation, however, makes no concession and no concession is allowed in respect of language qualification; no matter where in Malaysia the applicant makes his application he must have an adequate knowledge of Malay. Sir, I hope that the learned Member for Dato Kramat now has it quite clear in his mind. If not, I am ever willing to elucidate further for him if he would like to come to my office.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** I don't think . . .

**Mr Speaker:** What is this?

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** On a point of information, I don't think it is necessary for him to ask me to go to his office, because I am asking him to enlighten the people, not myself. Nevertheless, I am very glad that the Honourable Minister says that Clause 26 stands. That means to say that if

the application is made before 1965 a person need not know Malay but if the application is made after 1965 and before 1971, he apparently has to; and that Clause 27 is only on the question of naturalisation and not on the question of registration, because he now admits that there are citizens who can be given citizenship by registration as well as by naturalisation, which is the confusion I am talking about.

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** It is so elementary my dear Watson that there is no need for me to make further observation on that (*Laughter*).

Unfortunately, Sir, the Member for Ipoh is not here, but he was so mesmerised by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat on citizenship that he allowed himself to be led blindly by the nose and based his criticism on the citizenship clauses on the authority of the Member for Dato Kramat who happened not to do his homework. In this House one is not surprised if one hears learned members of the House interpret the Bill to suit their political flavour. But one does expect honesty from learned members of the Opposition when they speak on this Bill. However, in the case of both the Honourable Members for Ipoh and Dato Kramat . . .

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order—Order 36. Is he not imputing improper motive by referring to us as dishonest people in this House. If it is so, I would ask you to ask him to withdraw that remark.

**Mr Speaker:** I do not think that is imputing improper motive.

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** No, Sir. If the cap suits you, you can put it on; otherwise, discard it (*Laughter*).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** On a point of order. Mr Speaker, Sir, I think if I am not wrong, he used the word “dishonest”.

**Mr Speaker:** I did not hear that.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** You did not hear that? In that case, Sir, will you ask that it be expunged from the records if it is recorded that he used the word “dishonest”.

**Mr Speaker:** I did not hear that. Please proceed.

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** However, Sir, in the case of both the Honourable Members for Ipoh and Dato Kramat, in this debate they are guilty of mental aberration (*Laughter*) when they attribute to the Bill provisions which are not in the Bill. The Honourable Member for Ipoh made no less than three incorrect statements as to the legal effects of the Bill in relation to citizenship, quite apart from a number of other misstatements of facts. The Honourable Member for Ipoh says that residence in Singapore does not count for the acquisition of Malaysian citizenship. Leaving aside the fact that every Singapore Citizen will be a Malaysian citizen by operation of law, though he will have different rights in respect of, for example, franchise, this is not a correct statement. Now, while residence in Singapore normally qualifies for Singapore citizenship, there is express power under Clause 27 (2) of the Bill to grant Malaysian citizenship by naturalization on the basis of residence in Singapore.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh went on to say that a Singapore citizen could not become a citizen of the Federation unless the two Governments agree. This, again, is not correct. Any citizen of Singapore can apply, under Clause 28, to be enrolled as a citizen, who is not a citizen of Singapore, if he has the requisite qualifications. The concurrence of the Singapore Government is not required, nor is the concurrence of the Federal Government required when a citizen who is not a Singapore citizen applies to the Singapore Government for enrolment as a citizen of Singapore.

Finally, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh referred to an arbitrary right which, he said, was vested in the Governments of the Federation and Singapore to transfer citizens from one territory to another. Neither Government has any such right. It is only on the application of the person concerned that he can be enrolled under Clause 28, or the corresponding provisions of the Singapore Constitution, as a citizen,

who is or who is not a citizen of Singapore.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh further stated that Federal and State Ministers are given arbitrary powers by the Bill in relation to citizenship, immigration and other matters. Now, he complained that there is no appeal to the court from the exercise of these powers. Does he suggest that every exercise of executive authority should be appealable to the courts? That would result, in effect, in having the country administered by judges which might not be such an Utopian state of affairs as the Honourable Member appears to think. It would certainly require a very substantial increase in the number of judges. It is also surprising that he should suggest this in view of his own statement that there is no appeal from the Federal Court, though this statement is, in fact, quite inaccurate. The Honourable Member appears to have overlooked Article 131 of the Constitution and Clause 22 (6) of the Bill, under which an appeal lies from the Federal Court to the Privy Council. And I would like to know how does the Honourable Member for Ipoh reconcile his statement that there is no legal remedy for the abuse of ministerial powers with his suggestion that the political appointment of judges would become more dangerous in the event of the Minister of Internal Security exercising his powers more, as he said, oppressively. In other words, his two statements cannot be reconciled. The Honourable Member for Ipoh, like the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat, has indeed at this meeting suffered from mental aberration.

Some Opposition Members also spoke on the subject of the Internal Security Act and repeated the same reasons as before as to why they oppose this Act. I can only repeat that this Act has been necessary in the Federation of Malaya so long as we have to face subversion, and it will be more necessary when Malaysia is established. No international body of jurists has condemned this Act as a denial of democratic principles. The

Member for Ipoh said that the Government is represented in the Singapore Security Council and that this Government has lent itself to the conspiracy of oppression in Singapore. I would like to remind the Honourable Member for Ipoh that whenever the Singapore Security Council takes action in the interests of the security of Singapore and the Federation, it always issues a lucid statement explaining its action, and I categorically deny that the Internal Security Council has ever conspired to oppress the people of Singapore.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok saya fikir dia tersalah sedikit bila dia mengatakan, dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu ada satu provision atau pun bab yang mengatakan ia-itu Jus Soli ada dalam negeri ini. Saya bachakan di-sini ia-itu yang mengatakan citizenship by operation of law:

"14 (1) (b) every person born within the Federation on or after Merdeka Day becomes a citizen by operation of law."

"(2) A person is not a citizen by virtue of paragraph (b) of Clause (1) (ia-itu, every person born within the Federation on or after Merdeka Day) if, at the time of his birth, his father not being a citizen of the Federation (ia-itu kata orang anggota) either of his parents was a citizen of the Federation and neither of them was a permanent resident therein."

Kemudian dia menyebutkan ia-itu kita mansuhkan Article 17 itu dengan alasan<sup>2</sup> yang mengatakan kita ini telah tersalah kelmarin tetapi saya sudah memberi tahu ia-itu Article 17 (2) dimansuhkan kerana tidak ada gunanya lagi kerana orang<sup>2</sup> yang akan dapat kera'ayatan di-bawah Article 17 (1) semua-nya sudah menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini. Kemudian dia mengatakan ia-itu dia ini terlalu menyenangkan orang<sup>2</sup> yang akan menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan melalui menjadi ra'ayat Singapura. Tetapi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu lupa ia-itu ra'ayat Malaysia yang menjadi ra'ayat dengan chara ra'ayat Singapura, hak<sup>2</sup> dia adalah berlainan dengan hak<sup>2</sup> orang yang dapat kera'ayatan Malaysia dengan tidak melalui ra'ayat Singapura. Ia-itu Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tentu-lah sudah dengar Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri yang saya kata ia-

itu corresponding rights tetapi hak<sup>2</sup>-nya berlainan daripada hak<sup>2</sup> orang yang menjadi ra'ayat Malaysia ini dengan tidak melalui ra'ayat Singapura. Dan lagi jika dia membaca Article 60 dia tentu-lah tidak keraguan oleh sebab dalam Article 60 itu ada kuasa bagi kita ia-itu menyekat freedom of movement of association, etc. Jadi di-fikirkan kepentingan ra'ayat Malaysia yang bukan menjadi ra'ayat dengan chara melalui kera'ayatan Singapura. Kita boleh menggunakan Article 60 supaya menjaga hak<sup>2</sup> kera'ayatan orang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia yang tidak menjadi ra'ayat Singapura.

Finally, the Honourable Member for Tanjong could not resist repeating the same tune that the power of security may diminish the democratic rights of the people in Singapore. It may diminish the activities of the communists and the pro-communists in Singapore—on that I agree with him. But as regards diminishing the democratic rights of the people in Singapore, I think he is talking through his hat. (*Applause*).

**The Prime Minister:** Mr Speaker, Sir, we have had a long debate on this particular Bill, and I do not want to go into details as there is not very much time left for the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister to sum up the whole proceedings. However, I will take the points which directly affect my own portfolio and I will deal them as briefly as I can.

In the first place, some Honourable Members of the Opposition have repeated time and again the same theme which they have taken up in this House. In particular, I would like to mention again that the Honourable Member for Ipoh who has kept on bringing up the question of special privileges of the Malays, or privileges which, he said, the Malays enjoy under the Constitution. So, apart from the monotonous statement being repeated time and again, I would like to say one thing, and that is that the Honourable Member chose to ignore the reasons I had given from time to time on this particular subject. In fact, apart from the privileges granted by Government, the Malays have obtained nothing at all from other business

houses or companies, or enterprises by way of any favour for the Malays. If at any time the Honourable Member can produce or show evidence that these other big businesses or other commercial houses have put in one Malay out of ten appointments, I am quite prepared to move that this rule be relaxed. I repeat, if he can prove that one job is given to a Malay in any of the business houses, I am quite prepared to relax the rule. I do not like to go through the same argument time and again, because I think it is a waste of time.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, if the Honourable Prime Minister will give way on a point of information—the Kulim Transport Company has given 40 per cent of its shares to the Malays and the whole of the taxi service of the Kulim Transport Company is now being run by the Malays which is more than one in ten.

**The Prime Minister:** That is a half-Malay company. What I am saying is that if there is a business house, or any company, which would offer a job to a Malay out of ten jobs offered to others, then I am prepared to relax the rule. There are other companies which have been formed with Malay capital . . . . . (*Interrupted*).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of information, the Kulim Transport Company was an entirely Chinese company, and it has now not only given 40 per cent of its shares to the Malays, but also the whole taxi section of that service which is now run by Malays who are working there—and, therefore, they are the employees and share-holders of the company as well.

**The Prime Minister:** Then, I can say that something is wrong with that company. (*Laughter*).

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order!

**The Prime Minister:** I have no opportunity to examine the case referred to, but I suspect something must be wrong with it, otherwise they would never have offered these to the Malays. However, as I have said, if there is an indication that others are

willing to make openings for Malays in their business houses, companies, and other places of employment, then I am prepared to relax this rule: this rule is not intended to discriminate against others but to provide opportunities for the Malays to correct the imbalance in the economic life of the country.

Sir, again, on the other side, we have the argument from the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party saying that with Merdeka the Malays have suffered, that with Malaysia there is no indication that the Malays will not suffer further. Beyond saying that, there is no proof at all, no evidence whatsoever, to support that contention. In the first place, they have never been able to say in what sense have the Malays lost, how have they lost and how, in the event of Malaysia coming into being, the Malays would lose. As far as we know from the feelings of the Malay population in this country, they appear to be satisfied, and they appear to be hopeful that, with the present Government and with Malaysia coming into being, there is greater prospect of the Malays getting a better livelihood—and apart from that, there is nothing else that I need answer in regard to the charges made by Honourable Members of the P.M.I.P., because they do not seem to have another theme on which to work, except that they are the sole protector of the Malays, though I do not see in what sense they are protecting the Malays, except their policy which if adopted, I think, the whole country will be plunged into bloodshed—and I pray the day will never come when they will have the power over the life and fate of this new nation.

I have been told that the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat brought up the question of Singapore Malays under the subject of privileges. He has suggested that Singapore Malays stand to lose—I stand to be corrected because I was not here, but it was reported to me that that was what he said. As regards the special privileges enjoyed by Singapore Malays, Singapore could make its own provisions for its own people without regard to race. On the other hand, if the Malays in Singapore

find that they want to enjoy privileges which have been reserved for Malays here, they have to move and seek residence in the Federation where the same privileges will be extended to them.

Sir, right through the debate mention has been made, and the House has been warned, of the danger that threatens Malaysia, and it has been suggested by the Honourable Member that if we go ahead with Malaysia we are asking for trouble. One thing I have said, and I repeat here—the idea of Malaysia is to prevent the outbreak, or to prevent trouble from spreading to the Federation of Malaya. If Malaysia does not come about, I think, the country is going to have trouble galore. If we are afraid of trouble, we will never have conceived the idea of Malaysia. And if trouble comes about, if trouble is made, or started, or agitated by those who, in any case, want to make trouble, by those who, due to outside influence, want to upset this Government, or to overthrow this Government, then we will make use of Clause 39 of the Bill, which deals with Article 150 of the Constitution, and by which there is provision which enables this Government to pass laws to deal with all these trouble-makers—and you can rest assured that we will not hesitate to do this, if people start to threaten, start to make trouble in Malaysia. Malaysia is not formed for the purpose of making trouble. It is formed for the purpose of keeping this country free from trouble—I repeat, free from trouble. I have explained, in the course of my speech, the intention behind Malaysia and, I think, there is no point in repeating as there is not much time for doing so. I am sure that with the combined efforts of the people of the territories of Malaysia and ourselves, we will be able to face any trouble that threatens us.

It was suggested—and I stand to be corrected again because I was not here—by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat that with this clause we could nullify whatever autonomy we may give to Singapore with regard to its right to control labour and education. I think I am right that this is not

the case. This clause is not intended to block nor to obscure Singapore's right to make provision for the peaceful development of its labour force, or for the education in their schools. This provision is intended only to deal with troubles, when troubles break out; it is intended for dealing with that element of the population which aims to disrupt the administration and the authority of the lawful Government of this country or of any State within the Federation of Malaysia. The Honourable Member seems to doubt the capability and responsibility of the Singapore Government, or of this Government to make proper use of this power, but, as I said, and I repeat it, that since we have been in power the Honourable Member has no ground for thinking that we will abuse the power that is given to us. If the Honourable Member will look into all these cases of detention, he will find that out of hundreds and thousands of those who have different views from us, who entertain a different political ideology, the number of people who are detained, or rather in detention today, is no more than about 70—if I am not mistaken. He will know that we know how to use our power and use it justly.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification—it might appear from the Prime Minister's statement that because 17 people are in detention, which is not correct . . . . .

**The Prime Minister:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I said "70" . . . . .

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I have something more to add. Over several hundred detainees have been released in the last twelve months on conditions which will not allow them to take part in politics or trade union activities, and on condition that they should report to the Police every month or so. It is this restrictive measure which creates the atmosphere that prevents freedom of discussion.

**The Prime Minister:** Well, Sir, the reason is obvious: it is because those who have been detained were detained for very different reasons—and if they are allowed to come out of detention to

start all over again, then we will never have peace in the country. For that reason their political activities have been restricted, and there is good ground for it. I do not wish to go into this any further, because there is not much time, and the Honourable Member will start jumping up again. (*Laughter*).

Sir, on the question of the appointment of judges—this matter has been raised by the Honourable Member for Ipoh, because he feels that there will be political interference, if the Prime Minister is allowed to make his recommendation to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for the appointment of a judge, and this matter has also been insinuated by the Honourable Member for Bachok—he has charged that because of the influence that the Prime Minister has over judges, there is a danger of a judge going to consult the Prime Minister before presiding over a case, and he has given as an instance the case which has just been held recently, where a person was charged in court for defamation of character or slander. This is a serious charge to make because, as far as I know, under the present Constitution of the Federation, the Prime Minister is to advise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on the appointment of a judge, but never, at any time, have I interfered with or brought my influence to bear on a judge; and I do not think that any Prime Minister, in his right sense, would interfere, as once that happens there will be no more law and order in this country; there will be no respect for the court and the whole institution of law in this country will be made a mockery. The Honourable Member can rest assured that with Malaysia, under Clause 17 of this Bill, before tendering his advice to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Prime Minister is bound to have consultations all along the line and also with the Conference of Rulers. So, Sir, it is obvious from here that the Prime Minister cannot appoint anybody according to his whims and fancies, and the charge that he might bring his influence to bear is absolutely groundless and not supported by facts. If the Honourable Member for Bachok could give some information as to how he came to this view,

I will be very pleased indeed, because it is a very serious thing to make charges in this House without giving any ground.

Sir, it was also alleged in the course of this debate that the Conference of Rulers had never been consulted about this Bill or about Malaysia. That is completely untrue. The Rulers have all along been in the picture: they have been briefed from the 31st May, 1962; again at the 31st meeting of the Conference of Rulers, again after the Cobbold Commission had made its report; it was discussed at the 62nd meeting. Malaysia was brought up at the 63rd meeting; it was again discussed at the 64th meeting, and again at the 65th meeting; and lastly, at the last meeting of the Conference of Rulers, when the whole of this Bill was explained to them by our Attorney-General and those concerned with this Bill. Therefore, there was no ground for saying that the Rulers have not been consulted and brought into the picture. They are well aware of what has been going on and they have given their approval to it.

Sir, on the whole, the debate has been keenly fought, on the one side by those who support the Bill and on the other by those who oppose it. However, no Opposition Member has at any time suggested that Malaysia is not a good thing. The Opposition Members have objected to this Bill and to Malaysia on the ground that we are rushing through with it and, therefore, have incurred the displeasure of our neighbours from across the sea. They can give, in fact, no valid reason why Malaysia should be opposed by our neighbours from across the sea. What it has to do with them, I do not know, and they have failed to explain matters to me. If matters in one country should be the concern of another, then I think what is happening in another country is also our concern, but we prefer to leave it to them to deal with themselves in the way they think fit—and I hope they will do the same with us instead of interfering with our affairs.

The unfortunate trend in the debate over Malaysia is that some of the views expressed by Honourable Members

final. The appointment of the assessor is to be made in such a way as will ensure that he is not subject to political pressure, thus minimising the danger foreseen by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat.

Before I sit down I would like to congratulate the Honourable Member for Bruas on his sterling speech. It is clear from his speech that he has put national interests before personal interests, and that speech has also exhibited, if I may say so, that he has a very high sense of public duty (*Applause*). If I may also say so, I think that I did detect from his speech that he would like to join our Party, and if my assumption is correct—I think my colleagues share this view—we will certainly welcome him (*Applause*).

**The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak):** Mr Speaker, Sir, we have had a very long debate extending over four days and we on this side of the House have listened with considerable patience to Members of the Opposition. I think it is obvious, as my colleague the Honourable Minister of Internal Security has said, that our concept of Malaysia is different from that of the Opposition, and I wish to state here that we stand by our own concept of Malaysia and we are determined to see it through.

My Honourable colleagues here—the Honourable the Prime Minister, the Minister of Internal Security and the Minister of Finance—have replied to a number of points raised by the members of the Opposition, but as the debate lasted for a number of days I must take a good deal of the time of the House to reply to the remaining points raised.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang pertamanya saya suka hendak menjawab wakil dari Besut. Bagi pihak Kerajaan Persekutuan tidak-lah hairan bahawa Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dan parti PAS ada-lah menentang Malaysia, sebab mereka itu sentiasa mengikut dasar yang sempit dan tidak memandang kepada gambaran yang sa-benarnya—gambaran siasah yang ada di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan juga

di-negara<sup>2</sup> yang berjiran dengan Tanah Melayu dan juga gambaran bagi seluruh Tenggara Asia ini. Saperti Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri telah terangkan bahawa tujuan kita hendak menubuhkan Malaysia ini ialah hendak mengadakan keamanan dan kesenangan bagi penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> ini, sebab tujuan utama-nya ia-lah hendak memberi kemerdekaan kepada negara<sup>2</sup> Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak yang pada masa ini di-bawah penjajahan. Saperti juga Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah menerangkan, jikalau kita mengikut dasar yang sempit dan sentiasa memandang kebelakang dan tidak memandang ka-hadapan ta' dapat tiada kita akan menghadapi kesukaran dan akan menghadapi bahaya pada masa akan datang. Jadi dengan sebab itu pada fikiran saya tidak payah-lah saya terangkan lebeh lanjut lagi atas perkara ini, kerana saperti kata Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri sejarah-lah yang boleh menentukan sama ada pihak Perikatan benar atau tidak benar dalam rancangan hendak menubuhkan Malaysia kerana Kerajaan Persekutuan yakin bahawa dengan ada-nya Malaysia ini dapat-lah di-adakan keamanan, ketenteraman dan kema'moran di-negara<sup>2</sup> yang mengandongi di-dalam-nya.

Ada satu perkara berkaitan dengan ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat itu; saya sebutkan di-sini, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu pada fikiran saya ada-lah terkeliru sedikit apabila Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berkata yang party PAS sokong Maphilindo, tetapi tidak sokong Malaysia. Tadi telah di-terangkan oleh beberapa orang Ahli Yang Berhormat dan juga Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tanah Merah dan lain<sup>2</sup> ia-itu Malaya—Tanah Melayu ini dan juga Malaysia ada-lah dalam Maphilindo dan tidak munasabah-lah yang kita sokong Maphilindo dan tidak menyokong Malaysia. Ahli Yang Berhormat patut juga ingat bahawa tujuan hendak menubuhkan Maphilindo atau pun tujuan Maphilindo ini ia-lah supaya negara<sup>2</sup> yang tiga ini ia-itu Philipina, Indonesia dan Tanah Melayu mengadakan hubungan yang rapat di-antara satu sama lain dengan tidak mengurangkan kedaulatan negara<sup>2</sup> itu, dan

allocation of seats in the Federal Parliament, as regards Sabah and Sarawak we have decided to be fair to them, because although their population alone does not warrant such representation, their territories are vast and their potentialities are great. Both Sabah and Sarawak have large areas of land which have not been developed. Because of all these factors, because of the large areas of these territories to which we must give due weight, and because of their great potentialities which we also have to give due weight, we decided to give them the representation as indicated in Clause 9 of the Bill, that is to say, 16 members from Sabah and 24 from Sarawak. Also, this very fair proportion of representation in our Parliament would show to the peoples of these two territories and to the world that we would like them to have a real say in the administration of our new country, and that we would like them to feel that they have a real part to play in our new nation. These territories are separated from us here by hundreds of miles and it is important to make them feel that they are close to us and that we also regard them as close to us.

As regards Singapore, it has been explained on a number of occasions, but it is necessary for me to repeat again here, that because Singapore has a considerable measure of internal self-government and local autonomy, the number of their representation on Central Government must accordingly be reduced. Therefore, it was considered reasonable that they should have only 15 seats in the Federal Parliament and this was accepted by the Government of Singapore.

Now, Sir, as regards the National Language, it is our policy to make Malay the National Language. In the present Federation of Malaya, we have made considerable progress in spreading the use of Malay in our schools, in the Government departments, and in our everyday life. When we achieved independence, we set a target date of ten years for making Malay the National Language. Therefore, it is only fair that in the case of the new terri-

tories, we should also give them the same period, that is to say, ten years before they are forced to make up their minds to make Malay the sole National Language. There is certainly no valid reason for the argument that because we here use Malay and for a short period, the people in the Borneo territories and Singapore use English, we become a second-class country cousins. Malay as our National Language will be given the importance that it requires and will in due course be far more important and of greater use to us in this country than English.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh and, I think, the Honourable Member for Bachok, alleged that there were no special rights for the Malays in Singapore. Under Clause 68 of the Bill, it is expressly provided that nothing in Article 8 (2) or Article 12 (1) of the Constitution shall prohibit or invalidate any provision of State law for the advancement of Malays. As is clearly stated in the explanatory statement to the Bill, State law in Singapore can make additional provisions for the advancement of Malays and can continue the special additional privileges now given to them by Singapore law.

Furthermore, Article 160 (2) Interpretation of the Constitution is amended by Clause 70 of the Sixth Schedule to the Bill, so that the definition of "Malay" will apply to Malays born in Singapore as it applies to Malays born in the existing Federation. Therefore, consequently, Singapore Malays will be able to enjoy the special rights in the Federation in the same way as the Malays in the Federation can. Therefore, there is no truth whatsoever in the Honourable Member's allegation that the Malays in Singapore, though a minority, are not being given special rights.

In his speech the Honourable Member for Ipoh made his usual impatient plea for equality of people and accused the Alliance Government of sacrificing principle on the altar of expediency. I would like to remind the Honourable Member that Malaya and Malaysia are countries with special conditions. We have people of different racial origins, we have so many different languages,

we have so many different types of schools. In the same way in the Borneo territories there are different races and different languages. The native races are far less advanced than the immigrant races. Therefore, under those circumstances, it is desirable in the interest of peace and stability of the country that the less well advanced members of our community should be given special treatment to enable them to level up with the more advanced and the more fortunate members of our community. As has been explained in this House on many occasions, the Malays who form the majority of the people in Malaya are economically backward and are educationally less advanced than the other races. Therefore, it is a matter of fundamental principle for the sake of peace and stability and happiness of our country that we should provide special opportunities for the Malays to enable them to double up in order to catch up with the other more advanced races. It is all very well to talk about high-sounding principles but such doctrinaire principles should be modified to suit the special conditions of our country and it is only by doing this that we shall be able to establish a united, happy and contented people which is the aim of the Alliance Government. In the same way, because the Borneo territories, Sabah and Sarawak, are less advanced than the other States of the Federation, we are giving them certain safeguards in order to allay the fears and anxieties of the peoples of those territories that they would not be dominated or exploited and that by joining Malaysia their interests would be fully safeguarded.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh spoke of outbreak of violence because we are suppressing and oppressing the people of Singapore. This is certainly untrue and, if I may say so, the words used are unfortunate. The terms of Singapore's entry into Malaysia were agreed to by the elected Government of Singapore and they have been fair. On the other hand, if we have not fitted in everybody in the way we did and if we do not assure the less fortunate members of our

people a rightful place in the new set-up we may be heading for trouble and for outbreak of violence as suggested by the Honourable Member.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh, I think, the Honourable Member for Dato Keramat and a few other Honourable Members spoke on the question of immigration. I shall have a lot to say on this when I move the second reading of the Immigration Bill after this Bill has been read a third time. For the moment, it would suffice for me to say that from our discussions with representatives of the Borneo territories—and indeed from our discussions with a cross-section of the people of those territories both in their own area as well as when they visited this country—we were convinced that they have a genuine fear and anxiety over immigration. They fear that because of the small size of their population in relation to the size of their territories their rights and their interests would be swamped by people from other parts of Malaysia, if after Malaysia we allow an unrestricted movement of people from other parts of Malaysia. Therefore, in order to allay these fears and anxieties, we are making special provisions to protect them against unrestricted movement of people from the other parts of the Federation. It is true that in one sovereign independent State these restrictions of movement do not appear very desirable, but it should be appreciated that Malaysia is a Federation of States and that the new States of the Borneo territories decided to enter the Federation out of their own free-will. Therefore, to some extent, we must respect their wishes and must understand their fears and anxieties. We hope in the course of time when they have become more closely integrated with us, when their representatives have sat with us in this House, and their officers have worked with us in the Central Government in the Federal Departments, when their fears and anxieties will have faded away, then some of these provisions might not appear necessary and that they themselves would agree to do away with those provisions. It should, however, be made clear that we are only giving

protection to the citizens of these territories and if it is found that in carrying out development work they require labourers, skilled and unskilled, from outside their territories, it is clearly within the power of the Central Government to see that those labourers come from other parts of Malaysia and not from outside. Also, there are provisions in the Immigration Bill which give exceptions to those persons who have duties to perform in the territories to go there without any restriction.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Dato Keramat and the Honourable Member for Kelantan Hilir spoke about Section 39 which proposes an amendment to Article 150 of the Constitution. I should make it clear that it is the Government of the country who should be responsible for deciding when a state of Emergency exists, it is the Government who is responsible for the safety and the welfare of the people who should decide when conditions justify the declaration of Emergency. The Government has to govern in all conditions of Emergency and not necessarily when a war has been declared, or when there is an external aggression or an internal disturbance. Under modern conditions, security of the country and the economic life of the people may be seriously threatened without an overt form of aggression or actual war. Therefore, there must be a provision to enable Government under those conditions of emergency to govern the country, to protect the security and the lives of the people—it is clear in the provisions of Article 150 that there must be a grave emergency threatening the economic life and this is not a matter which Government can take lightly. Here, I can assure the Honourable Member for Bachok that the provisions of this Article are clear. As he said, we, the Government is responsible for governing this country. There may be an occasion where an Emergency will have to be declared to protect the lives and security of the people when there is no actual war or aggression.

The Honourable Member for Kelantan Hilir spoke on a number of legal issues which I must say with respect

to him as a member of the learned profession, I find it difficult to understand. He has contended that we have no power under the Constitution to admit any new State but can only annex a territory to the existing Federation. It is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that under Article 2 of the Constitution Parliament may by law admit other States into the Federation. It is under this very short and very clear provision of the Constitution that we are admitting these three States into the Federation. He also has alleged that we must consult the Rulers individually.

**Wan Mustapha bin Haji Ali (Kelantan Hilir):** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification—is it not a fact that convention is part of the law too and that before the coming into force of Malaysia Bill, the various States and the various Rulers should be consulted when there is a big issue? Malaysia is a big issue, and I think that the Honourable and learned Deputy Prime Minister, being a lawyer, knows that convention is just like a law—and this is written by the Commission before the last 1957 agreement in which it was stated, as I told the House the other day, that the States and the Rulers should be consulted. Article 2 of the Constitution says, “Parliament may by law admit other States to the Federation”, but by convention, just as in the case of the formation of the Malayan Union where the Sultans were consulted by Sir Edward Gent, the various States and Rulers should be consulted. Let us take an example in that the Prime Minister wants to admit Communist China—what happens? Can you make use of Article 2 here? (*Laughter*).

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, we can have a convention when there is no law. In this case there is clear provision of the law. I would like to say, as the Honourable Prime Minister had explained, the Conference of Rulers had been consulted on more than five occasions on the question of Malaysia—and there is clear provision that we consult the Conference of Rulers, and the Conference of Rulers has been constituted

under Chapter 2, Part IV, of the Constitution. I should, therefore, like to make it clear that in proposing Malaysia, the Government had carried out all necessary consultations. There is no necessity to consult every citizen of the country, because the citizens of the country are represented in this House by democratic process in Parliament, and Parliament as I said had been consulted.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Kelantan Hilir has also mentioned that although there are constitutional safeguards in the Bill for the new States of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, there are no safeguards for the existing States of the Federation. The position is clear in that there is no change in the constitutional position of the present States of the Federation, but the new States have certain safeguards which we agreed they should have—Singapore because of the special position of its entry into the Federation, and Sabah and Sarawak because they are new and they have certain disadvantages and the fact that they are separated from the present Federation and from us by thousands of miles.

Sir, like my Honourable colleague, the Minister of Finance, I welcome the very moderate, very sensible and reasonable speech of the Honourable Member for Bruas. The Honourable Member says that he supports the Bill and supports the policy of the Alliance Government, because he considers the Alliance Government is carrying out a fair, sensible and right policy. We, in the Government, and the Alliance Party as a whole, greatly welcome the support and the understanding shown by the Honourable Member. (*Applause*). This clearly shows that anyone who reasons things out carefully, and anyone who, as the Honourable the Minister of Finance says, has the interests and welfare of the people and of the country at heart, appreciates that what the Alliance Government is doing is right and that Malaysia is a right step forward in the interest of the future peace and security of this country.

However, the Honourable Member has mentioned that the proposed immigration law restricts the mobility of labour to the new territories. This to some extent is true, but it only restricts mobility of labour to the extent that there is not enough labour in that territory. If the new territories require labour for development, and as labour is scarce in those territories, obviously they will have to be provided from other parts of Malaysia. Therefore, there will be opportunities in Malaysia not only for the people of those territories but also peoples of other parts of Malaysia. There will be bigger areas to develop and more industries, and there will be expanded opportunities. On this subject, I would like to correct a misconception of the Honourable Member for Kelantan Hilir in that 50 per cent of the labour required by the Borneo territories will have to come from Singapore. What was agreed is that because Singapore will be giving a loan to the extent of \$150 million, free of interest, for five years, if an assessor, who will be appointed, considers that there is economic growth in Singapore, then it will be free of interest for another five years; if there is no labour available in the territories than labour must be brought from other parts of Malaysia and 50 per cent of that labour would come from Singapore. This only refers to development projects carried out from loan money provided by Singapore.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Bachok has alleged that in the Bill we have dropped the words "Malay State". In the present Constitution also we have not used the word "Malay"; we say "The States of the Federation". So, we have not introduced any new thing. However, I would like to say now that it is not a question of the ownership of the country. We are now an independent nation and the whole country belongs to us—to the Rulers and the people who are the citizens of this country.

Again, Sir, the Honourable Member has also brought up the question of consultation with the Rulers. I think

the Honourable Prime Minister has replied adequately on that point.

Now, Sir, on the subject of Article 38 in regard to the extension of religious acts and observance of ceremonies to Sabah and Sarawak, we, Sir, have accepted in our Constitution that although Islam is the religion of the Federation as a whole—and this is accepted by Sabah and Sarawak—religion is a State matter and, therefore, we cannot impose religious matters on any State; Their Highnesses the Rulers want and we have agreed to let religion remain a State matter, and that is why all religious matters are matters for the State and it is not for us to impose the Central Government's wishes on the State. It is the wish of the people of Sarawak and Sabah that Clause (7) of Article 38 shall not apply to them.

Now, Sir, a number of Honourable Members have alleged that because certain arrangements have been made, we have departed from the principle of a strong Central Government. We have not done so. We have, as I have explained, made certain special arrangements in certain cases in order to meet the special circumstances in some of the new States, but we still uphold the principle of a strong Central Government.

There is now only one last point. The Honourable Member for Bachok has mentioned that because there is no direct election for the representatives of Sabah and Sarawak, those people who sit in our Parliament have no right to represent the people of these territories. But, Sir, in these two territories, they have a different method of election—they have an indirect method of election to the Legislative Assemblies of the two territories and members are indirectly elected; therefore, they are the elected representatives of the people of those two territories.

Sir, the terms of entry of the new States into Malaysia, as stated in the Bill, are fair and reasonable. We have to allow certain safeguards to the two territories of Sabah and Sarawak, because of their special position and because of the fact that they are less developed than the existing States of the Federation. We have also to assist them in whatever way we can to see that they are able to come up to the level of development that we have in the Federation. They have their resources and considerable potentialities. It may be, in the initial years to come, we will have to assist them, but with their resources and potentialities they will be able to stand on their own feet before long. We are convinced, Sir, that the benefits derived from the establishment of Malaysia will go not only to the new States but to all States, both old and new. In Malaysia we have a bigger area, a bigger population and greater potentialities, and it will be seen that we will have a greater market for our industries. There is no doubt that with the establishment of Malaysia and the common market to which we have agreed, Singapore will greatly benefit. But it will be the duty of the Central Government to see to it that prosperity which is generated as a result of Malaysia will flow fairly and evenly to all parts of the country, so that our people of all races, wherever they may be—in the town, in the village, in the longhouse and in the kampong—will be able to share in the prosperity, the peace and happiness of our new nation. Let us, therefore, pray to God for his blessings, so that this new nation will be established in an atmosphere of peace, goodwill and understanding, and that our people of all races will be united in order to make this new nation a happy place for us all and for our children to live in in years to come. (*Applause*).

Question put: the House divided:  
Ayes 73; Noes 16; Abstentions—Nil.

AYES

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra  
Al-Haj  
Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato'  
Hussain  
Dato' Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji  
Abdul Rahman

Enche' Tan Siew Sin  
Dato' V. T. Sambanthan  
Dato' Suleiman bin Dato' Haji  
Abdul Rahman  
Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin  
Enche' Mohamed Khir bin Johari  
Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin  
Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji  
Tali

Dr Lim Swee Aun  
 Capt. Haji Abdul Hamid Khan  
 bin Haji Sakhawat Ali Khan  
 Enche' Cheah Theam Swee  
 Enche' V. Manickavasagam  
 Tuan Haji Abdul Khalid bin  
 Awang Osman  
 Enche' Mohamed Ismail bin  
 Mohamed Yusof  
 Enche' Abdul Ghani bin Ishak  
 Enche' Abdul Rauf bin  
 Abdul Rahman  
 Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji  
 Husin  
 Enche' Abdul Samad bin Osman  
 Toh Muda Haji Abdullah bin  
 Haji Abdul Raof  
 Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Mohd.  
 Salleh  
 Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad  
 Enche' Ahmad bin Mohamed  
 Shah  
 Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid  
 Enche' Ahmad bin Haji Yusof  
 Tuan Haji Azahari bin Haji  
 Ibrahim  
 Enche' Aziz bin Ishak  
 Enche' Chan Chong Wen  
 Enche' Chan Siang Sun

Enche' Chin See Yin  
 Datin Fatimah binti Haji Hashim  
 Enche' Geh Chong Keat  
 Enche' Hamzah bin Alang  
 Enche' Hanafi bin Mohd. Yunus  
 Enche' Harun bin Abdullah  
 Enche' Hasan bin Mansor  
 Enche' Hussein bin To' Muda  
 Hassan  
 Enche' Hussein bin Mohd.  
 Noordin  
 Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul  
 Rahman  
 Enche' Ismail bin Idris  
 Enche' Ismail bin Haji Kassim  
 Enche' Kang Kock Seng  
 Enche' Lee San Choon  
 Enche' Lee Seck Fun  
 Enche' Lee Siok Yew  
 Enche' Lim Joo Kong  
 Enche' T. Mahima Singh  
 Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang  
 Enche' Mohamed Abbas bin  
 Ahmad  
 Enche' Mohamed Nor bin  
 Mohd. Dahan  
 Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin  
 Mahmud

Tuan Haji Mokhtar bin Haji  
 Ismail  
 Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah  
 Enche' Othman bin Abdullah  
 Enche' Quek Kai Dong  
 Tuan Haji Redza bin Haji Mohd.  
 Said  
 Enche' Seah Teng Ngiab  
 Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee  
 Tuan Syed Hashim bin Syed  
 Ajam  
 Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan  
 Albar  
 Enche' Tajudin bin Ali  
 Enche' Tan Cheng Bee  
 Enche' Tan Tye Chek  
 Tengku Besar Indra Raja ibni  
 Sultan Ibrahim  
 Dato' Teoh Chze Chong  
 Wan Sulaiman bin Wan Tam  
 Wan Yahya bin Haji Wan  
 Mohamed  
 Enche' Yahaya bin Haji Ahmad  
 Enche' Yong Woo Ming  
 Puan Hajjah Zain binti Sulaiman  
 Tuan Haji Zakaria bin Haji  
 Mohd. Taib

## NOES

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah  
 Dr Burhanuddin bin Mohd. Noor  
 Enche' Harun bin Pilus  
 Tuan Haji Hassan bin Haji  
 Ahmad  
 Tuan Haji Hussin Rahimi bin  
 Haji Saman

Enche' K. Karam Singh  
 Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek  
 Enche' Lim Kean Siew  
 Enche' Liu Yoong Peng  
 Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji  
 Muda

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah bin  
 Haji Abdul Ghani  
 Enche' Ng Ann Teck  
 Enche' Tan Phock Kin  
 Enche' V. Veerappen  
 Wan Mustapha bin Haji Ali  
 Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad

## ABSTENTIONS

Nil

Question accordingly agreed to.  
 Bill accordingly read a second time.

## SELECT COMMITTEE

## (Motion)

**Enche' Tan Phock Kin:** Mr Chairman, Sir, in view of the importance of the Bill and to allow a whole examination of the Bill by Members of the Government as well as Members of the Opposition, I beg leave to move under S.O. 54 that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

**Wan Mustapha bin Haji Ali:** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and negatived.

**Enche' K. Karam Singh:** Sir, can we have a division on that Question? *(Laughter)*.

**Mr Speaker:** Since there are only two minutes more, I think it is a good time to adjourn the meeting to ten o'clock a.m. tomorrow.

*Adjourned at 6.28 p.m.*