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**Tuesday,**  
**28th May, 1963**

# **PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**

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

**OFFICIAL REPORT**

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DI-CHETAK DI-JABATAN CHETAK KERAJAAN  
OLEH THOR BENG CHONG, A.M.N., PENCHETAK KERAJAAN  
KUALA LUMPUR

1963

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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*Tuesday, 28th May, 1963*

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR,  
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 of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI  
JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ 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 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).

- The Honourable 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. (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).
- .. 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).
- .. ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT (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).
- .. 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).
- .. 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).
- .. ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).
- .. ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON (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).

- The Honourable 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).
- .. TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- .. NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- .. ENCHE' NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- .. ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- .. ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- .. ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- .. ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- .. 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. (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 TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- .. TENGKU BESAR INDRA RAJA IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN IBRAHIM, D.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- .. ENCHE' TOO JOON HING (Telok Anson).
- .. ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- .. WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).
- .. WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).
- .. ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).
- .. ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- .. ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
- .. PUAN HAJAH 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 the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Muar Selatan).
- .. the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- .. ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM (Setapak).
- .. DR BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- .. ENCHE' V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- .. DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).

- The Honourable TUAN HAJI HASAN ADLI BIN HAJI ARSHAD  
(Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI HASSAN BIN HAJI AHMAD (Tumpat).
- „ CHE' KHADJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED DAHARI BIN HAJI MOHD. ALI  
(Kuala Selangor).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Barat).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY  
MR SPEAKER

**Mr Speaker:** Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat, hari ini ia-lah hari akhir, ia-itu hari yang ketiga pada membahathkan usul berkenaan dengan Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong pada Parlimen. Di-dalam perbahathan dua hari ini banyak-lah perkara<sup>2</sup> telah timbul yang di-bahathkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat 'am-nya dan khas-nya daripada pehak<sup>2</sup> Pembangkang. Maka dengan sebab itu saya perchaya dan mustahak dan menjadi wajib pada pehak<sup>2</sup> Kementerian, ia-itu Yang Berhormat Menteri<sup>2</sup>, akan menjawab segala perkara<sup>2</sup> yang di-bangkitkan di-dalam perbahathan ini. Maka oleh memandangkan masa-nya sangat suntok dan hari ini-lah hari yang penghabisan, saya terpaksa merayu kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat yang hendak berchakap pada pagi ini supaya berchakap sa-berapa pendek, dan kalau boleh, jangan-lah di-ulang<sup>2</sup>kan perkara<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-sebut<sup>2</sup> di-dalam perbahathan dua hari dahulu. Maka dengan jalan itu sahaja-lah dapat saya memberi peluang—kerana saya suka hendak beri peluang—kapada tiap<sup>2</sup> Ahli yang hendak berchakap boleh dapat masa ber-

chakap pada pagi ini. Itu-lah sahaja yang saya hendak chakapkan. Saya merayu-lah kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat berchakap lebeh pendek dan tepat atas maudzo' yang ada ini.

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad (Bachok):** Satu rayuan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Oleh kerana masa yang di-untokkan tiga hari itu telah di-gunakan 2½ jam membahath perkara cholera, dapat-kah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memikirkan supaya persidangan ini di-lanjutkan pada malam ini bagi membolehkan sedikit lagi peluang waktu bagi Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat mengemukakan fikiran mereka?

**Mr Speaker:** Saya suka menarek perhatian Ahli Majlis ini ia-itu ada tersebut dalam Standing Rules and Orders, kalau kita tempohkan Majlis ini dalam dua jam, Tuan Speaker boleh—dia kata “may” dia tidak kata “shall”; kalau tuan<sup>2</sup> bacha Standing Order itu dia kata boleh memberi lanjut masa-nya perbahathan itu sa-lama masa yang di-ambil kerana membahathkan atas perkara<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu yang telah di-persetujukan supaya di-tempohkan Majlis ini. Saya telah berfikir panjang dalam perkara ini. Tetapi lebeh dahulu daripada saya menetapkan sama ada kita akan berbahath lagi sa-lepas pukul 6.30 petang ini, saya akan beritahu kelak sa-lepas saya bermeshuarat dengan pehak Kerajaan.

## MOTION

### THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

#### Address of Thanks

Order read for resumption of debate on Question:

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as follows:

'Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat of the Federation of Malaya in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the Fifth Session of Parliament has been opened.'";

with amendment by Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad to delete the full-stop and add at the end the following words:

"but regrets that the Gracious Speech does not mention specific and effective steps and plans to assist Malays in commerce and Industry and does not specify the efforts and plans of His Majesty's Government to wipe out colonialism in the four Malay provinces in Southern Thailand by peaceful means."

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kota Bharu Hilir):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak berchakap di-dalam perkara buroh dan saya telah terangkan bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan telah tidak menunaikan janji<sup>2</sup>-nya terhadap orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-dalam perkara buroh kerana sa-bagaimana keterangan<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-jelaskan bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-kampong<sup>2</sup> hingga sampai sekarang ini maseh menghadapi kehidupan di-dalam azab dan sangsara kerana tidak mendapat pekerjaan. Sekarang saya akan berchakap di-dalam perkara Trade and Commerce ia-itu berkenaan dengan perdagangan dan perusahaan ia-lah satu perkara yang sangat penting bagi sa-suatu bangsa yang hendak hidup maju di-dalam dunia ini, tetapi di-dalam lapangan ini di-dapati orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita sangat<sup>2</sup> mundur.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita maseh ingat lagi bahawa Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman di-dalam Dewan yang mulia ini pada tahun yang lalu tatkala menjawab wakil Ipoh beruchap bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu mem-

punyai kelemahan di-dalam perdagangan dan perusahaan dan pekerjaan bahkan sa-ratus peratus perdagangan dan perusahaan di-dalam negeri ini di-punyai oleh bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah langkah yang concrete yang telah dibuat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan untuk menolong orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam bahagian ini? Saya rasa sampai sekarang ini belum ada lagi satu langkah yang boleh di-tunjokkan kepada ra'ayat bahawa yang Kerajaan Perikatan telah menjalankan kewajipan-nya. Chuma kita dapati, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan sa-lama ini melantek satu komiti dari masa ka-samasa untuk menyelidekki di-atas soal ini, tetapi apa-kah yang sudah di-buat-nya—nampak-nya tidak satu apa pun yang boleh di-tunjokkan kepada ra'ayat. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kemundoran mereka dalam perkara perusahaan dan perdagangan sa-bagaimana saya terangkan kelmarin terdiri daripada dua sebab, pertama kerana tidak ada modal atau capital, kedua experiences atau pengalaman. Ini-lah dua perkara sebab-nya yang telah menjatohkan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-dalam medan perdagangan dan perusahaan. Tetapi apa-kah Kerajaan Perikatan telah mengambil tindakan untuk hendak menolong orang Melayu di-dalam dua segi ini? Kita tahu beberapa banyak ahli<sup>2</sup> perdagangan dan perusahaan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu meminta pinjaman wang daripada Malayan Industrial Development Fund, tetapi permintaan itu di-tolak. Perkara ini saya telah bangkitkan di-dalam Rumah ini, tetapi buat bangsa asing bank<sup>2</sup> dalam Tanah Melayu ini telah menyokong dengan memberikan hutang<sup>2</sup> kepada bangsa asing lebeh kurang 6 juta ringgit pada tahun yang lalu. Apa-kah sebab-nya orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak di-beri pinjaman wang supaya dapat membolehkan mereka itu masuk ka-medan perdagangan dan perusahaan? Kita selalu membacha report<sup>2</sup> bagi langkah<sup>2</sup> yang di-ambil oleh bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing saperti Pakistan, India dan lain<sup>2</sup> negeri lagi di-atas tindakan<sup>2</sup> buat menyokong bangsa mereka dan dengan akuan dari Kerajaan di-suroh mana<sup>2</sup> bank memberikan hutang atau pinjaman dengan chara short term, medium term dan long term, tetapi kepada orang<sup>2</sup>

Melayu apa-kah yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan. Bahkan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang saya sebutkan tadi telah mendirikan bank<sup>2</sup> untuk memberi pinjaman wang kepada ahli<sup>2</sup> perdagangan dan mereka mengadakan Technical Institute untuk mengajarkan chara bagaimana hendak menjalankan perusahaan dan perdagangan yang baik sa-hingga di-berikan kepada mereka itu chon-toh<sup>2</sup> barang<sup>2</sup> yang baik yang di-import dari negeri luar yang lebeh maju di-dalam perdagangan dan perusahaan supaya dapat di-pelajari. Tetapi apa-kah Kerajaan Perikatan telah buat kepada bangsa kita sekarang ini? Tidak ada satu perkara yang boleh ditunjokkan kepada ra'ayat bahawa Kerajaan telah menunaikan kewajiban mereka terhadap orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-dalam lapangan perniagaan. Saya telah bangkitkan perkara kain batek Kelantan yang telah memberi kerja kepada berpuluh<sup>2</sup> ribu manusia mencari makan daripada perusahaan ini. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kemasokan kain batek daripada negeri Siam yang begitu banyak dengan harga yang murah sekarang ini maka perusahaan kain batek di negeri Kelantan itu telah mengalami kesusahan. Saya telah berchakap di-dalam Rumah ini meminta Kerajaan supaya di-beri protection kepada perusahaan batek itu, tetapi apa-kah jawab-nya—Kerajaan Perikatan sa-hingga sekarang ini belum dapat membuat satu definition untuk membolehkan Kerajaan memberi protection kepada perusahaan kain batek yang di-jalankan oleh orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-negeri Kelantan itu. Di-sini berma'ana bahawa satu Kerajaan yang begitu besar yang mempunyai pakar<sup>2</sup> tidak dapat membuat satu definition untuk memberi protection kain batek di-sana. Chuma kita dengar banyak daripada Menteri<sup>2</sup> yang telah membeli sher<sup>2</sup> dan banyak pula Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat daripada pehak Perikatan yang telah menjadi manager bank<sup>2</sup> dan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang besar<sup>2</sup>. Ini-lah barangkali hasil polisi Kerajaan Perikatan untuk menjayakan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya mengambil bahagian berchakap ber-

kenaan dengan pertanian. Di-dalam perkara pertanian baharu<sup>2</sup> ini kita mendengar Menteri Pertanian yang baharu, berkata bahawa ia akan menggalakkan tanaman anggor di-dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Ini ada-lah satu rancangan barangkali pada fikiran-nya akan memberi faedah kepada negeri ini, barangkali agak-nya satu daripada rancangan diversification untuk memperbanyakkan bahan<sup>2</sup> ekonomi di-dalam negeri ini. Saya suka-lah memberi ingatan kepada Menteri itu bahawa ada-lah buah itu ia-lah buah temperate zone ia-itu buah negeri sejok, lebeh baik-lah ia menghabiskan masa-nya untuk memikirkan dan memajukan perusahaan pertanian seperti tanaman kelapa dan lain<sup>2</sup> lagi yang mana boleh memajukan dalam negeri kita ini sabagai negeri yang tropical atau berhawa panas, kerana kalau kita hendak menchuba menanam buah kurma daripada Timor Tengah di-sini, sudah tentu tidak akan maju. Demikian-lah juga kalau kita hendak menanam buah apple dan anggor di-dalam Tanah Melayu ini tetap-lah usaha itu akan rugi sahaja dan terkandas.

Saya fikir kalau sa-kira-nya tanaman pokok<sup>2</sup> di-dalam negeri<sup>2</sup> yang panas boleh di-tanam di-negeri yang sejok saya fikir Amereka tentu-lah telah menchuba menanam getah dalam negeri mereka kerana mereka terpaksa import atau membeli getah daripada negeri kita dan tidak payah lagi mereka membuat syntatic rubber. Oleh yang demikian saya minta kepada Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian supaya mengambil berat di-atas tanaman<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-dalam negeri ini seluroh-nya. Di-dalam perkara pertanian kita tahu orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menjadi mangsa kepada orang<sup>2</sup> tengah atau middleman. Orang<sup>2</sup> yang bertanam getah mereka itu menjualkan getah-nya kepada middleman maka orang tengah ini membeli getah itu dengan harga mengikut kehendak hati-nya. Pendek kata darah orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita yang begitu susah menanam getah di-isap oleh middleman atau pembeli<sup>2</sup> yang terdiri dari orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu. Demikian juga orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang menanam kelapa . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Ada satu Standing Order yang mengatakan bahawa salah bagi sa-saorang itu berchakap mengeluarkan perkataan<sup>2</sup> yang menyakitkan hati di-antara satu bangsa dengan satu bangsa. Kalau tuan hanya menggunakan perkataan "middleman" itu saya tidak menegah tetapi kalau tuan menggunakan perkataan mengisap darah orang Melayu oleh bangsa China, itu salah.

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila saya sebutkan middleman dapat-lah kita ketahuī bukan semua middleman yang terdiri dari orang China malah ada dari mereka itu daripada bangsa Melayu, bangsa India dan lain<sup>2</sup>. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita telah menanam beribu<sup>2</sup> acre pohon kelapa dalam Tanah Melayu ini dan mereka itu menjual kelapa kering kepada middleman ini dengan harga yang paling murah, kerana kita tahu bahawasa-nya middleman ada-lah orang yang sentiasa hendak mengisap darah orang<sup>2</sup> yang menanam kelapa itu ia-itu orang<sup>2</sup> kampung, tetapi sa-hingga sekarang ini ada-kah Kerajaan Perikatan telah mendirikan marketing society untuk membela orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita penanam<sup>2</sup> kelapa itu supaya darah mereka itu tidak di-isap oleh middleman. Di-dalam Special Appendix pada muka 28 Clause 164 ada tersebut:

"The Authority's role in providing processing and marketing facilities is being fulfilled with a three-fold objective, (i) to raise the income of the primary producer, (ii) to test the economics of central processing and (iii) to improve the quality of the final produce. Activities in this field are confined mainly to smallholders' rubber, since the bulk of the rural population depends to a very great extent on rubber".

Yang boleh di-fahamkan bahawasa-nya chuma Kerajaan telah mengambil tindakan sedikit untuk membela orang<sup>2</sup> yang menanam getah dengan di-adakan marketing society supaya darah penanam<sup>2</sup> getah itu tidak di-isap oleh orang<sup>2</sup> tengah tetapi bagi penanam<sup>2</sup> yang lain tidak-lah di-ambil langkah oleh Kerajaan untuk membela nasib orang<sup>2</sup> ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tentang perkara perikanan. Apabila kita sebutkan perikanan, kita tahu bahawasa-nya 90

peratus daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang menangkap ikan ia-lah terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Di-sini saya suka-lah hendak menyebutkan kesusahan yang sedang di-alami atau di-hadapi oleh penangkap<sup>2</sup> ikan yang terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Kuala Muda dan di-tempat<sup>2</sup> lain. Belat pok ada-lah satu perkara yang timbul dalam tahun 1959. Oleh kerana belat pok ini orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu penangkap ikan di-sana telah mengalami penghidupan yang pahit kerana tempat mereka menangkap ikan itu ada banyak belat pok dan tunggul<sup>2</sup> kayu atau bekas belat pok yang menjadi satu bahaya kepada penangkap<sup>2</sup> ikan kita di-sana yang terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan telah mendapat kerugian beribu<sup>2</sup> ringgit kerana tunggul belat pok itu yang mencheraikan pukat<sup>2</sup> mereka. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kita itu telah meminta kepada Kerajaan pada tahun 1959 untok di-haramkan belat pok ini. Akuan ini telah di-berikan oleh Kerajaan tetapi sa-hingga sekarang perkara belat pok belum dapat di-selesaikan. Chuma kita dengar baharu<sup>2</sup> ini Kerajaan chuba hendak mendirikan satu commission untok mengetahuī apa-kah kedudukan yang sa-benar-nya. Perkara ini saya fikir sebab-nya maka Kerajaan Perikatan telah mendirikan commission ia-lah kerana tahun 1964 sudah dekat dan masa pilehan raya akan tiba oleh yang demikian terpaksa-lah Kerajaan Perikatan menunjokkan kepada ra'ayat bahawasa-nya dia ada mengambil langkah untok menyelesaikan perkara ini. Hari ini saya terbacha dalam surat khabar *Straits Times* pada muka 5 di-bawah-nya berbunyi:

"Take Gun Advice to Fishermen"

"A representative of Kuala Kedah fishermen said yesterday that a Fisheries Department official had told a trawler net operator to take a shotgun when he went to sea."

Mengikut khabar ini bahawasa-nya sa-orang pegawai daripada Pejabat Perikanan di-Pulau Pinang di-sana telah memberi nasihat kepada taukeh<sup>2</sup> yang membuat pukat trawler itu supaya taukeh<sup>2</sup> ini membawa senapang apabila mereka itu keluar menangkap ikan supaya orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak dapat mengachau mereka itu. Baharu<sup>2</sup> ini kita ada dengar bahawasa-nya orang<sup>2</sup>

Melayu di-Kuala Kedah telah membawa satu cerita bahawasanya Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama telah mengharamkan buat sementara chara menangkap ikan dengan pukot trawler ini. Tetapi nampaknya pukot ini sampai masa sekarang ini sedang di-jalankan, dan apabila orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu chuba hendak mengganggu, sa-orang pegawai daripada Pejabat Perikanan telah memberi nasihat kepada taukeh ini supaya membawa senapang; apa maksudnya saya sendiri ta' tahu. Ini-lah hasilnya policy Kerajaan Perikatan dalam hal perikanan.

Sekarang saya suka hendak berchakap dalam soal Malaysia. Soal Malaysia di-masa yang akhir<sup>2</sup> ini telah menjadi satu masalah yang hangat. Pada masa dahulu bingkangan itu terbitnya daripada parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang sahaja tetapi nampaknya sekarang ini telah berlaku pertengkarannya yang hebat di-antara penyokong<sup>2</sup> Malaysia itu sendiri; yang saya maksud itu ia-lah di-antara pemimpin<sup>2</sup> P.A.P. dengan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> M.C.A. Nampaknya, the bone of contention ia-itu tulang yang menjadi perbalahan ini dahulu-nya telah disambar daripada UMNO oleh M.C.A. tetapi sekarang ini pula P.A.P. hendak menyambar-nya dari M.C.A. Dalam hal ini, apa-kah yang akan jadi terhadap kedudukan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam pertelagahan di-antara M.C.A. dengan P.A.P.? Kita juga yang menjadi mangsa-nya. Di-sini, saya suka menyebutkan sedikit ia-itu mengikut report yang telah di-beri kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Ra'ayat tentang pindaan<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-kemukakan di-persidangan yang akan datang bagi Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu untuk dimasukkan ketiga<sup>2</sup> wilayah Borneo dan juga Singapura ka-dalam chorak negara yang baharu yang di-beri nama Malaysia itu. Dalam pindaan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut itu, dapat-lah kita bacha dengan jelas dan terang bahawasanya tiap<sup>2</sup> satu daripada tiga wilayah itu sama ada Brunei, Sarawak mahu pun Sabah dan juga Singapura telah di-beri hak istimewa kepada mereka itu. Tiap<sup>2</sup> satu wilayah itu di-beri hak istimewa kepada negeri itu, dan bagi masalah Singapura pula dia mempunyai empat

perkara autonomy yang di-berikan kepada-nya . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Saya chuma hendak mengingat tentang perkara yang di-sebutkan itu ia-itu masaalah itu akan di-bahathkan apabila kita menerima undang<sup>2</sup> tuboh-nya. Kalau kita berbahath sekarang, saya rasa belum lagi sampai masa-nya, tetapi kalau hendak berchakap di-atas dasar 'am sahaja, saya benarkan; kalau hendak berchakap di-atas detail-nya itu, saya tidak benarkan, sebab perkara ini akan di-bawa ka-dalam meshuarat ini untuk di-bahathkan pindaan undang<sup>2</sup> itu.

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak membahathkan pindaan itu, tetapi oleh kerana perkara Malaysia ini ada tersebut dalam titah di-raja, dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat yang terdahulu daripada saya telah berchakap dalam perkara ini, maka saya akan menyentoh dengan jalan 'am.

Keistimewaan<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri kepada ketiga<sup>2</sup> wilayah itu termasuk juga Singapura, nampaknya keistimewaan tersebut tidak di-beri kepada sa-belas buah negeri yang ada dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Jika sa-kira-nya orang<sup>2</sup> Tanah Melayu yang hendak pergi ka-Sarawak, Brunei dan Sabah, mereka tidak di-benarkan dudok di-sana sa-lama<sup>2</sup>-nya, kechuali sa-lama tiga bulan sahaja kerana ketiga<sup>2</sup> wilayah itu hendak mempertahankan kedudukan buroh<sup>2</sup> mereka supaya apabila lahirnya Malaysia nanti, orang<sup>2</sup> Tanah Melayu tidak-lah akan dapat serbu masok menchari kerja ka-dalam wilayah<sup>2</sup> tersebut. Ada-kah Kerajaan Perikatan telah membuat, atau telah mengambil satu langkah untuk menjamin keselamatan buroh<sup>2</sup> Tanah Melayu ini apabila lahirnya Malaysia kelak? Saya perchaya buroh<sup>2</sup> daripada Singapura juga akan datang masok menchari kerja di-Tanah Melayu kita ini. Ada-kah satu sekatan, atau jaminan yang telah di-buat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan untuk hendak membela buroh<sup>2</sup> dalam Tanah Melayu ini? Saya dengar buroh<sup>2</sup> yang bekerja di-Shell Refinery Port Dickson ada-lah terdiri daripada buroh<sup>2</sup> yang di-bawa daripada Singapura. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

ia-lah satu perkara yang sangat mustahak bagi kita, lebih<sup>2</sup> lagi daripada wakil<sup>2</sup> Dewan Ra'ayat ini menerangkan pendapat mereka di-atas dasar<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Perikatan yang hendak menganchorkan hak orang kita.

Sekarang saya hendak berchakap dalam soal bahasa kebangsaan. Bahasa kebangsaan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, belum lagi kita melihat yang Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah yang konkrit, langkah<sup>2</sup> yang betul<sup>2</sup> akan menjamin bahawasanya bahasa kebangsaan ini akan dapat di-pakai, atau di-gunakan sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam negeri ini pada tahun 1967. Bulan<sup>2</sup> bahasa yang dilancarkan oleh pehak Kerajaan itu, chuma yang kita dapati hanya budak<sup>2</sup> sekolah sahaja yang telah mengambil bahagian, sedangkan gulungan yang terdiri daripada ahli<sup>2</sup> perdagangan dan perusahaan sa-hingga sampai sekarang ini belum lagi mereka itu menunjukkan ta'at setia mereka kepada negeri ini bersangkutan dengan masalah bahasa kebangsaan. Kelmarin ada tersiar dalam surat khabar satu kenyataan yang di-keluarkan oleh Ketua Peranchang Bahasa Kebangsaan tentang kesal dan sedeh-nya terhadap saudagar<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini yang tidak memberikan kerjasama, atau tidak mengambil berat dalam perkara menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan. Dengan tidak ada langkah<sup>2</sup> yang boleh menjamin bahawasanya bahasa kebangsaan ini akan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam tahun 1967 kelak, maka saya yakin ia-itu apabila hampir<sup>2</sup> tiba menjelang-nya tahun 1967 kelak, Kerajaan Perikatan akan membuat satu usul untuk hendak meminda Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu untuk di-tanggohkan perkara bahasa rasmi, bahasa yang tunggal dalam tahun 1967 sa-lama 10 tahun yang kahadapan kelak, kerana kita tahu bahawa sa-kira-nya Kerajaan ini mengambil tindakan<sup>2</sup> yang tepat untuk menjadikan bahasa kebangsaan sa-bagai bahasa yang tunggal dalam tahun 1967. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat yang akan dudok dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini ia-itu mereka yang tidak boleh berchakap bahasa Melayu tetap mereka itu akan berdiam diri, dan perkara ini bukan

sahaja terdiri daripada wakil<sup>2</sup> pehak pembangkang, bahkan terdiri juga dari pehak M.C.A. Oleh sebab yang demikian, M.C.A. tidak akan berdiam diri dalam Rumah yang mulia ini, kerana mereka akan membawa satu pindaan supaya di-lambatkan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan, bahasa rasmi yang tunggal sa-lama 10 tahun yang akan datang. Sekian-lah sahaja, terima kasih.

**The Prime Minister:** Mr Speaker, Sir, the debate on His Majesty's Speech has produced as usual a very lively debate in this House. We, on the Government bench, naturally, welcome this debate, because it provides the opportunity for Members of the Opposition to make statements, to condemn this Government, and to say many things which otherwise they would be denied to say outside, because if they had said such things outside we know that the course of justice will catch up with them. However, it is expected that in the course of this debate we would hear something constructive from the Opposition. That would have given the Government room for thought and would help the Government to plan for the future. The debate, though it might be lively, but there is nothing at all constructive on which we can work, or one on which we can give food for thought. All that the Members of the Opposition have done was to use this Parliament as their political forum, trying to tear the Alliance to bits, without any constructive proposal with which we can make something of. For instance, one thing has been said to which, I feel, I should take very strong exception—one of the many insulting remarks that have been made in the course of this debate.

Sir, one particular remark made by the Honourable Member for Ipoh was to the effect that the Alliance Members in this House are racialists and communalists, and that they lack education and brains, as a result of which they are a danger to nation-building. I do not know where he would have been today, or what education he would have received if his family had not migrated to this country. (*Applause*). Many of our Members may not have

had the opportunity to receive the good education which he has had. On the other hand, they do not lack good manners, or display lack of manners in this House. If they had done so, or lacked this quality, they might have shown resentment for this very insulting remark and might have created a scene which would have caused an upheaval in this House. Higher education is not the only quality, or the only qualification, which entitles a man to sit in this House, or to a seat in this House, but good manners as well are required of a Member of Parliament. So the Honourable Member not only lacks this, but often displays the lack of it, my advice to him is that he must try to educate himself, as otherwise Alliance Members might take offence and their retaliation might cause serious consequences, thus spoiling the good name of this House.

Among his destructive observations was the suggestion that I had caused offence to His Highness the Sultan of Perak by my recent public declaration on the subject of His Highness' speech made at Kuala Kangsar. He suggested, therefore, I should have been charged with sedition for what I had said. It might have sounded very brave indeed for him to have suggested that the Prime Minister should be put in chains and charged before a court of law. The fact that he said that shows clearly that he lacks tact and good manners. If he had taken the trouble to read carefully . . . . .

**Enche' S. P. Seenivasagam (Menglembu):** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification—the Member for Ipoh did not say that in this House or outside this House. What he said was that he would give a general warning that anybody who incites disaffection against a Ruler could be guilty of sedition. He made no specific reference inside or outside this House to the Prime Minister on the question of sedition.

**The Prime Minister:** I have not brought the paper with me. So, I cannot correct the Honourable Member, but I did read that the Honourable Member for Ipoh suggested that I should be charged with sedition. I do

not think I made that mistake here—neither could the Honourable Member if he is being guilty of distortion of facts. However, he did suggest, as I said, that I should have been charged with sedition. The fact, as I said, that he suggested that shows that he lacks good manners. If he had taken the trouble to read carefully into what I said, he would have found out; and if he considers himself a good citizen, he would have realised that all I was trying to do was to uphold the principle of democracy in this country. All I was trying to suggest was that a Ruler must not participate in politics, or in the administration of the country. The Constitution provides for that. I was not saying anything out of the context of the Constitution. I said that a Ruler must maintain himself as a constitutional Head and must not be involved in any administrative or political squabble. Everybody will agree that that is fair and, in fact, the Sultan himself has considered the whole incident as closed. If he misunderstood it, this is quite natural. Speaking as I did in the language of the royal family, in the best tradition of the royal family, I do not expect him, of course, to understand the language. However, I was hoping that he would not make an issue of this in public. I had to make a statement in public, because the matter was publicised by both the press and Radio Malaya, and I considered that there was no other effective way of bringing the matter to the attention of the public than to make a statement at the time that I did make it. This matter has been considered, as I said, as closed but, unfortunately another incident has occurred, and many political parties in the Opposition would like to make an issue of this so as to get themselves in the favour of the public, siding with the wrong side in the hope that by siding with the wrong they might be able to overthrow the Alliance: nothing according to them would be easier to do that than to see that a split being caused between the Rulers and my Party. The Honourable Member for Ipoh deceives no one because we know, as has been stated by the

Honourable Member in this House yesterday, he has never been pro-Ruler and still much less pro-Malay. Therefore his part in this—and anybody who takes side with him—will be doing a great disservice to the cause of good understanding between the Rulers and the Parliament.

The Honourable Member for Bungsar was quick also to seize the opportunity of the other incident, regarding the statement made by His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, to say that the Alliance Government is bad and that the Ruler had reason to be dissatisfied with it. This is the second time that an incident of this nature has arisen in the course of the last few days—I do not want to say what the reason is behind it. It is, however, very regrettable that this matter has been brought up in this House, because the Standing Orders do specifically mention that the names of His Majesty and Rulers should not be made the subject of a debate here. All I need do is to tell this House that I shall take this matter up at the next Rulers' Conference, and that is the proper place to take it to. I can assure the House that I will do so at the next meeting of the Rulers. In the meantime, the public must shield itself against these unscrupulous politicians whose aim to commercialise on such an issue in order to discredit the Alliance Party. All I need say here is that the Alliance as the party in power are sworn to defend the Constitution. Whatever maybe the consequence, we shall not shirk our duties and responsibilities even though it may displease certain quarters.

Coming back to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, he has suggested that the Alliance is not working towards building a national unity. Only through the principle of equality, he says, can there be nation-building. The intention of the Alliance, Sir, is to achieve equality. That there are provisions in our Constitution to help the less fortunate people, is an indication of this. It so happens that the less fortunate people are the indigenous people of this country. These are the Malays and the aborigines, and when

Malaysia is formed, they will include the Malays, the aborigines and the indigenous people of the Borneo territories. Without this help where would these people be? I repeat, as the Honourable Member has brought it up just now, that all the wealth, the business, industries, careers and professions, lands, buildings, estates and everything else that I can think of are in the hands of others. The proportion of indigenous people having any share in the wealth of this country is so small that they make no percentage of it at all, and the opportunity they get to obtain employment in business houses is almost nil, as far as Malayan commercial houses are concerned, though the British business houses are giving some openings for them. But we have yet to see Malayan business houses offering them some business opportunities. In the meantime it is the duty of this Government to help them. No amount of criticisms from the Honourable Member would influence Government against this policy. Time will come, I have no doubt, when there will be equal opportunities for all; and when that time comes, I have no doubt also that the policy will be adjusted accordingly.

The Honourable Member for Kota Bharu Hilir has suggested that we have done nothing, and the same was the suggestion made by some other Members in the course of this debate. It is, I think, sheer nonsense to suggest that *Batek* cloth on the whole is protected by the imposition of duties against importation. He then suggested that money had been lent by banks and Malayan Industrial Development Finance Limited to others but not to Malays. Let me tell the Honourable Member, if he takes care to see for himself, that the RIDA has made \$21,563,819, or \$21.5 million to the nearest, available for loans to the Malay businessmen to encourage them . . . .

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah:** Boleh-kah saya mendapat kenyataan 21 juta ringgit itu daripada mana-kah, ada-kah wang itu daripada RIDA atau daripada Malayan Industrial Development Finance Limited?

**The Prime Minister:** This is from the RIDA. But what has been lent by the Malayan Industrial Development Finance Limited, the Honourable Minister of Commerce and Industry will inform this House. I have only this figure from RIDA which is \$21 million odd and which is not a small sum—it is not \$21,000 but it is \$21,563,819—and to suggest in this House that we have done nothing for the Malay people is sheer nonsense. (*Applause*).

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah:** Dua puluh satu juta ringgit itu daripada tahun bila? Sa-bagaimana yang saya tahu bahawa ada-lah dua puluh satu juta ringgit itu ia-lah daripada mula<sup>2</sup> lagi RIDA itu di-dirikan ia-itu tahun 1954.

**Mr Speaker:** Soal itu tentu-lah tidak dapat di-jawab dengan serta merta kerana itu berkehendakkan record<sup>2</sup> dan buku yang ada di-pejabat itu.

**The Prime Minister:** Mr Speaker, Sir, let me assure the Honourable Member that everything will be done by this Government to help the Malay people, and so far there has been no opposition actually from outside against this Government policy. It is our hope that in the course of time, if we were lucky enough to be returned, the Malays will feel the advantages, the benefits, which they have derived from this Government as they have done so now, whatever the others may have to say.

Now, Sir, I was dealing just now with the Honourable Member who has suggested that our policy is one-sided and that we have done nothing for the others, but that we have done everything for the Malays. We have such persons as the Honourable Member for Kota Bharu Hilir who has suggested that we have done nothing, and when I told him just now the amount of money lent by RIDA, he asks what we have achieved. Well, I am unable to say here, as I stand up here, more about this, because I did not know that he was going to bring up this subject without himself trying to find out the facts about this.

On the other extreme, we have the Honourable Member for Bachok and also the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat and others who have suggested that we have not done enough for the Malays. There has always been this conflict of opinion between these two extremists: one has suggested that we have done too much for the Malays while the other has suggested that we have done nothing or not enough. The Alliance, as I have said, has always struck the middle course without depriving the non-Malays of their rights under the Constitution. We have given much benefit to the indigenous people since we came into power, and they know we are able to provide benefits and other help to the rural population, whose lots are less fortunate than those living in the urban areas. Rural development itself, together with all the works it has produced, is the crowning example of our success. As against this, the Opposition has been trying to make out that the ra'ayat has not benefited under it. Nevertheless, the ra'ayat cannot be deceived, with the result that election after election they have returned the Alliance candidates, be it at the rural, town, State or Federal level. We remain in power not through any trickery or deceit but through the support which we have received and have been receiving from the ra'ayat; and no amount of attack in this House can change the minds of the people who have returned us. They know best as to which party they can entrust the fate of this country and the Government. As I have said, God help this country if ever any of the Opposition parties comes into power, and I cannot see for the life of me that any of the Opposition parties can be entrusted with the fate of this country. (*Applause*).

The Honourable Member for Ipoh branded other people racialists and communalists. It is like the pot calling the kettle black. Every time the Honourable Member opens his mouth he harps on the same subject. I have no doubt that his intention is to cause dissatisfaction, suspicion and hatred among the many races who live here

and who are trying to make a home of this country.

The Alliance Government is trying its level best to do all it can to bring about unity in diversity and we make every attempt to educate the people to regard this country as their home and their only object of loyalty. If the Honourable Member can say in what way the Government has prevented non-Malays from doing business, from making money or making a career for themselves, or from taking the opportunities open to the citizens of this country, I could then understand the reason for saying that our party has been unfair. But he, as I said, like all others who have come to this country, and did so because of the greater opportunities open to them, they continue to live in this country because they know there is fairness and justice and fair play here for all.

He said that there are Malay youths who are roaming about the streets of this country, and so did the other members of the Opposition who brought the same matter up in this House. They say that these people are trying to seek employment from door to door and that there are more and more people without employment who have crowded in the towns or in the urban areas, whereas in fact I have informed this House in a written answer—and if the Honourable Members care to read it, they will find the figures in there—that the survey carried out by the Statistics Department and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare from April to September last year proved that there are only 5.2 per cent of the men who are unemployed. This compares most favourably with any country in the world. In terms of percentage of male unemployed between the ages of 15 to 70, there are only 4.4 per cent unemployed. Therefore, you can see how ridiculous it is for the Honourable Members to charge this Government of being unmindful of the plight of our youth. The reason why we encourage foreign capital into this country and provide a tax holiday for industries is to enable these industries to absorb the youth of this

country, and I can say that on the whole we have done well.

The Honourable Member from Kuala Langat maintained that we are acting, by doing that, as compradores for the imperialists by providing the opportunities for foreign capitalists and their allies to dominate this country. The opposite thinking of the Honourable Members of the Opposition has become almost comical, and it beats me as to how they get all these figures. On the one hand, we hear them say there is unemployment in this country, and, on the other hand, when we are trying to get employment for these people, they say we are acting as compradores. What we are trying to do is to absorb the youths of this country that they say are in the streets, and as a result, we have invited foreign capital here and given them all these privileges—not because we want to be compradores but because we want everybody to be happy; and as I have said, the Honourable Member himself has had some sort of dealings with foreign companies (*Laughter*).

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak (Kuala Langat):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I did not hear.

**The Prime Minister:** Just as well. I will tell you again. Well, as I said, if we cannot provide diversification of our industries under our own steam, then we have got to find other means of helping our people. If the people in this country cannot start industries of their own as diversification to this country's economy, then the Government has got to seek it elsewhere. As a result of this policy, we have made Malaya an example to the whole world on how this country after independence can progress and make a success of its independence. The Honourable Member for Kuala Langat would have excelled and achieved dubious fame in another country which feeds the people with empty talks and clothes them with deceit and lies, but not here, I am afraid; and that country is tottering on the brink of bankruptcy and disaster. But when a country is progressive and prosperous that does not suit him at all. I do not know why.

I know him as a man who conceives ideas, but cannot do anything for long. An example of it is in the affair of the Special Constabulary, with which he had been entrusted as he professed to champion their cause. But what did he do. He just left them in a mess and we had to call others to clear up this mess.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** On a point of clarification. A very serious charge has been made by the Honourable Prime Minister that I have neglected the Ex-Special Constabulary. Actually the decision was made much earlier on to do away with them so that they could be absorbed into the ordinary land development schemes. That was the whole idea, because they were found to be not quite suitable to work on the land themselves, as the land given to them by the State Governments was land which was not wanted by anybody else. So they were actually in a very, very serious position of being neglected from the Colonial Government of those days.

**The Prime Minister:** But when this Government came to power and left it with him to deal with them, what did he do? He messed it up worse than they did (*Laughter*). The same with Community Development. The Honourable Member came back from India with full of ideas on community development, having seen what was done there for the rural population, and persuaded the Government to give in to his demand to set up this department. In fact, we responded fully to his ideas and gave him all the opportunities, and what did he do? He again left it in the lurch (*Laughter*).

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** Sir, I have to explain again. I am afraid the Honourable Prime Minister is stretching the truth beyond what is necessary. In fact, the community development, I must say here, was not a failure. It was an absolute success, although I did not get any money. I had to beg for every cent that I wanted. But the money was not given. Despite that, there were 185 of 190 schemes of rural upliftment based on India, based on other countries as well,

which we adjusted to suit the conditions of this country. In Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis the villages were given a face lift.

**Mr Speaker:** I hope your explanation will not be very long.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** Well, Sir, it is necessary, because I have been accused of the opposite of what I have done.

**Mr Speaker:** Make it as short as possible.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** I will, Sir. The officials concerned and the people who participated—the kampong people in Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis—had been given a new deal for two years at least. Those villages which had undertaken the change have gone back to where they were.

**Mr Speaker:** Please proceed.

**The Prime Minister:** Well, they do not exist any more now. They have sunk into oblivion and become past history. So, whatever explanation the Honourable Member has got to offer now, I do not think it will convince anybody on this side of the House. However, coming to the other matter, it is the same matter, in fact (*Laughter*), as a result of his bright ideas, we established rural development—that much I have got to thank him for. When rural development became a success, he suggested that it should be passed over to him, but as I had been bitten once I became twice shy, and so left it to the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister to carry on with rural development.

Now, there is a serious matter which he has done in this House. He has accused this Government of being corrupt—and I hope I heard it correctly because I was in the other room. He has accused the Government of being corrupt, when he knew fully well how honest and dedicated we are—and he had been with us for eight years. If he had thought that we were corrupt, he should never have remained with us for eight days if he was such an honest man, and then to come now

and accuse the Party that made him, the Party which literally picked him up from the gutter . . . .

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order.

**The Prime Minister:** . . . . and gave him position, name and fame. If the Government had been corrupt, it would never have remained to this day. He was the only man, as far as I know, among the Members of the Cabinet who has undertaken a business venture in the name of a co-operative society. He was the only Member who misled the people as to the great profits that could be derived from this scheme, when he knew fully well that it would have placed the whole venture in the hands of foreign businessmen for years and years—and I have told him that. He went to Japan with his business associates and was royally treated and entertained by firms there—Kinoshita, Shoten and Kanu Matsu.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** I have to explain that, Mr Speaker. I must deny this categorically. In the first place, the Prime Minister is aware of what actually happened. Actually, invitations were made originally that I should go to Japan together with three co-operative workers to look into the question of urea plants as well as paper mills. The expenses of the three co-operative workers were paid by the Government. Since the Government was not able to pay for me, I paid for the trip—for myself and my wife—and the money was paid through the Federal Tourist Agency in which an Honourable Member was a partner. It was paid by instalment. At every place I visited in Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan, I personally paid for all the rooms that I occupied in the hotels. And Sir, there is another thing: the Prime Minister knew about it and the Prime Minister allowed me \$1,000. He said: "People might give you parties and so on; use this \$1,000 to give parties in return." The money was paid through the Ambassador in Japan, not through me at all. I did not touch a cent of it.

**The Prime Minister:** Well, however, that was about all that. I hate to bring all these matters in this House, but since he has charged this Government with being dishonest. I have no choice but to speak as I do. I do not make it a habit of hurting people in this House, and the Honourable Member knows it. But when a person has charged this Government without any rhyme or reason of being dishonest, I challenge the person, I challenge any Member, to impeach us, so that we can explain, we can have a debate on these things. To charge recklessly that this Government is dishonest in this House is an abuse of the privilege of this House. If they dare say things like that outside they will know what the consequences will be.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** Sir, I am prepared even to say it outside.

**The Prime Minister:** Right, that is good (*Applause*). I challenge the Honourable Member to say it outside. (*To Enche' Abdul Aziz*) I challenge you to say it outside.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** In good time.

**The Prime Minister:** In what time?

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** In good time.

**The Prime Minister:** Now!

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order. What is going on between you two? I cannot have two Members standing up at the same time. This is laid down by Standing Orders. I am here to control this House, and if the Member for Kuala Langat wants to ask permission to give an explanation, he must wait until the Member who is speaking gives way. This is quite understood. You have been here for the last five years.

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** I apologise, Sir.

**Mr Speaker:** Please proceed.

**The Prime Minister:** Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong and others have also insinuated that Ministers are

well-to-do and that we are consolidating our position. If the Honourable Member will make a specific charge against us, setting out the offences of corruption committed by the Members of the Cabinet, I will be only too happy—I repeat I will be only too happy—to answer the charge, and to allow this Parliament to impeach us. But I do object to charges made recklessly without cause or reason—charges made with the only intention of discrediting this Government. And this was done in order to cast suspicion and distrust in the minds of the public against the Party in power, and likely to be in power again after the next election (*Applause*). Perhaps that is what is worrying the Opposition—the Honourable Members of the Opposition. If the people of the country believe them and would like Members of Parties in opposition to rule this country, then name the party which can rule this country better than we do. If the people believe them then let the people return them, but I say here that if they return any of the parties now in opposition, then I say “God help them!” There will be chaos, disaster and disorder; there will be murder galore and it will be the end of everything for the happy people of happy Malaya.

There was another matter that was touched upon by, I think, the Honourable Member for Ipoh who suggested that there was fraud in the terms of the merger, but I say that the terms of this agreement had been stated quite clearly in the White Paper and we have reiterated that the details will be worked out in course of time. For that reason the officials of both countries are hard at work trying to thrash out points of differences between Singapore and the Federation. They have thrashed out among themselves point after point and have cleared many obstacles. It is only left for the financial arrangements to be agreed upon, and I have no intention of prejudicing the talks by disclosing to this House what these differences are. Suffice it be for me to say here that I have every confidence that agreement will be reached in the course of the

next few talks. To suggest that there is fraud in the agreement is completely false and mischievous. If there is any attempt to make the terms ambiguous the White Paper would never have been published and printed for the information of the public.

There is another matter brought up by the Honourable Member for Ipoh—that is the question of bail. Let me tell him that there is no change whatsoever from the established practice of the courts of law in this country with regard to bail. I have received a note from a learned law officer to say among other things:

“It is not easy to see the purpose of setting up a commission to examine the question of bail. The law on the subject of bail is very straightforward. It has operated satisfactorily for many years, and no complaints have been made to the Government regarding the provision of the law relating to bail and its administration. It is well established that the proper test of whether bail should be granted or refused in case it is discretionary is whether it is probable that the accused person will appear to take his trial, having regard to the nature of the offence and the severity of the punishment which conviction will entail. Bail is not to be withheld as a punishment. Bail pending trial is mandatory in a large number of cases which are clearly specified in law. In other cases, it is discretionary, especially in capital cases, in the case where the offence is punishable with imprisonment for life. Bail pending appeal is always discretionary, but an appeal does not operate as a stay of execution and consequently an accused person who has been sentenced to imprisonment must show cause as to why he should be granted bail pending appeal. If an accused person is not satisfied with the manner in which the discretion to grant bail has been exercised he has his remedy by way of appeal against the refusal of the bail.”

That is the most I can say in reply to the Honourable Member for Ipoh who brought up the subject of bail.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Bachok has suggested that there is nothing new in the King's Speech. He said that we only stated facts, we did not elaborate it; and nor did we adorn the Speech in any way, nor tried to make it pleasant to the ears of those who do not like it. We dealt with the various aspects of policy under the various headings. What more can we do? What more can you expect of this Government? The country knows what

we are doing and what we are planning to do. For that reason, there is much confidence in this country among all the nations, all the people, in the Alliance Government—and that we have been able to achieve progress, peace and happiness stands out clearly for all to see. There is no need for me to mention all the things here. The situation here compares favourably with any country in Asia—for that matter with any country in the world, but decidedly with any country within the Communist sphere of influence.

The Honourable Member for Bachok also brought up a most delicate question—that of Southern Thailand. As far as we know, and under international acceptance, these States form part of Thailand. It is not for us to interfere in a country which is on terms of friendship with us and whose co-operation and help have enabled us to deal effectively with the Communist insurgents who have fled into the border area of the two countries. Under the terms of friendship with Thailand, we are able to move our Police into that territory, in order to pursue the Communist terrorists, who have given us so much trouble and who have committed so many atrocities and murders in the course of activities during the Emergency. We are naturally interested in the lot of the people of Southern Thailand whom we consider as our Muslim brothers. I can assure the Honourable Members of this House, and the Member for Bachok, that the Thai Government will listen favourably to any proposal that I may make to better the lot of these people. I ask this House and the people of this country to bear with me and to be patient, if they are really interested and concerned with the fate of those people. It is my hope that this year, before we see this year out, something might be done for these people. The change which we propose to effect for them must bring them very much happiness. If the Honourable Member for Bachok starts to make a fuss or trouble over this matter he will, instead of helping the cause of these people, even make them more unhappy.

With reference to the question of loans which he has brought up, it is too much to expect him to understand what it is all about. My Honourable colleague, the Minister of Finance, will no doubt put him wise on this loan question. Suffice for me to tell him that it is an international practice to have loans. Countries which can obtain loans are of two categories: (1) a country like Malaya, a country which is rich and prosperous and enjoys international confidence—it can float a public loan; (2) a country which is completely bankrupt—it will be given a loan by some power in order to bring it to the other side. Malaya is in the first category. Thank heaven for that.

Now, I come back to this very important topic of Malaysia. Many Opposition Members have brought up the subject of Malaysia again, though the matter has been thoroughly thrashed out in this House time and again. Nevertheless, they have the right to bring it up in this House and it is my duty to answer them to the best of my ability. Some Members have suggested that Malaysia was rushed through without mandate from the people. Some say that Malaysia is going to affect the economy of this country adversely, and that Malayan money will be poured into these territories for the benefit of those people in the new territories and that will have a very disastrous consequence on the people of Malaya. There will be, of course, the disadvantages in the matter of taxation, because the Borneo territories will have less to pay, while the Malayan people will have to shoulder the same burden. Another accusation was made that we would be the agents and stooges of the British, in order to perpetuate colonial rule in these territories—hence we have the term coined by the Communists “neo-colonialism” and they have applied it to us now.

As to point number one, the Malayan people welcomed Malaysia—and we all know it. One and all agreed that this is the best thing in order to extend the scope of independence and freedom to the less fortunate people of

the Borneo territories, who realise that on their own they can never hope to be independent. The assessment of the peoples' desire was made in the territories concerned and, except for the Communists and their sympathisers and fellow travellers, the people in these territories welcomed Malaysia. The Cobbold Commission interviewed many thousands of people in all walks of life and they were convinced that the people, who were free to express their will, would accept Malaysia as the best possible alternative to being subjects of a foreign power. The Malayan people had heard of Malaysia since I first brought up the matter in my speech at a Press luncheon in Singapore as far back as 1959. Political parties at that time had nothing much to say against it. After that Singapore carried out a referendum, the result of which was well known to all—it gave an indication of the support of the people of Singapore for Malaysia.

The Solidarity Consultative Committee comprising the representatives of the Borneo territories, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya met many times and agreed to support Malaysia. The voters in North Borneo, again, have returned the pro-Malaysia Party to power and the people in power are now hard at it having their elections, the result of which will be out soon.

Mr Narasimhan of the United Nations also went to these territories to satisfy himself as to the wishes of the people and he was convinced that the people there were for Malaysia. Recently three Labour M.Ps visited these territories and came away convinced that there was nobody who was against Malaysia, in particular, the people of North Borneo . . . . .

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat):** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification, the three Labours M.Ps made it very clear that they did not represent the Labour Party and that they were observers and that if they ever spoke, they spoke as individuals expressing their opinion. As far as I am aware, all the three of them had

slightly different views. What the Honourable Prime Minister has just expressed is the opinion of Mr Bottomley who said that the 50 per cent of the people in Sarawak were against Malaysia, that all people in Brunei were against Malaysia and that most of the people in North Borneo were for Malaysia.

**The Prime Minister:** Well, they did not say that to me. Perhaps they shared the confidence of the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat if they did not share with me. However, what they have told me I have repeated in this House and said that they agreed; and if they said that they did not agree, there is nothing else for me to say (*Laughter*). I can assure the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat that I never saw Mr Bottomley alone as the three of them stayed together. What was expressed to me, I presume, was the expression on behalf of others as well. However, that is the position and, as I have said, there are, of course, some people who disagree with Malaysia—for what reason I do not know. I gave the reasons in this House just now as they were expressed. But if they disagree with the reasons which they expressed earlier, I am not responsible for it.

If I remember aright, the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat did mention to me in the course of a conversation that the merger with Singapore was inevitable. I think he still shares that view though he is . . .

**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak:** That was probably seven and a half years ago! (*Laughter*).

**The Prime Minister:** 1959 is not seven and a half years ago!

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Sir, on a point of clarification, I do not know if the Honourable Prime Minister is confusing merger with Singapore as such and merger with Singapore and with the Bornean territories. It creates a different problem entirely, because merger with Singapore is the joining up of the head to the body. Merger with Singapore and Bornean territories

means the taking over of the foreign territories.

**The Prime Minister:** Merger with Singapore will alone turn from the back to the front—the bottom will be the head and the head will be the bottom! (*Laughter*).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** I am glad the Honourable Prime Minister is paying compliments to the Socialist Front. (*Laughter*).

**Mr Speaker:** Please proceed!

**The Prime Minister:** I better not say any more about that. Anyway, Malaysia must come about, and it must come about by 31st of August as scheduled. Then one of the persons, who agreed with Malaysia and mentioned it soon after I had a talk about this in Singapore, was the Honourable Enche' Boestamam who is now the Government guest in Batu Gajah. He was the first to express his agreement with Malaysia.

**Enche' K. Karam Singh (Daman-sara):** Sir, on a point of clarification, is that why he has been given the honour of arrest?

**The Prime Minister:** That I will tell you. As the Honourable Member has rightly expressed his opposition to Malaysia, here they are free to express the same thing against Malaysia, and they are not under arrest. Enche' Boestamam was not arrested for that. They all know and they all will realise that he was arrested not because he was opposed to Malaysia but because he was trying to subvert the loyalty of the armed forces and he was trying to get them to side with the enemy to overthrow the Government.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Sir, on a point of clarification, those were not the grounds given for the arrest at that time. These are grounds given for the arrest by the Honourable Prime Minister now. The grounds then given for the arrest were that he had been in touch for the last seven years with Communist people such as Lim Chin Siong who himself had been detained

from 1956 to 1959, and that he was trying to create a secret route to Indonesia—but not the question of subverting the armed forces. It is a very serious matter, because Enche' Boestaman is a Member of Parliament and I think that the reasons for his arrest should be given clearly and there should be no different reasons given. There are grounds of his arrest which have been served on him and which are in the hands of his solicitors and the grounds given now by the Honourable Prime Minister are not part of the grounds for his arrest.

**The Prime Minister:** Those are the grounds which I give now in the interest of the Members of this House. There are so many other grounds, and I cannot mention them all here.

**Mr Speaker:** I think the ground is not the point in issue.

**The Prime Minister:** Yes, Sir. However, I think he was taken with others, because they were traitors in the country.

With regard to the argument that Malaysians will have to bear the burden of the taxation for the benefit of other people in the Bornean territories, that is a matter which is accepted in the Federation now. In the Federation there are nine States in that some States are richer than others, but they have been sharing the wealth with the poorer States and that is how the Federation goes. So the Bornean territories may not have to pay taxation in the early stages of merger with the Federation, but later on they will have to pay when they realise their responsibilities and duties. However, they must be given time to feel that they are members of this new nation: you cannot just get them in and then start taxing them. Let them feel that they are members of this Malaysia before they are made to pay.

Another fear, which some Members have expressed or which they have in their minds, is that when Malaysia is formed, the aggression from our neighbour might show itself in a more terrifying form and that we might have

to fight the band of terrorists who come across the frontier to raid shops and police stations and burn the houses in the Bornean territories. Anyway, I hope that the meeting which I am about to have with President Soekarno in Tokyo in the next few days, will be able to clear up all these points. Now Honourable Members are sitting up trying to take notice of what I am saying; this is natural as this has come to them as a bolt from the blue. But let me read to them a little bit more—this statement will be released to the Press immediately after I have left the House. It says that—

His Malayan Majesty's Ambassador in Tokyo, Dato' Syed Sheh bin Syed Abdullah Shahabuddin was invited by the Indonesian Deputy First Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Subandrio, at 11.30 p.m. on 25th May to a meeting at the Imperial Hotel. At that meeting Dr Subandrio explained the desirability of smoothening differences between Indonesia and Malaya and suggested that the best way, under the circumstances, would be for Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra and President Sukarno to meet.

Dr Subandrio handed to the Ambassador a Note which contained a message signed by President Sukarno addressed to the Prime Minister expressing a desire to meet in Tokyo where he would be staying until 2nd June.

The Cabinet yesterday considered this proposal and in considering this matter we reaffirmed the Federation Government's stand that every opportunity should be taken towards restoring normal relations with Indonesia and maintaining peace in South-East Asia and decided that the invitation of President Sukarno should be accepted.

And I have now made my booking to leave for Japan on the 30th of this month (*Applause*).

Another matter which was brought up in the course of this debate was Radio Malaya. Radio Malaya has again come under attack, some Members calling it the mouthpiece of the Government. It is a Government machinery to disseminate news and other matters which are of interest to the people of this country. But political parties are not allowed to make use of it as their political platform as is done in some other countries. It is independent to the extent that the party in power does not interfere in the

running of it so long as it keeps within this policy. It is not an independent corporation or commercial radio, and as such, the Government must maintain certain amount of control over it, and the officers who are in control are Government servants. It has not given any cause, in fact, for anybody to be concerned with its running, nor the service rendered by the officials and staff of Radio Malaya. They have done their work well and they are a credit to the department and the nation, and I for one and all right thinking citizens have every reason to be proud of their achievement.

There was another matter which was brought up in this House, and that was the question of the Indonesian Ambassador who has been very active and has been rightly reported in the *Utusan Melayu*. With reference to the allegations made by an Honourable Member on the activities of the Ambassador—I think one Member spoke about the activities of the Indonesian Ambassador—we are quite aware of it, but we are not informed of his objectives. Therefore, this Government has not thought fit to act. I know such activity is not in keeping with the etiquette expected of a member of the diplomatic service. We ourselves would never have authorised our Ambassador to do that as it would not be conducive to the goodwill we hope to receive from the country to which our Ambassador has been accredited. That is as much as I can say with regard to this matter and it is unfortunate that this has been made public. However, I hope that it will help to be a deterrent to the member of the diplomatic service from Indonesia.

I hope my meeting with the President may clear quite a lot of air and I would ask Honourable Members to pray for the success of the outcome of these talks, because on it hangs the peace, happiness and prosperity of our new country of Malaysia (*Applause*).

**Mr Speaker:** I think it is a good time to suspend the sitting. The sitting is suspended for 15 minutes.

*Sitting suspended at 11.45 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 12.00 noon.*

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

**Mr Speaker:** Saya hendak mema'alumkan kepada Majlis ini ia-itu pada sa-belah pagi tadi saya ada menyatakan saya akan bermeshuarat dengan pehak Kerajaan berkenaan dengan meshuarat kita pada hari ini, dan saya telah menetapkan ia-itu meshuarat ini akan berjalan sa-lewat<sup>2</sup>-nya sa-hingga pukul 8.00 malam ini kerana usul ini akan di-habiskan pada hari ini.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing (Telok Anson):** Mr Speaker, Sir, as His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong has said in his Royal Speech, it is our special privilege as Members of this House to be able to represent and speak for the people and our nation. I, therefore, feel that it is my duty on behalf of the people to comment on His Majesty's Speech in which the policies and plans for the forthcoming year are presented.

Sir, having heard the Royal Speech and gone through the special appendix to the Speech, I feel reluctant to say that there is nothing spectacular or new in the Government policies and plans for the coming year, but that rather it is a report of the activities of the Government during the past year.

Mr Speaker, Sir, speaking on Malaysia, I wish to reiterate on behalf of our Party—the United Democratic Party—our stand on this particular issue. The United Democratic Party is not against Malaysia, but rather against the manner and method which the Alliance Government has employed in imposing the formation of Malaysia. My Party is against any undemocratic and ramming-down-the-throat method of forcing through Malaysia. We are in favour of and support a Malaysia that would be brought about by the free will, consent and goodwill of the people of all these territories concerned. It is indeed very unfortunate for an Alliance Member, the Honourable Senator Enche' T. H. Tan, to have

branded all those who are against Malaysia as communists or dependent on the communists. I refer to the remarks of Senator Enche' T. H. Tan in a press statement which appeared in the *Straits Echo* of the 4th May, 1963. He attacked our Secretary-General, Dr Lim Chong Eu, in reply to a speech which Dr Lim Chong Eu made in Penang on the 10th March, 1963. He has said that those who oppose Malaysia are countries of the communist bloc and their satellites, and those dependent on the communists. He also said that the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, and Japan, to name a few countries, had expressed support for the creation of Malaysia. Sir, if Senator T. H. Tan had named Indonesia, China and Russia as the communist countries which opposed Malaysia, I will not argue with him, but how about the Philippines? We all know that the Philippines are not communists, and we also know that even today the Philippines are still against Malaysia. Does Senator Tan say that the Philippines are communists, because they also oppose Malaysia? The answer is certainly, "No".

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the Royal Speech, His Majesty has said, "the peoples of all the territories concerned are more than ever determined to go ahead on the scheduled date. All those who have followed closely the course of developments in the various territories are well aware that support for Malaysia has grown at an accelerated rate". Many heard this morning from the Prime Minister that the people of the Borneo territories are in favour of Malaysia. If that is the situation, why is the Alliance afraid to allow the people in those territories to decide freely for themselves what they want?

Sir, the Philippines and Indonesia have declared time and again in no uncertain terms that if the people of the Borneo territories are given the opportunity to decide for themselves on the formation of Malaysia, then they will not lay claim to Borneo or oppose Malaysia. If the Alliance is so sure and certain of the people of these

territories in that they want Malaysia, why not let them decide for themselves either by referendum, an election, or a plebiscite, so that once and for all the Philippines will not make a claim to Borneo and Indonesia will not oppose Malaysia? Therefore, I call upon the Alliance to postpone the formation of Malaysia until the people of these territories are given the opportunity to decide for themselves.

Mr Speaker, Sir, with the formation of Malaysia, the Alliance has already indicated that further amendments will be made to our Constitution. I appeal to the Government, particularly to the Honourable Prime Minister, to keep faith in the people and not to introduce any more amendments to our Constitution. You have already meddled enough with the major amendments to the Constitution, which have affected certain rights of the people living in this country. For if you do, what is there to prevent the revival of the emotional feelings of the people to demand for delicate issues such as *jus soli*, multi-lingualism and official languages. I wish to remind the Prime Minister that he was elected into power on the strength of the promise he made to the entire nation during the Alliance crisis on July 11 and 12, 1959, that there would be no change in our Constitution. As it is, the Constitution has already been amended not only once but twice, and now it is going to be amended for the third time. Mr Speaker, Sir, I have said it before and I would say in this House again that the Prime Minister has no right or mandate to do so. Therefore, I appeal to the Prime Minister, who has been held in esteem in the eyes of the people and who holds the confidence of the people, to consult the people who have entrusted him with the sacred charge of safeguarding our Constitution. I also call upon the members of the M.C.A., who claim to represent the Malayan Chinese, to refrain from amending the Constitution, because in their very own Constitution, there is provision for safeguarding our Constitution.

Mr Speaker, Sir, next, I would like to touch on a matter concerning His

Highness the Sultan of Perak. Sir, although I am a Federal Citizen, I was born in Perak, brought up in Perak and educated in Perak, and I enjoy the protection of the Perak Government. Therefore, it is only right and my duty that I owe my loyalty first to Perak. As such, I take great exception on any attack made by anyone who tries to ridicule the Sultan of Perak. In this respect, I refer to the disrespectful remarks and the threats made on His Highness the Sultan of Perak by our Prime Minister. As the Ruler of the State, it is His Highness' duty to look into the affairs of his State and to take an interest in the administration of his Government. If he finds that his elected Government fails to discharge its duties properly or to serve his people well, it is his duty to criticise his Government, otherwise as the Ruler of the State he will be failing in his duty towards looking after the welfare and the interests of his subjects. Therefore, how can the Prime Minister warn His Highness when he is discharging his duties in the interests of his subjects in his State. Does the Prime Minister want His Highness the Sultan of Perak not to utter a word when his subjects are suffering and to be a bad Ruler?—certainly not!

Mr Speaker, Sir, I remember that in 1954 the Alliance opposed the Election White Paper and got the Sultan of Johore to give his support to their protest. It was all right then for the Alliance to involve His Highness the Sultan of Johore to associate himself directly with the politics. Again, in the same year, when His Highness the Sultan of Perak refused to meet the Alliance delegation in Kuala Kangsar over the same issue, the Alliance passed a resolution requesting His Highness the Sultan of Perak then to remove the Menteri Besar of Perak, because the latter had ill-advised His Highness the Sultan of Perak. It was all right then for the Alliance to involve the Sultan into politics, but not the Sultan himself for criticising his Government. Let me give a word of warning in this House. "Let no one try to ridicule by giving

any more warnings to my Ruler, His Highness the Sultan of Perak!" (*Laughter*). Otherwise, I won't be surprised if the people of Perak would advocate for the cessation of their State from the Federation of Malaya. (*Laughter*).

Next, I would like to touch on the medical services of our nation. I would like to quote certain parts of the speech made by the Health Minister when he addressed the Malayan Medical Association on the 13th of April, 1963, at Johore Bahru, in which he says:

"As you are aware, Government has now embarked on an unprecedented expansion of the medical and health service, particularly in the rural areas, on which a sum of \$145 million under the Second Five-Year Plan 1961-1965 alone will have been spent. It is, therefore, most essential that more and more doctors should rally to this national call and support the Government in this hour of need. The Government progressively endeavours to provide the country with a permanent expanding source of doctors, whose qualifications would be comparable to the best in the world."

The Minister further goes on to say—

"The Government is not unaware, nor is it unsympathetic, in regard to just and fair claims and aspirations of our doctors. It also has the full support of my Ministry and under consideration by the Government."

Mr Speaker, Sir, these are very considerate, encouraging and understanding words. It is a call to our doctors for devotion to their noble profession—sacrifice and service to our nation—particularly during the present expansion of the medical and health service of our nation. However, Sir, why are our doctors reluctant to join the medical service? Instead, we find more and more doctors resigning from our service. During my Budget speech in last December, I have called upon the Minister to take note of the poor service schemes and in particular to relax the standard in language qualifications so that the doctors may devote their full time and efforts towards their service, instead of cracking their heads and worrying over problems of passing the national language. Sir, let us consider the language examination which doctors must pass before they are confirmed and get their annual

increments. In the past doctors and dental surgeons in Division I and II were only required to pass an oral examination equivalent to Standard I within their probational period of three years. But since 1957 doctors and dental surgeons have had to pass Standard I examination consisting of oral as well as written papers in the national language, failing which they will have their confirmation suspended and their increments forfeited irrespective of however highly qualified or proficient they may be in their respective professions. I would remind the House not to be misled by the term Standard I and have the impression that this examination is of a very low and easy standard. I have here samples of the various papers set in the past for the unfortunate officers for your information, which I am sure will make even some of our Malay members in this House jittery at the thought of having to pass this very same examination. I consider it of unnecessarily high standard and not in any way designed to test the proficiency of the candidates in the national language but rather to satisfy the ego of the persons responsible for it. Sir, I have here . . .

**Mr Speaker:** I hope you are not going to read the whole lot.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Very, very short, not the whole lot, Sir. It says here, "Standard I Examination—Translation from Malay, Translation into Malay and General Paper." Now, what are the contents of the General Paper? Simple questions on Malay manners and customs and on the history of Malaya from the foundation of Malacca up to the date of the signing of the Federation of Malaya Agreement. Then it says, "Translation to and from Jawi and Conversation." Conversation—of course, this is the most logical and sensible part of the examination, which usually deals with the subject related to the respective professions of the candidates concerned, and this is the only examination which most of the candidates pass without any difficulty whatsoever. Thus one can see that it is not so simple and easy as one thinks.

Let us consider the examination from the practical point of the medical profession. In what way is this examination helping the doctors and dental surgeons in proficiency and skill in their respective professions? None at all, except the conversation part of the examination which might help the doctor or the dental surgeon in the course of his diagnosis to understand the patient's trouble. Sir, we are well aware of the shortage of doctors in Government and in the hospitals and how these doctors are being over-worked, day and night at times, and required to perform long duty hours including Sundays and holidays. Therefore, how can we expect them to find the extra time to put further efforts and energy to study and crack their heads over this senseless language examination. It is of no wonder that so many of them feel disgustingly frustrated and are finally forced to resign, because no matter how hard they work and how good and efficient they may be in their work, their efforts and talents are not recognised and taken into consideration towards the confirmation of permanent service, annual increments in salary, and promotion of seniority in service unless and until they pass the language examination. As a result of this unreasonable demand, we have not only lost doctors and dental surgeons from our medical service but we have also lost some of them who might have been leading specialists in their particular fields to serve our country had not this language examination barred them from proceeding abroad to further their medical studies. No, Sir, the Ministry of Health is not prepared to relax or waive this language obstacle; and it is also not interested or concerned in the efficiency and abilities of the doctors and dental surgeons, but is concerned with their ability to read and write the national language and to have a knowledge of Malay customs and ceremonies and also a knowledge of Malayan history, the study of which is entirely divorced from their respective professional fields. It is all very well for the Ministry of Health to call on doctors and dental surgeons to make sacrifices and devote their services to the needs of the

country, but, on the other hand, would the Minister be prepared to urge the Government with a similar reciprocal spirit to waive the language obstacle so that more doctors and dental surgeons will remain in the service and devote their time to provide better health for the people, so that the present programme of expansion of our medical and health services would not be hindered through the shortage of doctors? The shortage of doctors and dental surgeons has become so acute that our Health Ministry has often made appeals to the Malayan Medical Association for private doctors to make sacrifices in the hour of the nation's urgent needs.

Mr Speaker, Sir, who suffers by these hard and fast rules on the language qualification? Not the people who had laid down all these conditions, but the people of this country who have to wait or die as a result of the shortage of doctors to attend to them. The Acting Minister of Health in his written answer has again denied the truth that the language qualification was one of the main reasons causing many doctors and dental surgeons to resign from Government Service. This is only an excuse to evade the issue, for the Government is fully aware, and has been aware for some time now, that they have lost many doctors and dental surgeons due to this language bar. It is quite understandable that these doctors are much too ethical and dignified to criticise the Government on this delicate issue of the national language before they resign. Why should they do so when there are many other alternative doors open to them since the Ministry has failed to appreciate their sacrifices and sincere efforts to help the medical service.

Sir, now the Government has turned to Philippines for help and is bringing in doctors who are completely unfamiliar with local conditions and who have not the slightest knowledge of the Malay language, while the Government has driven out our local doctors who are quite capable in their spoken Malay and yet does something now which completely defeats its original purpose. There is no use putting up

clinics when there are no doctors to staff them. It is just trying to deceive the rural people pretending to improve the rural health service. It is nothing but a cheap propaganda.

In the past Indian doctors were employed on short term periods of three to five years. Some of them have served even longer. They are already familiar with local conditions. Yet when their contracts were fulfilled they were told that their services were no longer required, resulting in many hardships, such as uprooting the families, interrupting the children's education, loss of contact in public practice, etc. Yet in spite of the present shortage of doctors, their contracts were not renewed, but the Government rather prefer to employ Filipino doctors, who cannot even speak a word of Malay and whose qualifications are questionable, and send them to rural areas. The health of the rural people will be affected due to the inexperience and language difficulties of these Filipino doctors. If the Government is really sincere about improving the health conditions of the rural areas, let it, firstly, retain our local doctors in the Government Service by improving their service conditions, secondly, waiving or relaxing the language requirement by only having an oral examination, and thirdly, by retaining the services of the Indian doctors who are already on contract here.

Sir, coming to Education, I would like to touch on the most controversial issue of the Alliance Education Policy, i.e., to make Malay the main medium of instruction in all schools as stated in paragraph 59 of the Special Appendix to the Royal Address of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. This has been one of the two major issues which has caused the Alliance crisis in 1959. The Alliance is fully aware that this is one of the major issues which has been rejected by the Chinese schools and I say that the Alliance has no mandate to force this on all the National-type Secondary Schools as envisaged in the Razak Report, because in both its election manifestoes in 1955 and 1959 it was never stated that Malay shall be the main medium of

instruction in all schools, as the terms of reference in the Razak Report clearly stated "to make Malay the National Language". If the Alliance insists that the intention of the Alliance Education Policy is to make Malay the main medium of instruction, why have they not boldly included in their 1959 manifesto this item? No, they would not. They dared not. They have not the courage to do so, because if they do, they would lose their support from the Chinese voters. Therefore, I charge that the Alliance, until they obtain a mandate from the people, have no right now or in the future to enforce this issue in all National-type Chinese Secondary Schools; and if the Alliance insists on this, let them include it in the 1964 election manifesto as one of the main issues for the coming election.

Sir, another point is that the Education Department is asking school managements to put up plans for the expansion of their school courses such as building extra laboratories for chemistry and physics and after having complied with the request the managements are told that their request for building extra rooms is refused. Why doesn't the Education Department inform the managements right at the beginning that it would not approve such expansion instead of making the managements to put up plans and spending money and then after seven or eight months informing them that their request had been turned down? Sir, this would in no way help provide better facilities in the schools, and also at the same time making people to spend money unnecessarily. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister to look into matter. In case the Education Department has no intention of allowing these expansions, do not make the school managements to put up plans and to spend unnecessary money. Thank you.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang (Jebeu-Jempol):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam mengambil bahagian perbahathan ucapan terima kaseh di-atas Titah di-Raja ini, sa-belum saya berucap, saya suka mengambil peluang ini untuk mendo'akan mudah<sup>2</sup>an pemergian Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri

ka-Tokyo itu akan dapat menyelesaikan masalah yang kita hadapi sekarang ini ia-itu Malaysia, saya yakin dan percaya bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-Dewan Ra'ayat ini akan bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan saya mendo'akan pemergian Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri untuk menyelesaikan masalah Malaysia itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi kita telah mendengar ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson yang berdiri dan berchakap dengan megah-nya dan dengan suara yang lantang mengatakan bahawa beliau ada-lah ta'at setia kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak. Apa yang saya harap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-muga apa yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada-lah sa-benar-nya, kerana saya berasa churiga—chukup churiga kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, oleh sebab pada suatu masa dahulu beliau telah di-beri tugas untuk menjadi Menteri Muda Pelajaran dan telah menjadi wakil Malaya di-Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu di-mana telah berlaku satu peristiwa ia-itu dia telah dudok dalam satu jamuan yang di-adakan oleh Kerajaan . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Ada-lah salah dalam peratoran ini, jika menyebutkan salah sangka bagi sa-saorang itu, itu ta' boleh—ta' boleh impute improper motives!

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson telah berchakap berkenaan dengan mentadbirkan negeri Perak dengan mengatakan bahawa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan itu ada berhak mengeluarkan fikiran dan sa-bagai-nya dalam mentadbirkan negeri-nya. Saya rasa Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak mempelajari dan mengetahui benar<sup>2</sup> tentang Perlembagaan Negeri<sup>2</sup> pada masa ini, kerana di-dalam Perlembagaan sa-sa-buah Negeri itu ada tertulis ia-itu tiap<sup>2</sup> Duli<sup>2</sup> Yang Maha Mulia Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu hendak-lah menjalankan pekerjaan-nya dengan nasihat ahli<sup>2</sup> Exco-nya. Saya ta' tahu-lah apa yang akan terjadi kalau parti-nya itu memereintah negeri ini nanti apa yang akan di-buat-nya terhadap Sultan<sup>2</sup>. Ada-kah

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu akan menyuruh Sultan<sup>2</sup> berkempen? Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Perlembagaan Negeri<sup>2</sup> Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup> ada-lah mengikut nasihat Exco. Tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada menyebutkan ia-itu pada masa sa-belum merdeka dahulu, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Johor ada berchakap tentang perkara mentadbirkan negeri-nya. Saya suka hendak menerangkan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ia-itu keadaan pada masa dahulu ada-lah berlainan daripada keadaan masa sekarang, kerana pada masa dahulu, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan<sup>2</sup> ada berkuasa penoh tetapi sekarang ada-lah berlainan, kerana pada masa sekarang ini Sultan<sup>2</sup> tidak boleh menchampioni keadaan politik di-dalam Negeri-nya. Saya harap Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson itu akan mengambil ingatan dalam soal ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-menjak parti U.D.P. ini di-tubuhkan, saya telah ingin benar hendak mendengar pendirian parti tersebut berkenaan dengan soal pelajaran. Soal ini telah berkali<sup>2</sup> di-kemukakan kepada Yang di-Pertua Parti itu, Dato' Zainal Abidin, tetapi nampak-nya Dato' itu tidak menjawab dengan tepat, dan kita telah mendapat jawapan dari Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson, ia-itu pendirian-nya ada-lah sama dengan P.P.P. Ini ada-lah satu penerangan ta'at setia-nya kepada negeri ini berhubung dengan soal pelajaran . . . . .

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** On a point of order, you will hear it soon!

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Saya ucapkan terima kasih. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam soal pelajaran ini, saya suka hendak berchakap dan hendak menerangkan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ia-itu perkara yang di-chakapkan-nya itu nampak-nya ta' ada perkara lain, balek<sup>2</sup> dia mengatakan yang kita ini tidak ada mempunyai mandate bagi membuat dasar pelajaran dan sa-bagai-nya. Tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah berchakap berkenaan dengan pindaan Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang mana beliau itu telah menyatakan bahawa kita tidak ada mandate dari

ra'ayat, dari itu kita tidak boleh meminda Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dalam Perlembagaan memang ada bab yang membenarkan kita meminda Perlembagaan itu; itu tidak penting, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi soal yang kita hadapi sekarang ini ia-lah soal Malaysia. Jikalau pindaan Perlembagaan tidak di-bawa kadalam meshuarat ini, macham mana kita hendak menubuhkan Malaysia? Soal Malaysia ini telah banyak di-ucapkan oleh pehak<sup>2</sup> pembangkang, tetapi apa yang saya kesalkan sangat ia-lah ucapan<sup>2</sup> itu sa-rupa dengan pendirian, atau ucapan<sup>2</sup> dari Parti Komunis di-luar negeri. Perkara ini, saya rasa bukan perkara yang terjadi, tetapi perkara yang sengaja di-buat, dan boleh saya katakan, atau pun boleh saya anggap bahawa mereka itu berchakap dalam Dewan ini ia-lah bagi pehak yang tertentu. Juga tatkala membuka perbahathan dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini dahulu, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok telah menerangkan istilah-nya berkenaan dengan demokrasi dalam negeri ini. Beliau telah menerangkan ia-itu pada pendapat-nya, demokrasi dalam negeri ini ia-lah memberi tempat hak kepada yang hak, ma'ana-nya tiap<sup>2</sup> apa juga hasil, atau kemewahan, atau pertimbangan dalam negeri ini hendak-lah di-beri keutamaan kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, tetapi pada pendapat Ahli P.P.P. pula demokrasi dalam negeri ini hendak di-jalankan dengan sama rata, ia-itu siapa juga yang menjadi ra'ayat dalam negeri ini hendak-lah di-beri pertimbangan yang sama, ma'ana-nya hak istimewa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu hendak-lah di-beri kepada bangsa<sup>2</sup> lain. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah berkali<sup>2</sup> di-nyatakan dalam Dewan ini pendirian Kerajaan Perikatan berkenaan dengan demokrasi dalam negeri ini ia-lah kita hendak-lah memberi hak itu kepada yang hak sa-bagaimana yang di-nyatakan oleh pehak PAS tadi ia-itu keistimewaan orang Melayu itu hendak-lah ada, tetapi kita memberi layanan yang baik dan adil walau kepada siapa jua yang ta'at setia kepada negeri ini. Jadi, dalam soal ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita dapati perbahathan atau pertentangan pendapat

di-antara dua parti ini dan saperti biasa dalam ranchangan yang kita sudah dapat persamaan, tetapi dengan ada-nya perbahathan di-antara dua parti ini, bagi saya dasar yang kita jalankan sekarang ini ada-lah yang terbaik bagi negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah menjadi kelaziman dalam Dewan ini apabila kita berbahath satu<sup>2</sup> perkara, pehak Pembangkang kerap-kali mendatangkan tudohan<sup>2</sup>—tudohan<sup>2</sup> yang liar, yang tidak berasas sama sa-kali. Jadi berkenaan dengan tuduhan tadi Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri telah menerangkan dengan sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya, dan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri telah dapat kesanggupan daripada Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat ia-itu beliau akan membuat tuduhan itu di-luar Dewan ini. Dan kita menunggu bila-kah Yang Berhormat itu akan menyambut chabaran Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku. Kita dalam Dewan ini ada-lah memandang penting tentang soal yang sa-umpama itu, kerana jika tuduhan yang sa-umpama itu di-buat dengan tidak di-jawab oleh Kerajaan boleh mengelirukan ra'ayat. Tuduhan memang boleh di-buat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Mithalnya, saya boleh menuduh Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar ia-itu apabila dia datang ka-Bahau dahulu telah memungut wang daripada Socialist Front di-sana sa-banyak \$800 sampai sekarang ini tidak berganti. Soal yang sa-umpama ini akan jadi panjang kalau tidak di-jawab. Saya sendiri tidak boleh buktikan tuduhan saya itu, tetapi tuduhan memang ada. Oleh itu sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tuduhan liar yang sa-umpama itu jangan di-buat lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bekas Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Bekerjasama juga telah membuat tuduhan mengatakan Kerajaan ini sa-lain daripada corruption telah tidak dapat menjalankan pentadbiran dengan baik dan apa<sup>2</sup> ranchangan semua-nya tidak dapat di-jalankan. Saya suka menarek perhatian Majlis ini ia-itu sa-masa beliau menjadi Menteri dahulu bermacam<sup>2</sup> ranchangan telah di-buat-nya, dan sa-bagaimana yang di-terangkan oleh

Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri tadi satu ranchangan pun tidak dapat dijayakan-nya. Saya teringat sa-kali dahulu Yang Berhormat itu telah membuat ranchangan berkenaan dengan pemulehan sa-mula bekas<sup>2</sup> Special Constabulary di-Perak di-mana wang \$300,000 telah di-belanjakan. Saya hendak tahu daripada beliau itu apakah telah jadi kepada wang yang \$300,000 itu? Dan saya tahu ranchangan itu telah di-batalkan, dan wang yang \$300,000 itu hanyut sahaja. Jadi dalam soal ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita di-dalam Dewan ini sa-belum hendak membuat tuduhan itu hendak-lah kita selidiki, dan jangan-lah kita membuat tuduhan liar sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Parti Perikatan memang suka, menerima dan membenarkan apa<sup>2</sup> juga tegoran atau apa<sup>2</sup> juga pendirian parti<sup>2</sup> siasah, kerana kita perchaya dengan kebebasan berchakap dan kebebasan membuat parti politik, tetapi memang-lah kita tidak bersetuju kalau satu<sup>2</sup> parti politik itu mendapat arahan daripada parti yang tidak ada dalam negeri ini. Ma'ana-nya kalau satu parti politik itu tidak ada polisi-nya sendiri, ia-itu dapat arahan daripada negara lain, maka parti itu harus kita tidak benarkan. Jadi sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi banyak parti<sup>2</sup> politik di-sini mengeluarkan suara-nya di-Dewan ini mempertahankan atau menyuarakan mereka yang tidak ada di-sini.

Saya rasa sa-takat itu-lah sahaja yang saya dapat mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan saya harap benar-lah tuduhan yang liar saperti itu tidak lagi di-timbulkan dalam Dewan ini pada masa yang akan datang.

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Seberang Tengah):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan sukachita-nya saya bangun sa-kali lagi mengambil kesempatan bagi pehak penduduk Seberang Tengah, Bukit Mertajam, yang lebeh daripada 90,000 orang menguchapkan shukor, tahniah dan terima kaseh kepada Titah Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka

Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Seberang Tengah, Bukit Mertajam, ada-lah berasa megah dan menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana memberi kehormatan kepada saya menjadi penyokong pertama dalam usul yang asal yang di-kemukakan oleh rakan saya Yang Berhormat dari Port Dickson. Titah di-Raja ini sungguh pun pendek tetapi ada-lah padat, tepat, tegas dan penting. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Titah uchapan di-Raja ini pada keseluruhan-nya ada-lah menjadi bukti bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan telah menunaikan janji<sup>2</sup>-nya terhadap ra'ayat, dan akan terus bagitu dengan penoh tanggong-jawab untok keamanan, kema'amoran dan kebahagiaan, sama ada dasar dalam negeri mahu pun dasar luar negeri. Kerajaan Perikatan akan menuju kepada matlamat-nya ia-itu untok keamanan, kema'amoran dan kebahagiaan. Hasrat kita di-Malaya ini bukan sahaja untok mengekalkan ketenteraman bagi dunia di-sabelah sini tetapi juga untok bekerjasama bagi masaalah kita bersama, terutama sa-kali masaalah<sup>2</sup> yang dapat memberi kesejahteraan kepada ra'ayat. Saya juga berserta berdo'a dengan rakan saya Yang Berhormat dari Jelebu-Jempol agar Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman akan berjaya di-dalam persidangan-nya yang tidak berapa hari lagi itu.

Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu banyak pelawat dari luar negeri yang datang ka-negeri ini telah memuji<sup>2</sup> usaha dan tenaga Kerajaan tentang dasar pembangunan luar bandar. Boleh di-katakan pakar<sup>2</sup> yang datang dari luar negeri itu menganggap Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini ada-lah satu pusat latehan bagi ranchangan luar bandar.

Kerajaan telah menyediakan segala kemudahan saperti klinik<sup>2</sup> untok ibu<sup>2</sup> yang mengandong dan anak<sup>2</sup> kechil, sekolah<sup>2</sup> bagi murid<sup>2</sup>, balai<sup>2</sup> raya dan padang<sup>2</sup> permainan bagi pemuda pemudi, surau<sup>2</sup> dan masjid<sup>2</sup> bagi orang<sup>2</sup> dewasa, pendek kata daripada bayi yang baharu lahir sa-hingga dewasa sampai ka-kubor Kerajaan telah memberi kemudahan. Sungguh pun bagitu Panglima Pembangunan Luar Bandar ia-itu Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul

Razak berikrar dan berusaha mengadakan lagi berbagai<sup>2</sup> project atau rancangan untuk meningkatkan taraf hidup orang<sup>2</sup> kampung. Tuan S. Schola telah mengumumkan di-Kuala Lumpur pada bulan Disember tahun yang lalu bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan telah mengambil langkah<sup>2</sup> yang tegas tentang hendak memperbaiki keadaan hidup kawasan luar bandar dan dalam bandar. Kata beliau lagi: "Saya fikir ini ada-lah satu kejayaan yang luar biasa pada pehak Kerajaan Persekutuan." Kita berasa shukur sa-bagai ra'ayat yang merdeka hidup aman dan damai serta ma'amor dan dengan hasrat ini-lah kita memperjuangkan nasib ra'ayat di-wilayah Brunei yang maseh terjajah, bukan sahaja untuk bebas daripada perhambaan, tetapi juga bebas, merdeka, ma'amor dan di-dalam kebahagiaan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam ucapan Titah di-Raja ini pada tiap<sup>2</sup> penggal selalu Duli Yang Maha Mulia menitekberatkan soal tanggungjawab ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Ra'ayat. Di-sini saya bachakan:

"Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> ada-lah mempunyai keistimewaan mewakili ra'ayat dan menyuarakan kehendak<sup>2</sup> mereka pada ketika kita sedang menchipta sejarah".

Muka 2 pula:

"Tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> akan mengutamakan kepentingan negara".

Akan tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa dukachita dan kesal yang amat sangat menyatakan ia-itu maseh ada lagi Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-Dewan ini yang tidak sedikit mengindahkan segala nasihat<sup>2</sup> Seri Paduka Baginda itu. Kita tahu ia-itu Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang di-pimpin oleh Kerajaan Perikatan ia-lah negara yang benar<sup>2</sup> merdeka dan bebas walau pun di-ejek<sup>2</sup> dan di-keji yang mengatakan merdeka sa-tengah masak, tetapi padahal warga negara Persekutuan ini bebas berfikir, bebas bergerak dan lain<sup>2</sup>-nya. Saya hairan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh sebab ada sikap sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-sabelah sana seperti Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dari PAS ia-itu pemimpin<sup>2</sup> PAS. Di-sa'at negara kita sedang di-musohi oleh negara tetangga kita, di-masa seluroh ra'ayat membuat persediaan untuk mempertahankan demokrasi, maka apa-kah yang di-buat oleh pemimpin<sup>2</sup> PAS? Mereka hanya

kata orang—menanggok di-ayer yang keroh. Yang Berhormat dari Bachok dan juga dari Ipoh masing<sup>2</sup> menuntut kebebasan mereka dengan suara yang lantang, mereka menuduh Kerajaan tidak mempunyai kebebasan, tidak mempunyai tanggung-jawab. Kebebasan bagi PAS ada-lah berlainan dengan kebebasan yang di-kehendaki oleh PPP atau UDP, kalau negara kominis juga ada kebebasan-nya yang tertentu ia-itu kebebasan-nya yang tersendiri. Kata pepatah Inggeris: "Freedom means so many things to so many peoples". Jadi tidak dapat-lah kita dan susah hendak menyesuaikan kehendak<sup>2</sup> sa-suatu parti atau sa-suatu idiologi politik itu. PAS dalam ucapan<sup>2</sup>-nya kita selalu dengar dalam Dewan ini telah menyuarakan dengan suara yang lantang hendak membela hak orang Melayu dan PPP hendak membela hak orang<sup>2</sup> China, tetapi saya hairan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh sebab kita tahu lima enam bulan dahulu PAS telah juga berikhtiar membuka pintu parti-nya untuk menarek orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Islam masuk di-dalam rumah atau pintu PAS, sa-telah chadangan itu gagal maka sekarang pula telah tergamak ahli<sup>2</sup> PAS masuk pintu dan masuk kelambu bersama<sup>2</sup> dudok berkhawat dengan PPP dan UDP (*Ketawa*). Ini satu perkara yang saya chukup hairan sekali . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Kalimah "khalwat" tidak boleh di-pakai—tarek balek.

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Saya tarek balek (*Ketawa*). Tetapi tujuan dan kedudukan parti-nya sangat berlainan seperti langit dengan bumi ia-itu idiologi parti Islam dengan idiologi parti PPP dan UDP, sebab itu-lah saya katakan dengan parkataan yang saya tarek balek tadi (*Ketawa*). Itu-lah hasrat parti Islam dengan memasok pintu dan masuk kelambu dudok bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan parti pembangkang yang berlainan idiologi-nya yang hanya satu tujuan sahaja ia-lah hendak menumbangkan Kerajaan Perikatan.

**Enche' Mohd. Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh):** Untuk penjelasan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya belum ada lagi satu United Front untuk menumbangkan parti Perikatan.

**Mr Speaker:** Belum ada lagi front—tinggalkan begitu sahaja. Proceed!

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Kita tahu PAS pandai menuduh Kerajaan dan saya mithalkan ada-lah sa-bagai burung kasturi, ostrich di-Australia yang tabi'at-nya selalu chari lubang dan benamkan kepala-nya dalam lubang itu; dan ekor serta badan-nya yang terburai di-luar itu difikir-nya orang ta' nampak.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Sir, on a point of information . . . .

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** I have no time.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Ostrich do not look for holes.

**Mr Speaker:** Please proceed.

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Saya minta dan saya berharap, bukan sahaja daripada PAS begitu juga daripada Socialist Front jangan-lah sa-bagai kata pepatah Melayu: "Ayam bapak yang kokok-nya berderai<sup>2</sup>, tetapi ekor-nya bergelumang dengan tahi." Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita di-Persekutuan ini menjalankan dasar demokrasi ia-itu demokrasi berparlimen maka demikian-lah juga kalau Persekutuan Malaysia yang akan tertuboh nanti, teraju pentadbiran negara akan di-pegang oleh wakil<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat yang dipileh oleh ra'ayat menerusi pilehan raya maka yang demikian dasar negara Persekutuan ini mahu pun dasar luar atau dasar dalam negara ada-lah berdasarkan dengan kehendak suara yang banyak bukan dengan suara yang sadikit dalam Dewan ini.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kepada wakil Ipoh yang selalu bila beruchap dalam Dewan ini saya berasa kechiwa oleh sebab perkara<sup>2</sup> yang tidak patut di-ucapkan yang boleh menyakitkan hati antara kaum itu di-ucapkan dalam Dewan ini, kerana kita tahu tabi'at orang Melayu ada-lah satu bangsa yang sabar, satu bangsa yang pendiam dan orang Melayu juga ada-lah satu bangsa yang suka mengamok dan tidak suka mendengar gendang raya berbunyi pada masa yang tidak tentu. Jadi, saya minta-lah kepada Yang Berhormat itu berjaga<sup>2</sup> sadikit apabila beruchap ber-

kenaan dengan satu<sup>2</sup> kaum yang akan menyakitkan hati satu<sup>2</sup> kaum. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita banyak terdengar di-antara ahli<sup>2</sup> yang beruchap dua hari yang lalu . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Berapa panjang lagi? Sudah habis-kah belum?

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Belum, panjang lagi.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! The time is up. The House is suspended to 4.30 this afternoon.

*Sitting suspended at 1 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.*

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

## EXEMPTED BUSINESS (Motion)

**The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That the proceedings of the House this day relative to the Address of Thanks to His Majesty shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) until 8.00 p.m., and, unless the debate thereon shall have come to a close before that hour, Mr Speaker shall thereupon put all necessary questions to the House to bring the proceedings on the said motion to a conclusion.

**The Minister of Internal Security and Minister of the Interior (Dato' Dr Ismail):** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That the proceedings of the House this day relative to the Address of Thanks to His Majesty shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) until 8.00 p.m., and, unless the debate thereon shall have come to a close before that hour, Mr Speaker shall thereupon put all necessary questions to the House to bring the proceedings on the said motion to a conclusion.

## MOTION

### THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

#### Address of Thanks

Order read for resumption of debate on Question:

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan

Agong as follows:

"Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat of the Federation of Malaya in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the Fifth Session of Parliament has been opened."

with amendment by Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad to delete the full-stop and add at the end the following words:

"but regrets that the Gracious Speech does not mention specific and effective steps and plans to assist Malays in commerce and industry and does not specify the efforts and plans of His Majesty's Government to wipe out colonialism in the four Malay provinces in Southern Thailand by peaceful means."

*Debate resumed.*

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam ucapan Titah di-Raja pada muka 2 ada berbunyi:

"... Beta yakin oleh kerana semua ahli Dewan Negara dan Dewan Ra'ayat sedar akan penting-nya kemajuan yang berlaku sekarang dan kejadian<sup>2</sup> pada masa hadapan, maka tuan<sup>2</sup> dan puan<sup>2</sup> akan mengutamakan kepentingan<sup>2</sup> negara dengan semangat perpaduan yang tulin . . ."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita dapati dalam negeri ini chorak politik party<sup>2</sup> Pembangkang tidak-lah menguntungkan kepada bangsa dan negara malah merugikan semua sa-kali. Di-sebalek-nya membayangkan rasa tanggung-jawab-nya untuk memelihara maruah bangsa dan mengawal kehormatan negara maka pemimpin<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah bachol untuk mempertahankan maruah negara.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Jangan menggunakan perkataan bachol itu.

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Pemimpin<sup>2</sup> ini takut tidak berani bertanggung-jawab untuk mempertahankan maruah negara. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini tentu-lah tahu bahawa ini-lah masa-nya kita mesti berganding bahu. Dalam soal kebangsaan atau national apabila negara kita terancam party<sup>2</sup> ini tidak mahu mengendahkan atau tidak mahu mengambil peduli sama sa-kali tetapi menunjukkan belang dan chorak, ini-

kah yang di-namakan ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu?

Soal Malaysia dalam muka 5 ini, saya suka mengambil bahagian; boleh di-katakan sa-panjang Titah di-Raja ini banyak Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat telah beruchap panjang lebar berkenaan dengan soal ini. Kita telah mendapat sokongan Malaysia semenjak persidangan Perdana Menteri Commonwealth pada tahun lalu. Dan baharu<sup>2</sup> ini Tuan Jawaharlal Nehru, Perdana Menteri India berkata, "kami memandang satu kesatuan seperti Malaysia akan menjadi ka-arrah menghapuskan pemerintahan penjajah". Tuan C. V. Narasimhan Setia Usaha Rendah Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu berkata baharu<sup>2</sup> ini sa-lepas daripada kunjongan-nya di-wilayah Borneo dia dapati pemimpin<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat di-wilayah Borneo yakin bahawa pembentokan Persatuan Malaysia akan di-chipta dan akan mencapai kemerdekaan dan mendapat kema'amoran. Dan juga dalam *Utusan Melayu* pada hari ini kita pun telah membaca berkenaan dengan pandangan yang di-dapati oleh tiga orang Ahli Parli-men British dari Party Buroh yang baharu sahaja melawat di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> Borneo. Sunggoh pun ada negara yang memandang Tanah Melayu ini sa-bagai melukut di-tepi gantang memandang kechil, hina dan burok tetapi saya perchaya manusia di-dalam negeri ini sendiri memandang chantek dari pandangan mata-nya. Saya suka sebutkan kata<sup>2</sup> dari tuan C. V. Narasimhan Setia Usaha Rendah Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu; saya bachakan di-sini:

"Mr C. V. Narasimhan today said that Malaya was a powerful force in the Afro-Asian Bloc in the United Nations because of her dignity, restraint and tolerance. As in the maxim, deeds speak louder than words. Malaya knows when to speak and when to say nothing. I only hope that other Asian nations can follow your country's example and keep their mouth shut and speak only at the right time."

Ini ada-lah kata<sup>2</sup> daripada tuan C.V. Narasimhan. Kita dapat tahu baharu<sup>2</sup> ini dua orang ahli Barisan Socialist atau Party Socialist mengadakan perjumpaan di-Chin Woo, bekas Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian telah menyeru ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini menumbangkan Kerajaan

Perikatan dengan cuara berpelembagaan, ini amat-lah di-kesalkan—gerakan menumbangkan pemerintah yang di-pilih oleh ra'ayat yang menjalankan dasar berparlimen. Ra'ayat yang ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bagi hendak-lah di-satukan menentang sehingga titisan darah yang akhir untuk mempertahankan negeri ini. Soal Malaysia ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah soal negara oleh itu ini ada-lah tanggung-jawab bagi semua ra'ayat juga party<sup>2</sup> Pembangkang dalam negeri ini berdiri dalam menghadapi konfrantasi negara<sup>2</sup> luar itu demi kepentingan keselamatan dan maruah negara yang kita chinta. Tetapi, sikap parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang ada-lah mengambil kesempatan untuk menghentam dasar luar negeri pemerintah berkaitan dengan Malaysia dalam sa'at negara sedang sibok menghadapi dasar penentangan dari sa-buah negara asing ia-itu Indonesia ada-lah sangat<sup>2</sup> di-kesalkan.

Dasar parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang dalam masalah Indonesia dan konfrantasinya itu ada-lah jelas menunjukkan belang dan sikap-nya ia-itu tiada menguntungkan bagi Kerajaan, ra'ayat dan negara. Dengan terang ini menunjukkan yang mereka anti kepentingan national. Chuba kita lihat apa yang berlaku dan apa yang di-buat oleh semua parti di-India, baik parti pemerintah, mahu pun parti pembangkang termasuk Parti Komunis India. Mereka dengan sabulat suara bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan pemerintah menentang soal sempadan. Ini menunjukkan bahawa parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang di-India ada-lah benar<sup>2</sup> berjuang untuk kepentingan negara dan bangsa, malang-nya parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang dalam negeri ini ada-lah berchorak opportunist, bukan nationalist, kerana faedah diri-nya sendiri daripada kepentingan national. Ini Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah sangat<sup>2</sup> di-kesalkan.

Malaya dan seluroh ra'ayat-nya ada-lah sentiasa berharap supaya perhubungan di-antara Tanah Melayu dengan Indonesia itu menjadi tegoh dan baik, kerana kedua<sup>2</sup> buah negara itu mempunyai satu kebudayaan dan bangsa<sup>2</sup>-nya juga ada-lah terdiri dari satu rumpun dan sa-darah sa-daging.

Kita di-Malaya dan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tidak sa-kali<sup>2</sup> berniat hendak memencilkan Indonesia, atau pun hendak mengancam Indonesia, tetapi kalau-lah masaalah maruah, maruah pemimpin dan maruah negara telah di-singgong maka kita tidak boleh berdiam diri dan membenarkan diri kita di-perhinakan. Penghinaan<sup>2</sup> terhadap Bapa Kemerdekaan Malaya dan pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Malaya tidak akan dapat di-terima oleh ra'ayat Malaya. Penghinaan kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri ada-lah di-anggap sa-bagai satu penghinaan kepada seluroh ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Dasar konfrantasi terhadap Malaya dan kechaman<sup>2</sup> terhadap Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri ada-lah satu galakan kepada ra'ayat Malaya untuk membela Kerajaan dan Perdana Menteri-nya. Kenyataan dan sokongan ini datang-nya bukan dengan desakan, atau paksaan dari sa-siapa juga pun, tetapi ada-lah terbit-nya dari hati yang jujur, yang bersifat perwira dan sedar tentang ma'ana-nya kebebasan yang sa-jati.

Tuan Yang Terutama Pesuruhjaya New Zealand, C. M. Bennet ada mengatakan di-sini ia-itu :

In the person of your Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, we see a statesman of the first rank and indeed a man of destiny.

Dan di-Kuala Lumpur ini juga Tuan Brockway ia-itu juruchakap Parliament Inggeris dan juga Tuan Arthur Bootomley telah memuji<sup>2</sup> Perdana Menteri kita ia-itu sa-bagai sa-orang Perdana Menteri yang chekap.

Saya ucapkan terima kaseh dan bershukur kepada Tuhan, sungguh pun parti<sup>2</sup> pembangkang dalam Dewan ini, saya katakan tadi tidak bertanggung jawab, walau pun begitu kita patut ucapkan terima kaseh kepada pekerja<sup>2</sup> lombong yang tiada jadi mogok pada tempoh hari dahulu di-mana sa-ramai 15,000 orang pekerja<sup>2</sup> lombong pada bulan March tahun lalu ada-lah menunjukkan bahawa waktu negara kita telah terancam, demi kepentingan negara, ra'ayat dari semua gulongan ada-lah berdiri di-belakang Yang

Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dan berdiri di-belakang Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dan juga perbuatan yang menghina bagi negara kita oleh sa-orang Ketua Negara dengan menyanyikan lagu Terang Bulan. Ini ada-lah satu penghinaan yang merupakan penghinaan sa-chara langsung terhadap ra'ayat dan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, saperti bendera, maka lagu kebangsaan ada-lah lambang bagi seluruh negara. Lambang itu biasa-nya di-pertahankan dengan titisan darah ra'ayat; sa-suatu yang tidak boleh di-persendakan, atau di-permainkan, dan ra'ayat sudah tentu tiada rela tentang perbuatan penghinaan itu di-lakukan oleh sa-siapa juga, tetapi saya berasa dukachita ia-itu pemimpin Parti Islam sa-Tanah Melayu apabila di-tanya oleh wartawan, saya ingat wartawan *Utusan Melayu* ia-itu apa-kah pendapat tuan berkenaan dengan perkara ini. Jawab-nya : No comment.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Malaysia, mengikut pendapat dan pakar<sup>2</sup> daripada golongan Komunis dan pro-Komunis. Malaysia akan di-kendalikan oleh anak<sup>2</sup> negeri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang berlumuran dengan darah, kerana melakukan pembunuhan terhadap penjuang<sup>2</sup> kemerdekaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dahulu. Maksud-nya orang yang mematahkan perjuangan Komunis di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Orang<sup>2</sup> daripada golongan ini ia-itu orang<sup>2</sup> yang bersimpati dengan perjuangan Komunis, baik di-Singapura mahu pun di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan di-mana juga pun, anggap ia-itu orang<sup>2</sup> Komunis yang melakukan kekejaman dan pembunuhan di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-lama 12 tahun itu ada-lah sa-bagai patriot—penjuang kemerdekaan, penjuang kebebasan. Mereka<sup>2</sup> itu-lah sa-benar-nya patriot perjuangan kerana membunuh dan merampas harta-benda manusia yang tidak berdosa. Orang<sup>2</sup> Komunis dan pro-Komunis menganggap Kerajaan Perikatan yang telah di-beri mandate oleh ra'ayat untuk mendapatkan kemerdekaan dan memerintah negeri ini ada-lah sa-bagai patong, atau boneka penjajah. Ini tiada hairan, oleh sebab propa-

ganda Komunis memang enak<sup>2</sup> kita dengar. Modal besar Komunis, kalau di-mana<sup>2</sup> juga pun ia-lah imperialist, capitalist, neo-colonialist dan berbagai<sup>2</sup> list lagi, tetapi apabila di-fikirkan sa-mula ternyata-lah Komunis itu-lah yang sa-benar-nya neo-colonialist. Komunis ingin menjajah dunia dengan ideology yang di-kutok dan di-laknat oleh Tuhan. Orang<sup>2</sup> Komunis dan kunchu<sup>2</sup>-nya saperti Socialist Front dan Barisan Sosialis di-Singapura harus mengerti Malaysia insha'Allah mesti tertuboh. Ra'ayat Malaysia dengan jiwa nationalist-nya yang tulin serta dengan pertolongan Allah yang maha berkuasa akan berganding bahu untuk Malaysia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam ucapan Titah di-Raja ini, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan usaha<sup>2</sup> untuk memperbesar-kan angkatan bersenjata dan dalam hujongan-nya ada tersebut ia-itu Kerajaan sedang berusaha bagi mengadakan rumah<sup>2</sup> polis sa-bagai menggantikan rumah<sup>2</sup> yang di-bena oleh penjajah dahulu. Saya di-sini menguchapkan berbanyak terima kaseh, kerana Kerajaan sedang berusaha untuk mengadakan rumah<sup>2</sup> itu, dan juga memandangkan perkhidmatan polis dan askar di-Raja yang chemerlang itu, maka saya mengalu<sup>2</sup> menguchapkan terima kaseh dan tahniah kepada mereka, dan dalam usaha Kerajaan pula hendak menyemak sa-mula gaji<sup>2</sup> pasokan polis di-Raja ini, saya berharap agar tangga gaji yang akan di-tentukan itu hendak-lah bersesuaian dengan kerja<sup>2</sup> mereka dan hendak-lah di-percepatkan menjelang-nya lahir negara Persekutuan Malaysia nanti.

Berchakap berkenaan dengan peranan surat khabar dalam negeri ini, saya menguchapkan tahniah kepada wartawan<sup>2</sup> ia-itu peranan<sup>2</sup> yang di-mainkan oleh surat<sup>2</sup> khabar dalam negeri ini. Kita tidak mengkongkong dan tidak saperti surat<sup>2</sup> khabar dari negara tetangga kita, tetapi mereka ada-lah bebas dan saya berasa dukachita oleh sebab mendengar tuduhan<sup>2</sup> yang di-buat oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh mengatakan bahawa surat<sup>2</sup> khabar di-sini ada-lah mengeluarkan suara

Kerajaan dan surat<sup>2</sup> khabar di-Tanah Melayu ini di-kongkong oleh Kerajaan. Saya perchaya wartawan<sup>2</sup> Malaya ada hadir dalam persidangan Wartawan<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia di-Jakarta di-mana mereka telah menjalankan peranan yang besar. Mereka berterus-terang, berani dan tegas sa-bagai wartawan<sup>2</sup> national, saperti Rosidin Yaakob dan Osman Wok. Saya ucapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> tahniah kepada mereka. Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu Kerajaan Perikatan memang-lah terhutang budi kepada wartawan<sup>2</sup> kita dalam persidangan wartawan<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia, kerana mereka telah dapat menyingkirkan sa-barang serangan terhadap soalan<sup>2</sup> dari pihak Indonesia khas-nya, dan wartawan<sup>2</sup> lain am-nya mengenai Tanah Melayu dan Malaysia. Sikap wartawan<sup>2</sup> Malaya ka-persidangan itu yang telah pun bersama menandatangani peristiharan Jakarta itu adalah satu bukti yang terang bahawa Malaya ada-lah negara yang bukan neo-colonialism dan neo-imperialism.

Berkenaan dengan penerangan di-luar negeri, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerap kali ra'ayat di-seberang laut mengenai Tanah Melayu ada-lah di-kesalkan. Jika gerakan penerangan ini kuat (active) di-seberang laut, maka saya perchaya tidak ada yang akan berlaku salah faham sa-bagaimana sekarang, kerana kita dapati penuntut<sup>2</sup> kita di-Taiwan, London, Eropah dan Amerika saya dapat tahu, mithal-nya, di-Taiwan mereka anggap ia-itu Malaysia di-paksa tanpa mendapat persetujuan ra'ayat, dan mereka di-beri keterangan ia-itu Malaysia ini ditentang, bukan sahaja oleh pihak Pembangkang tetapi juga oleh anggota Parti Perikatan sendiri. Di-England juga ia-itu sa-orang yang bernama Kassim Ahmad, baharu<sup>2</sup> ini telah membuat memorandum menentang Malaysia. Jadi saya perchaya kalau-lah ada Pejabat Penerangan ini mengambil bahagian yang chergas sadikit, maka perkara<sup>2</sup> yang saya sebutkan tadi tidak akan berlaku. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak menchurahkan ayer dingin di-atas segala daya-utama Kementerian Luar Negeri berkenaan dengan Persidangan Kemunchak itu kerana kita sama<sup>2</sup> mendengar pagi ini

Persidangan Kemunchak itu akan di-chipta tidak berapa lama lagi, dan saya yang mewakili seluruh ra'ayat Seberang Tengah berdo'a agar Persidangan Peringkat Menteri<sup>2</sup> itu akan berjaya, kerana persidangan itu akan menjadi anak kunci kepada Persidangan Kemunchak yang akan datang, dan saya tidak lupa juga menguchapkan tahniah kepada Enche' Ghazali bin Shafie ia-itu pegawai yang telah berjaya mengadakan persidangan peringkat pegawai di-Manila dan sa-orang yang telah mengambil initiative berkenaan dengan persediaan<sup>2</sup> untok persidangan yang akan datang. Dan juga baharu<sup>2</sup> ini saya dengar yang Kerajaan sedang mengambil initiative untok mengikat satu perjanjian saling tidak cheroboh-mencheroboh (non-aggression) mengikut dasar Persidangan Bandung yang mewajibkan tiap<sup>2</sup> negara menghormati kedaulatan dan maruah daerah<sup>2</sup> satu<sup>2</sup> negara.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menjelang lahir-nya Malaysia Kerajaan harus-lah sedar bahawa subversive kominis itu bukan-nya di-lakukan dari satu jurusan sahaja bahkan melalui buku<sup>2</sup>, tulisan<sup>2</sup> dan risalah<sup>2</sup> dari luar negeri dan juga dari dalam negeri, dan jangan-lah Kerajaan hanya menchegeh dan mengawal gerakan subversive dari luar negeri sedang subversive dari dalam di-biarkan berluasan dan berkembang biak. Usaha<sup>2</sup> menghapuskan kesangsaraan dan keselamatan kepada ra'ayat yang di-jalankan sekarang ini belum chukup, tetapi perkara yang penting dan mustahak ia-lah usaha<sup>2</sup> membentok jalan fikiran ra'ayat dan usaha<sup>2</sup> untok membasmi unsur kominis dan ideology kominis menerusi tulisan dan sastera hendak-lah di-perhebatkan dan di-perhatikan dengan berat. Chita<sup>2</sup> kominis untok mena'alok negeri ini akan berhasil bukan dengan chara kekerasan senjata tetapi ada-lah dengan saloran yang saya sebutkan itu.

Kita telah melihat banyak bukti bahawa pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Socialist Front Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan Barisan Sosialis Singapura yang di-kuasai oleh Parti Kominis Indonesia. Bukti-nya ia-lah Persidangan Socialist Front Malaya yang berakhir pada 28hb

Januari, 1962 di-Kuala Lumpur. Hari yang . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Nampak-nya tidak hendak beri peluang kepada orang lain.

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman:** Sadikit lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua . . . . hari yang kenyataan di-buat di-Singapura oleh Lim Chin Siong anggota Barisan Sosialis Singapura kepada pemberita akhbar Indonesia, "Bintang Timur," dia berkata, dan saya perchaya rakan-nya dari Socialist Front juga bersetuju dengan-nya, ia-itu ia lebeh suka Singapura berchantum dengan Indonesia daripada Malaya. Maka dengan keterangan ini, Tuan Yang di Pertua, kita berasa sangat-lah dukachita kepada pemimpin<sup>2</sup> parti Pembangkang itu kerana bukan sahaja menjokkan sikap membangkang tetapi pemimpin parti tersebut sa-lama ini mengaku bahawa mereka-lah juara ra'ayat dalam perjuangan menentang penjajah. Bahawa dengan ini menjokkan ia-itu ta'at setia pemimpin<sup>2</sup> itu dan parti<sup>2</sup>-nya bukan kepada ra'ayat Malaya tetapi kepada Moscow atau Peking. Maka oleh sebab yang demikian dan oleh sebab D. N. Aidit pemimpin Parti Komunis Indonesia telah berjaya menggunakan jarum untuk memasoki kuman merah atau kuman kominis ini kepada jiwa pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Barisan Sosialis, PAS dan Socialist Front, maka wabak kuman itu sedang merebak dan saya berharap kepada Kerajaan supaya mengambil perhatian berat dan langkah<sup>2</sup> yang tegas melawan wabak kuman merah atau wabak kominis yang sedang bermaharajalela, kerana wabak kominis atau wabak kuman merah ini lebeh merbahaya daripada wabak penyakit ta'un. Sakian-lah sahaja. Terima kaseh.

**Puan Hajjah Zain binti Sulaiman (Pontian Selatan):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berdiri menyokong chadangan menyampaikan ucapan terima kaseh kepada ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong atas titah di-Raja pada 22 haribulan yang lepas. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyentuh sadikit dalam Kementerian Pertahanan. Sa-sungguh-nya saya sukachita men-

dapat tahu bahawa pelajaran pertolongan chemas yang telah saya minta<sup>2</sup> telah di-anjorkan oleh Kerajaan diseluruh negeri mempelajari-nya. Dan lagi sukachita saya menerangkan didalam Majlis ini bahawa permohonan saya berkenaan dengan kursus ini telah juga mendapat layanan di-Johor Bahru oleh Kementerian Kesihatan ia-itu di-alatkan sa-buah bilek khas untok mengajar 'ilmu pertolongan chemas. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun didalam ucapan di-Raja tidak menyebutkan sa-chara langsung ada-kah tentera wanita akan di-tubuhkan bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan chadangan hendak membesarkan tentera pertahanan negara apabila zahir Malaysia kelak supaya sa-imbang dengan negara Malaysia yang bertambah besar dan subur, saya berharap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan perchaya Malaysia akan mempunyai askar wanita yang pilihan yang tidak kurang cekap-nya dengan askar wanita di-negeri<sup>2</sup> lain di-dalam dunia ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, wanita<sup>2</sup> Malaya khas-nya Melayu siap sedia menunggu panggilan untok di-daftarkan menjadi askar tanah ayer dengan sabar dan berani. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, titah di-Raja di-hujongan khas saya sangat gumbira membacha-nya bahawa pehak Kementerian Pelajaran akan mengkaji sa-mula chara<sup>2</sup> Sekolah Menengah Lanjutan supaya membolehkan penuntut<sup>2</sup> belajar hingga tiga tahun. Saya harap rancangan itu akan berjalan segera dan bukan-nya hanya tiga tahun, tetapi lebeh dari itu supaya tiap<sup>2</sup> penuntut lebeh baik lagi daripada itu, ini-lah perkhabaran yang di-nanti<sup>2</sup> oleh semua ibu bapa hendak menghantarkan anak<sup>2</sup> mereka di-sekolah menengah lanjutan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-sungguh-nya saya terchari<sup>2</sup> di-dalam Titah di-Raja kalau<sup>2</sup> ada bayangan berkenaan dengan rayuan guru<sup>2</sup> perempuan dalam perkara menuntut gaji yang sama dengan orang<sup>2</sup> laki<sup>2</sup> yang sama kerja dan tanggong-jawab-nya. Tetapi hampa sahaja, sungguh pun begitu saya tetap berharap bahawa masaalah gaji sama itu akan dapat jawapan yang memuaskan, ia-itu sa-sudah Malaysia zahir kelak. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, benarkan saya berchakap berkenaan dengan

Malaysia yang asal beneh-nya di-hamborkan daripada mulut yang bertuah dan sejok daripada hati dan jiwa yang jujur hingga hari ini telah tumbuh dan hidup. Bagaimana ada di-dalam alam ini sa-suatu pohon yang baik itu ada musoh<sup>2</sup>-nya maka Malaysia yang indah subur itu telah chuba hendak di-hinggapi oleh ulat<sup>2</sup> dan beneh<sup>2</sup> penyakit yang kerja<sup>2</sup>-nya ulat<sup>2</sup> dan beneh<sup>2</sup> itu hendak membunuh benda<sup>2</sup> yang baik. Demikian-lah saya sifatkan pehak<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat pehak pembangkang yang hendak merosakkan zahir dan hidup-nya negara Malaysia. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda di-dalam Titah di-Raja-nya dengan wajah yang berseri<sup>2</sup> yang menunjukkan keyakinannya bahawa Malaysia akan zahir pada 31 haribulan Ogos, 1963, maka kita semua akan bersidang di-dalam Rumah Parlimen yang baharu di-dalam negara Persekutuan Malaysia yang agong nanti.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hujong ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri pagi tadi sangat-lah mengembirakan hati saya, sa-sungguh-nya saya yakin dan perchaya bahawa tiap<sup>2</sup> yang batal dan jahat itu akan binasa dan yang benar dan baik itu akan hidup dan subur. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana Kerajaan dengan chergas dan berani memerangi pengganas kominis dan hari ini wabak ta'un maka bagitu-lah juga kita akan memerangi ulat<sup>2</sup> dan beneh<sup>2</sup> dan penyakit yang hendak merosakkan Malaysia kita. Sakian-lah sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terima kaseh.

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, a number of Honourable Members of the Opposition have spoken on our Second Five-Year Development Plan and have alleged that the Plan is a failure and that it has neither improved the national income of the people, particularly in the rural areas, nor has it given increased employment. We here, Sir, understand the feeling of despair and frustration of the Member for Kuala Langat, because he was given nearly six years to prove his worth to show that he could put into action what he so glibly and loudly spoke in words. He was the Minister

of Agriculture for six years and was also responsible for the co-operative movement. He always regarded himself as he said in his speech, as the champion of the common man. But what did he do and has any of his schemes a success? He talked about the great tide of resentment built up by the ra'ayat who had been defrauded. If the people were defrauded, it was he who defrauded them by making them to believe that he could do a lot of things for their own interest, when in actual fact he did nothing. Sir, the ordinary men and women in this country, including those who live in the rural areas, are not stupid, nor are they blind to facts. They always know where the truth lies and where sincerity exists.

It is interesting to quote a note sent by the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat when he was the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives. On his visit to the Afro-Asian Conference in Rural Development, he sent a telegram to the Prime Minister in these terms:

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Now, Sir, he says that these schemes are a failure. We know him only too well on this side of the House. We also know the kind of politics he now pursues since he was expelled from the Alliance. He is now championing the cause of the rebels in the Borneo territories. The Radio Kalimantan Utara, or Suara Kalimantan Utara, has repeatedly spoken of him as the leader championing the cause of the rebels. It says that ten political parties in Malaya and Singapore are now united to topple the Alliance Government and to support their cause and that the organisation is headed by the Member for Kuala Langat.

Sir, we, the present members of the Alliance Government, are always ready to be judged by the people for what we have done, and for what we intend to do for them. By our rural development programme during the last two and a half years, we have succeeded in changing the face of the rural areas. In areas where there are no roads before, we have built roads; we have brought medical facilities, water supply,

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mosques, community centres and such other social amenities which we consider are desirable for a decent and civilised life. Of course, these are not all the things that we want to do for them. There are many more amenities which we intend to bring to rural areas to make rural life as pleasant and as amenable as life in the cities. Also, to those who have no means of employment, we have given them land of economic size.

Sir, the first fact regarding our standard of living of which every Member of this House should be aware, is that our heritage from colonial rule has resulted in our economy being dependent on two primary products, namely, rubber and tin and the rise and fall of our national standard of living must, for some years to come, be inseparable from the rise and fall in the price of these two products.

The Alliance Government has always been well aware of this fact, and that is why in our Five-Year Development Plan we have given the greatest emphasis and taken active and positive steps towards the implementation of an agricultural diversification programme, so that in the years to come our economic stability and standard of living in both the urban and rural areas will not be entirely dependent on world market prices of these two products.

Now, Sir, with regard to the effect of the National Five-Year Plan, which, of course, includes the national rural development programme, it has been proved by our assessment of the result of the first two years of the Plan that the physical output of our national economy has increased by 10 per cent between 1960 and 1962. The assessment, Sir, was made not only by the Alliance Government but corroborated by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. There is proof that the general standard of living throughout the country has increased and continues to increase, as a result of the implementation of our Plan.

Now, Sir, to be more specific on this, the Federal Land Development Autho-

rity has already developed an acreage of approximately 197,000 acres of new land, giving a new way of life and a better standard of living to approximately 16,000 families. Even the most irresponsible Member of Parliament cannot argue against this fact; and the fact is that this new development of land is, in fact, raising the standard of living in the rural areas.

In parallel to this, the various State Governments have, under the fringe alienation scheme, opened an acreage of over 186,000 acres of land; the opening up and the giving of land to cultivation by rural people, in my view, is in itself a proof of the general rising of our national output and the general rise of our standard of living.

Also in the field of RIDA 13 rubber processing factories have been set up; 60 small rubber processing factories; 12 bus companies; well over 100 markets have been open up; \$20 million worth of loans have been given to the rural areas, of which over \$15 million has already been paid back; even the rural bus service in Kelantan, more commonly known as NETS, has been put in order by the RIDA from being in debt to the extent of \$800,000 to being put in credit and making a profit last year of over \$67,000. (*Applause*).

All these facts and figures are tangible proof that these vague accusations by members of the Opposition are completely false. Accusations that the Alliance Government is not raising the standard of living of our people are not based on facts and figures, but are based, to my mind, on wishful thinking on the part of the Opposition, because it is obvious from the speeches they made in this House that the wishful thoughts, the hopes and aspirations of the Opposition are that our National Development Plan will fail and will not help the people whom we represent in the rural areas. They hope and pray for this failure for purely selfish reasons that they themselves will be able to take over the Government. And I will say this, that one of the greatest guarantees that the standard of living of our people will not only

be maintained but will be increased if that the Alliance Government should continue to govern and should continue to implement our National Development Plan as at present, because it is obvious to me from the irresponsible speeches from the other side of the House that if, by a stroke of bad luck, this country was being governed from the other side of the House, then by their vague thinking, by their vague speaking, and by their muddled meddling, the standard of living in our country, which on this day, the 28th of May, 1963, would in my view drop lower and lower.

I am surprised that members of the Opposition—the Honourable Member for Ipoh and the Honourable Member for Tanjong—made some assertions about unemployment when there are no reliable statistics prior to 1962. As I have indicated, unemployment in selected manufacturing industries has increased by 10 per cent from 1960 to 1961, I would like to assure the House that the Government is not unmindful of the needs of reliable information of employment and unemployment in this country. We are making every effort to obtain this information through comprehensive surveys of employment and unemployment. This is being undertaken by the Department of Statistics and the first comprehensive survey has been completed for the year 1962. The result of this survey indicated an average unemployment rate of about 6 per cent in the labour force in 1962. This is approximately the same as unemployment rates in the United States and Canada, two of the countries where unemployment figures exist on a scientific basis.

As stated in His Majesty's speech, the implementation of our Second Five-Year Development Plan, particularly our Rural Development Plan, has been a great success, and the proof of this is clear for everyone to see in the rural areas themselves. The Government's action and the Government's deeds speak louder than empty words of the members of the Opposition. It is true, Sir, that although we have done much, there is much more to be done. But if we are given the privilege by the people

to do it, we shall continue to tackle this problem of poverty and depression in the rural areas with all the energy, earnestness and determination as we have done in the last 2½ years. There is no doubt that we have tackled the problem in the right way and with the right approach. The problem of improving the standard of living of the rural people is certainly a complex one, but we cannot solve it by merely talking or by propounding theories. I am prepared to say categorically to this House that our Plan and our method of approach to overcome this immensely complex problem are basically right. I am prepared to meet any professor or any theorist on this subject. Our method and our way have shown results and have succeeded. I have just come back from a tour of the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom and had met many great leaders of Governments as well as leaders of International Agencies. All of them have paid great tribute not only for the way in which the Alliance Government is administering the country but also for the way in which we are implementing our Development Plan. We have been regarded as a model for newly independent countries, because of the stability of our Government and because of the success of our Development Plan. We have been given the respect in great capitals of the world far out of proportion to our size and our population. I have heard all this said, Sir, in glowing terms personally and I say all these are great tributes to the Alliance Government (*Applause*). Of course, we do not expect to get such tributes from members of the Opposition. But if they are honest in themselves and responsible as they should be, then there should be credit where credit is due.

I know certain quotations have been read out from reports put up by a Professor who is supposed to be conversant in economic theories. But I say, Sir, that we in the Alliance Government do not merely talk of theories. We believe in action, we believe in deeds, and we believe in results (*Applause*). The people in the rural areas, in the kampongs and the villages, do not

understand theories. But they understand results and I will say this to any Professor who wishes to propound theories on rural development: "I wish you to show results first before you can talk; we do not dwell on theories."

The Honourable Member for Tanjong spoke about collective ownership in order to create efficiency. I say his idea of collective ownership is unacceptable to the kampong people, particularly the Malays. They want to own land, they want to own houses; but they are prepared to develop their land co-operatively or collectively and this, as far as possible, is being done. That is why one of the main things that we encourage in rural development is the spirit of *Gotong Royong*. Here, again, I say to the Honourable Member for Tanjong, don't work on theories. We have got to devise a system of economic development which is suited to the conditions of our country and suited to the mentality of our people. After all, in economic development, as in any other field of progress, human factor plays an important part. Whatever we want to do, whatever method we devise, we must have the acquiescence of the people. They must agree that it is right, and it is only then that they can adopt and use it continuously to get results. That is why we in the Alliance Government are convinced that what we are doing is the right thing. Given a few more years with the present stable conditions in the country, we are confident that we can effect an evolution in the life of the rural people, so that all of them would be able to live a better, healthier and happier life and that we shall have a rural economy based on a strong and sound foundation.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Seremban Timor alleges that in the implementation of the Development Plan, we are not treating the new villages on the same footing as the other villages. I have made so many statements on this subject that it is almost worthless now to repeat. But because the Opposition Members always keep on playing the same record, we also have to repeat the same answer. I say Sir, our policy in the rural develop-

ment is to carry out development throughout the country in accordance with the needs of a particular area and our Plan is national in character and national in spirit. We have now a special leaf in the Red Book for the development of the new villages and the requests from the people of the new villages are being attended to and given the same attention as those of the other areas in the country.

Now, Sir, I wish to mention a little about loans which the Honourable Member for Bachok spoke yesterday and the Honourable the Prime Minister has also replied briefly. I would like to explain that we are a young and developing country. We cannot carry out development plan without money. The Honourable Member also said our taxes are too high. Well, if we cannot get money internally, we must get money from loans overseas to finance our development. This is the usual thing done by any country in the world, including the United States of America. The United States of America, before she became the most prosperous country in the world, had to carry out development on loans. Like any business undertaking, if you want to expand your business, you got to increase your capital. You borrow money in the hope that your business will expand and your profits will increase and you will be able to pay your loan from your increased profits. In the same way, in a country, if we want to develop and want to expand our economy, then we will have to borrow money for that purpose. When our economy had expanded and when our national income increases, we shall be able to draw more from the country to pay our loans. This is the only road to prosperity, a road which had been followed by every developing and every wealthy country in the world. There is no other way. If we are not prepared to borrow money to expand our economy, then we must remain static and we cannot expand and improve our way of life.

Now, Sir, I should like to explain to the House a little bit about our financial position. With the advent of Malaysia, as has been explained on a

number of occasions, it will mean that we shall have to increase our defence forces and our police force for the protection of a much bigger area than we have now. It has been estimated that we shall have to increase our recurrent expenditure on defence and internal security to the tune of about \$200 million a year on account of Malaysia. In addition to that we have to incur a considerable amount of capital expenditure. Also, the new territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, which are much less developed than we are, will need assistance for their development plans to the tune of about \$100 million a year. We cannot find this money from internal sources, we shall have to obtain assistance from abroad. That is why my colleague the Minister of Finance and myself were in London recently to talk to the British Government on financial assistance for defence as well as development. We feel that Britain has a special and direct responsibility to see that Malaysia becomes an economically viable unit. Therefore, Britain has a special responsibility to give assistance for the expansion of our armed forces as well as for development in the new territories. We have had these talks but, as I have indicated on my return, the talks did not end successfully as the offer made by the British Government fell far short of our requirements. As this matter is still under negotiation between the two countries, I regret that I am not able to give the figures of the amount of assistance offered by the British Government but we hope we shall be able to get the British Government to agree to give a much bigger assistance to the level which we consider reasonable. It will be difficult, Sir, for this Government to carry on its development programme which it has promised to do and at the same time to shoulder an increased expenditure on defence without external aid.

There is only one other matter which I wish to mention, and that is the matter raised by the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat on the subject of General Habibullah. I would like to explain to this House

clearly that General Habibullah, a general in the Indian Army, was sent back to India before the expiry of his term of office at the request of the Government of India because the Government of India required his services. That is the position, Sir. Thank you. (*Applause*).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, we have had a rather pleasant interlude of praise and counter-praise this afternoon and, of course, accompanied by the usual accusation from the Government benches that the Opposition is irresponsible, that the Opposition is destructive, and that the Opposition has no constructive programme to offer. But I would like to give the same answer to the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister—if the Ministry plays the same old record, it must expect the same old answer. We are not saying that the Alliance Government is totally incapable of doing anything at all. What we are saying is that it is incapable of carrying out its tasks properly. This argument is: "Well, if you disagree with us and if you accuse us, then what you are trying to say is that we are completely and totally incapable of carrying out the duties of government." Well, I agree that it is always true that half a fool is better than no fool at all; that it is better to have a government than have no government at all. Now, I actually intended to dwell on the Honourable the Prime Minister's speech but, I think, I shall spend a few minutes more on the speech given to us by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister.

The Member for Seberang Tengah has, of course, read out praises by other governments, and I am not sure whether that is due to politeness or protocol or whether it is because Malaya is too small to worry about, and it is always better to say nice things at parting; but let the Honourable the Prime Minister not be overwhelmed by praise and flattery, especially from his own benches, because it is possible that when we are overwhelmed with flattery, we may miss the voice of truth.

Now, the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister has got facts and figures to show how the rural development plan has progressed. Well, I will read the facts and figures given in the Appendix to the Royal Address. It is stated—

“Up to date, the Authority has started 49 land development schemes all over the Federation with over 85,000 acres under current development for 7,500 families. Eventually within the next few years, on completion of all phases, these 49 schemes alone will see the development of over 206,000 acres for the benefit of 16,000 families”.

Now, on paper it looks very nice. But are these facts? Yes, it may be quite true that 206,000 acres had been allocated for land development schemes. But what we want to know is this: How much of that land has been properly developed? If the land has not been properly developed, you can still show on paper that it is developed land, but in fact it will never be income-producing land. I have before in this House shown photographs of the land development schemes showing rubber trees which are about the size of my wrist after four years of cultivation. Furthermore, it is also stated in the Royal Address:

“In 1963, and in the remaining years of the Second Five-Year Plan, the Authority will continue vigorously its planned programme to start 12 new schemes with an eventual acreage of 50,000 for 4,800 families each year.”

Well, if the true facts are as put on paper no one can but express admiration. But what we are saying is that there is a great deal of difference between the word and the deed; as the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister has admitted—we are not interested in words, we are interested in deeds. So, do that, and let us see; do the things you promised, and let us see.

Another figure was given to us just now by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, and that is that there has been a ten per cent increase in output between the years 1960 and 1962. We are not told how much of the ten per cent comes from our rubber yield. Assuming that 80 per cent of our increase in output comes from rubber yield, and basing it on the fact

that rubber does take six to seven years to grow, there is no doubt that rubber trees which are yielding between 1960 and 1962 must have been planted as far back as from 1952 to 1955. In other words, the Government is reaping the harvest sown by the post-war rehabilitation of estates scheme implemented by the Government. So, there is nothing to shout about. Trees must grow. In seven years they must grow big, and you must get latex.

I am also very glad to hear the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister say, “Look at the new roads we have built in the kampong areas, look at the lights and beautiful properties.” I agree, but that is exactly what we are complaining about. The big new roads do not increase income—the new roads can increase expenditure. As I have stated before, some members of the Alliance have said that the new roads have allowed people to buy Japanese Honda motor-cycles to go to cinemas. Yes, I agree, but the question is how are they to earn the money to go to cinemas? I also agree with members of the Government who have said that nowadays you get traders coming to villages selling cosmetics, selling underwear, and selling silk laces (*Laughter*), and our people in the kampong can now buy under-wear, silk laces and lip sticks. But, Sir, where is the money coming from and for what purpose are they buying those things? Does it increase our national productivity? Maybe it does—it increases marriages. But we are talking of the increase of national economy product.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, the Deputy Prime Minister has stated just now that there are no statistics and so how can we talk of unemployment. My answer is this—if there are no statistics, how can you say that the development of industry is absorbing labour? It cuts both ways. If we say that there is increase of unemployment, how can you say that there is a decrease of unemployment, since there are no figures? However, Sir, what is worse in Malaya is not the question of unemployment—it is under-employment. In other words, five or six people are doing the same job in order that each person may earn

a few dollars, so that on statistical figures they are employed people—they are not unemployed but under-employed. These are the people we must look after. If we are solving our unemployment problem, can the Government tell us why is there an increase of crime? Why do people keep on murdering and committing robbery? Hardly a day passes in Kuala Lumpur without a robbery. The situation is so bad that I understand that the Officer-in-Charge of the Police District of Kuala Lumpur no longer holds his weekly briefings with the press to inform the press the state of crime in Kuala Lumpur. The other day, it was alleged that a certain gang carried out a crime of violence, including kidnaping, following the tactics they had learned from a film they had seen. How do you account for this increase in crime? Every day as you pass by Kuala Lumpur, you see police blocks—they are trying to catch people. Why, if there is no unemployment?

The other day my Honourable friend, the Member for Seberang Selatan, stated that the Police had carried out raids in Nibong Tebal and, in fact, arrested by mistake the Station Master, Nibong Tebal, and the son of a State Assemblyman, and the Chairman of the Rural Council. (TO ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN: Is that correct?) (*Laughter*).

**Mr Speaker:** Why didn't you get information beforehand?

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** I am sorry, Sir. It is very unfortunate that this happened to the son of an Alliance State Assemblyman. It was fortunate that these two persons were recognised and released, but there were other people who had been unfortunate and had been detained—and the reason given for this is that crime is on the increase in the Nibong Tebal district, which hitherto has been quite crime-free and that the Government must take steps immediately to stop any crime. But, Sir, the real answer is this. Many of these people have been put on restricted residence on the belief that if they are shifted from one area to another crime will cease. That is no solution for crime, if the basis of crime is economic—and it is our argu-

ment that the basis of crime in Malaya at the moment is economic.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I come now to the Honourable Prime Minister's speech. We are very glad to hear that he is going to Japan to meet the President of the Indonesian Republic. We are very glad that these two people on whom the security of South-East Asia lies will be able to meet at last. We hope that good sense will prevail, and we hope that they will succeed, and may God bless them in their attempts to maintain peace. But Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not understand why the Honourable the Prime Minister should at the same time when making his speech think it fit to attack and accuse the Opposition of having given no constructive suggestions at all. Coming from him, it is rather surprising. He has said that we have had nothing at all constructive to offer.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to remind the House that when we came into this House in 1959, we at once talked of the need for rural development. In 1960 the Government produced its Red Book—eight months after we first spoke in this House. (*Laughter*). Mr Speaker, Sir, it is very difficult not to agree with the Honourable Member for Ipoh in his remarks that some Members of the Government show very little brains in view of the laughter I have just heard. *Hansard* is there, and they may refer to it if they wish.

The Honourable Member for Rawang about a year ago informed the Government that poly-isoprene synthetic rubber was about to be perfected and that synthetic rubber would cost about 60-over cents and that this would be a threat to our natural rubber. At that time the Honourable Minister of Health, who was then the Minister of Commerce and Industry, refused to accept our statement and said that it would never be a threat and that natural rubber would have a safe future. Now, unfortunately, the threat has become so obvious that it has become undeniable. But what does this Government do with this threat? Instead of dealing with this threat, instead of warning the people of this

threat, it takes the opportunity of launching the Shell Oil Company's refinery scheme and saying that the Shell Oil Company's refinery scheme will be good for rubber and the future of the scheme in that it would be used to manufacture oil extended rubber. Well, I say again that the real threat is synthetic—not whether or not Shell has a refinery in Malaya.

Mr Speaker, Sir, of course, it is quite true to say that some people—anywhere—make irresponsible remarks, but the irresponsible remarks are surely not confined to Members of the Opposition. We have had a beautiful example just now from the Member for Seberang Tengah, and there is the usual sessional dosage from the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara which, of course, is equalled by the Member for Larut Utara, who goes on talking about Tanjong Rambutan all the time whatever may be the subject under discussion. However, it is surprising that the Honourable the Prime Minister should have stooped so low—and I do not know what angered him this morning—as to say that a former Minister of the Government was picked up literally from the gutter. If that Member was picked up literally from the gutter—and he was sitting for the last eight years in the Ministerial Bench—then I would like the Prime Minister to inform me as to how many more guttersnipes there are still on the Ministerial Bench. It was also stated just now that if the former Minister of Agriculture was dissatisfied with the Ministerial Bench and had accusation of corruption to make, why then did he stick for eight years. Well, the answer is very simple. It may be because he could stomach it for eight years and for no more and had thought that after eight years he had had enough. Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not think it is correct to blame the former Minister of Agriculture for his wastage and for the fact that he had messed up the community development programme and the rehabilitation scheme for the Police constables. You cannot blame him alone. If there is anybody to be blamed, then the whole Cabinet must be blamed.

The Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister just now stated that the former Minister of Agriculture had defrauded the people, or that the people had been defrauded by him. However, he has said here before on many occasions—and so has our Honourable Prime Minister—that the Cabinet's responsibility is collective and that blame cannot be on one man—that all must be blamed and that responsibility must be shared equally amongst all. In that case, the defrauding of the people, the messing of the programmes and all the allegations made by the Government against a former Minister must be accusation against the Government itself. You cannot, just because that person decides to leave the Ministerial Bench and cross over to the other side, accuse him for being a fool all this time, for having defrauded the people for years, and then say, "Thank God, we wash our hands clean of him!" You cannot do so, because those very hands are stained with the accusation and dirt that the Government has accused the Minister of.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we have also been asked by the Honourable Prime Minister as to which party can form the Government and it has been stated that it is quite obvious that we are unable to do so and that we are simply a gathering of people who should, in fact, not be in this House. Firstly, I must inform this House again that in the last elections the Opposition parties obtained 49 per cent as against 51 per cent of the votes obtained by the Alliance; and secondly, it is not difficult to form an unprincipled Alliance of parties. We all can join together unprincipally, like some member parties of the Alliance, and put forward an alternative Government, but we do not do so because we do not agree that it is correct and right for the country. I am also rather surprised that this kind of allegation should be made against the Opposition. It is the same kind of allegation that the British Government used to make against the Prime Minister himself, and members of the Alliance, during our struggle

for independence. The statement then was, "How can these people rule Malaya?" and the scare was so great that many packed their bags and left on the declaration of independence in 1957. These people who have been accused of inability and of incapability are now trying to blame the Opposition. Is this the way the debate should be carried on?

Mr Speaker, Sir, I personally think that one should never come to the position where personal abuse is necessary to win a debating point. It has been stated that we have said things over and over again, but that we have not got the support of the people, and that the Alliance has been returned by votes and, therefore, the Alliance has been right. We wish to say this now: that if we believe that we are right, we will continue to stand here and speak even though we stood alone, because truth is objective and it is not always that he who is in the majority knows or has the truth. If such was the case, we would not have had people like Gandhi, we would not have had people like Jesus Christ and nor would Prophet Muhammad himself have gone to Medina. Great nations and great movements and the progress of the world, in fact, have been borne by people who have had to stand alone against the world sometimes. The progress of the world and movements are not borne by sycophants and flatterers. We can easily flatter, we can flatter as well as anyone can. Right or wrong certainly does not depend on whether or not we have the majority.

The Honourable Prime Minister spoke of the fact that the Government is trying to defend the Constitution. Then, why is not the Member for Setapak released? The Government says that it is working out a constitutional reform and would allow our Opposition to speak, then why is not the Honourable Member for Setapak released? The Honourable Prime Minister has unfortunately said that the Honourable Member for Setapak is a traitor. That is indeed a very harsh word to use, and it is, in fact, a criminal word to use. I am sure if the Honourable Prime Minister

repeated it outside and the Member for Setapak was free, he would take action—and if he were here in this House, he would have liked the Honourable Prime Minister to repeat what he said outside—because in order to be a traitor, one must commit treason, and when one commits treason, one can be punished with death. There is no need at all to detain him, so that he cannot answer for his crime, and then to accuse him of the worst crime of all, that of being a traitor. Enche' Boestamam, the Honourable Member for Setapak, was one of those people who, together with many members of the other side, fought against the British. He was detained by the British for 7½ years. He was released and then he formed the Party Rakyat. He was against colonialism and decided that socialism is best for this country and he formed the Party Rakyat. But today a slander is made against him by one who has the power to have him tried properly for the crime he is alleged to have committed.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Royal Address can in fact be called the royal understatement of the year. The Royal Address itself talks of the difficulties ahead and how we have to face up to our difficulties. I say this, Mr Speaker: blood is on our hands. 150 people armed and in uniform have recently been sent to Sarawak from the Mata Kuching Aerodrome in Butterworth. They were called, I believe, the Police Field Force. But no matter by what name they are called, they have been sent there with arms. It is unfortunate that we should all the time be accused of not having constructive proposals and of being communist agents, as if to say that if people believe we are communist agents, therefore whatever we say is wrong. It is as if to say that because the communist organisations have supported the anti-Malaysia stand, therefore, the anti-Malaysia is wrong, because it is supported by the communists; and that therefore because we supported the anti-Malaysia plan, everybody should go against the anti-Malaysia plan. It is as if to say that because we say that every child should go to school, and because the

communists say that we are right, therefore, no child should go to school, because the communists say so. There is no logic in that and I wish to show from the history of Malaysia that in fact on many occasions it was we in Malaya who had set the lead.

Before the discussion of Malaysia came up in the Singapore Legislative Assembly, the Socialist Front had said we agreed only in principle to the concept of Malaysia. Mr Speaker, Sir, in 1962, I reiterated the following points we have made before: (i) that the Malaysia Plan must be approached not by the Government but by the expressed will of the people of equal standing through independent Bornean States, and Malaysia should be formed with the free will of the people; (ii) the form and structure of Malaysia must be put before the people and the majority will must prevail; (iii) that all people should be politically equal and there should be no discrimination against anyone; (iv) that Malaysia must stand for peace and neutrality and in friendship with Indonesia; (v) it must stand for independence internationally. In a speech delivered in August, 1961, I emphasised that we must for our sake and for our own survival stand for peace and for neutrality. We then warned the Government at that time that if the Government did not proceed along those lines there was bound to be hostility breaking out in the Bornean territories and there was bound to be hostility with Indonesia. We said there was bound to be hostility in the Bornean territories, and we were correct. We had warned the Government. But after going to the Bornean territories we were accused of being fifth columnists. There was an outbreak of hostilities after that. We warned the Government that we must stand for peace and neutrality; we must work for and have a Malaysia in friendship with Indonesia. What did the Honourable Prime Minister say? His Party said that the Socialist Front wanted to sell Malaya to Indonesia. What is the Honourable Prime Minister trying to do today? He is packing up to go to Japan to meet the Presi-

dent of Indonesia at the initiative, unfortunately, of the President of the Indonesian Republic, Soekarno. We knew some two years ago that we had to discuss matters with Indonesia and make sure that Indonesia will not feel threatened, and that we can come to an understanding with her. And if all these points which we had said about Indonesia were not constructive, then I do not know what can ever be constructive to the Government. We have also stated quite clearly that once we accept the concept of Malaysia, we would have to accept the reality of the Malay speaking world, or the Melayu Raya idea. This was stated long ago and this would become a reality.

**Mr Speaker:** What is that you are reading?

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** I am referring to speeches I made long ago. And we must view this in relation to Thailand which is to our immediate west. We also said that the Western Powers in their fight against communism require bases, which at present exist in Singapore, the Philippines, Formosa, Indochina, Thailand, South Korea and Okinawa. But since the fight is not only an ideological fight, in such a fight Indonesia would become a threat to the West, and since it is a threat, Singapore and the Malayan bases could be used to meet this intended threat, and we would be involved in a conflict with Indonesia, which Malaya must at all cost avoid. Malaysia would and must become an Asian entity and an Asian reality. We must not ally ourselves with the West. We must, therefore, stand for neutrality and only by standing for neutrality can we get peace. All this was said in the course of several speeches throughout 1961 and 1962 in the University of Malaya, to the foreign press in Singapore, to the Penang discussion group in Penang and to members of the public generally. And yet in spite of this history, in spite of the fact that we had warned the Government of the difficulties of Malaysia, before the Indonesian Government ever thought to oppose Malaysia, we have been accused of being communist stooges. I have heard here only about an hour ago, from the

Honourable Member from Seberang Tengah, accusations which have been made before by the People's Action Party of Singapore. It is surprising that we should echo what in fact is not true. We all know that different people have different motives. The British people want to get rid of the Bornean territories as fast as they can, because they do not want to be accused of being a colonising power. The Government of Singapore wants to get rid of the dissatisfied industrial workers and place them under the control of someone else. The Malayan Government would like Singapore to come in but it is afraid, as the Honourable the Prime Minister has said this morning, of the back becoming the front, so he has thought that he should take in the other Bornean territories. I would like to repeat here once for all that the question of merger with Singapore is a question of integration of two parts of the same country. It is not a question of colonising, as in 1948 Singapore was cut away from Malaya. But once you decide to have Singapore only when you can have the Bornean territories, then you must accept the fact that economically and politically, the Bornean territories are foreign and we are taking over a foreign country. And we say it here and now that this must be with the will of the people. Without the will of the people and with dissatisfaction in the Bornean territories, we must use arms to crush opposition—and that is one lesson which should be learnt from the Brunei uprising, because we have to use arms to meet the hostility of the Bornean people. We have to depend on British arms and, because we have to depend on British arms, we will be accused of being a Western satellite nation, as much as Ngo Dinh Diem is accused, as much as Chiang Kai Shek is accused, as much as the former Government of South Korea has been accused—and it is this that I would like to warn this House about. Now, people say the Opposition is opposed to Malaysia because it is bad for the Opposition. Sir, if we were irresponsible, if we were destructive, if we did not care for the peace and the

stability of Malaya, we would have said: "Yes, have Malaysia at all costs and in this situation." But we have not said so, because we know that once Malaysia is formed under this situation there is going to be chaos, there is going to be instability, which will be good for irresponsible opposition, which we are not. The greater the fight is in the Bornean territories, the more money we spend on arms. And the more money we spend on arms, the less we will spend on rural development; the more our economy is strained, the quicker we will collapse; the quicker we collapse, the faster will the people be dissatisfied; and when they are dissatisfied, they will want a change of Government. In that event, either we become Fascists and shoot anybody who opposes us, in which case there will be revolution, or the Government must give way to the Opposition, which will be us. (*Laughter*). We have constantly warned the Government that it is not so much the case of a power vacuum that is going to be caused without Malaysia here, but that Malaysia will be another new centre of instability and unrest—and I am going to ask, whether or not the Western powers would like that to happen, so that more and more arms and more and more money would be poured into this area to no effect?

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Singapore Government is not having Malaysia because of its ideological struggle. It is not true to say that it is because of the ideological struggle that Singapore must be merged with Malaya. It is a necessity, it is a tactic. I doubt if the Singapore P.A.P. will be satisfied to remain in Singapore, and that is why they are purposely sowing the seed of discontent between the M.C.A. and UMNO. It may be that they think they can take over the place of the M.C.A.—I do not know. But certainly the fight in Singapore is not an ideological fight, and let us not pretend that it is an ideological fight because, if we do, we will confuse the issue. I think I have said enough about Malaysia and recapitulated enough to stop this senseless, illogical and emotional outburst against us and the

accusation that we are pro-communists in the hope that Malaysia cannot be viewed objectively. Malaysia must be viewed objectively—truth is objective. Accusing us will not solve the situation, neither will it give any solution. The British Government says: “If we do not have Malaysia, what is going to happen to Singapore, what is going to happen to the Bornean territories?” My argument is this: “Well, boys, it is your baby. You carry it”. Nobody asks those countries to be colonised and if there is difficulty regarding those territories, it is a difficulty created by the situation, not created by Malaysia. Malaysia is only an attempt to pass the baby.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is one small incident, the incident of the cholera epidemic which in itself is out of place in this debate—as far as I am concerned I am dealing with Malaysia and the question of the establishment of constitutional democracy. My belief is that people who have been arrested today, including the Honourable Member for Setapak and many others in Singapore, have been arrested in their attempts to establish democracy in practice. Many of us think that because there is a Constitution, therefore with this Constitution there is democracy. However, the Constitution itself is like the bare bones of a government; it is like the skeleton without flesh. Democracy itself must be felt before it is realised by the people. Many of the people here including the Honourable Member for Seberang Tengah have been talking of democracy and the many forms of democracy. It is very easy to read the words, but to give the word that meaning the people must first understand what is democracy. The British Government established parliamentary democracy after 300 years of constitutional struggle, costing many heads including the head of a king. The American Government established the equality of man to man and the abolishment of tyranny of man over man by a revolution against the British Government and a civil war to establish those rights. The French Revolution did proceed towards this question of demo-

cracy until Napoleon came along and perverted the whole revolutionary struggle into imperialism and established an empire. We know Malaya have not yet gone through that constitutional struggle. Many people do not understand what is the meaning of constitutional opposition; many people do not understand the duties and the responsibilities not only of the Opposition but of the Government itself. This cancer of the Internal Security Act has gone so deep that many people think this is all a joke. (Laughter). People say to me, “Well, Kean Siew, you need time to study more. What about going inside for a few years?” (Laughter).

**Dato' Dr Ismail:** Not a bad ideal (Laughter).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** It is now not a question of the struggle to establish different ideologies; it is not a question even of which “ism” is better for the country. It is a question of whether or not we are going to put up a democracy in practice. I know on paper it exists; I know that people talk and people can oppose; but I also know that many people oppose and oppose with fear. Special Branch officers have been known to go to our Party members to ask them to leave the Party or be arrested—“You better leave the Socialist Front and join the Alliance, or give up politics, or we will have to detain you”. Special Branch people have used agents to warn our Party members against me and say, “You cannot mix up with Kean Siew. If you do so, you might be arrested. The best thing is to join the Alliance”. Police officers have been known to *yam seng* to the collapse of the Socialist Front. Those people are Government servants. A certain member from a little town in Johore was told, quite categorically, that he should leave the Labour Party within a month. He did not do so, and he was arrested and detained.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I say, “Set the people free, if you want democracy to succeed”. Let us struggle and bring awareness to the people as to the meaning of democracy. It is this

struggle to bring home to the people the meaning of democracy, because of the fact that people must be made aware of it, that gives hope—opposition is necessary. It is because of the misunderstanding as to the duties of Government that these people have been arrested, and it is into this category of fighters for constitutional democracy who have been arrested, that we put the Member for Setapak, Enche' Ahmad Boestamam.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I say that though cholera is a very small thing, but it is an example of why we need democracy. Everyone here, who has been to Malacca, is aware that for the last two or three months the water there has been saltish. Every one who has been unlucky knows that in Malacca town we drink water from the taps containing salt from the sea—apparently the intakes were put too near the sea and the salt water comes in. A certain doctor—I believe, Dr Field, an expert in tropical diseases—warned the public through one of our newspapers that if this were to continue tropical diseases would break out. Then, recently there has been an order prohibiting people from bathing in salt water, as apparently cholera can be carried in salt water, or water containing salt—I do not know which exactly is true. Further, one thing is very clear: even the Hospital in Malacca is known to have water closets which were unflushed due to water shortage, and it is a fact that many of the outlets from the public waste pipes would flow in the direction of the intakes of the water supply of Malacca. Under that situation, there is no doubt that the outbreak of cholera should have been anticipated, but instead of a public outcry . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** We have spent two hours on the debate on cholera.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** I am talking on democracy, Sir. It is because of the fact that people do not understand the meaning and need of opposition that the people have not set out to accuse the Government of criminal negligence in respect of the cholera outbreak in Malacca in view

of the facts I have just now stated—that is why I talk about cholera. Instead of setting up an enquiry consisting of people who are not in the Alliance, or a mixed set of people, persons like a Senator and known supporters of the Alliance have been put on the panel of enquiry. What do you expect to come from its report? Another praise of the Government much to the delight, no doubt, of the Cabinet; and no doubt that report will be happily presented to international bodies, who would of course echo the praise again. Why is it that this criminal negligence of Malacca has not brought about a public outcry? Why is it that we have read of the deaths of over ten persons and the sufferings of hundreds of people without a furor being created over this matter? Because constitution exists today, but in form and form only. And I would like to end by saying that in this year, where we are hoping to set up Malaysia, let the Government set the people free; let the Government set up a proper constitutional democracy; and then after the Government has done so, we can discuss who has the majority support of the people and who has the minority support.

Sir, if you refer to the newspapers for the last one and a half years you will find hardly one strong criticism of the Government. There is fear to criticise because of the growing list of conditions put on every licence of any national newspaper; and as long as this cancer spreads, there is fear in the people which will cause the diminishment of opposition, or the voicing of opposition, without which there can never be constitutional democracy, and slowly the people will die and out of death there will rise the ogre which will in the form of Fascism trample our people. Thank you.

**Mr Speaker:** The sitting is suspended for 15 minutes.

*Sitting suspended at 6.15 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 6.30 p.m.*

*Debate resumed.*

**Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee (Batu Pahat Dalam):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

saya tidak-lah hendak berchakap panjang di-dalam Dewan ini kerana hendak memberi peluang kepada Menteri<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat untok menjawab hujah<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-datangkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-sa-belah sana. Hanya saya suka mengambil peluang dalam masa yang sengkat ini menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kaseh atas Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong dalam pembukaan Parlimen pada hari Rabu 22hb Mei, 1963, yang lalu.

Daripada titah ucapan di-Raja itu dapat-lah ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengetahui dan faham langkah<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan dari semenjak negeri ini merdeka dan banyak-lah perubahan<sup>2</sup> daripada berbagai<sup>2</sup> perkara yang boleh membawa kema'moran, kesejahteraan dan kesenangan dalam negeri ini. Sakali pun Kerajaan belum dapat banyak memberikan atau mengadakan beberapa perkara yang memberi kesenangan kepada penduduk<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini sa-bagaimana yang di-kehendak oleh mereka, tetapi saya perchaya mereka itu ada-lah puas hati dan bershukor ka-hadrat Allah Subhanahuwata'ala kerana telah mendapat sedikit sa-banyak perkara<sup>2</sup> yang di-kehendaki yang belum mereka dapat pada masa dahulu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ranchangan Kerajaan menggalakkan penduduk<sup>2</sup> kampung bertanam dan berternak itu telah dapat sambutan yang baik dan sa-tengah daripada sa-tengah-nya adalah maju dan mendapat kejayaan. Satu perkara yang saya suka membayangkan di-sini ia-itu perkara pasaran. Saya fikir Menteri yang berkenaan patut-lah mengadakan pasaran yang tertentu supaya dapat-lah barang<sup>2</sup> di-keluarkan itu di-hantar kepada pasaran itu kerana dapat harga<sup>2</sup> yang mahal sedikit.

Sa-perkara lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong dalam Kementerian Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom ada menyatakan:

"... jambatan di-tapak Feri lama di-Prai dan sa-buah tambak di-Juru."

Jambatan ini akan di-dahulukan kerjanya pada tahun ini dan akan siap

dalam tahun 1964. Jambatan Tanah Puteh dan lain<sup>2</sup> jambatan akan di-atorkan dalam tahun ini. Saya merayulah kepada Kementerian ini supaya sungai di-Batu Pahat dan di-Muar yang telah di-ura<sup>2</sup>kan tahun lalu itu dapat di-timbangan dan dapat di-mulakan kerja-nya di-dalam tahun ini.

Pada pagi tadi saya telah dengar Yang Amat Berhormat Tunku Perdana Menteri akan berangkat ka-Jepun menghadiri satu perjumpaan dengan President Soekarno berunding dalam perkara keamanan negeri. Kita semua berdo'a kepada Allah Subhanahuwata'ala mudah<sup>2</sup>an segala chita<sup>2</sup> yang baik Allah Ta'ala kabulkan.

**Dato' Mohamed Hanifah bin Haji Abdul Ghani (Pasar Mas Hulu):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ada-lah menyokong pindaan yang di-bawa oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok kerana dengan membacha Titah di-Raja ini maka pehak kami di-sini tidak-lah puas hati kerana banyak perkara<sup>2</sup> yang besar tidak terkandung dalam Titah di-Raja itu. Sa-bentar tadi kita telah mendengar Yang Berhormat wakil Pontian Selatan bahawa beliau merasa dukachita kerana di-dalam Titah di-Raja tidak tersebut atas permintaan bagi menyamakan gaji guru<sup>2</sup> wanita dengan guru<sup>2</sup> laki<sup>2</sup>, ini menunjukkan bahawa Titah di-Raja ini tidak-lah lengkap dan kemas sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dari sa-belah sana.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara RIDA dan baharu<sup>2</sup> ini kita telah dengar RIDA telah membeli share N.E.T.S. Bus Company di-Kota Bharu dan RIDA telah memutuskan hendak menjualkan 25 peratus share<sup>2</sup> itu kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, dan khabarnya sudah di-jual lebeh 4 peratus daripada harga asal-nya. Ini bukan-lah chara hendak menolong orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam berniaga. Dan ini bukan-lah chara-nya RIDA patut berbuat demikian. Sebab kalau hendak menjualkan share<sup>2</sup> itu kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu hendak-lah di-jual pada harga yang asal—jangan mengambil untung, sebab itu kurang sangat orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Pantai Timor membeli share<sup>2</sup> itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan ada chuba

merayu kepada sharikat<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dan perusahaan untuk menerima orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu menjadi buroh<sup>2</sup>. Menjadi buroh ini bukan ma'ana-nya penyertaan yang bererti sangat dalam perniagaan dan perusahaan. Tetapi itu pun kerja Kerajaan sangat sedikit kerana saya tahu banyak sharikat<sup>2</sup> dan perniagaan banyak ambil nama sahaja orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu bekerja di-dalam-nya. Sa-patut-nya Yang Berhormat Menteri yang berkenaan hendak-lah mengambil tahu dan sentiasa mengambil berat serta menyasat buroh<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam tiap<sup>2</sup> company supaya jangan mereka mengelak daripada membawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu bekerja dalam sharikat<sup>2</sup> perniagaan dan perusahaan, dan kalau ini pun tidak dapat di-buat ta' usah-lah banyak propaganda. Maka dengan sebab itu-lah, pehak kami telah membawa satu usul dalam Parliamen ini dahulu ia-itu supaya di-adakan satu peratoran dan undang<sup>2</sup> bagi mengambil orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu bekerja dalam lapangan perdagangan dan perusahaan, tetapi malang-nya, Yang Berhormat Menteri yang berkenaan telah menolak usul itu dengan mengatakan bahawa serba-serbi-nya telah berjalan dengan baik, dan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak akan ketinggalan dalam lapangan perdagangan dan perusahaan.

Dalam Titah ucapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong ada mengatakannya.

"Bagi pehak Kerajaan Beta, Beta suka hendak mengucapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kasih kepada mereka yang telah menunaikan kewajipan-nya dengan ta'at setia dan menjalankan berbagai<sup>2</sup> tugas dengan tekun."

Ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang senang sa-kali mengucapkan terima kasih kepada pegawai<sup>2</sup> ini, sebab ucapan terima kasih itu hanya-lah ayer liur sahaja, tetapi apa-kah layanan yang di-berikan bagi memperbaiki keadaan hidup pegawai<sup>2</sup> Dewan ini sudah jemu dengan pengakuan<sup>2</sup> dan kenyataan<sup>2</sup> Menteri<sup>2</sup> dalam hal pegawai<sup>2</sup> dan kaki-tangan Kerajaan. Chuba kita lihat nasib kaki-tangan<sup>2</sup> jawatan rendah, seperti anggota polis mereka ini mempunyai tugas yang tegas, dan Kerajaan telah menggula<sup>2</sup>kan dengan kenaikan gaji anggota polis ini akan di-

fikirkan. Fikir dan hingga hari ini nasib anggota<sup>2</sup> polis yang bergaji rendah tidak terbelah dan gaji mereka tidak di-naikkan walau pun pehak kami di-sini mengemukakan tuntutan<sup>2</sup> dari sa-masa ka-samasa. Dalam perkara ini Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seberang Tengah juga menyatakan supaya gaji anggota<sup>2</sup> polis ini dapat di-pertimbangkan dan segera kenaikan gaji di-lakukan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, anggota<sup>2</sup> polis ada-lah mempunyai tugas yang berat. Oleh yang demikian maka mustahak-lah mereka ini di-tambah gaji mereka sa-bagai penghargaan kepada khidmat mereka. Terima kasih sahaja daripada Kerajaan pada tiap<sup>2</sup> kali ucapan di-Raja tidak-lah mendapat membela nasib mereka itu. Titah ucapan di-Raja ini telah menyebutkan tentang ikhtiar Kerajaan hendak membesarkan Angkatan Bersenjata Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, tetapi satu perkara yang saya perhatikan berlaku dalam tentera kita yang menunjukkan ia-itu Kerajaan ini tidak berjalan dengan betul telah nampak pileh kasih kepada orang<sup>2</sup> gulongan yang tertentu dalam memberi jawatan<sup>2</sup> yang penting dalam tentera itu. Gulongan ra'ayat biasa, walau pun lama berkhidmat dan sama pangkat-nya tidak di-galakkan. Perbuatan seperti ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak patut di-lakukan dalam tentera di-mana kita berkehendakkan perkhidmatan yang penoh dalam tentera yang tidak di-ganggu oleh perasaan tidak puas hati yang di-timbulkan akibat pileh kasih dan tekanan yang halus itu.

Dalam memperkatakan pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan ini, saya ingin berchakap terhadap kaki-tangan<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan yang tidak mahu menyokong kekaruti politik Perikatan. Tekanan<sup>2</sup> itu dirasai oleh kaki-tangan<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan. Siapa yang chuba hendak menunjukkan kesungguh-nya dalam fikiran-nya menentang dasar Parti Perikatan, ditukarkan dan di-tekan. Banyak chontoh yang berlaku di-merata<sup>2</sup> tempat diseluruh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Kebebasan berfikir dan menganut fahaman politik yang sa-suai dengan pemikiran tidak lagi di-beri seperti mesti-nya; sedangkan orang<sup>2</sup> yang

menyokong Perikatan di-beri perlindungan yang tidak halal, kelas dewasa di-seluruh Tanah Melayu ini hampir 90 peratus guru<sup>2</sup> dan penyelia<sup>2</sup> dan ahli<sup>2</sup> propaganda-nya ada-lah penyokong<sup>2</sup> Perikatan. Ini bukan-lah satu rahsia bahkan ada-lah di-ketahui oleh umum, dan ini telah menyebabkan orang telah meluat kepada chara Kerajaan Perikatan yang zalim dalam mengendalikan pentadbiran dalam negeri ini; dengan membelanjakan wang ra'ayat kerana kepentingan parti mereka. Kita tahu juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Bahagian Khas Jabatan Penerangan ada-lah penoh dengan agent<sup>2</sup> Parti Perikatan dan ahli<sup>2</sup> propaganda-nya, dan di-beri gaji wang ra'ayat bagi kepentingan parti mereka.

Tadi saya telah mendengar hujah<sup>2</sup> Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seberang Tengah dan juga Ahli Berhormat dari Jelebu-Jempol yang mentafsirkan pendirian dan demokrasi dalam fahaman PAS ia-itu demokrasi di-atas hak-nya. Kita telah menegaskan bahawa pendirian PAS ada-lah demokrasi atas hak orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu sendiri. Kalau sa-kiranya Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat itu dan UMNO sendiri tidak mahu, atau tidak sanggup memperjuangkan hak bangsa Melayu yang sa-benar-nya, atau hanya sanggup main<sup>2</sup> sa-tengah sahaja, maka baik-nya perkara itu di-terangkan kepada ra'ayat dengan jelas dan saya harap kedua<sup>2</sup> Ahli Yang Berhormat itu apabila balek terangkan kepada pengundi<sup>2</sup> dalam kawasan mereka supaya pengundi<sup>2</sup> mereka dapat faham dan dapat menentukan sikap mereka sama ada mereka akan menyokong Parti Perikatan pada masa akan datang atau pun tidak. Kalau sa-kira-nya bagini-lah pendirian penganjor<sup>2</sup> UMNO, maka lebeh baik serahkan sahaja kepada kami bagi memperjuangkan nasib orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Kami ada-lah sanggup untok memperjuangkan hak mutlak bangsa Melayu dalam tanah ayer kita.

Dan bagitu juga sa-malam Yang Berhormat wakil Seberang Utara dalam hujah<sup>2</sup>-nya telah chuba menghasud Kerajaan, dan memberi gambaran bagaimana pakatan K.M.M. dahulu dan tentera<sup>2</sup> membawa Jepun masuk ka-Tanah Melayu dan P.K.M.M. yang chuba memberuntak dalam negeri ini.

Perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terjadi masa penjajahan, dan tidak patut di-ulang lagi. Tetapi apa yang saya muskilkan ini ada-lah chubaan daripada pehak Parti Perikatan bagi menghasud Kerajaan dengan tujuan ditahan dan di-tangkap banyak lagi penganjor<sup>2</sup> dan ahli<sup>2</sup> siasah dalam negeri ini yang berlawanan dasar dan pendapat, kerana Pilehan Raya telah hampir supaya mereka senang menang dalam Pilehan Raya. Ini-lah akal-nya. Oleh sebab saya telah berjanji dengan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berchakap sa-takat sa-lama 10 minit sahaja, maka tidak-lah dapat saya memanjangkan perchakapan saya ini walau pun banyak perkara lagi yang saya hendak chakapkan.

**Enche' S. P. Seenivasagam:** Mr Speaker, Sir, one does not usually take the trouble to reply to the speech of one whom one considers to be mentally deranged, but then the speech of the Honourable Member for Larut Utara has received a certain amount of publicity. Therefore, I intend, in the very short time at my disposal to make a brief reply. I was not here, and if I am wrong I should be stopped, because I rely on a report from the newspaper. The Honourable Member is supposed to have said that we first came to know His Highness the Sultan of Perak at a ceremony concerned with the opening of a car park in Ipoh and ever since then we have been attempting to curry favour with His Highness. Now, for the information of the Honourable Member for Larut Utara, my parents and my family have known successive Sultans of Perak long before the Member for Larut Utara ever dreamt that he would one day rise from the gutter to come within sight of the Sultan.

The second allegation which the Honourable Member for Larut Utara has made is that the Peoples' Progressive Party wishes to do away with Sultans. That again is in the newspaper report. I say, if he has said that, it is a deliberate lie. I invited him to produce any document, any statement, by the Peoples' Progressive Party that it wishes to do away with Sultans—and if he could do that, I will resign my

seat in Parliament tomorrow. This is the sort of lying that the Honourable Member for Larut Utara always and forever resorts to in this House, bringing disgrace to his own community. The Honourable Member for Larut Utara also asks, what right have So-and-so to demand apology on behalf of the Sultan? I say that it is not only the right but also the duty of every loyal subject of a Sultan to see that the Sultan is not insulted; and if one feels that the Sultan is insulted, it is his duty as a loyal subject to demand redress for him. The Honourable Member, I take it, is a loyal subject of His Highness the Sultan of Perak, but from his utterances in this House, it is obvious that his loyalty does not lie with His Highness but lies with the political Party which makes it possible for him to earn his daily bread.

On the question of relationship between the Rulers and the Federation Government or the Prime Minister, I would suggest that the proper thing to do would be for the Honourable Prime Minister to advise the Governments of Selangor and Perak to resign, because that is what would happen in any other country where there are self-respecting men. You are supposed to be advising His Highness, and when His Highness says, "No confidence in you", what is the proper thing to do, what is the decent thing to do? The proper thing to do is to say, "All right, let us see who is right—the Sultan is right, or we are right." Stand for election again. But no, with skins thicker than an elephant's hide they stick on to office, although the Sultans have said, "We have no confidence in you." That is the sort of democracy that is being practised in this country.

In so far as the Member for Larut Utara is concerned, I propose to leave it at that, although if I had more time I could say more on his speech—though, perhaps, I shall be doing honour to him by talking much about him.

Regarding the Prime Minister, I was surprised, because seldom have I seen him descending almost to the level of the Honourable Member for

Larut Utara, because in his speech he certainly became offensive and abusive. Referring to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, he said, "Where would his education be if his family had not migrated to Malaya."? That I take to be a sneer directed against immigrants. But may I ask the Prime Minister to remember that today he would not be existing as a human being but for the immigrants? Let him think over before he sneers at immigrants.

**The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sudah lama menunggu hendak menjawab, tetapi oleh kerana waktu sudah sengkat, saya ringkaskan sahaja jawapan saya. Yang pertama saya hendak menjawab tuduhan<sup>2</sup> yang tidak ada alasan berkenaan dengan corruption (rashuah atau makan suap) dalam Pentadbiran Keretapi yang di-bawa oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar. Saya menafikan dengan sa-keras<sup>2</sup>-nya tentang perkara ini. Beliau ada membawa tiga tuduhan. Yang pertama mengapa Lembaga Pelabohan Port Swettenham menyewa lori daripada cargo handling, tetapi lori yang di-gunakan dalam kawasan pelabohan itu tidak bayar cukai. Sebagai sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat, beliau mesti faham ia-itu lori<sup>2</sup> yang di-gunakan dalam kawasan pelabohan itu memang tidak di-kenakan cukai. Kalau kerana itu-lah kata-nya corruption—saya tidak tahu apa yang saya hendak chakap. Ahli Yang Berhormat tidak boleh menjadi Hakim di-dalam perkara itu. Yang kedua berkenaan dengan menyewa penarek tongkang (tug). Kata-nya, pehak pelabohan Port Swettenham tidak keluarkan tender. Yang sa-benar-nya, Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat Dewan ini faham bagaimana kita telah di-kutok ia-itu di-katakan pelabohan Port Swettenham itu tidak layak menerima kapal<sup>2</sup> besar dari seluroh dunia ka-mari kerana lambat membongkar barang<sup>2</sup>. Saya sa-bagai Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab menchari jalan dan kami telah pun di-sokong oleh Kerajaan dalam Dewan ini mengadakan satu "ranchangan kilat" (crash programme). Wang \$1 juta telah di-untokkan. Tambatan<sup>2</sup> telah banyak di-adakan, tetapi kapal penarek itu

kurang. Kena-lah dengan sa-berapa segera berunding untok menyewa, kira hari, kerana hendak menchermatkan belanja. Ini pun dia kata corruption. Ini pendapat daripada mana? Saya tidak tahu. Yang ketiga berkenaan dengan sewa tongkang (lighter). Saya sa-bagai Menteri telah dapat desakan daripada seluroh orang<sup>2</sup> yang berniaga tongkang dalam Tanah Melayu ini hendak chari peluang berniaga tongkang. Kami telah membena pelabohan yang berjumlah \$40 juta harga-nya, hanya beberapa bulan lagi akan sempurna, tetapi kalau kami hendak membiarkan tongkang bermaharajalela tentu-lah pelabohan tidak berguna, kapal<sup>2</sup> sa-mata<sup>2</sup> akan menggunakan tongkang<sup>2</sup>. Tetapi apabila tongkang kurang kerana membongkar barang<sup>2</sup> di-Sungai Klang, maka Lembaga Pelabohan Port Swettenham itu di-beri kuasa untok menyewa tongkang<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-kawasan Port Swettenham dengan harga yang murah supaya dapat lekas membongkar barang<sup>2</sup> itu. Al-hamdulillah, sa-patut-nya Socialist Front yang mahukan pelabohan itu maju dan pekerja<sup>2</sup>-nya untong sebab banyak kapal datang, berterima kaseh kepada Kerajaan Perikatan, tetapi mereka menudoh Pentadbiran Keretapi ini corruption—makan suap—suap apa yang di-suap-nya itu (*Ketawa*), suap di-mulut-nya makan nasi hari<sup>2</sup>—saya tidak tahu. Itu-lah telatah<sup>2</sup> yang saya katakan tudohan<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar itu melulu, kata orang kita. Itu-lah tudohan<sup>2</sup>-nya. Menudoh pehak Pentadbiran Keretapi corruption, tidak ada alasan, bahkan sa-mata<sup>2</sup> menudoh dengan melulu, dan hendak menjatohkan nama baik Pentadbiran Keretapi. Kerajaan Perikatan dan saya sa-bagai Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab dalam hal ini. Saya tidak hendak berchakap panjang, sebab sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan, kita hendak menchermatkan masa, itu sebab kita berunding, kemudian kita mengadakan tender jika kita berkehendakkan beberapa banyak lighter lagi pada masa kahadapan.

Atas tiga tudohan yang telah di-bawa tadi yang mengatakan chontoh<sup>2</sup> itu corruption maka saya menolak tudohan<sup>2</sup> yang tidak ada asas sama sa-kali. Yang kedua soal mogok semua orang

sudah lupa kesah itu, sudah basi, tetapi di-katakan Menteri tidak bertanggung-jawab, fasal mogok di-katakan Menteri tidak bertanggung-jawab dan di-minta berhenti. Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar ini hendak menjadi hakim, saya belum lagi mahu menerima dia menjadi hakim dan mahu menerima hukuman-nya, yang saya boleh pegang ia-lah Yang Teramat Mulia Ketua Parti Perikatan Tunku Abdul Rahman dan Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang melantek saya sa-bagai Menteri dan saya perchaya penoh saya telah melaksanakan apa juga kewajipan saya sa-bagai Menteri Pengangkutan, kalau di-minta keterangan “not my business”, “bukan kerja saya”. Saya suka menerangkan, pada satu hari pemberita surat-khabar Inggeris bertanya kapada saya, kenapa saya tidak masok champor di-dalam mogok. Saya jawab itu bukan kerja saya, kerana Menteri Buroh telah menjalankan kerja-nya supaya selesai mogok, tetapi tidak jaya dan saya tidak di-minta oleh pehak RUM menyelesaikan mogok saperti yang di-minta kapada Yang Mulia Ungku Aziz.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Saya hendak ingatkan di-dalam Order of the Day ada satu usul di-bawa supaya Menteri itu berhenti daripada jawatannya. Jadi, saya rasa mengikut Standing Order jika ada satu usul yang khas tidak boleh-lah di-chakapkan lebeh dahulu dan manakala sampai usul itu datang di-bahathkan di-dalam Majlis ini baharu-lah boleh di-chakapkan. Saya boleh-lah benarkan sedikit sahaja untok menjawab-nya, tetapi tidak boleh panjang dengan sebab perkara itu ada di-sebut oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar dahulu. Jangan-lah di-panjangkan kerana kita akan membahathkan usul yang ada di-hadapan Majlis ini.

**Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir:** Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dia tidak ada di-sini, jadi kita tidak dapat tahu sama ada usul ini hendak di-bahathkan atau tidak. Saya juga mempertahankan tudohan<sup>2</sup> yang di-hadapkan kapada Pengurus Besar Perkhidmatan Keretapi Tanah Melayu yang di-sebutkan nama-nya Dato' Ahmad bin Perang bagaimana yang

tersiar di-*Utusan Melayu* tidak layak ia memegang jawatan itu. Saya sebagai Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab memang percaya dengan kebolehan Dato' Ahmad bin Perang sa-bagai sa-orang yang mahir di-dalam soal administration atau perkhidmatan dan beliau telah pernah menjadi Setia-Usaha Kewangan Negeri Johor dan dari sana ka-RIDA dan beliau membetulkan Sharikat NETS di-negeri Kelantan yang Kerajaan telah meminjamkan wang dua juta ringgit dan sekarang mendapat kemajuan sa-lepas tahun 1947 ini banyak untung, juga di-dalam suatu masa dahulu masa menjadi Ketua RIDA beliau dudok di-dalam Majlis Lembaga Keretapi yang mana beliau faham juga selok belok keretapi, oleh kerana beliau mahir dalam administration kewangan maka beliau telah di-pilih menjadi Pengurus Besar Keretapi Tanah Melayu. Patut pehak<sup>2</sup> pembangkang menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada Kerajaan Perikatan yang telah memilih sa-orang anak negeri kita sendiri. Beliau juga menjalankan ikhtiar menolong bekerjasama dengan pehak<sup>2</sup> ini dan dengan kerjasama-nya dapat merundingkan dan dapat menyatupadukan enam Union menjadi sa-buah. Selain daripada itu beliau dalam menjalankan kewajipan-nya bagaimana Yang Berhormat faham keretapi telah rugi pada tahun 1959 dekat 5 juta ringgit, tetapi alhamdulillah pada tahun 1960 dan 1961 dapat menutup kerugian itu. Ini ada-lah menunjukkan kecekapan beliau dan kerjasama daripada pehak pekerja<sup>2</sup>. Tetapi saya dukachita, kepada pehak pekerja<sup>2</sup> ini telah pun ada peratoran<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan Joint Council yang mana kira-nya tuntutan gaji-nya yang telah di-majukan itu tidak boleh di-setujukan maka boleh di-rojokkan kepada pehak yang ketiga atau orang tengah, malang-nya pehak Union tidak mahu merojokkan, dengan itu-lah menjadi satu keputusan pehak Union mengadakan mogok. Jadi, mogok keretapi sa-lama 24 hari itu bukan-lah sebab tidak bijak dan bukan-lah tidak ada kebolehan Pengurus Besar-nya atau pun Menteri. Saya suka menerangkan kepada Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar itu berkenaan dengan

stability atau industrial peace, ketenteraman kerana perusahaan di-dalam negeri itu ada-lah tertanggung di-atas saling mengerti, timbang rasa pekerja<sup>2</sup> dan majikan-nya. Jadi soal ini di-dalam hal keretapi pun begitu juga-lah, bukan fasal Menteri atau Pengurus Besar-nya. Kalau Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar itu membacha kenyataan<sup>2</sup> daripada Mahkamah yang telah diadakan penyiasatan tentang perkara itu di-situ di-terangkan bukan kepada pehak keretapi, juga kepada pehak Kesatuan Buroh Keretapi kerana fasal lambat menyatukan enam Union itu menjadi satu pertubuhan National yang di-namakan RUM, walau pun saya dan sahabat saya Menteri Buroh telah di-jemput merundingkan perkara ini beberapa kali, tetapi makan sa-tahun atau dua tahun, lepas itu telah bersatu, kemudian menubuhkan Joint Council yang memakan beberapa bulan, sebab itu-lah saya harap wakil dari Bungsar ini faham berkenaan dengan mogok ini tidak boleh disalahkan kepada Menteri atau kepada Pengurus Besar-nya. Kami harap Dewan ini faham bagaimana meshuarat kami sampai larut malam pada waktu itu, kerana kami hendak menjalankan ikhtiar mengelakkan daripada mogok itu, pertama sa-kali waktu saya belum lagi masok rumah sakit kena potong appendix, lepas itu walau pun saya belum semboh sa-kali saya telah bekerjasama. Pada satu malam 15 haribulan Yang Berhormat Menteri Buroh dan Menteri Kewangan dan saya sendiri telah bersidang sampai hampir pukul 11.30 malam di-rumah Menteri Kewangan, kita semua bersama Menteri Buroh dan dengan persetujuan Ungku Aziz dan persetujuan pehak keretapi dan pehak Union, kami pergi di-University Malaya sampai lepas pukul 12.00 malam. Menteri Buroh dan Menteri Kewangan balek ka-rumah mereka kerana telah lewat waktu, saya tinggal bersama<sup>2</sup> pehak yang berkenaan di-University itu sampai pukul 8.00 pagi sa-hingga di-buat persetujuan perjanjian dalam perkara<sup>2</sup> yang di-tuntut dengan keadaan yang baik dan sa-suai, maka ini-kah yang di-katakan saya Menteri yang tidak bertanggung-jawab, bukan itu sahaja,

ini kesah yang pertama, tetapi kesah yang kedua apabila hendak di-tanda tangani perjanjian pada 22 haribulan Januari pukul 12.00 tengah hari kedua<sup>2</sup> pehak setuju datang ka-pejabat saya dan mereka menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada saya, dan fasal yang ketiga pula pada malam 29hb March Ketua<sup>2</sup> Pertadbiran Keretapi dan Ketua<sup>2</sup> RUM berjumpa di-meja bulat waktu makan malam bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan Menteri Kewangan, Menteri Buroh dan beberapa orang pegawai yang mengambil bahagian menyelesaikan mogok buroh RUM di-rumah saya kerana saya hendak membaikkan perhubungan di-antara Buroh Keretapi dan pehak Keretapi. Kalau bagini pun saya telah mencari ikhtiar di-dalam soal mogok keretapi maka saya pulangkan-lah kepada Yang Berhormat<sup>2</sup> sakalian menimbangkan atas tudohan<sup>2</sup> yang tidak kena pada tempat-nya. Dalam soal mogok, yang mana saya sa-bagai Menteri Pengangkutan boleh menasihatkan sahaja kalau di-minta oleh pehak Persatuan RUM memberi fikiran dan pandangan, oleh kerana saya tidak masok champor tangan dalam mogok itu kerana saya tiada di-minta oleh RUM, saya telah di-tudoh tiada bertanggungjawab, pada-hal Kementerian Buroh telah menasihatkan supaya RUM berselesai, tetapi RUM tidak mahu menerima nasihat<sup>2</sup> Kementerian Buroh malah RUM memutuskan supaya mogok.

Sa-lain daripada itu saya juga hendak berchakap sedikit berkenaan dengan wakil dari Kota Bharu Hilir; dia tidak ada di-sini, yang menyatakan jalan<sup>2</sup> baharu di-bahagi kepada sharikat<sup>2</sup> bas orang China. Ini satu lagi polisi Kerajaan. Kerajaan Perikatan tidak ada jalan<sup>2</sup> baharu dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini di-bahagi kepada sharikat bas orang<sup>2</sup> China. Ahli Yang Berhormat yang datang dari Kelantan chuba-lah tanya di-mana ada jalan bas baharu di-bagikan kepada sharikat<sup>2</sup> bas orang China di-Kelantan, di-Kedah bahkan semua sa-kali ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pehak RIDA dan kompeni<sup>2</sup> Melayu telah di-satukan. Soal jalan<sup>2</sup> baharu ini tidak timbul, yang sa-benar-nya chadangan kalau

orang ramai itu berkehendakkan perkhidmatan bas dan di-fikirkan oleh RIDA dan kompeni<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu belum boleh mengadakan perkhidmatan bas dengan segera dan sa-kiranya di-persetujukan oleh pehak RIDA pehak orang ramai dan pehak kompeni<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu hendak di-adakan perkhidmatan bas sementara siapa<sup>2</sup> juga kompeni bas yang lalu di-jalan besar hampir dengan jalan<sup>2</sup> itu yang boleh menolong orang ramai, maka baharu-lah boleh kita benarkan buat sementara tetapi tidak membahagi perkhidmatan tetap bas itu kepada pehak<sup>2</sup> orang China kerana dasar kita memang-lah menentang-nya.

Sa-lain daripada itu saya suka hendak menerangkan berkenaan dengan wakil Ipoh kerana dia telah menyentoh berkenaan dengan perkauman, dan Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah pun menjawab tadi. Dia telah berkata ada sa-orang Menteri Perikatan konon-nya minta sokongan daripada taukeh<sup>2</sup> atau pun cheti<sup>2</sup>, itu di-tujukan kepada saya. Yang sa-benar-nya saya tidak minta sokongan dan saya tidak menggunakan perkauman. Yang sa-benar-nya waktu saya berchakap di-Pulau Pinang dahulu ada menyatakan kema'moran bukan sahaja di-Pulau Pinang bahkan seluruh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini dengan sebab Kerajaan Perikatan memegang teraju pemerintahan dengan keadaan yang baik jadi ada keuntongan dan kemajuan termasuk juga Pulau Pinang. Kalau tidak perchaya tanya-lah kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang berniaga—orang<sup>2</sup> yang memberi pinjam wang sa-tengah orang Melayu kata cheti, bukan saya hendak undi-nya. Jadi kita faham dan tahu tudohan itu tidak betul.

Yang kedua, beliau sendiri menggunakan perkauman kerana beliau mengatakan di-Sungai Siput kenapa orang<sup>2</sup> India tidak di-bahagikan permit kereta sewa. Saya tahu Sungei Siput itu ia-lah kawasan Yang Berhormat Menteri Kerja Raya Pos dan Talikom, jadi kalau dia tidak boleh menolong orang<sup>2</sup> India, masakan Menteri Pengangkutan boleh menimbangkan supaya orang India di-beri permit kereta sewa. Saya telah menjawab beberapa kali dalam Rumah Yang Berhormat

ini, kami membahagi permit kereta sewa bukan kerana pemodal itu orang China atau orang India, tidak, tetapi ada syarat<sup>2</sup>-nya. Oleh kerana barangkali orang<sup>2</sup> India itu tidak menjadi bekas pasokan pertahanan negeri ini jadi tidak dapat-lah di-timbangkan. Saya fikir perkara<sup>2</sup> yang dia katakan itu perkauman beliau itu sendiri membangkitkan perkara perkauman dan dia mengatakan saya membangkitkan perkara perkauman. Kerajaan Perikatan hanya boleh menjalankan sesuatu perkara mengikut dasar<sup>2</sup> dan Undang<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-putuskan. Inilah sahaja penerangan saya.

**The Minister of Health (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengambil bahagian di-dalam perbahathan dalam Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong dengan chara ringkas. Perbinchangan di-atas usul ini saya telah di-beritahu telah terbantut sementara waktu pada 23 haribulan Mei di-sebabkan oleh satu chadangan di-bawa oleh wakil Socialist Front dari Tanjong berkenaan dengan wabak ta'aun yang berlaku di-Melaka dan di-Johore. Oleh kerana perkara itu telah selesai dan hujah<sup>2</sup> yang di-kemukakan oleh pihak Pembangkang telah di-jawab oleh rakan<sup>2</sup> saya maka saya tidak-lah hendak mengulang<sup>2</sup> di-sini tetapi oleh kerana kejadian wabak ta'aun itu adalah satu perkara yang menarek perhatian ramai suka saya mengambil bahagian menerangkan kepada Dewan ini kedudukan yang sa-benar-nya mengikut laporan yang saya terima sa-hingga pukul 9.00 pagi ini. Keadaan yang sa-benar-nya ia-lah seperti berikut:

Jumlah orang<sup>2</sup> di-shaki mengidap penyakit itu 393 orang.

Jumlah yang di-sahkan mengidap penyakit 140 orang.

Bilangan yang telah meninggal dunia 12 orang.

Jumlah penduduk yang telah di-suntek sa-hingga hari semalam ia-lah 1,300,295 orang. Daripada keterangan di-atas nyata-lah bahawa Kerajaan telah menjalankan segala ikhtiar yang boleh bagi menchegegah merebak-nya wabak itu dan sa-hingga usaha<sup>2</sup> Ke-

rajaan itu menunjukkan kejayaan. Usaha<sup>2</sup> itu akan di-teruskan sa-hingga penduduk<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini telah di-suntek dan penyakit itu di-basmikan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam menghadapi krisis ini tujuan dan mutalalamat Kerajaan Perikatan ada-lah berlawanan dan bertentangan semua sa-kali dengan tujuan dan mutalalamat wakil<sup>2</sup> daripada Socialist Front dan P.P.P. Kerajaan menghadapi krisis ini dan menjalankan usaha<sup>2</sup>-nya berdasarkan dan berasaskan kepentingan national. Wakil Socialist Front dan P.P.P. ini menghadapi-nya dan menjalankan usaha<sup>2</sup>-nya dengan ada-nya wabak ini ia-lah untuk kepentingan parti-nya. Bagi pengetahuan Dewan ini dan ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu seluroh-nya biar-lah saya singkap rahsia yang mendorong usul itu di-bawa ka-mari. Sa-bagaimana Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat tahu bahawa City Council Pulau Pinang ada-lah di-bawah kuasa Socialist Front dan Ipoh Municipality di-kuasi oleh P.P.P. Tidak lama sa-telah Kerajaan mengishtiharkan wabak ta'aun berlaku di-Melaka kedua<sup>2</sup> Majlis Bandarannya itu telah meminta ubat suntek kolera dari Kementerian Kesihatan bahkan wakil P.P.P. dari Menglembu telah mengaku dalam Dewan ini yang dia ada menghantar sa-puchok taligeram kepada Kementerian Kesihatan meminta ubat suntek kolera. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan izin Tuan Yang di-Pertua saya suka membacha kandungan taligeram itu:

IPOH MUNICIPALITY URGENTLY REQUIRES FIFTY THOUSAND DOZES CHOLERA VACCINE STOP REQUEST YOU ARRANGE SUPPLY IMMEDIATELY

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, angka 50,000 yang di-minta oleh Yang di-Pertua Majlis Perbandaran Ipoh ada-lah satu angka yang patut di-ingatkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat Dewan ini. Malang-nya permintaan itu tidak dapat di-hasikan oleh Kementerian Kesihatan pada masa itu kerana stock vaccine yang ada pada Kementerian pada ketika itu tidak mengizinkan kita menghabiskan apa<sup>2</sup> faedah kepada usaha menchegegah merebak-nya wabak itu pada masa itu. Pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kesihatan di-dalam Kementerian berpendapat

dengan stock vaccine yang ada pada masa itu lebeh baik usaha menyuntek di-tumpukan kapada penduduk<sup>2</sup> dalam Melaka dan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang berhampiran dengan Melaka terlebeh dahulu dan apabila stock vaccine bertambah baharu-lah di-luaskan ka-seluruh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu negeri<sup>2</sup> yang lain termasuk Perak dan Pulau Pinang bahkan kedua<sup>2</sup> buah negeri itu usaha<sup>2</sup> menyuntek orang ramai telah pun di-jalankan. Dengan chara itu-lah Kerajaan berpendapat bahawa seluruh penduduk<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini akan dapat di-pelihara dan di-kawal. Sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi langkah itu diambil kerana tujuan dan mutalimat Kerajaan dalam menghadapi krisis ini ia-lah kepentingan national ia-itu keselamatan semua penduduk di-dalam negeri ini. Tujuan P.P.P. berlainan sa-kali dan bukan sahaja tidak mengambil endah apa yang akan terjadi kapada penduduk negeri ini seluruhnya bahkan tidak juga mengambil berat kapada kesihatan dan nasib penduduk<sup>2</sup> dalam kawasan Ipoh sendiri. Dalil-nya terang, penduduk dalam kawasan Perbandaran Ipoh saya per-chaya ada lebeh 200,000 orang pada hal ubat suntak yang di-minta-nya hanya chukup untok 50,000 orang sahaja. Harus-lah agak-nya vaccine sa-banyak itu ia-lah untok menjaga kesihatan kunchu<sup>2</sup>-nya sahaja. Saya harap penduduk<sup>2</sup> Ipoh yang lain dan ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan sedar atas pendirian P.P.P. yang sempit itu.

Sir, this morning the Honourable Member from Telok Anson touched on the recruitment of doctors from Philippines. This recruitment is being undertaken to fill the existing vacancies in the establishment for doctors. Sir, I submit that it is not only mischievous but damaging for a layman of his intelligence to make such a sweeping statement on the qualifications of doctors from the Philippines. My Ministry does not have the slightest doubt as to the ability of the doctors from the Philippines, who will be appointed on contract to give the highest standard of service and to our entire satisfaction. It is to be deplored that in view of the need for additional

doctors to man our expanding medical and health services, particularly in the rural areas, the Honourable Member has found fit to obstruct the genuine and constructive efforts made by the Government to solve the problem. It must also be remembered, Sir, that the request for doctors on contract from the Philippines was made by us through ASA. Thank you.

**The Minister of Finance (Enche' Tan Siew Sin):** Mr Speaker, Sir, there are not more than two points concerning my portfolio which have been raised in the course of this very interesting debate and which will call for a reply from me.

The Honourable Member for Bachok has suggested that the public debt should not be increased by raising external loans but that domestic loans should be raised instead. He, I think, probably has overlooked the fact that the Government has raised very substantial sums by issuing domestic loans. In 1962 we raised \$195 million by this means, and so far in 1963 we have raised \$127 million. This House, including the Members of the Opposition, has approved the Second Five-Year Plan, and this envisages the raising of \$535 million by the issue of foreign loans. If these loans are not obtained, then the Plan can be carried out only by reducing domestic consumption and also probably by increasing taxation. I am sure the House will agree with me that there is more merit in the former course, provided foreign loans can be obtained on reasonable terms in order to finance part of our development expenditure. We should also remember, Sir, that the quantum of foreign loans so far raised by us is certainly not high. The figure is something less than \$400 million, and provided these loans are used for economic projects, that is for projects which can increase the national income or can produce additional revenue, I am sure no sensible person will dispute that such loans are desirable and even necessary at the present stage of our economic development. We should also remember one thing, and that is that it is not so easy to raise foreign loans. The very fact that you can raise a loan

at all shows that the loan will be put to good use because no country, and certainly no body of large investors in a foreign country is likely to contemplate lending money to a foreign government unless it is reasonably certain that not only the interest but the capital is likely to be repaid. As for the factor whether such loans are within our capacity, I suggest the amount we have raised so far is well within our capacity, because the criterion in this case is whether the service charges that is the cost of interest and other factors, are within our means and I think the service charges for \$400 million are well within our means considering the size of our economy.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong, I think, accused me of frustrating the efforts of the co-operative movement to uplift the living standards of the rural areas. That charge is so wild that I do not think that serious attention need be paid to it. In any case, the Honourable the Prime Minister and my colleague the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister have replied to it at length, so I think there is very little for me to add. I should, however, like to assure this House that the Treasury has no intention whatsoever of resisting measures designed to strengthen the co-operative movement by the elimination of middlemen, provided that such elimination is considered desirable for any industry, in particular the fishing industry and the padi buyers. We have always been willing to provide funds for co-operatives, but we have always insisted on sound schemes being prepared before public funds are made available, and I am sure every Honourable Member of this House will agree with this policy. The need for careful administration has been emphasised by the Public Accounts Committee itself of which, I believe, the Honourable Member for Tanjong is a valuable member. (*Applause*).

**The Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications (Dato' V. T. Sambanthan):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I am obliged to the Member for Batu Pahat Dalam for the plea on the Muar and

Batu Pahat bridges. I am glad to say that I have given instructions for requisition to proceed on the land for approaches to both these bridges. Soon after this land is acquired, road work will go on, on the approaches to these two bridges. (*Applause*). Consulting engineers have been commissioned to undertake the design of both bridges and this work has proceeded to a great extent. I am quite hopeful that we shall be able to go on with both bridges. (*Applause*).

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Dr Lim Swee Aun):** Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Bachok, in a very emotional speech yesterday, criticised the Government for depending upon committee after committee to assist the Malays in their participation in commerce and industry. There was more emotion than fact. It is unfortunate that critics of the Government do not face facts; in fact, they very often distort facts to serve their own purpose. The Honourable Member has charged that the Government has done nothing to help the Malays. He was against the setting up of committees. In a democratic Government committees are an essential part of the system of government. Am I, therefore, to infer that the Honourable Member and the P.M.I.P. favour dictatorship? The Honourable Member spoke about handicaps. He stated that unless he, being disabled, was given a handicap, he would not be able to win any race. I fully agree with him, and if he does challenge me to run in a 100 yards flat race, I would willingly give him 75 yards handicap or even more. But when the signal to start the race is given, then the race is a competition. I run the 100 yards and he runs the 25 or less yards; whoever wins the race is immaterial. What is important is that once the handicap has been given, once the race has started, the competition is a fair competition. Disabled or otherwise, handicapped or not, the race is a competition. It was in this spirit that I replied to his written question on whether the Government is aware of the difficulties the Malays face in commerce and industry. My

reply was that Malays, like any other newcomers into commerce and industry, will have to expect competition from those already established. This is a statement of fact. It is not a statement of policy. The second part of my answer is a statement of policy which is that Government is finding and implementing ways and means to help the Malays to obtain greater participation in commerce and industry, and overcoming or lessening the impact of competition to be found in these fields. I have on several occasions in this House reported what Government has done to implement this policy. Committees have been formed to study, to recommend, and to implement proposals to help Malays in commerce and industry.

Sir, Malay participation in commerce and industry is a complex problem. However, the Government has actively pursued this policy of assisting Malays, giving handicaps as it were, in commerce and industry. The measures taken by Government can be classified under the heads of capital, participation and employment. Under capital, the Government fully realises that there is a shortage of capital amongst the Malays. Up till today, Government has through R.I.D.A. issued loans amounting to more than \$20 million to Malays who want to do small business. Secondly, at the request of my Ministry, commercial banks are now prepared to accept lands situated outside urban areas as security for loans, provided a proper valuation can be made on these lands. These banks also give free advice to Malays who wish to know how, what and where to invest profitably. Thirdly, on the sponsorship of my Ministry, the *Sharikat Kewangan Melayu Raya Limited*, a finance corporation, has been established with an all-Malay Board of Directors and in which Malays will subscribe 55 per cent of the capital. This corporation accepts not only lands situated outside towns as securities, but with the co-operation of the State Governments will also accept lands in Malay Reservations. Fourthly, the *Sharikat Permodalan Kebangsaan* also sponsored by my Ministry is a body for Malay

capital formation from which capital can be channelled into different avenues in commerce and industry. Fifthly, for Malays, who wish to venture into industry on a large scale, loans are available to them from the *Malayan Industrial Development Finance Limited*.

Sir, in addition to all these five sources of capital for Malays through secured loans, Government is still looking for other sources. Recently, the Cabinet appointed a Committee headed by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister to examine further the question of granting loans to Malays and Malay companies for commercial and industrial enterprises and to submit recommendations to the Cabinet. On Sunday, the 21st April, 1963, the *Utusan Zaman* reported that a ministerial committee was set up *untuk menyasiat kelemahan orang Melayu dalam negeri ini*, and criticised the Government for wasting its time in setting up such a committee to investigate into the backwardness of the Malays in commerce and industry. When a reporter of the *Berita Harian* drew my attention to this report, I naturally denied the existence of such a committee to examine the economic position of the Malays in commerce and industry. This does not mean that a ministerial committee does not exist. It was formed for a different purpose—and I have permission to announce that the Cabinet Committee headed by the Deputy Prime Minister is to examine further the question of granting loans to Malays and Malay companies, and not to examine the economic position of the Malays. These are very different things and I hope that the *Utusan Zaman* will check its facts before levelling unfounded charges. No doubt, there is still freedom of the Press.

The second group of active assistance—or to use the word of the Honourable Member for Bachok, “handicap”—given by Government to Malays in commerce and industry comes under the general term of participation. To prepare Malay youths for active participation, the Dewan

Latehan RIDA at Petaling Jaya trains large numbers of Malay youths in accountancy, Chartered Secretaryship, stenography and other commercial subjects. The Honourable Member for Kota Bharu Hilir laughs at the value of studying book-keeping. Little does he realise that business means the selling and buying of goods or services. Money is transacted in business, and accounts are kept through a system of book-keeping. The first essential in business, commerce or industry is the correct keeping of proper account books; without accounts, there will be no proper cost accounting, no knowledge of profit and loss. I should have thought that the Honourable Member for Kota Bharu Hilir and others like him, who profess to know so much about commerce, industry and business, would be the first to congratulate the Government for running these classes on book-keeping to prepare the Malay youths to participate in commerce and industry. Technical training is given to Malay boys in Junior Technical Schools and Sekolah Lanjutan Kampong. After graduating from these schools the Malay Secretariat in my Ministry helps them in finding employment in commercial houses and in industrial firms. Secondly, under participation my Ministry sponsored the formation of Sharikat Permodalan Kebangsaan, a one hundred per cent Malay company, to which my Ministry has allotted over \$4½ million worth in shares from several public industrial companies. On paper this Company has made more than \$5,000,000 if all these shares allotted to it are sold on the market today. A third issue of shares at par by this Company will soon be open to the Malays, and I would appeal to all Malays, big or small, rich or poor, UMNO or P.M.I.P., to buy these shares. This is, perhaps, the most positive and profitable form of Malay participation in commerce and industry.

Sharikat Permodalan Kebangsaan has also applied for prospecting permits for tin and iron ore mining. It also holds properties of great commercial value in Kuala Lumpur and other urban areas.

Thirdly, and on a smaller scale, both RIDA and the Division of Co-operatives have helped Malay individuals and Malay co-operative societies to establish small businesses and bus companies in the transport business. One of them is the North-Eastern Transport Service in Kelantan. Now, this Company has declared a dividend of five per cent, and RIDA is now prepared to sell some of its shares to Malays at par plus four per cent.

Fourthly, my Ministry has launched many Malays in the distribution business, particularly petrol distribution. My Ministry is still actively studying and sponsoring other avenues of Malay participation in commerce and industry. One of major significance will be the formation of the National Construction Company Limited, an association of Malay contractors led by the United Malay Contractors Limited and a wellknown international firm. The proposed capital will be 55 per cent Malay and 45 per cent foreign. The formation of such a company, open to all Malay contractors will make Malay contractors more competitive in the building trade.

Fifthly, before a private industrial firm is given a pioneer certificate, a portion of the share capital is reserved for Malay participation. If there are any Malays who wish to participate in such private industrial firms, all they have to do is to give names and addresses to my Ministry and we shall put them in touch with such industrial firms. The third type of assistance given by Government to Malays in commerce and industry is in the form of employment. Pioneer firms are bound to employ Malays varying from a reasonable proportion to as high as 50 per cent of the total staff at all grades—not merely as labourers but at all grades. Promising Malay employees have the opportunity and, in fact, some of them have already gone for higher and further training either abroad or at the National Productivity Centre on production management, supervision, job evaluation and trade union executive training. Sir, these

are some of the positive steps Government has taken to implement our policy of encouraging and facilitating Malay participation in commerce and industry. These are the handicaps given to the Malays, and it is only to be expected that once they are launched into commerce and industry, they must face competition. The Government is assisting Malays of all classes and not a select group of Malays as charged by the Honourable Member for Tanjong.

The Honourable Member for Bachok has seen fit to deprecate the valuable work of various Committees of Government set up to assist the Malays in participation in commerce and industry. The positive steps, which I have enumerated just now, are the results of the recommendations of these Committees. The Government is conscious of the complexity of the problem and will continue to seek new ways and means to reduce the imbalance between the Malays and the other communities in the fields of commerce and industry. To this end, a Malay Secretariat in my Ministry has been set up. Each State has appointed a senior officer to act as liaison between the State Governments and the Ministry. A standing working Committee consisting of senior officials from various Ministries is advised by a panel of advisers drawn from active businessmen from various communities including Malays in their search for new measures to promote and foster Malay participation. Parallel committees similar to these Federal ones are being set up in the various States. Far from being obstructive as charged by the Honourable Member for Bachok, these non-Malay advisers have been found to be eager and constructive in their help. The fact that they have agreed to serve at all, is proof of their willingness to help and co-operate with Government in implementing its policy of getting Malays to participate in commerce and industry. I am glad that the Honourable Prime Minister did, this morning, re-state the Government's policy and pledge to improve the living standards of all our peoples in the country.

Sir, except for the question of Malay participation in commerce and industry, the Opposition has been particularly silent on Government's policies on trade and industrial development. This silence is a marked contrast to the last debate on the Budget. I can only infer that the Opposition in its silence is silently supporting the Government's policy in trade and industrial development, and I take this opportunity to thank them for their support. *(Applause)*.

**The Minister of Education (Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid Khan):** Mr Speaker, Sir, a few Honourable Members spoke in regard to my Ministry, and I wish briefly to reply to the points brought out by them.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh has expressed regret over the fact that no reference to the Ministry of Education has been made in His Majesty's Speech although, he added, education is a matter which has been subject to criticisms from time to time. Sir, I may point out that, in order to reduce the length of His Majesty's Speech, matters pertaining to education were incorporated in the Appendix to the Speech and, as the Honourable Member is aware, the Appendix forms part of the Speech and that the matters contained therein are also subject to debate as in the case of those referred to in the main body of the Speech.

The Honourable Member has also stated that although Malay is the national language of this country, attention must also be paid to education in all the other languages. In this connection, I must point out that under the existing educational system there are also provisions for primary education in the medium of English, Chinese, Malay or Tamil and for the study of these languages in secondary schools as contained in Part I of the Education Act. The Honourable Member, Sir, should look at what has happened to Chinese education in our neighbouring countries, and he would appreciate the fact that this country is so liberal in educational matters; and he should be thankful for this.

Regarding the criticisms by the Honourable Member for Seremban

Timor against frequent changes of textbooks in schools, I wish to assure the Honourable Member that steps are being taken by this Ministry to mitigate any hardships that may be encountered by parents in connection with the purchase and use of textbooks.

The Honourable Member has also criticised the present education policy on the ground, as he puts it, that every year many boys are being thrown into the streets. As the Honourable Member is aware, the secondary continuation school education scheme has been introduced in order to provide post-primary education for children who are unable to enter the normal secondary school academic stream. As stated in the Appendix to His Majesty's Speech, the present secondary continuation school system is now being re-examined by my Ministry with a view to finding any better alternative if possible.

Reference has also been made by the same Honourable Member to the case of a pupil who, it is alleged, even after two years of primary education was unable to differentiate the alphabets. It should be remembered that there are many factors which influence education in a child and that the progress of learning is not uniform in all children. As a result, there are pupils who progress in their lessons rapidly, some progress in the normal way and others are slowed down and some others are mentally retarded. This situation is common in all parts of the world. It is, therefore, not fair to charge that the teaching methods are wrong, and extreme cases of this nature may arise.

The Honourable Member has also suggested that something should be done to get rid of the private tuition practice. Private tuition by teachers in fully assisted schools is permitted in certain cases, provided special permission has been obtained from both the Boards of Managers/Governors and the Chief Education Officers of the States concerned. Where such private tuition is done, it is quite possible that such permission has not been obtained; and action can only be taken

against the teachers who infringe these regulations by the co-operation of parents as well as members of the public who should inform the Ministry or the Chief Education Officers concerned so as to enable steps to be taken against the offending teachers.

On the subject of mutual transfers referred to by the Honourable Member, approval on mutual transfers is dependant on many factors, and first consideration must be given to the interests of the schools concerned. In the case of out of State transfer, such transfers would only be permitted with mutual agreement between the Chief Education Officers of the States concerned after taking into consideration the interests of the schools where the teachers serve. Sir, I am not clear as to the reference to the Deputy Chief Education Officer in Negeri Sembilan made by the Honourable Member. This appointment was only filled for the period 1-1-1956 to 18-2-1962. However, Sir, transfers of teachers is not a matter for subordinate officers in the Chief Education Officer's office to decide.

The Honourable Member for Telok Anson referred to paragraph 59 of the Special Appendix in His Majesty's Speech, where it is stated that:

"As a first step towards achieving its ultimate aim of making the National Language the sole official language of the country and Malay the main medium of instruction in all schools, the National Language was made a compulsory subject in the Malayan Secondary School Entrance Examination and the Lower Certificate of Education Examination in all assisted schools from 1962."

Sir, the Honourable Member alleged that the Government had no mandate from the people to make the National Language the medium of instruction as this point was not mentioned in the Alliance 1955 and 1959 Manifesto. In this connection, I would like to refer the Honourable Member to paragraph 19 of the Education Review Committee Report, 1960, wherein it is stated that:

"Education at secondary level paid for from public funds shall be conducted mainly in the medium of one of the two official languages, with the intention of ultimately using the National Language as the main medium of instruction."

It can, therefore, be seen that the statement in His Majesty's Speech referred to by the Honourable Member for Telok Anson is not inconsistent with this recommendation of the Education Review Committee Report. Sir, I agree that it is the intention of the Government—as the Honourable Member himself is aware—to make the National Language the sole official language by 1967. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Malay must be the main medium of instruction by that date. However, this is the ultimate objective of the Government and this, as mentioned before, is clearly stated in the Education Review Committee Report.

The Honourable Member has also drawn my attention to a case where the Education Department had asked schools when applying for extensions to existing buildings to put up plans setting out the proposed extensions and having complied with these instructions the schools were told that their applications were not approved. Sir, the Honourable Member contented that it would serve no useful purpose for the schools to put up such plans. He added that the Education Department should inform the schools at the time when such applications were made that these applications would not be entertained. Now in reply to that, I must point out that the approval for the extension of school buildings depends on various factors, the most important being the availability of funds. It is, therefore, necessary for the Chief Education Officer to examine the plans of the proposed extensions in order to determine the need for such extension and the extent of its financial commitment before deciding whether or not to forward the plans to the Ministry for approval. In some cases owing to lack of funds, applications for extensions, though supported by the Chief Education Officer, may not necessarily be approved by the Ministry.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan telah membawa soal gaji bagi guru<sup>2</sup> wanita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal gaji bagi guru<sup>2</sup> wanita ini tidaklah dapat di-asingkan dengan soal gaji bagi semua kaki-tangan Kerajaan dan

sa-bagaimana Yang Berhormat itu sendiri tahu ia-itu satu Jawatan-Kuasa telah di-tubuhkan oleh Kerajaan untuk mengkaji soal ini dan sudah tentu-lah soal gaji guru<sup>2</sup> wanita ini akan dapat di-pertimbangkan dengan saksama oleh Jawatan-Kuasa ini.

Sahabat saya Yang Berhormat dari Bachok hendak tahu berkenaan dengan kemajuan dalam pelajaran bahasa kebangsaan. Saya perchaya sahabat saya ini memang dia sendiri tahu-lah kemajuan<sup>2</sup> yang telah pun kita buat kerana beliau ini ada-lah ahli yang memang-lah berpengalaman dalam segi pelajaran dan sudah tentu-lah beliau tahu ia-itu, pelajaran jikalau masa penjajah dahulu hanya di-peringkat pelajaran rendah tetapi sekarang ini sudah ada di-peringkat pelajaran menengah. Dan juga jikalau masa dahulu tidak ada peperiksaan "public examination" yang menggunakan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa dalam peperiksaan itu ya'ani peperiksaan sijil rendah dan juga sijil Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, telah di-adakan didalam bahasa kebangsaan juga.

Sa-lain daripada itu beliau tentu-lah tahu ia-itu daripada awal tahun ini kita telah mengadakan darjah<sup>2</sup> persediaan untuk masok University di-Sekolah Alam Shah buat pertama kali-nya dimana murid<sup>2</sup> dapat pelajaran menerusi bahasa kebangsaan dengan tujuan supaya pelajaran dalam University Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu University Malaya akan di-adakan juga didalam bahasa kebangsaan bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan bahasa Inggeris. Sekian-lah.

**The Assistant Minister of the Interior (Enche' Cheah Theam Swee):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I intervene just to place one essential point on record and I promise you that I will do it as fast as I can. The Honourable Member for Bungsar has made another attack so as to make himself heard as regards his objection to the fact that the Federal Capital, i.e. Kuala Lumpur, is under the administration of the Federal Government itself—Mr Speaker, Sir, this was done as a result of the recommendation of the Reid Commission. I believe that the Reid Commission in the proceedings of this Parliament in the last few years has been praised not

less than two or three times and its report has been declared a sacred document, a document which we are pledged to follow very closely, and in this case we have, in fact, followed very closely the recommendation of the Reid Commission. The Honourable Minister of the Interior, when he moved the Federal Capital Bill on the 12th of September, 1960, quoted the relevant recommendation of the Reid Commission, which I do not propose to quote, but for the sake of completeness I would say that it is contained in paragraph 118 of the Reid Commission Report, where very concisely and precisely set out are the purpose and the necessity for the Federal Government to control the Federal Capital. The Government at that time felt fully justified—and we still feel fully justified—in having accepted the recommendation of the Reid Commission. As a result, the provision was set out in Article 154 of the Constitution and following which we subsequently introduced the Federal Capital Bill, which was successfully brought through the process of this House, and which is now known as the Federal Capital Act.

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order, the time is up. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat saya hendak

mengundi pindaan yang di-buat oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok yang berbunyi:

“Dengan di-buang noktah di-akhir-nya dan di-tambah:

tetapi menyatakan dukachita kerana titalah yang di-hormati itu telah tidak menyatakan langkah<sup>2</sup> dan rancangan<sup>2</sup> yang tegas dan berkesan bagi membantu dan memajukan bangsa Melayu dalam perniagaan dan perusahaan dan tidak menegaskan usaha<sup>2</sup> dan rancangan<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Tuanku bagi menghapuskan penjajahan dari empat Wilayah Melayu di-Selatan Siam dengan chara aman dan damai.”

Amendment put, and negatived.

Original question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as follows:

“Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat of the Federation of Malaya in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the Fifth Session of the Parliament has been opened.”

*Adjourned at 8.00 p.m.*