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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN NEGARA (SENATE)

OFFICIAL REPORT

**FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT
OF MALAYSIA**

CONTENTS

ANNOUNCEMENTS BY Mr PRESIDENT—

**The Honourable Raja Rastam Shahrome bin Raja Said
Tauphy—Leave [Col. 913]**

Messages from the House of Representatives [Col. 913]

BUSINESS OF THE SENATE [Col. 915]

BILL—

The Supply Bill, 1965 [Col. 915]

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [Col. 1013]

DI-CHETAK DI-JABATAN CHETAK KERAJAAN
OLEH THOR BENG CHONG, A.M.N., PENCHETAK KERAJAAN
KUALA LUMPUR
1966

Harga: \$1

- The Honourable ENCHE' LIM HEE HONG, A.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ADIB BIN OMAR (Trengganu).
- „ DATU PENGIRAN MOHAMED DIGADONG GALPAM, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR, P.M.N., S.P.M.J., D.P.M.B., P.I.S., J.P. (Appointed).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOHAMED SAID BIN HAJI ABU BAKAR (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED SALLEH BIN MOHAMED ARIFF (Malacca).
- „ ENCHE' ATHI NAHAPPAN (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. S. NATHAN (Appointed).
- „ NIK HASSAN BIN HAJI NIK YAHYA, J.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ TEMENGGONG OYONG LAUAI JAU (Sarawak).
- „ TOK PANGKU PANDAK HAMID BIN PUTEH JALI, P.J.K. (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' SAIDON BIN KECHUT, A.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ DATO' SHEIKH ABU BAKAR BIN YAHYA, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., J.P. (Johor).
- „ DATO' G. SHELLEY, P.M.N., J.P. (Appointed).
- „ TUAN SYED AHMAD BIN SYED MAHMUD SHAHABUDIN, J.M.N. (Kedah).
- „ ENCHE' WILLIAM TAN (Appointed).
- „ DATO' T. H. TAN, P.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ DATO' E. E. C. THURAISSINGHAM, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' S. O. K. UBaidULLA, J.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ WAN AHMAD BIN WAN DAUD, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P. (Perlis).
- „ WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kedah).
- „ ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Perak).
- „ ENCHE' YEOH KIAN TEIK (Perak).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Appointed).
- „ ENCHE' KO TECK KIN (Singapore).
- „ RAJA RASTAM SHAHROME BIN RAJA SAID TAUPHY (Selangor).
- „ DATO' TEH SIEW ENG, D.P.M.P., J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P. (Appointed).
- „ DATO' WAN IBRAHIM BIN WAN TANJONG, J.M.N., P.J.K., Orang Kaya Indera Maharaja Purba Jelai (Pahang).

IN ATTENDANCE:

- The Honourable the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice, 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 Honourable the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ the Minister of Welfare Services, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, TUAN HAJI MOHD. GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).

PRAYERS

(Mr President *in the Chair*)

ANNOUNCEMENTS BY MR PRESIDENT

THE HONOURABLE RAJA RASTAM SHAHROME BIN RAJA SAID TAUPHY—LEAVE

Mr President: Ahli² Yang Berhormat saya hendak melaporkan kepada Majlis Meshuarat ini ia-itu mengikut kuasa yang di-berikan kepada saya oleh Majlis ini, saya telah membenarkan chuti kepada Yang Berhormat Senator Raja Rastam Shahrome mulai daripada persidangan ini hingga hujung Session.

Honourable Senators, I wish to report to the Senate that under the power delegated to me by the Senate, I have granted the Honourable Senator Raja Rastam Shahrome leave of absence from the sittings of the Senate with effect from the beginning of the current session until the end of the current session.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA- TIVES

Mr President: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya suka hendak mema'alumkan pada Majlis Dewan Negara ini ia-itu saya telah terima dua keputusan daripada Majlis Dewan Ra'ayat. Sekarang saya

minta supaya Setia-usaha Majlis membachakan keputusan itu :

(*The Clerk reads the Messages*)

(1) "Mr President,

The House of Representatives has passed the Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund for the service of the year 1965 and to appropriate that sum and such other sums as have been authorised to be issued for the service of that year, and transmits it to the Senate for its concurrence.

(Sgd.) DATO' C. M. YUSUF,
Speaker."

(2) "Mr President,

The House of Representatives has passed the following Bills—

- (1) to amend the Central Bank of Malaysia Ordinance, 1958, and to extend the operation of that Ordinance, as amended, to all parts of the Federation;
- (2) to amend the Banking Ordinance, 1958, and to extend the operation of that Ordinance, as amended, to all parts of the Federation;
- (3) to amend the Port Authorities Act, 1963;
- (4) to provide for the care and rehabilitation of the

destitute and for the control of vagrancy;

(5) to amend the Local Government Elections Act, 1960;

(6) to amend the laws relating to income tax, to make provision with respect to payroll tax and to tax forms and to provide for matters connected therewith and ancillary thereto;

(7) to amend the Electricity Ordinance, 1949;

and transmits them to the Senate for its concurrence.

(Sgd.) DATO' C. M. YUSUF,
Speaker."

BUSINESS OF THE SENATE

Dato' T. H. Tan: Mr President, Sir, I beg to give notice that at this meeting of the Senate, I shall move the second and third readings of the following Bills:

- (1) The Supply Bill, 1965.
- (2) The Central Bank of Malaysia (Amendment and Extension) Bill.
- (3) The Banking (Amendment and Extension) Bill.
- (4) The Port Authorities (Amendment) Bill.
- (5) The Vagrants Bill.
- (6) The Local Government Elections (Amendment) Bill.
- (7) The Finance Bill.
- (8) The Electricity (Amendment) Bill.

BILLS

THE SUPPLY BILL, 1965

Second Reading

Dato' T. H. Tan: Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the Supply Bill, 1965 be read a second time.

Dato' Y. T. Lee: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong.

The Minister of Finance (Enche' Tan Siew Sin): Mr President, Sir, Hon'ble Members will have, in their possession, both my Budget speech and my reply in the Lower House when winding up the debate on the second reading of the Supply Bill, 1965 which is now before this House. There is, therefore, no point in my going over the ground already covered in these two speeches.

I, therefore, feel that on this occasion, it would be more profitable for me to deal with those who have criticised the Government's new taxation proposals. Broadly speaking, those criticisms have come from two directions. The first arose from the various Chambers of Commerce in Malaysia which maintain, in varying degrees of intensity, that these taxes are inequitable. I should further add that since then, at a meeting held recently between representatives of the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce in Malaysia and myself, they have agreed to drop their objections and give these new taxes a fair trial. Some of these Chambers have gone so far as to say that their members would be put out of business. If these fears are anywhere near correct, it clearly follows that the effects of these new taxes, particularly turnover and payroll taxes, against which most of the prevailing criticism has been directed, cannot readily be passed on to the consumer over a very wide range of goods. This, in fact, is the view of the Government. I shall explain in a minute why we hold this view. If we examine a few specific instances, it can be seen more clearly why turnover tax cannot be passed on to the consumer. I believe a packet of good cigarettes, for example, costs about \$1. A $\frac{1}{2}\%$ tax means half a cent on each packet of cigarettes and I would like to know how you pass on half a cent on a packet costing \$1. On an article costing \$10 the tax amounts to 5 cents. Where competition is keen, any attempt by a business to pass on the tax might well result in that business going out of business. In fact, the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce in Singapore whom I have

already met, have expressed this view. Even the addition of payroll tax to these calculations would not affect the essential validity of this reasoning. It is also significant that it has already been announced by several large firms that their policy will in fact be to absorb the new taxes without increasing their prices and I welcome this gesture at a time when so many are trying to spread alarm by irresponsible talk of impending disaster.

In this connection, I am aware that the prices of a number of consumer goods have risen, some by considerable margins. It is, however, significant that the highest price increases have been registered in respect of goods which have not been touched by any of these new taxes, or by any new or increased import duties. In other words, there has been blatant profiteering in far too many cases. I would advise those Chambers of Commerce which have been protesting against these new taxes to do something to check the unconscionable profiteering of their own members as well.

In this connection also, I would like to pay a special tribute to the responsible attitude of the Malaysian Trade Union Congress. The M.T.U.C. have quite properly expressed their intention to watch closely the impact of the new taxes on the working man, and I have no doubt that we shall hear from them of any cases of exploitation or victimization where the new taxes are used as the excuse. Government will itself, in any event, as I have promised, be keeping a close watch on developments. Meantime, however, the M.T.U.C. have recognised the urgent need for heavier taxation and expressed the view that the new taxes should be given a fair trial.

The second area of criticism comes from a few trade unions in Singapore which maintain that these taxes are anti-labour, presumably because they would be passed on to the consumer and would hit those in the lowest income brackets hardest. If those Chambers of Commerce which have expressed misgivings about turnover and payroll taxes are right, this

argument of the Singapore unions is clearly wide off the mark. If these taxes are absorbed by the businesses in question they obviously cannot be passed on to the consumer. It is clearly physically impossible for them to have both disadvantages at the same time. In other words, either the Chambers of Commerce are hopelessly wrong, or the unions in question are hopelessly wrong. It is not possible for both of them to be right at the same time. In fact, the very fact that the main criticisms have come from these two diametrically opposite quarters is the surest indication that these taxes are fair.

It could also be that those Singapore unions, which have criticised these taxes, maintain that these taxes would inhibit the growth of industry because they would reduce profits, which could otherwise be ploughed back into the business in question. This, however, is the effect of all forms of direct taxation including income tax and, as far as I know, every left-wing group in this country is in favour of income tax which undeniably reduces the profits of a business which, but for this tax, would enable a correspondingly larger amount to be ploughed back into the business and thus accelerate its growth and development. No left-wing group in this country, however, has criticised income tax on this ground. It is, therefore, incomprehensible to me that these same people should criticise turnover and payroll taxes by asserting that the main defect is precisely the defect which can rightly be levelled at income tax.

One of the reasons which has led the Government to introduce turnover and payroll taxes is because this would help to catch the income tax evader. Not many people in this country probably realise that far too many businesses which are clearly prosperous do not pay what they should pay in the form of income tax. In fact, it would probably come as a shock to many that quite a few claim that their profits are less than the salary of a Division II officer in the Public Service. It will be asked why is it that the Government has not

taken more energetic steps to reduce income tax evasion. The Government has done everything it can in this respect. Between 1959 and 1961, the yield of income tax rose from \$132 million to \$233 million, i.e. a jump of over 75% within a period of two years. The anti-evasion drive launched during this period contributed in no small measure to this satisfactory result. Since then, the drive has been intensified, and some incredible cases have come to light.

It must, however, be remembered that the investigation of even one case requires many hours of work on the part of a fully trained investigator. Where the evasion is serious and it is desired to prosecute the evader, it may take months, even years, to bring such a case to court. Bringing even one skilful evader to book is such an herculean task because he has at his command, the ablest skill in the fields of law and accountancy. When cornered he goes to court, and cases have gone as far as the Privy Council. I do not have to tell Hon'ble Members of the amount of work and the length of time required before a case is finally decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain. When there are thousands of such evaders, the problem can be seen in its proper perspective.

To add to our difficulties, this Department is not a terribly popular one. We are well below our minimum requirements and even though we sometimes manage to fill up our quota of posts, many new recruits do not stay long. The reasons are simple. The work is arduous, and there is no glamour attached to it. It takes a lot of character and devotion to duty to pursue an investigation to the end and patiently sift through the lies and false trails which the evader will use to try to escape retribution. The really conscientious officer cannot expect to enjoy happy social relations with the evader and his aiders and abettors in the community, but experience has shown that an officer, who does his work properly, particularly one who tackles evasion fairly and squarely, enjoys the respect of the more reput-

able section of the lay and the professional community. Nevertheless, the Inland Revenue Department is not, therefore, exactly the kind of Department to which those who want to join the Public Service flock, because the work there is arduous and unglamorous. In fact, many fight shy of it.

Under such circumstances, therefore, the raising of income tax rates would have this effect. It would mean that the fixed wage earner and the salaried employee in both the Public Service and in commerce and industry would have to pay their full share of the increase. They cannot evade even if they want to. On the other hand, those members of the business community who have evaded in the past, who are evading now, and who will continue to evade in the future, and it is my belief that the number is far greater than most people realise, would somehow or other avoid paying their proper share. In other words, when a tax is being evaded by wide sections of the community, enforcement is not so easy. It is quite different when evasion is confined to a minority. This is the case in the industrial countries where in most cases they render accurate returns of their own accord. The tackling of evasion under such circumstances is a relatively easy matter.

The Government, on the other hand, has done everything it can to close every possible loophole for the evader. In 1960 it amended the law with a view to arming itself with the necessary powers of investigation. I well remember that occasion. When this Bill was published, it was then suggested in certain quarters that the giving of these powers to the Government would turn the then Federation of Malaya into a Police state, complete with Gestapo, and so on. Critics envisaged the Police knocking on the doors of innocent citizens in the early hours of the morning in order to ransack their homes and offices. They conjured up visions of innocent citizens being hauled off to jail in the unearthly hours of the night for ruthless questioning. Fortunately, in spite of this, the Bill was passed and

the anti-evasion drive got under way with considerable success but without the dire results foretold by them. I have an uneasy suspicion that these are the same people who are now crying out against turnover and payroll taxes.

These are also the same people who, about seventeen years ago, cried out even more vociferously against the introduction of income tax. I well remember that year when the then British Government proposed the introduction of income tax in this country. The maximum rates then proposed were 30% for individuals and 20% for companies. I well remember then that practically every Chamber of Commerce and businessman in the country then foretold the most dire results should this revolutionary form of tax be introduced, conveniently forgetting that it was universal in most civilised countries. The argument then advanced was the same as that now advanced against turnover and payroll taxes. It was all right for those countries, but it was not all right for Malaya and Singapore because conditions here were somehow different. If those prophets of disaster had then been believed, income tax would have meant the economic ruin of Malaya and Singapore even at top rates of 30% and 20% for individuals and companies respectively. I need hardly remind the House that the rates prevailing today are considerably higher and have not ruined any component part of Malaysia. I dare to predict that a few years from today it will be clear that turnover and payroll taxes have not ruined the business community in this country or any trade union for that matter, but may even have produced some salutary effects in the directions I have earlier indicated.

The most extraordinary feature, however, of the criticisms which have been levelled to-date is that very few critics have put forward alternative proposals for raising the money required. Turnover tax is expected to bring in \$45 million in a full year, while payroll tax is expected to bring in \$21 million, a total of \$66 million

per annum. It is absolutely useless telling the Government not to levy these taxes without at the same time putting forward specific and practicable alternatives which can bring in an equivalent amount of revenue. I would have more sympathy for these critics if they had had the courage to tell us the exact alternatives open to the Government. They, of course, dare not do so, even if they can do so, because they know full well that the alternative proposals would raise a similar hue and cry from those who would be affected by them. In other words, the bulk of the criticisms I have seen or received is to the effect that the Government should not tax them but should tax somebody else. They do not care who is taxed so long as it is somebody else. For this reason, many of the memoranda and telegrams received by me are not worth the paper they are written on.

A few, of course, of the irresponsible Singapore unions who have criticised this tax will tell the Government to raise all the money it needs by soaking the rich. As I pointed out in my reply when winding up the debate on the second reading of the Bill in the Lower House, even if we were to confiscate all the income above a certain level, and I need hardly add that this has not been done in any country in the world yet, for obvious reasons, the additional yield would only amount to a tiny fraction of the amount required by this Government. It is also significant that, apart from the Singapore Finance Minister, with whom I shall deal later, no one has, as yet, either in Parliament or outside it, questioned the necessity to obtain additional revenue of the magnitude required. The only disagreement is on the methods in which it should be done.

Let us assume that we revise income tax rates in order to obtain the amount required. It would then be necessary to go right down the line and broaden the base still further by making nearly every wage earner in this country pay income tax. It would be necessary to bring in even labourers, both skilled and unskilled,

as is done in the highly industrialised countries. Only in this way would we obtain revenues of the magnitude required. Or it would be necessary to levy import duties on a wide range of *essential* imports, such as rice, in order to get really substantial yields. If the Government, however, were to do this, far more vehement protests would come from the more vociferous unions or from those who will argue for political reasons that the Government is soaking the poor and sparing the rich. In fact, one State Chamber of Commerce actually suggested that this was what we should have done. Another business group suggested that we should have levied a poll tax of \$10 per head per annum. They calculated that this levy would have brought in \$100 million a year, based on a population of about 10 million in Malaysia. This group suggested that the crown cork tax of 5 cents a piece would hit the poor, even though the average payment per head would only come to \$1. It, however, felt that it would be far better to levy an amount ten times greater at a rate which would apply equally to millionaires and to manual labourers. I have given these few instances to illustrate the confused thinking of those who have opposed these new taxes. While expressing solicitude for the poor, the taxes proposed by them would hit the poor far worse and they are the kind of levies which the most extreme right wing government would hesitate to impose except for the most compelling reasons.

The Singapore Finance Minister has maintained that we have underestimated 1965 revenue by as much as \$100 million, and that if this additional sum had been taken into account, the payroll and turnover taxes could have been dropped. The bulk of this \$100 million, it is claimed, will or could be forthcoming from higher profits in the tin industry. Now, in our estimates of 1965 income tax and tin export duty yields, we have already taken account of the effect of higher prices. The estimates are based on careful calculations which also take into account the lower output and other factors previously mentioned.

Let us, however, for the sake of argument, assume that the 1965 revenue has been underestimated by \$100 million. This would still not justify dropping the payroll and turnover taxes, for two reasons. Firstly, we have to take into account the overall financial prospects for 1965. The overall deficit we anticipate in 1965, after taking the new taxes into consideration will still be about \$433 million, a gap that will have to be filled by borrowing and by drawing on the accumulated assets of the Government. If we have underestimated revenue by \$100 million, the gap will still be a large \$333 million and this is before taking account of the supplementary appropriations that will have to be made to finance additional defence requirements in 1965. If we have underestimated revenue, so much the better. The rate of decline in our assets would be reduced, and we would start the First Malaysia Plan period in a stronger financial position.

There is, however, a second, longer-term consideration, which is even more important. I would draw attention to the difficult financial outlook in the years ahead which I emphasised in my Budget speech, when I referred to the vital importance of developing new sources of revenue that will grow naturally as the economy grows. Without such new sources of built-in revenue growth, Government revenues, now heavily tied to rubber and tin, would not increase sufficiently to enable us to finance our defence and development requirements in a sound manner over the course of the next Plan period.

The Opposition would have us eliminate the new taxes which will help to overcome this serious problem, and instead would tie the Government's financial future even closer to the declining tin industry, an industry of rising costs and declining output. Such a programme, if one could call it a programme, would be sheer folly. Such a programme would inevitably result in crippling the Government's ability to meet its grave and growing responsibilities in the fields of defence and development, and would indicate

a complete incapacity for responsible government. In this connection I might point out that within a month after I introduced the Budget on 25th November, the price of tin had dropped by 16%. The extraction of \$147 million of additional revenue, which is what the revenue proposals of the Budget amount to, clearly cannot be a painless process. It must necessarily be a painful process, and judging from the criticism which have emerged from quarters which are normally diametrically opposed to each other, and which have criticised the taxes for completely different reasons, we can perhaps conclude that these proposals are the most equitable in the circumstances and would spread the burden fairly and in relation to ability to pay.

Although one section of the business community in Malaysia, namely the Chinese section, originally expressed grave misgivings about turnover, payroll and crown cork taxes, I am glad to place on record, as I have noted earlier that, as a result of a recent meeting held with them, they have at last decided to accept these taxes and give them a fair trial. This means that the sole remaining area of criticism now comes from the Communists and their fellow travellers, the Singapore Government and the P.A.P., and the P.A.P. dominated Singapore National Trade Union Congress, but their objections are clearly and largely motivated by political considerations. The Government does not mind fair criticism or constructive opposition. but, unfortunately, on this issue, those in this category who have spoken against these new taxes have not hesitated to twist facts and distort motives in order to bolster what would otherwise be a weak case. It is significant that on this issue the Communists and the Singapore Government see eye to eye and are apparently prepared to work together to defy the Central Government, for this is what their activities in Singapore amount to. There is, for example, considerable evidence to support our view that the Singapore Government is using the entire machinery of the State Government at its disposal to inflame mob

passions in Singapore. They have even gone so far as to allow members of the public to speak on Singapore Radio to denounce the taxation proposals. It is apparently their intention to incite the populace there to action, perhaps even violent action, in order to bring the Central Government to its knees. I should warn that Government that if this were to happen, they would be held responsible. These actions are indeed strange, coming from a Government which calls itself pro-Malaysia, but which is doing everything it can to wreck proposals which are designed to ensure the financial and economic stability of Malaysia in face of the growing commitments for defence and development which we now have to meet, if we wish to survive. (*Applause*).

Dato' Foo See Moi: Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Supply Bill. Our new nation, Malaysia, is now over a year of age. If we look back, we should be proud of our achievements, in spite of the short time. There is only one regret, of course. A big neighbour has become jealous of us and would not leave us alone.

Malaysia would be trouble-free, if only Soekarno would have kept his nose in his own trough. The blatant aggression measures that Soekarno has taken against us have been strongly deplored by the United Nations Security Council. But, will he submit to this world opinion? We have our doubts. With the enactment of his imperialistic design, plus the intimidation of his Communist colleagues, he will never see reason until his madness is totally over-come. He will do all he can to prolong the exhausted gasps of Soekarnoism even at the expense of his own people. But thanks to the far-sightedness of our Government under the able leadership of our Prime Minister, the gallantry of our security forces, the support of our friends and, lastly, but most important of all, the solidarity and the unity of our people, the shameless adventure of our big neighbour has been successfully checked. So long as we Malaysians are united and the morale of our people is kept high, coupled with the unstinted

support of our friends, we are confident that we will be able to push through this stormy sea before long and a bright future is ours. But we have to remain united and prepared. Among other things, the immediate steps required are the stepping up of our defence measures and, at the same time, the strengthening of our economy. These two things must go hand-in-hand, and we realise that their expansion needs money. Therefore, to meet these urgent needs the levy of taxes is not only justifiable but inevitable.

In view of the national crisis, the interest of the nation should come first. There should be no resentment over the tax proposals at this juncture, as the Honourable Minister of Finance in his speech had promised that he would make them as flexible as he could. Therefore, I venture to give my humble opinion on the only two controversial taxes: i.e. the turnover and the payroll taxes. These taxes have aroused a great deal of misapprehension in certain section of the business circle.

Sir, I have had the opportunity of discussing this subject with many businessmen and leading members of all the Chinese Chambers of Commerce of all the States, and I have reason to believe that these two taxes might cause some hardship to small businessmen; this is due to the peculiar way of trading which has become a business tradition in our own country where competition is really acute. As competition is keen, most businessmen are unable to maintain a fixed profit level. They often have to cut their profits to the minimum, in order to dispose of their commodities, and depend on the volume of turnover to make up for their expenses; and as a result they are deeply involved in giving out long-term credit, which are not easy to collect. Not many businessmen really have enough capital; a lot of them depend on bank overdraft and short-term credit, either from the importers or manufacturers, in obtaining their supplies, and very often they have not only to sacrifice their profits but have to sell their commodities at a loss in order to realise cash to honour

the terms of such credit, hoping for future consignments to make up their losses, and many of them keep on suffering losses—they have such hope in mind. While the volume of turnover has become great, one has to increase one's staff, and when one does this, he has to pay more payroll tax. There he is touched at both ends. Sir, this is the general cry facing the small businessman. I do not mean to say that all lines of business will be badly hit by these two taxes. The big firms with large capital, who can afford to trade with their fixed profit and price, are less affected. I, therefore, urge the Government to consider that the turnover tax be applied only once on the same commodity, either imported from abroad or manufactured locally, and the payroll tax be applied to firms whose payroll amount exceeds \$12,000 a year.

Sir, to strengthen the economy of a country, Malaysia should aim at stimulating rapid development. The raising of the standard of living of a country depends very much on her rate of development. It is necessary, in my opinion, that the Governments of all the States should be urged to pursue a more liberal land policy and the terms should be made easier to induce development. There are numerous land-hungry citizens who are desperately waiting to invest their money on development but are unable to do so in many States. Population is increasing at a high rate and if something is not done now, it will cause discontentment and frustration which will not only retard the progress of nation building but also weaken the morale and unity of the citizens on which the success of Malaysia depends. I must congratulate the Minister for Rural Development for launching the Five-Year Plan; the evidence of success could be found in many States but a few of the States have not yet benefited owing to their short-sighted land policy and restrictions.

Sir, to secure the success of Malaysia, we must think and act as one family; likewise, the problems of Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah or Kelantan are all part of our own

problems, and all citizens must try to understand one another and follow the motto of the Alliance Party, i.e. justice and fairness. I suggest that more visits of community leaders and businessmen should be exchanged amongst the States of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and the Mainland to bring about even greater understanding and harmony.

Sir, another urgent problem I would like to touch on is the future of our younger generations—I had referred to this in the former Legislative Council after Independence. Although many schools have been put up since then, we still need more vocational schools and specialist training centres. We should also provide vocational guidance in all senior schools; and something should also be done for the graduates of the Nanyang University. The University is turning out thousands of young citizens. We may not like the Nanyang University but we cannot neglect the future welfare of our citizens. We need more universities and Nanyang University could be improved. I strongly urge the Government to give this question sympathetic consideration in order to secure these citizen graduates a place in our society. Thank you, Sir.

Dato' Haji Mohamed Noah bin Omar: Sir, I would like to compliment the Honourable Minister of Finance, who, when presenting Malaysia's second budget, endeavoured to present as full a picture as possible of the financial and economic situation of the country. He advanced adequate facts and statistics to prove the fact that our country has made considerable economic progress, despite Indonesian aggression. I would like to add here that in terms of prosperity, Malaysia continues to be only second to that of Japan in the whole of Asia. (*Applause*). We reached this position not through fortuitous circumstances but entirely through the diligence, and determination of our people to forge ahead under a free enterprise system. This is a tribute to the Malaysian people and the Malaysian Government.

Nevertheless, we are beset with problems and here again the Minister

made no attempt to conceal the difficulties we have to face.

Sir, it is my fervent appeal to all Members of this House and through them to all people of the country to give the Government their fullest assistance and co-operation in placing the country in a sound, healthy position, which would ensure its steady progress towards a prosperous society. A prosperous society and inter-racial harmony are essential pre-requisites to national solidarity. This, we need in full measure if we are to meet Indonesian aggression squarely and successfully.

Sir, before making any comment on the Budget, I would like to say a few words on the principles underlying budgetary preparation. In formulation of recommendations for tax changes, institutional factors and legal systems are to be considered paramount, particularly if it is a developing country like Malaysia. Another requirement is that, the recommendations should be in line with the administrative capacity of the country, so that the taxes can be enforced comprehensively and justly. Finally, Sir, one should differentiate between short-term revenue-raising measures for the financing of urgent defence and development projects and long-term tax reforms which are directly articulated to the steady encouragement of economic development.

By way of general criticism of the Budget, I would like to state that it has no clear long-term perspectives. Even in a long-term budget, say for five years, money provision could be provided from year to year in the light of the objectives set out and in the knowledge of the performance from year to year. It is a matter for serious consideration whether a developing country like Malaysia should not adopt the policy of a long-term budget without vitiating the principle of annual parliamentary control. I am of the opinion that as a first step in this direction, long-term tax reforms which are directly articulated to the steady encouragement of economic development, have to be studied. Such a study would also be useful in connection

with the formation of the common market and the formulation of a common tariff policy. It is strongly urged that consultation with the appropriate sectors should take place in the formulation of long-term tax reforms. This is urgent and essential if economic development is to proceed on sound lines. As a matter of fact, this is a well established principle in other countries, particularly the United Kingdom.

Sir, with these introductory remarks, I shall now attempt to dwell on those aspects of the Budget proposals which have aroused comments and criticism from certain sections. Many of you are already aware of the different names, the 1965 Budget has already acquired. One has named it a "shock budget", another "soak-the-rich budget", and yet another "soak-the-poor budget". An Honourable Member of the Lower House—I won't name him—has named it a "one step forward, two steps backward" budget, and another Honourable Member also of the Lower House—I won't mention the name—has called it the "old colonial budget". Permit me to add another name to this formidable list. I would like to call it a "Defend Malaysia Budget" (*Applause*), in view of the high allocation of revenue provided for defence and also in view of the fact that the new controversial taxes were introduced partly to augment revenue to meet defence commitments. Another significant keynote of the 1965 Budget is the harmonization of the different tax rates existing in the different member States of Malaysia in the interest of the common market. Progress towards the Common Market in Malaysia calls for the harmonization in all sectors of the economy as well as in economic policy which includes the prevalence of a common fiscal policy. Now, Sir, this is very important. Probably, it would have been prudent and welcomed by all if a "Taxation and Finance Committee" was set up as had been done by E.E.C. member countries to investigate "whether and to what extent differences now existing between the public financial systems of the member

states render difficult, or even impossible, the establishment of a common market, if conditions similar to those in the Federation of Malaya are to be created and assured" and "how far it is possible to eliminate those differences which especially hinder the formation and functioning of the Common Market." This Committee could have dealt thoroughly with the differences in the structures of the tax systems, and with the special problems concerning individual taxes. A time-table for tax harmonization measures could have been prepared, starting from the assumption that not all taxes are equally important for the smooth functioning of the Common Market and that, therefore, those taxes which most distort smooth functioning ought to be harmonized first. Harmonizing taxation is a difficult process—I agree—and prudence demands even at this late stage the formation of such a committee to investigate into such matters.

Sir, I would like to shift from the general to the particular—to the controversial payroll and turnover taxes.

The present political and economic situation makes it imperative for the savings of the nation to be raised to meet the urgent commitments of defence and development. National survival alone demands an allocation of \$589 million for defence and internal security out of a total budget expenditure of \$2,400 million, which means about 25% of the nation's revenue has been allocated for defending the nation. (In 1963 only \$258 million, or 17% of the total expenditure was allocated for Defence). The Minister of Finance was perfectly entitled to say that "this is a measure of our will to survive, whatever the cost may be." Defence requirements have however not dampened the enthusiasm of the Government to direct substantial amounts for development, particularly education, which amounts to \$320 million (about 12% higher than the 1964 provision), and social welfare, though the Minister has assured the House that every effort is being made and will be made to

restrain Government spending on less essential, and particularly non-essential projects and purposes.

Now, Sir, from where is the additional revenue to come to meet these increased commitments—foreign borrowing, running down of reserves or increased taxation? The Minister has apparently relied on all these three sources.

It is not wise to run down substantially the valuable external reserves to meet internal expenditure and the Minister was quite right in stating that “the means must be found to provide substantial revenue to meet these requirements.”

Sir, from this viewpoint, there appears to be ample justification for the Honourable Minister of Finance to have adopted the controversial turnover tax and payroll tax. It is true these levies are based on borrowed ideas and it is also true that fiscal policies of developing countries must be “tailor-made”. Canons (a general law or standard) of taxation which have become commonplace in advanced countries may be inapplicable in developing countries like Malaysia. However, this need not always be true. In identical situations, as will be described later, such levies may be appropriate. Now, this is very important: Malaysia has to meet urgent defence and development expenditure and she has to resort to quick revenue-earning measures. If additional revenues are to be raised without any changes in the existing administrative machinery and without additional cost, then the most efficient and quickest short-term revenue raising measures appear to be the turnover and the payroll taxes.

I lend my support to these controversial taxes on one condition only—that these should be withdrawn as soon as the present political tension is over. When I say tension, I mean the Indonesian aggression, Sir (*Laughter*). At no stage in the Budget debate in the Lower House was any reference made to the duration of the payroll and turnover taxes. According to the Minister, these new tax proposals have been selected for their growth potential

and probably there is every possibility for these to have the same degree of permanency as Pitt’s “temporary” income tax proposals. It is sincerely hoped that they would cease to be in force when Indonesian aggression is over. Probably, it would be beneficial from the point of view of the economy in general for the Minister to state categorically the effective period of these taxes. This would eliminate any possibility of the business community harbouring any frustration or doubt. Further, this would also avoid the Government weaving these controversial measures into the permanent tax fabric. In my opening remarks, I mentioned certain measures that could be adopted to meet long-term revenue needs to finance development. I would like to urge here once again that in the formulation of long-term tax reforms which are directly articulated to the steady encouragement of economic development, the appropriate sectors are consulted as done in the United Kingdom.

Concerning the turnover tax, it is true that it being a multi-stage tax in a country where a large number of middlemen operate, the $\frac{1}{2}\%$ turnover tax could become 2%, 3% or even more by the time goods reach the consumer. This may sometimes lead to an inflationary spiral, unless some form of effective price control system is introduced immediately. It is indeed gladdening to note that the Malaysian Government has agreed to consider a suggestion that this tax should be implemented as a single stage tax at source. “Agreed to consider”, I said, Sir. If this proposal is adopted—now this is another instance where the word “if” is used again—there is no room at all for any price rise which will be to the detriment of the ordinary consumer. Another argument, but this is not a valid one, particularly so if the tax is of a short-term duration, is that the turnover tax is a tax on business done rather than on profit made and Malaysia, more a private than a public enterprise economy, would require more business to be done to keep the economy bubbling.

Against these disadvantages, the turnover tax has the following advantages. As an indirect tax it could be entirely remitted on exports and this would help boost exports. The cost of computation is negligible and tax avoidance, which is a lucrative industry in Malaysia, could be reduced.

Some have argued that the payroll tax is a tax on employment, but this need not be true if this is of short-term duration.

The arguments such as payroll tax will result in capital intensive industries and that the turnover tax would affect the profitability of business houses do not hold water, provided these measures are of short-term duration and provided, as the Minister had repeatedly emphasised, these measures are administered judiciously. Probably, the Minister would have won more sympathy had he emphasised the fact that in the existing circumstances these were the quickest and most efficient means of earning revenue which is urgently needed to meet the nation's defence commitments. He should have made great play on the spirit of sacrifice. If these taxes are of short-term duration, probably the turnover tax could have even been raised to a higher level than the present $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and similarly payroll tax more than the present 2% level. The Minister's argument that because Norway, Germany, France and certain other countries imposed this levy, and at much higher rates, did not appear to have gained much acceptance. What he failed to instil was that these countries implemented these levies, and at much higher rates, at a time when these countries were struggling to accelerate economic development in the post-war period. It is true that the cascade system of turnover tax has been condemned by the European Economic Community and is being abandoned. But the idea of abandoning has arisen only after most of these countries had pulled themselves through the temporary difficult phase. Malaysia's present problems are somewhat similar to the above conditions and the payroll and turnover taxes appear to be "tailor-made" for the present situation. There

is comparative prosperity in most business institutions in Malaysia (even in the case of rubber industry to which, incidentally, the turnover tax does not apply; I am subject to correction if I am wrong) and the levies imposed are quite small and any attempt to pass this burden to the consumers must be avoided. Probably price control and some other similar measures have to be resorted to immediately to avoid price inflation. Further, industrial institutions switching over to capital intensive methods should be urged not to do so, on the grounds that the taxes are purely of a temporary nature.

Now, I come to the capital gains tax. Sir, the financial position of the country justifies the introduction of the long over-due capital gains tax though comment has been rather adverse in the recent debates. This levy comes into operation with effect from 25th November, 1964—I think I am right. In the absence of any reference to assets other than land and property and shares the tax position is not clear as regards other forms of capital gains, either in the Minister's speech or the subsequent discussions in the Lower House. Now these are the questions. Will the tax extend to all gains realised on the disposal of assets of whatever kind, whether tangible or intangible? Could it be presumed that the following are exempted from the capital gains tax?

1. Bonuses which are added to life insurance policies and which depend largely on capital profits earned by large insurance companies.
2. Sums received on the maturity or surrender of normal life insurance policies.
3. Betting winnings, welfare lotteries, where there is no disposal of an asset.
4. Gains realised by charities and superannuation funds.
5. And the last, gains from the disposal of owner-occupier's only or principal residence.

For the purpose of the capital gains tax, does realisation include disposal other than by sale, e.g. long-lease, exchange, forfeiture and the transfer of

ownership by gift or on death. It would be helpful if some clarification is given concerning these profits by the Minister concerned.

Sir, in conclusion, I would like to reiterate once again that the savings of the nation shall have to be increased. I would like to make a suggestion in this connection. Tax incentives should be given to step up savings. The Government could take a considerable step in this direction if it issued tax free stock bearing a low coupon rate without limit to holdings. This should not be accused of being too radical a measure as it would only be a slight variation from the tax reserve certificates issued in the United Kingdom. Thank you. *(Applause)*.

Enche' S. O. K. Ubaidulla: Sir, first and foremost, may I say that the Honourable Minister of Finance, Enche' Tan Siew Sin, at once wins our plaudits for producing a budget which is no ordinary task. He has worked hard and taken every care and minute precautions to see that new taxation does not affect anyone adversely.

This Budget is a masterpiece produced by an able economist of our time. We are in the midst of a national crisis. We have a great responsibility to the nation. Revenue is required to combat Indonesian confrontation. We also need more money to provide for development projects and social services. Sir, under these circumstances, all patriotic persons have accepted all tax increase proposals, except one or two.

Sir, while I approach this subject, I am rather caught between the admiration for the Honourable Minister and loyalty to my people. If we stood up here and criticised the mode and manner of such taxes that would be collected and how they would affect the public at large, I hope that that should not be considered obstructive. We have a duty to our Chambers of Commerce and the people. Even then, if the Honourable Minister of Finance would be upset by our remarks, I would like him to take us to be barking without biting. *(Laughter)*. Though the associated

Indian Chambers of Commerce like its sister chambers—the associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce and the Malay and the European Chambers of Commerce—protested against the imposition of payroll and turnover taxes, they did not resort to public statements. Like other chambers it still believes that the Honourable Minister would soon be convinced and might resort to flexible attitude as he promised.

Sir, it is amply evident that merchants would be the ones who would be hard hit by the payroll and turnover taxes. It is undeniable that payroll tax is a tax on an item of expenditure: payroll tax is tantamount to double taxation. It may penalise the labour intensive industry, for the size of labour is no indication to profit making.

Let us now take the turnover tax. It is also complementary to income tax and is not reliable indices of a company's profitability. The turnover tax is expected to accumulate in impact before reaching the ultimate consumers. Sir, a marginal trader could be deprived of his whole income by the imposition of the new taxes. A company that suffered a loss would be adding to its losses by paying the new taxes. Thus, it is observed that the essential consideration of a tax is equity rather than administrative problem, and taxation should be linked to profit and ability to pay. It is inevitable that whenever possible the taxes will be passed on to the consumer, either in the form of a direct surcharge or an increase in price. There will then follow a rise in the cost of living. I also agree with the Honourable Minister that there may be some, who may be able to absorb these new taxes. The imposition of these new taxes, after the capital has been induced to enter the country by reason of a tax-free climate, is clearly inequitable. The new taxes, coupled with a rise in interest rates, might induce investors to turn more to foreign stocks, particularly in Britain, where non-residents are going to be exempted from the capital gains tax.

Sir, the Government has stated that strict measures will be taken against unscrupulous profiteering. I am afraid it may be well-nigh impossible, because retail selling prices include services rendered and facilities provided. It is also dependent upon the overheads of each retailer which may vary from place to place.

Sir, in proposing the turnover tax and payroll tax, the Honourable Minister has said that he is bent upon taxing the man, who evades income tax—I admit that evasion is still the biggest enemy of the country. Unfortunately, Sir, it will be soon proved that the evader of income tax could be the evader of turnover tax, if not payroll tax. It is once again the honest income tax payer, who would be paying the turnover tax and the payroll tax. Is it fair that a straightforward person should be penalised for his honesty? Sir, to my mind, the payroll and turnover taxes are based on the same motive as the once introduced, and later withdrawn, business registration and licencing fees that collected annually \$200 from each registered business.

I read in the newspapers that the Honourable Minister had agreed to consider implementing the turnover tax as a single-stage at source. But when my Honourable friend Dato' Haji Mohamed Noah made mention of this I saw the Honourable Minister of Finance shaking his head, showing his disapproval—showing that he did not agree to such a thing. If that is so, our pleasures have been short-lived. Sir, there is also a fear that in the future these taxes may be increased little by little. It is time that the Honourable Minister allays these fears.

Sir, I come now to our Federal Capital—Kuala Lumpur. We have abolished the elected Council system in the Federal Capital. It was a very good move, because the Federal Capital should rise above party politics and conform to the policies of the Federal Government. Now, the officers control the Municipality at Kuala Lumpur. After the abolition of the elected Council, the officers have

become indifferent to their responsibility. The old good system that existed has collapsed. There is a holiday mood in the Kuala Lumpur Municipality. Health and Engineering Departments of the Municipality require urgent waking up. The sanitation and cleanliness of Kuala Lumpur is deplorable. Backlanes are heaped with garbage—in some cases unremoved for months. Drainage and gutters are left neglected. Mosquitoes breed and rats are not rare. Five-foot paths are obstructed with wares, beggars and bicycles, and as a result pedestrian flow is slowed down. Looking at this state of affairs, one wonders as to what has happened to the supervisory staff of the various authorities of Kuala Lumpur Municipality and, if they are there, whether they do their daily rounds.

Sir, Kuala Lumpur Municipality requires a drastic change to be followed by dynamic action. Some crash programme should be contemplated to save Kuala Lumpur from its falling standards. The ever-changing skyline of Kuala Lumpur would be a matter of little pride when one sees the day after day declining care of the town. The former elected Council has its good and bad. The one good it did was the opportunity it gave to the public to voice their views, through their representative. Now that this system is abolished, some sort of substitution should be found. Let us introduce a new system to hear the voice of the people of Kuala Lumpur. Sir, I suggest a few voice recording vehicles go round the nook and corner of the town everyday. Let everyone, who has a grievance or a suggestion, go before the mike and say it. Such recorded views could be played back to the higher officials of the Municipality. From such direct and candid views, the officers may judge the good and the bad of the administration and what people think about them. This is the only way by which you can make the busy man, the man with language difficulty, and the man who fears victimisation, to speak frankly about his town. By this view-recording method, we will make "meet the people" session mobile and indelible.

Factually, this would mean a door-to-door delivery of basic democracy.

The Honourable Minister of Local Government and Housing, Enche' Khaw Kai-Boh, the other day warned that soon the rate-payers in Kuala Lumpur would have to pay more for the progress of their town. The mounting expenses, to my mind, to a certain extent may be due to waste, poor planning and lack of co-ordination. I have seen road-widening and curb fixing being done and re-done on the one and same site, all within two or three years. Planning ahead at least for five years should not be difficult. It is also mysterious to me to see the C.E.B., Telecommunications and the Water Works Departments digging the same road and the same spot on different days for differing works. This results in a waste of manpower and materials to all Departments and, of course, the Municipality would have to do the surfacing every time.

Sir, television is a boon to society. To the grown-ups, it is a source of entertainment and information, and to the children it offers visual education. As a young and newly independent nation, we have much to look up to in television. Through the medium of television, we must develop national solidarity, civic consciousness, sense of sacrifice, cultural and moral values and, above all, a national character of our own akin to the tradition of Eastern people. Persons who are promoted to places according to the official procedure, and men of mere academic qualification, cannot be expected to run the Television Department to achieve the above said national needs and national character. We need a man above them all with cultural depth, communal toleration and national pride, who, as a sort of internal censor, will build a wall against the easily sneaking-in foreign culture and thinking. I fervently hope that this man will be found with the least delay.

Sir, our Television Department is very young. Experienced artistes and producers are not very easy to get. This, however, does not mean that we

should take up twist and rock-and-roll dance programmes and dead-end kid stories as a substitute, as this would amount to our fighting crime on the one hand and recruiting boys to the school of crime on the other. Sometimes our T.V. programmes are out-and-out western and utterly foreign to the Malayan way of life. Such programmes would do more harm than good. I would rather see a dull local programme than a dazzling but foreign one. The western music that we get in our T.V. programme is more than the proportion of the people who understand and appreciate it. The time devoted to news, both local and foreign, in radio and television appears very much limited. We need more news and wider coverage.

Sir, the tremendous increase of motor vehicles has posed numerous problems. Congestion in big towns has paralysed the smooth flow of traffic and obstructed activities, leading to waste of money and time. One can understand such a state of affairs in big towns. I am really not happy to see the negligible improvement in the observance of speed limits and road regulations on the trunk routes. As a rule, lorries do not observe the speed limits. They even have the audacity to overtake cars on 50 to 60 miles per hour speed. I wonder whether they have ever been brought to book and punished. If they have been punished, I am sure that such punishment is not severe enough. I appeal to the Honourable Minister concerned to intensify his campaign against these lawless lorry drivers and their owners. Checking of overloading and speeding round the town is not enough. It should be curbed all the way on the trunk routes. Surprise check squads should be increased in proportion to the increase of vehicles.

Sir, the Registrar of Vehicles Department is yet to gear up to carry out the proper inspection of the exhaust system of motor vehicles and impose uniformity to all descriptions of vehicles. The public in big towns should enjoy purer air and live without fear of cancer. The diesel fumes from buses and lorries and taxis are

a potent source of pollution of the air, and these fumes are cancerous. Sir, our lorries are fitted with vertical exhaust pipes so that the fumes may escape above human breathing level. What about the buses in towns? They have their smoky exhausts still at the bottom. A large number of buses go about polluting the air, and the enforcement of vertical exhaust pipe system on lorries alone, and not on buses, would look like a half-hearted measure.

Mr President, Sir, no country in the world, however strong and vocal, can afford to overlook or slight the Afro-Asian opinion. Unfortunately, our relations and associations with the Afro-Asian countries have in the past been very feeble. Taking advantage of this, the Indonesians became emboldened. Because of our neglect of Afro-Asian opinion we have to face the present Indonesian confrontation. Indonesia would have thought ten times before confronting us if Indonesia were to know that we have substantial influence among Afro-Asian nations, especially among African nations.

When I say we lack staunch friends among Afro-Asian nations, one might ask: what about India, Japan, Thailand and other countries. These countries became our friends because of Tunku's visit and his close contact and support to their causes. If only Tunku and Tun made such visits after our independence to African countries, by now we would have received handsome dividends. Ever since Indonesia was liberated from Dutch rule, Indonesia with foresight spent half of its revenue on army and the other half on its president's visit to various countries and followed it up with the establishment of diplomatic relations. Indonesia even went to the extent of hosting the first Afro-Asian Conference at Bandoeng. These acts appeared like antics of Soekarno. We laughed and many others in the world laughed too, but to our surprise Indonesia seems to be reaping a very good harvest out of these antics. Today Indonesia is strong at home with a large army and abroad with well-founded diplomatic relations. The

finest weapon in the armoury of Indonesia today is a simple allegation that Malaysia is steeped with imperialists and colonial nations. That straightaway catches the imagination of Afro-Asian nations who have in one way or other suffered from such imperialist and colonial nations and it becomes difficult for them to believe that such nations are here at our will and pleasure.

Sir, the only solution before us is to beat Indonesia in the diplomatic field if we do not want to beat them in the battlefield. Let us not lose much time in establishing diplomatic relations in Afro-Asian countries, especially in African countries. Tunku and Tun should find time to visit important African countries. I was very happy on Tun's visit to some of the North African countries. Sir, our visits to Afro-Asian countries should not appear like sideshows but should remain as main items of our itinerary. Establishment of diplomatic relations should also be on high levels and not on accreditation levels. May we soon see a big change in our outlook and relations with Afro-Asian countries. Thank you, Sir.

Dato' E. E. C. Thuraisingham: Mr President, Sir, I hasten to accept the tax proposals in case I am thought to be a Communist (*Laughter*), but I am not going to take these tax proposals as the last say in the taxation policy of this country. I hope that the flexibility and modifications proposed by members of the Government would be looked into in the light of experience in imposing these taxes in the country. Although my Honourable friend Dato' Haji Mohamed Noah indulged in a few wishful thinking, I support his plea that the taxation policy of this country should be reviewed from time to time, not permanently established and gradually raised from year to year to meet the needs of the Government. In all these days we have heard and read the great strain that must have been on the Honourable Minister of Finance. He had been criticised and bombarded on all sides for his taxation policy and I feel, and I have felt, most sincerely that the Honourable Minister

of Finance deserves our great admiration for his courage and steadfastness in standing up to the very violent attacks on him and his policy (*Applause*). I congratulate him and I hope that he will carry this sincerity, a great feature of his conduct in the last two or three months, to see that the incidence of taxation does not fall heavily on any one section of the community.

With your permission, Sir, I would like now to speak on educational expense and particularly on the University of Malaya.

Everyone is aware of the rapid expansion of university education in the Federation since 1959. In 1961 the University of Malaya was established as a separate and autonomous University in Kuala Lumpur. In the short period of five years the University of Malaya has established itself as an institution of international repute in the Arts and Sciences. Our graduates and our under-graduates who have been sent out to foreign Universities for study, have won high reputation by their scholarship and conduct.

Our university educational system has been modelled on celebrated and ancient universities of highly developed countries. Malaya as a developing country should now turn its attention to modelling its educational policies on the pressing needs of the community, which obviously are the economic and industrial fields. The economic and industrial fields of this country should be broadened to enhance the productivity of this land, both in human and natural resources. In short, the University should become a major instrument in the development of the States of Malaysia.

There are instances of universities in the new world of America who have by their concentration on their natural resources of their States developed their industries that have brought untold wealth and progress to their States. The University of North Carolina by concentrating on tobacco, a product vital to that State has brought great prosperity and wealth to that State. Similarly, the Louisiana

State University has developed the sugar industry and sugar refinery. I may also mention the University of Hawaii who has developed the pineapple industry and marine biology and has thereby earned great wealth and reputation.

Let us now examine our position in Malaysia. Malaysia is the largest producer of rubber and tin in the world. Is it not obvious that our university should undertake the study and research of the production of these two great commodities as a matter of urgency before synthetic products overwhelm us? We have, of course, the Rubber Research Institute in Malaya and branches of it overseas, and also the International Tin Research Institute in London with some research and study in the Geological Department. Are these institutions enough to develop the vital commodities of this land? We have been dependent up to now on expatriate officers to do our research with a few newly qualified Asian officers. Within the last few months 18 expatriate officers have left the Rubber Research Institute and thereby dislocating the trend of research in this Institute. Our national status makes it imperative that we must train our own men and women to do our own research and in our own commodities. The only action taken in this direction up to now is some pathetic attempt made to train at a low level rubber technologists by the Institute of Rubber Industry and the National College of Rubber Technology of London through weekly lectures after working hours. What a sad state of affairs!

A sum of nearly \$13 million is spent on research and development by the rubber industry every year and a little less than \$1 million on the tin industry every year in development and research. A good portion of this money, of course, must be spent overseas in consumer research, in development and in manufacturers' research, but an equally important amount of money must be spent in this country on production research in this country because the commodities are in this country.

We are a country principally of an agricultural economy. Rice, oil palm, pineapple and tea, to name a few, are looming largely as industries of great potential. Now, how are we to produce researchers, technologists, scientists and field workers at high level for our development, except to call upon our university to undertake this work immediately?

The principal subjects of study connected with rubber and some other agricultural produce are botany, soils, plant, pathology, chemistry and technology, and in tin, mineral investigation, metallurgy and geology and other connected subjects.

I may be getting out of my depth and feel diffident to advise the Senate of the University on how they can help us to make our university a truly major instrument of development of Malaysia. As a person connected with the university since its inception in 1949, I take the liberty to make a few suggestions. In 1959 the laboratories of the Technical College and of the Victoria Institution were used at the initial stages by our university in teaching science and engineering. I suggest now that the extensive facilities of the Rubber Research Institute, the big research laboratories of Messrs Guthries and Socfins and the Geological Research Station in Ipoh should form the nucleus of intensive rubber and tin education leading to a degree in a non-faculty department and later to a Faculty of Natural Sciences. But one may ask, where will you get the lecturers when expatriate officers of the R.R.I. are going away? We must try and get contract officers through the Colombo Plan and other mutual assistance agencies at decent salaries and decent conditions of service. This is an ambitious and expensive programme, but I am sure the extension of our university will give unpredictable wealth and progress to Malaysia. *(Applause)*.

Dato' Y. T. Lee: Mr President, Sir, the Budget for 1965 has been lengthily debated and passed in the Dewan Ra'ayat and from whichever angle one may view it, we, as loyal citizens, must

support the Government in its effort to raise more revenue for the defence of the country and for national development.

The Chambers of Commerce and the general public were apprehensive about these new taxes, particularly the turnover tax, but they are relieved to learn that the Minister is prepared to consider the turnover tax to be deducted at source. This is a relief, and, in fact the Minister himself in his winding-up speech said that the ultimate development may well lie in the direction of a single stage tax.

We are also relieved to learn from the Minister that there would be flexibility in the implementation of these taxes and that the matter would be reviewed after a period of trial. I hope, Sir, that this period should be reasonably short.

Sir, The Budget Session at the Dewan Rayat has brought forward some interesting discussions but at the same time has also shown in vivid perspective a few points which loyal citizens of this country should take particular note.

Sir, I am most surprised to learn from the Deputy Prime Minister of the condition attached to the United States offer of a defence loan at five per cent interest.

Sir, the stories heard about American policies all along were heresay but today we have it from first-hand knowledge the insincerity of American aid towards our cause.

Malaysia, undoubtedly, acts as the bulwark against communism in this part of the world. If Malaysia falls America can write off Asia completely as a base for democracy.

Thousands of millions have been, and are being spent in this part of the world to consolidate against communism.

But, alas, to what purpose?

Let it not be too late for the Americans to realise that Malaysia is not fighting her own battle but is actually in the front line of the democratic battle against communist expansion in this area.

The American attitude is beyond our comprehension. It is shocking. Do they want Soekarno to move in before helping us?

Sir, the Opposition parties claim that they backed the Government in its stand against Soekarno's aggression towards Malaysia. This is all very well.

The unfortunate part of it, to my mind, is how much of what they said is only lip service.

During the debate on the Emergency Proclamation the Socialist Front claimed that they would fight shoulder to shoulder to defend this fair nation. Yet the Socialist Front Members of the Selangor State Assembly, led by Mr V. David, walked out of the meeting as a protest against the motion to condemn Indonesian aggression against Malaysia. At the second day of the Selangor State Assembly meeting Dr Tan Chee Khoon declared that the Socialist Front was against Indonesian aggression and was prepared to condemn it.

Now, Sir, which one of the two Socialist leaders is the spokesman of the Party. Which one is to be believed. So, whatever these leaders say, however much they may try to impress us that they are really Malaysian in outlook, let us not be taken in too easily. They have contradicted themselves on such important issues that it is hard to reconcile their stand.

This leads one to ask a pertinent question. Is the Socialist Front for or against Indonesian aggression?

There has been inconsistencies in the Socialist Front on several issues but perhaps none quite so clear cut as this one.

This country is fighting an enemy who is out to destroy us. The Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom and in defence of peace in this country.

If the Socialist Front are really sincere people, let them put forward constructive suggestions to help the Government in this hour of stress.

Sir, the next subject which I am going to touch upon is that the P.A.P. Government of Singapore maintain that they are justified in continuing trade with South Africa—a country which practices the Apartheid Policy unashamedly in spite of opposition from the entire world, including the communist countries. The Singapore Minister gave the excuse that only small quantities of grape juice and wine are imported from South Africa. Sir, it is not a question whether the quantity is small or large. It involves a question of principle.

There is absolutely no justification at all for Singapore to continue to trade with a country which is condemned by the rest of the world for its inhuman policy. Our Prime Minister was the first to declare at the United Nations and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that this country abhors and condemns the South African policy of Apartheid.

The Singapore Minister said that without this small trade the economy of Singapore will collapse.

Sir, I ask, can anyone be made to believe this fantastic statement.

How do the other African countries react to this?

It would be a most awkward question to answer if we send our missions abroad to win over the African countries to our cause.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Osman: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong Belanjawan, 1965.

Sir, before I proceed with my speech, I would like to answer certain allegations that were hurled towards this House by the Honourable Member for Batu in the Dewan Ra'ayat recently. With your permission, Sir, I will quote what he says here:

"Socialist Front Leader Hits Out at Senators.

The Socialist Front Leader, Dr Tan Chee Khoon, today criticised members of the Senate for their habit of always criticising speeches made in the House of Representatives."

Sir, this is really an insult to us and, an insult to the dignity of the Members of this House, and because of

that, I think it is fair for me to say something here.

Sir, I take this opportunity to say this to the Honourable Member for Batu, Dr Tan Chee Khoon, in particular, and to the Socialist Front in general. We, Members of this House (Dewan Negara), have every right to criticise speeches made in Dewan Ra'ayat by Opposition Members or by any Government Member, and we can also criticise any speeches made by anybody, even outside Parliament, if we think it would serve a useful purpose. We know the Socialist Front's merasa radang kerana Ahli²-nya tidak ada dalam Dewan Negara ini. If no members of the Socialist Front are here in this House, Sir, it is not our fault. It is the fault of the Socialist Front itself. The Socialist Front has no guts, no courage and no conviction of the ideology to fight hard and win at least a State whereby it can send two representatives here. Even the P.M.I.P. have got more guts, courage and conviction than the Socialist Front. They fought hard to win elections in Kelantan and to control the State of Kelantan, thereby their representatives are here with us today.

Sir, last year the P.M.I.P., we heard, disagreed with the formation of Malaysia, with certain reservations, but, Sir, we are very glad indeed that this year they have no more reservations. In other words, they support Malaysia totally and wholeheartedly. One of their members, Yang Berhormat Enche' Abu Bakar Hamzah, even went a bit further than we do, he even urged the Government to declare war on Indonesia. To him, Sir, I say "*Shabas*"—that is the spirit of a true Malaysian. So, I now advise the Socialist Front to take a leaf from the P.M.I.P. So long as the Socialist Front is to have one foot on Malaysian soil and another foot on Communist Indonesia or Chinese soil, there is no earthly chance whatsoever for the Socialist Front to control even a State. I would not be surprised, and you, Sir, also would not be surprised, that at the next election there would not be a member of the Socialist Front returned to the Dewan Ra'ayat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam mengalu²kan perbekalan tahun 1965 ini, saya berasa ada juga sedikit sa-banyak yang saya hendak berchakap berkenaan perkara² yang terbuka di-hati saya. Satu perkara-nya ia-lah bersangkutan dengan, saya nampak pada masa sekarang ada sa-tengah² Kementerian yang bekerja dengan Kementerian lain tidak ada kata sa-pakat atau kerjasama yang chukup atau co-ordination. Saya bagi mithalan bagini: Lima tahun sudah Kementerian Pertanian dalam masa Enche' Aziz Ishak, telah menggalakkan supaya di-adakan satu company untuk membuat baja urea dan kilang kertas.

Pada masa itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat, saya-lah selalu membangkang fasal hendak membuat baja urea kerana saya tahu baik² bahawa baja urea itu bukan-lah satu baja yang dengan sendiri-nya boleh berguna pada segala tumbuhan² sunggoh pun Menteri itu pada masa itu telah berkata baja itu satu baja 'ajaib, pendek-nya di-buboh baja urea ini apa juga boleh hidup, apa juga boleh berbuah, maka dengan kerana bangkangan saya dan lain²-nya lagi maka satu masa lepas itu kilang hendak membuat baja urea telah ditinggalkan sahaja chuma timbul kilang hendak membuat kertas. Menteri sekarang ini apabila pegang jawatan Menteri, maka ranchangan hendak membuat kilang kertas itu pun di-majukan dan wang telah di-timbulkan oleh Sharikat² Melayu untuk membuat kilang kertas. Tetapi dukachita-nya baharu² ini juga saya dengar Menteri Perusahaan dan Perdagangan telah mengeluarkan satu kenyataan dalam surat khabar, kalau betul, kalau tidak minta ma'af-lah saya, mengikut surat khabar, dia pula ada menganjorkan satu modal daripada negeri Jepun untuk membuat kilang kertas yang lain. Maka dengan kerana ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada kerjasama atau sa-pakat antara kedua² Menteri. Kalau-lah Kementerian Pertanian hendak membuat satu kilang kertas dengan menggunakan wang² Sharikat Kerjasama, kalau-lah tidak menchukupi apa-kah salah-nya jika Menteri Perdagangan ini hendak meminta modal

daripada Jepun itu berpakat dengan, yang pertama menggunakan wang² Sharikat² Kerjasama sa-tengah dan menggunakan wang daripada Jepun sa-tengah supaya di-adakan satu kilang kertas dengan sa-chepat mungkin kerana sudah lima tahun dudok angan² hendak buat kilang ini tidak jadi. Jadi kalau nampak-nya kalau di-benarkan perkara ini di-jalankan, dua macham kilang. Saya susah hati-lah barangkali orang² atau Sharikat² Kerjasama yang telah memungut wang hendak buat kilang kertas itu tentu berasa kechil hati sedikit nampak-nya ada berlawanan, harus berlangsong satu kilang kertas pun tidak jadi. Maka dengan kerana itu-lah saya meminta kepada Menteri Pertanian, dia tidak ada di-sini, Menteri Perdagangan ada, tolong-lah beliau berpakat sama² supaya dapat co-ordinasi kerja kedua² ini untuk membuat satu dahulu, kalau sudah ada satu, tidak chukup, buat 40 lagi buat-lah lagi pun saya tidak gadoh, buat-lah tetapi buat satu dahulu.

Yang kedua-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya nampak sa-tengah² Kementerian ini menjalankan tugas tidak di-berikan dengan jalan keutamaan, yang dahulu tidak di-dahulukan, yang kemudian di-dahulukan. Mithalan-nya bagini: In time of war, what a country need is guns and bread. Kita sekarang masa peperangan. Masa peperangan kita berkehendakkan ia-lah senapang dan beras. Itu keutamaan yang hendak di-beri, tetapi nampak-nya di-negeri kita ini berkenaan dengan senapang sudah chukup. Saya suka dengan perjalanan Menteri Pertahanan kita yang telah menchari senapang yang baik², jentera dan kapal laut untuk peperangan. Baharu² ini kita sangat dukachita mendengar sa-bagai-mana kata Dato' Y. T. Lee tadi berkenaan dengan pinjaman yang hendak di-beri oleh Amerika Sharikat itu tidak memuaskan hati dan kita tidak terima kerana dia minta interest lebeh. Saya juga mengambil peluang pada hari ini berkata kepada Amerika Sharikat ia-itu kita sangat-lah sanjong tinggi masa yang lepas tentang kerjasama daripada Amerika Sharikat, kerana kita tahu negeri-nya besar, kaya-raya,

pemerintahan sa-chara demokerasi dan telah menolong negeri² yang kurang maju seperti Vietnam, Philippines dan lain² dengan berjuta² ringgit. Apabila Malaysia minta bantuan untuk membeli barang² peperangan dia mengambil faedah begitu tinggi. Kita nampak begitu kaya orang-nya boleh sampai hati hendak menolong kita dengan hendak chari untong, jadi dengan itu nampak-nya tidak Amerika Sharikat terhadap kita pada hari ini kurang-lah elok di-pandang. Kalau mereka menolong negeri² lain mereka tidak adakan "string attached" bahkan di-beri "outright grant" sahaja. Kenapa-kah kapada kita begitu sa-kali hendak menolong dengan mengambil begitu tinggi faedah sa-bagai berniaga pula? Saya perchaya semua Ahli² Dewan Negara ini pun berasa macham saya juga ia-itu tidak puas hati atas perkara yang terjadi itu.

Berbalek sa-mula perchakapan saya tadi berkenaan dengan beras. Kita tahu baik² baharu² ini saya dengar Menteri Pertanian berkata ia-itu beliau telah dapat lagi satu jenis padi. Padi ini Menteri akan umumkan pada awal tahun 1965. Saya tidak tahu apa nama-nya. Tahun sudah kita dengar padi "Malinja". Saya berasa shukor kapada Tuhan sebab dapat lagi padi yang baik untuk di-tanam. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka beri tahu kapada Menteri Pertanian ia-itu tidak ada guna kalau kita ada 100 jenis padi yang baik sa-kira-nya kita tidak ada tanah untuk di-tanam. Jadi, mengikut dalam surat-khabar baharu² ini kita lihat, minta ma'af, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ada dua tiga "cutting" berkenaan dengan ini:

"Khir's Target—Enough Rice by 1970.

The Minister of Agriculture, Enche' Mohamed Khir Johari said the Government planned to bring 670,000 acres of padi land under double-crop by 1970 to enable the country to be self-sufficient."

Jadi, hari² saya tengok kalau Menteri berchakap fasal padi dia kira double cropping dia tidak kira single cropping.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang saya ma'anakan bagini masa Malaya merdeka tahun 1957, pada masa itu dasar untuk menambahkan padi itu ia-lah

dengan memperelokkan kawasan padi yang ada sekarang ini. Saya telah katakan empat lima kali dalam Dewan Ra'ayat dan Dewan ini ia-itu di-mana² dunia sa-kali pun jika kita hendak menambah pengeluar padi chuma ada dua chara sahaja—tanya-lah mana² expert pun. Chara yang pertama ia-lah membuka tanah baharu untuk tanam padi. Chara yang kedua ia-lah memperelokkan tanah padi yang ada sekarang ini dengan membuat taliayer, benih yang bagus dengan buboh baja dan lain² supaya dapat hasil yang lebeh pada satu ekar. Jadi, semenjak Malaya merdeka kita chuma buat chara yang kedua ia-itu chara memperelokkan tanah bendang yang sekarang ini. Saya tidak menentang chara ini, sebab saya tahu kerana kita di-Malaya tidak ada lagi tanah untuk di-buka, tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita sekarang sudah menjadi Malaysia. Kita ada negeri Sarawak dan Sabah. Negeri Sarawak hampir sama besar-nya dengan Malaya ini. Bulan sudah saya dengan empat rakan saya Ahli Dewan Negara bersama sembilan Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat telah melawat Sabah dan Sarawak. Kalau kita tengok Sarawak dengan kapal terbang, tanah-nya pamah dan boleh di-katakan banyak paya dan penoh dengan sungai². Kalau orang yang biasa buat bendang dia tahu tanah itu-lah yang sesuai bagi tanam padi. Jadi beratus ribu ekar tanah di-Sarawak itu boleh di-buat bendang.

Dalam meshuarat Dewan ini yang lepas saya telah bertanya kepada Menteri Pertanian apa-kah rancangan Kerajaan Pusat telah buat untuk membuka tanah di-Sarawak, jawab-nya tidak ada, tetapi Kerajaan Negeri Sarawak akan buat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya kata tadi masa perang kita mahu senapang dan beras, sekarang kita mahu ikut jalan itu. Kalau kita hendak tambah beras Kerajaan Pusat tidak boleh beri sahaja tugas kepada Kerajaan Negeri untuk membuat-nya, kerana Kerajaan Negeri Sarawak tidak chukup petani² yang benar² tahu buat bendang, bukan orang² sana tidak tahu. Yang kedua Kerajaan Sarawak tidak chukup wang untuk membuka bendang. Yang ketiga Kerajaan Sarawak tidak chukup tech-

nique untuk menjalankan kerja ini. Ketiga² perkara ini ia-lah boleh dijalankan oleh Kerajaan di-perengkat Pusat. Jadi, sekarang lebeh baik daripada kita membelanjakan beribu² juta ringgit untuk memperelokkan tanah yang ada sekarang, kita buka tanah yang bertimbah² yang tidak di-buat bendang itu. Saya beri satu mithalan, kalau kita belanja \$1 juta untuk memperelokkan tanah bendang yang ada sekarang, di-tanah dua kali sa-tahun supaya dapat tanah itu lebeh kurang sa-banyak 4,000 ekar sahaja boleh di-perelokkan, jadi hasil yang akan di-dapati daripada tanah itu lebeh sa-tengah. Kalau sekarang dapat 600 gantang sa-ekar apabila buat double cropping bertambah 300 gantang sa-ekar. Tetapi jika kita belanja \$1 juta kita boleh buka tanah baharu lebeh kurang 4,000 ekar dan tanah ini boleh mengeluarkan hasil 600 gantang sa-ekar, dan orang akan bertambah lagi bekerja di-situ lebeh kurang 500 orang. Kalau kita belanja yang mula² itu dalam 4,000 ekar tanah chuma 800 orang itu sahaja boleh bekerja, tetapi kalau tanah baharu akan bertambah lagi 800 orang bekerja. Chara ini menolong meramaikan pekerja² dan menambah hasil 600 gantang sa-ekar, jadi pehak petani dua kali lebeh pendapatan-nya. Kalau Menteri ada lapang dan buat simple arithmetic saya perchaya beliau akan berfikir itu-lah yang lebeh baik dan sesuai. Saya sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau saya menjadi Menteri Pertanian saya akan jadikan Sarawak itu jelapang padi Malaysia.

Kemudian baharu² ini pun saya nampak, yang pelek-nya kita ini—ini ada satu cutting (potong akhbar) lagi, dan ada banyak lagi, saya nampak ada satu lagi, jadi kita, kena-lah Menteri ini sa-tengah²-nya bekerja—kita sabagai Menteri patut-lah kita tunjukkan tauladan kepada orang. Menteri Pertanian kita ada berkata:

Satay, massage parlour can sell Malaysia. Jadi, baharu² ini Menteri Pertanian kita ada membuka sa-buah hotel—Malaysia Hotel dan di-dalam-nya itu dia ada berkata:

I, for one, do not believe in being a hypocrite, and I say openly that massage

parlours should be encouraged if we want tourists to come to our city.

Yang saya bagi ma'ana-nya bagini: berma'ana tempat itu tidak kena untuk membuka rumah² hotel, dan sa-patut-nya hendak-lah Menteri Perdagangan, atau Perdana Menteri membuka-nya. Ini di-beri Menteri Pertanian pula untuk membuka-nya, dan dia ada chakap pula mengatakan lebih baik buka rumah urut (*Ketawa*). Jadi, bertambah banyak. Jadi, sa-benar-nya dia ini disanjong tinggi oleh orang² kampung, orang² bendang. Jikalau orang² kampung, orang² bendang ini dengar, mengatakan Menteri Pertanian sudah buka rumah urut, ini apa pula? Kalau Menteri² Luar Negeri datang ka-mari, kata-lah Menteri dari negeri Jepun datang ka-sini, tengok, bacha yang samacham ini—wah! dia hairan, Asoka dia kata (*Ketawa*). Inikan pula Menteri Pertanian ini buka rumah urut semua ini macham. Jadi, ini-lah saya katakan chukup senang—tugas tidak di-adakan.

Dan juga baharu² ini—saya minta izin dengan Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu dalam tahun 1964 di-ishtiharkan Tahun Buah²an. Jadi, pada tahun hadapan, saya dengar akan di-ishtiharkan Tahun Sharikat Kerjasama. Jadi, fasal padi hendak di-galakkan bagini, nampak-nya tidak berbunyi pun, chuma yang saya dengar fasal buah²an.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi, kita berperang. Kita berkehendakkan senapang dan beras untuk makan. Kalau ada senapang, tidak ada beras, kalau kita menang perang sa-kali pun, orang semua mati—apa guna-nya? Ta' ada guna. Jadi, dua² perkara ini mesti bekerjasama; senapang dan beras itu bersama², maka oleh sebab itu hendak-lah kita tugaskan kapada beras.

Satu lagi cutting yang saya hendak bachakan ia-lah tentang fasal membuka tanah baharu pada bulan ini. Apa kata *Straits Times*—for double cropping:

Padi Service—A University of Malaya student, who plans a service to learn, where so many padi farmers are opposed to double cropping, will be coming to grips with one of the greatest of our agricultural products; despite its greatest of our agricultural products; despite its great promise,

double cropping has made its prominent progress.

Saya kata betul, Menteri kata tidak betul, kerana dia pergi di-dalam-nya—ini dia pun sama, chuma 20,000 ekar sahaja yang di-buat double cropping dan dalam sadikit masa lagi 100,000 ekar yang boleh di-buka buat double cropping, chuma 50,000 ekar sahaja ia-itu 50%. Jadi, dengan wang yang berjuta² ringgit itu sudah di-belanjakan untuk memperelokkan tanah padi yang ada sekarang supaya dapat tanam dua kali—orang tidak tanam dua kali, siapa yang rugi? Kita rugi, orang ramai rugi, semua orang rugi.

Jadi, oleh sebab itu, saya sangat-lah suka mengeshorkan perkara double cropping ini di-nantikan dahulu. Kita pinda dasar itu, fasal padi, jalankan. Kita buat kerja yang pertama ia-itu membuka tambahan tanah² bendang yang boleh di-buat bendang dan kita buboh orang itu supaya kita dapat membanyakkan lagi tanah bendang, dan sa-lepas itu semua tanah² baharu di-buka baharu-lah kita balek sa-mula bagi memperelokkan lagi satu. Kalau kita buat lagu ini, nampak kata orang, kalau kita buat jalan yang Menteri Pertanian buat sekarang ini, kita kata buboh kereta dengan kuda—kereta dahulu, kemudian baharu kuda—jadi pelek sadikit.

Kemudian baharu² ini kita tahu ia-itu Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita, telah membuka satu kilang membuat gula di-Prai. Saya dengar dalam surat khabar ada dua kilang lagi akan di-buka—satu lagi di-Singapura, dan satu lagi di-Port Dickson, dan saya sa-benar-nya hendak bertanya, ada-kah dengan tiga kilang ini kita akan boleh mendapat harga gula yang murah? Ada-kah ini boleh menguntongkan kita sadikit? Chuba kita tenangkan sadikit. Saya fikir kalau di-adakan tiga kilang, bahkan 10 kilang gula sa-kali pun di-buka di-Malaysia ini, maka harga gula ta' boleh kurang sangat, dan boleh turun sadikit, dan faedah kapada ra'ayat ini ta' dapat faedah yang chukup, kerana apa, kilang gula di-negeri kita, tetapi gula mentah datang dari luar negeri di-mana kita ambil gula mentah untuk

di-refine-kan di-tempat kita—umpamanya datang dari Formosa, datang dari Australia dan lain² negeri, kenapa hendak kita ambil dari luar, kenapa kita tidak mahu tanam tebu di-tempat kita yang boleh di-tanam tebu. Jadi, sekarang tugas-nya, saya ingat Menteri Pertanian ini-lah tugas yang besar bagi dia, kerana tiga kilang gula hendak di-adakan, hendak-lah Kementerian Pertanian ini chari jalan bagaimana hendak menggunakan bagi membuat perusahaan tanam tebu supaya tebu itu dapat di-beri kepada kilang ini. Jadi, baharu-lah dapat sempurna orang² kita dan boleh menchari makan di-samping itu dia boleh dapat duit daripada tanam tebu itu, dan juga daripada gula di-sini pun dia dapat, kalau tidak tebu itu dapat kepada orang luar, chuma harga gula sedikit sahaja yang boleh untong. Jadi, ra'ayat kita tidak untong dengan chara sekarang ini.

Baharu² ini saya dengar khabar di-negeri² di-Malaya ini konon-nya, negeri Kedah dan Perlis ada-lah tempat yang baik untuk bertanam tebu. Saya ber-setuju dan juga di-Sabang Prai, tetapi saya tidak setuju, kerana saya tahu baik² yang negeri ini tempat yang boleh di-tanam tebu yang subur ia-lah bendang tanam padi sekarang ini. Jadi, kalau Kerajaan hendak tanam tebu atas bendang itu, hendak buang padi—saya tidak setuju, kerana saya fikir, sa-bagaimana saya katakan tadi, beras lebeh mustahak lagi daripada tebu. Kita boleh hidup dengan makan beras, tetapi kita tidak boleh hidup dengan memakan gula hari². Jadi, oleh sebab itu, kalau sekarang ini boleh-lah kita arahkan kepada dua tempat yang dua lagi ia-itu di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak. Saya apabila saya melawat di-Sabah dan Sarawak, saya lihat pertama sa-kali di-Sabah. Dalam Malaysia ini tidak ada satu negeri macham di-Sabah yang tanah-nya chukup subur, kerana tanah di-Sabah itu ia-lah volcanic soil, mengikut dalam 'ilmu pertanian, volcanic soil ini-lah satu² tanah yang subur walau di-mana² negeri pun. Jadi, saya perchaya di-Sabah itu dan saya dengar baharu² ini Kerajaan Sabah sudah mengeluarkan berpuluh² ribu relong kepada orang²

untuk membuat gula, untuk di-tanam tebu. Itu-lah satu tempat yang kita boleh menggalakkan tanaman. Sa-lain daripada tebu, koko, dan lain² lagi dan juga di-negeri Sarawak sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi, negeri Sarawak ada banyak tanah yang boleh di-buat bendang dan tebu ia-itu segala tumbohan², jikalau tumbohan² itu berayer berma'ana dia mahu ayer—tebu itu dia mahu ayer. Jadi, tanah yang boleh di-tanam padi ma'ana-nya tanah itu boleh di-tanam tebu. Jadi, Sarawak pun boleh di-buka untuk di-tanam tebu. Jadi, kalau kita hendak menchukupi untuk memberi ketiga² kilang di-Malaysia ini untuk hendak membuat tebu mentah ini, patut-lah di-galakkan supaya di-tanam di-negeri Sabah dan Sarawak—ta' usah kachau di-Malaya ini, biar-lah di-tanam padi, kerana apa, saya tahu baik², kalau kita hendak tanam tebu dengan padi, kerana measure period, masak tebu pun lebeh kurang sa-tahun. Kalau kita buat sa-tahun ma'ana-nya padi ta' boleh di-tanam, melainkan jikalau ada dari sekarang ini satu jenis, ia-itu yang boleh di-katakan short term yang boleh memakan tiga bulan, kalau tebu yang masak boleh memakan tiga bulan, boleh-lah kita tanam bersama² dengan padi. Lepas padi tanam tiga bulan, tanam padi balek, tetapi sa-takat yang saya tahu sekarang ini tidak ada lagi jenis yang boleh mengeluarkan tebu sa-lama tiga bulan, tetapi ta' tahu-lah, barangkali Menteri ini rajin menchari, dia dapat jumpa jenis baharu, kalau jumpa boleh-lah jalankan benda itu.

Sa-lain daripada itu, dahulu juga saya pernah berchakap berkenaan dengan tanaman ini ia-itu berkenaan dengan diversification of crops ia-itu kita membanyakkan pokok² tumbohan, kerana yang telah lepas dahulu kita berharap sa-mata² kapada getah sahaja. Jadi, sekarang kita jangan-lah berharap kapada kebolehan getah sahaja, tetapi hendak-lah kita menchari tanaman² yang sesuai saperti koko, Manila hemp, kelapa dan lain² lagi.

Saya dapati di-Tawau sana sunggoh pun saya tidak pergi di-sana tetapi saya tengok juga di-Sabah, koko boleh tumbuh dengan subur-nya kerana apa

di-sana negeri sa-macham-lah dengan Indonesia ia-itu volcanic soil. Jadi kalau Kementerian Pertanian hendak menggalakkan lagi menambah koko, saya shorkan-lah koko itu di-tempatkan di-Sabah sana, kerana di-sana tanah-nya lebeh elok lagi. Dan lagi saya nampak di-Sabah itu banyak lagi yang kita boleh tanam ia-itu kelapa. Kerana dekat Sandakan saya tengok banyak pulau² yang tidak ada apa² melainkan hutan² dan pulau². Kalau pulau² itu di-jaga dengan betul ditebang dan di-tebas kemudian ditanam dengan kelapa bukan sedikit² boleh kita dapat kelapa.

Baharu² ini saya terbacha dalam surat khabar mengatakan di-Sabah itu sudah bertahun² kena beli telur ayam sa-banyak satu million ringgit daripada Hongkong. Jadi saya tidak nampak satu sebab pun mengapa negeri Sabah itu tidak boleh mengeluarkan chukup ayam dan telur, kerana saya katakan bagitu negeri itu tanah-nya subur dan di-Sabah itu bukan sa-macham Sarawak. Di-Sabah itu berbukit² dan tidak ada ayer bertakong dan tempat itu chukup sesuai untuk membela ayam. Dan di-sana juga tempat chukup sesuai bagi menanam benda² makanan ayam saperti kacang, jagong, ubi maka dengan kerana itu saya mengeshorkan kepada Kementerian ini supaya bekerjasama dengan Pejabat Pertanian di-sana memberikan orang² wang pinjaman supaya dapat orang menjalankan pembelaan ayam itek di-sana. Sebab saya tahu kerana di-sana saya tengok kalau orang Sabah boleh bela ayam bapa untuk bersabong, tentu-lah juga mereka boleh membela ayam betina untuk bertelor. Jadi orang sana pun tahu macham mana bela ayam.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau saya hendak chakapkan di-sini banyak tetapi biar-lah perkara itu orang lain berchakap. Jadi saya tidak mahu berchakap panjang, chuma saya ingatkan sa-kali lagi kepada Kementerian ini; saya pun bersetuju dengan pendapat reader dalam *Straits Times*. Saya tengok banyak juga ranchangan² yang telah di-buat untuk menanam padi dua kali sa-tahun itu tidak di-jalankan dengan sempurna-nya. Ada satu

tempat di-kawasan saya sana dipanggil *Merbau Bund*. Saya ada minta kepada Menteri Aziz dahulu supaya dapat di-buat bund sa-jauh lebeh kurang 6 batu supaya ayer masin jangan naik dan dapat-lah kita membuka tanah lebeh kurang tiga ribu ekar dan juga kita dapat menolong orang² lagi lebeh kurang tiga ribu ekar tanah yang ada bendang supaya dapat di-elokkan. Pada hari ini kerja sudah di-jalankan dan wang sudah di-belanjakan satu juta ringgit dan tanah sudah siap; ada lebeh kurang satu ribu ekar tetapi tidak ada satu kerja pun yang telah di-buat oleh Kerajaan. Saya sangat susah hati kerana perkara ini oleh sebab Kementerian sudah tolakkan kepada Negeri, ini-lah satu perkara yang saya hendak ingatkan kepada Kementerian ini. Saya suka-lah Kementerian ini timbangkan halus², pada masa hadapan bila ada satu² projek yang besar, satu ribu ekar ka-atas, jangan-lah di-tolak projek itu kepada jajaan Negeri, kerana apa itu telah terjadi di-negeri Kedah dan saya dukachita sedikit kerana kawasan itu kawasan Menteri Pertanian sendiri. Kerja sudah tergendala kerana bila di-tolak kepada Kerajaan Negeri maka Kerajaan Negeri, oleh sebab tidak chukup wang untuk menjalankan-nya, dan tidak chukup pegawai untuk menengok dan menjaga-nya dan yang ketiga tidak ada chukup teknik, maka kerja² itu tergendala. Jadi kerja yang besar bagini saya harap kepada Kementerian jangan-lah di-tolak mentah² kepada Negeri. Saya suka lebeh baik Kementerian sendiri menjalankan kerja itu kerana kalau tidak, kerja itu tergendala. Kerana apa, di-tempat ini satu ribu ekar tanah sudah siap tetapi tidak dapat di-bagi kepada orang² yang meminta, tiba² orang 50 batu daripada kawasan itu masok dalam kawasan itu tidak sa-tahu Kerajaan. Dua kali sudah Polis pergi di-sana menyiasat orang² itu tetapi mereka tidak mahu keluar. Oleh sebab itu saya ingatkan kepada Menteri ini, kerja² yang besar pada masa hadapan jangan-lah di-tolak kepada Negeri, mahu-lah di-jalankan oleh Kementerian sendiri supaya dapat di-jalankan dengan sa-penoh²-nya, sakan.

Dato' (Dr) Cheah Toon Lok: Mr President, Sir, we know that in Malaysia today the subject of conversation in the houses, in the market places, in the coffee shops, are, first, confrontation and, second, taxation.

Let me begin with taxation first. I have every sympathy for our most honest, energetic and sincere Minister of Finance for all the brickbats that have been thrown at him without any of the bouquets, and I believe there is no one comparable who has the integrity and the sincerity and the intelligence to be a Minister of Finance of Malaysia in his stead. (AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Hear, hear). Quite a lot of people cannot take his straight from the shoulder talk, because the Minister of Finance is always very straightforward when he tells us what to do. We have heard about the names given to the type of taxation that is to be introduced into Malaysia. Some call it "One-step-forward and two-step-backward taxation"; others call it "Defence taxation". But may I say this: It is not all that, but it is an Overall Survival Taxation for Malaysia. Are we going to survive, or are we not?

First, we allow our children to fight for Malaysia. We are prepared to sacrifice the lives of our children and yet on the other hand we are not prepared to sacrifice our money in the defence of the lives of our children and the defence of our country. Is this right or wrong, Mr President, Sir? I think every one will agree with me that we must have increased taxation for defence, but we may disagree in the way this taxation is being used and the way it is being extracted from the people. Lots of people in this country think of this taxation as a form of painful extraction. I do not know why the Government cannot tax them in a painless way. But I think this may be due to the fact that many of the Departments and Ministries have not co-ordinated with the Minister of Finance to find ways and means of taxation. In fact, I may say, as my Honourable Dato' Haji Mohd. Noah has stated, that there is no definite

policy in the method of taxation; and I believe there should be a policy, whether it be a long-term or a short-term policy. I believe the short-term policy could be a natural thing for us today, for the collection of taxation for our defence, and we should have also a long-term view of taxation so that we could finance our development as our country progresses. Now, there is a lot of controversy regarding three types of taxes—(i) the turnover tax, (ii) the payroll tax, and (iii) the crown corks tax. Regarding the turnover tax, this is a tax which is very peculiar in itself. So far as we know, only four countries in the world accept this type of taxation, and there are two degrees regarding this type of taxation. The first one is the cumulative tax. It goes on taxing from one distributor to another till the taxation may rise up to 10 per cent—that is $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent goes on to 20 persons, it becomes 10 per cent. So, it is cumulative. The other is non-cumulative. In this respect, you tax the first man and the second man is given credit—or, he is given credit for the previous taxation?

Enche' S. O. K. Ubaidulla: He gains!

Dato' (Dr) Cheah Toon Lok: No, not a gain. Actually it is like this. The Government levies a tax and allowed the previous taxation—that is to say, the second man is not taxed. These are the two types. But now, I understand, this is going to be a tax from the source. I do not know how the taxation is going to operate from the source. It is said that this is going to apply to business people (\$36,000) and professional people (\$20,000). Now, may I bring up an example about taxation of business people for \$36,000. In my part of the country, people are not so very rich. They operate on a cash basis for buying goods. Four persons come together to form a partnership to buy goods at \$1,000 every day. The turnover is \$1,000 everyday and thereby if you make a profit of \$100, it is distributed among four persons. These persons are the clerks and they are the salesmen—everything inside the four, managers and so on. Every day the turnover is \$1,000 only. So, day by day,

it goes on from \$1,000 to \$2,000, etc., till for a month the turnover from \$1,000 becomes \$30,000 in a month—and in a year it goes on to \$360,000 but, in fact, they started business with \$1,000 only. So, if you tax them $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, they have got to pay \$1,500 a year, with the result that these four partners who started with \$1,000 won't have the capital to start their business again. They are finished and also they have got to get a loan of \$500 to pay the tax. I want to ask the Minister to explain how to prevent this. Starting from \$1,000 everyday, the turnover of \$1,000 goes on till the capital amounts to \$360,000 a year, and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on that is \$1,500 which these people have to pay. They won't have any capital.

Now, in the development of this country, there are many things that a person should do. We have heard just now some people praising the enterprising people of this country for making it so prosperous, for developing this country, for making it safe for everybody, and for making it a country that has got the second largest income-producing people in Asia, next to Japan. Now, to whom is this credit due? Is it not due to the business people; is it not due to the members of the Chinese Chambers of Commerce? Now, I do not think it is fair for a Minister to label our members as profiteers. They are trying their best to make a profit, and sometimes they make a loss over their business. But as far as I am aware, turnover tax is meant for a civilised country with established sources of revenue—not for an emerging country where capital is required for progress, for initiative, for enterprise. If you tax people starting with a capital of over \$36,000 a year, you are going, firstly, to deprive these people of capital, secondly, of an enterprise, and thirdly, of initiative. Is it right for us to do so? I do know what the answer will be from the Minister of Finance. Maybe, he says that this is only temporary. It is right we should do so, if it is temporary. I agree with him if it is a temporary measure, but I hope it would not be a permanent feature of our taxation.

Now, with regard to our Universities. Just now, we have heard from our Honourable friend Dato' Thuraisingham that we have not enough technology studies in our Universities. I agree with him. We have to send our children abroad to study technology, metals, plastics, chemical engineering, etc., as we have not got them in our Universities. But, Sir, have we got enough Universities in Malaysia itself to cope with this progress of education? I suggest that we have not. In Australia alone, with a population of 10 million, they have started another University which will be the twelfth University of Australia—but here we have got a single University and yet not a Department of Technology.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Three.

Dato' (Dr) Cheah Toon Lok: Yes, we have got three in Malaysia. We have two in Singapore and one in Malaya. We have not enough Universities to send our children to. We should provide more money for this type of education for our children who are the future leaders of this country. We are sending our children abroad for studies to bring knowledge back to our country to develop our country. But may I ask the Minister of Finance, as he has been asking us to pay taxation, could he give relief to those parents who have done their best to give their children an education abroad—to give them relief—so that they will not suffer? I know of people in the Government Departments getting a salary of \$1,000 or \$1,000-over, skimping over food, skimping over all expenses, in order to send their children to Australia for studies. I think it is time that we should give relief to these people, who send their children abroad for education so that they may come back to help this country. These people are the potential wealth of Malaysia and we should give this help. *(Applause)*.

Now, I have said just now that there is no co-ordination. You only tax the business people, but there are other sources of wealth, other avenues of wealth, which you have not taxed

yet. We have used only one-tenth of our forests. We have not fully developed our country—only one-tenth of it. What about the development of the timber industry in our country—our forests in the country? What about opening up our forests for everybody? You have to do it if you want to bring further revenue for our own defence. We know today that we have got to survive Indonesian confrontation by whatever means. We are prepared to sacrifice our children, and why can't we sacrifice our forests? (*Laughter*). I suggest that we should sacrifice our forests too. Open up the forests so that any of our Malaysian citizens can go and develop our forests as much as possible. That is a proper way of development.

Now regarding our policy: what we must do regarding the future policy of our country. Just now it was stated that some country is rather unkind to us because they are going to charge us 5% on loans. That is a very short view of the matter, Mr President. People never thought what was stated in the speech of the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister. It was stated as a loan only. But I am sure that if we ask for help from America, America would give us help without any strings attached. Not loans. If you ask for loans, that is commercial in character and it must be charged an interest, however small. But if you ask for help, maybe America will send you planes, tanks, free of charge. How do you know it? (*Laughter*). You don't know! You have asked only for a loan, not help. But help may come from that country. So I don't think it is right to condemn a nation first before you know what we are asking for. We are asking for a loan and so "if you ask me for a loan, I will charge you an interest too" (*Laughter*). Our future policy should be to have good relations with those who want to help us. We must give every assistance to those countries who are nearer to us and who want to help us in our defence of our country. But in our defence we must help ourselves too. Like our Honourable friend from Sungai Patani,

Enche' Abdul Samad, said just now, we have got rice and guns only. We have got to manufacture our own guns. We can't buy them; in times of war, everybody wants to go to war, everyone wants bullets and guns. We have got to have our own munition factory in Malaya—not abroad, in Malaya itself we must have our own factory to manufacture our own guns. So I say, if we are to defend ourselves, we must have our own munition factory (*Interruption*). Never mind, ask somebody who wants to start a munition factory to come and manufacture guns and ammunition for us and later on the Government can nationalise and take over it and pay them their money (*Laughter*). Let them take the initiative, there is nothing wrong. Let them take the initiative and then we pay them back their money and then we will have our own factory and our own defence.

I believe, gentlemen, that everyone of you want to defend Malaysia. Everyone of you love your children and you love your country too. I suggest that you should agree with the Government on the increase of taxation, and I hope that the Minister of Finance will meet the taxpayers in some way so that the taxation will be painless, a sort of painless extraction. Don't force them so much till they are against this taxation and try to evade it in some way and make it more difficult for the Government to operate and also make it more difficult for the Department and the revenue officers.

I hope the Minister of Finance, who is very sincere in his endeavours to help this country, will take it not as a personal matter and will not think that it is personal affront. He is doing it for the country. He is only an instrument, let us say an instrument of historic progress for Malaysia. So do not take it as personal. It is not the Honourable Mr Tan Siew Sin who is responsible for this taxation; it is our Government that is responsible, and I hope, gentlemen, that you will give the Government every support for this taxation and I hope the Minister of Finance will see to it that

this taxation is a short-term policy and not a long-term policy. Thank you.

Sitting suspended at 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 2.30 p.m.

(Mr President in the Chair)

THE SUPPLY BILL, 1965

Debate resumed.

Question again proposed.

Dato' T. H. Tan: Mr President, Sir, the 1965 Budget is based on a number of taxation proposals which, because they are new to this country, have not found ready acceptance. Bearing in mind, however, the financial needs of our country on account of normal development, special development and, more especially, arising from extraordinary expenditure due to Indonesian confrontation, I urge the people of Malaysia to accept the taxation proposals in good grace as a necessary evil. I urge the Government, on the other hand, to have no hesitation in modifying or even repealing such new taxes as may be proved to be inequitable by experience. Most criticised of the new taxes are the turnover tax and the payroll tax. Mr President, Sir, a half per cent tax on turnover may not appear to be a big levy, but how big this tax can ultimately be depends on the interpretation of the word "turnover". If the Government intends to impose this tax at the original stage, where the first turnover occurs, I do not think any businessman can quarrel with it. An early announcement by the Government on this matter will allay general public anxiety.

The payroll tax is, again, something new to us. I concede that it is difficult to refute the argument that a 2 per cent increase in payroll will not result in the closure of business firms in Malaysia. This notwithstanding, I urge the Government not to hesitate to use its powers of remission in cases where firms are genuinely suffering losses, especially companies or industries in their early years of business. After all, the Government should not only wield its powers of

taxation wisely but should create favourable conditions for business and industry, so that taxation will produce the desired yield.

If the Government is still open to second thoughts on taxation, I am going to suggest that in preference to turnover tax and payroll tax, our people would more readily accept a general import duty of, say, two or three per cent. This will probably produce more funds than the two much criticised new taxes. A general import duty will also spread the burden equitably. I realise that an import duty may cause prices to soar, and this may bring in its train demands for more wages, I suggest, however, that effective price control should be enforced simultaneously with the imposition of a general import duty, which is not beyond the Government's ingenuity. I make this suggestion in the belief that it is the Government's own policy only to introduce taxes that are the least unpopular, or the most acceptable.

Mr President, Sir, it is not easy to extract from the Estimates information about the expansion of our diplomatic service. However, I am glad the Government has announced that we will soon have missions in Africa. The African nations form a sizeable bloc in the United Nations. It is obviously necessary for Malaysia to have their support, at least moral support. The recent visit of our Deputy Prime Minister to the Middle East and North Africa helped to create a better understanding of Malaysia's cause. The Conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo a few months ago showed that Malaysia has the respect, sympathy and support of a very large segment of Africa. Yet, there is much work to be done both in Africa and in the lobby of the United Nations. In my view, Sir, it will be a mistake to try to explain our case to those African States, where Communist influence has taken root. With the help of Soviet Russia and Communist China, Indonesia has apparently succeeded in alienating sympathy for us there. Such African States are few, and it is better for us to concentrate on those

African nations, who espouse the principles of democracy and justice. We should set up diplomatic missions in those States, and where we are unable to do so for lack of funds and personnel, we should seek the aid of the missions of friendly nations to disseminate information about Malaysia and the justice of our cause.

For this reason, Sir, we must make as many friends overseas as possible. For this reason, too, I regard our Government's decision to allow the Republic of China to open a Consulate in Kuala Lumpur as a right step. The Republic of China stood by Malaysia when we referred the matter of Indonesian invasion to the Security Council of the United Nations. In the Republic of China we have a friend. The Republic of China is anti-Communist. So are we. And it is logical and proper that all anti-Communist nations should stand together. Opposition parties in our Parliament have spoken disparagingly about the opening of a Chinese Consulate in Kuala Lumpur. This is understandable. After all, the Opposition—to be more precise, the Socialist Front and the P.A.P.—is a front for Leftists and Communists. The Opposition would rather that we have relations with Moscow and Peking. The Opposition has gone to great pains in its efforts to put across the view that a Chinese Consulate in Kuala Lumpur would create Chinese chauvinism. This reflects a lack of confidence in the political integrity of Chinese Malaysians and does not take cognisance of the fact that Chinese chauvinism does not appear in Thailand, South Vietnam and the Philippines where the Republic of China has embassies. Sir, like millions of others. I have the greatest faith that the Chinese in Malaysia, having made their choice to be Malaysians, will remain loyal to Malaysia. Only those who intend not to do so, like the Chinese in the Opposition parties, can have any doubt. To exploit chauvinism is a common communist tactic. It is significant that the P.A.P. and the Socialist Front are employing this same tactic. P.A.P. leaders, in fact, have been the worst offenders in

this connection. During the last general election in Singapore, they told the Chinese there that unless they voted the P.A.P., Singapore Chinese would be ruled by the Malay Regiment. Recently in the Dewan Ra'ayat, the P.A.P. introduced Chinese chauvinism in their comments on the Defence and Police estimates. It is the Chinese in the Opposition parties who have opposed the opening of the consulate of the Republic of China in Kuala Lumpur. Our Malay and Indian colleagues have shown much greater understanding in this matter. They know the Republic of China and Malaysia are today the biggest bastions against the communists in our part of the world. They also know that wherever Communist China has established diplomatic missions, it has imported into those countries the problem of communism and its attendant evils. Look at some of the African countries where Communist China has embassies: they have turned communists. If we follow the wishes of the Opposition, likewise this will be our fate—and God forbids. The P.A.P. and the Socialist Front depend for their continued existence on leftist support.

Lee Kuan Yew visited Moscow and would have gone to Peking had not Tunku Abdul Rahman stopped him. It is said that Jek Yuen Thong went to Peking a few months ago via Hong Kong. I suggest to our Prime Minister that if Lee Kuan Yew and his comrades wish to go to Peking or Moscow, he should let them, and he should also tell them to remain there—it will be good riddance. Lee Kuan Yew's Government is strenuously resisting the Central Government's pressure to close the communist Bank of China now operating freely in Singapore. This is understandable in view of information that communist funds have reached the P.A.P. through this channel. Rumours are also gaining currency that the P.A.P. recently remitted through the Bank of China millions of dollars overseas for safe keeping. I hope the Central Government will investigate this. How did the P.A.P. accumulate this vast sum

of money? Fellow Senators, your guess is as good as mine.

In the Dewan Ra'ayat, a P.A.P. representative, Jek Yuen Thong, tried to smear me by asking if the Government knew I was the director of a company printing the Social and Welfare lottery tickets. For a small search fee, Jek Yuen Thong could have ascertained from the Registrar of Companies the truth—that is, I am not in any way connected with the company concerned. Yet deliberately, Jek Yuen Thong tried, by implication, to smear me. Such is the despicable tactic of the P.A.P. However, in a sense, I am glad the Opposition is paying so much attention to me. In all humility, I regard this as reflecting, perhaps, my effectiveness as Secretary-General of the ruling Party for the last twelve years, and as one who will not make peace with the Communists or their front stooges. For various reasons, Sir, I regard the Socialist Front and the P.A.P. as the greatest security risks in Malaysia today. The sooner the Government proscribes these parties and sends their leaders to comfort Lim Chin Siong and Ahmad Boestamam the better. It is common knowledge that the P.A.P. is today engaged in the task of inciting the peoples of Malaysia to open rebellion against the new taxes. Although it professes to be a democratic party, the P.A.P. has not accepted in good grace the decision of the majority in the Dewan Ra'ayat who has approved the new taxes in the 1965 Budget. And not only has the P.A.P. continued to oppose, it is also inciting others to oppose. This disloyal act can easily be dealt with under the laws of our country, and I hope the Central Government will not hesitate to act no sooner than the P.A.P. oversteps the bounds. In this connection, Sir, I welcome the warning given by the Honourable Minister of Finance to the P.A.P. this morning.

The estimates for 1965 provide large sums of money for defence, necessitated largely by Indonesian aggression. The Indonesians are forcing us to spend millions of dollars in preparing to meet their incursions,

and in housing, clothing and feeding their infiltrators and agents. I suggest that the Indonesian invaders should be shot at sight as they try to land on our soil. After all, we are fighting for our survival from Soekarno's "Crush Malaysia policy" and this is not fun-and-games.

Mr President, Sir, in our defence against Indonesian attacks, I hope the Government will make as many allies as possible. History is not without examples of how Malaya was let down at crucial moment. The latest example is the disappointment of American aid. Sir, the point I wish to make is that we should have more and more friends, like the Australians and the New Zealanders and the British. The Australians, the New Zealanders and the British are already proving their sincerity in our defence against Indonesia. We should be grateful to them. In this context, I welcome our Prime Minister's statement that Malaysia's capacity to make friends is inexhaustible, but our resources are not inexhaustible. In our fight for survival, this is of great significance. If we range ourselves on the side of the nations of the free world, especially those in Asia and in the Far East, we have nothing to lose and much to gain. I believe, Sir, I am expressing the view of the Senate when I say that we are shocked by the United States's offer of help—"aid with profit", as our Deputy Prime Minister described it. If I am not mistaken, this is the first case of an American attempt to make a profit out of fighting communism. If this reflects a radical change from the all-out, whole-hearted, unconditional aid, to nations fighting communism that we often heard it said of the United States of America in the past, then I can only say the free world has suffered a serious setback. The United States poured hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars into Indonesia in the hope of help in Soekarno to contain the communists there, but with what result? Soekarno is today very much under the heels of the communists, and the Indonesians have used American equipment, such as the Hercules aircraft, against Malaysia.

What I have just said, Sir, gives another reason why Malaysia must make more friends, especially with those who shall share the same fate with us, should the communists overrun South-East Asia.

Mr President, Sir, I am glad to note from the estimates that there will soon be created a Federal Housing Authority. I hope it will be possible, through supplementary estimates in the course of the coming year, for the Minister of Finance to allocate more money—ten to twenty times more—for low-cost housing. The \$7.5 million allocation in the estimates of expenditure will barely scratch the surface of our housing problem. I hope, too, the State Governments will co-operate financially and in the provision of land in the building of low-cost houses. I am confident that the Minister of Finance will find ways and means of providing more money as soon as the initial allocation of \$7.5 million for low-cost houses is spent.

Sir, taken as a whole, the 1965 Budget should not be considered too much of a job. Development expenditure over the last two five-year programmes has put, I believe, hundreds of millions of dollars into the pockets of our people. There is no suggestion that the people cannot bear the new taxes. In cases of genuine hardship, the Minister of Finance has power of remission of taxes. We should rely on his good sense to do so as and when the need arises. The need for more funds will grow as Malaysia grows. This implies more taxation and as long as the people are able to bear them, they should dutifully and cheerfully accept them. They have the right, however, to demand that taxation must be fair and just. (*Applause*).

Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-hadapan kita ini ada satu Rang Undang² mengenai Anggaran Perbelanjaan bagi tahun 1965. Bill ini telah di-luluskan di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini sa-sudah perbahathan yang begitu panjang dan panas dan sa-hingga terdengar perkataan² yang memalukan kepada

kita sa-bagai sa-buah negara, satu perkataan yang tidak patut keluar di-dalam perbahathan mana² Parlimen apa-tah lagi kita orang Asia yang menjadi orang Malaysia ini yang mempunyai budi bahasa lemah-lembut tetapi malang-nya perbahathan telah begitu panjang di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat dan perkataan² telah begitu kesat sa-hingga "bastard" di-keluar-kkan.

Barangkali sedap kita dengar kalau di-sebut custard, sedap di-makan, tetapi ini bastard tidak patut di-keluarkan dalam Dewan Ra'ayat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimanapun sa-kali pun saya perchaya di-dalam Dewan Negara tidak akan terjadi begitu kerana orang² Dewan Negara ini agak tua sedikit dalam pemikiran-nya yang kita dapat menjaga kehormatan Dewan ini dengan mengeluarkan fikiran berguna walau berasa panas sa-kali pun. Satu perkara yang tidak shak lagi kesulitan kewangan bagi negara kita ini sudahlah di-akuī oleh Menteri Kewangan dalam sharahan-nya dan ini di-ketahui oleh ra'ayat seluruh-nya oleh kerana tekanan² telah di-rasa betul² hasil daripada ada-nya confrontation yang di-lakukan oleh Indonesia. Singapura sa-bagai pusat perkembangan ekonomi Tenggara Asia mengalami kerugian lebeh kurang \$100 juta sa-tahun hasil daripada confrontation. Di-Penang juga kita biasa tengok lori² yang bergerak chepat, sekarang banyak yang berhenti daripada perjalanan dan orang² hilang pekerjaan oleh kerana confrontation dan kerana itu dengan ada-nya kekurangan sampai hampir² \$500 juta bagi belanjawan tahun depan tidak mustahil-lah yang kita akan menanggung beban hutang lagi kerana menchukupi perbelanjaan dan hutang itu, baik jangka pendek atau jangka panjang, akan di-pikul oleh ra'ayat kerana membayar bersama² dengan bunga-nya sa-kali. Dan ini-lah agak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat telah timbul serangan yang begitu hebat apabila Kerajaan menchadangkan kenaikan chukai yang berbagai² chara yang hanya akan menambahkan lebeh kurang \$134 juta bagi khazanah negara kita ini.

Saya mengikuti perbahathan Dewan Ra'ayat dari radio dan dari berita² akhbar dengan sangat hati² terutama perkara yang menarek sa-kali ia-lah pertentangan dari Petir yang di-pimpin oleh Lee Kuan Yew terhadap masalah kenaikan chukai ini. Tertarek kata saya sebab saya tidak nampak masalah yang di-hadapi oleh ra'ayat sunggoh² hendak di-pechahkan oleh Petir dalam khidmat-nya kepada negara ini melalu² Parlimen tetapi hanya dia menimbulkan satu pertentangan peribadi di-antara Petir dan M.C.A., ma'af maksud-nya Menteri Kewangan, kebetulan sa-bagai President M.C.A. dan ini menyebabkan Dewan Ra'ayat begitu hebat, hebat oleh kerana pertentangan Petir bagi merebutkan kepentingan² politik masa depan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya pun merasa kasehan apabila melihat dan mendengar, membacha, terlalu berat benar ucapan² di-tuju terhadap Menteri Kewangan kita, pada hal apa yang di-kemukakan oleh Menteri Kewangan bukan-lah dari beliau sendiri tetapi tentu-lah sa-bagai "collective" Cabinet sama² di-pertanggung-jawabkan oleh Cabinet. Jadi kasehan juga saya mengikuti yang Menteri Kewangan ini telah di-serang begitu hebat. Saya perchaya kalau sa-kira-nya Tunku, Perdana Menteri, dalam usaha-nya masa depan yang sudah di-nyatakan akan di-adakan susunan Cabinet, kalau di-tukarkan Menteri Kewangan kita yang ada sekarang ini menjadikan Menteri lain barangkali Lee Kuan Yew tidak-lah lagi mengamok dengan alasan sa-suatu yang di-buat kepentingan oleh orang kaya untuk menindas orang miskin. Tetapi saya tidak-lah mengajar kepada Tunku, Perdana Menteri, apa yang patut di-buat chuma saya menyatakan untuk merengankan kerja Menteri Kewangan yang sekarang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, suatu perkara yang penting yang mahu di-sharahkan dalam Dewan ini bahawa walau apa sa-kali hendak di-pertahankan oleh Kerajaan, kenaikan chukai² telah menyebabkan melambong tinggi harga barang² dan chukai² itu walau pun di-kenakan pada ahli perniagaan,

tetapi sa-chara indirect telah di-kenakan kepada ra'ayat miskin di-dalam negeri ini. Di-dalam Dewan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah berkata beberapa kali bahawa biar bagaimana pun Kerajaan keluarkan statistic ia-itu bagaimana sa-kali pun Kerajaan mengeluarkan report yang mengatakan average atau pukul rata, pendapatan terlalu tinggi, nombor 2 dalam Asia, nombor 2 dari Jepun tetapi 'am-nya ra'ayat miskin, ra'ayat miskin. Dan dengan kerana ada-nya kenaikan chukai ini maka penderitaan bertambah hebat kepada ra'ayat. Bolehlah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagai kaum buroh yang mempunyai Trade Union untuk mereka menuntut kenaikan gaji, boleh-lah pegawai² Kerajaan menuntut kenaikan gaji dan perubahan nasib mereka yang lebeh kuat untuk perpaduan mereka tetapi apa yang dapat di-buat sa-bahagian daripada ra'ayat sa-bagai kaum tani dan kaum nelayan, mereka tidak dapat apa² melainkan mandi ayer mata, bertambah berat kenaikan chukai bertambah tinggi harga barang. Kaum buroh boleh bertindak untuk menuntut perubahan hidup mereka tetapi apa yang dapat di-buat oleh kaum tani dan apa yang dapat di-buat oleh kaum nelayan di-dalam negeri kita?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Kelantan mulai terasa, minyak nyior atau minyak kelapa dalam masa beberapa hari ini telah naik sa-ringgit lebeh, tinggi daripada harga biasa, tiap² ra'ayat kalau tidak dapat ikan hidup, kalau tidak dapat daging, dia chukup dengan ikan kering tetapi ikan kering itu hendak di-goreng dengan minyak dan mesti di-gunakan, tetapi ra'ayat terpaksa membayar harga yang lebeh, hasil daripada kenaikan chukai ini. Tiap² kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mendengar Kerajaan memberi jaminan, memberi amaran bahawa sa-nya kenaikan chukai tidak akan di-benarkan kenaikan harga barang² tetapi barang² telah naik saperti di-dalam akhbar², bukan satu barang saperti yang saya sebutkan tadi, tetapi berbagai² barang telah naik harga dan ra'ayat menanggung. Sebab itu Kerajaan harus memikirkan dengan

sungguh², bukan dengan chakap amaran, bukan dengan chakap ingatan tetapi bertindak dengan tegas supaya kenaikan barang² itu dapat di-cheгах sa-belum terjadi sa-suatu yang melibatkan kapada kehidupan ra'ayat yang lebeh menderita, yang membuka jalan kapada kemenangan kominis sama ada direct atau indirect orang² miskin dapat di-hasut untuk menentang Kerajaan kerana kemiskinan. Saya tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan tidak-lah begitu kuat sangat menentang kominis saperti yang telah di-nyatakan oleh Tunku, Perdana Menteri, ia-itu beliau tidak menentang kominis, hanya yang di-tentang-nya ia-lah kekerasan kominis. Bagi kami, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kominis di-tentang dari segi akidah, dari segi keyakinan-nya sampai ka-akar²-nya sa-kali tidak ada pilehan kapada kita, ism-nya kita boleh terima dan kekerasan tidak dapat di-terima pada kita. Komimis misti-lah di-hanchorkan semua sa-kali, tetapi chara polisi-nya yang sa-macham ini-lah Kerajaan lakukan, ini-lah jalan yang terbuka kapada kemenangan kominis. Barang-kali susah orang Melayu akan menerima faham kominis tetapi indirect dapat di-hasut untuk menyokong satu gerakan kerana benchi kapada Kerajaan yang menyebabkan penderitaan kapada ra'ayat. Menteri Kewangan telah mengeluarkan satu kenyataan yang Kerajaan tidak akan berganjak daripada tujuan-nya hendak mengenakan chukai gaji, tudong botol dan sa-bagai-nya, tetapi Kerajaan akan menimbangkan jika sa-kira-nya timbul sa-suatu yang mendatangkan kesusahan. Erti-nya, Kerajaan akan sedia menimbangkan kalau timbul kesusahan, kalau tidak timbul kesusahan tidak akan di-timbangkan.

Soal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bukan-lah kita mesti memikirkan sa-sudah datang tekanan atau kerosakan. Kita boleh membuat sa-suatu hasil pemikiran kita berdasarkan fikiran² yang di-kemukakan dalam Dewan, baik Dewan Ra'ayat atau Dewan Negara, kerana benda itu sudah nyata boleh menimbulkan kekachauan dalam fikiran ra'ayat negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sudah jelas bahawa kita kurang wang dan akan menghadapi masaalah ini beberapa lama, tetapi kita maseh lagi meletakkan keperchayaan dan keyakinan kita bahawa kita dapat hidup dengan meletakkan nasib kita ini kapada orang² lain, kapada pemodal² asing, dan kita tidak mahu menchorakkan kehidupan dan perekonomian negara kita ini kapada ekonomi nasional atau sistem ekonomi kebangsaan. Saya khuatir kita akan menyesal kemudian dengan menggalakkan ekonomi asing masok ka-dalam negeri kita, sedangkan harapan kita masa hadapan akan bertambah gelap dan kechewa. Mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sharikat² yang di-beri taraf perintis. Boleh jadi mereka tidak masukkan wang ka-dalam negeri ini, tetapi indok atau ibu-pejabat-nya hanya memberi letter of credit membenarkan bank di-sini mengeluarkan wang dengan jaminan mereka, dan wang dalam negeri kita ini juga di-pusing²kan untuk kepentingan perniagaan itu, kemudian dia minta machines dari negeri-nya supaya machines itu di-pindahkan dalam kilang² yang di-buka di-sini. Kilang² itu akan berjalan, lepas 5 tahun akan kita kenakan tax kerana dia mendapat taraf perintis. Tetapi bagaimana kalau sa-kira-nya kilang² yang di-buka di-Malaya—dalam negara kita ini meminta machinery daripada kampeni-nya yang besar, dari England atau di-mana juga, dan kampeni itu order daripada kilang yang mengeluarkan machines, kalau sa-kira-nya barang² itu berharga \$500,000 tetapi di-hantar oleh kampeni-nya yang berpusat di-luar negeri kapada kampeni yang ada di-negeri kita ini dengan harga \$900,000. Erti-nya sudah lebeh \$400,000. Dalam kira² perniagaan kampeni ini yang ada di-negeri kita ini akan menyebutkan yang dia membeli satu machine, yang sa-benar-nya harga-nya \$500,000 tetapi dia beli dengan harga \$900,000 kerana untong \$400,000 terpulang kapada kampeni-nya di-sana. Tetapi dengan kerana dia membeli kira² \$900,000 dia hetong² keuntongan-nya terlalu sadikit dan tidak banyak yang akan di-bayar income tax lepas 5

tahun taraf perintis itu kepada Kerajaan kita. Apa-kah jaminan kepada negeri kita ini untuk mendapat hasil? Dan ini tidak-lah mustahil boleh berlaku. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sangsi dengan kebijaksanaan Kerajaan bagi mendapat faedah kepada negeri kita dalam jangka panjang yang akan datang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali saya tidak-lah berlebihan² kalau saya mengatakan sa-bagai satu bangsa yang merdeka dan sa-bagai satu negara yang baharu merdeka kalau berani menuntut kemerdekaan, berani bertanggung-jawab membentok negara dan mendokong pembangunan negara, baik dari segi kebangsaan mahu pun dari segi ekonomi. Tetapi malang-nya kita tidak perchaya kepada diri kita sendiri dalam memelihara, memupok dan menjayakan negara kita ini yang kita telah perjuangkan, sa-hingga menjadi sa-buah negara merdeka sampai hari ini maseh ada hampir² 250 orang pegawai dagang—sampai hari ini maseh ada hampir² 250 orang pegawai dagang dalam negara kita, yang sa-bahagian daripada mereka itu di-dasarkan kepada contract yang gaji-nya di-bayar atas dasar expatriate, dan ini bukan sahaja menelan wang terlalu banyak—wang ra'ayat negara ini, tetapi saya berasa lebeh banyak rugi daripada untung. Kita memper-tahankan expatriate dalam negara kita yang telah merdeka ini. Saya tidak tahu apa sebab expatriate hendak di-pertahankan. Mithal-nya, dalam Jabatan Perdana Menteri sa-orang Setia-usaha Akhbar mesti sa-orang expatriate—mesti sa-orang pegawai dagang. Saya fikir Dolah, Mamat, Husin dan Salleh pun boleh membuat kerja itu, tetapi mengapa expatriate menjadi Setia-usaha Akhbar kepada Jabatan Perdana Menteri. Ini satu perkara yang ganjil! Dan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya churiga bahawa di-sana ada sa-suatu yang dapat di-permainkan² kalau sa-kira-nya kita tidak berhati². Dan kita mempunyai keperchayaan kepada diri kita sendiri. Saya tidak meletakkan tuduhan ini atas "inferiority complex", tetapi saya mengatakan kita biar-lah berhati² bahawa kita telah merdeka dan chuba kita berdiri atas kaki kita sendiri.

Expatriates, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah lanjutan daripada penjajahan. Zaman penjajahan memang-lah bagitu. Ketua² Pejabat akan memberi recommendation kepada permohonan meminjam wang untuk membeli motokar bagi pegawai kerajaan kalau sa-kira-nya motokar yang hendak di-beli itu motokar Austin, sebab itu akan melakukan kereta² Inggeris. Kita tidak boleh benarkan berlaku macham ini. Tetapi dalam tentera kita lebeh banyak pakai kereta Austin sekarang ini, sebab dalam tentera kita maseh banyak orang² kulit puteh. Saya bukan anti-kulit puteh, tetapi saya tidak mahu di-permainkan² sa-sudah kita merdeka ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sampai sekarang dalam Jabatan Kaji Bumi maseh berchokol expatriates pada hal sa-telah kita merdeka kita ingin menghapuskan semua expatriates dan di-ganti oleh orang Malaya dalam tempoh sampai tahun 1962 tetapi sampai sekarang maseh ramai lagi expatriates ini. Pada zaman dahulu, boleh, sebab sudah tentu kepentingan perniagaan British dengan perniagaan penjajah itu hendak di-kawal, kerana lombong itu ada-lah sumber kekayaan, sumber menchungkil, mengorek kekayaan negeri ini untuk di-bawa ka-England patut-lah penjajah meletakkan orang² itu di-situ, tetapi mengapa yang kita mesti biarkan sampai sekarang yang negara kita telah merdeka bertahun² orang itu juga yang dudok dalam Jabatan Kaji Bumi? Kepentingan nasional lebeh penting daripada kepentingan² lain, tetapi Kerajaan memejamkan mata dalam perkara ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tentu-lah merasa hairan, walau pun ada pengakuan², dan kita harap pengakuan itu akan berjalan dalam tahun 1965 dan akan habis-lah pegawai² expatriate itu, tetapi di-dalam pada itu yang menjadi gambaran pada kita orang² dari Sarawak dan Sabah—expatriate di-sana, sa-sudah Malaysia, di-bawa pindah lagi ka-Kuala Lumpur. Ini perkara yang sa-macham ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mesti-lah kita fikirkan sa-dalam²-nya terutama kita sekarang ini sedang menghadapi confrontasi

daripada Indonesia dan terutama-nya kita sedang menchari sokongan dari negara² lain di-dalam dunia ini untuk menyokong kita yang sekarang ini sedang menghadapi confrontasi dari Indonesia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap Kerajaan akan memberi perhatian yang berat, kerana ini-lah yang di-kehendaki oleh ra'ayat, malah sa-patut-nya, negara yang merdeka ini mempunyai keperibadian-nya sendiri. Dan dari segi diplomasi ini sangat perlu di-lakukan. Saya perchaya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kira-nya kita dapat berdiri sendiri dan melepaskan diri kita daripada saki-baki penjajahan, kita boleh membangunkan dan kita boleh mengubahkan keadaan kita. Negeri² saperti Masir—sekarang Republic Arab Bersatu, bekas negeri pengaruh Inggeris, sa-sudah Inggeris tidak ada, sa-sudah dia bebas dari pengaruh Inggeris, dia boleh membangunkan roket, dia boleh membuat apa juga, tetapi kita sampai hari ini—peluru ta' boleh buat. Masir juga dahulu ta' membuat peluru. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita harus berjaga. Saya tidak mahu negara kita ini menjadi negara Iraq di-Timor Tengah. Saya tidak mahu Perdana Menteri kita ini menjadi Nuri Al Said. Saya tidak mahu orang memanggil Perdana Menteri, Tunku Abdul Rahman sa-bagai Nuri Al Said di-Tenggara Asia. Saya tidak mahu negara kita Malaysia merdeka di-katakan sa-bagai negara Iraq yang mengachau dunia Arab untuk kepentingan negara lain. Saya tidak mahu begitu terjadi, sebab itu kita harus berhati² di-dalam perkara dasar dalam dan luar negeri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal ini ia-lah soal yang besar, soal yang melibatkan diplomasi kita, soal melibatkan kepentingan pertahanan kita—baik pertahanan itu dari segi persenjataan, atau pun dari segi psychology—bergantung benar kapada kebijaksanaan kita di-dalam sa'at² yang genting ini. Saya melihat di-atas kebijaksanaan Kerajaan kadang² itu nampak-nya macham pura². Benar dunia mengetahui Malaya waktu dahulu—sekarang Malaysia telah

mempelopori satu gerakan yang hebat, ia-itu mengutok Afrika Selatan yang menjalankan dasar Aparthied sa-hingga kerana-nya Afrika Selatan telah di-keluarkan daripada Commonwealth. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya perchaya Kerajaan Persekutuan sedar apa yang sa-benar-nya. Sa-kali pun Afrika Selatan keluar daripada Commonwealth, tetapi dia tetap tegap dan telah di-bawa perkara ini ka-dalam Bangsa² Bersatu—Inggeris tidak sanggup menyokong, sebab di-sana ada kepentingan Inggeris yang tersendiri, bak kata Marshal Montgomery baharu² ini—beberapa bulan yang lalu, sa-kira-nya Republic Arab Bersatu menutup Suez Canal kapada kita untuk pelayaran ka-Timor Jauh, maka Afrika Selatan sa-kali lagi menjadi satu kawasan yang penting kapada kita untuk menghubungkan Malaysia dan Australia saperti masa perang dahulu, maka Afrika Selatan sangat penting kapada British. Itu-lah sebab-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau Kerajaan negeri ini hendak faham mengapa Kerajaan Inggeris bersikap membisu, walau pun Tunku Abdul Rahman melompat² menentang Aparthied, tetapi Inggeris berkira, kerana dia ada kepentingan-nya di-sana—kepentingan mempertahankan kulit puteh di-South Africa, walau pun berlawanan dengan peri kemanusiaan, kerana kepentingan strategy, kepentingan England.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-kah kita membiarkan kerana kepentingan England, maka kulit hitam di-Afrika Selatan di-tekan. Ada-kah kita akan mengiakan kerana kepentingan beberapa orang kulit puteh, maka orang² Afrika macham di-Congo baharu² ini akan di-bunoh dengan kerana peri kemanusiaan konon-nya. Ini tidak boleh, jadi saya tidak mahu berpura². Biar kita tegas². Saya katakan berpura², kerana dalam kita menentang pun, kita maseh berniaga juga dengan Afrika Selatan—mengikut Menteri Kewangan Singapura, kira² 53 juta ringgit ada di-perniagakan antara negeri kita dengan Afrika Selatan. Ya, kita tidak mengimpot, tetapi kita mengeksepot—sama sahaja perniagaan dengan-nya. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, politik pura² ini ta' usah-lah

di-amalkan terus-menerus, kerana ra'ayat dari sa-hari ka-sahari bertambah chelek dan bertambah sedar akan hakikat yang sa-benar-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa sukachita hendak menarek perhatian Kerajaan kapada masaalah pertahanan negara kita. Pertahanan negara kita ini sudah tentu-lah mesti di-perkuatkan, kerana anchaman ini bukan sahaja kapada negara kita, tetapi juga kapada negara² lain sedang terancham oleh bunga² api perang dunia yang ketiga.

Kita mesti kuat, sebab itu, kita harus juga memperchaya'i kapada kekuatan diri sendiri di-dalam masalah ini. Saya tidak mahu Kerajaan kita meletakkan keyakinan dan keperchayaan kapada tentera² asing. Saya tidak mahu kapada tentera² Inggeris. Saya tidak mahu kapada tentera² Australia. Saya tidak mahu kapada tentera² New Zealand, atau pun Canada, mithal-nya hendak di-hantar lagi ka-mari, kerana empat² buah negeri itu sahaja yang menyokong kita. Saya tidak mahu itu—saya mahu kita meletakkan keperchayaan kapada negeri kita sendiri. Di-dalam sa-sabuah negara yang merdeka, kita tidak mahu ada tentera² asing mundar-mandir dengan senapang-nya di-hadapan mata kita. Barangkali orang ini mengatakan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini lagu lama, tiap² orang yang memberi ucapan yang tidak mahu kapada ada-nya tentera² asing di-negara kita ini, konon-nya di-katakan ini lagu lama.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini bukan lagu lama. Orang yang berchakap mementang ada-nya tentera² asing di-dalam sa-buah negara yang merdeka, itu-lah lagu baharu. Orang² yang mempertahankan kepentingan² penjajah yang mahu mengekalkan tentera penjajah di-dalam negara yang telah merdeka—itu dia menyuarakan lagu lama, His Master's Voice. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini chakap lagu baharu, bukan chakap lagu lama. Mengkikis segala pengaruh asing—itu lagu baharu; mempertahankan yang lama itu, erti-nya lagu lama. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, semua orang tahu sa-waktu Cyprus akan merdeka,

Inggeris keberatan akan memberi kemerdekaan kapada Cyprus, sebab Makarious tidak mahu memberikan hak Inggeris mengutamakan tentera²-nya di-Cyprus guna mengepong dunia Islam, dunia Arab, kerana tekanan orang² asing, akhir-nya di-beri 33 batu square untuk pertahanan kepentingan Inggeris di-Cyprus. Inggeris tidak mahu memberikan kemerdekaan kapada Kenya, oleh kerana Jomo Kenyatta dan Mau-Mau-nya dahulu berkeras bagi mendapatkan kemerdekaan penuh dan tidak ada tempat bagi Inggeris menetapkan satu pengkalan-nya di-negeri Kenya. Apa yang telah jadi? Di-tekanan satu syarat: Tidak ada kemerdekaan bagi Kenya, melainkan ada pengkalan tentera.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, demikian juga dengan Arab Selatan, Aden—tidak ada kemerdekaan, melainkan dengan jaminan ia-itu ada-nya kepentingan dan kawasan kedudukan tentera² Inggeris untuk mempertahankan kepentingan Inggeris, dan ini-lah benda-nya—dunia pun tahu Malaya kita dan sekarang ini Malaysia, tidak boleh kita berselindung di-sabalek lalang sa-helai; semua orang tahu dan tiap² ahli politik mengerti, sebab itu kita berchakap terus-menerus dan kita tidak mahu mendengar: Oh! kalau Inggeris ada, maka Inggeris akan menolong kita. Kalau Inggeris tidak ada, Indonesia akan menelan kita. Inggeris bukan Allah ta'ala yang boleh menyelamatkan dunia ini.

Kita boleh mempertahankan negara kita dan tidak ada orang boleh mengganggu kita kalau kita yakin kapada kekuatan kita sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkembangan² sedang berlaku dengan hebat-nya. Di-Vietnam, anak emas Amerika telah berpaling menggigit tuan-nya sendiri dan di-Philippines telah timbul suara² demonstrasi menentang Amerika dan pengkalan Amerika di-sana, jadi ini perubahan. Apa-kah kita tidak sanggup mengadakan perubahan sa-bagai satu negara yang merdeka. Sa-bagai satu bangsa yang tegoh dengan keyakinan-nya sudah tentu kita boleh menyatukan tenaga dan kekuatan kita bagi menghadapi masalah ini demi menjaga kehormatan

dan kedaulatan. Soal pertahanan soal kita, dan untuk itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah mengingatkan kepada Tun Haji Abdul Razak sa-bagai Menteri Pertahanan dan Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar penting sa-kali jalan yang menghubungkan Perak dengan Kelantan itu di-segerakan. Saya kata penting-nya bukan satu jalan tetapi dua sa-kali, satu jalan yang menghubungkan Perak dengan Kelantan melalui Grik yang sudah di-rentikan tujuan-nya tetapi akan di-jalankan dari Sungai Siput ka-Kuala Krai. Saya katakan jalan raya daripada Kelantan ka-Perak melalui Grik pun mesti di-perbuat, sebab kepentingan pertahanan negara kita ini bergantung kepada ada-nya jalan itu. Saya perchaya pasokan tentera akan menerima fikiran ini sa-bagai satu fikiran yang betul² strategic—yang tepat kena pada keadaan-nya kalau mahu mempertahankan negara kita ini.

Kita tentu-lah ingat bagaimana Jepun telah memasuki negeri kita dahulu melalui *Senggora*—dia mendarat di-Senggora. Dari Senggora datang ka-Haddyai, dari Haddyai dia masuk ka-Padang Besar, Kedah. Jepun mendarat di-Petani, dari Petani datang ka-Yala, dari Yala masuk ka-Betong, dari Betong masuk ka-Baling, dari Baling ka-Kulim dan terus ka-Taiping. Jepun mendarat di-Kota Bharu terus ka-pantai timor dan peristiwa ini boleh berlaka sa-kali lagi dengan ada-nya keadaan² yang menunjukkan Vietnam gonchang, Laos gonchang dan Thailand sendiri pun dalam gonchang, negara kita terancham kepada bahaya. Sebab itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini ada-lah sangat penting bagi mempertahankan kemerdekaan negara kita.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap Kerajaan menimbangkan perkara ini bukan sahaja kita hendak membuka tanah baharu, bukan sahaja soal hendak beri tanah kepada ra'ayat, bukan soal hendak membangunkan ekonomi, tetapi pertahanan negara kita ini harus kita fikirkan kerana kita tidak mahu pisang berbuah dua kali. Dahulu ada dasar Matador—

Inggeris telah melancarkan dasar matador konon-nya hendak mempertahankan Siam, sa-bentar Siam berpaling muka habis semua-nya lintang pukang tentera Inggeris lari meninggalkan kita terkatong² tiga tahun lapan bulan di-negeri ini diperintah oleh kekejaman facist Jepun. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah masalah-nya yang perlu sa-kali kita fikirkan bersama dalam keadaan suasana yang genting sa-macam sekarang ini di-Tenggara Asia.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka hendak menarek perhatian di-dalam Dewan ini bila membahathkan Budget atas soal Parlimen yang pertama sa-kali. Sampai hari ini Dewan Negara kita maseh kekurangan sa-orang ahli, sa-orang ahli yang sa-patut-nya dia mesti ada di-dalam Dewan ini mengikut kehendak² Perlembagaan negeri kita ini. Tetapi dia tidak ada dalam Dewan ini kerana Kerajaan belum sanggup menentukan sikap-nya. Ketiadaan Wan Mustapha yang di-pilih oleh Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan mengikut Perlembagaan tidak-lah boleh dipandang ringan, kerana ketiadaan-nya menjadikan Dewan Negara ini tidak mempunyai sa-orang ahli yang chukup, tidak mempunyai sa-orang ahli yang mesti ada daripada negeri Kelantan yang sa-patut-nya berhak mengirim dua orang ahli di-dalam Dewan ini. Tentu-lah Kerajaan sedar sa-sudah mengkaji surat daripada Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan sebab² kelewatan lantekan dan tentu-lah juga Kerajaan memberikan perhatian kepada tulisan yang di-buat oleh sa-orang Professor Undang² di-University Singapura terhadap masalah ini. Dengan sebab itu saya perchaya tidak ada sebab Kerajaan boleh mendiamkan dan tidak ada sebab beliau tidak di-panggil ka-dalam Dewan ini untuk mengangkat sumpah supaya dia dapat mengisi tempat-nya yang berhak di-dalam Dewan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap Kerajaan dapat menyelesaikan masalah ini sa-belum berlama. Apa-kah Kerajaan menanti² sampai tindakan di-ambil dan di-bawa kepada Mahkamah Tinggi meminta tafsiran

dalam perkara ini, pada hal perkara ini satu perkara yang kecil yang boleh di-selesaikan dengan tidak di-bawa ka-Makhamah Tinggi. Jadi saya pun maseh menunggu² juga supaya seronok-lah sedikit kalau ada kawan PAS itu, naik semangat lagi (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah lain kita hadapi ia-lah masalah di-dalam negeri kita sendiri. Saya chuba masok kepada Kementerian Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama dan yang berkait juga dengan Ministry of Commerce & Industry—Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, dua² itu dekat. Saya tertarik kepada masalah ini kerana dia berhubung langsung dengan ra'ayat. Sudah bertahun² kita mempunyai sharikat kerjasama. Sudah bertahun² kita mempunyai Pejabat Pertanian, kita ada mempunyai tempat experiement—perchubaa² pertanian tetapi ra'ayat belum juga mendapat faedah-nya yang banyak daripada perchubaa² dan kerja² yang di-jalankan di-dalam masa penjajah sampai sa-sudah kita merdeka. Di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat telah banyak di-sentuh oleh wakil² bersabit dengan ini dan saya tidak-lah hendak mengulang terlalu panjang dalam Dewan ini tetapi saya mahu supaya Kerajaan membuktikan ini lebeh jelas, sikap bagi menolong ra'ayat di-kampung² bukan saperti sekarang memberi pertolongan—satu pertolongan tetapi umpama kain sa-kerat, di-tarik ka-atas terbuka di-bawah, di-turunkan ka-bawah nampak di-atas, jadi tidak chukup. Petani² di-Kedah lebeh hebat. Saya katakan di-Kedah lebeh hebat kerana saya tahu di-Kelantan tidak sa-hebat itu tetapi terok juga. Belum selesai masalah ini walau pun Apex Bank telah ada tetapi tidak dapat menyelesaikan, sebab² chara-nya tidak munasabah dan tidak sesuai. Sebab itu mesti-lah di-kaji lebeh dalam lagi bagi menyelesaikan masalah ini dengan lebeh baik. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa dalam Dewan ini saya hendak huraikan satu demi satu pun panjang sangat masa-nya nanti tetapi chukup-lah dengan apa yang telah banyak di-chakapkan oleh anggota² dan Kerajaan boleh men-

dapat pengetahuan daripada report atau pun pengakuan² dari anggota sharikat kerjasama sendiri menjadi bahan bagi Kerajaan menyelesaikan masalah ini sesuai bagi kehendak ra'ayat negeri ini.

Dari segi lain, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berhubung dengan perniagaan dan perusahaan dalam negeri ini, semuanya boleh di-katakan orang Melayu hanya melihat orang lain menjalankan kerja. Perkara ini tidak boleh di-biarkan berlama². Sa-orang anggota Dewan Ra'ayat, kalau tidak salah saya, Yang Berhormat Enche' Ali bin Haji Ahmad telah memberikan amaran, kachau-bilau, huru-hara akan berlaku dalam negeri ini kalau sa-kira-nya tidak di-samakan dan tidak di-betulkan. Perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tentu-lah sulit, sulit ini kerana di-dalam Perlembagaan telah di-sebutkan, di-dalam memberi hak istimewa, hendak menolong orang Melayu, hendak menaikkan ekonomi dan taraf hidup orang Melayu, tidak boleh mengganggu hak² orang lain. Saya hairan bagaimana ini boleh terjadi dan mengapa ini telah terjadi. Bagaimana kita boleh menolong orang Melayu dalam ekonomi, kita sedikit pun tidak boleh mengganggu orang lain. Bagaimana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita boleh menolong buroh di-dalam negeri ini kalau tidak mengganggu kepentingan kaum pemodal. Kita mahu membela nasib buroh; dengan Undang² tentu-lah sudah merugikan kaum pemodal, rugi sebab pemodal mesti membayar bahagian simpanan pekerja pemodal itu mesti membuat hospital, pemodal itu mesti ada dresser, mesti ada sekolah dan sa-bagai-nya untuk kemudahan² kepada buroh dan anak² buroh di-dalam kebun²-nya atau di-dalam kilang²-nya. Jadi rugi-lah sedikit kaum kapitalis dan kalau hendak memajukan orang Melayu tentu-lah orang lain kena rugi sedikit. Kalau orang lain tidak mahu rugi sedikit, sampai bila orang Melayu tidak akan dapat perubahan.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam soal politik, orang Melayu telah rugi dan telah menyerahkan hak politik-nya kepada orang lain yang dahulu menompang dalam negeri ini.

Tetapi dalam hak ekonomi orang Melayu tidak boleh menompang orang lain. Jadi bila-kah orang Melayu akan dapat perubahan. Saya tidak mahu menimbulkan aksi, saya tidak mahu menghasut, saya tidak mahu supaya timbul kachau bilau, saya mahu orang Malaysia berfikir sa-bagai Malaysia. orang Malaysia mesti ada perasaan muhibbah dan sanggup berkorban bagi kepentingan yang lain supaya sama² kita dapat hidup di-dalam negeri ini dengan aman dan damai, tetapi kalau hendak di-kekalkan juga dalam mahu menolong orang² Melayu tetapi kepentingan hak² yang telah ada pada orang lain tidak boleh di-ganggu, sampai kiamat tidak akan boleh buat apa².

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan harus kaji betul² perkara ini supaya kita boleh menyelesaikan satu masaalah yang kusut yang telah berlama²an tidak selesai. Chara yang pereketik, tiap² satu pertolongan kapada Melayu hendak-lah di-buat, sa-kali pun kerugian terkena kapada gulongan lain. Kalau tidak rugi sadikit kapada orang lain sampai bila pun tidak dapat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah menyentoh sadikit perkara yang telah panas di-sebut² di-surat² khabar sekarang ini yang di-ulas oleh ahli² perniagaan Melayu ia-itu soal bank bagi orang² Melayu. Bagi saya bank bagi orang Melayu itu telah pun lebeh kurang dua tahun dahulu di-dalam Dewan ini telah saya chakap. Saya telah mengatakan kalau RIDA telah boleh menolong NETS Company di-Kelantan, satu Sharikat bas Melayu di-Kelantan, yang sudah rosak, yang sudah menurun kerana pentadbiran-nya silap barang kali, dia telah pun meletakkan modal di-situ dan memimpin bersama², sekarang mula² jual kembali share kapada orang Melayu. Tidak ada sebab RIDA tidak boleh mengeluarkan capital untuk menolong menubuhkan satu bank orang Melayu. Bank yang saya maksudkan bukan-lah satu bank orang Melayu sa-bagai satu bank perkauman, bank yang di-jalankan oleh orang Melayu itu maksud saya bank commercial, bank yang boleh menjalankan perniagaan kapada

semua orang lain bukan sahaja kapada orang² Melayu, kapada semua ra'ayat di-dalam negeri ini dan semua penduduk negeri ini. Chuma saya hendakkan orang Melayu ada bank sendiri kerana saya tidak boleh yakin kalau tidak ada bank orang Melayu pada masa ini. Penting atau tidak penting-nya bank kapada orang Melayu sa-bagai asas untuk membangun ekonomi Melayu chukup-lah menjadi bukti-nya kapada kita mengingati satu peristiwa kehilangan dan kematian Enche' Ma'arof, penaja bank kebangsaan Melayu beberapa belas tahun yang lalu menjadi bukti bahawa bank adalah paling tepat dan paling mustahak kapada orang Melayu kalau dia mahu bangun kembali ekonomi Melayu yang telah tenggelam di-dalam negeri-nya sendiri. Bank sharat mutlak kalau tidak, Enche' Ma'arof tidak mati tergantung di-antara jalan Kuala Lumpur dan Seremban. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengharapkan Kerajaan dalam hendak menolong orang Melayu tidak hanya chakap² saperti chara Abu Nawas membelang mas di-dalam talam untuk mendengarkan kapada orang lain yang meminta hutang, chukup dengar sahaja, terang, terang, terang, begitu heboh tetapi hasil-nya tidak dapat. Kita mahu diberi bantuan yang chukup untuk membangunkan satu bank Melayu dan bank itu bukan perkauman, bank itu bank perniagaan kapada orang² semua. Jadi ini-lah benda yang saya chakap dua tahun dahulu tetapi diam tetapi sekarang ini alhamdulillah nampak-nya telah heboh di-dalam surat² khabar dan Dewan² Perniagaan Melayu yang telah menyambut dan kita ucapkan terima kaseh kapada Utusan Melayu yang telah membesar² perkara ini untuk kepentingan perdamaian. Kata saya kepentingan perdamaian apabila ekonomi orang Melayu itu terjamin dan sama dengan bangsa orang² lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu masa-alah lagi yang saya ingin sentoh sadikit fasal Muzium, kebetulan di-dalam susunan ini pun nampak-nya Muzium ada di-sini. Muzium ini saya pergi melawat, orang lain pun pergi melawat, pelawat² luar negeri pun

melawat, tetapi saya tidak tahu bagaimana pegawai di-sana boleh bekerja, perkara itu besar tetapi benda itu kecil, sedikit sangat, dia boleh buat silap. Di-dalam Muzium itu ada dipamerkan gambar, gambar Dewan Negara ini. Nampak Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nampak Setia-usaha kita, nampak beberapa anggota termasuk saya sedang hendak dudok, tetapi di-bawah di-beri penjelasan "Satu pemandangan persidangan Dewan Ra'ayat sedang berjalan dalam tahun 1964". Ini rupa-nya Muzium kita Dewan Negara di-perkenalkan sebagai "Dewan Ra'ayat sedang bersidang dalam tahun 1964". Saya menchari² kalau ada satu kotak tempat complaint, tidak ada. Jadi dalam Dewan Negara ini-lah terpaksa saya chakap meminta di-betulkan kerana perkara yang begitu kecil pun tidak dapat di-buat dengan betul.

Lagi satu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, patong². Tidak-lah ada apa² patong kalau kecil kita beri budak² buat main sahaja tetapi kalau besar tentulah berat. Sudah di-buang daripada tepi pejabat Kerajaan sekarang nampak-nya di-usong dan di-letakkan di-depan Muzium. Tidak ada sebab bagi kita, baik di-luar atau di-dalam, patong² penjajah dan symbol penjajah hendak di-letakkan di-dalam Muzium kita. Tidak ada sebab, kerana itu akan mengingatkan kita kepada sejarah, kalau baik sejarah penjajahan bagus juga, tetapi sejarah penjajahan di-negeri kita ini terlalu burok yang mahu kita lupakan dan kita kikis daripada ingatan anak-chuchu kita. Kalau di-kekalkan patong itu tidak-lah begitu sedap sangat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara lagi yang ingin saya sentoh, soal pilgrim--orang haji. Ini kerana ra'ayat banyak sangat bersungut. Di-Mekah kerana kita menghantar doktor tetapi kalau orang sakit kita di-Mekah itu pergi meminta ubat dia dapat ubat harga yang paling murah sampai dia kata tidak ada guna dan apa yang telah terjadi di-Mekah beberapa tahun dalam musim haji, lebih senang orang Malaya mendatangi tempat perubatan yang di-kirim oleh Kerajaan Siam atau tempat perubatan yang di-kirim

oleh Kerajaan Indonesia daripada mendatangi tempat perubatan dengan menemui doktor² atau nurse² atau dresser² yang di-kirim oleh Kerajaan Malaya. Ini ada-lah di-nyatakan sendiri oleh orang² yang balek dari Mekah, Tolong perbetulkan perkara ini kalau tidak nanti terjadi propaganda pula kalau banyak orang kita pergi ka-tempat lain. Saya menarek perhatian Kerajaan, sebab sungutan ini di-buat oleh banyak orang yang berjumpa dengan saya dan semua-nya bersungut hal yang sama. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tolong-lah kita betulkan perkara ini supaya jangan-lah berpanjangan jadi perkara² yang tidak molek.

Satu lagi perkara, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin sentoh ia-lah berthabit dengan bahasa kebangsaan. Bahasa kebangsaan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah di-sebutkan di-dalam perlembagaan dengan syarat mendapatkan persetujuan Parlimen akan digunakan mula tahun 1967 ini ya'ani 10 tahun lepas merdeka dan sekarang telah menjadi Malaysia, kekal untuk Malaya tetapi tidak terjamin untuk Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak. Tetapi saya ragu², Tuan Yang di-Pertua, atas sikap Kerajaan dalam pelaksanaan bahasa kebangsaan ini sebab tidak ada saya nampak co-ordinasi atau kerjasama yang bersungguh² dari Jabatan² Kerajaan bagi menjayakan satu soal national yang besar. Radio dan talivishen sampai hari ini terus-menerus mengamalkan multi-language, bererti dengan rasmi-nya Kerajaan negeri ini, mulut-nya kata tidak, tetapi tangan-nya sedang buat mengamalkan penggunaan berbagai bahasa. Saya mahu Kerajaan memberhentikan semua ini, tidak ada kita dengar ulasan di-radio dan kita tidak ada mendengar ulasan di-talivishen, melainkan dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Kita boleh gunakan radio, menggunakan apa juga bahasa yang kita fikir menasabah, kita gunakan untuk oversea, untuk di-pancharkan ka-seberang laut, bukan untuk di-dalam negeri. Untuk dalam negeri chukup-lah dengan bahasa kebangsaan dan ini membuktikan kita bersungguh² bagi menjayakan pelaksanaan bahasa kebangsaan. Saya suka menuntun film

China kerana dia pun bagus juga, suka juga kita menuntun film Hindustan, dia pun bagus juga, tetapi kita suka supaya bahasa kebangsaan itu hidup dengan di-dabingkan filem² itu ka-dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Kalau di-Jepun dapat di-tunjokkan film Cowboy tetapi di-dabingkan (dub) ka-bahasa Jepun, maka tidak ada sebab kita tidak boleh dabingkan filem² bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa lain juga ka-dalam bahasa kita, dan dengan chara itu orang ramai mulai belajar bahasa kebangsaan dengan practical sambil menuntun sambil mendapat pelajaran bahasa kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang dapat kita buat dalam soal bahasa ini apabila kita lihat tidak ada penghormatan terhadap bahasa kebangsaan. Apa yang dapat kita buat bila di-mana² juga tidak ada penghargaan terhadap bahasa kebangsaan. Kita mengharapkan daripada ra'ayat kita yang mengatakan "undivided loyalty". Mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ma'af-lah kalau saya menyentuh Malayan Banking, mithal-nya ditubuhkan oleh orang Malaya—nama-pun Bank Malaya tentu-lah orang yang membuat-nya itu bila di-tanya "undivided loyalty" atau orang yang ta'at setia-nya tidak berbelah bahagi, tetapi bank itu sendiri bila kita masuk tidak ada bahasa lain, melainkan bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa China. Saya mengatakan saya tidak anti-China dan anti-Inggeris, tetapi saya mahu soal nasional. Kita dapati cheques—account saya dalam bank ini—cheques-nya ada tulisan China, ada tulisan Inggeris tetapi tidak ada bahasa kebangsaan. Bank ini mithal-nya satu bank yang di-buat oleh orang Malaya—orang yang betul² ta'at setia kapada Malaya pun tidak sanggup melaksanakan bahasa kebangsaan, jadi di-mana tempat harapan kita? Maka, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada Kerajaan saya merasa mungkin ada beberapa masaalah yang di-hadapi oleh Kerajaan, boleh jadi satu daripada-nya, pressure atau tekanan daripada kepentingan guru² sekolah Inggeris minta Kerajaan supaya menjamin kepentingan hidup mereka supaya bahasa Inggeris itu di-kekalkan

berdaulat, kerana itu-lah dalam comprehensive school yang akan di-jalankan mulai tahun 1965 bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa kebangsaan itu akan di-teruskan, pada hal kita fikir tidak ada sebab lagi bahasa Inggeris hendak di-kekalkan, chukup-lah bahasa kebangsaan di-ajar dalam Sekolah Anika Jurusan itu.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya merasa Kerajaan terlalu lemah dalam melaksanakan ini. Apa-kah Kerajaan memikirkan tidak boleh di-laksanakan bahasa kebangsaan dengan bersungguh² kerana kepentingan loyar² tidak mengerti bahasa kebangsaan untuk berbichara dalam mahkamah, atau ada-kah Kerajaan memikirkan kepentingan² missionary Christian sa-bagai pusaka penjajah di-negeri ini kepentingan mereka itu hendak di-pertahankan, maka bahasa Melayu tidak mahu di-jalankan betul² kerana sekolah missionary akan di-tutup. Apa-kah ini yang sa-benar-nya? Saya tidak faham dan saya minta penjelasan daripada Kerajaan.

Kelambatan Kerajaan dalam soal bahasa kebangsaan ini menunjukkan gejala² burok di-masa hadapan. Menteri² Perikatan sendiri pun telah mengatakan telah nampak akan gejala² burok dalam masaalah bahasa ini. Mungkin akan jadi Ceylon yang kedua, dan saya berdo'a kapada Tuhan mudah²an kita tidak jadi begitu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ada menerima satu salinan surat daripada The Federation of Malaya Chinese Senior Normal Graduate Teachers Union yang memberi sebab² mengapa mereka itu memperjuangkan bahasa China supaya di-terima oleh Kerajaan sa-bagai bahasa rasmi di-dalam negeri ini. Mereka memberi sebab², sebab²-nya kerana mempertahankan pelajaran bahasa China dari sekolah jenis kebangsaan China supaya dapat di-pereksa, sebab anak² yang belajar dalam bahasa mereka itu sendiri, kerana dasar Kerajaan ia-lah pemereksaan itu di-buat dalam bahasa rasmi—bahasa rasmi itu ia-lah bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa Melayu, maka mereka mahu supaya bahasa China

juga hendak di-rasmikan dan membolehkan di-pereksa dengan bahasa rasmi ya'ani bahasa China juga bahasa rasmi. Ini satu alasan zahir, alasan lain alasan politik, dan ini mendapat dokongan yang kuat daripada pertubohan² politik dalam negeri ini. Bukti-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam penjelasan ini di-sebutkan dasar ini telah di-terima oleh mendiang Dato' Tan Cheng Lock, pengerusi persidangan itu. Satu persidangan telah di-buat beberapa lama dahulu dalam perkara tuntutan ini. Ini-lah sebab mereka ini terus menuntut sebab telah di-terima oleh mendiang Dato' Tan Cheng Lock, pengerusi, persidangan itu. Sementara itu beliau telah juga mengishtiharkan dasar² ini akan menjadi dasar M.C.A. Apa-kah dasar² itu? Menuntut bahasa penghantar yang di-tentukan ia-lah bahasa ibunda. Pelajaran untuk semua kaum mesti-lah di-aku'i dan di-beri layanan yang 'adil. Menuntut bahasa China satu daripada bahasa rasmi. Ini telah di-terima oleh Dato' Tan Cheng Lock. Dalam siaran ini juga menyebutkan Pilchan Raya Umum Yang Pertama telah di-adakan pada tahun 1955, tatkala Allahyarham Dato' Onn bin Ja'afar telah memberi propaganda yang salah kerana kaum China menuntut bahasa China supaya menjadi bahasa rasmi, pehak Perikatan bimbang masaalah ini akan mempengaruhi pengundi². Maka satu persidangan telah di-adakan di-rumah mendiang Dato' Tan Cheng Lock di-Melaka pada 12 haribulan Januari, 1955, yang hadir ia-lah mendiang Dato' Tan Cheng Lock, wakil Persatuan Guru² China dan Persatuan Lembaga Pengurus Sekolah² China dan hasil persidangan itu ia-lah Persatuan Guru² China Sa-Malaya tidak menyebutkan berkenaan masaalah bahasa rasmi untuk sementara waktu ia-itu pada bulan Januari, 1955 hingga bulan Julai 1955 supaya memberi peluang bagi pehak Perikatan untuk melancarkan propaganda pilehan raya. Yang kedua jika Perikatan berjaya menguasai negeri ini, maka tuntutan² yang berikut hendak-lah di-kuat-kuasakan, dan panjang lagi-lah penjelasan-nya. Ini membuktikan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

bahawa soal perjuangan menuntut bahasa China menjadi bahasa rasmi dalam negeri ini di-belakang-nya M.C.A. sendiri. Baharu² ini pun kalau saya tidak salah Setia-usaha Politik kepada President M.C.A. sendiri yang menyampaikan surat tuntutan itu saperti yang telah di-sebutkan dalam Dewan Ra'ayat.

Saya minta dengan benar²-nya harmoni dalam negeri ini dapat kita pelihara supaya semua perasaan samacham itu kita hilangkan. Ikut-lah pepatah Melayu walau pun orang Melayu di-pandang bagitu rendah dalam negeri ini sendiri: masuk kandang kerbau kita menguak, masuk kandang kambing kita membebek. Kita akan hidup aman, damai dalam negeri ini kalau kita dapat sedia mengorbankan kepentingan ini. Itu-lah sebab-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak senang sa-kali melihat Malaysia mengadakan perhubungan membuka Consul di-Taiwan, kerana itu akan memburokkan, baik Taiwan mahu pun Peking kita tidak mahu ada perhubungan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mari-lah kita sedar bersama terhadap bahaya² yang mungkin mengancham negara kita. Mari-lah kita fahami betul² kehendak kita dan kehendak kita itu hendak-lah kita kuatkan dengan keazaman yang kokoh dengan niat yang berseih. Kita tidak-lah mesti takut titek sa-titek nanti kerana takut titek sa-titek dia tumpah semua. Kita biar-lah tumpah sa-titek tetapi jangan tumpah semua. Ini kerana terlalu menatang sangat dan takut tumpah sa-titek lama² semua-nya habis. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada jalan lain bagi Kerajaan kalau mahu melaksanakan bahasa kebangsaan, melainkan di-buat undang². Ini-lah jalan keluar yang boleh menyelesaikan masaalah ini, kalau tidak akan timbul berbagai chabar demi chabar saperti di-Dewan Ra'ayat mengenai bahasa kebangsaan dan akhir-nya menimbulkan perasaan yang tidak tentu arah dan boleh di-ambil peluang oleh ahli politik yang "opportunism" bagi menimbulkan keadaan burok dan persengketaan antara kaum dalam negeri ini, dan ini bukan-lah di-kehendaki oleh kita. Tuan Yang

di-Pertua, saya rasa sudah-lah sampai masa-nya bagi Kerajaan memikirkan betul² sa-belum tiba satu masa yang tidak ada guna lagi kita menyesal atas keadaan² itu.

Sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, banyak masalah di-dalam negeri ini sa-benar-nya ia-lah di-tinggalkan oleh penjajah, tetapi kita sa-bagai ra'ayat negeri ini yang telah sama² sedar dan insaf akan kepentingan hidup aman dan damai di-dalam negeri ini haruslah mempunyai tolerance, lapang dada dan tidak sempit fikiran bagi menyelesaikan masalah ini dan mestilah ada "give and take" atau bertolak ansor dalam negeri ini antara sama kita.

Yang nyata tolak ansor telah ada, tetapi orang² Melayu yang bertolak ansor, orang² lain tidak bertolak ansor, dengan kerana orang² Melayu yang bertolak ansor—orang² lain tidak bertolak ansor, maka yang jadi sa-benar-nya bukan tolak ansor, tetapi orang² Melayu telah tolak ansor². Jadi, habis-lah semua-nya hak orang² Melayu. Kita tidak mahu jadi begitu, kita mahu hidup aman, damai, dan kita harap orang² lain dapat pula memberi tolak ansor-nya kepada orang² Melayu supaya kita dapat hidup dengan rukun damai di-kalangan penduduk² negeri ini dan perdamaian-lah yang kita harap, dan dengan perdamaian kita dapat hidup, aman sampai kepada anak chuchu kita di-dalam negara yang kita harap² sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang bahagia, saperti yang di-idam²kan oleh Perdana Menteri kita. Sekian.

Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya:

Mr President, Sir, I take this opportunity to associate myself with the speeches made by various Honourable Members in regard to the Supply Bill, 1965, by the Honourable Minister of Finance. This is the second Malaysian Supply Bill submitted. The first one was submitted also this year in January last. The amount shown then was in the region of \$1,000 million, and this time it is about \$1,500 million or 50 per cent over and above the 1964 Estimates. This huge increase is due to a greater extent. I take it, to our determination to strengthen the coun-

try's administration, militarily and economically, and not only against Indonesian confrontation, which we are confronting, but also against subversive elements which prevail in this country.

Sir, the Budget, no doubt, is a tough one, but it is necessary for us to ponder over the amount of deficit which the Government has to bear in 1965. The Minister has stated on page 26 of his Budget speech that the 1965 Ordinary Budget will show a deficit of about \$196 million: This is only a rough estimate, he said, but I agree with him that it is essential for him to take no chances in order to stabilise the administration of the country. He has no alternative but to look around to see how and what steps can he take in order to cover the short fall or deficit—and the only method to do it is by way of taxation. It was some of these taxations which cause certain Member of the Opposition in the Lower House to make a hue and cry over the matter. However, I should say that none of them has suggested a concrete alternative to counteract the Minister's proposition. Even a few minutes ago, the Honourable Member on my right said something about the taxation, but he did not offer anything substantial or concrete to stop the gap of the deficit. He did not do so, but what did he say? He said that British, Australian and New Zealand troops should quit Malaysia. What will happen if such a thing were to happen tomorrow? Mr Soekarno and his henchmen will come over to Malaysia and govern us. Does anybody want that? Nobody wants that, I am sure.

Sir, with due respect to this House, I am sure that the Minister will welcome suggestions from Honourable Members who could offer idea or ideas to stabilise the finance of our country. It will serve no useful purpose to criticise without offering constructive suggestions in return. Everybody is feeling the pinch. I, myself, am also feeling the pinch. Almost every other edible commodity on the market has increased in price. If I were to enumerate the various items, it will take some time for this House to hear

what I am going to say, but it is not necessary for me to do so. We must remember that we are confronting the confrontation from Mr Soekarno and, I would add, internal subversion. We must tighten our belts, unless we like Soekarno to come over and govern us. I do not think we like the idea of his coming over to govern us—I myself do not like it.

Sir, on the whole, I found the Finance Minister's Budget speech quite open in regard to the Bill, which I myself accept generally. However, Sir, I would like to have some clarification on one or two points from him.

On page 63, paragraph 148, of the speech he stated that he was not increasing the import duty on whisky, gin and brandy next year—1965. Yet with due respect to him at the beginning of this year, to be exact on the 13th January, 1964, when this House was debating the Supply Bill for 1964, I taxed him with the question, why did he not tax brandy, whisky and other drinks at the rate of \$10 per gallon instead of, \$4 per gallon for brandy and whisky, and \$10 per gallon for sparkling wines, and \$12 for gin and rum; thus levelling the whole three categories into one rate of \$10 per gallon. I remember that the Minister replied that I was one of those to ask for the tax to be increased, but he added, if I remember correctly, that he was of the opinion that the taxations already envisaged were adequate for the year 1964. It is no wonder, Sir, that some of my friends in Johore told me the other day what a jolly-good-fellow was the Minister in not raising the tax on whisky and brandy for the year 1965. However, I beg to differ from that, because if the taxation on these drinks are raised, we will get at least some revenue to meet the deficit.

Another thing is the turnover tax. It is quite true that some of the countries in the world have adopted this form of taxation, but I am also in the dark. With regard to the tax, I have been asked, "What would happen if the ordinary taxpaying businessman finds himself at the end

of the fiscal year that his business has suffered a loss?" Will he get a refund of the turnover tax which he has already paid? I believe that this is one of the causes which certain businessmen clamoured for revision from the Minister of Finance, and I hope the Minister will use, in his own word, some flexibility in respect of this tax, so that the small men will not be deprived of their daily earnings.

Sir, before I close, I would like to say a few words on the Information Department. The provision for 1965 has apparently increased by \$1.3 million compared to that for 1964. The increase was justifiable, I should say, in view of the fact of our unsettled relation with Indonesia. I speak for Johore from where I come. Johore has been the objective of the Indonesian aggressive landings all along so far—and I enumerate them here:

17th August landing in Pontian	
2nd September ...	Labis
29th October ...	Kesang
16th November ...	Kota Tinggi
3rd December ...	Semerang (Batu Pahat)

and the latest one was at Pontian again on the 23rd of this month—that is about a week ago. All these places are in Johore State. So far as I know Sir, one of the duties of the Field Staff of the Information Department is to teach "psychological warfare" and indoctrinate the rural people how to meet the aggressive confrontation of the Indonesians, and by so doing these kampong people will be able to understand the true position of our country. Therefore, Sir, I would ask the Honourable Minister concerned to give the Information Department of Johore State first priority in all aspects so as to enable it to combat the Indonesian aggression and confrontation.

In conclusion, Sir, I would like to say that in spite of everything, I am of opinion that our Minister of Finance has done his level best in framing what I call a formidable Budget, and his intention is just to close the gap between the revenues and expenditures

of the country for next year—1965. I believe, Sir, that he should be spared of attacks on him in the Lower House by the Opposition Members for his aptitude. However, Sir, sometimes the mentality of these Opposition Members is really beyond one's comprehension. Sir, I support the Bill. Thank you. (*Applause*).

Enche' William Tan: Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Government's proposals to increase taxes in principle, as this is unavoidable in view of the confrontation policy of Indonesia. I would like, however, to make some comments on the proposed tax changes. I refer, particularly, to the payroll and turnover taxes. These taxes are new in that they applied to all business people and do not relate to profits. Although the payroll and turnover taxes will not take effect in the Borneo territories until 1966, I feel, Sir, that Sarawak is very unhappy and apprehensive of the outcome of these proposals. I do hope the Working Committee to be set up by the Minister of Finance will be able to dispel some of the fears and obvious iniquities of the turnover tax. Take for instance, will the lawyer to whom his client pays a large sum of money for the purpose of completing a deal be required to pay the turnover tax? Then, what about the lawyer acting for the vendor to whom the money will be paid?—Will the lawyer acting for the vendor be liable to pay for the turnover tax also? These transactions, Sir, are turnover, but the money transacted does not belong to the lawyer but to his clients.

Sir, payroll tax has been said to be a wedge driving the employers to curtail their expenditures thereby engaging less staff with the inevitable result of more unemployment. I am afraid, Sir, that this may be so. The highest rate of unemployment, Sir, remains in the age group of 15 to 24. This is a very dangerous age group to be without employment, and I fear the position will be further aggravated when this unorthodox tax of payroll is implemented. It seems, whether one is making money or not, when the 2 per cent tax is levied for a start, I feel it will cause undue

hardship in the business circles, especially when the statement of account does not appear on the right side of the balance sheet.

The tax on profits may be overlooked, but the increase for Sarawak should be gradual in accordance with the Inter-Governmental Committee's Report, which is binding on all parties and which forms the basic on which the Borneo territories joined Malaysia. Although with the 40 per cent rebate, I think many of our people still think that the change has been too drastic. Even if your exemption in some cases on the turnover tax, this form of taxation is a burden on consumers. For a start $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is levied on the importers, another $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the distributing agents and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the retail agents before the goods will finally reach the consumers. Government can tax on 1,001 things one can think of, but I certainly not the payroll and turnover tax proposals which are biting into the pockets of the small business circles when they are losing money. I am in favour of purchase tax, this is just one of them.

The other tax proposal which seems to be out of proportion is one on crown corks. I think 5 per cent tax on each crown cork is too drastic. I can cite one example here. An aerated-water manufacturer imported 100 cases of crown corks into Sarawak recently. He had to pay \$72,000 for the importation of the crown corks alone, which probably cost more than his capital cost of running the show. His 100 cases of beautiful crown corks were eventually shipped back to Singapore. I would be happier if taxes were levied on building materials such as cement, mild steel rods, girdlers including bolts and nuts, if necessary, because those who can afford to build castles should be in a good position to pay the taxes. In this connection, materials for low-cost housing for the poor and other public buildings possibly could be exempted.

In conclusion, Sir, I propose that the Government should reconsider the implementation of the payroll, turnover and crown cork tax proposals.

Enche' Chan Kwong-Hon: Mr President, Sir, much has been said about the new tax proposals announced by the Minister of Finance in his Budget speech in the Dewan Ra'ayat recently. They have been debated widely in the Lower House. The issues are also being discussed in all corners of the country—at Chambers of Commerce, at union meetings or in associations, at markets or in offices. Whatever the views, it must be appreciated that in this time of national need, every section of the population fully realises the need to bear its fair share of the financial burden. As everyone is aware, because of Soekarno's aggressive policies on the political, economic and military fronts, Malaysia has to incur unnecessary expenditure to meet the Indonesian threats. Millions of dollars are being spent on defence build-up, in order to protect our sovereignty and independence. I sincerely hope, and I am sure I am expressing the opinion of the general public, that the Jakarta regime will soon come to its senses and call off its senseless and irresponsible policy of confrontation. Surely, Soekarno is not blind to the fact that no one will benefit from the struggle. Indonesia is in fact flouting the very principle of the Bandung Declaration—that is, the policy of peaceful co-existence. With the threats from Jakarta still hanging over us, I am confident that all the people are willing to rally round the Government and give their lives, if necessary, to defend our honour and integrity from external aggression. I am equally confident that they will fulfil their obligation to the country by answering the nation's call. They accept the fact that the Government has to find ways and means of raising more money to meet all the additional expenditure. The natural source is by taxation but how the various taxes are to be collected should be given careful and close study.

Mr President, Sir, coming to the Budget, three of the novel taxes seem to have received strong criticism from many individuals and groups. I refer to the controversial turnover, payroll and crown cork taxes. Since the

announcement of these taxes, delegations representing various interests, including trade unions and the business community, have called on the Finance Minister to seek clarification and to explain their fears and anxieties over the possible impact of these new taxes. I am happy now to note that the Government has given its assurance of careful and sympathetic consideration of their representations. Once again I can assure the Government that the business community is prepared to play its part in meeting the extra financial burden (*Applause*) which the Government has to shoulder in view of Indonesian aggression and I welcome the Government's assurance that the Government will maintain a close watch on the impact of these new taxes on our national economy so as to safeguard against inequity or undue hardship. I am confident that the whole tax structure of our country would be reviewed once Indonesia's confrontation campaign ended.

Mr President, Sir, there is one other point which I wish to make. Some Opposition political parties are trying to make political capital out of the new tax proposals. The subversive elements even to go to the extent of spreading rumours that the Chinese business community is organising a hartal in protest. Sir, the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Malaysia held a meeting in Singapore recently and as Chairman of the organisation, I emphatically denied any such plan. There is no truth whatsoever. This method of protest is mischievous and not to be tolerated at this time of our nation's crisis.

As the representative institution of the business community, the Chambers of Commerce are responsible bodies and will always adopt the attitude of objective and responsible representation with Government, if necessary, instead of resorting to disruptive tactics like hartals or rallies or other methods of agitation. (*Applause*).

Enche' Cheah Seng Khim: Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Supply Bill. Every time when a new tax or new taxes comes to light or debated,

we hear of protests hurled at the Honourable Minister of Finance; and not content with this, some Opposition Members tried to run the Minister and the Central Government down, in dubious ways. I am sure the payroll and turnover taxes are introduced because the country needs money to counter confrontation and also for national developments. Therefore, I think, the taxes should be given a trial. What I wish to know is, what will the Minister of Finance do when it is found out that the new taxes do really affect the consumers and cause unemployment? However, I do not agree that these taxes should be withdrawn after confrontation is ended; I think they should remain as long as we need money for educational and other national developments.

Sir, I have a few observations to make and I hope the Ministries concerned will try to improve matters. The first one is the Social Welfare Department. On many occasions, I have heard from State Welfare Officers that because of the exhaustion of funds, nothing could be done for the needy at the time. Also, on several occasions, I was told that through lack of outdoor inspectors cases that deserved attention were delayed. I hope that more funds will be provided for the Welfare Officers.

The next Department I would like to comment upon is the Public Works Department. In recent years, the P.W.D. received millions of dollars to carry on with the building of roads, bridges, etc. I do not agree with those critics who call the Public Works Department the Public Waste Department (*Laughter*). That, I do not agree. But I cannot understand why the planners of this Department have forgotten the Tanjong Tokong Road. This stretch of road runs from Bagan Jermal to Tanjong Tokong Village. Today this road is no better than it was 40 years ago.

Now I come to the Ministry of Agriculture. The people who are growing cloves and nutmegs are waiting for the subsidy which was recommended by the officers of the Govern-

ment. There seems to be a delay between the State and the Federal Government, but the poor people, who are cultivators, are hoping and praying that they will get the money as soon as possible. Thank you, Sir.

Nik Hassan bin Haji Nik Yahya: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, dalam menyokong Rang Undang² Perbelanjaan, 1965 ini lebih dahulu saya memberi tahniah kepada Menteri Kewangan kita kerana ketabahan-nya dalam menerima berbagai perkataan dan berbagai tuntutan serta ancaman yang di-datangkan dengan kerana kenaikan cukai dan ada-nya cukai baharu yang telah di-ator-nya itu. Bagi saya, saya beri tahniah kerana beliau sanggup menerima segala itu demi kepentingan negara kita. Saya perchaya kira-nya Menteri kita ini sanggup menerima segala apa yang di-hadapkan kepada-nya itu bagi memperbaiki kewangan negara kita ini, maka saya juga perchaya Menteri Kewangan kita sanggup menjalankan satu usaha bagi menjaga supaya perbelanjaan negara kita pun di-jalankan dengan lebih chermat dan lebih berjaga² lagi.

Saya suka hendak menarek pandangan Menteri Kewangan kepada beberapa perkara yang saya boleh beri contoh supaya dalam perkara pentadbiran negara kita ini dapat di-chermatkan lagi pada perbelanjaan-nya, seperti Kerajaan hendak membeli barang² penggunaan untuk pembangunan luar bandar. Kita membeli jentera² yang besar² maka kalau boleh elok-lah dalam masa kita membeli barang² itu biar-lah Kerajaan dapat menentukan yang barang itu datang-nya daripada sa-buah negeri atau pun beberapa buah negeri yang boleh memberi harga yang paling baik sekali. Kalau sa-kira-nya kita utamakan kepada satu negeri sahaja atau pun dua buah negeri sahaja dengan memikirkan jentera itu ada-lah jentera yang terbaik sa-kali saya rasa itu ada-lah salah bagi kita, kerana di-dalam dunia ini tiap² negara ada membuat-nya. Negeri² besar seperti negeri Jepun, Jerman dan lain² lagi ada mengadakan perusahaan membuat jentera² yang besar² ini yang saya

fikir barang itu tidak ada perbezaannya dengan barang yang ada di-England dan di-Amerika. Kalau sa-kira-nya kita dapat beli barang daripada sa-buah negeri yang boleh menjual barang itu dengan paling murah harga-nya, maka ini satu daripada chara-nya bagi kita mengecilkan perbelanjaan negara kita ini. Jadi chara mengecilkan perbelanjaan ini juga saya rasa patut bagi pehak Kerajaan kita atau bagi pehak Kementerian Kewangan menjaga bukan sahaja bagi Kerajaan Pusat, tetapi juga patut mempunyai kuasa² yang tertentu bagi menjaga perjalanan tadbiran kewangan di-dalam tiap² negeri, kerana apabila satu² negeri itu rosak ekonomi-nya dan rosak chara tadbiran kewangan-nya, maka rosaklah negara kita sa-terus-nya.

Satu contoh-nya perkara salah tadbir kewangan yang berlaku dalam negeri Kelantan. Jadi apa yang kita tahu Auditor-General sudah keluaran satu Report berkenaan dengan pemeriksaan kewangan bagi negeri Kelantan dalam tahun 1963. Berbagai perkara yang berlaku salah tadbir kewangan di-Kelantan itu, sa-hingga boleh merosakkan ekonomi negeri Kelantan. Jadi perkara ini saya tidak tahu bagaimana chara-nya tindakan bagi memperbaiki yang patut dijalankan, sebab mengikut apa yang ada pada hari ini tiap² negeri itu ada kuasa mentadbir wang-nya sendiri, tetapi apabila negeri itu rosak dan jatuh dalam kewangan-nya, maka terpaksa-lah Kerajaan Pusat membantu pula Kerajaan Negeri itu. Jadi, dengan sendiri-nya ada terlibat kewangan daripada Kerajaan Pusat sendiri. Jadi kerosakan yang berlaku dalam Kerajaan Negeri itu kira-nya tidak di-kawal dan tidak di-jaga dengan betul oleh Kerajaan Pusat dengan sendiri-nya boleh merosakkan kewangan Kerajaan Pusat sendiri. Jadi, ini-lah perkara yang saya fikir patut bagi pehak Kementerian Kewangan memikirkan kalau sa-kira-nya perlu kita meminda Perlembagaan patut Perlembagaan itu di-pinda supaya dapat di-kawal sedikit sa-banyak. Biar-lah ada pada Kerajaan Pusat itu kuasa² bagi mengawal atau mengawasi perjalanan pentadbiran kewangan dalam satu² negeri

itu. Kalau kita biarkan satu² negeri itu berjalan dengan sa-chara bebas dengan ikut suka hati-nya membelanjakan wang dengan tidak tentu hala, maka Kerajaan negeri yang lain pula boleh jadi akan mengikut apa yang berlaku dan sa-terus-nya kepada beberapa buah Kerajaan Negeri, dan apabila semua Kerajaan Negeri dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kita ini rosak kewangan-nya dengan sendiri-nya berma'ana kejatohan Kerajaan Pusat kita. Jadi, ini ada-lah satu perkara yang harus di-kaji dan di-siasat dengan halus dan chermat dan kira-nya perlu hendak-lah kita menjalankan satu tindakan walau pun dengan chara meminda Perlembagaan supaya keadaan itu jangan berlaku di-masa² hadapan.

Dalam perkara pembinaan jalan daripada Kelantan ka-Perak dan daripada Trengganu ka-Pantai Barat, sa-kejap tadi pehak Pembangkang ada menyebutkan demi kepentingan pertahanan negara kita ini, bukan demi untuk membuka tanah sahaja patut-lah Kerajaan Pusat ini dengan sa-berapa segera meneruskan supaya membuka jalan itu sa-bagaimana yang di-ranchangkan di-dalam Ranchangan 5 Tahun Pembangunan Luar Bandar itu. Berkenaan dengan pembukaan jalan itu, Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar telah menerangkan ia-itu beliau akan mengkaji sa-mula perkara pembinaan jalan itu dengan kerana kira-nya di-buka jalan itu berma'ana-lah bukan ra'ayat yang akan mendapat keuntungan daripada hasil pembukaan jalan itu, kerana semua tanah dalam kawasan yang akan di-buka jalan itu telah pun di-serahkan kepada sa-buah sharikat yang di-punyai oleh orang² daripada Singapura, ia-itu sa-buah sharikat yang bernama Timber and Mine Co. Ltd. Timber and Mine Co. ini telah mendapat concession 33 tahun daripada Kerajaan Kelantan lebeh kurang 400,000 ekar tanah, ia-itu ka-semua sa-kali tanah yang ada barangkali sa-jumlah besar daripada kawasan yang ada di-kawasan Ulu Kelantan yang mana jalan itu ada merintang di-atas tanah itu-lah. Jadi berma'ana apabila Kerajaan Pusat membuka jalan itu, maka

berma'ana-lah mereka yang mendapat concession tanah itu dengan senang sahaja akan mengeluarkan hasil bumi dengan tidak payah membena jalan dan sa-bagai-nya, sa-mata² dapat di-beri tanah itu untuk di-kerjakan dan di-keluarkan hasil dalam tempoh 30 tahun lebeh. Itu-lah sebab-nya Tim-balan Perdana Menteri menchabar Kerajaan Kelantan supaya mengis-tiharkan butir² Perjanjian yang di-buat di-antara Kerajaan Kelantan dengan sharikat di-Singapura itu.

Wakil pehak Pembangkang tadi berkata bukan sahaja untuk hendak memberi tanah kepada ra'ayat, tetapi demi kerana pertahanan negara jalan itu patut di-bena. Saya suka menjawab kepada beliau supaya beliau berjumpa

Menteri Besar, Kelantan menghalusi akan Perjanjian itu, kerana saya sendiri telah pun membacha dan melihat Perjanjian itu sendiri, dan Perjanjian itu telah banyak dan ramai ra'ayat Kelantan telah mengetahuinya, bukan sahaja kayu-kayan yang di-beri kepada sharikat itu, tetapi di-beri kuasa berlombong dalam kawasan² tanah itu. Ma'ana-nya, apabila jalan itu di-buka, bukan ra'ayat Kelantan yang mendapat keuntungan tetapi kampeni yang mem-buka-nya itu-lah yang akan mendapat segala kekayaan hasil bumi itu.

Mr President: Majlis Meshuarat ini di-tangguhkan sa-hingga pukul 10.00 pagi besok.

Adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Employees Provident Fund

1. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Finance to state whether Government would consider the introduction of Employees Provident Fund Scheme in Sarawak.

The Minister of Finance (Enche' Tan Siew Sin): The Government is considering the extension of the Employees Provident Fund Ordinance to both Sabah and Sarawak.

At the request of Government the Employees Provident Fund Board is to conduct a survey in Sabah and Sarawak to ascertain the practical problems involved, and the administrative arrangements required to enable the Ordinance to be so extended.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

Mobile Units and Cinema Projectors in the Information Department, Johore

2. Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya bertanya kepada Menteri Penerangan dan Penyiaran benar-kah bahawa Jabatan Penerangan di-Johor maseh lagi menggunakan (a) kereta² yang sudah lebeh kurang 10 tahun lama-nya, (b) perkakas² wayang gambar yang lama, dan jika benar, ada-kah Kerajaan hendak mengambil tindakan² untuk menggantikan kereta² dan perkakas² wayang gambar yang lama itu dengan yang baharu.

Menteri Penerangan dan Penyiaran (Enche' Senu bin Abdul Rahman): Daripada sa-jumlah 13 buah pasokan bergerak di-Johor, sa-banyak 3 buah kereta sudah 10 tahun lama-nya dan perkakas² wayang gambar ada-lah sama juga keadaan-nya seperti kereta² tersebut, tetapi kereta² dan perkakas² itu maseh boleh di-pakai lagi.

Jabatan Penerangan ada mempunyai sa-jumlah 87 buah pasokan bergerak di-seluruh negeri ini dan soal hendak menggantikan kereta² dan perkakas² lama itu bergantung kepada ada

tidak-nya peruntokan wang. Perbendaharaan telah memperkenankan supaya di-ganti kereta² dan perkakas² itu dengan beransor², ia-lah pukul rata 8-10 buah kereta dan 10-12 perkakas² wayang gambar pada sa-tahun. Kereta² dan perkakas² wayang gambar yang tidak boleh di-gunakan lagi itu akan di-ganti baharu, sekarang ini juga.

3. Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya bertanya kepada Menteri Penerangan dan Penyiaran ada-kah benar ia-itu pada masa Dzarurat tahun 1948-60 dahulu Jabatan Penerangan Johor ada mempunyai 17 buah pasokan bergerak tetapi sekarang chuma ada 14 buah sahaja, dan jika benar, ada-kah Kerajaan akan menambahkan pasokan tersebut kerana kita sekarang menghadapi "Konfrantasi" Indonesia.

Enche' Senu bin Abdul Rahman: Ada-lah benar ia-itu ada 17 buah Pasokan Bergerak di-Johor sa-masa perang urat saraf di-perhebatkan dalam negeri Johor waktu Dzarurat dahulu.

Apabila keadaan sudah puleh seperti biasa, ia-itu apabila Dzarurat dengan rasmi-nya di-ishtiharkan tamat dalam tahun 1960, pasokan² bergerak ini telah di-untokkan kepada Negeri² sa-chara tetap. Johor telah di-beri 13 buah pasokan.

Manakala berlaku pendaratan dari pehak Indonesia di-kawasan Pontian dan Labis, 3 pasokan telah di-hantar ka-kawasan² tersebut kerana tugas khas, dan ini menjadikan sa-jumlah 16 buah pasokan bergerak yang bertugas di-negeri Johor. Sa-telah kawasan² ini di-bersehkan, ketiga² buah pasokan yang di-ambil daripada Negeri² lain itu telah di-hantar balek ka-negeri masing².

Satu surat permohonan akan di-hantar kepada pehak berkuasa yang berkenaan minta di-tambah pasokan² dan pegawai² untuk menguatkan lagi pasokan² ini dalam Negeri² yang menghadapi "konfrantasi yang aktif".

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Uniform of the Royal Malaysia Police

4. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Home Affairs to state whether the Central Government

intends to standardise the uniform of the Sarawak Constabulary and the Police Force of Sabah and Singapore by making them adopt the uniform now worn by the Royal Malaysia Police in Malaya.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Dato' Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman): It is the intention that uniforms throughout the Royal Malaysia Police shall be standardised. To this end action is in hand to provide personnel of all four components of the Royal Malaysia Police with cap badges consisting of the crest of the Royal Malaysia Police. It is hoped that sufficient supply of these new badges will be available for issue in early 1965. Similarly, action is being taken to procure sufficient buttons of the standard design of the Royal Malaysia Police for issue throughout the whole of the Royal Malaysia Police. These badges and buttons will replace those of the four different designs currently in use in the four components.

Peak caps, as used in the States of Malaya and in Singapore, will shortly become available for issue in Sarawak and Sabah to replace the head-dress at present in use in these States.

Recruits from all four components are now being issued, whilst under training in the Police Depot, Kuala Lumpur, with uniform in accordance with one common scale of issue and design. Further standardisation will be effected as existing stocks of cloth for shorts, shirts, etc., are exhausted.

Sarawak State Police Board

5. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Home Affairs to state (a) the composition of the Sarawak State Police Board, (b) in view of the integration of the Sarawak Constabulary with the Royal Malaysia Police, when will the Sarawak State Police Board cease to exist, and what provisions are made in respect of Chief Inspectors of the Sarawak Constabulary for promotion to the first rung of the Gazetted rank.

Dato' Dr Ismail: (a) The composition of the Sarawak State Police Board

is as laid down in Article 57 (1) of the State Constitution and it comprises the following:

- (i) The Chairman of the State Public Services Commission;
- (ii) The State Attorney-General;
- (iii) The Senior Police Officer in the State; and
- (iv) a person designated by the Officer of Police in general command of the Police Force.

The Senior Police Officer in the State is the Commissioner, Sarawak Constabulary and with regard to the 4th member, the person designated by the Inspector-General of Police is the Assistant Commissioner of Police (Personnel) of the Headquarters of the Royal Malaysia Police in Kuala Lumpur.

(b) The function of the State Police Board is limited to the exercise of disciplinary control over Police Officers in the Sarawak State Service who by virtue of Article 55 (1) of the State Constitution became seconded to the Police Force of the Federation.

The function of this Board is a dying commitment. Police Officers, other than designated officers, in the Sarawak State Service who are seconded to the Federal Service have an option under paragraph 29 of the Annex B to the Malaysia Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee to transfer to the Federal Service. Further, new appointments to the Sarawak Constabulary after Malaysia day are automatically appointed to the Federal Service. The Board will therefore ultimately die of itself when there are no longer any Police Officers in the State Service. It could of course, at any time be abolished by the State Government, in which case the Police Force Commission would exercise under the provisions of section 57 (2) of the Malaysia Act, disciplinary control as well, over police officers of the Sarawak State Service who were seconded to the Federal Service.

Promotions are a matter for the Police Force Commission. The qualifications required of an Inspector (whether he is a Chief Inspector,

Senior Inspector or Inspector) in Sarawak before he can be considered for promotion to vacancies in the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police are that he must have passed the following examinations as prescribed in the Sarawak General Orders:

- (1) Paper D of the Lower Standard Examination in Malay;
- (2) The Higher Standard Examination in Malay; and
- (3) The First and Second Sections of the Law Examinations.

Since Malaysia Day, a Chief Inspector and a Senior Inspector of the Sarawak Constabulary have been promoted to the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police. Consideration will be given to a further two Chief Inspectors and five Senior Inspectors who are acting in the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police, as soon as they have completed the prescribed examinations.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Midwife's Clinics and Quarters in Sarawak

6. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Health to state whether his Ministry intends to provide midwife clinics and quarters in remote villages in Sarawak.

The Minister of Health (Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin): The provision of midwife's clinics and quarters in Sarawak is, under present arrangements the responsibility of the Local Councils which covers remote villages. However, consideration is being given to meeting, from Governments funds, fifty per cent of the capital cost of such clinics. A considerable number of such clinics has been recommended for inclusion in the first Malaysia Development Plan, 1966/70.

Salary Scales for Nurses in Sarawak

7. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Health to state whether Government would increase the present salary scales for nurses in Sarawak in order to attract girls into the profession.

Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin: As recently as 1963, the starting salary of Nurses and Hospital Assistants, after completion of their training, was raised from \$215 to \$290 per month. This substantial increase is considered adequate to attract girls into the Nursing profession, and there is at present no difficulty in filling vacancies for student nurses in Sarawak.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR

Employment and unemployment figures in Kuching, Sibü and Miri

8. Enche' Andrew Jika Landau asks the Minister of Labour to state in respect of Sarawak (a) the employment and unemployment figures in Kuching, Sibü and Miri, (b) whether the unemployed are given any financial assistance, (c) the functions of the State Labour Department in Kuching and (d) whether there is a Labour Exchange in the State.

The Minister of Labour (Enche' V. Manickavasagam): There is no information available on employment and unemployment in either of the places. Figures are, however, available in respect of employment in establishments employing 10 or more persons, namely, 13,044 in Kuching, 5,641 in Sibü and 4,939 in Miri and from the Registers of job seekers figures are only available on those seeking employment, namely, 510 in Kuching, 20 in Sibü.

No financial assistance has been given to the unemployed.

The State Labour Department in Kuching is responsible for enforcement of all the Labour Laws in the State of Sarawak, for maintaining and promoting industrial relations between workers and employers and for looking into the welfare and well-being of the workers.

There is no Employment Exchange in the State of Sarawak. The Department of Labour, however, maintains Registers for job seekers.

Singapore Trade Union Officials

9. Enche' Ahmad bin Haji Taff bertanya kepada Menteri Buroh ada-kah pegawai² Kesatuan Sekerja di-Singapura di-benar menjalankan gerakan² kesatuan sekerja di-Tanah Melayu, Sabah dan Sarawak.

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: Undang² Kesatuan Sekerja Tanah Melayu mensharatkan bahawa sa-saorang pegawai dalam sa-sabuah kesatuan sekerja mesti sudah bekerja sa-lama tiga tahun, dalam apa² perniagaan, pekerjaan atau perusahaan yang ada hubungan dengan kesatuan sekerja itu dan tidak kurang daripada dua pertiga daripada jumlah bilangan pegawai² dalam sa-sabuah kesatuan sekerja itu hendak-lah daripada pegawai² yang betul² telah bekerja dalam apa² perniagaan, pekerjaan atau perusahaan yang ada hubungan dengan kesatuan sekerja itu, kechuali setia²-usaha dan bendahari² yang bergaji dan tidak mempunyai kuasa mengundi, tidak dikenakan syarat demikian. Dari kerana itu sa-saorang pegawai kesatuan sekerja di-Singapura, tidak boleh menjalankan gerakan² kesatuan sekerja dalam Tanah Melayu sa-lain daripada menjadi setia-usaha atau bendahari yang bergaji. Pegawai yang bergaji demikian itu mesti-lah sa-orang warga-negara.

Undang² kesatuan sekerja di-Sabah dan Sarawak mensharatkan bahawa sa-saorang itu ada-lah tidak boleh di-pilih sa-bagai sa-orang pegawai jika pada lazim-nya dia tidak tinggal dalam Negeri itu sa-lama tiga tahun sa-belum daripada di-pilih menjadi pegawai, dan juga jika dia belum chukup tiga tahun sa-kurang²-nya bekerja dalam apa² perniagaan, pekerjaan atau perusahaan yang ada hubungan dengan kesatuan sekerja itu. Oleh kerana itu, sa-saorang pegawai kesatuan sekerja Singapura, tidak boleh menjalankan gerakan² kesatuan sekerja di-Sabah atau di-Sarawak.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

Pengambilan kakitangan² Kerajaan

10. Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya bertanya kepada Perdana Menteri ada-kah Kerajaan sedar bahawa pengambil-an orang² untuk memenohi jawatan² kosong dalam perkhidmatan Kerajaan sekarang sangat lengah di-jalankan, dan jika beliau sedar, apa-kah tindakan² yang Kerajaan berchadang hendak ambil atau yang telah di-ambil untuk memperbaiki keadaan ini.

Perdana Menteri: Soalan Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya itu adalah berhubung dengan soalan pengambilan kakitangan² Kerajaan dalam hal mana Surohanjaya Perkhidmatan 'Awam ada-lah bertanggung-jawab.

Surohanjaya ini hanya menjalankan tindakan untuk mengisi jawatan² kosong dalam perkhidmatan 'awam sa-telah menerima laporan mengenai kekosongan itu dan permohonan untuk mengisi-nya dari Ketua² Pejabat. Sa-telah permohonan itu di-terima, kekosongan² itu harus-lah di-i'klankan di-dalam akhbar² tempatan dan penapisan di-lakukan atas permohonan² yang di-terima supaya hanya chalun² yang ber-kelayakan sahaja di-panggil untuk di-temuduga. Permohonan² awal yang harus di-tapis itu kadang² meningkat sampai 1,000 atau lebeh. Langkah² yang di-jalankan itu ada-lah mengikut peratoran Perintah 'Am dan tidak boleh di-singkatkan begitu sahaja. Penyiasatan telah di-buat mengenai urusan pengambilan ini dan mengkaji perkara² yang telah di-terangkan. Tidak-lah dapat di-katakan bahawa kelengahan yang "considerable" telah berlaku bahkan masa yang di-ambil itu hanya-lah masa yang sa-mesti-nya di-ambil dengan mengikut peratoran² pengambilan yang wajib, malah Surohanjaya Perkhidmatan 'Awam telah pun chuba menjalankan peratoran² itu dalam masa yang sa-sinkat²-nya.