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Wednesday
24th February, 1960

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

CONTENTS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [Col. 1899]

MOTIONS—

Working Conditions in the Port of Penang [Col. 1901]

Labour Day [Col. 1919]

The Saturday Post (Motion Withdrawn) [Col. 1938]

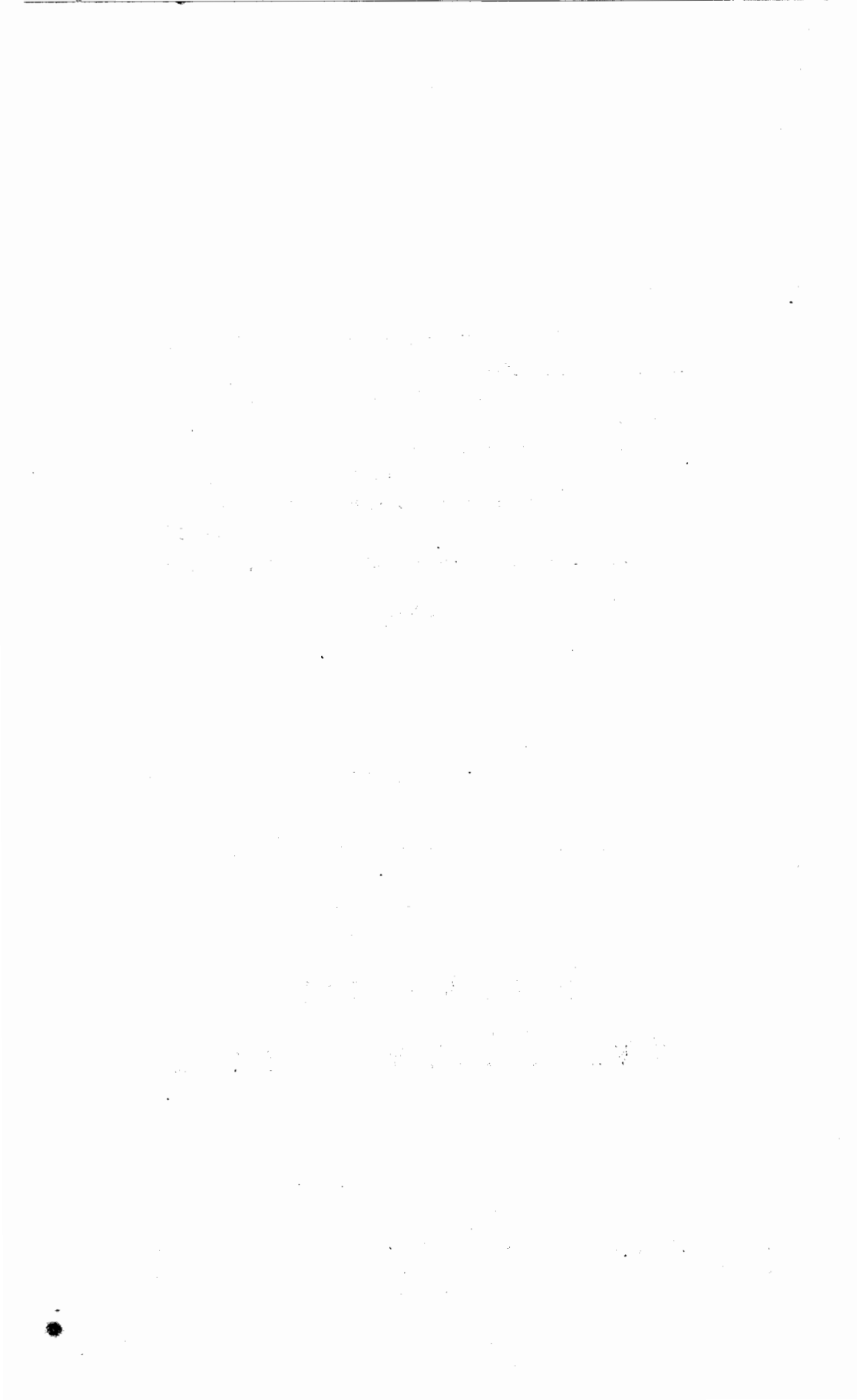
**Appointment of a Committee to consider the recent
increase in Taxation [Col. 1939]**

Nationality of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu [Col. 1956]

ADJOURNMENT SPEECHES [Col. 1990]

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

Official Report

First Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

Wednesday, 24th February, 1960

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

PRESENT:

The Honourable Mr. Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR,
S.P.M.J., P.I.S., J.P.

- „ the Prime Minister, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA
AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence,
TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of External Affairs, DATO' DR. ISMAIL BIN
DATO' ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Johore Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, MR. TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Malacca
Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE'
ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).
- „ the Minister of Transport, ENCHE' SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR
(Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, DATO' ONG YOKE
LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, ENCHE' MOHAMED
KHIR BIN JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN
(Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI
TALIB (Kuantan).
- „ TUAN SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, J.M.N., Assistant
Minister (Johore Tenggara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN,
J.M.N., J.P., Assistant Minister (Batang Padang).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN, Assistant
Minister (Kota Star Utara).
- „ MR. CHEAH THEAM SWEE, Assistant Minister (Bukit
Bintang).
- „ MR. V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K., Assistant Minister
(Klang).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF, Assistant
Minister (Jerai).

- The Honourable ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Malacca Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN (Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungei Patani).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI ABDUL RAOF (Kuala Kangsar).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., P.I.S. (Segamat Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN MOHAMED SHAH, S.M.J. (Johore Bharu Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID (Seberang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN HAJI YUSOF (Krian Darat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AZAHARI BIN HAJI IBRAHIM (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ DR. BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- „ MR. CHAN CHONG WEN (Kluang Selatan).
- „ MR. CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ MR. CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- „ MR. CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).
- „ MR. V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- „ MR. GEH CHONG KEAT (Penang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N. (Kapar).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N. (Kulim Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH (Baling).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN PILUS (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ TUAN HAJI HASAN ADLI BIN HAJI ARSHAD (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI HASSAN BIN HAJI AHMAD (Tumpat).
- „ ENCHE' HASSAN BIN MANSOR (Malacca Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN (Raub).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).
- „ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- „ MR. K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- „ CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDIK (Dungun).
- „ MR. LEE SAN CHOON (Kluang Utara).
- „ MR. LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ MR. LEE SIOK YEW (Sepang).
- „ MR. LIM JOO KONG (Alor Star).
- „ MR. LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ DR. LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ MR. LIU YOONG PENG (Rawang).

The Honourable Mr. T. MAHIMA SINGH (Port Dickson).

- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jejebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED DAHARI BIN HAJI MOHD. ALI (Kuala Selangor).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED NOR BIN MOHD. DAHAN (Ulu Perak).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED HANIFAH BIN HAJI ABDUL GHANI, P.J.K. (Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED SULONG BIN MOHD. ALI, J.M.N. (Lipis).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- „ MR. NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- „ DATO' ONN BIN JA'AFAR, D.K., D.P.M.J. (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Perlis Utara).
- „ MR. QUEK KAI DONG (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ MR. SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- „ MR. D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ MR. S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, S.M.J., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ TUAN SYED HASHIM BIN SYED AJAM, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI (Larut Utara).
- „ MR. TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ MR. TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Malacca).
- „ MR. TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- „ MR. TAN TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- „ TENGKU INDRA PETRA IBNI SULTAN IBRAHIM, J.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ MR. V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).
- „ MR. WOO SAIK HONG (Telok Anson).
- „ ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).
- „ MR. YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- „ MR. YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
- „ HAJJAH ZAIN BINTI SULAIMAN (Pontian Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB (Langat).
- „ ENCHE' ZULKIFLEE BIN MUHAMMAD (Bachok).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications,
DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungei Siput).
 „ the Minister of the Interior, **DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' ABDUL RAHMAN**, P.M.N. (Muar Selatan).
 „ **ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM** (Setapak).
 „ **DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM**, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).
 „ **MR. KANG KOCK SENG** (Batu Pahat).
 „ **MR. KHONG KOK YAT** (Batu Gajah).

IN ATTENDANCE:

The Honourable the Minister of Justice, **TUN LEONG YEW KOH**, S.M.N.

PRAYERS

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

ADJOURNMENT *SINE DIE*

(Motion)

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That at its rising this day the House do stand adjourned *sine die*.

The Deputy Prime Minister: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That at its rising this day the House do stand adjourned *sine die*.

ORAL ANSWERS TO
QUESTIONSFEDERATION OF MALAYA
ANNUAL REPORT

1. **Mr. V. David** asked the Minister of the Interior why the Federation of Malaya Annual Report for 1958 has not been published.

The Assistant Minister of the Interior (Enche' Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof): It is the custom in all the British dependent territories for an Annual Report to be submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. Before Merdeka this procedure was adopted in Malaya and, in view of the fact that this country only achieved independence in August, 1957, it was decided to produce an Annual Report for that year, though of course, it was not submitted to the Secretary of

State for the Colonies. This Report appeared in the course of the year 1958.

In view of the changed international status of Malaya, it is no longer appropriate to preserve this legacy of Colonial days, and it has accordingly been decided that the system of Annual Reports should be discontinued. It is, however, proposed to produce in the near future work of reference entitled "The Malaya Yearbook", which will be more in keeping with the independent status of the Federation. It is of course intended that a fresh edition of the Yearbook will appear annually to ensure that its information is kept up to date. The Honourable Member will, I am sure, appreciate the reason for this change unless, of course, he is a convinced supporter of Colonial practice.

Mr. V. David: Can the Honourable Assistant Minister say what time the Yearbook is expected to be out?

Enche' Mohamed Ismail: I have already given the assurance, Sir, in my answer just now.

Mr. V. David: I have merely asked when this Yearbook will come out, in 1960 or 1961?

Enche' Mohamed Ismail: During the course of this year, Sir.

THE WAGES COMMISSION—
REPORT

2. **Mr. V. David** asked the Prime Minister why the findings of the Wages Commission have not been published, and if he will state when they will be published.

The Prime Minister: The Government has not received the report from the Commission yet, but I can assure this House that as soon as the report is received it will be published.

Mr. V. David: Would the Honourable Prime Minister tell us how long will it take approximately?

The Prime Minister: It is difficult to say because this report is very complicated. We have to deal with eleven States and until this matter has been cleared with all the eleven States it is not possible to say when we will receive it. But I can assure the Honourable Member that I have urged upon the States to treat this as a matter of absolute urgency and I hope to be able to receive a reply in due course.

MOTIONS

WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE PORT OF PENANG

Mr. V. David (Bungsar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the motion standing in my name,

That in view of the unsatisfactory industrial relations and poor working conditions existing in the port of Penang which may affect the efficiency of the port and thereby the trade and industrial development of this country as a whole, a Special Committee be appointed to investigate and make such recommendations for the improvement of the industrial relations and the poor working conditions at Penang as the Special Committee may consider desirable.

While moving this motion, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make certain references from international reports which should be of great value to this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to draw attention to the decline of the Penang Port through successive past Governments' neglect of the facilities. The only free port in the Federation of Malaya is threatened by strangulation resulting from continued developments in the ports in the region. Neglect has not only affected operations at the port but also the livelihood of the people who depend upon the efficient operation of the port.

When Sir Eric Millbourn was commissioned to investigate into the labour situation and administration of Port Swettenham in 1957 the Government

was requested to extend the same Commission to Penang, but it was turned down. Sir Eric made a number of sweeping recommendations, but implementation has been delayed by Government. One good outcome of the inquiry was the setting up of the Joint Industrial Council at Port Swettenham in last September. Port Swettenham has made a start but it is really disappointing that nothing has been done for Penang. Sir, I do not agree completely with the report of Sir Eric Millbourn, but certain of his recommendations, for a start, would be of great value to this country.

For many years to come Penang will remain the premier port of Malaya serving the region. The facilities at Penang have to be modernised, formal industrial relations machinery established and successfully operated. Any delay in the development of Penang Port will be detrimental to the whole economy of Malaya. There has been considerable deterioration in the labour situation at Penang. This is due to the absence of a properly constituted Joint Industrial Council.

The imports and exports of Penang far exceed those of Port Swettenham. The ships calling and the labour involved at Penang are also far in excess of those at Port Swettenham.

For several decades in Penang dock contractors supplying labour have been running a racket, not a trade. Contractors with little or no capital exploited labour at the port. They had no conscience. Their only object has been excessive easy profits at the expense of reasonable working conditions, welfare facilities, amenities and fair wages. The contractors untrammelled by the changing face of labour in other industries and trade have non-chalantly continued in their grasping tactics. They completely ignored labour. The contract system is an evil which should have been stamped out a long time ago.

The dock worker does not work alone, as an individual. In order to transfer cargo from the ship to the pier and *vice versa*, the workers are organised into gangs, and definite functions are allocated to the separate groups of workers on the pier, secondly on the deck and thirdly in the hold of the ship.

Although beams and winches, cranes, belt conveyors, tractors and other mechanical appliances have considerably reduced the amount of physical labour in the developed ports, it is not the case in Malaya. Dock workers are an outstanding example of casual employment, for they get work only for the period the ships remain in port, and a varying number of ships may arrive and leave the port every day, and at any hour of the day or night. A storm at sea may delay an expected arrival. Unlike most casual employment dock workers are employed not on a full day basis but by the hour and only where and when actually needed.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali (Larut Utara): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Saya suka mēnarek pērhatian tuan Standing Orders 35 (6). Saya nampak tērang² Ahli Yang Bērhormat itu mēmbacha.

Mr. Speaker: Saya tak nampak Ahli Yang Bērhormat itu mēmbacha dēngan mēngangkat surat ka-atas. Carry on.

Mr. V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret the observations made by the Honourable Member.

Mr. Speaker: Please proceed.

Mr. V. David: Thank you, Sir. (Laughter).

One of the biggest strikes Malaya witnessed since the Emergency Regulations of 1948 was the water-front strike at Penang which lasted from 23rd May to 25th May, 1956. More than 2,000 workers were forced and driven in despair to resort to a strike action in order to redress their grievances. From the time the Penang Port came into existence the labour force had been treated as slaves. For decades the right of workers have been undermined by self-interested contractors. During these years contractors have made millions through the sweat and tears of the workers.

In 1956 the National Union of Factory and General Workers, taking note of the serious plight of the dock workers, began to move cautiously in bringing these workers under its fold. After considerable period and strenuous efforts, at the end of April, 1956, the

National Union of Factory and General Workers successfully enlisted the workers in the union.

The long frustrated workers were now looking forward to see a new change in their livelihood. During May a set of claims were submitted to individual contractors, which reminded me of the claims submitted by the General Labour Union in London for dock workers in 1889—such as six pence an hour, special payment for overtime, the abolition of sub-contracting and piece work and that four hours (or a half shift) should be the minimum period of employment.

The contractors treated the claims in an antagonistic attitude and showed hostility towards the maintenance of industrial peace. After a series of negotiations the employers showed reluctance to move forward to meet the minimum requirements of the Union's claims on behalf of the workers.

The Union after failing all avenues was forced to resort to strike action on 23rd May, 1956. The strike of 2,000 workers continued for 3 days completely crippling the Penang Port. The strike ended on 25th May, 1956, by the Penang Stevedoring Employers' Association granting a wage increase ranging from \$1.50 to \$2.00 and other concessions and signing an agreement with the union on 26th May, 1956. This sizeable increment in wages itself showed that workers have been underpaid.

An agreement was entered into on 4th June, 1956, with the employers and the employees. Within a few days the employers broke many of the clauses of the agreement and attempted to destroy the union and even undermine the movement. On the very heels of signing the Agreement they began systematically to victimize permanent labour under some pretext or other and recruited fresh inexperienced and even unsuitable labour without realising the detrimental effects such recruitment would have on the efficient running of the tidal port. Further, these contractors also, for purposes of effective propaganda against the union, applied the newly agreed wage rates to only a certain

racial group and attempted to pursue a policy of discrimination against another racial group which pre-dominated the union rank and file. They even, I am sure, intimidated the workers. The obvious intention underlying this move was to make it appear to the public and government that the pre-dominant group was pursuing an inconsistent trade union policy and practice, and to further allege that such group was adopting a "go slow" policy at the port.

This fresh labour force which they were engaging daily in small numbers caused an adverse influence in the dock generally and in the Indian Labour Company in particular. While work was provided to those newcomers, sixty workers per day were turned away in order successfully to enforce their retrograde policy and evade the implementation of the new agreement reached between the union and the contractors. By a subtle process of unscrupulous tactics they succeeded within a few days of signing the agreement in the complete elimination of the permanent labour force and members of the union and successfully enlisted the support and sympathy of a influential organisations of a particular community although the union gave no cause of reason for such an uncalled for introduction. This statement of mine is evidenced by the fact that they never made any attempts as such to specifically point out the lapses, if any. Neither did they care to remedy and adjust the relationship in spite of any shortcomings on either side.

With regard to the supply of food it was found that the quality and quantity deteriorated instead of improving as agreed in the terms of the agreement. In order to prove this point the union took a certain workman's lunch to the Deputy Commissioner for labour, who was then Mr. Dunlop, and to the then Assistant Trade Union Adviser, Penang, who was Mr. Tharmalingam, and I am sure that both, if called upon, would testify to the truth of the case.

Not being satisfied with the categorical breach of the agreement the employers went a step further and incited the workers to violence with

a view to shifting the responsibility to the union officials and the dominant racial group. This trap set by them was discovered in good time by the union. It took prompt action in restraining the members concerned from resorting to violence and retaliation even under grave and sudden provocation. In other words the National Union of Factory and General Workers saved the unscrupulous contractors from being recorded in the history as those responsible for using communal weapons to resolve Trade Union matters. The union even refrained from providing stimulus and material for communal organisations against Trade Unions and labour practices.

The demand of the Port Workers is not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of a system which encourages man-to-man exploitation. The efficiency of the Penang Port is at stake and no improvement can be achieved until we have a contented labour force. For this I would like to quote an example by referring to a motion accepted by the International Labour Organisation, Hamburg, during its sixth session from 11th to 22nd March, 1957. It reads as follows:

"Having discussed methods of improving organisation of work and output in ports on the basis of the report prepared on the subject by the International Labour Office, and

Being convinced on the need to speed up the turn-round of shipping and to improve efficiency in ports in the interests of ship-owners, port employers, port authorities, dock workers and the community as a whole".

Adopts this 22nd day of March, 1957, the following resolution:

"The Governing Body of the International Labour Office is invited to communicate the suggestion concerning methods of improving organisation of work and output in ports appended to this resolution to all governments of States, Members of the International Labour Organisation, with the request that these suggestions be transmitted to port authorities, employers' and workers' organisation, and all others concerned with cargo handling in ports".

Circumstances vary greatly from one port to another and measures to be taken to improve the organisation of

work and output in ports vary considerably according to the conditions obtaining in the different countries and also in the different ports in each country. The suggestions made below concern certain measures which might serve as guidance to port authorities, employers' and workers' organisations, and all others who are called upon to deal with cargo handling in ports in the different countries, each in so far as—in accordance with the circumstances obtaining in their particular port—they may be concerned. In making use of these suggestions, it may be necessary to take into account the administrative organisation of the port concerned, national habits and customs and types of cargo handled.

It is desirable that a concentrated effort be made to introduce practicable methods of improving organisation of work and output in ports with a view of speeding up the turn-round of ships. A quicker turn-round of ships can make a substantial contribution to raising general economic efficiency. This increased productivity can and should be achieved through the use of improved methods rather than by excessive effort. Such improvements are expected to stimulate better social standards in which dock workers would have their fair share.

Sound labour-management relations based on economic co-operation and mutual understanding in any programme designed to improve the organisation of work and output in ports are necessary.

Fear of unemployment, under-employment and loss of earnings is often the cause of resistance to methods of improving organisation of work and output.

There is constant defrauding of "Workmen's Compensation" at the Penang Port for the workers by the contractors—if the Government were to go through records of reports made to the Labour Department of accidents in the years 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959, I am sure you will see how many have benefited and how many have not benefited—for the simple reason that

the employers do not have the employees' names in the books though they may have been employed in the docks for decades. Many have sacrificed their lives due to lack of safety precautions at the docks. So far I am not aware that there is any provision for welfare facilities for the workers at the ports.

Majority of them being casual workers, Employees Provident Fund contributions are not made in accordance with the requirements of the Employees Provident Fund Ordinance. A contractor may employ five hundred workers but only 15 of them would be in his records the rest regarded as casual and therefore deprived of Employees Provident Fund contributions. If the Government takes into account the number of workers generally engaged in the various work at the ports and examine the Employees Provident Fund contributions paid, it would prove beyond doubt that the contractors have not only been defrauding the workers but also the Government. For the protection of workers' welfare, I will quote below a declaration of policy adopted by the Inland Transport Committee, Fifth Session, in Geneva in 1954:

"The Committee considers that it would be possible, by providing suitable welfare facilities for dockers, to minimise the effects of certain conditions which are inherent in dock work, such as irregularity of employment, irregular hours, waiting time, exposure to inclement weather, the handling of dangerous goods, etc. Every welfare facility, moreover, helps to attract and to retain the necessary manpower, to develop industrial and human relations in the docks, to reduce the incidence of ill-health and the consequences of accidents and, as a result, to ensure higher productivity in the form of quicker turn-round of ships. Therefore, welfare facilities for dockers should be considered a normal feature of a port."

Welfare facilities in ports should be surveyed from time to time by bodies specially appointed for the purpose and composed of people conversant with welfare facilities provided for workers in other industries and in foreign ports. Responsibility for welfare arrangements should rest with special committees set up by the parties concerned and, where it is customary for it to concern itself with the matter, the Government.

Where individual employers cannot provide the necessary facilities, they should act in association. Dockers should have the opportunity of freely voicing their complaints and these should be investigated.

The welfare facilities must comprise waiting rooms and suitable premises in which workers may take their meals. Meals and refreshments of good quality and at fair and reasonable prices should be supplied on a non-profit-making basis. In cold weather and on night shifts hot meals should be provided. There must be good washing facilities and, for workers handling dirty or noxious cargo, hot showerbaths. Rooms with lockers for changing clothes and sufficient toilet facilities must also be available.

At or near every dock or wharf at which work is in progress, arrangements must be made for rendering rapid first-aid, in case of accident, by trained persons. Medical centres and dispensaries are a commendable feature, and thought should be given to making them available also to the members of the dockers' families. Dockers should be provided with protective clothing and equipment, such as masks or goggles, when handling certain cargoes.

Recreation, education and social life should not be overlooked.

The system of picking labourers at Penang Port to work in a ship is very peculiar. Workers are usually picked through the *serangs*. The labourer who desires to have a job, in the first place, must be in the good books of the *serang*. That is, he must pay him a percentage from his earnings, and offer free drinks whenever the *serang* wishes to have them. If the labourer fails to fulfil these obligations to the *serang* then the chances of obtaining a job for the whole month is remote. When workers assemble the men are picked at the will and pleasure of the *serangs*. This method encourages corruption and leads to the adoption of underhand methods. Therefore guaranteed wage and employment is necessary in the port to protect against corruption, and as such I will quote an extract from the policy statement adopted at the Regional Dockers Conference of the

Inland Transport Federation held in Amsterdam, February, 1955. It says:

"The Conference reaffirms its faith in the principle of the decasualization of dock labour. It is of the opinion shared in responsible employer and governmental circles, that the regularization of employment of dock labour is not only a matter of social justice, but also makes for the efficiency and productivity of the industry where the principle is correctly applied."

It recalls the comprehensive resolution on the question of the decasualization of dock labour which was adopted by the Third Session of the Inland Transport Committee of the International Labour Organisation (Brussels, May 1949), and formulates the following basic principles, in so far as not applied already, for incorporation in regional dock labour schemes:

- (i) Employment in the dock industry shall be normally confined to registered dock labour.
- (ii) Registration under a dock labour scheme shall constitute an employment contract enforceable at law.
- (iii) The contracting organisation of dock labour shall be represented, on an equal footing with management, on bodies supervising dock labour schemes, especially on bodies concerned with fixing and supervising the size and composition of the port labour force, administering discipline, etc.
- (iv) Dock labour schemes shall provide for guaranteed minimum payments (daily and weekly) for dock workers who conform to the requirements thereunder, such payments to guarantee a minimum income of not less than eighty per cent of the standard weekly pay of a fully employed dock workers.
- (v) Unregistered labour shall be employed through the same channels as registered labour and only in so far as the latter is not available.

Co-Management—the Conference expresses the view that recognition of the principle of co-management in both

the social and the economic spheres can play a role of the first importance in promoting harmonious labour-management relations and increasing the productivity and efficiency of port operations.

The case of co-management is particularly evident in the social sphere where the interests of labour are direct, but appropriate representation of labour and its accredited organisations can also make a valuable contribution in the economic sphere where smooth co-operation between the factors of industry is equally essential.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, at Penang Port if a stevedore completes 10 shifts he is issued with a chit when leaving the vessel which indicates the amount of wage he is entitled for the work done. The wage to this labourer usually is not paid in time. In such a case he is forced to go to an agent of the contractor who would exchange money for the chit by deducting 20 cents per shift making a profit of \$2 for 10 shifts. This is a true picture of how the working-class are being exploited at Penang Port.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Indian Labour Company is the biggest contracting firm in Penang. This company has been in monopoly of the port for many years. It is more or less a family concern where it goes from father to son. It is common sense for the average man to know in the first place whether there has been proper and efficient administration at the port, or not. Until 1958 no tender was called for the allocation of contracts. It is almost shocking and inexplicable how the Indian Labour Company has acquired permanent sole monopoly for supplying labour at the port.

There is a wide scope for the government to save millions of dollars by eliminating the middle-man system which degrades the integrity and dignity of modern society. According to the agreements between the so-called contractors, the Port Commission or the Shipping Companies, the contractors are supposed to provide 15 men for a gang. But at times only 7 to 8 men work in a gang though the contractors will bill the Port Commission and the Shipping

Companies for 15 men. Mal-practices of this nature will undoubtedly continue until and unless steps are taken to do away with the contract system to which I refer as the middle-man system.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no intention to question the integrity and dignity of the members who serve on the Port Commission, but at the same time I cannot avoid making observations in the interests of the people of this country. I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention that vested interests play a major part in the functions of the Port Commission. Adequate representations and recognition have been given to vested interests on the Commission while ignoring the working masses who are responsible for the privileges enjoyed by the people in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sir Eric Millbourn has stated in his report that if the trade and commerce of Malaya should progress as seems most likely, it will be extremely important to make the fullest and most efficient use of all available ports. I should emphasise too that the shipping and the services it receives in themselves are an economic asset and one which, if properly developed, can contribute much to the commercial life of this country. Streamline administration and good labour relations are essential to have an efficient port service and therefore I invite this House to support my motion.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would ask the House to consider that the immediate requirements embodied in my motion is that the integration of a maximum efficiency in the operations of the port to stimulate an overall economy of Malaya. Secondly, development and modernisation of the facilities of the Port to meet present and long-term needs. Thirdly, the regulation for fair and stable employment conditions for the port workers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my motion, has clearly indicated that an investigation should be carried out and recommendations must be made for the improvement of industrial relations and poor working conditions. Sir, I am calling upon a special committee because a port administration cannot

be dealt by ordinary people and it needs technical advisers who really know the job. And before the situation at the port deteriorate, I would request that a special committee be appointed in order to study the position existing and to make recommendations as to where the Government could make rectification. Thank you.

Mr. Tan Phock Kim: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the motion, reserving my right to speak at a later stage.

The Minister of Labour (Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that Motion No. 12 standing in the name of the Hon'ble Member for Bungsar be amended as follows:

- (i) by the deletion of the words "unsatisfactory industrial relations and poor working conditions existing" and the substitution therefor of the words "fact that no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of the remuneration of workers employed in stevedoring, cargo handling and lighterage operations";
- (ii) by the deletion of the words "A Special Committee be appointed to investigate and make such recommendations for the improvement of the industrial relations and the poor working conditions at Penang as the Special Committee may consider desirable" and the substitution therefor of the words "the question whether 'a Wages Council should be established with respect to any of those workers and their employers' be referred to a Commission of Enquiry under the Wages Councils Ordinance".

My reason, Sir, for moving this amendment is that the motion in its present form rests on an assumption which is not entirely supported by facts, and proposes the establishment of a committee outside the normal administrative machinery although adequate statutory provision already exists for making the investigations and recommendations envisaged in the Motion.

First, the motion states that unsatisfactory industrial relations exist at the Port of Penang. It is difficult to understand how the Hon'ble Member for Bungsar arrives at this conclusion when records prove that there has been industrial peace in Penang Port for at least five years with the exception of two strikes, one in 1956 and one in 1957 resulting in a total of 4,219 man-days being lost. It is admitted that man-days lost on strikes do not always give a complete picture of industrial relations but at the same time I feel that we should be proud of our record of peace in industry at the Penang Port in particular and also in all other ports throughout the Federation of Malaya.

In addition, joint consultation in its fullest sense has been in operation for some time between the Penang Port Commission and its direct employees. Therefore it cannot be accepted that unsatisfactory industrial relations exist in every part of the Port of Penang at the present time. In some spheres of port operation industrial relations are unfortunately less advanced but officers of my Ministry are continuously endeavouring to assist in the improvement of these relations. This work of course is not confined to Penang Port but relates to industry of all kinds throughout the Federation.

Over the years the Government has been giving considerable thought to the question of labour relations and conditions of employment at the Port of Penang and it does appear from available information that conditions of employment and general working conditions for employees engaged in stevedoring, cargo handling and lighterage operations may require reviewing. Because of this and also because of the lack of proper organisations on the employees' side I as Minister of Labour am prepared to set up a Commission of Inquiry under Section 5 of the Wages Councils Ordinance, 1947, to ascertain whether or not a Wages Council should be introduced for categories of workers employed in stevedoring, cargo handling and lighterage operations at the Port of Penang.

The Minister of Transport (Enche' Sardon): Sir, I beg to second the amendment moved by my Hon'ble Colleague,

the Minister of Labour, which is to the effect that an inquiry should be undertaken under statutory provision which already exists.

The Port of Penang has a good reputation in shipping circles for the expedition with which cargoes are handled. This is due in large measure to its flexibility. Numerous facilities exist from which shippers and importers can choose. Private enterprise plays a major part in the operation of the port. The Penang Port Commission, over which the Minister of Transport has general powers of direction, handles in fact less than 50% of the tonnage passing through the Port. The Commission has certain general duties laid upon it by its Ordinance, the principal of which is responsibility for the co-ordination and development of the port as a whole. But it is not required to exercise detailed control over the operations of private enterprise.

For this reason, knowledge is to some extent lacking regarding the conditions of employment current in the port's various activities, and it may well be that these require review. The first thing to do, however, is to establish the facts, and an investigation on the lines proposed by my Hon'ble Colleague would do this. A diagnosis precedes a doctor's prescription.

Sir, I have recently visited Penang to study the operation of the Port and am satisfied that the proposal put up by my colleague, the Minister of Labour, will be the best way to tackle the problem.

Amendment proposed.

Mr. V. David: Mr. Speaker, before we discuss the amendment, I like to have certain clarifications about the amendment proposed by the Honourable Minister.

Mr. Speaker: You have the right to speak on the amendment.

Mr. V. David: On a point of clarification, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: You must address the Speaker. I am in the Chair still.

Mr. V. David: Yes, Sir. The amendment states that the question whether a Wages Council should be established

with respect to any of those workers be referred to a Commission of Enquiry established under the Wages Councils Ordinance. Does it cover casual and contract labour?

Mr. Speaker: Have you got any more questions to ask.

Mr. V. David: No, Sir.

Enche' Bahaman: Sir, the reference to "workers" covers all aspects of labour.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin (Tanjong): Mr. Speaker, I like to speak on this particular amendment.

The mover of the motion has put forward various points with regard to why we require a Committee of Inquiry, and it was pointed out by the Honourable Minister of Labour that there is already statutory provision for such a thing. The explanation is by no means very clear, and in the course of his speech, the Minister put forward various propositions. First of all, he disagreed with the motion that there are unsatisfactory labour conditions, and he went on to elaborate the point that labour conditions are satisfactory because there were no strikes. That may not be quite correct. There may not be any strike because it is difficult to organise trade unions, because there is no organization to represent the labourers. As we all are aware, the National Union of Factory and General Workers has been closed down, and as a result the workers are without an organisation to represent them, and because of that, there may not be any collective action on the part of the workers.

Secondly, the Minister of Transport stated that he has been to Penang—perhaps for a day or two—and he says that he has investigated into affairs pertaining to the port, and that he is fully satisfied. I am afraid, Sir, that the explanation put forward is by no means satisfactory, but we on this side can appreciate the fact that the Ministry is trying to do something to assist in this particular matter. But I like to point out that the statutory authority given to the Wages Council may be limited in scope, as it is pointed out here by the mover of this motion that

the crux of the problem lies in contract labour. It lies in the fact that the employer of labour is a contractor. In the past, he enjoyed the privilege of not being required to put in a tender every year, but now that tender is being called for every year we may not have a continuity of employer. So, in the light of that, even with machinery for joint consultation there may be the difficulty of not having one employer all the time. So, with the change in employers there is likelihood of changes in conditions of employment. If only the Minister can give us an assurance that this particular investigating body has the right to go into the problem and to make recommendation to do away with the contract system, and perhaps the power to recommend for the setting up of a Board so that the employment of labour in the port can be the responsibility of a Board, I think the mover of the motion can consider accepting it.

Mr. Speaker: (To Enche' Bahaman) Do you want to say anything?

Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin: Sir, in the amended motion it is stated: "... a Wages Council should be established with respect to any of those workers and their employers ...". "Their employers" includes the contractors and their employers. So there is no need for me to give an assurance because "employers" are already mentioned there—investigation into the working conditions both of the workers and the employers, and it is up to the Commission appointed to investigate and put up recommendations and not for me. It is all provided in this amended motion.

Mr. V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am the mover of the original motion and I disagree with certain things which have been said by the Honourable Minister such as that no unsatisfactory conditions are prevailing in the Penang port. I cannot see eye to eye with him on that because unsatisfactory conditions are not a new thing in Penang port. It has been in existence for decades, and I myself was the General Secretary of the Union which was involved in the dispute with the employers organisation at Penang port.

Every time the Union made endeavours to prevent an industrial dispute and made attempts to use the collective bargaining means the employers refused to accede and they always treated the Union with hostility. Therefore, the argument here that there are no unsatisfactory working conditions in Penang port cannot be accepted. The other thing is that we have so many employers—and contractors—who have defrauded the Government by not contributing to the Employees Provident Fund, and also towards Workmens compensation. They can easily get away from these for the very reason that these casual workers are not properly registered in the Register Book and any check made by the Department of Labour cannot ascertain whether these people are employed by the contractors or not. However, since the Minister has given assurance that he will examine the overall administration of the Penang port—and I hope that will also include in the terms of reference—I have no alternative, since if it is put to vote naturally it will be steam-rolled. (Laughter). I think, therefore, that it would be better for me to accept the Minister's amendment, but I once again seek an assurance from the Honourable Minister that the Commission will be given wide terms of reference whereby they can study the overall administration of the port and make recommendations which could rectify the present situation.

Enche' Sardon: On a point of explanation, I think it is not relating to the working of the port, but the labourers who are employed in the private enterprises in the Penang port. As far as the Penang Port Commission is concerned, there is an Ordinance and we have rules and regulations. Please don't mistake that point.

Mr. V. David: When I say the Administration I refer to the contractors who are related to the Administration because the Administration of the Port Commission pays the contractors and the contractors, in turn, pay the casual workers, and when we talk about contractors naturally the Port Commission will have to come in.

Mr. Speaker: Although the amendment is accepted by the mover of the original motion, I have to put it to the House.

Amendment put, and agreed to.

Original question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That in view of the fact that no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of the remuneration of workers employed in stevedoring, cargo handling and lighterage operations in the port of Penang which may affect the efficiency of the port and thereby the trade and industrial development of this country as a whole, the question whether a Wages Council should be established with respect to any of those workers and their employers be referred to a Commission of Enquiry under the Wages Council Ordinance.

LABOUR DAY

Mr. V. David (Bangsar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following motion—

That the 1st of May be considered "Labour Day" and that it be declared a public holiday.

While moving this motion, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make certain observations as to how May Day is celebrated in other countries, and also what are the misconceptions in the minds of the Malayan people. There are, Sir, wide and considerable misconceptions rooted in the minds of the Malayan people that May Day was originated from Russia and that it is a Communist celebration. To these uninformed people I would like to go further in giving the historical significance of May Day.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the celebration of May Day is a "festival of labour" did not originate in Russia. The custom came from the Continent of Europe where May Day was a colourful spring festival celebrated on the first day of each May by the peasants. It marked the beginning of summer which, for centuries has been greeted with spontaneous rejoicings and magical fertility rights intended to ensure a plentiful harvest. The chief event of the day was the crowning of the prettiest girl in the district as a May Queen. Later this was followed by a decision taken by an International Working-class Congress

held in Paris in 1889 to organise a great International Demonstration on a fixed date, and another taken in 1891 to ensure that a demonstration was held regularly on May 1st.

The adoption of May 1st as the fixed date was largely due to American influence. American unions had in 1884 and 1885 carried a resolution under the terms of which "the working day would be fixed at eight hours dating from May 1st, 1886". Then in 1888 the newly formed American Federation of Labour which is to-day called the A.F.L. and C.I.O., declared May 1st, 1890, to be the occasion for a fresh demonstration in favour of an eight hour day. The resolution adopted at the 1889 International Socialist Congress in Paris specifically mentioned this decision in the U.S.A.

Though representatives of the British Labour Movement were not intimately involved in making these decisions, the idea of a May Day festival of labour took on in this country and developed considerably in the period following World War I.

Workers in a number of countries celebrate "May Day" on May the 1st. Among these countries are Britain, Australia, France, Belgium and Sweden. I would like to quote how in each country celebrations are held.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in Australia May Day is observed as a statutory public holiday and also in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. The celebration of "Labour Day" varies from State to State. In New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania awards, determinations and agreements generally prescribe "Labour Day" as a holiday without deduction in the pay-roll. In South Australia if the contract of hiring is by the week an employee is entitled to payment for holiday, but not otherwise except by special contract between the parties.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in Canada Labour Day is so generally looked upon as a national holiday that employees, whether they are paid a salary or are on an hourly basis, have experienced very little difficulty in the past few years in collecting their regular pay covering

this day. An employer could, however, refuse to pay, provided of course that this was not covered in a collective labour agreement between himself and his employees represented by the union.

In France the 1st May, from 1946, is an official paid holiday, declared by the Government, the expenses to be borne by the employers in private industries. The question is still open whether the employers will have the financial burden of this paid holiday refunded by the Government out of a compensation fund into which the employers will have to contribute.

The same position as in France exists in Belgium.

In Singapore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, May Day is a public holiday. It is not very far; it is just across 250 miles.

In Sweden, Sir, May Day became a statutory paid holiday from 1st January, 1939. Employees who are paid weekly or monthly are fully paid on May Day just as on all other holidays, unless it falls on a Sunday. Prior to 1939 between 800,000 and 900,000 organised workers already had May Day as a paid holiday through their collective agreements, represented by unions.

The principles and objectives of the Malayan Constitution are consistent with democratic ideals, social justice and individual freedom. Mr. Speaker, Sir, national freedom and so on are all manifestations of democratic freedom. Therefore, let there be none amongst us who seek to amend or modulate the principles and the objectives of our Constitution. Nevertheless, Malaya is an infant nation and Malaya has an important role to play in world affairs. We workers have a special contribution to make towards solid nation-building. Malaya to-day is a full-fledged member of the United Nations. As a member she has international obligations to honour and preserve the declaration of Human Rights which is the paramount symbol of freedom of assembly, freedom of thought and the freedom of expression. The Malayan Trade Union Congress is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Malayan Government fully recognises the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. I would now quote

a May Day message from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, issued in the year 1956. It is as follows:

"May Day is the worker's own day of remembrance and celebration. It is the day on which they solemnly bow their heads in memory of the countless pioneers whose unstinting sacrifice made possible labour's present achievements. It is also the day on which they look bravely to the future and voice their demands for an even happier and fuller life for themselves and their children. In the name of its 55 million members in all five continents, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sets the following goals before international public opinion and pledges the workers of all lands its full support in their attainment:

- (1) The pursuit of consistent and effective full employment policies;
- (2) The improvement of wage levels and working conditions everywhere, and particularly in the economically under-developed countries, where they are still appallingly low;
- (3) The shortening of hours of work, especially in industrial countries and also on plantations where labour is severely exploited;
- (4) The improvement of social security systems, or their introduction where they are non-existent;
- (5) The strengthening of efforts of the national and international plans for the rapid economic and social advancement of the under-developed countries;
- (6) Steady progress in dependent countries towards self-government and self-determination;
- (7) The extension of political democracy into the economic and social fields, for it is not only in political relations between men, but also in their economic and social relations that liberty, equality and justice must be fully effective; and
- (8) Peace and general controlled disarmament, for only in a climate of peace and international understanding—which the dictators continue to obstruct—can the workers objectives be fully obtained."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this alone will clearly indicate that it is not a Communist celebration. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is a free and democratic movement and it has international agents in the United Nations, and as such it cannot be classified as a Communist holiday for the very reason that if it is a Communist holiday the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions would not have come out openly and supported the Labour Day.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Malayan Government should decide that May Day be one of the most important official festivals and should direct factories, Government institutions, schools and all places of employment and peasants and farmers to observe this significant day as a holiday. It is the duty of the Government to protect the toiling masses and ensure that we can celebrate our own May Day undisturbed and with good heart.

May Day is significant and important, because the work of man and even man himself is the creation of labour. Labour is the foundation on which human society exists and develops. The working class should command the highest respect in the world, and this memorable day should become a day most worthy of celebration in our country. This momentous day is a day of solidarity among the workers and a festival of international solidarity.

To prove the sincerity of the Government that it recognises the working class, I would appeal that this motion be given all worthy support. In regard to my arguments, if the Honourable Minister when replying were to say that this day is also celebrated in China and Russia and that everything what China and Russia do we should not do in Malaya, I would say that the Chinese people in China eat rice and therefore we should not eat rice, because it is a Communist food—is this the correct attitude? Sir, we are not concerned whether China or Russia celebrates this day or not. Was this event originated from Communism? It was not. That has been established in my evidence just now. It is a day of celebration originating from the continent of Europe and this day is celebrated by all democratic nations and trade unions and it is no excuse to say that it is a communist celebration.

Sir, some time in 1958, this same matter was brought up in the former Legislative Council—I was not there, but somebody was—and at that time, I am informed, a lot of accusations had been made regarding this May

Day, and one of the remarks made was in regard to a circular of mine which it was alleged was circulated to all trade union officials stating that I advocated militant trade unionism. If my memory is correct, on the 6th September, 1954, when I was in Washington, Mr. George Meany, the Chairman of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisation said, “we must have militant trade unions in order to fight the big business administration”, and the same words were repeated by me in Malaya. I do not know whether the Government considers Mr. George Meany as a communist. Another thing which was said was that in my circular I classified the Alliance as big business administration.

At the Congress of Industrial Organisation Convention in Los Angeles in 1954, Mr. Walter Reuter, the President of that Organisation, did say that we must have militant trade unions in order to challenge the big business Eisenhower’s administration. Sir, this thing has been said by hundreds in the Continent as well as in America and other place.

Enche’ Mohamed Ismail: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order, has that got any relevance to May Day?

Mr. Speaker: He is trying to prove that he has got grounds for asking that the 1st May should be a public holiday.

Mr. V. David: Sir, I am not going to take much of the time (*Laughter*)—of the House.

Now, I would like to refer to another point. It is about the Emergency Regulations. In 1958, it was said that we are having an Emergency and that it would not be proper to introduce May Day as a holiday. But now the Emergency is coming to an end and we have heard from the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister on several occasions that very soon the Emergency Regulations may be withdrawn. As such it is only proper that we give recognition to this Labour Day which has been supported by the Malayan Trade Union Congress, by the National

Union of Plantation Workers and every democratic trade unions in Malaya.

I appeal to the Government to give careful consideration to the proposal and not to be prejudiced and think that this is a communist celebration. It is not. As I have said, it originated from the Continent where the prettiest maid was crowned as May Queen—and later it became known as May Day through the labour organisations which declared 8 hours work a day. Thank you.

Mr. Ng Ann Teck (Batu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the motion. The lengthy case presented by my Honourable colleague in support of his motion goes far to dissipate the belief among the people to-day that the celebration of May 1st is of Communist origin. Having acknowledged that Labour Day is not of Communist origin, it would be very embarrassing if we were to say that we would not declare May Day as a public holiday because the Communists have declared it as a holiday and that to do so may make our workers Communists in time.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we cannot afford to go on having phobias or phobia whenever there is the slightest mention of Communism. We should instead adopt a more realistic attitude towards the problem before us. Labour Day is quite important, if not more important than some of the other public holidays, since it is in the interest of more than 70 per cent of the working population. Further it is a recognition of our workers' toil in making the country to what it is to-day. The importance of our workers cannot be slightly assessed and hence the declaration of May Day as a public holiday will go in some way in recompensing them. By granting Labour Day as a public holiday, we will be helping in the rectification of our present Government's attitude towards labour. Whatever our Honourable Ministers and the Government publicity agency may try to broadcast to the world on the encouragement given to the growth of free and health trade unions, it cannot

blind the people forever to its actual policy of killing any union with the potentiality of growing strong unless that union is willing to work hand in hand with the Government. The allowance or granting of a public holiday, a day to the memory of the aspiration of labour, is definitely an action in the right direction.

Sir, I hope Honourable Members will give this motion its due support and thus meet this, the first of Labour requirements.

Enche' Mohamed Ismail: Sir, I rise to oppose the motion. The Honourable Mover in eloquent terms has put forward a plea that we should have an additional public holiday on May 1st each year. All of us, on whatever bench we may sit in this House, like a holiday, and the Government would not wish to oppose the motion, or rather this admirable idea, if the suggestion was practicable. But the Honourable Member for Bungsar who is putting forward this case has only told this House half of the story.

Sir, compared with many other countries in the world, the present provision of holidays in Malaya is on the generous side. As Honourable Members are aware, the calendar for public holidays for 1960 has already been published, and with your permission, Sir, I will remind the House what they are.

They are: firstly, there is a two-day public holiday for the Chinese New Year; two days' holiday again for the Hari Raya Puasa; Good Friday is a public holiday for those States which do not observe Friday as a normal day of rest, and the same consideration applies to Easter Sunday which follows two days later: the 1st June is celebrated as the Birthday of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. And subsequently Hari Raya Haji, Merdeka Day, the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad, Deepavali, Christmas Day, are all public holidays in this country. But, Sir, this by no means exhausts the list. In addition to the Federal holidays which I have just read out, each State Government

appoints four days each year as holidays in its particular State; and, as Honourable Members are aware, in the Federal capital, Kuala Lumpur, we also benefit from four days appointed by the Selangor Government.

I consider this as a generous list and I would now invite Honourable Members to consider the total cost of the present number of public holidays. Each holiday has its serious side in that it greatly increases the wage costs in commerce, industry and the running of the Government machinery. Sir, we in this House are concerned with the nation's housekeeping accounts, and Honourable Members will realise the need for economy in our affairs. These considerations are of the highest importance and it seems unreasonable that this motion should be approved. I suggest that a holiday could only be introduced at the expense of the deletion of one of the existing holidays, and it would be a most invidious task to suggest which of these should be deleted without doing injustice to some community. Sir, the Honourable Mover has said that this is the practice in many countries, but this is also not the practice—that is to make it a public holiday—in some other countries which he has not quoted.

Sir, it is, of course, true that the 1st of May is Labour Day the world over. I agree with the Honourable Mover and it gives me great pleasure on behalf of the Government to recognise this fact; but then, Sir, as I have said, I regret that the financial consideration to which I have referred prevents us from agreeing that May Day be regarded as a public holiday in Malaya. It is for this reason that Government must ask the House to reject this motion.

Mr. K. Karam Singh (Damansara):

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the significance of Labour Day as a holiday is for all workmen, whether they work with their hands or brains. It is not usually restricted to manual labourers but it applies to all workers, whether they labour with their hands or whether they make use of their brains. Thus it

will be seen that Labour Day would cover the vast majority of our nation—it would cover the lawyers, the doctors and its vast majority of manual labour population, and it has no restriction to just a small segment of our nation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the modern world is constructed upon labour. It is labour that enables the modern community to go on as it is. It is not only in Malaya that society as we know it runs upon labour, but the world over is run upon labour—upon the basis of labour. And as the Honourable the Assistant Minister has recognised that May Day is Labour Day—unfortunately, his Government has refused to concede it as a holiday—we appeal to all concerned and to Honourable Members in this House, “Let those who strive for so many days in the year have rest for one day; let them make merry for one day.” This is in recognition that labour plays a great part in our community. I would also add that since the Honourable the Assistant Minister has refused to concede a public holiday, we will carry on our struggle to give the workers this holiday—to give them their own holiday on May the 1st. We will ask the working class not be to discouraged but to carry on despite the refusal of the Alliance Government.

Enche' Abdul Ghani bin Ishak (Malacca Utara):

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ia-lah menolak chadangan yang di-kemukakan oleh pihak pembangkang tadi dengan menambah alasan, sa-lain daripada apa yang dikatakan oleh sahabat saya Yang Berhormat Penolong Menteri tadi. Saya suka hendak menyatakan di-Tanah Melayu ini, kalau kita pandang daripada apa yang sa-benar-nya dengan tidak terikut² keadaan nēgēri² lain, maka saya rasa Persékutuan Tanah Melayu ini patut-lah mendapat kēpujian daripada sēluruh dunia, kērana kita sangat bērtimbang rasa dēngan orang² yang dudok dalam nēgēri ini. Mithal-nya, kalau di-India mērayakan hari Raya orang India, maka tēntu-lah orang lain ta' tahu atau pun tidak dapat chuti, atau pun kalau dapat chuti, tidak-lah sa-bagaimana mariah-nya di-Malaya. Kērana di-Malaya kita ada mēmpunyai

kělēbehan yang lain daripada nēgēri² lain, kērana kēdudukan kita atau ra'ayat dalam nēgēri ini ada-lah lēbeh banyak bangsa-nya daripada ra'ayat di-nēgēri² lain. Jadi, dēngan sēndiri-nya bagi pehak Malaya ini, kita tēlah mēmbēri kělēbehan hari rehat kapada buroh² atau pēkērja², sama ada kaki-tangan Kērajaan atau pēkērja² yang lain.

Saya sēndiri ia-lah bēkas daripada ahli buroh—sa-orang buroh juga boleh di-katakan, tētapi, saya rasa gēmbira dēngan kēadaan hal² chuti atau hal² yang bērsangkut-paut dēngan chara bēkērja kami di-Tanah Mēlayu ini. Kērana pada masa rakan kami chuti, kami pun dapat chuti dan mērayakan sama² dan pada masa orang lain chuti, saya dapat mērayakan sama², dan sēkarang kita mahu pula mēngikut nēgēri² lain dēngan mēnchontohi Hari Buroh patut dapat hari kēlēpasan. Ini tidak-lah mēnasabah, kērana kita lēbeh banyak dapat kēistemewaan daripada lain² nēgēri. Sēkarang saya rasa sa-lēpas kita mērdeka ini, kita dapat lagi tambah 1 hari kērana hari 31 haribulan August sa-bagai hari kēlēpasan 'am, kērana mēnyambut kēmērdekaan; saya rasa hari kēlēpasan ini, bukan sahaja pehak buroh² yang dapat nikmat-nya; tētapi sēluruh ra'ayat dapat mērasa. Jadi, saya rasa pērkarā ini tidak-lah mēnjadi pērkarā yang bēsar atau pun pērkarā yang mēmalukan chara bērdemokrasi di-Malaya ini, kērana tidak mēnyokong Hari Buroh yang lain² nēgēri tēlah buat. Kērana, apa yang tēlah kita lakukan di-Tanah Mēlayu ini ada-lah lēbeh baik—jauh baik-nya kalau saya katakan, kērana sa-kurang²-nya tiga bangsa yang ada dalam Tanah Mēlayu ini yang mēndapat tambah 2 hari bēsar atau hari raya, jadi, tidak-lah pērkarā ini, saya rasa dapat di-banggakan oleh Pērsēkutuan Tanah Mēlayu? Sa-lain daripada itu, patut saya nyatakan, kērana saya bērasal daripada sa-orang buroh, Hari Buroh kalau di-adakan dan di-lēpaskan daripada bēkērja, saya rasa pēncharian buroh² yang bērgaji kēchil sangat-lah bēsar akibat yang di-datangkan oleh hari kēlēpasan itu. Saya katakan bagini, kalau kita minta pun Kērajaan atau majikan mēmbayar gaji pada hari chuti, tētapi gaji yang mēreka dapat \$3.00 itu, saya rasa dia akan mēnumpahkan atau mēmbuang wang-nya lēbeh bēsar daripada gaji yang

mēreka dapat itu. Ini boleh saya tunjokkan pada hari² chuti, tērutama sa-kali buroh², saya rasa hari itu-lah satu hari yang di-fikirkan-nya untok bērjalan² atau lain² dan barangkali ada orang² yang mēngambil kēsēmpatan mēnjahanamkan pēncharian-nya yang sa-bulan itu dalam masa 1 hari itu dēngan bērkawan²; jadi, saya rasa pērkarā ini tidak-lah patut di-galakkan, kērana kita di-Malaya ada hari raya, hari raya kita boleh-lah bēlanja banyak² atau pun bērjumpa kawan²; itu boleh-lah mēngantikan Hari Buroh. Jadi, Hari Buroh itu, saya rasa kalau hēndak di-ikut pun kita sa-bagai buroh, bukan dēngan chara bērchuti sahaja, dēngan chara bēkērja pun boleh; sa-rupa dēngan orang Islam dia mēsti puasa, bukan ta' mahu bēkērja, tētapi makin mēnguatkan lagi 'azam-nya untok bērkhidmat kapada Tohan dēngan diri-nya.

Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin Mahmud (Tēmēroh): Tuan Yang di-Pērtua, dalam soal "Hari Buroh ia-itu "1 May" ini kita tēlah mēndēngar pandangan² atau pun alasan² daripada pēnchadang usul ini mēnghēndaki nēgēri kita mēngadakan satu hari chuti pada sēluruh nēgēri ini kērana mērayakan hari "1 May" ini. Saya suka mēngingatkan ia-itu nēgēri kita baharu sahaja mērdeka, dan dalam kita mēngadakan bēbērapa hari chuti 'am di-nēgēri ini ia-lah bērpandukan kēbangsaan dan kēugamaan yang di-kēmukakan sa-lain daripada chuti rehat ia-itu tiap² minggu. Jadi, saya rasa, jikalau-lah di-turutkan kēhēndak pēnchadang mēngadakan satu hari di-luar daripada chorak yang dua ini, bērma'ana-lah kita akan mēngadakan bērbagai² chuti di-kēmudian hari pula, kērana tuntutan daripada bērbagai² pehak sa-bagaimana mēngikut mēreka² dari nēgēri² yang suka hēndak chuti sa-umpama itu. Jadi, saya rasa pada masa ini tidak-lah mustahak kita masokkan lagi pērkarā bērkēnaan dēngan mēlēbehan chuti 'am ini, kērana kita tēlah mēndēngar daripada Mēntēri Muda kita ia-itu Kērajaan akan mēnanggong bēban yang bērat bērkēnaan dēngan kēwangan nēgēri ini dēngan ada-nya banyak chuti 'am ini. Dan satu lagi, jika kita mēlēbehan chuti ini akan mēnjadi kēsusahan pada ra'ayat jēlata ia-itu pējabat² yang di-kēhēndaki oleh ra'ayat jēlata itu tutup,

dengan ini bertambah-lah pula kesusahan, pertama sa-kali pada orang² kampung, orang² yang susah yang akan sentiasa hendak menguruskan berkėnaan dengan hal mereka di-pėjabat² itu dan bagitu juga pėrniagaan², maka tėrgendala sėgala²-nya. Dan lagi sabagaimana yang di-tėrangkan oleh pėnchadang tadi, kata dia patut-lah kita mėngambil atau pun mėmasukkan satu hari chuti umum di-dunia ini sabagai satu hari yang patut kita muliakan. Tėtapi, saya suka mėngingatkan ia-itu kita di-Tanah Mėlayu ini bėlum lagi bėrchorak kėduniaan, chuma kita bėrpandukan hari chuti umum kita kapada dasar kėbangsaan dan kėugamaan kita sa-lain daripada hari rehat kita tiap² minggu itu. Dengan itu, saya tidak bėrsėtuju-lah bėrkėnaan dengan hal mėngadakan lagi hari chuti umum yang bukan dengan sėbab yang saya tėrangkan tadi.

Mr. D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh): Mr. Speaker, on the 1st May, 1958, I was the Member who raised the matter of allowing public meetings for the celebration of May Day. When that matter was raised by me, I did not ask for a public holiday—I merely asked that the workers of this country be given permission to hold public meetings to celebrate May Day. Workers of this country were allowed at that time within their various organisations to hold meetings amongst their own members for the purpose of celebrating or recognising the 1st May as the Workers' Day. When that debate went on, there were shouts of "Communism", there were shouts that we could not recognise the 1st May because there was a shooting war, there were shouts that Mr. V. David, now Honourable Member for Bungsar, had published certain pamphlets which indicated to the Government that there were communistic tendencies in those pamphlets. There was also a reply by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, and with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to read that reply very, very shortly. It says:

"As Honourable Members are aware, the Communist terrorists have killed numerous workers, particularly those on the estates while in the course of carrying out their daily tasks. Perhaps May 1st has double significance: as the day when the sacrifice

of these workers should be remembered, and the day on which it is fitting that special reference should be made to the debt which this country owes to those workers who have carried out their duties daily in the frontline in the fight against Communist terrorism."

Then another paragraph says—still from the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister:

"While Government appreciates the stand made by the majority of workers against the M.C.P., Honourable Members have seen how it has exploited Labour Day, and if it is continued to be specially celebrated in this country, I have no doubt that the Malayan Communist Party will continue to exploit that. I am sure that Honourable Members will appreciate that whilst we still have a shooting war with us, we cannot permit agents of the M.C.P. to make political capital out of May Day celebrations in propagating their ends and, in consequence . . .

in consequence'

. therefore, the Government must oppose this motion. If there are to be any public celebrations of Labour Day in this country, let us first end the Communist terrorist war."

That was the reply from the Government Bench in 1958.

I have been in this House from 1957, and perhaps for the first time in my life have I heard from the Bench opposite so flimsy a reason for refusing to accept this motion—and that reason comes from the Honourable Assistant Minister who just spoke. And what are those reasons? No more talk about Communist influence on May Day; no more talk about Mr. V. David, the trade union person who made the statement; no more talk about the shooting war; no more talk about ending terrorism in this country. What do we get? "We want good house-keeping. We want to save money—if we give a public holiday it costs money." Mr. Speaker, good housekeeping accounts we will all appreciate. But one day as a holiday for the workers of this country is not going to cost \$110,000,000. Neither is it going to cost \$62,000, for trips overseas to Australia, to New Zealand. A small portion of that money for the workers of this country is justified, even if it means one more working day to be lost.

We are also told that there are too many holidays, or that there are enough holidays, and we cannot make room for one more. Let us appreciate that

90% of the population of this country are working people. Let us appreciate that it is the working masses of the country which put the Alliance into power as the Government of this country. Let us appreciate that the workers, as workers, haven't got a day of significance to celebrate in this country. From the reply given by the Honourable Assistant Minister, I take it that it is accepted that May Day is not a Communist day of celebration. I take it that it is accepted that May Day is celebrated by the free world as it is celebrated by the Communist world. We must accept—and in fact the reason was stated by me in 1958 and now it has been re-stated, but in more detail by the Honourable Member for Bungsar—that May Day or Workers' Day originated in 1889 in France at the Second Socialist International Congress. It was a free movement—it is still a free movement. In 1958, one of the reasons given was that it is a day celebrated by Communist countries in the world. The Honourable Member for Bungsar said: "If that is so, the Chinese eat rice in China; we shouldn't eat rice in Malaya." I go further and say: If Communists drink vodka and eat caviare, then why do some people in this country like to drink vodka and eat caviare? These are all Communist foods. There is no sense in such argument. There are many things which the free world does which the Communist world does. There are many things which the Communists do which the people of the free world will accept if it is good; we will reject if it is bad. We will reject violence; we will reject force; we will reject any bad principles any country may have. But this is May Day, the day which is celebrated throughout the world—free or not free, Iron Curtain or no Iron Curtain—and the workers of this country have a right to ask and a right to demand by peaceful democratic means, that May Day be recognised.

In view of the statements given by the Honourable Assistant Minister, I say those reasons are so flimsy that this House should not accept and that this House should frown on those reasons as reasons which cannot be accepted by reasonable Members of

Parliament or reasonable citizens of this country. I strongly support this motion, and I ask the Members of this House to give it the fullest support.

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar (Kuala Trengganu Selatan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was not my intention to take part in this debate, but in view of the very weak and unconvincing reply given by the Honourable Assistant Minister on behalf of the Government, I do feel constrained to do so. But in doing so, I would like to point out that I am not supporting the motion—I am against it. I am far more actuated by the remarks of the Honourable Minister of Defence when he addressed us in the former Legislative Council on the 1st of May, 1958, in reply to a motion which the Honourable Member for Ipoh tabled:

"That this Council deplores the decision of Government not to permit public meetings of workers or workers' organisations to be held on the 1st of May, 1958, and resolves that such meetings ought to be allowed in future."

Now, what did the Honourable Minister of Defence say? We have his own words in the Hansard, column 4719—

"The Communist Party in this country has in recent years made every effort to use celebrations on this day as a means of propagating their practices. This is done very skilfully indeed by using others as tools, whether consciously or not, to put over ideas which tend to sow disloyalty and to instil in the workers revolutionary ideas and violence."

Then he went on to explain and give illustrations as to how May Day was used in the past by the Communists, and finally he said—

"I fully appreciate that the 1st of May is also celebrated by free trade unions as Labour Day, but it has been unfortunately prostituted, particularly in Malaya, to propagate their practice and methods. It is therefore, to my mind, regrettable—particularly in this country which has suffered for so many years from Communist terrorism—that the same day should be used for two such different purposes."

I entirely agree with him. Sir, I oppose the motion.

Tun Abdul Razak: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of the fact that a speech I made in 1958 was much quoted in this House—and I would like to make it clear that I am very grateful to the

Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan for quoting that speech—I wish to make it clear that Government's attitude has not changed on this subject. I would like Honourable Members to remember that although the Emergency situation has improved considerably we still have terrorism in our hands; we still have about 600 Communist terrorists lurking in the jungles in this country. Therefore, what I said in 1958 about the Labour Day remains true to-day. So it is not true to say, as the Honourable Member for Ipoh alleged, that there is no more objection from the Emergency point of view. There is still that objection. Of course, the Honourable Assistant Minister, while replying on behalf of the Government, did not bring this point before the House because it had been clearly stated by me in 1958 and quoted in the Hansard which Honourable Members can read at their leisure. But I want to make it quite clear here that the stand we took in 1958 remains true to-day, because the Communist terrorists make use of the Labour Day for their own purposes. That is why the Government cannot recognise the Labour Day and allow it to be a public holiday so long as we have this shooting war in our hands.

Mr. S. P. Seenivasagam (Menglembu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this motion and I would like to comment again on the extremely flimsy reasons set out by the Honourable Assistant Minister. The Honourable Minister of Defence has tried to save the bacon by suggesting that because something was in the Hansard, therefore, the Honourable Assistant Minister did not refer to it. That, of course, is quite wrong. It is wellknown that many members in this Assembly to-day were not here in 1958, and I do not believe that, except perhaps for a few, we have bothered to look at the Hansard. Therefore, I really do not think that the Honourable Assistant Minister was relying on the hope that Members had already read the Hansard on this question. Therefore, there appears to be a conflict of reasoning between the Honourable Minister of Defence and the Honourable Assistant Minister, because the Honourable

Assistant Minister made it quite clear that if we were able to delete one of the existing holidays then perhaps there would be no objection to declaring May Day a holiday. How could that be reconciled with the statement made by the Honourable Minister of Defence that objection still remains? Two diametrically opposed views, for which I hope this House would be given a satisfactory explanation.

I believe that what is at the bottom of this objection is the fear that if May Day is declared a holiday, then the solidarity of the workers could be publicly proclaimed on that day to the terror of the capitalists in this country. That is what lies at the root of the objection to May Day being declared a public holiday. But whether the capitalists or their representatives like it or not, whether May Day is a holiday or not, it will be, unofficially at least, regarded as a holiday by all the workers of the world and internationally it will be recognised and, despite the wishes of any Government, will be so celebrated by the workers.

Mr. Speaker: Mr. David, do you want to exercise your right to reply?

Mr. V. David: If no other Honourable Members wish to speak.

Mr. Speaker: There are no other Honourable Members wishing to speak.

Mr. V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been hearing a vague answer from the Government Bench, but I was expecting an answer similar to that was given in this House a couple of years back. But unfortunately the answer given by the Honourable Assistant Minister is that if an existing holiday could be sacrificed May Day could be substituted for it. But there is contradiction within the Government circle itself, as the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister disagreed with this saying that in his view May Day is a Communist celebration. I have given ample reasons here while moving my motion to show that it is not a day of Communist celebration. Whether the Emergency Regulations are existing or not, they are not related to this motion at all for the very simple reason that May Day celebration has nothing to

do with the Communist celebration. Whether the Communist celebrate it or not, the free world has accepted May Day as a Labour Day. It is celebrated with its democratic ideals in all parts of the world and, as such, there is no doubt that it is not a Communist day.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have heard the speeches of Members of the Opposition. One member who claims to be a worker himself has betrayed the cause of the working class. He has said that workers spend more money during holidays. We are not concerned with the expenses of workers on holidays—we are only concerned with the principle whether or not May Day should be declared a holiday.

To the points put forward by the various speakers from the opposite side, I have clearly substantiated my argument that May Day is not a Communist Day and that it needs recognition by the Government. And the Government's argument has not satisfied the Opposition that it is a Communist Day. Their argument has been vague, including the argument put forward by the Deputy Prime Minister. Whether the Emergency Regulations continue or not, May Day has to be recognised as a holiday. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the whole free world has accepted it, and the Malayan Trade Union Congress representatives in the former Legislative Council had spoken at length on May Day—they had stated that May Day was the only day which allowed the unity of workers. In other words, if May Day is not recognised it means that the Government in power refuses to recognise the rights of the workers, and the unity of the workers in this country—that is to say, the Government is not in favour that the workers should be united as one. It is really astonishing for the Federation Government to hold such a view in spite of their representation at the United Nations. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is a member and it has its agencies at the United Nations and it has issued directives to all its member organisations to celebrate this day.

Mr. Speaker: You have a right to reply and you can reply to the points

raised. But you must not introduce new points—i.e. you have the right to reply to the points raised by Honourable Members in the debate, but nothing else.

Mr. V. David: Coming now to the 600 terrorists in the jungle, we are not concerned at all about the 600 terrorists—whether there are 600 or 1,000 May Day is not concerned with that. The Emergency Regulations are there, and we have got our Armed Forces to look after us in the way of defence and the question of May Day does not relate with it.

I would like a clarification from the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister, if he is prepared to give an assurance whether at least on May Day he is prepared to allow public meetings to be held by workers organisations to celebrate even though there may not be a holiday which the Government has refused. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can assure this House that the Socialist front believes that the workers have a right in this country, and as long as we sit here as Members of Parliament, we will repeatedly bring this motion until we achieve our aim of making May Day a public holiday.

Question put, and negatived.

THE SATURDAY POST

(Motion Withdrawn)

Mr. Chin See Yin (Seremban Timor): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the motion tabled in my name is as follows:

That this House is of the opinion that another permit may be issued for the further publication of the "Saturday Post".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have had in fact a discussion with the Honourable Minister concerned who informed me that he is considering the appeal of the publisher and that the publisher has accordingly been informed. I might add that the mission of newspapers, generally, is seldom pleasant and no matter how neutral the writings might be or truthful the stories that are written, in most cases there would be more curses than appreciation. The many true stories told in newspapers and journals exposing well-organised rackets which have helped governments

to bring corrupt officials to book, have been done in the interest of the country all over the world. This was done by these people usually at a great risk to their own lives and property. Sir, as we all know, the good things which have been done by newspapers or by journalists are very easily forgotten, but the little mistakes that they make will not be so easily forgotten or forgiven. It is very difficult to please all men all the time. However, Sir, in view of the fact that the Honourable Minister concerned is giving consideration to the appeal of the publisher—and I hope that the Alliance Government will maintain the freedom of the Press in the practice of true democracy—I beg leave to withdraw my motion.

Mr. Speaker: The withdrawal of the motion must have the leave of the House. So, I put the question now "That this motion in the name of Mr. Chin See Yin may be withdrawn."

Question put, and agreed to.

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE RECENT INCREASE IN TAXATION

Mr. Chin See Yin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the motion which stands in my name, refers to the memoranda submitted by various public bodies to the Honourable the Minister of Finance in relation to the recent legislation on income tax, on fuel oil and eatables. Sir, it will be noticed that in Penang, according to a newspaper report very recently—in fact the *Straits Times* of the 22nd February, if I may refer to it—fruit growers and dealers in Penang have had a joint petition made and addressed to the Honourable the Minister of Finance. In that petition it has been suggested that the taxes on fruits—they expect a bumper crop this year—will create a very adverse atmosphere and they feel that the taxation will not help them to sell their fruits to the main land though in fact Penang is one of the eleven States that exist as units under the Constitution which we call the Federal Constitution. I am sure that in this memorandum which will be submitted

to the Honourable the Minister, very good reasons will be given—and for that reason they have got together to bring these facts before the Honourable the Minister of Finance.

I was told that one of the facts to be put up will be the hardships and the other is to ask that the duty be waived. In fact, the taxes on eatables have brought up the cost of living in this country and they have created some hardships on the people in the lower income group. At the same time, I cannot but almost congratulate the Honourable the Minister of Finance for having boldly taken the step to slash the taxation of 12 cents imposed on the fuel oils and also certain relief given for heavy oils. Perhaps it may be due to the many memoranda submitted to him by the various public bodies and by men who have great experience in industry—in mining, in transport and other industry in the country. Therefore, the facts contained in these memoranda contain wisdom and I am sure the Honourable the Minister appreciates such wisdom.

Now, Sir, the Chinese guilds and associations have also drawn up a memorandum and they are I believe getting signatures and will be ready in time to forward this memorandum to the Honourable the Minister of Finance. Sir, this leads to everybody asking one question. Can a person really support a wife with \$1,000? That was the amount reduced from \$2,000 to \$1,000. I think the answer is in the mind of everybody. This change in the law in income tax, according to a Government statement, will bring in additional tax-payers numbering about 18,000 persons. These 18,000 persons brought in by this amended rate are, in fact, people from the lower income group. And in this statement it was suggested that a sum of \$650,000 would be the additional expenditure for the Federal Treasury. Sir, I am just wondering how much could we extract from these 18,000 additional tax-payers—I think possibly a sum from \$20,000 to \$30,000. If you were to take the highest figure, the Government will collect approximately a sum of \$540,000 a year. On the other hand we

have got to consider the people from the lower income group. Not everybody has got the education to be able to complete the income tax returns, and as a result they would have to go to consult the expert and possibly they may be paying more than what they have got to pay towards the tax. All this, I say, is going to create a lot of hardship.

In making this motion I want to make it clear that I am not trying to make a suggestion that the Honourable the Minister of Finance has made a mistake in his budget or that he is incapable. On the other hand, I appreciate that he has a duty to do and his duty is to try and create a balance in his budget. But in view of the fact that the budget has been thrown open to the public and the fact that the memoranda having been submitted to him by various public bodies with men of experience, with men who know whether the amended law is an appropriate one, I think, Sir, it is reasonable for this motion, this proposed resolution, to suggest that the Honourable the Minister of Finance will kindly consider to set up a Committee with a view to studying this report and to make such recommendations as may be good and proper for him to see his way to make certain amendments. Sir, I think we all agree that more heads are better than one and I hope, therefore, that he will agree to accept my proposed resolution.

Mr. Yeoh Tat Beng (Bruas): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the motion of my Honourable friend the Member for Seremban Timor. After the last Budget Meeting there were various representations to Government on the effects of the taxation policy adopted by this House, and I also believe that most of us regretted the decisions taken in our very heart of hearts. We could only usefully appeal for the sympathetic consideration of Government. Furthermore, even the Honourable the Minister of Finance has admitted that he has made himself very unpopular through his fiscal policy of adhering strictly to his noble aim of a balanced Budget. Instead of worrying, I believe we have nothing to lose if we

were to appoint a Committee to study and make recommendations on the views submitted by the various bodies in regard to the recent legislation on income tax and the new Customs duties. I know that piece-meal consideration had been given to the views of the Central Electricity Board and the Malayan Railway—and perhaps others as well—thereby resulting in a partial remission of certain duties. However, I should like this House to consider not only the views of the Government sponsored bodies but also the views of the inarticulate who also consume heavy and fuel oils, locally produced fruits, etc., and to consider the stringent financial circumstances of those who have to pay income tax. After the impact of the income tax imposition, either rightly or wrongly, the cost of living has risen considerably.

Sir, it has been estimated that about 18,000 additional persons, married or unmarried, will be subject to income tax this year as against an estimated collection expenses of \$665,000 which roughly works out at approximately \$37.00 *per capita*—this as compared with my Honourable friend's estimate of \$540,000 revenue, which I think he has based on \$30 per head. I wonder if it is worthwhile to make this collection of \$540,000 at an expenditure of \$665,000 as, in doing so, we will be robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Speaking on local fruits such as durians, mangosteens, papayas and rambutans, may I remind this House of the Government's intention to encourage the consumption of local produce? Whilst this policy is laudable and has the support of this House and that of the *ra'ayat*, it should be the policy of the Government not to put impediments inconsistent with the encouragement given such as the embarrassment to the fruit growers and dealers in Penang, a report of which appeared in the *Straits Times* and referred to by the Honourable Member next to me.

Mr. Geh Chong Keat (Penang Utara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification, I would like to explain that as a Member representing *kawasan* Penang Utara, I am also representing the Fruit Growers' Association. I have already made representations to the

Honourable the Minister of Finance and steps have been taken. So, I would like to inform the Honourable Member concerned that the memorandum as stated in the *Straits Times* is not true and incorrect.

Mr. Yeoh Tat Beng: Sir, I am making reference to this newspaper report in support of why I am supporting the motion before us now. I am not in any way interfering with what the Honourable Member for Penang Utara is doing or what steps he has taken.

The harvesting of the fruits in Penang, according to the *Straits Times*, will be very soon and a bumper crop is expected and if we are going to give any relief, I think a Committee that is proposed now by my Honourable friend should serve the very purpose of making a swift and proper decision.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I strongly support a balanced budget, and if Government had implemented its large undertaking to stop tax evasion and to scrutinise its expenditure, I am certain we should be on the right side of the account at the end of the year, in view of the fact that the price of rubber has been and is well over a dollar per pound since January last year and the price of tin has been fairly steady in support throughout a similar period. We expect these prices to remain so till the end of the year. I, therefore, strongly support the motion that is put forward by my Honourable friend for the sincere consideration of this House or the Government.

Mr. D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to give full support to the motion introduced by the Honourable Member for Seremban Timor. When the proposals were put before this House at the last meeting we made our views very clear. The stand taken by the Peoples' Progressive Party on this matter was set out as clearly as we could—that we oppose the increases on foodstuffs and oils and the new proposal of income tax. Sir, one very important thing in the income tax law is this: that whilst the allowance for a wife has been reduced, the Minister concerned has not considered this—as an Asian country close relatives and aged parents are also dependants

of a taxpayer. I think this is the point which has been missed out and should be reconsidered, because as an Asian country or nation, we have certain customs which perhaps are not followed in the West. Close relatives like fathers, mothers, are dependants of a son who is a taxpayer. Public opinion has been, to be fair, against the proposals. Taken by and large, the people do not favour them, particularly the income tax proposal and the taxation on eatables.

The question of fruits grown in Penang, Sir, is a very important point. The Honourable the Minister of Agriculture says, "Eat local fruit." We are prepared to do so. Now, if I go to Penang and would like to bring back a durian I cannot do that without paying tax. I have got to be searched by the Customs and even my Customs pass would not help me, as the durian smells. I have to eat it on that side, that is in Penang. If I were to bring it the Customs officer would say, "Tiada laku, you cannot do that." So, I suggest that for this reason and as the Honourable Mover has said, more heads are better than one and more experience is better than none, we look on this not from a party point of view but let us consider it as a matter in the interest of the people.

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong usul ini, kerana sementak chukai ini di-jalankan maka telah tiba-lah beberapa rungutan dan hasil yang kita takut dari kenaikan chukai dahulu telah pun timbul ia itu naik-nya harga² barang di-mana tempat² chukai yang tidak pun di-naikkan.

Dalam mengemukakan chadangan ini, Tuan Pénchadang telah mēnērangkan bahawa fikiran² yang terkandung dalam memorandum yang telah di-kemukakan kepada Yang Bērhormat Mēntēri Kēwangān patut-lah mēndapat pērtimbangan yang halus. Tidak dapat di-sangkal lagi bahawa Yang Bērhormat Mēntēri itu boleh mēmbēri pērtimbangan-nya sēndiri sapērti yang telah pun di-lakukan-nya sēndiri. Akan tētapi dēngan ada-nya sa-buah Jawatan-Kuasa yang mēnghalusi hal ini maka kita akan dapat mēngharapkan rahmat akan dapat di-bēri kepada

mereka yang patut mendapat-nya dan dengan yang demikian hal ini dapat di-betulkan.

Yang Bèrhormat wakil dari Ipoh telah membawa satu mithal berkenaan dengan "durian" dengan nama yang sa-bènar-nya. Mithal-nya, Yang Bèrhormat itu mengagak sahaja, tetapi saya sudah melihat dengan mata kepala saya sendiri ia itu orang² yang membawa pisang dari sèbèrang Pulau Pinang dengan di-kenakan chukai² juga daripada harga² pisang itu. Hal ini sangat-lah menyèdehkan, kerana Pulau Pinang itu ia-lah nègèri kita sendiri; malang-nya atau nasib-nya yang baik ada-lah sa-bahagian sana daripada Pèrsékutuan Tanah Mèlayu ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pèrtua, mènimbang apa yang di-kemukakan oleh mereka yang mengemukakan laporan² dan pènyata² tidak-lah bèrma'na bahawa Dewan ini dapat mèmputuskan apa yang di-chadangkan dalam chadangan ini, dan ini tidak-lah bèrma'na bahawa Dewan ini mengachau kèputusan kita yang telah lalu tetapi mèmberi pèrtimbangan dan tambahan di-atas rungutan yang timbul. Timbul-nya Jawatan-Kuasa dan pèrtimbangan atas memorandum yang telah di-kemukakan oleh orang ramai itu bukan-lah kerana dèsdakan chukai, tetapi oleh kerana rungutan, jadi saya bèrharap Yang Bèrhormat Tuan Mèntèri yang bèrsangkutan akan dapat mèmikirkan hal ini dengan sèdalam²-nya, kerana pèrkara ini memang boleh di-jawab pada masa ini.

Kami sèdang mèmikirkan dengan sa-halus²-nya pèrkara ini, tetapi oleh kerana soal chukai ini ia-lah soal nègara—soal yang luas yang mèmilipi bèrbagai lapisan ra'ayat, maka memang sa-patut-nya-lah kita mèmberi pèrtimbangan yang halus supaya dapat-lah chukai² itu di-bèri dengan chara yang 'adil dan baik dan mana² yang tèrasa nampak-nya sakit atau tèrok kapada ra'ayat maka hèndak-lah kita ringan-kan.

The Minister of Finance (Mr. Tan Siew Sin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not my intention, in replying on behalf of the Government, to go over the reasons which prompted the Government to impose the new taxation it did last

November, because I think that would be a waste of time of the House and of Honourable Members, and I do not wish to do so. But I intend to speak on the principle of appointing a committee for this purpose. At the outset, I should say that the Government opposes the motion before the House, and it does so on two grounds. First, while I admit I am not entirely clear whom it is suggested that I might appoint to this proposed Committee or who should consider the recommendations of the Committee when in due course those recommendations become available, I nonetheless do not hesitate to say that the whole proposal put forward in this motion would be a waste of time of everyone concerned. The Government commands, in the normal machinery of administration, adequate means for giving due and proper consideration to any representations that may be made to it on this subject of the effects of taxation, and in the particular case of the increases in taxation introduced in the last Budget, the Government is satisfied that the representations which it has so far received—and I include those received from all quarters, and not only from public bodies, and in this connection I should say that all the representations so far received have only been concerned with the oil taxes, apart from one dealing with income tax—have been most carefully weighed, and that to the extent that those representations have established a need for changes in the new taxation, the appropriate measures have already been made. In other words, the Government has not only made up its mind on the representations so far received, it has in fact already implemented its decisions on them, and the setting up of a Committee for the same purpose would therefore be totally unnecessary. I should add that the great majority of the representations—in fact, as I have already said, all but one—have concerned the duties on liquid fuel and diesel oil. As I have had occasion to state already at this meeting of the House, the Government is satisfied that the concessions which it has decided upon, and which have taken effect already from the 1st of this month in the case of these duties, will ensure that

no undue hardship will be suffered by any particular section of the community, and that the progress of the Government's industrial development policy will not be retarded. The duties now collected strike a fair balance between the need for increased revenue to finance expanding social services and the need to ensure an expanding economy. The Government is not prepared, therefore, to reconsider revising the duties on liquid fuel and diesel oil now in force.

Secondly, subject to confirmation by this House, as the law requires, the imposition of particular new duties or taxes and the alteration of existing duties or taxes lie within the prerogative and the responsibility of the Government, and of the Government alone. That is a prerogative which this Government has no intention of surrendering even to the smallest degree. (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear.) On the contrary, as I was at pains to state in my Budget Speech in the House last November, the Alliance Government is convinced of the need to expand the revenue of the country and has therefore accepted that it has a duty to impose whatever increases in taxation as are found to be necessary to that end. I say again, as I have said on several occasions during the last meeting of this House in the course of the debate on the Budget measures, that increases in taxation are naturally always unwelcome, at least to those who must pay them, but the Government does not propose to be diverted from its duty in this matter, and it certainly has no intention of evading any part of its responsibility by passing it on to any Committee in any shape or form.

Sir, for these two reasons, namely, because the proposed Committee would serve no useful purpose, and because, in any case, the Government is not prepared to shelve any part of its responsibility, I am confident that this House will reject the motion. One last point which it may be of interest to record is that until a few days ago the Treasury had not received a single memorandum protesting against the recent changes in income tax. To-date, only one memorandum has been received, and this one has come from an organisation which

has made a speciality of causing mischief for mischief's sake. I am of course aware that there have been highly coloured newspaper accounts of public rallies or so-called public rallies held by political organisations protesting against income tax, among other things. For example, I note that my Honourable friend the Member for Bandar Malacca, Mr. Tan Kee Gak, has taken part in these public rallies

Mr. K. Karam Singh: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I don't think names can be mentioned in this House.

Mr. Speaker: (To Mr. Tan Siew Sin) You should not mention names.

Mr. Tan Siew Sin: As I have said already, I note that my Honourable friend the Member for Bandar Malacca has taken part in these rallies, but I also note that to-date, he has not said anything against these taxes, and I have no doubt, therefore—or I assume that—although he may say one thing outside this House, he is totally in agreement with the Government's policies in this respect. (Applause). So, I suggest, it is rather risky to rely on newspaper reports, because we have got one Member here who says one thing outside this House, but where this House is concerned, he obviously entirely approved of the Government's policy for I assume that silence implies approval.

I would also like to refer to the question of Penang fruits. In fact, my Honourable friends the Member for Penang Selatan and the Member for Penang Utara did discuss this matter with me about, I think, a month or two ago. We must appreciate that the question of Penang is a rather difficult one. As we all know, Penang is a free port, and as such goods from Penang are treated as if they come from another country: that is, Penang, for the purpose of the Principal Customs Area, i.e., the mainland of the Federation of Malaya, is treated as foreign territory. Be that as it may, however, the Government is conscious that import duties imposed on Penang fruits probably may not be very fair because they hit the small people, and in view of the Government's policy to

encourage the production and consumption of local fruits, it has decided in principle to grant relief to fruits from Penang. (*Applause*). In fact, discussions are already taking place between the Government and the Honourable Members from Penang Selatan and Penang Utara as to the shape and extent of the concessions. In fact, I should add that an administrative order is awaiting my signature, and once agreement is reached as to the form this concession should take, the order will be signed by me, and I hope the order will be signed in a few days' time. (*Applause*).

Another Honourable Member brought up the point of petty irritations caused to the public by Customs officers insisting on taxing fruits brought over the Penang ferry which, I believe, have been solely carried for the purpose of personal consumption. I, in fact, have already issued instructions to the Customs officers not to tax small quantities of fruits brought over by ferry for the purpose of personal consumption (*Applause*) and that, I think, will satisfy the main points which have been brought up in this debate.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have heard the Honourable Minister of Finance giving us reasons as to why the Government is opposing the motion. He spoke in the same way as he did when he put forward the Budget proposals. He is just as confident as he was when he says that the Government has already made up its mind that there is no likelihood of the Government changing its mind. He told us the same thing at the Budget Meeting. When proposals for fuel oil were put forward, Members of the Opposition raised various points drawing the attention of the Government of the consequences of such an increase. But the Honourable Minister then was very confident of himself. He said that he had already investigated into all the pros and cons and that the rise was a "must". But scarcely a month after that we discovered that he has changed his mind. It is obvious that strong representations were made by various public bodies—by the City

Council of George Town, the Central Electricity Board and various other bodies—and the attention of the Minister was drawn to the dire consequences of such an increase and the hardship that will be caused to the ordinary people. It is obvious that in view of such strong representations the Minister was forced to change his mind. So, I submit, Sir, that to-day there is a similar case, though the Minister may be just as confident as he was. There is a possibility that the Committee may be able to point out certain defects in the changes in customs duties, income tax and other things and it is wrong for the Minister to say categorically that there is nothing wrong though the public and we, as representatives of the citizens, are of the view that the present rate of taxes is most inequitable. The Minister later on went on to say that it is a prerogative of the Government to impose duties—that it is their responsibility and they are not prepared to listen to views from the other side of the House. I am rather amazed at this particular point. I would have conceded to it if the Government as a body had acted with responsibility. It was only yesterday that we heard the Minister of Finance evading responsibility when the question . . .

Mr. Speaker: You must not refer to that item of yesterday.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: Well, it is relevant to the debate because the Honourable Minister of Finance has indicated that it is the prerogative, the responsibility of the Government to take such measures, and it is my duty to point out that as Minister of Finance, his utterances at yesterday's debate indicate that he has no responsibility whatsoever, because when a Ministry was criticised he told us that we must be aware the Minister cannot be in charge of everything. In fact, he was telling us that we should blame the civil servants and that the civil servants are responsible. In the light of such utterances, how can we on this side of the House have confidence, how can we on this side of the House be convinced by statements of this sort? If he had stated yesterday that "I as Minister

of Finance is responsible for this, that it is an oversight and that I will see to it that investigations will be made in this matter," then we on this side would have accepted this sort of argument; but in the light of what he said yesterday, it is rather difficult for us on this side of the House to accept what he says.

Then he went on to criticise members of this side of the House and political parties for holding rallies and criticising the Government. I would say that here that it is a prerogative of Opposition Parties to hold political rallies and to criticise the Government.

Mr. Tan Siew Sin: On a point of order. I never criticised the Opposition Parties for holding rallies.

Mr. Speaker: He did not criticise; he only mentioned it.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: He has not risen on a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: On clarification.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: If it was on a point of clarification, I would not have given way.

Mr. Speaker: Please proceed.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: So I hope the Honourable Minister of Finance will do some listening for a change, because he has ample opportunity to speak.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Shut up!

Mr. Speaker: If I could have spotted the Member who said that, I would have asked him to withdraw that. Please proceed.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. It appears that Members of the Government Bench are not interested in Government by discussion.

The Minister of External Affairs (Dato' Dr. Ismail): Is he accusing the Government Bench?

Mr. Speaker: (To Mr. Tan Phock Kin). You ought not to say that. I have already given a ruling on that, and do not comment on what I say (*Applause*). Please proceed.

Mr. Tan Phock Kin: Coming back to the question of objections to the taxation proposals of the Government, I feel that there is a valid opposition. I feel that all over the country people are feeling the pinch—not so much because they are asked to pay the taxes now but they know that when next year comes along with a new income tax and other taxation there will hardly be enough to spend for both themselves and their families; and I would submit that for the reasons given by me just now that Government should accept the motion so that the findings of this Committee will be able to guide the Minister in his policy. He always feels very sure of himself, but as I have indicated just now, we have already proved that the Minister himself changes his mind.

Mr. S. P. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was not my intention to speak, but I am compelled to do so because of an amazing proposition which has been put forward by the Honourable Minister of Finance that those who remain silent are in support. (*Laughter*). Therefore, I have to speak to make it clear that I oppose the Government's policy, and I support the motion.

I support this motion because I am convinced that the Government has made a big mistake. The Government perhaps knows it but does not want to admit it, and in supporting this motion I am not going to be apologetic—I am not going to try to flatter the Honourable Minister of Finance with a view to creating a more receptive mind. I support this motion because I feel it is my duty to do so and because I feel convinced that unless the Government revises its policy on income tax there is going to be terrible hardship for the common man here. The Honourable Minister of Finance also looked, to my mind, with ridicule upon attempts by the Opposition to hold rallies and so on as an expression of protest. I hope, however, that the Minister of Finance does not intend to imply thereby that nothing will impress him short of a riot. Sir, we do things passively; we do things as a matter of token. We hold a small procession, a small meeting (*Laughter*) hoping that

the Government will take notice of it. But I hope it is not the intention of the Government not to take notice of anything that is short of a riot or civil commotion, and I hope the Government will appreciate our action in that respect.

Mr. Tan Siew Sin: I have not received even a memorandum.

Mr. S. P. Seenivasagam: On the question of memoranda, it is true that big business interests, capitalist organisations and big companies interested in fuel and diesel oils have been able to engage people to write up memoranda for them and to submit them to the Government. But the man in the street who earns a few dollars a day, totalling up perhaps more than \$2,000 a year, is not organised like big capitalist organisations to submit memoranda. He has elected representatives to this House and he speaks in this House through his representatives and there is no need for him to go and organise and send a memorandum to the Minister of Finance or any other department. His voice is heard in this House through his elected representatives and he is entitled to expect the Government to take notice of it.

The Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry (Mr. Cheah Theam Swee): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as regards this motion, the principle would appear to be that the Honourable mover of the motion intends to ask this House to set up a Committee to make recommendations on the memoranda submitted by various public bodies on the recent legislation on income tax and tax on fuel oils and eatables.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe that as far as tax on fuel oils and eatables is concerned, we need not have to go into them any further. We have heard, however, references to income tax, and the Honourable Minister of Finance has said that only one memorandum has been submitted in respect of income tax. We have also heard Honourable Members of this House saying that the small man need not submit memoranda to the Government because he has elected representatives to represent him in this House, and that Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would agree, is perfectly

true. They have 73 elected representatives as opposed to 31 elected representatives, and surely in a parliamentary democratic system 73 is a greater number than 31—I have been given to understand that it is only 30. If that is not representative of the majority, which I believe is the democratic system, then I do not know what makes a representation of the people.

Dato' Dr. Ismail: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if this motion had been brought into the former Legislative Council when we were under Colonial rule it would have been accepted, because under Colonial rule the Government was not representative of the people. But after independence the Alliance Government has been returned to power by popular vote with a mandate from the people and it is not prepared to share its responsibility with the Opposition as far as finance is concerned. (*Applause*).

The Honourable Member for Tanjong makes much play of democracy. He says that we should hear what the Opposition has to say. Is what have we been doing the last few days not listening to the speeches made by the Opposition? He accuses my colleague, the Minister of Finance, of not being responsible, and in the name of parliamentary democracy I challenge him to make a vote of no confidence on the Minister of Finance. That is parliamentary democracy. So, if you cannot achieve your ends through parliamentary democracy, you must be very guarded in your speech in Parliament because "people who live in glass houses should not throw stones".

Another practice of parliamentary democracy, Sir—although it is not put down in our Standing Rules and Orders—is that if you are going to attack the Minister of Finance, who speaks for the Government on behalf of the Party in power as regards finance, you should try to do it before he speaks and give him a chance to reply on behalf of the Government, and not after. He accuses the Minister of Finance because he chose to entertain representations in regard to taxation of oil and in regard to anomalies; and because the Minister of Finance was prepared to remedy these anomalies, he accused the Minister of Finance

of having changed his mind. I have got to defend him, Sir, because he cannot get up to speak again and because he speaks for the Government. I think the Opposition should praise him because in sticking to his principle he is not stubborn like the mule. That much I can say for the Government. As regards the Opposition, I leave it to Members of this House to deduce for themselves. (*Laughter*).

So, Sir, I know it is very frustrating for Members of the Opposition to be in Parliament where the Government is assured of a majority of seats. I suggest to Members of the Opposition that if they are constructive in their criticism we are prepared to listen, but as I have repeated so often, we are not going to do the work for them. (*Applause*).

Mr. Chin See Yin: Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Mr. Speaker: Would you be very long?

Mr. Chin See Yin: I wouldn't be very long. When I introduced this motion, Sir, I was thinking of the Gracious Speech of His Highness the Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong and, with your kind permission, I would like to refer to just one short passage of it. It says:

"Whatever is good for the people should have the support of all parties irrespective of where the idea originated. All parties alike have a duty to the people as a whole, but on the majority party in any Parliament lies the special responsibility of listening with receptive minds to constructive criticism of their policies, ever ready to accept sincere contributions to the common weal."

With this in mind, Mr. Speaker, I made a motion with a plea—a plea that the people should have to pay a little less than they do now for their food, and whatever we do towards that end, we are doing it for the good of the people. We are not trying to destroy anything. The Government side must not have the idea in their mind that we who are in the Opposition are here merely to oppose for the sake of opposition. We are here to point out the wrongs, and we hope that something will be done to do justice. But, Sir, it is very wrong for them to take

us as enemies, and not as friends. I think that is very wrong. And every-time when we stand up to say something we notice that they have some "cotton wool" to block their ears so that they could not hear us. Therefore, the Gracious Speech is of no use. Now the position is very clear; they would not have this. So, I better sit down. *Apa boleh buat?*

Question put, and negatived.

Sitting adjourned at 12.55 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 2.30 p.m.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

NATIONALITY OF THE PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar (Kuala Trëngganu Sëlatan): Tuan Yang di-Përtua, saya mëmbawa chadangan:

"Bahawa Rupabangsa atau Këbangsaan atau Nationality bagi Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu ini hëndak-lah di-namakan Mëlayu."

I move, Sir,

That the Rupabangsa or Nationality of the Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu shall be known as "Mëlayu".

Pada bulan November yang lëpas saya tëläh bërtanya kapada Yang Bërhormat Përdana Mëntëri apa-kah Rupabangsa atau Nationality Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu ini? Dia mënjawab ia-lah Warga Nëgara Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu. Dëngan sëgala hormatnya

Mr. Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. It would appear now from what has been said by the Honourable Mover of this motion that in the first place it is not as yet settled whether there is such a thing as *Rupabangsa* or nationality. Therefore, Sir, I would like your ruling on this point as to whether this motion is in order because it seeks to bring in two subject matters. First of all it assumes and therefore asserts that there is such a thing as *Rupabangsa* and the second point is that the *Rupabangsa* shall be Mëlayu. Now I would suggest that before we can say that the *Rupabangsa* shall be Mëlayu, we should first of all establish or bring in a motion to establish that there shall

be a *Rupabangsa* in this country. According to our Constitution there is no such thing as *Rupabangsa*. We have *Warga Negera* which is a citizenship. There is no such a thing as nationality in Malaya. Therefore until a motion is approved that there shall be a nationality, how can we assume that there is a nationality and try to call it Melayu. So in this case I hold that this is two motions in one and is therefore out of order.

Mr. Speaker: My ruling for this is that the motion is quite in order, as I have already accepted this motion as the Speaker of the House.

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Thank you, Sir. Saya hairan mendengar tegoran daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Dato Kramat, tetapi oleh kerana Tuan Speaker telah memberi keputusan itu maka saya tidak payah menjawab kapada-nya lagi. Sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan tadi pada mesyuarat Dewan ini ia-itu bulan November yang lepas yang mana saya telah bertanya kepada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri apa-kah Rupabangsa atau Kebangsaan atau yang di-katakan dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya Nationality bagi Perskutuan Tanah Melayu dan jawab-nya ia-lah Warga Negara Perskutuan Tanah Melayu. Dengan segala hormat-nya saya menyatakan ia-itu jawapan-nya itu sangat-lah tidak memberi puas hati atau pun tepat, oleh kerana Warga Negara itu bukanlah Rupabangsa atau Nationality melainkan satu taraf penduduk² dalam sa-buah negeri ia-itu saya sendiri pada hari ini ada-lah menjadi penduduk atau citizen di-kampung saya di-Johor Bahru. Saya juga menjadi penduduk atau citizen bagi negeri Johor dan saya juga menjadi sa-orang Commonwealth Citizen. Perkataan Warga Negara itu telah di-pinjam daripada bahasa Indonesia yang menunjukkan ra'ayat Indonesia itu, tetapi di-Indonesia itu sendiri ada Rupabangsa-nya yang di-sebutkan dalam bahasa Indonesia Kebangsaan. Ini kita boleh dapati kalau barang siapa telah mendengar lagu Indonesia Raya di-mana ada tersebut dalam lagu itu Indonesia negara-ku, Indonesia kebangsaan-ku. Tiap² sa-buah negeri dalam dunia ini

ada mempunyai Pupabangsa atau Nationality, umpama-nya Rupabangsa atau Kebangsaan Indonesia itu ia-lah Indonesian, Thailand Rupabangsa-nya Thai, Philippines Rupabangsa-nya Filipino, India Rupabangsa-nya Indian dan dalam bahasa Hindi-nya Bhaharathi, Pakistan Rupabangsa-nya Pakistani, penduduk atau ra'ayat United Kingdom Rupabangsa-nya British, ra'ayat America Rupabangsa-nya American dan begitu-lah seterusnya. Tiap² sa-buah negeri itu ada mempunyai Rupabangsa atau Kebangsaan-nya. Sekadarkan kita di-Perskutuan Tanah Melayu ini sa-hingga hari ini sa-sudah lebih kurang 3 tahun merdeka kita tidak mempunyai satu Kebangsaan atau satu Rupabangsa atau Nationality, melainkan kita terima sahaja dan sanggop menjadi hanya Warga Negara Perskutuan Tanah Melayu. Apa-kah Rupabangsa kita pada hari ini? Sememang tidak ada. Harimau pun bukan, Naga pun bukan, Ular pun bukan, Chichak pun bukan

The Prime Minister: Kita tidak-lah hendak menamakan diri kita sa-bagai Ular atau Chichak sekali pun, Tuan. (*Ketawa*).

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Tiap² jenis binatang ada nama-nya, dan tiap² umat sa-suatu negeri itu ada mempunyai nama-nya yang tepat dan tertentu sa-bagai nama Kebangsaan-nya atau Rupabangsa-nya itu. Mengapa-kah hal yang sa-demikian ini? Kalau kita hendak mengetahui akan sebab²-nya tidak ada Rupabangsa Tanah Melayu ini. Mari-lah kita kembali terlebeh dahulu kapada rundingan yang telah di-adakan di-London pada bulan January, 1956, yang di-hadiri oleh wakil² daripada Kerajaan Perikatan berserta dengan wakil² dari Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Melayu berserta dengan wakil² daripada pihak Kerajaan British. Dalam rundingan itu telah dipersetujui supaya Perskutuan Tanah Melayu ini terdiri sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang berpermentahan sendiri yang merdeka dan terbit daripada rundingan itu telah di-persetujui juga supaya di-adakan sa-buah Surohanjaya yang terdiri dari ahli² itu daripada orang² yang di-ambil daripada negeri²

dalam Commonwealth. Kapada Surohanjaya itu telah di-bëri bëbërapa tugas²-nya ia-itu bagaimana dapat kita përhatakan dalam Pënyata Federation of Malaya Constitution Commission yang di-këtuaï oleh Lord Reid. Ada pun tugas yang di-bërikan kapada Surohanjaya itu oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Baginda Queen, dan juga Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Mëlayu itu ia-lah mëmëreksa përatoran dan këadaan Përlëmbagaan yang ada di-sëluroh Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu dëngan mëngambil timbangan di-atas këudokan sërta këlëbahan² Duli Yang Maha Mulia Baginda Queen dan juga Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Mëlayu. Sambil mëmëndangkan shor supaya di-adakan satu Përlëmbagaan sa-buah Përsëkutuan sa-bagai sëluroh nëgëri ini dan di-antara përkara² yang di-minta kapada Surohanjaya itu mëmëndang shor²-nya ia-lah bagi mëmëbëntok satu Këbangsaan atau Rupabangsa atau common Nationality sa-bagai sëluroh Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu.

Di-dalam rundingan itu dua fahaman telah di-dapati ia-itu yang përtama-nya bagaimana yang tërsebut di-dalam paragraph yang këëmpat di-dalam Report ini:

"4. Ada pun hëndak-lah di-fahamkan ia-itu tidak ada satu apa pun di-dalam tugas² yang di-chadangkan untok Surohanjaya itu yang boleh mënjadikan di-ambil faham boleh tërlebeh dahulu mëmëutuskan këudokan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Queen bër-kënaan dëngan Pulau Pinang dan Mëlaka; dan këdua-nya, bër-kënaan dëngan hëndak mënjadikan satu rupabangsa atau common nationality itu maka Surohanjaya itu tidak tërgalang bahkan sa-olah²-nya di-suroh mën-datangkan shor² yang boleh mëmëbënarakan Ra'ayat British atau Ra'ayat Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Mëlayu itu mënnyimpan taraf këra'ayatan-nya itu sa-sudah mënërima taraf këra'ayatan atau common nationality yang di-këhëndakkan itu."

Përsëtujuan Majlis Raja² kapada tugas² Surohanjaya itu dan juga dua fahaman itu telah di-alaskan bagini: "Duli Yang Maha Mulia ia-itu Raja² Mëlayu itu bër-këhëndak supaya di-fahamkan ia-itu mëreka tidak bër-këhëndak përkataan 'nationality' atau këbangsaan itu di-tëtapkan oleh Surohanjaya itu dëngan tëpat-nya mënurut ma'ana dan këhëndak undang² bahkan Surohanjaya itu boleh mënggunakan

atau mënafsirkan përkataan 'nationality' itu dëngan chara luas-nya supaya mëngandongi bukan sahaja rupabangsa atau këra'ayatan hak citizenship supaya kira-nya Surohanjaya itu bër-këhëndak dapat-lah di-pëliharakan këbangsaan dan këra'ayatan itu bër-sama² dan lanjutan itu sa-olah²-nya mënjadi satu common nationality as recorded here so as to produce what in effect would be 'a common nationality'." Maka alasan² ini telah di-tërima oleh Kërajaan British.

Sa-kira-nya kita semak baik² përkataan yang tër-kandung di-dalam alasan ini maka nyata-lah Majlis Raja² itu mëngëtahui sërta mëmëbezakan di-antara këbangsaan atau rupabangsa dëngan këra'ayatan. Maka di-sini-lah saya tidak bër-sëtuju dëngan pëndapat Përdana Mëntëri yang mëngatakan rupabangsa itu ia-lah warga nëgara Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu yang bërma'ana di-dalam bahasa Mëlayu këra'ayatan Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu yang bërbeza dan bërlainan dëngan rupabangsa atau nationality ini. Rupabangsa këbangsaan atau nationality itu satu përkara, këra'ayatan itu satu përkara. Këdua² ini bukan bërma'ana sama. Apa-kah sëbab-nya Duli Yang Maha Mulia di-dalam Majlis Raja² itu mëndatangkan alasan yang bër-bunyi sa-dëmikian itu? Pada pëndapat saya sëbab-nya Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu mëmëbëri alasan sa-macham itu ia-lah kërana mëreka bër-këhëndak mëmëliharakan ra'ayat-nya sëndiri yang tër-bëntok mënurut undang² yang di-luluskan oleh Majlis Mëshuarat sa-sabuah Nëgëri Mëlayu dahulu pada tahun 1952 dan tidak bër-këhëndak mënjadikan satu rupabangsa atau satu këbangsaan bagi sëluroh Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu. Bagitu juga pada pëndapat saya pehak Kërajaan British juga telah mëngambil pëluang mënnyërtakan këhëndak itu dëngan tujuan hëndak mëmëliharakan British Nationality di-Pulau Pinang dan di-Mëlaka.

Sëkarang saya mëmëbawa përhatian Ahli² Yang Bër-hormat sakalian kapada Surohanjaya yang di-këtuaï oleh Lord Reid itu. Surohanjaya ini telah di-lantek atas nama Duli Yang Maha Mulia Baginda Queen sërta dëngan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Mëlayu mëngandongi ahli²-nya daripada India,

Pakistan, Australia, Ceylon dan Great Britain. Surohanjaya itu telah tiba di-Tanah Melayu ini pada bulan June tahun 1956 dan langkah-nya yang pertama ia-lah meminta kepada pertubohan² serta diri sa-sorang menghantarkan fikiran dan kemahuan-nya melalui memorandum atau dengan berjumpa sendiri dengan Ahli² Surohanjaya itu. Di-antara pertubohan² yang telah menghantar memorandum itu ialah pehak Perikatan. Pada muka 2 di-dalam Memorandum Perikatan itu. Maka ada tersebut berkenaan dengan nama negara yang baharu, saya bacakan bagaimana yang ada ini, "Name of the new State: the UMNO desires that the new State should be called 'Malaysia'; the MCA would prefer 'Malaya' to be retained." Surohanjaya itu sendiri mengeshorkan nama Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-dalam bahasa Melayu, kemudian di-tambah pula di-dalam brackets dalam undang² Perlembangan, in English Federation of Malaya, pada muka 5 dalam Penyata-nya itu. Maka Surohanjaya itu telah menyatakan sebab²-nya ia tidak dapat menerima nama "Malaysia" itu, oleh kerana tidak ada termasuk dalam kandungan tugas yang di-beri kapadanya dan dia hanya menggunakan apa yang tersebut dalam tugas-nya itu ia itu "Federation of Malaya". Menurut atoran yang biasa di-jalankan oleh mana² negeri pun, ada pun Rupabangsa atau Nationality negeri itu biasa-nya menurut nama negeri itu, umpama-nya, Indonesia, kebangsaan-nya Indonesian, India, kebangsaan-nya Indian atau Bharati dalam bahasa Hindi, Pakistan, kebangsaan-nya Pakistani, Jepun, kebangsaan-nya Japanese dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya, entah apa-lah dalam bahasa Jepun-nya.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Nihonjin!

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Nihonjin! (Ketawa). Orang² di-negeri China, kebangsaan-nya Chinese dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya, barangkali sahabat saya daripada keturunan China boleh menyatakan apa dia dalam bahasa China-nya, itu saya sendiri tidak tahu, orang² di-United Kingdom, kebangsaan-nya British dan America Sharikat, American dan sa-terus-nya di-mana² juga dalam dunia ini.

Jadi, pada fikiran saya manakala UMNO dahulu mengeshorkan supaya nama negara yang baharu itu di-namakan "Malaysia". Tujuan UMNO saya perchaya ia-lah supaya Kebangsaan atau Rupabangsa itu di-namakan "Malaysian", manakala pehak MCA pula lebih berkehendakkan supaya di-kembalikan "Malaya" itu supaya nama Rupabangsa itu menjadi "Malayan".

Maka di-sini saya suka hendak menyatakan ia-itu pada orang² Melayu, perkataan "Malayan" itu atau Nationality atau Rupabangsa "Malayan" itu ada-lah menjadi "kebanchian". Ahli² Yang Berhormat akan ingat sa-sudah Jepun menyerah diri dan apabila tentara British kembali ka-Tanah Melayu ini telah di-bawa-nya satu ranchangan mendirikan pemerintahan yang di-katakan "Malayan Union" menjadikan tiap² sa-orang di-Tanah Melayu ini ra'ayat British dan Malayan. Dan bagaimana orang Melayu sendiri telah membantah dengan keras-nya di-atas kehendak Kerajaan British itu, lalu tertuboh-nya UMNO sendiri.

Saya ingat pada 25 haribulan 8 tahun 1951, Perdana Menteri yang ada sekarang ini, waktu dia beruchap sa-bagai Yang di-Pertua UMNO kali yang pertama, dia telah menegor dan bertanya, "Siapa-kah "Malayan" itu? Mereka itu belum wujud lagi, kata dia," dan sa-kali lagi anggar tahun 1957-1958, kalau tidak salah ingatan saya Perdana Menteri yang ada ini juga sa-bagai Yang di-Pertua UMNO telah memberi tahu kepada Majlis Mesuarat Agong UMNO ia-itu: tidak akan diterima "Kebangsaan Malayan" itu; sa-hingga hari ini Perdana Menteri itu telah pegang tegoh kapada janji-nya. Oleh kerana hampir 3 tahun lama-nya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini telah merdeka, kita belum juga mempunyai Kebangsaan atau Rupabangsa, sa-kadarkan kita semua yang ada pada hari ini hanya-lah menjadi Warga-negara, apa-kah keadaan yang ada di-dalam Persekutuan pada hari ini? Saya chuba huraikan ia-itu dalam Persekutuan pada hari ini, kita ada mempunyai beberapa jenis Rupabangsa atau Kebangsaan dan beberapa jenis kera'ayatan. Pertama-nya, kita ada undang² di-dalam tiap² sa-buah negeri yang dahulu-nya di-katakan negeri

Melayu, sekarang tidak lagi, yang menentukan penduduk² yang di-peranakkan dalam negeri itu menjadi ra'ayat kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja bagi Negeri itu, kemudian kita mempunyai kera'ayatan British di-Pulau Pinang dan di-Melaka, sa-lepas itu kita mempunyai pula kera'ayatan Persékutuan atau Warganegara Persékutuan dan di-atas semua sa-kali kita mempunyai pula sa-buah kera'ayatan lagi yang di-katakan Commonwealth Citizen.

Kita di-Persékutuan pada hari ini mempunyai sa-orang Yang di-Pertuan Agong, tetapi malang-nya Ketua Negera itu, Yang di-Pertuan Agong, tidak mempunyai sa-orang pun ra'ayat dan tidak ada sa-orang pun yang boleh mengaku ta'at setia kepada-nya. Saya, sa-bagai sa-orang ra'ayat Johor, ta'at setia saya itu tumpah kepada Sultan Johor, begitu juga, saya perchaya, Perdana Menteri, sa-bagai sa-orang ra'ayat Kedah (*Ketawa*) ta'at setia-nya tumpah kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Kedah (*Ketawa*) begitu juga Menteri Pertahanan ta'at setia-nya itu tumpah kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Pahang; sa-kadarkan pada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong tidak ada sa-orang pun yang mesti menumpahkan ta'at setia-nya yang di-katakan allegiance dalam bahasa Inggeris. Oleh kerana dalam undang² Perlembagaan Persékutuan Tanah Melayu tidak dikehendaki kepada siapa² pun mengaku ta'at setia atau menumpahkan allegiance-nya kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu. Saya mengaku dengan terus terang, saya tidak mesti mengaku ta'at setia kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong; sa-kadarkan saya hormatkan dia sa-bagai Ketua Negera ini, tetapi saya tidak mesti mengaku ta'at setia kepada-nya; maka keadaan yang sa-macam ini ia-lah suatu keadaan yang bukan². Patut-nya kita adakan satu kebangsaan, suatu bangsa, dan tiap² sa-orang daripada bangsa itu atau kebangsaan itu hendak-lah menumpahkan ta'at setia-nya kepada Ketua Negera ia-itu Yang di-Pertuan Agong; baharu-lah akan terbentuk satu bangsa, satu kebangsaan dengan mempunyai sa-orang Ketua Negera yang tertentu.

Tujuan chadangan saya ini ia-lah hendak meminta persetujuan daripada Dewan Ra'ayat ini menentukan Rupa-bangsa atau Kebangsaan kepada Persékutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Di-dalam Undang² Perlembagaan Persékutuan fasal yang pertama ada tersebut ia-itu Persékutuan ini hendak di-namakan "Persékutuan Tanah Melayu." Kemudian di-dalam breket pula dalam bahasa Inggeris "The Federation of Malaya." Ada pun perkataan "Malaya" itu ada-lah saki-baki penjajah. Perkataan "Malaya" itu di-karang asal-nya pada tahun 1878 oleh Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, nama itu telah di-karang supaya meliputi bukan sahaja tanah yang di-namakan pada masa itu "Semenanjung Melaka" atau "Semenanjung Tanah Melayu" akan tetapi mengandongi gugusan pulau² yang meliputi daripada pulau Sumatra, di-seluruh barat membawa-lah kepada pulau Irian di-seluruh timor-nya. Ia-itu perkataan "Malaya" yang di-karang oleh Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society itu mengandongi bukan sahaja Semenanjung Tanah Melayu bahkan juga gugusan² pulau² Melayu.

Kemudian pada tahun 1907 Sir Swettenham telah mengeluarkan bukunya yang bernama "British Malaya" dan menggunakan perkataan "British Malaya" itu supaya meliputi negeri² yang di-bawah kuasa Kerajaan British atau pun di-bawah naungan Kerajaan British itu. Dan daripada masa itu-lah perkataan "Malaya" telah lekat dan kekal di-gunakan. Maka terbit daripada perkataan "Malaya" itu timbul-lah perkataan "Malayan". "Malayan" itu pada hari ini nampak saya ada bermacam² jenis. Ada Malayan yang sa-benar-nya menjadi warga-negara dan ra'ayat Persékutuan Tanah Melayu yang tidak berpaling kepada negeri yang lain. Ada orang² yang mengaku diri-nya Malayan yang bersaduran terjerit, terpekek menuntut hak bagi sa-orang Malayan, tetapi apabila sampai masa-nya atau tempoh-nya berhenti daripada Kerajaan atau telah habis perniagaan-nya maka dia terus terbang balek ka-negeri-nya yang asal (*Ketawa*) dan kita ada juga orang² yang mengaku diri-nya Malayan yang dudok di-sini hanya beberapa tahun sahaja, satu

tahun, dua tahun, tiga tahun dan empat tahun. Saya ingat waktu saya di-London pada tahun 1948, saya buka Telephone Directory, saya dapati ada satu club bernama "Malayan Women Club" ahli²-nya terdiri daripada bini² pegawai bangsa putih yang telah bersara atau pun berchuti balek ka-London. Maka ka-semua-nya itu Malayan juga belaka? (*Ketawa*) kira-nya kita tetapkan satu nama Rupa-bangsa maka saya perchaya tidak-lah nama bangsa itu di-gunakan bukan² oleh sa-barang orang. Saya teringat juga lebih kurang sa-tahun dahulu membacha dalam surat khabar, kalau ta' salah "Straits Times" mengatakan ada sa-orang Malayan Diplomat melawat ka-Hongkong, bila kita semak berita itu rupa-nya High Commissioner Great Britain yang dudok-nya di-Singapura. Itu sebab-nya saya meminta kepada Dewan Ra'ayat ini menetapkan kebangsaan itu di-namakan "Melayu", saya tidak meminta kepada Dewan ini menetapkan "Kebangsaan Malay" melainkan "Melayu" dan "Melayu" sahaja. Tidak ada terjadi-nya kepada sa-barang bahasa yang lain, baik pun bahasa putih atau bahasa kuning, bahasa hitam, bahasa hijau (*Ketawa*) melainkan bahasa itu satu sahaja "Melayu".

Kita dapati dalam undang² ini nama negara ini ia-lah Perskutuan Tanah Melayu, maka di-sini saya tegaskan dan saya menitekbberatkan perkataan Melayu—Tanah Melayu, bukan-nya Tanah Malayan, bukan tanah siapa pun melainkan Tanah Melayu. Tetapi, saya hairan apabila di-buat undang² ini mengapa hendak di-gunakan dua nama bagi negeri ini. Mengapa tidak memadai dengan satu nama sahaja ia-itu Perskutuan Tanah Melayu, melainkan ditambah-nya dalam breket "in English—the Federation of Malaya." Ada pun "Federation" terjemahan-nya itu bukanlah terjemahan "Perskutuan Tanah Melayu", tetapi kalau hendak diterjemahkan perkataan Perskutuan Tanah Melayu itu maka sepatutnya-lah menjadi "Federation of Malay Land."

Dalam Perlembagaan kita ini kita dapati pengakuan bahawasa-nya negeri ini ia-lah Tanah Melayu. Jika sakira-nya negeri ini Tanah Melayu apa-kah

lebih munasabah sakira-nya bangsa itu Kebangsaan-nya itu di-namakan Melayu juga? Saya mengerti ia-itu diantara penduduk² Warga Negara dalam Perskutuan Tanah Melayu ini ada pehak yang tidak sukakan atau pun benchi di-sebutkan Melayu itu, tetapi saya tidak nampak sebab²-nya yang mereka itu tidak boleh menerima Kebangsaan Melayu itu. Orang² Melayu telah ada di-Tanah Melayu ini, Gugusan Pulau² Melayu beratus² tahun lama-nya. Sa-telah terdiri beratus² tahun lama-nya negeri² dan Kerajaan² Melayu dan jika sakira-nya kita bacha tawarikh orang² Melayu itu maka kita akan dapati bagaimana besar-nya Kerajaan Melayu dahulu itu dan oleh yang demikian itu apa-kah hendak di-malukan atau hendak di-segankan sa-kira-nya Kebangsaan negeri ini di-namakan Melayu. Kalau orang yang bukan Melayu khas-nya orang² bangsa China keturunan China, saya mengingatkan kepada mereka itu ia-itu di-Indonesia selain daripada yang balek ka-negeri China mereka tak mahu menjadi Warga Negara atau Kebangsaan Indonesia yang mana kemudian-nya telah menerima dan mengaku Kebangsaan Indonesia itu demikian juga di-India sedikit bulan dahulu kita terbacha di-surat² khabar bahawa orang² keturunan China di-Culcutta dengan suka rela mengaku diri mereka menjadi ra'ayat India dan begitu juga orang² China di-lain² negeri umpama-nya di-Thailand dan Philippines.

Sa-belum undang² ini di-luluskan anggaran bulan June-July, 1957, samemang-nya ada dalam negeri ia-ini 9 buah negeri Melayu, tetapi oleh sebab kemurahan hati Kerajaan Perikatan maka 9 buah negeri itu telah di-hapuskan sa-bagaimana boleh dapat kita bacha dalam Fasal yang Pertama, Pechahan (2) yang mengatakan ada pun negeri² Perskutuan Tanah Melayu ini ia-lah Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor dan Trengganu yang dahulunya dan tidak sekarang ini lagi. Dahulu kemelayuan sa-bagai negeri, tetapi kalau kita semak baik² apa yang terkandung syarat² dalam Perlembagaan ini, maka kita dapati ia-itu keadaan-nya sudah terbalek. Menurut perjanjian Perskutuan Tanah Melayu tahun 1948

ada pun Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu ini tëläh di-jadikan oleh 9 buah nögëri yang suka mënërima 2 buah Nögëri Sëlat ia-itu Pulau Pinang dan Mëlaka masok dalam Përsëkutuan.

Mënurut undang² Përlëmbagaan yang ada ini këadaan-nya itu tëläh tërbalek. Sëkarang mënurut undang² ini kita mëmpunyai 2 buah nögëri Përsëkutuan ia-itu nögëri Pulau Pinang dan nögëri Mëlaka dan 9 buah Nögëri² Mëlayu itu mënampil sahaja mënompang di-dalam Përsëkutuan ini sa-olah² bëgitu-lah yang tëläh tërjadi pada hari ini. Oleh kërana këdua² buah nögëri Pulau Pinang dan Mëlaka itu ia-lah di-bawah kuasa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sëri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Përtuan Agong manakala Këtua dan Raja bagi tiap² sa-buah nögëri itu tërdahulu di-katakan Nögëri Mëlayu ia-lah Raja² Mëlayu yang di-katakan-nya masing². Sa-bagaimana yang tëläh saya katakan tadi, saya ini ia-lah sa-orang ra'ayat Johore sunggoh pun saya mënjadi ra'ayat Johore, tëtapi saya tidak tahu apa nama saya ini. (*Këtawa*).

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Dato' Onn-lah! (*Këtawa*).

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order!

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Ada-kah saya ini di-panggil Johorian, atau Johorite, atau Al-Johari? (*Këtawa*). Sëkadar yang saya tahu saya ia-lah sa-orang Johore—ra'ayat Johore

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Orang Trëngganu!

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Trëngganu itu nögëri tiri saya, bukan nögëri saya. Saya faham ada pun tujuan Kërajaan Përikatan ia-lah hëndak mëndirikan sa-buah nögëra, hëndak mëngadakan satu Këbangsaan, hëndak mëngadakan satu Bangsa di-Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu ini bëgitu juga tujuan saya ini yang mana saya përchaya tujuan tiap² sa-orang Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat ini, tëtapi bagaimana hëndak kita bëntok sa-buah Nögëri, satu Bangsa, satu Këbangsaan jika sakira-nya tidak ada Rupabangsa atau Nationality itu? Tak boleh-kah kita ikut jëjak langkah dan tauladan nögëri² yang lain dalam dunia ini yang mëmbëntok Rupabangsa-nya, Këbangsaan-nya yang tërtëntu dan tëpat?

Sëkarang saya bërpaling pula kapada satu përkara yang lain ia-itu Fasal 152 dalam undang² ini maka ada tërsëbut:

"Bahawasa-nya bahasa Këbangsaan itu hëndak-lah bahasa Mëlayu"

Patut-nya dan sëmolek²-nya bahasa Këbangsaan itu ia-lah bahasa Mëlayu. Kita baharu sahaja lëpas mënyambut Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan. Sëtahu saya slogan atau sëruan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan itu ia-lah "Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa" yang mana bahasa-nya Mëlayu, tëtapi Bangsa-nya tak ada (*Këtawa*) jiwa-nya kosong sahaja. Sambil saya mënyëbutkan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan ini saya hëndak mëngambil pëlualang mënëgor di-atas përkataan yang tëläh di-këluarkan oleh Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Tuan Syed Nasir bin Ismail, sa-orang Pëgawai Kërajaan yang tëläh mëngëluarkan përkataan "mënudoh" sa-orang Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat ini bërpërangai "mëndërhaka" atau "treason". Oleh sëbab Ahli Yang Bërhormat itu dari party yang tidak mëngambil bahagian bagi mëmajukan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan, maka tërüs di-chap-nya orang yang sëmacham itu bërpërangai "mëndërhaka". Përkataan ini këräs, kasar dan tidak patut di-lafadzkan oleh sa-orang pëgawai Kërajaan sa-umpama Tuan Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Dan saya bërharap Yang Bërhormat Mëntëri Pëlajaran akan mënëgor Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka itu. Dari itu biar-lah mëngëluarkan kapada përkataan² yang bërpadan an dëngan pangkat dan këwajipan sërta tanggong-jawab-nya, dan jangan-lah hëndak-nya mënudoh kapada Ahli² Dewan Ra'ayat ini dëngan tudohan yang bukan² yang sëmacham itu. Saya mënyëbut ini bukan-nya saya ada bërpakat dëngan Ahli Yang Bërhormat itu—bukan. Ini datang-nya dari përasaan hati saya sëndiri ia-itu përkataan yang di-gunakan oleh Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka yang mana tidak patut di-këluarkan oleh sa-orang pëgawai Kërajaan.

Jadi, daripada këtëranan saya yang sudah ini kita di-Përsëkutuan

Tanah Melayu ini mempunyai sa-buah negeri yang di-namakan Pērsekutuan Tanah Melayu. Kita mempunyai bahasa yang rasmi dan yang di-akuī ia-itu bahasa kebangsaan Melayu. Pada menjawab pertanyaan saya pada bulan November yang lepas maka kita telah dapati daripada mulut atau daripada tulisan Perdana Menteri sendiri bahawa pakaian kebangsaan negeri ini ia-lah pakaian kebangsaan Melayu. Jadi telah lengkap-lah Melayu itu di-dalam-nya, di-dalam bangsa-nya dan di-dalam pakaian-nya sa-kadarkan saya kadang² bingung—dua tiga hari ini tidak-lah, tetapi lebih dahulu daripada itu saya bingung menengok sa-orang Menteri Kerajaan masuk ka-Dewan ini dengan tidak mengindahkan perintah Kerajaan sendiri memakai pakaian kebangsaan atau pun lounge suit melainkan dia pakai pakaian Dhoti. Tidak dapat-kah Perdana Menteri menegor kepada Menteri ini?

Mr. Speaker: Is that relevant to this motion?

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Jadi, apa-kah lebih menasabah dengan sebab ada-nya Pērsekutuan Tanah Melayu, bahasa kebangsaan Melayu dan pakaian kebangsaan Melayu maka kebangsaan itu di-Melayukan juga?

Dalam masa beberapa tahun yang lepas saya tidak sunyi dalam sharahan saya di-merata² menerangkan ia-itu rupabangsa atau kebangsaan negeri ini patut-lah di-namakan Melayu, tetapi malang-nya di-antara beberapa orang Menteri² Kerajaan Perikatan ada juga yang tidak bersetuju langsung, sa-orang daripada-nya Menteri Pertahanan. Chuba kita dengar apa kata Menteri Pertahanan pada 23 haribulan September tahun 1958—barang kali ia lupa tetapi alhamdulillah ia berkata, saya mengambil *Berita Harian*, saya tidak hadir dan tidak mendengar, kata-nya: "Kalau kita menetapkan nama rupabangsa di-dalam Perlembagaan umpama-nya nama 'Melayu', neschaya hilang-lah hak² istimewa orang² Melayu sebab orang² China dan orang² bangsa lain. Dalam keadaan itu menyebabkan tidak-lah dapat kita mengutamakan kepentingan orang² Melayu kerana orang² China pun akan

mengaku sa-bagai orang Melayu, begitu juga India dan bangsa lain juga." Saya hairan, oleh kerana Kerajaan Perikatan telah menerangkan bertalu² kapada dunia tujuan-nya hendak menyatukan umat di-dalam negeri ini. Maka apa-kah yang di-bimbangkan-nya kira-nya di-satukan, melainkan di-ungkit dan di-bangkit berkenaan dengan hak istimewa orang² Melayu, hak istimewa yang sa-benar-nya tidak ada. Chuba kita baca Fasal 153 di-dalam Undang² ini berkenaan dengan yang di-katakan oleh Menteri² Perikatan, Menteri Pertahanan dan Menteri Dalam—Perdana Menteri saya tidak dengar, dia dua orang sahaja yang bechok (*Ketawa*), yang membangkit dan mengungkit hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Chuba kita baca Fasal 153 dalam Undang² Perlembagaan ini apa kata-nya:

"153. (1) It shall be the responsibility of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to safeguard the special position of Malays"

Berbeza sangat di-antara yang di-katakan hak istimewa dengan kedudukan istimewa. Kedudukan saya sa-bagai wakil ra'ayat di-sini mewakili Kuala Trengganu berbeza daripada hak kuasa sa-bagai wakil Negeri. Maka saya hairan memikirkan ada orang di-antara Menteri² Perikatan yang sanggup hendak mengelirukan ra'ayat dengan mengadakan barang yang tidak ada. Kemudian kata Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri—ia tidak ada hari ini khabar-nya ia berubat ka-Hong Kong, menurut *Utusan Melayu* pula pada bulan September juga tahun 1958 kata-nya: "Beliau menerangkan bahawa tidak-lah hendak mengadakan rupabangsa kerana tiap² Negeri Sultan mempunyai ra'ayat masing²." Jadi alasan atau tegoran yang di-beri oleh Menteri Dalam itu sesuai-lah dengan pendapat saya ia-itu Majlis Raja² dahulu tidak mahu menghilangkan Kera'ayatan Negeri itu dan dari itu tidak-lah di-adakan satu Rupabangsa atau Kebangsaan bagi seluruh Pērsekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, kira-nya Menteri Pertahanan hendak menjawab

Tun Abdul Razak: Tetap menjawab.

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: perka-taan itu berkenaan dengan hak istimewa Melayu saya menerima kaseh.

Oleh kerana saya sudah puas membachau² ini daripada Alif sampai Nya (*Ketawa*) saya belum dapat lagi perkataan hak istimewa, melainkan perkataan² yang saya dapati hanya-lah kerdudukan. Ada pun sebab²-nya saya minta kepada Dewan Ra'ayat ini menerima chadangan saya ini ia-lah; pertama-nya, negeri ini di-namakan Persékutuan Tanah Melayu, bahasa kebangsaan-nya bahasa Melayu, pakaian kebangsaan-nya, pakaian Melayu dan 9 buah daripada 11 buah negeri yang terkandung dalam Persékutuan ini dahulu-nya Negeri Melayu, walau pun sekarang tidak. Apa ada menjadi kederatan atau kesusahan kalau kita namakan diri kita "Melayu" daripada kita hendak namakan diri "Malayan" atau hantu—shaitan-kah (*Ketawa*)? Perkataan "Malayan" itu ada-lah saki-baki yang terbit daripada zaman penjajah dahulu dan chendrong pada hari ini ia-lah hendak membuang, mengikis segala benda yang bersangkutan dengan penjajah. Maka masa ini-lah hari-nya kita mengikis "Malayan" itu dan kita gantikan dengan satu Rupabangsa yang menunjokkan sa-benar-nya Persékutuan ia-lah Persékutuan Tanah Melayu. Kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang bukan daripada baka keturunan Melayu, saya minta fikiran baik² perkara ini. Jangan-lah dengan sebab dahulu ta' suka menerima perkataan Melayu itu, takut konon atau agak-nya menjadi layu, tetapi Melayu zaman ini tidak layu lagi, kita kerap kali telah mendengar Menteri² Kerajaan Perikatan berkata Melayu sekarang telah bangun dan begitu-bagini tidak layu lagi.

Orang Melayu mempunyai sejarah yang gemilang, sejarah yang boleh kita ambil daripada beberapa ratus tahun dahulu. Dan dari itu jikalau sa-kiranya di-bangkitkan sa-mula kebangsaan Melayu itu, kita hidupkan sa-mula nama "Melayu" itu, maka kemegahan itu akan turun-temurun kapada anak chuchu-chichit kita sakalian. Kapada ahli² yang ada di-dalam UMNO, walau pun diri-nya Perikatan, tetapi terbit-nya daripada UMNO, saya suka hendak mengingatkan pertentangan-nya kapada "Malayan Union" kebénchian-nya kapada "Malayan Union", kebénchian-nya hendak menerima "Malayan"

itu. Dari itu mari-lah kita beramai² menerima chadangan ini membentuk satu Rupabangsa yang di-namakan Melayu, sa-bagaimana juga kita telah menerima sa-buah negara yang di-namakan Persékutuan Tanah Melayu sa-bagaimana juga kita telah menerima bahasa yang di-namakan bahasa kebangsaan Melayu, sa-bagaimana juga kita telah menerima pakaian kebangsaan Melayu, melainkan sa-orang Menteri Perikatan yang ta' mahu menerima-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, demikian-lah alasan² dan hujah² saya, sa-kali pun wakil daripada Dato Kramat tadi chuba hendak membantutkan chadangan saya ini, pada hal saya sudah chapak lebih dahulu dengan dia (*Ketawa*) mengatakan ta' usah, sebab kalau dibantah, saya akan lawan sa-kurang²-nya sa-tengah jam, mujor hal ini tidak berbangkit, kerana Tuan Yang di-Pertua sendiri telah menetapkan ia-itu chadangan ini sah dan halal dan dengan yang demikian, saya pulangkan kapada timbangan Dewan Ra'ayat ini.

Mr. Lim Kean Siew: Mr. Speaker, Sir, would it be in order for me to ask certain questions on a point of clarification at the moment?

Mr. Speaker: I have not put the question to debate.

Mr. Lim Kean Siew: That is why I asked for clarification.

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: The Honourable Member is hasty!

Mr. Speaker: (To Mr. Lim Kean Siew) You can do that later.

Mr. Lim Kean Siew: I might have seconded the motion after receiving clarification.

Mr. Speaker: I thought you are going to second the motion. (*Laughter*).

Dr. Burhanuddin bin Mohd. Noor (Bésut): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangkit menyokong chadangan yang telah di-kemukakan baharu² ini, daripada segi undang² telah pun di-kemukakan oleh penjajah. Saya rasa dalam saya menyokong ini, saya hendak memberi hujah² dan pandangan² berhubung dengan sejarah dan perjuangan ra'ayat negeri ini. Kita semua tahu

sĕjarah nĕgĕri ini, kalau kita pandang dari dĕkat sahaja, kira² daripada abad 14-15 dapat-lah kita kĕtahui bahawa bumi Tanah Mĕlayu ini mĕmpunyai kawasan dan empire yang luas yang di-pĕrentah oleh Raja Mĕlaka, ini-lah empire Mĕlayu yang bĕsar, sama-lah dudok dan tinggi-nya dĕngan bangsa² yang lain dalam dunia pada masa itu. Sĕjarah mĕnunjokkan dĕngan nyata kĕbĕsaran dan kĕagongan empire Mĕlayu itu, dan kĕjatohan-nya ia-lah dĕngan sĕbab datang-nya pĕnjajah Pĕrtugis dan Bĕlanda, kĕmudian pĕnjajah Inggris, kĕmudian tiap² dalam satu pĕrpindahan pĕnjajah itu tidak-lah putus²-nya bahawa bangsa kita yang sudah bĕrupa bĕntok-nya yang asli yang tĕlah pun mĕmbĕntok sĕjarah dan pĕrtubohan-nya tĕlah mĕlawan dan mĕnĕntang pĕnjajahan itu dĕngan pĕpĕrangan dĕngan bĕbĕrapa incident² dan tidak-lah habis² dari abad ka-abad pĕrjuangan bangsa Mĕlayu itu tĕrus-mĕnĕrus hĕndak mĕnĕgakkan kĕmbali kĕdaulatan bangsa dan kĕbangsaan-nya. Dan manakala datang-lah pĕnjajah Inggris yang akhir sa-sudah Pĕrang Dunia kĕdua kĕadaan nĕgĕri kita bĕrpĕchah², timbul-lah policy hĕndak mĕmĕrentah nĕgĕri ini dĕngan chara yang lĕmbut bagi mĕnutup kĕaifan dasar pĕnjajah-nya ia-itu dĕngan mĕnggunakan political franchise bagi mĕlĕborkan hak kĕtuanan Mĕlayu. Hingga pada takat ini bahawa tĕrnyata lagi nĕgĕri kita ini bulat² pĕratus-nya ada-lah bĕrupa Mĕlayu, bĕrbĕntok Mĕlayu, bĕrjiwa Mĕlayu, bĕrbangsa Mĕlayu, sa-sudah pĕnjajahan ini-lah, timbol siasat² kĕra'ayatan pĕnjajahan itu, di-antara siasat²-nya yang akan mĕnjatoh dan mĕlĕmahkan bangsa Mĕlayu dĕngan siasat baharu-nya yang tĕlah di-sĕdiakan sa-bagai sifat pĕnjajah supaya lĕmah bangsa itu, dĕngan kĕlĕmahan itu dapat-lah di-pĕrentah dan mĕngawal muslihat-nya.

Maka jalan² mula mĕmĕrentah-nya dan mĕlĕmahkan bangsa Mĕlayu itu ia-itu dĕngan mĕngĕkalkan hidup orang Mĕlayu itu sa-chara agraria, dĕngan jalan itu orang Mĕlayu bĕrtumpu kapada tanah, bĕrtumpu-lah kapada hidup sa-chara datok nenek moyang-nya yang tidak akan bĕrubah

sa-lama²-nya, walau pun datang pĕrpindahan dan pĕrubahan colony yang di-bawa oleh pĕnjajah itu. Sa-sudah itu bahawa sa-suatu bangsa itu akan bangun balek manakala mĕreka itu chĕrdek dan pandai, maka untok mĕmbĕndong dan mĕmbodohkan Mĕlayu itu maka sĕkolah² pun tidak di-bĕri tinggi hingga brĕpuluh² tahun ada yang sampai bĕratus tahun maseh bĕrdarjah (standard) lima juga. Kĕmudian untok mĕlĕkaskan lagi kĕlĕmahan orang² Mĕlayu, yang begitu lama daripada turun-tĕmurun-nya mĕmbela hak-nya itu, maka di-bawa-nya siasatan yang di-panggil divide and rule yang di-kĕnal siasatan pintu tĕrbuka. Ini-lah pĕrkara² yang bĕsar yang mĕnimbulkan masa'alah kĕbangsaan hari ini sama ada mĕnĕtapkan kĕbangsaan "Mĕlayu" bagaimana yang di-chadangkan ini atau mĕnolak-nya bagaimana kĕhĕndak pĕnjajah yang tĕlah pĕrnah pun ada suara² orang kita yang mĕnyokong-nya mĕlĕtakkan bahawa "Mĕlayu" itu sa-bagai pĕrkauman. Supaya pĕrkara ini iĕlas, tĕntu-lah mĕsti di-bungkar balek riwayat pĕrkĕmbangan-nya "Kalau sĕsat di-huiong jalan, kita balek ka-pangkal jalan". Jiwa sĕjarah bangsa kita di-tanah ayer bukan-lah sa-bagaimana kĕadaan bĕntok kĕra'ayatan hari ini tĕlah tĕrnoda dĕngan chĕlopan pĕnjajah, Mĕlayu pĕrkauman bukan kĕbangsaan! Pada hal sa-bĕnar-nya pĕrjalanan sĕjarah dan pĕrjuangan bangsa Mĕlayu mĕnĕntang pĕnjajah² dari Pĕrtugis hingga Inggris ada-lah tĕrus-mĕnĕrus hĕndak mĕngĕmbalikan kĕdaulatan bangsa ia-itu kĕbangsaan Mĕlayu, yang ada pangkal-nya, yang ada pokok dan pĕrdu-nya maka mĕstilah kita bĕrbalek mĕnchari bĕneh asli dan kĕtulinan yang hĕndak kita tumbohkan di-atas bumi pusaka kita ini.

Masa'alah pintu tĕrbuka ini-lah yang tĕlah mĕmbawa pĕrkara yang mĕlĕborkan hak bangsa Mĕlayu, yang mĕrosakkan kĕdudokan bangsa Mĕlayu itu dan taraf kĕbangsaan-nya. Maka dĕngan pintu tĕrbuka ini, kalau kita hĕndak ambil garisan yang bĕsar-nya, dasar pintu tĕrbuka ini tĕlah mĕmbawa masok orang² dagang ka-nĕgĕri kita ini dĕngan dua sifat yang bĕsar. Saya minta ma'af dalam pĕrkara ini jika

tërsinggong yang tidak saya maksudkan kepada orang² yang bukan Melayu bukan-lah maksud saya hendak mengatakan kepada bangsa² yang datang, hanya-lah hendak menerangkan kedudukan bagaimana kesan sejarah penjajah telah merosakkan tanah ayer dan bangsa Melayu ini.

Penjajah membawa orang² dagang dengan tujuan untuk mengembangkan kepentingan² colony-nya dan kepentingan² kapitalis-nya yang merupakan pembukaan Lombong, yang berupa pembukaan Estate, yang berupa pembukaan pekerjaan² contract dan sebagainya untuk keuntungan dengan memakai upah gaji yang murah atau sa-bagai-nya. Orang² ini sudah tentu masuk-nya di-bawa oleh kepentingan² penjajah itu sendiri. Dan dengan adanya kema'moran Tanah Melayu ini banyak-lah orang² yang tidak termasuk daripada golongan itu yang masuk ka-dalam negeri ini kerana menchari perubahan hidup-nya sa-bagai manusia yang biasa masuk dari satu negeri ka-satu negeri. Ini-lah dua sifat orang² yang datang ka-negeri ini pada pokok-nya.

Kita tidak harus melupakan walau pun datang-nya apa bangsa ka-tanah ayer kita, sipat modest, sipat tabi'at semula jadi bangsa Melayu tetapi hidup, tetap berjiwa dan tetap mengaku hak ketuanan-nya dan hak kedudukan-nya, hak ke'adilan-nya bahawa orang² itu datang berdagang ka-bumi pusaka-nya sendiri. Walau pun begitu banyak orang² yang datang ka-tanah ayer kita, bangsa Melayu ini tidak-lah pernah menimbulkan perkara² yang merupakan kekacauan daripada sebab datang-nya orang² dagang itu tetapi tetap-lah juga bahawa jiwa bangsa Melayu hendak mengembali akan ketuanan Melayu, hak pusaka Melayu, hak kebangsaan itu berbalek kapada-nya dan mereka terus melawan dan menentang penjajahan dan siasat²-nya. Perlawanan ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berjalan terus tidak berhenti², patah tumbuh hilang berganti, hingga-lah sa-belum perang dunia yang kedua. Kerana terlalu keras tekanan penjajah terhadap Melayu yang hendak membangkitkan

balek bangsa Melayu itu maka dilarang dan di-sekat benar² dalam gerakan politik untuk mengembalikan hak ketuanan dan hak bangsa-nya. Maka kebangkitan bangsa Melayu itu telah keluar tumbuh daripada segi yang boleh mereka lakukan dalam masa penjajahan. Sa-sudah keadaan penjajahan pada masa itu dengan timbul keadaan² perubahan ra'ayat di-negeri sekeliling Tanah Melayu ini telah bangun membela hak dan ke-'adilan pusaka-nya balek. India menuntut kemerdekaan-nya, Indonesia minta kemerdekaan-nya, Burma dan Philipines juga demikian tetapi di-negeri ini walau pun kelihatan maseh lagi dalam keadaan yang tenang sungguh-nya sudah bergolak.

Bagitu pun sa-belum Perang Dunia II kesedaran telah timbul dan ketimbulan itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul-lah Persatuan² Melayu, Kesatuan² Melayu yang berhasil pada mewujudkan Kongres Bangsa Melayu yang di-adakan di-Singapura. Di-sana-lah sa-sudah mengkaji keadaan dengan dekat-nya peperangan dunia sedang mula timbul, pada masa itu-lah peperangan telah pecah di-negeri China dan di-Eropa. Maka bangsa Melayu yang hidup jiwa-nya hendak mengembalikan kebangsaan-nya itu telah merupakan dua bentok chara berfikir dan chara bergerak. Golongan tua dari Kongres itu memberikan Co. kapada Inggeris dan terus memberikan kerjasama yang dapat kapada penjajah. Dengan jalan bekerja-sama itu-lah beransor²-lah membawa perubahan bangsa-nya. Ini banyak ternyata dipimpin oleh Kesatuan² dan Persatuan² Melayu di-negeri ini. Manakala golongan muda nampak bahawa perubahan tidak akan datang sedangkan dunia sedang bergolak, mesti-lah dengan chara nor menentang penjajah maka ini-lah dua chara jiwa yang telah hidup sa-belum perang dunia yang kedua hendak menuntut balek hak bangsa Melayu, hak pertuanan Melayu dan hak kebangsaan Melayu, hak ke'adilan-nya balek ka-tempat-nya dan balek kapada kedudukan-nya yang asal.

Ini-lah keadaan-nya yang telah berjalan hingga-lah datang pula Penjajah

Jepun di-Tanah Ayer kita ini. Mereka juga dengan chara berupa penjajahan yang lebih hebat lagi daripada yang lain². Kita mengetahui walau pun pemerintahan-nya keras, kejam, main pan-chong dan kerat kepala namun begitu pun pesanan Laksamana Hang Tuah "Ta' kan Melayu hilang di-dunia". Jiwa bangsa Melayu terus hidup berkubar² dan terus juga menchari hidup keluar untuk mengembalikan hak ketuanan bangsa Melayu dan menegakkan hak bangsa dan tanah ayer-nya.

Pertjuangan berjalan terus, dan dengan jalan gerakan kemerdekaan ini, sejarah mula berubah, tidak-lah saya hendak buktikan apa yang telah di-lakukan oleh penjuang² kita yang mengumpul dan mengujudkan kembali kemerdekaan negeri ini. Sa-sudah perang dunia yang kedua, jiwa dan semangat bangsa Melayu semakin besar bersesuaian dengan akuan² yang telah di-beri oleh United Nations Charter, maka pada masa itu-lah pemuda² Melayu telah bangun menuntut kemerdekaan negeri ini kembali yang di-sangka telah mati, rupa-nya masih hidup, *mahukan kemerdekaan bangsa, mahukan kemerdekaan tanah ayer, mahukan kemerdekaan ugama* maka itu-lah bunyi slogan² yang telah di-tuntut oleh pemuda² angkatan baharu daripada bangsa Melayu yang membela hak keadilan bangsa, nusa dan ugama-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul-lah satu gerakan yang di-namakan "Party Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya" ada-lah dengan chukop tegas bahawa gerakan itu bukan-lah gerakan perkauman Melayu, bukan-lah gerakan racial Melayu, bukan-lah gerakan communal Melayu, tetapi "Malay Nationalist Party" ia-itu gerakan kebangsaan yang di-sebutkan dalam bahasa kita Party Kebangsaan Melayu ada-kah nama itu nama yang kosong? Tidak, di-sebalek-nya pula jiwa-nya berkubar² dengan semangat jiwa Melayu, bangsa Melayu dengan menuju kepada hasil mengem-balikan hak² ketuanan Melayu dan juga hak² ketuanan bangsa Melayu, jadi terus kebangsaan. Maka kerana itu-lah timbul-nya semangat jiwa merdeka yang berkubar² menentang penjajahan dan pada masa itu-lah saya di-antara-nya pejuang² yang menanamkan jiwa

dan semangat merdeka dengan bersungoh² bagi mengembalikan hak² kebangsaan ini dengan sa-rangkap kata menjadi chogan untuk hidup mengem-balikan jiwa kebangsaan itu yang selalu menjadi sebutan pelupor dan pejuang—

"Di-atas robohan Kota Melaka

Kita bangunkan JIWA MERDEKA

Bersatu padu seluroh baka

Membela Hak Ke'adilan Pesa'ka."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah yang sudah berjalan dan gerakan² pada masa itu semakin kuat dan semakin besar juga semakin luas di-rasa kebenarannya oleh ra'ayat negeri ini bahawa apa yang telah di-tuntut oleh Party Kebangsaan Melayu itu ia-lah satu tuntutan kebangsaan yang radical dan terasa oleh golongan² yang berjiwa Co pada masa dahulu itu lalu mengadakan satu badan kebangsaan berpendirian Co pula ringkas-nya dan dengan kerjasama badan kebangsaan yang telah sedia ada ia-itu Party Kebangsaan Melayu yang berpendirian Non telah dapat di-tubuhkan Co dan Non di-satukan dalam badan bergabungan yang keadaan-nya bersifat Co ya'ani Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu (U.M.N.O.). Ini juga sangat-lah tegas, sejak bila di-namakan ia-lah menurut jiwa hidup bangsa Melayu dan hak kembali-nya bangsa Melayu. Kita semua masih ingat bahawa jiwa kebangsaan dengan slogan dan seruan jiwa kebangsaan yang kita laong²kan ia-lah pekek "Hidup Melayu" pada masa itu tak lain maksud-nya ia-lah mengembalikan bangsa Melayu dan ketuanan-nya di-atas dunia pusaka negeri ini.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dua badan yang telah di-tubuhkan ia-itu gerakan kiri dan kanan ada-lah merupakan badan perjuangan hak bangsa Melayu dan manakala gerakan kiri itu satu-nya mahu menegakkan merdeka menurut hak² yang telah di-beri oleh United Nations Charter pada masa itu Malayan Union telah datang dan terang² sekali contra dan lawan dengan jiwa bangsa Melayu bahkan seluroh bangsa Melayu yang telah bergerak menentang Malayan Union dengan satu tekak menentang Malayan Union, dengan chogan "Hidup Melayu" dan

riwayat-nya tak perlu-lah saya terangkan lagi kerana perkara-nya sudah terang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, manakala tuntutan U.M.N.O. pada masa itu patah berbalek kepada status quo yang mana hendakkan balek taraf-nya Co sedangkan gerakan menuntut kemerdekaan berkehendakkan erti-nya sa-kurang²-nya sa-buah Kerajaan Pusat yang berpemerintahan sendiri yang kuat dan demokratik, maka di-sini-lah punca-nya perpisahan Co dan Non lagi, tetapi bukan-lah dalam erti perpisahan yang lain dari maksud-nya hendak menegakkan kembali ketuanan Melayu. Dan dalam masa hendak menuntut kemerdekaan negeri ini bahawa perkembangan orang² yang bukan Melayu yang telah sama² tahu dalam perkembangan ini di-mana saya telah terangkan tadi bagaimana keadaan² kedatangan orang² dagang di-tanah ayer kita ini, maka dengan kesedaran ra'ayat dalam negeri ini ia-itu orang² yang bukan Melayu tadi ada yang telah menjadikan timbul-nya semangat dan perasaan chinta "loyalty" terhadap negeri ini...

Mr. Lim Kean Siew: On a point of order, Sir. The motion is on the question of the Rupabangsa being called Melayu, but it would appear that the last speaker has gone out of context. He is now talking about Melayu and the rights of the Melayu, but in the translation we get Malay rights. Therefore, it would appear that the debate now is on the question of rights—Malay rights as opposed to non-Malay rights. Therefore, Sir, I would like to suggest that it is perhaps out of order on two points: it seems to have taken on a communalistic slant, and it seems to be out of context because here we are not discussing rights. We are discussing on the question of what name shall we give to the nationality of Malaya.

Mr. Speaker: My ruling is that the Honourable Member is quite in order. He is only giving the history of what happened in Malaya, except that his account is too long. He has not come to the motion yet (*Laughter*).

Dr. Burhanuddin bin Mohamed Noor: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, manakala ada

daripada orang² dagang tadi yang tetap di-panggil dagang dan ada di-antara dagang² yang telah terasa loyalty di-negeri ini di-samping hendak menjadikan negeri ini sa-bagai watan dan tanah ayer-nya. Maka tumbuh-lah golongan orang² yang bukan Melayu itu rasa kebangsaan dan dengan jalan itu pehak² yang menuntut kemerdekaan dan dengan pehak² orang yang bukan Melayu yang hendak menjadikan negeri ini, negeri mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi ta'at setia-nya. Di-sini-lah timbol kerjasama untuk menegakkan satu Rupabangsa yang bulat dan berpadu di-negeri ini dan dengan jalan itu bergerak-lah orang² Melayu dengan satu gerakan yang di-namakan "Putera" atau Pusat Tenaga Ra'ayat yang membulatkan di-atas sepuluh dasar. Di-antara-nya ia-lah hendak mengadakan satu bahasa, satu negara dan satu Kebangsaan Melayu. Ini-lah sejarah kebangsaan Melayu yang tegas, manakala orang² yang bukan Melayu telah bergerak dan beberapa badan Pan-Malayan yang telah merupakan satu perpaduan yang di-namakan "All Malayan Council of Joint Action" dan ada mempunyai enam principle yang hendak menjadikan single nation dan satu negara berkebangsaan Melayu.

Yang kedua, badan ini telah dapat memberi kerjasama persetujuan bahawa satu bangsa tunggal mesti-lah wujud dalam negeri ini dan bangsa itu di-namakan "Kebangsaan Melayu". Ini ada-lah sejarah yang telah berjalan, kemudian sa-sudah itu keadaan dharurat telah datang di-tanah ayer kita ini. Saya rasa tak perlu-lah saya ulangi lagi. Kemudian, manakala gerakan² penjajah semakin kuat pula yang hendak merupakan "Hidup Malayan" lawan "Hidup Melayu" pada masa itu, maka orang² Melayu yang dari golongan lain telah bangkit lagi bergerak dengan nama Persatuan Melayu Semenanjung atau nama rengkas-nya PMS dengan tegas memperjuangkan kebangsaan Melayu ini. Sa-sudah tuntutan ini berjalan, timbul-lah Perikatan sekarang ini dan sa-bagaimana yang kita selalu dengar bahawa gerakan Kebangsaan Melayu ada-lah di-perkuchil dan di-pandang sa-bagai satu gerakan perkauman.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah menarek perhatian daripada keterangan² yang telah saya kemukakan tadi bahawa Melayu itu juga sa-bagaimana bangsa yang lain ada-lah satu bangsa dan Melayu itu juga boleh di-katakan community, tetapi Melayu kebangsaan yang kita maksud sekarang ada-lah sa-bagai national atau nationality. Hal ini boleh-lah kita lihat bukan sahaja boleh di-istilahkan kepada orang Melayu, mithal-nya kita ambil kepada orang 'Arab, bahawa orang 'Arab itu ada-lah satu community 'Arab itu juga ada-lah satu race dan 'Arab itu juga-lah sekarang di-sebutkan satu nation. Begitu juga-lah kepada bangsa² yang lain. Orang² China juga boleh di-katakan Chinese community atau pun Chinese by race atau pun Chinese by nation. Jadi, ini-lah kebangsaan yang di-tuju di-dalam membawa usul yang saya sokong ini kerana tidak ada sama sa-kali berbau perkauman dan tidak di-tujukan kepada perkauman, tetapi ada-lah sa-benar² erti kebangsaan yang bulat dan padu berdasar kepada bahasa-nya sudah pun berjalan sa-bagai bahasa Melayu bahasa rasmi, negeri-nya sudah pun di-namakan Persékutuan Tanah Melayu. Tinggal-lah bangsa-nya yang belum lagi dan kebangsaan ini-lah yang kita kehendaki supaya di-namakan kebangsaan Melayu.

Berkenaan kera'ayatan yang sudah pun pernah saya berchakap di-sini dan jawapan Perdana Menteri kepada surat PAS menerangkan bahawa nyata-lah kera'ayatan ini belum-lah merupakan kebangsaan, hanya-lah merupakan kera'ayatan; dan hujah² ini telah di-kemukakan oleh penchadang tadi bahawa rupabangsa bukan-nya kebangsaan ini menurut apa yang telah berjalan di-dalam negeri² yang lain dan bangsa² yang lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka juga menegaskan lagi bahawa berkenaan dengan nama perkataan "Malaya" ini bahawa bangsa Melayu sudah ada yang mengharamkan supaya jangan di-pakai lagi perkataan "Malaya" ini kerana itu memang bencikan dan rekaan penjajah dan asas² politik penjajah. Sa-lagi perkataan "Malaya" ini maseh di-pakai juga

maka sa-lagi itu-lah yang akan merupakan Malayan atau bangsa apa pula lagi. Dengan sebab itu kami daripada Persatuan Islam sudah tidak memakai dan mengubah nama Persatuan Islam yang dahulu-nya "Sa-Malaya" di-tukar dengan Persatuan Islam Sa-Tanah Melayu. Ini ada-lah membawa satu perubahan di-dalam jiwa kita hendak membentok keaslian ya'ani kejenuinan dan ketulinan kita balek kepada membela hak pesaka kita dan keagongan kita, dan dengan ini tidak ada sama sa-kali menyinggong kepada kedudukan orang² yang bukan Melayu dan tidak ada menyinggong kepada apa dalam erti perbedaan di-dalam hak kebangsaan. Kerana sa-lagi kita ada Malayan Chinese dan Malayan Indian dan entah apa lagi Malayan-nya, sa-lagi itu-lah perpaduan kita dalam negeri ini tidak akan timbul dan manakala kita hendak mengambil satu langkah lain maka keluar-lah kita daripada keaslian dan ketulinan dan tidak akan terbentuk satu perkara keaslian daripada tabi'at sa-mula jadi bagi satu bangsa bagi satu tanah ayer, kerana itu-lah rupabangsa negeri ini mesti-lah berkebangsaan Melayu.

Kalau ada-lah kechurigaan bagi pehak orang² yang bukan Melayu bahawa nama kebangsaan akan membawa bermacam² chara dan berbagai² keadaan kechurigaan, saya menegaskan perkara ini ada-lah satu perkara yang tidak berasas kerana dasar kita mahu menuju kepada perpaduan yang tulin dan yang asli yang tumbuh daripada bumi pesaka kita sendiri bagai mana ketulinan satu² negeri itu memakai ketulinan yang tumbuh-nya daripada bumi itu sendiri, perkembangan di-atas bumi itu sendiri, maka begitu juga-lah keaslian bumi pesaka kita ini. Dan dengan kita menentukan kebangsaan Melayu ini-lah bahawa kita mengembalikan hak ke'adilan dan perjuangan datok nenek kita, perjuangan yang mengasaskan bagaimana yang telah saya terangkan tadi ia-itu menegaskan nama kebangsaan Melayu kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa kera'ayatan yang ada sekarang ini menurut dasar sejarah dan dasar perjuangan yang telah di-perjuangkan

oleh bangsa Melayu di-negeri ini, ada-lah terkeluar daripada dasar perjuangan dan dasar sejarah negeri kita. Dengan jalan itu kita akan jadi satu perkembangan yang palsu dan perkembangan yang tidak sesuai dengan perkembangan yang tegoh menurut keaslian dan ketulinan negeri ini melainkan balek-lah kita kepada memakai nama kebangsaan Melayu itu. Hanya dengan jalan itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dapat kita balekkan kebangsaan yang sudah salah letak itu menurut perjalanan sejarah kita, baharu-lah ba' kata pepatah Melayu "Sireh pulang ka-gagang, janggut pulang ka-dagu". Sa-lagi perjuangan kita tidak mencapai kepada maksud kebangsaan Melayu dan chita² kebangsaan Melayu bahawa sa-lama itu-lah keaslian negeri ini tidak di-terima atas ketulinan dan keaslian-nya dan keadaan perpaduan negeri ini sa-umpama memberkas tandok, di-berkas di-sini di-sana bergoyang, di-berkas di-sana melonchat ka-sini dan begitu-lah keadaan² yang akan datang.

Kerana kita dalam sa-suatu perkara yang kita hendak menuntut mesti-lah ada satu chogan kata. Kalau kita hendak menuntut merdeka dahulu kita pakai chogan kata "Merdeka", maka kalau kita hendakkan perpaduan sekarang mesti-lah kita memakai chogan yang akan merupakan satu perpaduan yang asli yang tumbuh daripada bumi negeri ini. Jadi, tidak ada-lah yang lebih tepat, tidak ada yang lebih benar dan adil daripada memakai perkataan kebangsaan Melayu itu yang sa-suai bagi kebangsaan negeri ini. Jadi, inilah sokongan² saya yang saya rasa perkara yang benar dan perkara yang hak yang saya harap bahawa sidang perwakilan Yang Berhormat akan dapat memberikan sokongan yang bulat di-atas chadangan ini.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Pertis Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua dan Ahli² Yang Berhormat sakalian, saya bangun di-sini ada-lah membangkang dengan keras-nya apa yang telah di-bawa oleh wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan ia-itu menamakan Rupabangsa Tanah Melayu ini dengan nama "Melayu". Memang-lah sa-bagaimana hujah² yang telah dikeluarkan oleh pehak pencehadan dan

penyokong tadi "Melayu" itu memang-lah di-tentukan oleh bangsa dalam Tanah Melayu ini ada di-tentukan oleh sejarah. Tetapi bagi keadaan siasah pada hari ini, kita harus berhati² dan memikirkan dengan teliti dan saksama dari segi jangka panjang, kebangsaan Tanah Melayu ini, apa-kah burok-nya, apa-kah baik-nya, apa-kah untong dan apa-kah rugi-nya, kalau nama dan orang-nya dengan nama "Melayu"? Kerana perjuangan pada hari ini bukan nama; kalau itu sahaja, jadi menghalang kemajuan. Tetapi kita sekarang ini sedang berdiri, sedang maju kahadapan membena dan meninggikan kepentingan bangsa dan kebangsaan dalam Tanah Melayu ini, kita tidak-lah menghiraukan apa nama sahaja, asalkan kemajuan² dapat kita lajukan, dapat kita lancharkan demi untuk kepentingan tanah ayer kita pada hari ini.

Pada hari ini faham-lah kita dengan nyata dan terang bahawa perjuangan sa-tengah² pehak dan sa-tengah² parti hanya mementingkan nama kebangsaan Tanah Melayu ini "Melayu" sahaja, tidak mementingkan kemajuan, tidak mementingkan bangsa dan tanah ayer. Kita tahu dan kita semua faham yang Perlembangan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bahawa sa-nya kemerdekaan bangsa di-dalam-nya itu ada-lah bangsa Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, ini ada terchatit di-dalam Perlembangan kita. Bahawa hak keistimewaan orang² Melayu ada-lah di-lindungi, akan di-beri dengan sa-penoh²-nya dalam masa 15 tahun kahadapan, kalau sa-kira-nya nama itu di-jadikan "Melayu" sekarang ini; tentu-lah hilang hak keistimewaan dan janji dalam Perlembangan itu untuk di-berikan kepada orang Melayu. Saya rasa bukan sahaja orang Melayu, tetapi semua bangsa yang ada dalam Tanah Melayu ini sanggup menjadi "Melayu" sa-kira-nya hak itu di-berikan sama rata, sama rasa sa-bagaimana kehendak pehak pembangkang tadi. Tetapi kita memerhatikan keadaan orang² Melayu kita sa-bagai teras kebangsaan dalam Tanah Melayu ini, kehidupan-nya maseh munda, sebab itu-lah kita harus menjaga bangsa ia-itu bangsa Melayu dalam Tanah Melayu ini sa-bagai sa-taraf supaya hak keistimewaan di-beri dengan sa-penoh²-nya dan hak atau ekonomi-nya sama tinggi dengan

bangsa² yang berlainan keturunan-nya dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Kita, jangan dalam memperkatakan atau dalam berchakap soal kemajuan dalam Tanah Melayu ini sa-harus-nya jangan-lah ungkit dan korek sa-hingga kurun yang ketujoh dahulu. Tetapi harus-lah kita memerhatikan keadaan² siasah pada hari ini, keadaan bangsa² yang banyak berchampur-adok dalam Tanah Melayu. Kita harus berchakap mensesuaian diri kita dengan keadaan bangsa² yang ada dalam Tanah Melayu ini dan keadaan hawa iklim dalam Tanah Melayu kita ini; bukan kita berchakap soal sentiment yang membawa perpechahan dalam Tanah Melayu ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kian-lah, saya membangkang dengan keras-nya apa yang di-bawa oleh Ahli Kuala Trengganu Selatan itu. (*Tepok*).

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Sébérang Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga membangkang di-atas chadangan atau usul yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Selatan. Yang Berhormat itu kemukakan usul-nya ia-itu Rupabangsa bagi Persékutuan Tanah Melayu ini di-namakan dengan nama "Melayu", yang di-fikirkan berat oleh Yang Berhormat itu ia-lah berkenaan dengan "nama". Tetapi pada fikiran saya, sa-bagai sa-orang Melayu, bukan soal "nama" kerana yang di-ketahui oleh seluruh dunia yang mana-kah satu orang Melayu, sa-orang Melayu ia-lah orang yang beragama Islam, bertutor bahasa Melayu, ber'adat-isti'adatkan atau berkebudayaan Melayu dan juga banyak lagi (*Kétawa*) 'adat-isti'adat tempatan. Jika di-terima-lah chadangan ini dan orang² atau warga-negara dalam Persékutuan Tanah Melayu ini daripada bangsa China, bangsa India dan lain² di-panggil "Melayu"; ini dengan tepat-nya berma'ana hilang-lah kehormatan, kemuliaan dan kedaulatan bangsa Melayu. Sa-bagai bangsa Melayu, dasar hendak mengadakan satu "nama" bagi Rupabangsa itu, saya terima, tetapi dengan "nama Melayu" itu saya ta' terima. Kerana kata Yang Berhormat itu dalam huraian-nya di-Bab 153 ia-itu hak atau kedudukan orang Melayu, dia kata, tidak ada berisi—mustahil—di-Article 153, isi² yang terkandung

bagi hak orang Melayu panjang sungoh di-tunjokkan di-sini, saya ingat ta' payah saya bachakan

Mr. Speaker: Ta' payah-lah.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid: berkenaan dengan pelajaran atau education, berkenaan pengangkutan, public service, banyak perkara lagi hak atau kedudukan orang Melayu yang di-lindongi oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Satu perkara lagi di-Article 89 ia-itu berkenaan dengan tanah (Malay reservation) bagi orang Melayu. Jikalau di-terima, tetap sekali habis-lah tanah kena bagi kapada kawan kita dan juga di-tiap² Negeri Melayu ada Perlembangan Negeri-nya sendiri, yang mana Menteri Besar dan Setia Usaha Negeri-nya mesti-lah orang Melayu yang beragama Islam. Jadi, jikalau kita terima orang yang ta' beragama Islam, yang ta' beristi'adat Melayu, yang tidak bertutor dalam bahasa Melayu; bagaimana kita hendak panggil orang itu "Melayu?" Lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang di-bahathkan oleh Yang Berhormat tadi berkenaan dengan nama Rupabangsa bagi Great Britain, bagi America, bagi Indonesia, jadi istilah huraian daripada Yang Berhormat itu ia-lah dari segi keinggerisan—Indonesia—Indonesian, India—Indian (*Kétawa*) America—American, kita menamakan Persékutuan satu nama, Melayu-kah, Malayan-kah? Jadi pada pendapat saya, ikut Perlembangan, ini memadai-lah di-panggil warga-negara Persékutuan atau pun ra'ayat Persékutuan Tanah Melayu, sama juga kita panggil ra'ayat Indonesia, ra'ayat India, ra'ayat Great Britain, ini-lah yang tepat ma'ana-nya yang kita jalankan pada masa sekarang. Lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kata Yang Berhormat itu tadi, konon-nya, ikut Perlembangan Negeri Melaka dan Pulau Pinang satu negara, Persékutuan Tanah Melayu satu negara, jadi saya bangkang-lah sedikit ta' sesuai dengan apa yang di-terangkan oleh Yang Berhormat itu. Ikut Article 70 "Subject to the precedence of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and his Consort, the Rulers and Governors of the States shall take precedence over all other persons and each Ruler or Governor shall in his own State take precedence over the

other Rulers and Governors." Jadi bermula-lah Yang di-Pertuan Agong ialah yang menghabiskan tinggi sekali berkuasa dalam negeri ini, kalau ada beda pun, kita patoh juga kepada 9 Negeri yang lain, tetapi di-muka 17 "Proclamation of Independence" atau "Pengishti-haran Kemerdekaan" termasuk-lah Pulau Pinang dan juga Negeri Melaka dalam satu negara yang merdeka dan bebas. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebagai sa-orang Melayu yang bertutor bahasa Melayu, yang berdaraskan Melayu, yang berajakan Melayu ia-itu Raja² Melayu daripada bebepa keturunan yang lalu, saya bangkang hendak membagikan hak orang Melayu itu kepada orang lain, orang bangsa lain masa menggubal Perlembagaan ini bertimbang rasa di-atas orang Melayu ini, sebab mereka itu bersetuju memasuki satu daripada bab² dalam Perlembagaan ini ia-itu berkenaan dengan keutamaan, keistimewaan orang Melayu yang mana terkandung dalam Perlembagaan, oleh itu saya sa-kali lagi berseru supaya mari-lah kita bersama memikirkan perkara ini dengan teliti-nya berkenaan dengan dasar hendak mengadakan nama itu biar-lah nama yang lain daripada "Melayu", jangan sentoh hak kedudukan orang Melayu ini, sa-kian-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Enche' Mohd. Sulong bin Mohd. Ali (Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah mengikut ucapan Yang Berhormat panchadang yang sudah lama berdiri memberi ucapan berjam² daripada-nya, berdiri bulu roma saya (*Ketawa*). Tetapi malang-nya pada hari ini saya terpaksa menentang chadangan-nya kerana saya memikirkan masa-nya belum sampai untuk membincangkan perkara yang sa-umpama itu ia-itu Rupabangsa. Sekarang ini kalau kita fikir Rupabangsa dengan samacham "Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa" sa-orang daripada kita memikirkan mana-kah satu ayam dahulu-kah atau telur dahulu keluar, jikalau di-fikirkan telur dahulu keluar, itu tidak dapat keputusan (*Ketawa*). Jadi, yang sa-benar-nya di-atas dasar kita hendak menchari satu perkara ia-itu yang sa-umpama itu, tetapi kita belum lagi sampai tempoh-nya. Perkara yang Kerajaan kita membuat ini ia-lah mengikut Perlembagaan

dengan serba serbi-nya ada di-hadapan kita dan, mengenai kita pada masa ini. Kerana, ini tidak mengurangkan kepada kedudukan kita yang menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini.

Yang saya katakan telur atau pun ayam siapa dahulu kemudian itu kita berjumpa pada hari ini ia-itu bahasa. Kita anjorkan dengan menyatukan bahasa ia-itu bahasa Kebangsaan, bahasa Melayu, kerana kita tahu apa-kah wujud-nya menjadikan satu Rupabangsa. Sebab pada hari ini kalau kita letakkan Rupabangsa itu, "Melayu" maka bila ra'ayat negeri ini pergi keluar negeri hairan pula orang menengok dan memandang-nya atau memikirkan. Umpama bila sahabat kita orang China pergi keluar negeri, kalau dia tidak berchakap China, dia berchakap bahasa orang Puteh kerana belum pandai berbahasa Melayu, maka tidak juga mereka menunjukkan bangsa, kerana ada-lah pepatah orang tua² dahulu, sungguh pun dia tidak ada buku, "bahasa itu menunjukkan bangsa". Jadi kalau sa-saorang tidak berbahasa Melayu bila dia pergi keluar negeri bukan-lah dia itu orang Melayu kerana bahasa itu menunjukkan bangsa. Itu-lah sebab-nya saya rasa belum sampai masa-nya lagi kerana warga negara negeri ini maseh lagi tidak menggunakan satu bahasa. Jadi begitu juga pada orang India, pergi negeri² lain, dia tidak boleh bertutor bahasa Melayu dengan sempurna. Jadi ini-lah sebab saya memikirkan kalau kita hendak mengadakan rupabangsa yang satu "Melayu" maka hendak-lah kita bentuk satu bahasa Kebangsaan bagi warga negara kita. Bahasa Kebangsaan hendak-lah di-ajar dan di-ator dengan betul-nya supaya kemudian hari tidak akan menjadi kachau bilau bila kita menetapkan Rupabangsa.

Perkara yang kedua, mengikut penèrangan yang di-berikan dalam Perlembagaan atau Constitution Merdeka yang di-ucapkan oleh sahabat saya tadi, kita mesti-lah dahulu membangunkan dan meninggalkan kedudukan ekonomi orang² Melayu taraf hidup-nya. Saya memikirkan sa-belum kita ra'ayat negeri ini dudok sama tinggi di-dalam taraf hidup-nya, maka kita orang Melayu terpaksa melihat hak kita sa-bagaimana

yang ada dalam Përlëmbagaan itu. Kërana kita maseh khuatir lagi jikalau kita buat atau kita ikut kèhëndak Yang Bërghormat pëncهادang tadi barangkali akan bërbangkit satu përkara yang tidak di-ingini oleh orang Mëlayu, bila sampai tempoh-nya. Oleh itu salah bagi pëndudok² Tanah Mëlayu (ia-itu ra'ayat nègëri) yang tëläh bërsumpah ta'at sëtia kapada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sëri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Përtuan Agong dan pada Kërajaan nègëri ini mënjadi satu bangsa ia-itu warga nègara Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu. Këmudian dëngan mëmasyarakakan yang përtama-nya bahasa, supaya sëmua sakali bangsa, warga nègara nègëri ini bër tutor dan mënulis dëngan satu bahasa, këmudian këbudayaan, kësënian dan sadikit² adat istiadat supaya bër sësui di-antara satu bangsa dëngan yang lain, maka pada masa itu baharu-lah sampai masa-nya yang kita boleh mënëtapkan Rupabangsa. Di-masa itu barangkali tidak-lah banyak hujah² yang akan di-adakan di-dalam Parlimen ini kërana banyak përkara sudah sama dan sësui, itu-lah sahaja Tuan Yang di-Përtua.

Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Sëbërang Tëngah): Tuan Yang di-Përtua, saya tak mahu bërchakap panjang oleh sëbab pada pagi ini Ahli² Yang Bërghormat daripada pehak pëmbangkang tëläh pun bërchakap banyak, sapërti kata pëpatah China: "*On too long.*" Jadi, hanya ada satu dua përkara lagi yang saya hëndak mëmbangkang bër kënnaan dëngan Rupa Bangsa itu. Saya takut, Tuan Yang di-Përtua, apabila saya balek nanti maka orang² Mëlayu khas-nya dan orang² Përikatan ia-itu orang² M.C.A. dan M.I.C. akan mënudoh U.M.N.O. kërana tëläh chuba mëm bawa orang² China dan orang² India masok Mëlayu. Mëngikut khamus R. J. Wilkinson, Malay-English Dictionary—"Mëlayu means Malay Muslim; masok Mëlayu—to become a Mohammadan." Maka jikalau Rupabangsa itu Mëlayu, maka bërma'ana-lah Mëlayu itu ada dua jënës, satu Mëlayu Islam dan satu lagi Mëlayu Kafir. Jadi, kalau orang Mëlayu itu Mëlayu, dan orang² China, India sëmua-nya pun Mëlayu, maka sudah tëntu Mëlayu itu ada dua klas,

Mëlayu First Class dan Mëlayu Second Class. (*Këtawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Përtua, dalam Përlëmbagaan Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu, ada di-sëbutkan bër kënnaan dëngan hak² istimewa orang² Mëlayu, tëtëpi Ahli Yang Bërghormat daripada Party Nègara mënatakan tak tërang. Article 153 mëngandongi ëmpat muka bër kënnaan dëngan hak istimewa orang² Mëlayu. Saya tëläh pun mëm bacha tak kurang daripada sa-puloh kali, kërana soal ini tëläh juga timbul di-dalam U.M.N.O. Di-situ ada tër sëbut dëngan tërang-nya hak istimewa orang² Mëlayu—ia-itu ëmpat përkara tërmasok transport atau këndëraan dan lain² lagi, jadi jikalau kita sëmua dipanggil Mëlayu, maka bagaimana-kah ada bedza-nya di-antara Mëlayu Islam dan Mëlayu Kafir atau Mëlayu First Class dan Mëlayu Second Class? Kënapa tiada tër sëbut di-dalam Përlëmbagaan?

Mr. Speaker: The time is up. It is now four-thirty.

ADJOURNMENT

(Motion)

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move, That the House do now adjourn.

Tun Abdul Razak: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

ADJOURNMENT SPEECHES

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh): Tuan Yang di-Përtua, dalam kësëmepatan saya mënampaikan ucapan pënanngohan mësuarat ini, saya ingin bërchakap sadikit sa-banyak dalam soal pëlaksanaan bahasa Këbangsaan dalam nègëri ini. Saya suka hëndak mënatakan, tërutama sëkali, ucapan tahniah di-atas kējayaan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan baharu² ini dan ucapan tahniah ini khusus-nya saya tujukan kapada Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka yang tëläh mënganjorkan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan itu. Chuma di-samping mënguchapkan tahniah itu, apa yang saya harapkan ia-lah supaya jiwa bahasa Këbangsaan itu jangan-lah hanya bër gërak sëlama sa-minggu sahaja sëlama

Minggu Bahasa Kēbangsaan itu bējalan. Biar-lah Minggu Bahasa Kēbangsaan baharu² ini mērupakan sa-bagai titek pērtama dalam garisan yang panjang, yang akan mēnuju kapada batas kēsempurnaan dalam Pēlaksanaan-nya sa-bagai bahasa Kēbangsaan dalam nēgēri ini.

Bērkēnaan dēngan Minggu Bahasa Kēbangsaan ini, saya suka-lah mēnyampaikan rasa kēsāl saya tērhadap orang² yang sēchara langsung dan tidak langsung mēnēntang gērakan Minggu Bahasa Kēbangsaan, dan juga orang² yang mēnēntang akan usaha² dan ikhtiar² hēndak mēnjadikan bahasa Mēlayu itu sa-bagai bahasa Kēbangsaan yang kēmudian akan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam nēgēri ini. Mudah²an mēreka² yang mēnēntang ikhtiar² hēndak mēnjadikan bahasa Kēbangsaan ini sa-bagai bahasa² yang hidup dan tērpakai dalam nēgēri ini akan insaf sēndiri sa-sudah dia mēnyaksikan bagaimana gēlora jiwa ra'ayat nēgēri ini mēnyambut dan mēnyokong ikhtiar² mēmakai bahasa Kēbangsaan ini.

Yang kēdua, dēngan sēchara tērus tērang dan bērhadapan di-sini, biar-lah saya mēnyatakan ucapan tahniah pula kapada Yang Bērhormat Mēntēri Pēlajaran atas kēnyataan dan pērmā'aluman bēliau baharu² ini ia-itu kēnyataan-nya mēnyatakan bahawa akan tiba-lah masa-nya tak bērapa lama lagi bahasa Kēbangsaan akan di-gunakan sa-bagai bahasa pēngantar dalam sēmula Sēkolah² Rēndah dalam Pērsēkutuan Tanah Mēlayu ini. Saya harap biar-lah ucapan itu bēnar² bērtanggung jawab, sambil saya bērdo'a mudah²an ucapan-nya tidak-lah tinggal sa-bagai ucapan sēmata², dan kami sukachita-lah hēndak mēlihat bahawa dalam tahun 1961 ini, sēmula Sēkolah² Rēndah dalam Pērsēkutuan Tanah Mēlayu ini akan tērlaksana pērubahan-nya dēngan sēchara kilat daripada chorak yang sēkarang ini kapada chorak mēnggunakan bahasa Kēbangsaan sa-bagai bahasa pēngantar. Di-samping itu, saya suka mēmbēri sedikit pandangan di-sini ia-itu saya rasa dalam ikhtiar hēndak mēnjadikan bahasa Mēlayu sa-bagai bahasa Kēbangsaan yang hidup dan tērpakai

dalam sagēnap lapangan dalam nēgēri ini, tidak-lah chukup dēngan mēnjadikan bahasa Mēlayu itu sa-bagai bahasa pēngantar di-Sēkolah² Rēndah sahaja, sēbab Sēkolah² Rēndah itu nanti mēsti bērsambong kapada Sēkolah² Mēnēngah dan akhir-nya akan bērsambong ka-pēringkat tinggi atau University.

Jadi, sēbaik²-nya-lah pehak Kē-mēntērian Pēlajaran mulai mēnchuba dan mulai bērfikir dari sēkarang ini mēmbuat ranchangan supaya sa-rentak dēngan mēnjadikan bahasa Mēlayu sa-bagai bahasa Kēbangsaan dan bahasa pēngantar di-Sēkolah² Mēnēngah, di-samping itu bērikhtiar pula supaya dapat-lah bahasa Kēbangsaan itu di-jadikan bahasa pēngantar dalam Sēkolah² Tinggi sahingga kita akan dapat mēlihat dalam tempoh sa-bēlun-sampai Pilehan Raya sēkali lagi; bahawa sēmula pērsēkolahan mulai dari Sēkolah² Rēndah hingga sa-tinggi²-nya dalam nēgēri ini tēlah mēnggunakan bahasa Mēlayu sa-bagai bahasa pēngantar. Saya rasa tidak-lah dapat pehak Kē-mēntērian yang bērkēnaan bērdaleh dalam hal ini.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pērtua, bērchapak bērkēnaan dēngan bahasa Kēbangsaan ini juga, saya rasa sunggoh pun dalam Pērlēmbagaan Pērsēkutuan Tanah Mēlayu ini ada mēnyēbutkan: "Bahawa tempoh bag mēnggunakan bahasa Kēbangsaan sa-bagai bahasa rasmi ia-lah 10 tahun sa-sudah mērdeka." Ini maseh bēlum sampai, tētapi dalam ikhtiar atau pun pērjalanan mēnuju kapada kēsēmpurna'an pēmakaian bahasa Kēbangsaan itu sudah boleh di-mulai dari sēkarang ini. Pehak Kērajaan hēndak-lah bērfikir dan mēlakukan ikhtiar² supaya bēbērapa pērkara yang mēnyēntoh soal kēdudukan 'am di-gunakan bahasa Kēbangsaan tērus sapērti pēmakaian bahasa Kēbangsaan dalam lapangan pēngeluaran Gazette Kērajaan atau pun sa-bagaimana yang tēlah di-sēbutkan oleh sahabat saya dalam Dewan Ra'ayat dahulu kapada Yang Bērhormat Mēntēri Muda Pēnē-rangan dan Broadcasting supaya ikhtiar² tēntang Daily Press Summary itu di-kēluarkan dalam bahasa Kēbangsaan dan lain² kēluaran lagi.

Saya rasa Kerajaan tidak boleh bërdaiah dari sudut mana pun untuk mengatakan sulit mënërbitkan Government *Gazette* atau Daily Press Summary atau sa-bagai-nya dalam bahasa Këbangsaan, këchuali

Mr. Speaker: Masa hanya satu minit lagi.

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda: Tak mengapa-lah saya akan chuba. Tëntang soal Përlëmbagaan Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu yang mana pada masa dahulu pernah di-këluarkan dalam bahasa Këbangsaan, tëtëpi ëntah apa sëbab-nya di-tarek balek, kërana salah tërjëmahan-kah atau pun ada butir² yang tidak jëlas. Tëtëpi, saya rasa tëläh sampai masa-nya yang Përlëmbagaan Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu 'di-këluarkan dalam bahasa Mëlayu dan mudah²an dëngan këluaran-nya dalam bahasa Këbangsaan ini akan mënyënangkan kapada ra'ayat nëgëri ini yang sa-bahagian bësar tidak tahu bahasa Inggëris. Dëngan mëngëtahüi dari dëkat akan Përlëmbagaan tanah ayer-nya sëndiri maka dëngan sëndiri-nya akan bërtambah dëkat lagi mërëka kapada mënjadi ra'ayat yang ta'at sëtia pada nëgëri ini.

Dan akhir-nya, saya suka-lah mënyatakan ucapan tahniah kapada akuan yang baik yang tëläh di-bërikan oleh Tuan Yang di-Përtua sëndiri dalam soal hëndak mëngamalkan bahasa Këbangsaan ini dalam urusan Parlimen, dan dalam pënghabisan di-Dewan Ra'ayat kali ini, saya rasa ada di-antara-nya përubahan² baharu tëntang pëmakaian bahasa Këbangsaan ini, dan saya patut-lah sëkali lagi mënyampaikan sëkalong tahniah kapada Yang Bërhormat Mëntëri Pëlajaran yang tiga suku daripada përchakapan-nya dalam Dewan ini sëlama dua hari yang lalu, tëläh mënggunakan bahasa Këbangsaan tërüs; walau pun ada sa-orang Ahli Yang Bërhormat pehak yang di-sini yang nampak-nya mëminta bëliau bërchakap Inggëris, chuma dukachita sadikit pada sa'at yang akhir ini, tërkkëlu lidah-nya daripada mënggunakan bahasa Këbangsaan. Sa-lain daripada itu alang-kah baik-nya anggota² Dewan Ra'ayat yang bërsidang ini mulai dari sëkarang ini sampai sëlajut-nya

akan chuba bërikhtiar mënggunakan bahasa Këbangsaan dëngan sa-bërapa sëgëra-nya sa-bërapa daya yang boleh supaya tëraksana-lah niat dan chita² Tuan Yang di-Përtua yang baik itu, mudah²an tëraksana-lah hëndak-nya.

Tun Abdul Razak: Tuan Yang di-Përtua, saya mëngucapkan bërbanyak tërima kaseh tërutama sëkali Ahli Yang Bërhormat di-atas ucapan dan tahniah yang di-datangkan-nya kapada Kerajaan tërutama sëkali kapada Pëngarah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka bërkenaan dëngan këjayaan Minggu Bahasa Këbangsaan baharu² ini yang tëläh di-adakan itu.

Bërkenaan dëngan dasar Kerajaan tërhadap bahasa Këbangsaan yang mana dasar Kerajaan itu tëläh di-tërangkan bëbërapa kali dalam Dewan ini sama ada di-luar sëkali pun bahawa Kerajaan akan mënjalkan langkah² dëngan sa-bërapa sëgëra yang boleh bagi mënjadikan bahasa Mëlayu itu sa-bagai bahasa Rasmi yang tunggal dan bahasa Këbangsaan yang sabënar²-nya di-sëluruh Tanah Mëlayu ini. Akan tëtëpi, kësukaran Kerajaan dalam hal ini ia-lah kësukaran kaki-tangan.

Bërkenaan dëngan tërjëmahan Përlëmbagaan, sa-bënar-nya dëkat 2 tahun Kerajaan tëläh mënchuba hëndak mëntërjëmahan Përlëmbagaan dalam bahasa Mëlayu, tëtëpi tak dapat di-jalkan dëngan sëmputna-nya, kërana tak ada pëntërjëmah² yang sëkarang ini yang bërkkëlayakkan bagi mëntërjëmah Përlëmbagaan itu dëngan sëmputna, dan tak bërapa lama dahulu përkara ini tëläh di-sërahkan kapada tiga orang pëguam atau Lawyer Mëlayu bagi mënjalkan pëntërjëmahan itu sa-bagai kata orang part time sahaja bagi mëmbuat pëkërjaan itu. Oleh itu, saya harap tak bërapa lama lagi dapat satu tërjëmahan yang sa-bënar²-nya bëtul bagi Përlëmbagaan Përsëkutuan Tanah Mëlayu, kërana kalau tërjëmahan itu tak sëmputna maka pehak Kerajaan tëntu-lah tak suka hëndak mëngëluarkan sëbab takut akan mënjadi kékëliuran kapada pehak orang ramai. Jadi, saya suka-lah mëmbëri akuan di-sini bahawa pehak Kerajaan akan mënjalkan dasar ini dëngan sa-bërapa yang boleh ia-itu

dasar yang sa-bēnar²-nya di-pērbuat oleh pehak Kērajaan Pērikatar tērhadap bahasa Kēbangsaan ini. (Tēpok).

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman): Tuan Yang di-Pērtua, saya juga ingin mēnguchapkan tērima kasah atas tahniah yang di-bērikan oleh Ahli Yang Bērhormat kapada pēngumuman hēndak mēmulakan—saya ulang pērkataan, mēmulakan aliran darjah bahasa kēbangsaan mulai daripada tahun 1961. Dalam pada itu saya suka kalau tahniah itu di-bērikan bukan-nya kapada pēngumuman itu, tētapi kapada dasar pēlajaran Kērajaan sēkarang yang mēnyatakan dēngan tēgas akan hal itu bērulang² kali . . .

Mr. Tan Phock Kin (Tanjong): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. With regard to adjournment speeches, Standing Order 17 says: ". . . any member . . . may address the House upon any matter of administration for which the Government is responsible and the member of the Government with whom responsibility for the matter raised rests may reply." It says—only one person, and there cannot be two persons replying.

Mr. Speaker: It has been the practice that if a member touches on several

subjects any member from the Government side can reply.

Enche' Abdul Rahman: Tuan Yang di-Pērtua, saya hanya-lah mējawab bērkēnaan dēngan hal pēlajaran yang di-sēbutkan oleh ahli itu. Saya katakan bahawa dasar pēlajaran yang tēr-kandung dalam Pēnyata Razak itu ada mēnyatakan dēngan tēgas, malang-nya banyak ahli² pehak pēmbangkang yang tidak sēdar atau sēngaja mēlupakan hal itu. Dalam pada itu saya juga hēndak mēngambil pēluang mēnērangkan pada hari ini bahawa pēlaksanaan dasar itu tidak dapat di-jalankan tērtēbeh dahulu kērana banyak pērsediaan yang mēsti di-adakan, mēlatch guru², mēnyēdrakan buku² dan sabagai-nya. Dalam masa tiga tahun yang lēpas pērsediaan itu tēlah di-buat, sunggoh pun bēlum chukup 100 pēratus, tētapi tēlah di-fikirkan bahawa dalam tahun 1961 sampai-lah masanya untōk mēmulakan pēlaksanaan dasar itu, bahkan rakan saya Yang Bērhormat Mēntēri yang lēpas pun dahulu tēlah bērchadang hēndak mēmbuat dēmikian dalam tahun 1961.

House adjourned sine die at 4.43 o'clock p.m.