



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

CONTENTS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [Col. 1615]

MOTIONS—

Commendation to the Prime Minister [Col. 1617]

**The Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board Ordinance
[Col. 1694]**

ADJOURNMENT SPEECH—

**Kerajaan Persekutuan Memperkechilkan Negeri² Pantai
Timor dalam Ranchangan Kemajuan [Col. 1708]**

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [Col. 1715]

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

Official Report

Second Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

Monday, 27th June, 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, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Malacca Tengah).
- .. 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).
- .. 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 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).
- .. ENCHE' CHEAH THEAM SWEE, Assistant Minister (Bukit Bintang).
- .. ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K., Assistant Minister (Klang).

The Honourable ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF, Assistant Minister (Jeraï).

- .. 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 BOESTAMAM (Setapak).
- .. ENCHE' AHMAD BIN MOHAMED SHAH, S.M.J. (Johore Bharu Barat).
- .. TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID (Seberang Utara).
- .. ENCHE' AHMAD BIN HAJI YUSOF, P.J.K. (Krian Darat).
- .. TUAN HAJI AZAHARI BIN HAJI IBRAHIM (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- .. ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- .. DR. BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN (Kluang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN (Kampar).
- .. ENCHE' CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).
- .. ENCHE' V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- .. DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).
- .. ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT (Penang Utara).
- .. ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N. (Kapar).
- .. ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N. (Kulim Utara).
- .. ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Baling).
- .. ENCHE' HARUN BIN PILUS (Trengganu Tengah).
- .. 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).
- .. TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- .. ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- .. ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG (Batu Pahat).
- .. ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- .. CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- .. ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- .. ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW (Sepang).

The Honourable ENCHE' LIM JOO KONG (Alor Star).

- .. ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- .. DR. LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' LIU YOONG PENG (Rawang).
- .. ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jelebu-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).
- .. ENCHE' 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).
- .. ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG (Seremban Barat).
- .. TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- .. ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- .. ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- .. 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, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- .. ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- .. ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Malacca).
- .. ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- .. ENCHE' 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).
- .. ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- .. WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).
- .. WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).
- .. WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).
- .. ENCHE' WOO SAIK HONG, P.J.K., J.P. (Telok Anson).

- 'The Honourable ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).
 .. ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
 .. ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
 .. PUAN HAJAH ZAIN BINTI SULAIMAN, J.M.N., P.I.S. (Pontian Selatan).
 .. TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB (Langat).
 .. ENCHE' ZULKIFLEE BIN MUHAMMAD (Bachok).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
 .. ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).
 .. ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).
 .. ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON (Kluang Utara).
 .. ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
 .. ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

PRAYERS

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair*)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Government Recognition of Diploma of the Muslim College

1. Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad minta kapada Menteri Pelajaran menerangkan sudah-kah Kementerian Pelajaran memutuskan perkara meng'itiraf sijil Kolej Islam, jika sudah apakah keputusan itu, jika belum apa sebab-nya maka lambat di-tetapkan keputusan itu, dan bila-kah keputusan itu akan di-keluarkan.

The Assistant Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Hamid Khan bin Haji Sakhawat Ali Khan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keputusan belum lagi di-buat berkenaan dengan meng'itiraf Sijil² Kolej Islam. Meng'itiraf sa-suatu sijil itu, mithal-nya sijil² yang di-keluarkan oleh Kolej Islam memang ada hubungan dengan kelayakan² yang di-akui yang terdapat dari Sekolah² Menengah dalam negeri ini. Kelayakan² yang sa-umpama itu ada tersebut dalam semua tingkatan perkhidmatan. Kelayakan² yang di-sebutkan dalam sa-suatu tingkatan perkhidmatan itu ada

kait-mengait dengan tangga-gaji. Menilai taraf Sijil Kolej Islam itu akan mengambil masa yang lama sedikit. Persediaan sudah pun di-adakan bagi membuat penilaian itu. Keputusan-nya ada-lah di-jangka akan di-buat dalam masa yang tidak berapa lama lagi.

Movement of Dutch Forces in West Irian

2. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of External Affairs what is the Federation Government's attitude regarding the movement of Dutch Forces in West Irian.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government is not really concerned over the movement of Dutch Forces in West Irian because there is no reason to doubt the honesty and sincerity of the assurance given by the Dutch Government to me when I was in Holland recently. In fact, to tell the honest truth, there was only one battalion of Dutch troops in Irian, and the aircraft carrier which is going there is going there by way of Australia for a three months' visit to West Irian. Therefore, I don't think there is any reason to fear any outbreak of hostility or anything like that. Therefore, the attitude of the Government with regard to the movement of Dutch Forces in West Irian is, I may say, one of unconcern.

Enche' V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in time of outbreak of hostility, what will be the Federation Government's stand?

The Prime Minister: I will come to this House and seek the advice of this House as regards to what is to be done.

"Sidewinder" Missile Tests over the Federation

3. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Defence whether he is aware that the Royal Australian Air Force in Butterworth had tested a "Sidewinder missile" over the Federation and if so, to state whether the Anglo-Malayan Defence Treaty allows the testing of weapons in the Federation.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Abdul Razak): Mr. Speaker, Sir, no "Sidewinder" missile has been tested over the Federation. The "Sidewinder" is a conventional air-to-air guided missile which is only fired in training by the Commonwealth Air Force on high sea range in accordance with recognised international procedure.

MOTIONS

COMMENDATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Order read for resumption of debate on Question, "That this House commends and congratulates Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the Prime Minister, on his firm and positive stand on the question of the apartheid policy of the South African Government at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference."

Question again proposed.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Enche' Mohamed Khir Johari): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this amendment proposed by the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan, if approved by this House, would, I consider, be the most unkindest cut of all. I would have thought that any attempt to belittle the efforts and the achievements of our Honourable Prime Minister on this question of apartheid could only come from agents of the South African Government (*Applause*). I am not going to say that this idea of

trying to amend the motion arose out of jealousy, because that would be imputing improper motives, but I cannot help wondering at the chicken-heartedness of the Members of the Opposition who try to sabotage the original motion. (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, Hear!) I know exactly how our Honourable friend the Lone Ranger from Party Negara feels about the achievements of our Prime Minister. In fact, all these achievements would have been his if he had not deserted U.M.N.O. (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear!)

In moving the amendment, the Honourable Member likened our Prime Minister to a pouncing lion who, to use his own words: "roared at the Conference, roared at the Press, and roared at the world". But the Honourable Member forgot to mention one very important thing, and that is that, at least, this lion has got teeth! (*Laughter*).

When moving the amendment, the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan cast a slur on the Honourable mover of the original motion by saying that he was sure that the Honourable Member from Seberang Tengah was not capable of answering whatever questions that would be raised in the course of the debate on this question. Sir, I hold no brief for the Honourable Member for Seberang Tengah. I cannot say whether he is capable of doing so or not, but I know one thing: that he was capable of gathering enough guts, enough courage, to stand for election in his home State (*Applause*) without having to run (*Laughter*) hundreds of miles, begging for a seat in some "Dungu" area, somewhere in the East Coast.

Let me now try to reply to the charges of trying to be hypocritical or to exploit the position to our political advantage. Let me tell them in their face that we did not resort to their tactics. We have no axe to grind. We took up this question of apartheid solely in the name of justice and humanity and not by any means as a political stunt. With a two-thirds majority in Parliament, our Government to-day is one of the strongest Governments in the democratic world.

As always, it is the empty vessel that makes the most noise! (*Applause*).

The Honourable Member from Ipoh challenged any Member from the Government Bench to go to South Africa. I am pleased that my Honourable colleague the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives has accepted that challenge, in spite of the fact that he is a confirmed pacifist. He also invited the Honourable Member from Ipoh to go with him. I wonder myself whether this would be a good thing, because while the South African whites might mistake my Honourable colleague for a half-white, I am sure they won't make a mistake about the Honourable Member from Ipoh (*Laughter*). However, if he insists on going, I have no wish to stop him. I also hope he will be able to form a People's Progressive Party of South Africa!

Having said all that, let me now try to answer the charges by the Opposition that our Prime Minister and our Government have not done anything positive on this issue. We all have heard from my Honourable colleagues the Ministers of Finance and of Health and Social Welfare what the Tunku and what our Government have done. The Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan questions what is the attitude of the Alliance on the embargo question, and is the Government prepared to declare a boycott on South African goods. The Government has looked into these things very carefully even before the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan ever woke up from his sleep.

It must be remembered that our country and South Africa are contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and, as such, our trading relations with them are regulated by the provisions of the General Agreement. In short, any action of the Federation Government which singles out South Africa in the matter of boycott or embargo is not—I repeat, not—in conformity with the provisions of the General Agreement which the Federation is bound to honour. However, if such action is not initiated or actively and openly supported and encouraged by Government,

South Africa cannot claim that we have contravened the provisions of GATT. In other words, if the Chambers of Commerce in this country and if our Trade Unions decide to boycott South African goods, or if the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan, for example, decides to boycott South African brandy, no charge could be made out against the Government that we have violated the provisions of GATT. Indeed, as we all know, the various Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions have already announced their stand on this issue. So, the House can see that it is easy for any irresponsible or ignorant chap to shout or to bark against the Government, but a responsible Government like ours cannot rush madly doing things which might react badly against this country as a whole in the eyes of the international world. However, the Government is not disinterested. As Minister of Commerce and Industry, I was instructed by the Cabinet, at the request of our Prime Minister while he was still in London, that I should explore into all possibilities of economic action against South Africa. (*Applause*). I am glad to inform the House that we have found a very practical way, but it is not politic at this stage for me to tell the House what form of action it is going to be. The Cabinet decided that before it took action to await the return of the Prime Minister and until he has had the opportunity to report to the House what he has done in London. We thought that during this debate some new or constructive ideas might crop up which might be of help or guidance to the Government, but instead of that, like a bolt from the blue came this amendment which, as I said earlier, is the most unkindest cut of all. In the light of what I have explained, can anybody stand up to say that our Prime Minister, our Government, has not done a thing, and has not taken any positive action? Let me inform the House that only a concerted action by freedom-loving countries will achieve the desired result against South Africa, and it is with this aim in view that our Prime Minister has told the House that it is his intention to write to the Prime Ministers of other

countries for co-operation. I do sincerely hope that having heard this explanation, this House, irrespective of whatever party we belong to, will reject this amendment, and with one voice vote a "Thank you!" to our Prime Minister, who, by his action, has brought honour not to any one political party but to the nation as a whole. (*Applause*).

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar (Kuala Trengganu Selatan): On a point of explanation, I did not in the course of my speech refer to the fact that the mover of the motion was incapable of answering any question: I said he was not capable of answering the question of an official boycott by the Government of South African goods, which needs a decision by the Cabinet, not a back-bencher!

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam (Setapak): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sungguh dukachita sakali mendapati usol yang sa-demikian ini boleh menimbulkan tudoh menudoh di-dalam Dewan ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal yang kita hadap sekarang ia-lah soal perjuangan menentang apartheid. Soal perjuangan dasar warna kulit yang di-amalkan oleh Kerajaan Afrika Selatan—Kerajaan kulit puteh. Dahulu kita telah sama² memberikan mandat kepada Perdana Menteri kita untuk memperjuangkan ini di-dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Beliau pergi membawa mandat kita itu Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita memberikan mandat supaya beliau bertindak tegas dan ini beliau sambut dengan hati yang bersungguh² dan telah memperjuangkan-nya di-dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-dalam persidangan ini tidak ada satu langkah juga yang telah di-lakukan oleh Perdana Menteri kita, maka Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada tempat-nya-lah kalau kita seluroh-nya bukan sahaja menyalahkan Perdana Menteri bahkan mengutuk dia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Mengikut laporan yang di-berikan oleh Perdana Menteri, beliau telah melaksanakan usaha² yang kita berikan kepada-nya sa-takat yang di-luluskan oleh tradisi atau kebiasaan persidangan Perdana² Menteri

Commonwealth. Erti-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-takat boleh Perdana Menteri kita menjalankan tugas-nya ia-itu menjalankan mandat-nya (Tepok). Tetapi, sa-telah kita membaca, sa-telah kita mendengar laporan Perdana Menteri itu, bagi kita menggunakan fikiran, tentu-lah tidak dapat mengelakkan diri kita dari menyatakan rasa dukachita. Tetapi dukachita bukan kepada Perdana Menteri tetapi dukachita kepada apa yang kita harapkan sa-penoh²-nya dapat di-perjuangkan oleh Perdana Menteri itu tidak dapat di-perjuangkan kerana tradisi² Commonwealth itu.

Mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam satu bahagian usaha Perdana Menteri dalam laporan itu:

"... the time this Conference comes to an end we will have some firm statement made which the world will appreciate".

Perdana Menteri tegas menyatakan supaya persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu mengeluarkan statement yang betul² tegas tetapi kalau kita baca pula statement yang telah di-keluarkan oleh persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu, nyata-lah bahawa statement itu tidak tegas. Sebab tidak tegas itu, bukan-lah pula kerana Perdana Menteri tetapi kerana tradisi persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu yang mengatakan satu² statement harus-lah di-persetujui oleh semua wakil² itu.

Jadi, kalau kami di-sini menyatakan dukachita, kekesalan kami, bukan-lah terhadap apa yang sudah di-chapai oleh Perdana Menteri di-London itu tetapi berdukachita kerana apa yang kita harap benar² dalam perjuangan ini telah tidak di-chapai dengan sa-penoh-nya. Ia, kita dapat menyalahkan tradisi² persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth, kita menyalahkan umpama-nya negara² dalam Commonwealth tidak memberi sokongan dengan sa-penoh-nya dalam perjuangan ini. Kita dapat menyalahkan kepada negara² kulit puteh tidak memberi sokongan yang sa-penoh²-nya, hanya mengutuk sahaja tetapi tidak mahu memberi ketegasan terhadap perjuangan kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami menyertai menyatakan ucapan terima kaseh kepada Perdana Menteri tetapi

kami juga ingin dan mengharap-
kan bukan-nya kepada pindaan² dalam
persidangan ini tetapi mengharap-
kan supaya pihak yang mengemukakan
usul yang asal itu, menimbangkan satu
soal yang harus kita timbangkan.
Soal-nya, chukup-kah bagi kita hanya
mengucapkan terima kaseh, mengu-
chapkan kehormatan kita kepada Per-
dana Menteri itu? Saya mengharap-
kan supaya sa-lain dari kita menyatakan
terima kaseh kita, menyatakan
penghargaan kita kepada apa yang
di-lakukan oleh Perdana Menteri itu,
memang sa-wajar-nya kalau kita
seluruh-nya mengajak, ayoh Tunku,
teruskan perjuangan apartheid ini
sakali pun Tunku menerima akhiran
yang pahit. Ini kata Tunku sendiri, "to
the bitter conclusion" (*Tepok*). Tetapi,
Tuan Yang di-Pertua, persidangan ini
harus mengucapkan terima kaseh
tetapi di-samping itu juga mendesak
Tunku berjuang terus menentang
apartheid ini, sakali pun kalau perlu
akhir-nya pahit, ini kata Tunku sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perjuangan
menentang apartheid bukan sahaja
perjuangan yang sudah lama tetapi
Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kegagalan kita
dalam perjuangan itu harus-nya jangan-
lah menimbulkan putus asa kita.
Memang sa-bagaimana yang di-
katakan bahawa kita dapat menjalan-
kan terus perjuangan kita itu, dan
bagitu juga sa-bagaimana yang telah
di-terangkan oleh Menteri Kewangan
sedikit masa dahulu Kerajaan Perse-
kutuan Tanah Melayu telah menjalan-
kan tindakan melarang tender board
umpama-nya, supaya jangan membeli
barang² dari Afrika Selatan. Kalau
dalam Dewan ini timbul beberapa
soalan, apa lagi yang harus kita
perjuangkan, dan kalau Dewan ini
pula timbul jaminan atau pun janji
daripada Menteri Pertanian kita yang
sanggop hendak pergi ka-Afrika
Selatan itu untuk menentang apartheid,
saya fikir kita belom lagi sampai di-
sana dan maseh banyak lagi dapat
kita lakukan di-negeri kita ini.

Saya suka menganjorkan supaya
sidang ini dapat memutuskan agar
dapat kita membentok satu Jawatan-
Kuasa National yang mengandongi
seluruh perwakilan ra'ayat negeri ini
yang akan merupakan Jawatan-Kuasa

yang bertindak terus terhadap
apartheid, di-samping itu Jawatan-
Kuasa ini dapat meranchangkan,
memikirkan chara² kerja untuk
meneruskan perjuangan kita itu.
Jawatan-Kuasa ini dapat, umpama-nya
mengambil sikap supaya selama satu
minggu seluroh ra'ayat negeri ini
mengajak dan mengutok terhadap
apartheid itu, dan menunjokan agar
semua parti yang keseluruhan-nya
mengadakan rapat umum di-bawah
anjonan Jawatan-Kuasa ini menyatakan
kehendak dan kemahuan kita menen-
tang apartheid itu.

Dari itu, saya tidak fikir soal ini
harus membawa satu perbahathan atau
satu perdebatan yang panjang, kerana
apa yang kita harapkan ia-lah supaya
dari usol ini dapat kita menghasilkan
sa-suatu ia-itu usaha kerja yang terus
menerus akan kita lakukan, dan kita
bukan sahaja mahu mengucapkan
terima kaseh, tetapi juga mahu
mengajak terus Tunku berjuang, jangan
gongchang, jangan goyang agar per-
juangan melawan apartheid itu di-
teruskan. (*Tepok*).

**Enche' Tajudin bin Ali (Larut
Utara):** Tuan Speaker, Tuan, saya
bangun menyatakan tidak setuju de-
ngan pindaan yang di-chadangkan itu.
Chuma manusia yang "*bermatakan
kayu*" dan "*bertelingakan tempayan*"
sahaja (*Ketawa*).

**Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad
(Bachok):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-
kah perkataan itu unparliamentary?

Mr. Speaker: Kalimah "*mata kayu*",
"*telinga tempayan*" itu tak boleh di-
gunakan, kerana itu ada-lah unparlia-
mentary language.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Minta ma'af.
Tuan Speaker. Jadi, apabila Yang
Teramat Mulia kita membentangkan
soalan khas-nya berkenaan dengan
apartheid ini dalam meshuarat Perdana²
Menteri Commonwealth, maka akhbar²
dan juga radio² telah memuji² sikap
Tunku yang tegas dan berani. Itu-lah
sebab-nya saya katakan bahawa orang
yang kurang perhati dan menidakan
kejayaan Tunku sa-benar-nya tidak
ikhlas di-atas pendirian Yang Teramat
Mulia itu.

Pada muka 4 laporan yang telah dikemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman berkata bahawa Mr. Louw ada-lah sa-orang yang bengkek, degil dan tidak mahu bekerjasama. Saya berpendapat bahawa dalam Majlis ini ada satu dua orang yang pendirian-nya sa-rupa dengan Mr. Louw atau lebih burok lagi daripada-nya. Tuan Louw sa-kurang²-nya ada pendirian bagi negeri dia, tetapi orang² yang di-negeri kita ya'ani orang² yang di-sebutkan tadi itu ia-lah orang² yang tidak bertanggung jawab terhadap fa'edah negara-nya sendiri dan memperkecil²kan kemuliaan negeri-nya sendiri. Saya chukup malu di-atas pendirian mereka itu. Kalau-lah boleh kita kata bahawa Afrika Selatan itu tidak patut menjadi ahli Commonwealth, barangkali saya boleh berkata pula sikap pendirian sa-tengah² pehak pembangkang yang tidak tentu dasar bagi parti masing², tak patut ada dalam Dewan ini.

Apartheid ia-lah satu soal yang sangat² rumit, dan bagi Parti Negara, saya rasa terlebih dahulu tak tahu apa ma'ana-nya "apartheid" itu. (*Ketawa*). Dan bagi PPP pula terlebih dahulu mereka itu tak ada semangat hendak mengemukakan soal apartheid dalam Parlimen ini, chuma apabila Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman mengemukakan soalan itu dalam Parlimen ini, mereka baharu tahu apa-kah soalan apartheid itu dan baharu mereka sokong, tidak terdahulu daripada itu.

Dato' Onn bin Ja'afar: On a point of explanation, Sir

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: I am not giving way, Sir. (*Ketawa*). Tuan Speaker, Yang Berhormat wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Selatan ia-lah sa-orang yang bijak, tetapi penoh dengan "colonial redtape" Kita suka mendengar dia berchakap di-sini kadang² dia terlatah, tetapi kita biarkan dia terlatah kerana kita anggap perdirian-nya itu sa-bagai satu kor'an burok. Tawarikh telah menunjokan bahawa sebelum Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman mengemukakan dalam meshuarat Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London, tidak sesiapa pun dapat mengemukakan perkara ini ka-dalam

satu meshuarat kemunchak saperti baharu² ini di-adakan di-London itu.

Tunku Abdul Rahman mempunyai semangat, sungguh pun dia berdarah raja, tetapi berhati orang miskin. Dengan memajukan perkara ini Tunku telah pun mendapat nama yang besar bagi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan kapada seluroh dunia bebas 'am-nya. (*Tepok*). Pada muka 7 laporan yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman menyatakan bahawa soal apartheid itu telah pun di-terangkan ia-itu—

" the central topic of discussion among the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in the official room,"

Kalau sakira-nya Tuan Speaker membolehkan saya menarek perhatian Dewan ini apabila Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku memohon mandate untuk di-kemukakan soalan ini di-London, ada-lah sah dan nyata ia-itu Ahli Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan tidak sekali² perchaya bahawa Tunku ada semangat hendak mengemukakan soal apartheid ini dalam meshuarat Perdana² Menteri di-London. Saya rasa, kata-nya dahulu Tunku akan berchakap dengan rakan²-nya di-merata² kedai kopi di-London, tetapi dengan ada-nya laporan yang telah di-terangkan dan di-nyatakan bahawa Tunku dengan berani-nya dapat mempengaruhi Tuan Pengerusi Meshuarat dan rakan²-nya dalam meshuarat yang tertentu itu.

Sahabat saya Ahli Yang Berhormat wakil dari Ipoh menyatakan bahawa apabila Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman menyatakan meshuarat itu ya'ani dalam meshuarat Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth khas-nya soal apartheid ini tidak mendapat sokongan. Saya tahu Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ia-lah sa-orang lawyer, barangkali kepandaian-nya chuma untuk fa'edah kapada orang kampung² baru yang beliau mewakili Ipoh sahaja, dan dalam mana² meshuarat, kalau-lah sa-saorang Ahli itu mengemukakan satu² chadangan dan mempunyai sokongan maka sakira-nya Ahli² yang lain tidak menegor-nya ada-lah chadangan itu saya rasa mendapat sokongan sebulat suara.

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu barangkali baharu sahaja dalam hal politik walau pun dia pandai dalam hal jinayah. Saya harap dia belajar lebih banyak lagi hal-ehwal politik (*Ketawa*) dan berkaitan dengan politik dia chuma be-loyar burok sahaja.

Mr. Speaker: Withdraw that!

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: I withdraw it. Tuan Speaker, tuan, dalam rumah yang bahagia ini, yang sa-benar-nya Kerajaan Perikatan tidak berkehendakan sokongan daripada parti² yang tidak bertanggung jawab untuk negara ini. Apabila Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman meminta mandat dahulu sa-belum ka-Lonodn, kami hanya mengemukakan-nya dan kita bertanya kepada diri kita sendiri, kalau-lah tidak ada sokongan daripada mana² parti, ada-kah Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman pergi atau tidak atau ada-kah beliau rugi dengan tidak ada sokongan itu? Tuan Speaker, tentu-lah kita boleh mengatakan, kita tidak rugi atau pun untong dengan sokongan mereka yang sage-lintir itu; kerana sa-benar-nya parti² itu telah tenggelam puncha. Kemenangan dan tindakan Perikatan yang terkenal di-seluruh dunia itu dengan kepandaian dan kebijaksanaan yang di-buat oleh Kabinet Perikatan, mereka hendak bersama² menyertai-nya.

Tuan Speaker, Tuan, dengan mempunyai mandat yang di-beri oleh Parlimen ini, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman dengan semangat yang berani pergi ka-London serta menanam sa-pohon pokok anggor, anggor itu telah pun mengeluarkan buah dan sedang masak dengan ranum-nya. Hampir² seluruh dunia memuji dan mengatakan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman itu pandai, bijak dan berperilaku kemanusiaan. Apabila beliau mengemukakan perkara ini dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London, hanya 2-3 orang pehak pembangkang yang tidak bersetuju dengan pendapat seluruh dunia itu, maka berkata-lah mereka, "Chis! buah anggor itu masam,".

Dr. Burhanuddin bin Mohd. Noor (Besut): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah mendengar hujah² daripada kedua

pehak di-atas chadangan hendak memberi ucapan terima kaseh dan tahniah kepada Perdana Menteri kita yang telah di-beri tugas yang penoh, tegas dan nyata. Maka dalam usul yang pertama telah timbul pindaan, dan sekarang ini kita ada-lah sedang membahathkan pindaan yang sama² kita mengetahui, dalam perbahathan pindaan ini telah timbul fikiran² yang saya rasa telah terkeluar daripada perkara yang sa-patut-nya. Jadi, saya sekarang berdiri membahathkan usul pindaan itu, tetapi pendirian saya dalam perkara ini tidak-lah dapat menyokong dengan penoh-nya di-atas usul ini, kerana ada beberapa perkara yang kita pandang dan dapati daripada keterangan² dan laporan² yang telah di-sampaikan kepada kita oleh Perdana Menteri kita sendiri bahawa tugas yang penoh dan tegas yang di-beri kepada beliau itu tidak dapat di-jalankan dengan penoh seperti yang tersebut dalam laporan yang di-sampaikan kepada kita itu. Saya tidak hendak mengulang lagi, kerana perkara ini akan memanjangkan masa kita dan perkara ini pada umum-nya keterangan² telah di-sampaikan oleh wakil² di-Majlis ini. Pokok perbahathan kita ia-lah menentang apartheid. Kedua² pehak yang membawa chadangan asal dan pindaan ini tidak berganjak bahawa kita tegas menentang apartheid dan ini-lah perkara yang mesti di-hidupkan, kita mesti terus berjuang menentang-nya.

Sekarang ternyata dua chara pandangan kita terhadap usaha Perdana Menteri kita. Bagi pehak yang membawa usul yang pertama merasa bahawa usaha Perdana Menteri kita itu memuaskan hati dengan sa-penoh-nya, tetapi manakala kenyataan² yang telah kita sama² dengar itu nyata-lah bahawa puas hati itu tidak-lah sa-penoh-nya. Usaha² yang telah di-jalankan oleh Perdana Menteri kita dengan chekal-nya itu, sa-harus-nya mendapat pujian, tetapi kerana tidak dapat berjalan dengan sebab² yang telah di-nyatakan oleh beberapa wakil di-sini, maka nyata-lah bahawa puas hati itu biar-lah sa-kadar yang ada ini sahaja. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, harus-lah kita sedar perjuangan apartheid ini bukan-lah perkara baharu, perkara ini

sambong-menyambong daripada usaha² panganjor dunia. Saya telah mendengar apa yang di-katakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian yang telah pun membawa perkara ini dalam perjuangan pacifist. Saya juga memperjuangkan masa Asian Relation Conference pada tahun 1947, mendiang Mahatma Gandhi masa itu maseh hidup, saya dapat berjumpa dia, dia ada membahathkan perkara ini didalam perbahathan berkenaan bantahan kemerdekaan satu² negeri (transitional period) dan juga perkara apartheid ini; jadi perkara apartheid ini telah lama di-bahathkan. Dan dengan timbul perkara ini kita mengambil peluang membahathkan-nya dalam masa Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London. Baharu² ini Perdana Menteri kita telah di-beri tugas yang penoh, tegas dan tetap dan Perdana Menteri kita telah memberi pengakuan akan berjuang dengan sa-penoh-nya. Tetapi dengan aral atau pun halangan menurut peroses peratoran² meshuarat itu hanya sa-takat ini-lah yang dapat di-jalankan, maka dengan tugas yang besar yang telah di-beri oleh Parlimen kapada-nya, kejayaan-nya tidak-lah sa-penoh sa-bagaimana yang kita harapkan². Jadi kerana memandangkan perjuangan ini ada-lah perjuangan sambong-menyambong dari dahulu, dan kita beruntung dengan chara sekarang ini, kerana Perdana Menteri kita telah menunjokkan kechekalan dalam perkara² yang di-jalankan-nya.

Apa yang patut kita kesalkan sangat ia-itu-lah berkenaan dengan usaha² yang baik yang telah di-perjuangkan oleh panganjor² Asia sa-lama ini telah dibawa ka-dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri ternyata-lah pada masa saya di-London sokongan yang dapat saya tinjau² ia-itu sokongan moral sahaja tetapi tidak ada membawakan sokongan² yang tegas malah ada puak² yang menentang atau menyertai langkah² yang di-jalankan oleh pehak puteh di-sana. Jadi saya rasa ini-lah perkara yang patut kita perbincangkan dengan semangat yang lebih tegas lagi supaya negeri ini dapat memberikan perasaan² yang lebih tegas dan supaya pehak² barat dan pehak² puteh itu dapat

merasakan kesan-nya. Ini-lah perkara yang lebih tepat daripada kita memberikan pujian puas hati yang sa-penoh-nya yang mungkin daripada keterangan² yang kita boleh pegang yang menunjukkan bahawa kepuasan hati itu kalau kita berikan dengan sa-penoh² sokongan bagaimana usul yang asal bererti kita telah memberikan satu perkara yang tidak tepat dan dengan kita menafikan usaha² Perdana Menteri kita ini ada-lah pula mengechewakan kita sendiri.

Jadi ini-lah perasaan saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa sa-bagai penutup-nya kita harus-lah memberikan pujian atas kechekalan hati Perdana Menteri kita yang telah memberikan usaha² dan perjuangan-nya di-dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri itu. Dengan sebab beberapa perkara yang tidak dapat berjalan dengan sa-penoh-nya bagaimana yang telah di-tugaskan kapada Perdana Menteri itu—dengan sebab beberapa keadaan Perdana² Menteri yang lain terutama-nya daripada pehak puteh yang menuju dasar puteh, kita berikan sokongan yang lebih tegas lagi supaya dapat-lah benar² tujuan peri kemanusiaan yang di-perjuangkan oleh United Nations itu dan kita sama² sambong menyambong perjuangan panganjor² Asia yang lebih dahulu supaya dapat kita tegakkan dan hasilkan dengan sa-chepat²-nya sa-bagai kita bangsa yang merdeka dan ada wakil dalam United Nations itu. Sakian-lah.

The Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry (Enche' Cheah Theam Swee): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the great Mahatma Gandhi, at the moment of greatest excitement in the struggle against British control over India, once said: "I will not hurt England or Germany to save India". Sir, this must be a rather significant statement, if we know anything about India's struggle for independence. There was no dynamite in this statement, but it was highly principled, it was stately, and, Sir, it is on this same sacred principle that the Tunku has set out to say anything against the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa. We congratulate the Honourable the Prime Minister for his firm and positive stand on

this issue and, what is more, he presented it in the highest degree of world statesmanship (*Applause*). The Tunku made no delay about raising the question. He included the question in his reply to the Chairman of the Prime Ministers Conference of all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. This was the first official opportunity, and he made his voice heard—or, as the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan put it, he roared. Then, he was persuaded not to bring up the question. We must congratulate the Tunku again for not giving in. How many, I ask, could have resisted the persuasion of such an august assembly? The Tunku did not give in. The Tunku has established Malaya's sincerity and concern over the question of apartheid (*Applause*) and our belief in the equality of mankind, irrespective of colour, race or creed. If it was the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan who was at the Conference, Sir, and thank God he was not, I am sure he would have failed—and he would have failed miserably. He would have given in, and he would not have even squeaked, not to say roared. Our Prime Minister has won respect for Malaya. He has awakened the world once again to deal with the question of apartheid, the question of racial discrimination, the question of violations of the fundamental principles of human rights. Our stand on the principles of human rights is already indisputable, as displayed by the complaints we have dealt with. And now we have gone one step better, and we thank the Tunku for his performance in London.

The Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan, in proposing the amendment, which I can tell him is laughed at not only in this House but also outside this House and by the rest of the world, shows his support for apartheid and racial discrimination, and those who support him will of course support the amendment. They have no alternative, Sir. The Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan also roared to this House as to how the Tunku roared, but let me tell the Honourable Member that the

Tunku roar not only to the Press and not only in his den, but he roared also at No. 10 (*Applause*).

We want to tell the Tunku: "Sir, we congratulate you!" We want to tell him that he has represented Malaya well, and the world knows the desires we have for the observance of the principles of human rights. In his tussle with Eric Louw, the Honourable the Prime Minister told us he had to call Mr. Louw "cold, calculating, and downright unfair" and various other things. Perhaps the Tunku's report would have been more complete if he had told us what these various other things were. However, Sir, it may be that those words were only suited for Mr. Louw and those of his kind, and not for this Honourable House.

Sir, I listened to the Honourable Member for Ipoh when he spoke on Friday afternoon, and I could hardly believe my ear drums under this very Honourable roof that afternoon—a Friday afternoon—the Honourable Member pressed for the application of apartheid in reverse: he called for discrimination against the whites. Sir, I had the honour and privilege of listening to the distinguished Minister of Defence of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, when he was speaking at the United Nations last year, and this is what he said, Sir:

"It would be just as great a tragedy if apartheid was practised in the reverse."

I shudder to think that that is the stand of the People's Progressive Party, but it is now clear that this is clearly its policy. He calls it a dynamic step. I ask this House: Will racial discrimination applied elsewhere be a dynamic step in solving the South African situation? We are against racial discrimination, be it white against black, brown, yellow, or black, brown and yellow against white. Perhaps the P.P.P. has a racial policy. The Honourable Member for Ipoh has made his remarks in no uncertain terms. He said that if the whites do not want the coloured, then the coloureds don't want the whites! Those were his actual words, and in the analysis of it, it must be a racial policy. It must be clear to the people of Malaya, and,

Sir, we on this side of the House shall never do unto others what we do not like others to do unto us. The Honourable Member for Ipoh usually speaks of human rights, justice, etc., but he preaches apartheid in the reverse. He can practise apartheid against the whites or others when he comes to power, but, Sir, we will fight apartheid, be it practised by Dr. Verwoerd or by Mr. Seenivasagam.

Mr. Speaker: No names should be mentioned!

Enche' Cheah Theam Swee: Yes, Sir.

To-day, it may be against the whites; tomorrow, he might be against the brown, and then yellow, and so on. We will fight violations of human rights, whether it be white against black, brown or yellow, or by the black, brown, yellow against the whites. The principle of human rights is what we stand for, and Tunku has made his voice heard, and, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to have earned the distinction of receiving a rose bud from Mr. Nehru is not only an honour to himself but a very great honour indeed to the peoples of the Federation of Malaya (*Applause*) and we are all deeply and sincerely grateful to the Tunku, to whom we ask this House to present this resolution standing in the name of the Honourable Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman.

The Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications (Dato' V. T. Sambanthan): Mr. Speaker, normally,

I would not have risen up with the hoarse voice that I have to-day, to speak, but then this diversionist resolution and its implications compel me to speak, if for no other purpose, at least, to disabuse the minds of the mover, the seconder, and the Member from Ipoh. I was very sorry to observe the other day how an Elder Statesman of this country in the shape of the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan had slipped up so badly on such a fundamental issue. I was really sorry, and I am sure, that later on, he will think about it and will himself feel sorry. But then, there seems to have been a lot of confused thinking.

For instance, when the seconder of the resolution, the Member for Ulu Kinta stated that he was surprised that despite the fact that Tunku had come back, coloured people were still living in the same conditions. Does the Honourable Member for Ulu Kinta think or did he expect apartheid to be removed by the Honourable the Prime Minister of Malaya by the time he came back here? I state this simply as an example of the type of political thinking, the type of shallow thinking, which goes on. We cannot solve international problems by this type of shallow thinking. (*An Honourable Member: Hear, hear!*)

For instance, the Honourable Member for Ipoh, as is usual with him, interposed his speech with a few challenges. You, Mr. Speaker, would have known, and I have known, and everybody in this House would have known, how, in the lower classes at school, it is a common feature: two boys will have a talk; this will become heated, and someone will say: "Come, fight!" (*Laughter*). To-day, I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, this tendency of "Come, fight!" hardly befits a House like this. Indeed, what was the basis of this "Come, fight!" attitude? It was this: as the Honourable Member for Ipoh said: "Who is prepared—is the Cabinet prepared—to go to South Africa and do what the Indians did in those days?" He implied by that, that groups of Indians had gone to South Africa to offer resistance to Smuts in those days, and later on, to others. But what really did happen? What happened was different. Mahatma Gandhi, as you know, found himself there because somebody had sent him there on a mission, and having found himself there, he found conditions intolerable, and the spirit in him woke up and he became Mahatma Gandhi. But that the Honourable Member for Ipoh should think to-day, that if he were going to South Africa to tell the South African Government: "Down with apartheid!", and the only way he could do it would be by using a bench meant for the whites, a bath meant for the whites, a cinema seat meant for the whites, a bus meant for the whites. That is the

way, I suppose, he would have gone to South Africa and shown his opposition to apartheid. Does he hope that we of the Government Bench should be moved to pay any attention to such futile suggestions—suggestions which show complete bankruptcy of political thought. I am very sorry to say that, because, when you think in terms of international political relationship, you can't make such a statement simply because it shows itself as futile, puerile and useless. Why? This apartheid question has been there for many years. Before that, we had the black and white question. It has been there in Africa since Smuts, before him and onwards. In 1952, the United Nations discussed this and decided on a resolution

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. The debate apparently is now on the amendment as to whether the steps were firm and positive; I don't know, Mr. Speaker, Sir, whether you think to use this opportunity for flinging back of abuse is a matter of irrelevancy.

Mr. Speaker: My ruling is that the speaker is quite relevant to the motion before the House.

Proceed, please!

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: Yes, Sir.

As I was saying, the United Nations decided in 1952 by resolution to send Dr. Ralph Bunche and two others to South Africa to investigate conditions there. The South African Government refused them entry, and that was that, and year after year, the question of South Africa has been coming up. It is not a sudden issue. So, let us not think that we can solve it as suddenly as all that. I say that because I think some Members of the Opposition would like to know these pertinent and fundamental facts.

Having said that, I would wish to bring up the question of, what do we mean by "positive". The Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan said that nothing positive was done. In the context of events to-day, what really is positive? Did the Honourable

Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan or the Member for Ipoh, or the one for Ulu Kinta, think that Tunku should chuck a dynamite at Louw, or alternately, take a shot at all apartheid Afrikaners in South Africa? Or did they think a solution was immediately available? Certainly, Sir, we are discussing an international issue; we have to make our opinions felt. But to expect something much more than what the Prime Minister did, so laudably and so well at the Prime Ministers' Conference, is to show, as I said, an absolutely unrealistic appreciation of the problem. This Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference has had as a precedent, we heard, that things were informally discussed; I am told most things are informally discussed. This precedent, if it has not been completely broken, has certainly been prised by our own Prime Minister. Our Prime Minister, in the steps that he took—sometimes I wondered, as I read the papers: What has happened to Tunku? Has he gone back to his Saklatwala days? Gone back to the days of his youth, when he moved with young Leftists in England, in politics? Because, if what had been reported was correct, then he was coming up with what I thought to be a radical attitude towards politics; this, I thought, was more left than he normally is, and yet, it is surprising that conservative persons, persons like the Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan, should have been dissatisfied with him.

In an issue like apartheid, public opinion is the most important thing. And public opinion has been very well created by the activities of our own Prime Minister (*Applause*). He has acted as a conscience—very much like a conscience—to the people. He has pointed out to the people, be they in England, Europe and elsewhere, that he had very strong views, that we have got to have strong views on an issue as fundamental as this, that on fundamental human issues we have to have definite opinions; all this he has stated categorically and clearly. Is this, I ask, Mr. Speaker, not positive? I certainly say that it is positive. I am afraid that because the Honourable mover, the

seconded and the Member for Ipoh have misled this House, have possibly thought that this is not the way to do things, that we have taken this unnecessary, diversionist, and most negative of all amendments to any resolution. I do hope, therefore, Sir, that they would mend their ways.

This Conference of Prime Ministers in fact is the last conference in which white Prime Ministers would be in the majority. From the next Conference, the others would be in the majority, and yet, in the context of history, if you saw it, you would know that the unfortunate thing about it all is that the people—the maniacs who are ruling South Africa to-day—had been deluded by their own mania, that they will have to mend their ways, otherwise they will find that the whole of Africa is up in arms against them—and two or three million against one hundred million or so is just nothing. Times are changing, the tide is running fast, and they will have to mend their ways. But it would be wrong for us to think that simply because they are two million and other people more than ten million, more than one hundred million, that they would give up easily their resistance: they have the resistance of maniacs, they have the strength of maniacs. So, let us say: Let us be careful in how we plan; let us go together.

Honourable Member from Ipoh questioned: What has the Government, what has the Cabinet done—what have they done? Are they daring enough to go to South Africa? Sir, I am too modest, and I am sure the members of the Cabinet are too modest, to speak about themselves, but let me say one small thing. I, for one, in my own small way, have not touched anything South African for over 25 years, and I don't think I will ever touch anything South African. I have got it in my own conscience that I, firstly, should not touch anything South African. And if each one of us goes his way . . . later on, as the Honourable the Minister of Commerce and Industry said, we, as a Government, have got to think carefully, plan carefully, objectively to

see what can best be done to see that the maniacs of South Africa are brought to their senses. Thank you, Sir. (*Applause*).

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sa-bagai sa-orang backbencher berasa tersinggong, oleh kerana waktu mengemukakan usul pindaan ini, Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan telah menunjokkan bahawa kami sa-bagai “backbenchers” tidak ada pendirian bahkan di-bawah arahan dan telunjuk Perdana Menteri kita. Di-sini saya suka menegaskan bahawa pendirian backbencher ia-lah pendirian yang tetap dan tegas dan tidak dapat di-pengarohi oleh Perdana Menteri sekali pun, bukan-lah sa-bagaimana Ahli Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan itu. Kerana sejarah dapat membuktikan bahawa kalau-lah pengikut²-nya tak mahu ikut chakapnya, dia naik berang—dan kena pujok pula maka terpaksa-lah pengikut²-nya ikut chakap Yang Berhormat itu, tetapi ada-lah berlainan bagi diri kami.

Sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mesti-lah kaji dengan halus-nya, apakah isi mendet yang kita berikan kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita itu. Mendet itu di-berikan dan tugas-nya yang penoh ia-lah memperjuangkan soal apartheid dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Dalam persidangan ini tak payah-lah saya terangkan dengan jelas, kerana tiap² Ahli Yang Berhormat tentu tahu bahawa hal ehwal dalam negara sa-sabuah negeri Commonwealth itu tidak boleh di-binchangkan dan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku telah pun menegaskan hendak memperjuangkan dengan sekeras²-nya supaya soal apartheid ini mesti-lah di-binchangkan dalam tempat yang tak boleh di-binchangkan itu; walau pun dengan rasmi-nya atau tidak rasmi-nya.

Di-sini, kita harus memberi pujian yang besar, sebab dengan tidak rasminya dapat juga di-binchangkan dalam Majlis negara² ini dan di-sokong pula oleh beberapa Perdana Menteri. Tudohan Ahli Yang Berhormat wakil dari Ipoh itu kata-nya tidak ada Perdana Menteri yang menyokong tetapi “Official Report” yang sudah di-pinda daripada

yang asal itu yang tujuan-nya dengan jelas menyatakan bahawa beberapa Perdana Menteri telah menyokong di atas tindakan Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita itu. Lagi satu perkara, Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan dan juga pehak PPP waktu membahathkan perkara ini telah menudoh dengan sengaja dan dengan tidak chukup alasan yang di-beri-nya. Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan telah beberapa kali menyatakan bahawa laporan ini telah di-bacha-nya dari A sampai Z, dan dari Alif sampai Nya, tetapi dalam laporan ini Yang Berhormat itu sengaja meninggalkan ayat yang berbunyi—

“Well, Mr. Speaker and Honourable Members, that is as much as I could report at this stage”

Yang berma'ana perjuangan itu belum lagi habis dan akan di-teruskan akan di-perjuangkan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri. Di-sini nyata-lah dengan jelas “at this stage”—setakat ini, dan dengan tidak membacha kenyataan ini di-lemparkan pula tuduhan² yang menjatuhkan kehormatan Perdana Menteri kita dan juga Kerajaan kita. Ini ada-lah satu perkara yang tidak bertanggung-jawab dan tak patut di-lakukan dalam persidangan ini. Saya fikir perkara ini tak payah-lah di-binchangkan dengan panjang, kerana pindaan ini di-bawa oleh wakil tunggal dari Parti Negara dan di-sokong oleh PPP, yang berma'ana chuma 5 orang sahaja, di-champor dengan 2 orang lagi berjumlah 7 daripada 104 ahli. Oleh itu, nyata-lah bahawa kebenaran Kerajaan Perikatan dan Perdana Menteri kita yang membawakan perkara ini dengan terang dan jelas sa-bagaimana terang-nya mata hari dengan bulan, dan tak payah-lah di-binchangkan dengan panjang masa-nya lagi.

Sekian-lah terima kaseh.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang (Jelebu-Jempol): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perbahathan ini berbangkit ia-lah dengan satu perkataan “positive action” atau “tindakan yang berkesan”. Positive action ini telah di-masokkan dengan kehendak parti pembangkang sendiri pada masa memberi mendet kepada

Perdana Menteri dahulu supaya menjalankan-nya dengan tegas, dan pada hari ini pindaan itu dengan tegas berma'ana Tunku Perdana Menteri tidak menjelaskan dan telah gagal dalam tugas yang di-beri itu. Pada petang Juma'at itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingat lagi bahawa wakil dari Kuala Terengganu Selatan telah berkata yang dia telah berchakap dengan Perdana Menteri di-padang kapal terbang international sa-belom Perdana Menteri terbang ka-London

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Saya tak ada berchakap begitu di-padang kapal terbang.

Mr. Speaker: (*Kapada Dato' Onn*) Are you on a point of explanation?

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: . . . di-mana kata-nya dia berasa ragu² yang Tunku Abdul Rahman, Perdana Menteri, dapat menjalankan dengan tegas terhadap apartheid ini, kerana perkara ini tak boleh di-binchangkan di-persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Tetapi, sekarang kata-nya, Tunku Abdul Rahman telah gagal, bukit-nya memang telah di-buat-nya dia memang tahu bahwa perkara itu akan gagal. Jadi, di-mana-kah yang di-katakan perkara ini logik? Perkara ini kita tak fikir apa ma'ana-nya pindaan yang di-buat itu, tetapi hanya satu sahaja tujuan-nya ia-itu hendak menjatuhkan nama baik Tunku Abdul Rahman. Saya rasa ini-lah satu—“A well-calculated and deliberate move to discredit the Prime Minister for what he had done.” Saya rasa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,—“This is an attempt to ridicule him.”

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order! Mengikut Standing Order ini ada satu provision mengatakan bahawa sa-saorang itu tidak boleh membawa perkataan improper motive, oleh itu hendak-lah di-jaga sedikit.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: Kalau begitu, saya tarek balek, dan saya tahu perkara yang telah di-tugaskan kepada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri itu telah di-jalankan-nya. Tudohan ini adalah satu tuduhan yang sa-mata² tidak

berasas sama sa-kali. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, teringat-lah saya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh yang mengatakan ia-itu Tunku pergi ka-London tidak buat apa² hanya beri press conference dan bercakap di-sana-sini. Sekarang saya bertanya kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, apa-kah dia akan buat kalau dia pergi ka-sana? Ada-kah dia suroh Tunku melompat di-atas meja atau menchabot pistol atau memotong perut supaya di-kata orang, Ah! Tunku sudah mati, kerana memperjuangkan soal apartheid, ada-kah ini yang di-maksudkan-nya? Saya rasa ini satu tuduhan yang tidak patut, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana kita tahu perkara ini tidak boleh di-masokkan dalam agenda persidangan itu, tetapi Tunku telah buat apa yang dia boleh buat, saya rasa tidak-lah patut kalau di-katakan Tunku tidak menjalankan tugas-nya.

Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah mengambil sikap yang tegas menjalankan apa yang di-tugaskan kepada-nya dan telah berjaya, walau pun ada sa-tengah² pehak yang tidak mengaku tetapi Dewan ini dan dunia tahu perjuangan ini berharga yang akan di-ingat oleh orang Afrika Selatan yang akan datang, dan saya perchaya sejarah akan mengingatkan saperti kata Tunku orang yang mati kerana memperjuangkan Afrika Selatan dan hak kemanusiaan itu tidak mati begitu sahaja bahkan akan di-kenang sampai bila².

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal keberanian Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita dalam memikul tugas mandat yang telah diberikan oleh Dewan ini bagi membawa soal apartheid itu ka-London, sama²-lah kita mengetahui, walau pun tidak berhasil sa-chara rasmi bagi dikemukakan dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London itu tetapi patut-lah di-puji dan di-beri ucapan tahniah. Saya perchaya dalam soal keberanian, kesungguhan Tunku pada menjalankan tugas mandat yang di-beri itu patut-lah sa-bulat suara ahli Dewan ini menyampaikan tahniah kepada beliau saperti sa-bulat suara-nya Dewan

ini memberi mandat kepada beliau dahulu (*Tepok*).

Akan tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu daripada kenyataan yang tidak patut kita pejamkan mata ia-lah bahawa Tunku dalam menjalankan tugas-nya telah kechiwa daripada menjadikan perkara apartheid ini di-bahathkan sa-chara rasmi dalam persidangan itu, ini bukan saya yang berkata, tetapi dalam laporan Tunku sendiri yang menunjukkan beliau tidak berjaya. Tidak berjaya-nya Tunku membawa perkara ini bukan salah Tunku, bukan-nya salah procedure, atau pun bukan-nya salah kerana perkara ini mengenai hal² yang berlaku dalam sa-sabua negara Commonwealth; tetapi saya perchaya perkara ini salah-nya ia-lah kerana kurang keinginan dan keikhlasan daripada beberapa negara Commonwealth. Saya perchaya kalau perkara yang di-bahathkan itu bersangkut-paut dengan kepentingan Amerika, umpama-nya, perkara itu sudah selesai di-bahathkan dengan rasmi dalam persidangan itu.

Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah membayangkan, tetekala sampai ka-persidangan itu, bahawa beliau mungkin akan mengemukakan perkara ini ka-Persidangan Afro-Asian dan mungkin akan di-bentangkan kepada negara lain, untuk mendapat sokongan mereka dalam perkara yang di-bawa oleh Malaya. Ini ada-lah suatu dalil yang terang menunjukkan bahawa dalam peringkat mengemukakan soal apartheid ini dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth sa-chara rasmi nyata tidak berhasil. Saya suka hendak membahathkan sedikit tentang asas Commonwealth dan Afro-Asian, ia-itu dalam kita bergabung dalam Commonwealth dan dalam mengeneppikan badan Afro-Asian, serta memperkechilkan kesanggupan-nya; kita telah mengambil satu dasar international yang sempit. Mahu tidak mahu Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita telah berasa salah dengan sikap itu, dan pada peringkat ini saya tidak suka membahathkan kedudukan mana² pehak atau mana² gulungan. Tetapi kita berkehendakkan satu ketegasan ia-itu Malaya hendak-lah mempunyai satu

dasar international yang bebas mengikut perinsip hidup Tanah Melayu dan kepentingan ra'ayat negeri ini.

Mr. Speaker: Itu sudah keluar daripada perbahathan ini nampak-nya.

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda: Ada berkait

Mr. Speaker: Tidak ada berkait.

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda: tidak apa-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa bila kita berchakap dalam perkara yang besar yang mengenai soal dunia luar itu, perkara ini sangat-lah berhubung rapat dengan soal sikap kita keselurohan-nya dalam menentukan dasar international itu sendiri. Dan oleh kerana dalam langkah yang pertama yang di-jalankan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita dalam perkara apartheid untuk di-bahathkan dengan sa-chara resmi tidak berjaya, maka saya rasa ini ada-lah membuka peluang yang lebeh besar kepada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri pada masa akan datang bagi mengemukakan perkara ini mengikut kaedah yang lain sa-hingga perkara ini boleh dapat di-terima dan di-bahathkan serta di-laksanakan di-luar negeri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya suka-lah menyentuh dalam perkara hendak membawa ka-Persidangan Afro-Asian mithal-nya, saya maseh teringat lagi pada suatu masa dahulu, nampak-nya ada suatu gulongan dalam negeri kita ini, terutama gulongan pehak Kerajaan sendiri memandang Afro-Asian maseh berfaham kominis.

Mr. Speaker: Saya sudah tegah, perkara ini tidak berkait dengan perbahathan yang ada di-hadapan Majlis ini.

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda: Baik-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkaitan dengan soal apartheid ini dapat-lah saya katakan bahawa pendirian saya pada hari ini memberi sokongan atas menyampaikan ucapan tahniah kepada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri di-atas keberanian dan kesungguhan-nya dalam menyampaikan mandat yang di-beri oleh Dewan Ra'ayat ini kepada beliau, kalau kita taksirkan kejayaan yang di-chapai oleh Tunku dapat-lah saya kata dan nilai-kan sa-banyak 25 peratus, dan saya

perchaya Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman tidak berani mengata-kan yang beliau telah berjaya 100 peratus dalam perkara ini, dan yang 75 peratus dari ucapan terima kasih dan tahniah itu saya simpan dalam poket saya yang akan saya beri kelak, kalau perkara ini di-perjuangkan sa-lanjut-nya oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Datin Fatimah binti Haji Hashim (Jitra-Padang Terap): Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ada-lah membangkang atas usul pindaan dan seba-lek-nya saya sa-bagai kaum ibu turut menyokong atas usul yang asal yang telah di-bawa ka-Dewan ini ia-itu memberi pujian dan tahniah kepada Tunku Perdana Menteri yang telah memperjuangkan tugas² yang telah kita berikan kepada beliau di-Dewan ini.

Sokongan daripada kaum² ibu ada-lah terang dan nyata tatkala kita lihat pada ketika menyambut Yang Teramat Mulia balek dari Eropah baharu² ini. Kita di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tiada mahu saperti burung kesuari pura² membuat tiada nampak sa-suatu perkara yang terang dan nyata berla-wanan dengan hak asasi manusia, dan juga tiada mahu membuat pura² tiada nampak atas tugas² yang telah di-jalan-kan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri dalam meshuarat Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu. Saya per-chaya anak negeri ini akan berdiri tegoh di-belakang Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri dan menyokong atas apa² langkah Kerajaan yang telah di-fikirkan patut dan perlu di-ambil pada masa yang akan datang.

Dengan kebijaksanaan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman, Perdana Menteri, negeri kita telah menjadi lebeh terkenal dan terkemuka sunggoh pun satu negeri yang kechil dan baharu merdeka tetapi berani dalam tugas memperjuangkan ke'adilan hak² manusia di-muka bumi ini. Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dengan sikap-nya itu telah menun-jukkan dan memperkenalkan Malaya kepada dunia sa-bagai jagoh ke'adilan dan membela peri kemanusiaan. Kita ada-lah bermegah dengan sikap Per-dana Menteri kita itu, dan dari itu

saya dengan sa-kuat-nya membangkang atas pindaan itu dan sebalik-nya menyokong dengan kuat-nya pula chadangan yang asal.

Saya sa-bagai sa-orang kaum ibu di-sini ingin menyatakan dalam dewan ini ia-itu sa-bagai sifat kaum ibu yang lemah lembut dan bertimbang rasa saya menyokong chadangan yang asal itu yang mana kita ketahui Perdana Menteri itu telah menjalankan tugas²-nya, dan kaum ibu di-sini berasa bertimbang rasa atas pekerjaan Tunku Perdana Menteri mengutuk dasar membezakan warna kulit dan saya dari dewan ini juga menyeru manusia seluroh-nya supaya sa-rentak bangun mempertahankan kemanusiaan yang sedang di-perkuasakan di-Africa Selatan itu.

Saya, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, mempunyai beberapa sebab untuk menyokong usul yang asal itu. Yang pertama ia-lah kerana Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita telah menyempurnakan kewajipan yang telah ditugaskan ka-atas-nya oleh dewan ini dahulu, yang kedua kerana beliau telah mengangkat tinggi nama Tanah Melayu ka-mata dunia dan yang ketiga kerana sikap Perdana Menteri itu menentang dasar membezakan warna kulit yang bersesuaian dengan sikap yang terbit daripada sikap keperempuan yang lemah dan halus itu. Demikian, Dato' Yang di-Pertua.

The Assistant Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa hairan bagaimana sa-orang saperti ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan tergamak membawa satu pindaan yang di-sertakan dengan kenyataan² yang di-berikan-nya yang menunjukkan sa-olah² bahawa Perdana Menteri kita telah tidak menyempurnakan atau pun dengan lain² perkataan telah mengkhianati tugas dan mandat yang di-berikan oleh dewan ini kepada beliau untuk di-jalankan dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu. Saya hairan ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Trengganu Selatan membawa pindaan-nya itu, kerana saya tahu ia ada-lah sa-orang yang sudah lama dalam politik dan mengerti

dan patut mengerti apa yang patut di-jalankan dan di-chakapkan dalam soal international sa-umpama yang ada di-hadapan dewan ini.

Saya berasa tidak hendak berchakap panjang sebab banyak rakan² saya daripada sa-belah sini telah memberikan jawapan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan dan juga rakan-nya yang sa-faham dengan-nya daripada Ipoh. Apa yang saya hendak sebutkan di-sini ia-lah satu perkara yang beliau tuduhkan ia-itu konon-nya ahli² Perikatan yang di-dalam dewan ini ada-lah tidak mempunyai fikiran yang bebas dan hanya mendengar perintah daripada atas serta menurut apa yang di-sharahkan oleh Menteri² atau pemimpin² mereka. Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau ahli² dari Perikatan yang membawa dan menyokong usul ini boleh di-tuduh dengan satu tuduhan yang tidak berasas oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan itu sa-bagai orang² yang di-chuchok hidong-nya, maka di-sini saya ingin menarek perhatian ahli Yang Berhormat itu khas-nya dan rakan-nya daripada Ipoh, ia-itu waktu ketibaan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dari London beliau bukan sahaja telah di-sambut oleh ahli² daripada Perikatan yang di-katakan-nya di-chuchok hidong dan mengikut sahaja itu, tetapi wakil² daripada parti² pembangkang yang ada di-dalam dewan ini telah bersama² juga datang menyambut dan mengalu-alukan ketibaan Tunku Perdana Menteri waktu sampai tempoh hari. Ada-kah ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu hendak menuduh juga Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada Parti PAS dan Socialist Front itu di-chuchok hidong? itu terpulang-lah kepada beliau sendiri memikirkan perkara ini. Tidak shak lagi ia-itu ketika ahli² dari Parti PAS dan juga Socialist Front datang menyambut dan mengalu-alukan ketibaan Tunku itu mereka mempunyai satu perasaan ia-itu Tunku Perdana Menteri telah menunai dan menyempurnakan kewajipan dalam melaksanakan mandat yang telah di-serahkan oleh dewan ini kepada beliau sa-belum beliau bertolak ka-London untuk menghadziri

Persidangan Perdana² Menteri itu. Bukan sahaja pemimpin² parti pembangkang yang ada di-dalam dewan ini telah mengalu-alukan ketibaan Tunku, mengucapkan terima kasih dan tahniah atas perjuangan Tunku dalam Persidangan Perdana² Menteri, tetapi surat² khabar tempatan dari semua bahasa telah memberikan ucapan tahniah dan pujian yang satinggi²-nya atas sikap berani Yang Teramat Mulia itu dalam perdirian-nya di-Persidangan Perdana² Menteri.

Jadi, di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita akan nampak bahawa pindaan yang di-kemukakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan yang di-sokong pula oleh wakil daripada Ipoh itu bukan hanya menemipelak Ahli² Perikatan di-sebelah sini tetapi menemipelak seluruh ra'ayat negeri ini yang telah datang berduyon² hendak menyambut kembali-nya Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri daripada persidangan yang bersejarah itu. Ini satu penghinaan yang di-tujukan kepada wakil² PAS dan Socialist Front dan juga surat² khabar yang telah mengalu² dan memuji atas jasa dan sikap berani Yang Teramat Mulia terhadap soal apartheid dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Saya dukachita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau sa-orang yang mendatangkan usul seperti yang di-kemukakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat Enche' Ibrahim itu di-pandang dari segi kepartian kerana soal ini saya nampak ia-lah satu soal besar yang mengenai satu perkara international yang telah lama menjadi satu masalaah yang di-bahathkan oleh negara² besar dan kecil dalam dunia ini. Jadi, untuk memandang dari segi yang sempit, dari segi kepartian ada-lah satu kesilapan yang amat besar. Jadi di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menutup ucapan saya dengan menegaskan ia-itu hanya orang yang berbudi yang mengenal budi, dan hanya orang yang berjasa yang mengenal jasa. (Tepok).

Dr. Lim Swee Aun (Larut Selatan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, a few days ago, the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat admitted that if lawyers were given the opportunity, they would talk for hours

and hours. I must thank him before he leaves the room for paying me a compliment that I am usually short and not long-winded. I shall therefore keep to his expectations and deal as briefly as possible.

My first point is that when the Prime Minister was given the mandate from this House on this apartheid policy, Members of the Opposition well knew that it would be an offence against all the best traditions of meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for any Prime Minister to bring up for discussion any subject that was considered the domestic problem of a member country. Opposition Members also knew at that time that if the question of Kashmir had been discussed at the Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers, the representative of India would have walked out. That is point No. 1.

My second point is that when we gave the Prime Minister the mandate, we all of us—Members of the Opposition, Members of the Government—fully supported whatever action the Government considered appropriate in this matter. That is the second point.

Now, let us see what the Prime Minister has done with this mandate. If we look at this statement here, the Honourable the Prime Minister was just straining on his leash and from the word: "Go!" at the Prime Minister's Conference, when he was given the opportunity to reply on behalf of the other Prime Ministers to the address of welcome from the Chairman of the Conference, our Prime Minister touched on the subject of apartheid. That started a chain reaction, and in spite of all the opposition from the representative of South Africa, they agreed that the South African representative should discuss this matter of apartheid with any member of the Prime Ministers' Conference. Now, this in itself is an achievement. It has broken all traditions, and it has done something which nobody else has done. This achievement has led up to a climax where our Prime Minister walked out, and that has brought world consciousness and the attention of the whole world became focussed on this question

of apartheid policy in South Africa. What is the result? The result is that the Government of Sweden has passed a resolution to boycott South African goods. The Dutch Government has made a resolution in its Parliament to condemn apartheid. This is very significant because most of the white Africans in South Africa are Dutch by origin, and this in itself supports the original motion that the Tunku has taken firm and positive stand on the question of apartheid policy.

I am therefore very surprised at the Honourable Member for Ipoh when he said—this is quoted from the "Straits Times"—that to praise the Prime Minister would be hypocritical; and yet in the *Nanyang Siang Pao* of June 14th, the same Member was reported to have said that he expressed wholehearted support for Tunku Abdul Rahman's condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policy. Very inconsistent!

I am very surprised that the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan should have moved an amendment expressing his regret, rather, expressing regret that the Tunku has nothing constructive or positive to commend to this House on how he now proposes to implement the mandate given to him by this House. Now, if we look at the statement again, on page 11, the Prime Minister has said that he would write to the Prime Ministers of all the countries in the world to find out how they proposed to subscribe to whatever action we take. Sir, I submit that this is a very statesmanlike action. This problem is no more limited to the Commonwealth. It has become an international problem. In this statement too we are told, and we all agree, that there are two aspects to this apartheid policy. One aspect of it affects South Africa's relations with her own black people settled there, which is racial domination, and the second aspect of this issue affects South Africa's relations with the Commonwealth countries which are not white, and that is racial discrimination. We must be very careful, because in international affairs we cannot afford to be like "the bull in the

china shop" (*Laughter*). We have to think carefully what action we must take and we want our move to be supported by as many countries in the world as possible, so that we can actively relieve the hardships of the coloured peoples in South Africa.

It is correct to say that the Tunku went to London bouncing like a lion and he roared to the world, but it is not correct to say that he came back bleating like a sheep, because, as stated here, the Prime Minister is going to report to this House time and again, whenever it is necessary, on what should be done. So, he is not bleating or regretting; he is constructive and he has got something constructive behind him. What is more appropriate to say would be that the Prime Minister went to London like a Malayan tiger, inflamed with righteous indignation, fanned by everybody in this House and supported by all the peoples of Malaya. He roared in London, but was not heard or refused to be heard by the South African representative. But that roar has echoed round the world and it has brought its chain reactions, and now I suggest that South Africa realises that the roar of Tunku can be as effective as his bite. (*Applause*).

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah bin Haji Abdul Ghani (Pasar Mas Hulu): Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun berasa dukachita di-atas perkara chadangan menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada Perdana Menteri telah menjadi satu hujah atau perkataan² yang berulang². Kita sa-benar-nya memang-lah menguchapkan terima kaseh dan tahniah kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman, Perdana Menteri yang telah kita tugaskan bagi memperjuangkan berkenaan dengan apartheid policy di-Africa dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London. Tunku telah menjalankan tugas-nya, tetapi malang-nya beberapa perkara yang berkaitan, maka perjuangan itu tidak-lah mendapat penghasilan; walau bagaimana pun Tunku telah memperjuangkan-nya dengan ketabahan hati dalam perjuangan-nya itu. Kita berasa pada hari ini bahawa perjuangan itu

belum mendapat penghasilan lagi, berhubung dengan chadangan yang dikemukakan oleh pihak backbencher Kerajaan ia-itu pihak Kerajaan yang mengusulkan chadangan itu, rasa saya ada-lah pendek dan kontot chadangan itu. Maka sebab itu-lah pihak Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan menyambungkan chadangan itu, kerana dalam chadangan yang asal hanya menguchapkan terima kaseh dan tahniah di-atas ketegasan Tunku bagi memperjuangkan-nya dalam mesuarat di-London. Tetapi, dalam usul itu tidak di-tambah apa-kah chara-nya yang patut kita perjuangkan pada hari ini, tak ada, hanya menguchapkan terima kaseh. Maka di-situ was-was pihak ra'ayat ada-kah memada'i bagi menguchapkan terima kaseh sahaja yang patut di-sampaikan kepada Tunku Abdul Rahman, dan tidak-kah Kerajaan berniat meneruskan perjuangan-nya untuk memecahkan policy apartheid itu. Maka ini tidak-lah patut bagi pihak kita di-sini untuk mengutok wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan, kerana beliau telah faham bahawasa-nya ucapan terima kaseh itu tidak chukop bahkan patut-lah kita mengadakan satu usul ia-itu apa-kah ketegasan Kerajaan lagi dalam hal ini, dan apa-kah yang patut di-perjuangkan pada hari ini supaya dapat di-laksanakan chita² ra'ayat seluroh-nya.

Oleh itu, di-atas perjuangan apartheid ini memang-lah kita berasa gumbira terhadap keberanian dan tabah hati Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri, tetapi apa-kah ketegasan Kerajaan yang sa-benar-nya terhadap apartheid ini dan hanya puas hati dengan terima kaseh sahaja di-sampaikan lempah Tunku, atau selanjut-nya hendak memperjuangkan chita² ra'ayat seluroh-nya, dan begitu juga bukan hanya pihak Kerajaan dan pihak kami menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku bahkan termasuk juga wakil Yang Berhormat Kuala Trengganu Selatan menguchapkan terima kaseh dan tahniah kerana memperjuangkan apartheid itu. Di-samping itu, perkara ini tidak-lah boleh di-salahkan kepada wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan, tetapi Kerajaan tidak boleh menegaskan-nya apa

yang patut di-lakukan atau patut-lah mengadakan satu usul tambahan terhadap chadangan ini. Dan hanya itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-atas keberanian dan ketabahan Tunku Abdul Rahman terhadap perkara ini ya'ani apartheid policy yang telah di-adakan dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London, maka di-samping itu kita berasa juga tidak puas hati di-atas ucapan Tunku di-muka 11 yang berbunyi:

"All I propose to do at this stage is to write to the Prime Ministers of all the countries in the democratic world and ask them what I should do in this matter and how they propose to subscribe to whatever action we take,"

Jadi, ini menunjokan yang kita berharap fikiran daripada negeri² lain bahkan tidak menunjokan bagaimana policy pendirian Kerajaan kita terhadap perkara ini. Maka ini, rasa saya menunjokan bahawasa-nya Kerajaan tidak ada mempunyai satu pendirian yang tegoh atau policy yang tegoh terhadap apartheid policy ini. Oleh itu, tak usah-lah kita panjangkan perbalahan dalam perkara ini dan marilah kita patoh sa-mula saperti dahulu memberikan mendet penoh kepada Tunku untuk memperjuangkan apartheid policy ini, di-samping itu marilah kita bersama² menchari ikhtiar bersunggho² bagi melaksanakan chita² supaya apartheid policy di-Afrika Selatan itu dapat di-pinda atau dihapuskan.

Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin Mahmud (Temerloh): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya membangkang pindaan yang di-bawa oleh Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Selatan. Usul yang asal ia-lah tidak lain dan tidak bukan kerana menguchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah atas kejayaan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri membentangkan perkara apartheid ini di-Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London, dengan kecekapan dan kepintaran beliau, maka perkara yang tidak boleh di-bawa, telah dapat di-bawa-nya dan juga telah mendapat sokongan daripada Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth yang lain untuk membinchangkan perkara ini, walau pun tidak dapat dengan chara rasmi. Satu perkara yang menarek perhatian saya

ia-lah Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri dapat mengajak wakil South Afrika membinchangkan hal rumah tangga-nya. Saya rasa ini satu kejayaan yang sangat besar, pada hal tentu-lah wakil South Afrika itu tahu ia-itu apa yang hendak di-binchangkan itu ia-lah perkara yang tidak elok pada negerinya. Tetapi saya berasa heran kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Selatan, kerana kita berchadang memberi ucapan tahniah, tetapi dia meminda, ia-itu bagi memberi tahniah dia bersetuju; di-hujongnya dia muskil dan tidak puas hati. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini saya rasa sama-lah saperti perumpamaan Melayu, "Mulut di-suap pisang, bontut di-kait dengan onak." Ahli Yang Berhormat ini ia-lah sa-orang yang tua dan pintar, tentu-lah beliau faham peribadi orang Melayu, rasa saya. Wakil dari Ipoh ia-itu P.P.P. menyokong pindaan ini, sa-bagaimana yang kita tahu beliau tidak puas hati dan semua-nya salah, buat salah, tidak buat salah, semua-nya serba salah saperti kata pepatah Melayu, "Pipit tuli makan berhujan, ta' di-tahan padi habis, hendak di-halau kain basah," ini-lah kedudukan wakil dari Ipoh. Pada keseluruhan-nya kita tidak heran-lah, kerana kata pepatah Melayu, berkata "Usul menunjokkan asal".

Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Seberang Tengah): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to strongly oppose the amendment. I emphatically deny the baseless and irresponsible allegations directed against me in particular, because I am the original mover of the motion, for making—according to the Opposition Members—hypocritical commendations and congratulations on the firm and positive stand of the Honourable Prime Minister. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan is actually hitting below the belt, which is actually a foul play (*Laughter*). A philosopher once said that a man who talks a lot is not a sign of genius and a man who is quiet is not a fool. Actually the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan and his Honourable and learned colleague from Ipoh have been trying to pull wool over the eyes of the public

all these day—and, of course, many more Honourable Members from the Opposition benches—they have been trying to paint black pictures of funny caricatures in this House. So, I think it is my duty, and it is indeed an honour for me, to whitewash that painting.

We ought to have, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this House some sense, not only common sense, but horse sense, because common sense is something which wavers and evades but horse sense is stable. Far too often, Mr. Speaker, Sir, public office in this country is an invitation to criticism. Usually when a man rears his head slightly above the others in politics, he finds himself a ready target for many a blow and hence it is little wonder that there is always criticism, hypocritical utterances and hasty decisions made in this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh has said that the Honourable the Prime Minister roared. Actually the Honourable the Prime Minister did roar—not like the M.G.M. lion, but like a Malayan *harimau*—and actually the whole world is shaken, and luckily the Honourable the Prime Minister did not bark like most of the Opposition Members in this House.

Enche' Mohd. Sulong bin Mohd. Ali (Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak berchakap panjang berkenaan dengan hal ini. Saya berdiri kerana menentang pindaan di-atas usul yang pertama. Sunggoh pun wakil dari Parti Negara memikirkan tidak puas hati, tetapi saya memikirkan mengikut kuasa² yang kita telah beri kepada Perdana Menteri tentu-lah beliau telah membuat dengan sa-beberapa boleh dan sa-daya upaya-nya berkenaan dengan hal ini. Jika sa-kira-nya mengikut mandat kita bagaimana yang telah di-ucapkan oleh Ketua Socialist Front walau pun sedikit kita patut menerima kaseh kepada Perdana Menteri kita yang telah menyedari bukan sahaja ra'ayat Tanah Melayu tetapi seluruh dunia sedar keburokan yang telah di-buat oleh orang kulit putih di-Afrika Selatan. Dan beliau itu apabila balek daripada Persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth telah

mencheritakan tindakan mengikut bagai-mana yang di-setujui oleh meshuarat di-sana, dan beliau akan mengambil fikiran daripada kita bagaimana tindakan yang lebih daripada itu akan di-amal. Beliau ia-lah sa-orang Perdana Menteri yang sunggoh² mengikut Perdana² Menteri yang berkerajaan demokrasi, oleh itu tidak patut bagi kita di-Dewan ini menchachi perbuatan Perdana Menteri kita yang telah membuat sa-daya upaya-nya di-London.

Sa-perkara lagi, saya suka mengingatkan sunggoh pun kita tidak memberi nasihat atau kuasa kepada Perdana Menteri kita mengambil tindakan yang sa-daya upaya sa-bagai-mana perkataan "positive" tetapi kita di-sini pun maseh berfikiran singkat, mana boleh kita mengambil tindakan. Itu-lah sebab-nya Perdana Menteri menchari fikiran dalam Dewan ini, kerana kalau mengikut mandat itu hingga membolehkan Perdana Menteri kita mengistiharkan satu perkara yang tidak baik menentang apartheid di-South Africa itu. Tetapi soal-nya di-sini pada hari ini ia-lah sa-jauh mana-kah kita boleh mengambil tindakan. Malaya ada-lah negeri yang kecil yang baharu merdeka jikalau hendak membuat sa-suatu tentangan mengikut sa-bagaimana ucapan Ketua Party Socialist ia-itu sa-hingga sa-pahit²-nya. Jikalau kita tidak berfikir panjang, sa-pahit²-nya ia-lah hingga kita mengangkat senjata, tetapi hendak-lah kita fikir ada-kah kita boleh mengambil tindakan keluar atau menentang perbuatan Afrika Selatan itu sa-hingga kita membuat satu perkara yang tidak patut?

Saya tahu sa-belum lagi Perdana Menteri kita sampai balek ka-negeri ini ia telah pun mengishtiharkan atau menyeru kaki-tangan atau Menteri² yang bersangkutan memboekot. Ini pun hendak-lah kita fikir. Memboekot perniagaan itu ada-kah mendatangkan keuntungan kepada kita atau kerugian atau ada-kah akan menyebabkan kemenangan bagi orang hitam di-Afrika atau kesusahan; kerana perniagaan kita sendiri pun dalam negeri ini telah menghadapi beberapa kesusahan. Umpama-nya Company Fung Keong yang membuat kasut getah kerana

pekerja²-nya telah mogok, dia tutup factory. Siapa yang susah, ada-kah Fung Keong yang susah atau pekerja² yang susah. Fung Keong satu factory yang besar dan kaya tidak mendapat kesusahan tetapi yang mendapat kesusahan ia-lah pekerja yang beribu itu. Begitu juga kita mesti berfikir sa-takat mana-kah kita boleh membuat sa-suatu tindakan bagi Afrika Selatan. Kita tidak boleh mengatakan kita hendak mengangkat senjata kerana bukan taraf kita hendak berperang dengan Afrika dan mengikut perjanjian kita dalam United Nation kita tidak patut berseteru dan berkelahi dengan saudara² kita terutama sa-kali perkara ini katanya ia-lah perkara dalam negeri-nya sendiri.

Baik-lah sekarang kita boekot. Kita tidak mahu membeli barang²-nya, kita tidak mahu menjual barang² kapada-nya.

Hari ini tindakan Perdana Menteri kita telah menyedarkan sa-rata dunia bahawa perbuatan Afrika Selatan itu ia-lah perbuatan yang sa-burok²-nya, oleh itu tidak patut sangat dewan ini tidak menerima kaseh kepada Perdana Menteri kita yang telah menyedarkan sa-luruh dunia ini. Jika sa-kira-nya wakil daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan tidak bersetuju sa-kali pun tidak berfa'edah dia meminda usul ini sa-patut-nya dia menentang dengan sa-kuat-nya atau pun membuat satu motion tidak ada keperchayaan kepada Perdana Menteri itu. Itu sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ucapkan terima kaseh.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek (Dungan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga di-sini menguchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita yang telah memula perjuangan dengan sa-chara bersunggoh² dalam soal apartheid ini, tetapi tidak membangkang kepada pindaan yang di-chadangkan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil daripada Trengganu Selatan kerana saya berpendapat Yang Berhormat itu bukan menidakkan semua sa-kali apa yang di-perjuangkan oleh Perdana Menteri kita. Saya merasa pindaan yang di-chadangkan oleh Yang Berhormat daripada Trengganu Selatan itu sa-bagai satu keritik yang

sehat supaya kita dalam dewan ini dapat memikirkan bagaimana yang dikatakan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil daripada Setapak tadi hendak-lah kita teruskan perjuangan yang telah dimulai dengan tegas dan gagah-nya oleh Perdana Menteri kita di-London itu dan sekarang mari-lah saya menyokong juga dengan kuat apa yang telah dikatakan oleh Yang Berhormat daripada Setapak tadi ia-itu mari-lah kita mengadakan satu Jawatan-Kuasa untuk meneruskan perjuangan apartheid ini sa-hingga memberi kesan kepada dunia luar dan dapat-lah kita di-Tanah Melayu ini membanggakan Perdana Menteri kita sa-bagai patriot atau pelupur daripada Asia seluruh-nya ia-itu memperjuangkan sa-terus-nya soal apartheid ini.

Tuan yang di-Pertua, saya juga mengulang sedikit perkataan dari rakan saya Yang Berhormat daripada Jitra yang beliau tadi menyatakan sa-bagai sa-orang kaum ibu, di-dalam soal apartheid Afrika Selatan ini di-mana kaum ibu dan anak² banyak yang terkorban, saya pehak kaum ibu juga tidak mahu ketinggalan memberi tenaga saya sa-bagai sa-orang kaum ibu bagi pembangkang di-dewan ini, kami juga akan memberikan segala tenaga kami menyokong Perdana Menteri kita meneruskan perjuangan dalam soal apartheid ini. Dan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana pepatah dato' nenek moyang kita bangsa Melayu ia-itu kalau langkah sudah di-langkahkan, pantang sa-tapak undor ka-belakang, walau pun harimau ada di-hadapan. Maka saya memohon dan merayu dalam Dewan ini supaya pepatah orang tua² itu dapat di-jalankan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita. Jadi dengan ucapan saya ini, saya berharap lengkap keseluruhan-nya dalam Dewan ini, tidak kaum bapa bahkan juga kaum ibu, baik daripada pehak Kerajaan mahu pun daripada pehak pembangkang yang akan bersama² di-belakang Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri kita untuk memperjuangkan soal apartheid ini.

Enche' Mohamed Dahari bin Haji Mohd. Ali (Kuala Selangor): Dato' Yang di-Pertua, suara² daripada parti pembangkang yang menentang usul pindaan terhadap usul Yang Berhormat

sahabat saya daripada Seberang Tengah, ada-lah berlawanan dengan suara² yang di-keluarkan oleh ahli negara dunia. Jadi, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-pandang kepada pendapat umum, maka pendapat sagelintir manusia daripada sa-bahagian pehak pembangkang, ada-lah berupakan pendapat sagelintir musang yang tidak dapat buah anggor, mengatakan buah anggor itu pahit. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan yang pada suatu waktu di-panggil "Hang Tuah Baharu" dalam zaman gemilang-nya; saya katakan dalam zaman gemilang-nya, dia berulang alek ka-London tetapi apa yang sudah dia dapat. Dia lebih suka berkhidmat sa-bagai Ahli Dalam Negeri bukan Menteri Dalam Negeri.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan itu telah memandang rendah atas kebolehan backbenchers ini. Barangkali satu perkara yang dia mesti mengaku kebolehan istimewa backbenchers Perikatan ia-itu kebolehan tidak hendak mengikut dia ka-dalam liang kubur Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sendiri—tidak hendak mengikut dia "to political oblivion".

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat telah menyebut perihai India dalam perkara berhubung dengan perkara Afrika Selatan. Saya tahu dan dunia pun tahu bahawa perjuangan besar Mahatma Gandhi yang mula² gerakan Kesatuan Satyagraha-nya di-India tetapi sa-hingga akhir-nya ia-itu pejuang besar India itu, beliau tidak mendapat menyelesaikan perkara orang² India yang tinggal dalam negeri Afrika Selatan. Saya menunjukkan contoh ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, bagi menggambarkan betapa kesulitan yang mesti kita hadapi dalam menegakkan soal apartheid ini. Sa-orang Peguam, Ahli Yang Berhormat rumah ini, telah menunjukkan laporan daripada Tunku Perdana Menteri, mengatakan bahawa daripada laporan Tunku Perdana Menteri itu tidak ada Perdana² Menteri yang lain, walau pun puteh atau hitam menyokong Tunku Perdana Menteri itu dalam perkara apartheid. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kita mengaku-lah atas pintar dan bijaksana Ahli Yang Berhormat Peguam

itu tetapi daripada apa yang telah dikatakan-nya, kepintaran dan kebijaksanaan itu, hanya-lah tertumpu kepada Mahkamah sahaja, tidak tertumpu sa-takat persidangan tertinggi seperti kemunchak dan seperti persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Tidak terfikir-lah kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat Peguam itu bahawa ada-lah tidak 'adat—unethical—kapada Tunku, Perdana Menteri mengeluarkan kenyataan² daripada Perdana² Menteri yang lain. Kerana dengan perbuatan yang demikian, dia memecahkan amanah yang telah di-berikan kepadanya oleh persidangan itu. Sekarang, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, soal-nya, ada-lah perkara yang telah di-binchangkan oleh Tunku, Perdana Menteri telah berhasil memecahkan tradisi daripada persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth. Atas ini-lah kita berterima kasih kepada Tunku, Perdana Menteri itu. Atas usaha-nya ini-lah yang kita patut sanjong tinggi kerana dia-lah mula² Perdana Menteri daripada sa-buah negeri Commonwealth yang telah memecahkan tradisi persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth.

Jadi, sekarang Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pasir pertama sudah habis dan sekarang kita menghadapi pasir yang kedua. Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan telah mengatakan, sa-bahagian daripada pasir yang kedua, bahawa perkara-nya itu kita tunjukkan. Jadi, apa yang kita kehendaki sekarang, adal-ah bermuafakat, bersatu hati dalam menyokong pemerintah melancarkan pasir yang kedua dalam gerakan menentang apartheid. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya chuma hendak berchapak, bahawa kalau sa-kira-nya-lah Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan itu mengambil tempat Tunku, Perdana Menteri dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth, maka beliau mengikut pengetahuan² yang sudah maka beliau akan sukachita menerima sa-buah bintang lagi. Sa-buah bintang lagi sa-bagai upah

Mr. Speaker: Order, Order. Itu tidak boleh di-chakapkan dalam Dewan ini.

Enche' Mohamed Dahari bin Haji Mohd. Ali: Baik-lah, Dato' Yang di-Pertua. Saya akhiri ucapan saya ini

untuk menganjorkan supaya usul pindaan yang telah di-datangkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Selatan ini, kita champakkan ka-Kuala Trengganu Selatan, semuga dia hanyut kepada Lautan China dan semuga hanyut-nya itu sampai ka-Scotland tempat lahir Malcom McDonald yang pernah satu masa dahulu menjadi tuan.

Enche' Abdul Ghani bin Ishak (Malacca Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hanya hendak berchapak sedikit sahaja dalam perkara pindaan yang di-datangkan oleh wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan dan di-sokong oleh wakil Ipoh. Dalam hal ini, saya tidak bersetuju sama sekali, kerana kalau sifat manusia, mithal-nya memberi terima kaseh, tetapi maki. Jadi, kalau pun motion ini timbol dari Ahli itu dan kalau beliau itu wakil kita entah ka-England atau tidak. Untuk persidangan ini harus dia malu sekejap, dan kemudian bersetuju supaya dasar mbedza kulit itu diteruskan. Jadi, perkara ini ada dua. Bagitu juga penyokong-nya tak berani menentang dalam perkara ini, dan ada sa-tengah pendapat pula lebih kurang bagitu juga.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana kita sama² memutuskan untuk menghantar Perdana Menteri kita dengan sa-bulat kata untuk memperjuangkan hingga setakat mana dengan bagitu bagini, dan bila kembali Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku melaporkan perkara yang di-buat-nya, maka kalau kita kajikan dengan kejadian² yang sa-benar-nya, tentu-lah kita dengan sa-bulat kata menguchapkan tahniah kepada Tunku kerana perjuangannya yang telah di-lakukan itu. Dalam hal ini kita bukan sahaja boleh berbangga, walau pun dalam umur muda kita menjadi ahli Commonwealth, tetapi muda yang saya kata itu memang untuk membena dunia seluroh-nya, kerana kita-lah negeri yang mula² sekali munchol memperjuangkan dasar warna kulit dengan chara mengikut peratoran. Kita tidak bersorak banyak, tetapi kita meneruskan perjuangan kepada yang menasabah. Dari itu, kita juga faham dasar bedza mbedza kulit itu, walau

dengan tidak chara langsung patut dunia luar faham ukoran Malaya memang sedia mengamalkan perkara ini, kerana dasar bedza membedza-lah yang di-benchikan oleh penduduk Malaya yang kita tahu hidup ber-bagai² chorak dengan aman dan damai, dan semua ini kita pandangkan sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang mana ra'ayat-nya telah membuat chontoh kepada manusia yang akan di-ikut oleh seluruh dunia, sekurang²-nya sa-jumlah penduduk yang hidup dalam Commonwealth.

Jadi, saya rasa Yang Berhormat wakil Kuala Trengganu Selatan yang mendatangkan usol pindaan ini, bukan-lah usol itu mewakili dari kawasan-nya melainkan harus barangkali rasa iri hati, atau apa². Dari itu, saya membantah chadangan pindaan yang di-kemukakan itu dan menyokong chadangan yang asal.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Tanah Merah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, setelah berpanjangan dalam perbahathan Dewan ini maka dalam perbahathan ini timbol-lah pula perkara lain ia-itu perkara serang menyerang di-antara satu sama lain yang di-timbolkan oleh masaalah yang di-kemukakan ini. Perkara yang di-hadapan kita sekarang ini ia-itu ia-lah ada-kah kita hendak memberi ucapan tahniah kepada Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita yang telah pun menjalankan kerja-nya di-London dari mandate yang di-berikan-nya oleh perwakilan dalam Dewan ini. Masaalah ini timbol oleh kerana sa-tengah di-antara kita dalam Dewan ini memandang dari segi yang berlainan dan berdiri di-atas tebing yang berlainan pula di-atas tugas Perdana Menteri itu.

Bagi Persatuan Islam tidak-lah terlalu bakhil memberi dan menerima. Pada permulaan perbahathan dalam bulan empat yang lalu kami telah memberikan keperchayaan kepada Perdana Menteri kita bagi membawa masaalah ini dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri di-London itu. Kami dari persatuan Islam telah pun memberi keyakinan kepada Tunku Perdana Menteri dan kami berdiri di-belakang bersama² memberikan

sokongan walau apa yang di-kehendaki-nya bagi menjayakan chita² yang di-berikan itu. Kami tidak-lah terlalu bakhil memberikan ucapan tahniah pada mula-nya dan memberikan sokongan pada awal-nya kepada Perdana Menteri kita, kerana perkara ini ada-lah perkara besar yang sechara kebetulan pula menjadi anchaman kepada umat manusia dengan mala petaka pembunuhan beramai² terhadap ra'ayat Afrika Selatan itu. Dengan rasa kemanusiaan sa-bagai negara yang baharu merdeka saperti Tanah Melayu ini, terasa benar oleh kita betapa pahit-nya penderitaan itu kepada ra'ayat yang ingin hidup sechara bebas dalam sa-sabuah negara-nya sendiri saperti Afrika Selatan itu. Perasaan ini tidak ada bedza-nya di-antara kita dalam Dewan ini sekali pun perbedzaan kita dalam Dewan ini hanya-lah perbedzaan fahaman politik sahaja tetapi dalam soal memberikan sokongan kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri dalam soal ini tidak-lah ada perbedzaan sama sekali.

Perdana Menteri kita telah pun di-beri amanah, amanah dari Dewan Ra'ayat dan amanah dari wakil² ra'ayat dalam Tanah Melayu ini dengan tidak ada perbedzaan sedikit pun, dan dengan sebab itu-lah saya rasa Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri telah berani membawa masaalah ini di-persidangan Perdana² Menteri di-London. Keberanian bagi pehak Perdana Menteri membawa masaalah ini bukan-lah hanya didorong oleh semangat-nya semata² dan oleh perasaan jiwa-nya sahaja, malahan ia-lah dengan sokongan yang penoh daripada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan melalui wakil² mereka yang duduk dalam Dewan ini. Mandate yang telah di-berikan kepada beliau telah di-laksanakan. Kemudian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbol pula satu masaalah lain ia-itu ada-kah usaha yang telah di-jalankan oleh Perdana Menteri kita di-London itu mendapat kejayaan yang sepenoh²-nya saperti yang di-hajatkan itu atau tidak? Ini ada-lah masaalah yang timbol daripada perkara yang telah

di-putuskan mengenai masaalah Afrika Selatan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita sendiri tentu-lah agak terlalu berasa keberatan kalau kita memberikan ucapan terima kaseh kapada-nya dengan amat keterlaluan dan rasa saya sendiri terlalu berat untuk beliau menerima-nya, kerana beliau sendiri mengatakan dalam ucapan-nya bahawa perjuangan kita pada peringkat ini belum-lah lagi berjaya. Perjuangan kita belum-lah dapat di-katakan memuaskan hati dengan orang² Afrika Selatan yang berkulit putih di-mana telah memberantas kehendak² menindas orang² yang berkulit hitam di-sana nyata-lah belum sampai kapada had peringkat yang terakhir yang patut kita memberikan sa-suatu yang besar kapada Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri. Saya rasa beliau sendiri agak terketar² kaki-nya apabila menjejak hampan merah di-padang kapal terbang Kuala Lumpur waktu menyambut beliau baharu² ini dan oleh kerana beliau sendiri memberi laporan dalam Dewan ini bahawa usaha kita belum lagi tegas dan berkesan, maka yang harus kita berikan tahniah kapada Perdana Menteri kita bagi peringkat awal ini ia-lah kita patut mengakui bahawa Perdana Menteri kita ini-lah orang yang pertama sekali membawa usul apartheid dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth di-London itu. Ini ada-lah satu kenyataan yang barangkali payah juga orang hendak menafikan, dan kami sekali lagi berasa tidak bakhil memberikan ucapan terima kaseh kapada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman, tetapi apa-kah masaalah yang sedang di-hadapan kita ini hanya ucapan terima kaseh? Ini-lah masaalah-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah dengan ucapan terima kaseh dan tahniah perkara yang di-hadapan kita ini telah sampai kapada suatu hakikat? Kalau kita sudah berpuas hati dengan demikian, kita perchaya kalau sechara ber-tesamoh di-antara kita sa-sama kita, maka nyata-lah kapada kita bahawa terima kaseh yang keterlaluan kapada Perdana Menteri kita itu tidak ikhlas, atau dengan lain perkataan sudah-kah

Perdana Menteri berpuas hati dengan kerja² yang telah di-jalankan-nya? Barangkali beliau sendiri akan menjawab, rasa saya, "saya belum puas hati". Apa-kah sebab-nya? Beliau sendiri telah mengatakan bahawa "apabila saya pulang ka-negara saya, saya akan mencheritakan hal ini, dan saya akan bongkar semua-nya dan akan bertindak dengan sekeras²-nya." Ini menunjukkan ketidak puasan beliau dalam menjalankan tugas apartheid ini. Apa sebab-nya perkara ini timbol? Kerana ada anasir² yang tidak dapat kita pengaruhi dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri di-London itu, dan kalau sa-kira-nya Perdana² Menteri di-London itu berdiri dengan sa-bulat suara di-belakang tindakan kita, maka rasa saya agenda yang patut terutama sekali di-bahathkan dalam persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth itu ia-lah agenda yang di-kemukakan oleh Perdana Menteri kita Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu menentang dasar perbedzaan kulit di-Afrika Selatan. Tetapi, oleh kerana beberapa hal yang terpaksa, perkara itu hanya dapat di-kemukakan dalam sidang² yang tidak resmi; walau pun dalam sidang² yang tidak resmi beliau telah berbuat dan telah menjalankan tugas-nya sa-bagai sa-orang yang telah membawa mandate dari Tanah Melayu ini sekali pun dengan penoh kegagalan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah usaha lanjutan yang harus di-ambil dalam perkara ini? Ini-lah yang menjadi pokok bagi perbahathan kita, tidak-lah menjadi pokok perbahathan seka-rang ini, bahawa hendak kita champakkan-lah perkara ini ka-Kuala Trengganu Selatan atau hendak di-hanyutkan-kah atau tidak; ini tidak-lah timbul sa-lain daripada perkara² yang sentimen. Dalam menghadapi perkara ini bagi PAS, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu perkara yang patut di-terangkan benar² ia-itu yang pertama-nya sa-telah Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita balek ia memberi laporan dalam Dewan ini, saya rasa dalam laporan yang sa-panjang itu telah ternampak perkara² yang kechiwa, kemudian di-hujung laporan itu beliau menyatakan, ini ada-lah peringkat yang pertama, apa-kah peringkat yang kedua-nya? Tidak pula di-sebutkan. Kalau-lah di-kemukakan

oleh Kerajaan peringkat yang keduanya terhadap tindakan yang akan di-ambil sekarang ini, tentu-lah perbahathan sekarang ini akan berpusing di-sakeliling tindakan yang akan di-ambil, ini lebih positive dan lebih berkesan daripada yang kita bahathkan sekarang yang saya rasa telah keluar benar daripada pokok-nya.

Mr. Speaker: Kalau keluar—saya sudah tahan. Perkara ini tidak keluar. Semua perbahathan termasuk dalam perkara ini (*Tepok*).

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Tanah Merah): Saya mengatakan di-sini ia-itu perkara yang penting sa-kali yang perlu di-kemukakan oleh Kerajaan ia-lah tindakan Kerajaan baharu² ini dalam soal boikot, ini-lah yang patut diterangkan benar² supaya dapat di-faham, ia-itu tindakan yang lebih luas dan berkesan yang kita katakan sebagai tindakan yang kedua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi PAS dan saya sendiri, saya katakan sa-kali lagi saperti yang telah saya sebutkan pada mula-nya ia-itu kami tidak-lah terlalu bakhil sangat memberikan ucapan terima kasih kami, dan sudah sa-patut-nya kami memberi ucapan terima kasih dengan chara yang demikian. Sebagai bukti bagi pihak kami ada juga pergi ka-padang terbang pada mula beliau berangkat dan waktu beliau balek, kami hantar juga wakil² kami, ini sudah cukup bagi mengucap-kan sa-besar² terima kasih kepada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri.

Apa yang kita harapkan sa-lanjut-nya ia-lah tindakan yang berkesan daripada pemerintah, daripada Kerajaan negeri ini, dan saya yakin bahawa tindakan itu hendak-lah di-fahamkan benar², jangan ada suatu chelah yang boleh menyebabkan akan mengkechi-wakan sa-bahagian ra'ayat dalam negeri ini. Itu-lah sahaja pendapat kami bagi PAS yang mudah²an dengan chara yang demikian mandat yang telah diberi itu akan terus di-jalankan dengan sa-baik²-nya untuk kepentingan negara dan ra'ayat yang tertindas di-Afrika Selatan.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I went to England for the

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, I came to this House and appealed for the support of all Honourable Members present, no matter which political party they belonged to. I was proud, and very proud indeed, that that support was given unstintedly and unanimously. When I was at the Prime Ministers' meeting, I mentioned this fact to the Prime Ministers present with great pride. I do not think there is any need for me to repeat what I said there because I had already referred to it in my report to this House. But it was said by an Honourable Member that the action I took in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was not given the support which it deserved by the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. But courtesy and etiquette demand that whatever was said by the other Prime Ministers should not be divulged, should not be revealed, except with their permission and I did not have their permission to mention what they said. But let me tell this House that the support that was given to this question of apartheid by all the Prime Ministers present was unanimous except, of course, by the representative from South Africa. (*Applause*). It is obvious, Sir, that they would not be so callous as not to take notice of the cruelty and brutality which was practised in South Africa over the apartheid and it would be callous and cruel of them not to take notice of the murder and killing of the innocent people of South Africa. They did; they did mention and they did talk about them, but this is the thing Honourable Members have been told but which I think they have failed to take notice and that is that the rule that binds such meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers is the unanimity rule—that is unless every person present is agreed that certain action should be taken or certain things should be said, nothing should be divulged, nothing should be issued to the Press. As a result, what they said was not revealed. In fact, I would like to mention here that one Prime Minister—because of the absence of the report to the Press—did bring up at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that the High Commission

of his country was besieged by students and other demonstrators who paraded with placards and everything else and decried the lack of interest which this particular representative was alleged to have shown at the Prime Ministers' Conference. It is obvious, therefore, that the whole misunderstanding that has arisen has been due to the fact that very little news has been released. And as a result of that, I did make my stand quite clear on that occasion, that as soon as I come back to my own country, I reserve the right, I said, to reveal to this House what took place. I had very little time to prepare the report. I could have presented this House with the whole minutes of the Commonwealth Conference but, as I said again, it would be wrong for me to do that, because those minutes would reveal what the other Prime Ministers had said. Again, you will remember that when these discussions were broken off, I issued a Press release which, I think, bears repetition in this House because very little notice has been taken of it by the Honourable Members and here is what I said on that occasion: "I have taken up this matter of racial discrimination and its effect on other Commonwealth countries with a determination to succeed"—with a determination to succeed—"and to see a satisfactory conclusion is reached. But it is impossible to discuss further with so and so." And then I said: "I am, therefore, determined"—I am, therefore, determined—"to pursue this issue to the end, even if necessary, to a bitter conclusion." What other things could I say that could reveal the state of my mind then and the state of my mind to-day? It is obvious that I do not propose that this matter should end here and I thought I had made myself clear in my talk to this House when I said, on page 12, that "that is as much as I could report at this stage and I would ask you to agree that I should take the action I proposed just now"—having mentioned something before this—"and I shall report to this House from time to time." That means I do not intend that this thing should end there. I think, I said, that this matter should be taken up as quickly as is possible. How else and how much more

could I make myself any clearer than that? I do not understand why there has been a misunderstanding on what I propose to do. But Honourable Members must remember that as an independent, sovereign nation, we are bound by certain rules; we are bound by certain procedures. Such rules, such procedures bound us to various other organisations such as G.A.T.T., and in G.A.T.T., which was mentioned by the Honourable Minister of Commerce and Industry just now, we could not, for instance, take action against another member country without first having to smooth things out, without first having to take certain steps that are necessary in order to enable us to do that. There are all these difficulties which we have got to overcome before we can take some positive action. When I talk of positive action I mean action that could have an adverse effect on South Africa. There is no point in taking action which would not touch them at all. If Malaya were to take action alone, South Africa would not feel the sting as they would if the whole of the rest of the world had taken such united action against them. For that reason, I said in this House that I would write to all the Prime Ministers without regard to whether they are from Asian or African countries, but to all Prime Ministers who must inevitably have the same feeling as we do. In England—I did not mention the occasion because it might be sheer boasting—but I will now mention it here—as a result of the publicity that was given over the stand which I took in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, I had interviews, during every little spare time I had, with bishops, with Lords, with Members of the House of Commons, with people of all political shades of opinion—with almost everybody—who came to compliment and also to ask what positive action I would take. I thought it is right of me not to mention what positive action I had in mind until I came back and reported this matter to this Parliament, and that is exactly what I am now doing out of sheer respect and regard for Members of this House—without regard to what political party they belonged to, I came

here to report (*Applause*). I am only sorry that this regard which I have for the Honourable Members of this House has been taken by the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan and the Honourable Member for Ipoh as a sign of weakness.

When I came home, as I said just now, I was determined to take action. When the present session of this House comes to an end I propose to do what I have in mind, indicating what this Government has already done, and what it proposes to do. You have already been told by the Honourable Minister of Finance that certain things which we are able to take alone we have done all that. I did not think, as I said, that the opposition from the Party Negara and the Honourable Member from Ipoh, and those who spoke with them, would start to attack me before this action had been taken and before I had come back and reported the action to this House. They must remember and they must bear in mind that this apartheid policy of South Africa has been the policy for the last 300 years, and to try to change this policy—the policy of these people—overnight would be an impossible task. Therefore, we need some serious planning, some serious thinking in order to do something which I think or which you know will be effective. This is what I now propose to do. This is the first time, you will remember, that this matter was brought up at all at the Prime Ministers' Conference though there have been massacres before. Before what happened at Sharpeville, there was one in Nyasaland where 51 people were killed and 99 wounded. This was mentioned by Mr. Louw but nobody in this House cared about this; nobody in the rest of the world cared about this. They would not have cared about what happened at Sharpeville if it had not been for the fact that Malaya—the country which I represented—took it up, and took it up with all earnestness and with all seriousness.

And so I would like to mention here that if it had not been for the fact that we took this matter up in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the South African countries would not have

met and would not have decided on any action. The action they took came as a result of what happened at the Commonwealth Conference. The reaction was seen in every corner of the world, and if I were to write to these Governments to-day I can tell this House that my letter would not have come to them as a bolt from the blue. As a result of the publicity and world reaction they would at least have heard of Malaya and of the Prime Minister of Malaya; they would at least have given what I wrote to them a serious thought and serious consideration. My appeal to them, I feel, would then receive the fullest consideration and attention which it deserves.

I would say this for the benefit of the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan that I did not go to London in the first instance as a roaring lion. I went there as a man, as a humble human being and as an ordinary citizen of the world (*Applause*) seeking to defend and fight for the rights of other human beings who are not of the colour of the people who rule them and who have been illtreated by them. I went there to do what I could for these people in the belief that whatever little I could do would be of help to them. But I have now come back, not bleating like a lamb as he suggested, but to report to this House on what took place and, as I have said just now, if the courtesy which came from me, the respect which I have given to this House, is going to be treated as weakness, all I can say is that I have scant respect for the opinion of the Honourable Member from Kuala Trengganu Selatan.

I would like to thank the Members of the Opposition who have supported the stand which I took at the Commonwealth Conference, and the other Members of my Party who have spoken in favour of the stand I took at the Commonwealth Conference. As I said, I had expected that as a result of the motion some constructive suggestions might emanate from the Members of this House and I am glad to say that I have got some very useful and constructive suggestions. Without mentioning names, without mentioning whom

they came from—in order not to take so much time of this House as it is now 1 o'clock—I say I will give consideration to the suggestions put forward that this matter should be discussed with members of all Parties—I will give it every consideration. I regret, however, as I said just now, that there are Members of this House who have very little regard and respect for facts but who would flare up in order to gain dubious publicity for themselves, working on the principle that if the dog bites the postman there is no news, but if the postman bites the dog then there is news. (*Laughter*). I hope some of these Members will live up to their age and uphold the tradition and good name of this House instead of being petty.

Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 2.30 p.m.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

COMMENDATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Speaker: The debate on the amendment to the motion before the House will resume. If no other Honourable Member wishes to speak, I shall put the question. The amendment moved by the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan is an amendment reading as follows to the original motion:

(i) In line 3 to leave out the words 'and positive';

(ii) In line 5 to add immediately after the word 'Conference' the words 'but regrets that he has nothing constructive or positive to commend to this House on how he now proposes to implement the mandate given to him by this House'.

Amendment put, and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: Now, the House is back again to the original motion.

Tun Abdul Razak: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the motion was put on the Order Paper, the Government did not intend to move any amendment, as the Government thought that this motion was quite adequate in view of the fact that this House had already given the Prime Minister and the Government a full mandate to take whatever action

necessary in regard to the question of the apartheid policy of the South African Government. However, in the light of the debate that we have had on this motion, it is clear that a number of Honourable Members are not clear on the intention of the Government in this respect. It has been made clear by the Honourable the Prime Minister on many occasions that he intends to pursue this matter to its bitter conclusion and, therefore, to make this position clear, I propose to move a small amendment to this motion by deleting the full stop at the end of the motion and to add the following words, "and assures him of its wholehearted support in his efforts to pursue this matter to a satisfactory conclusion."

Sir, this amendment will make it clear that the intention of this Government, the intention of the Prime Minister—and, I think, it is also the intention of this House—is that our fight against the apartheid policy of the South African Government should be pursued to a satisfactory conclusion. I do hope that the Honourable Mover of the original motion will be able to accept this amendment.

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare (Dato' Ong Yoke Lin): Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Mr. Speaker: There is another amendment to the original motion. The amendment is by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister and is as follows: delete the full stop at the end of the original motion and add the following words, "and assures him of its wholehearted support in his efforts to pursue this matter to a satisfactory conclusion."

Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I accept the amendment.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that the Government side, after hearing the debate, has thought it fit to add these words by way of amendment, because then the motion gives some semblance of an understanding to the world that what happened at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was not as one would have thought if this

motion had not been amended, because we in this House may have known what happened at the Prime Ministers' Conference, but the people of this country and elsewhere, perhaps, may not have had such detailed information and the world may have thought that Malaya is satisfied with what happened there, that Malaya is quite happy about the action taken on the apartheid question. By the addition of these words, it is clearly indicated that there is something more to be done if any measure of success is to be obtained. Therefore, I would now, with that amendment, support the motion as amended.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting it, I wish to make it quite clear that even with the amendment, so far as the Peoples' Progressive Party of Malaya is concerned, we say that our Prime Minister's attempt—and a gallant attempt at that—to raise this matter at the Prime Minister's Conference was a total failure and collapse. During the course of the debate, Members on the Government Benches asked, "What would you have done, if you had gone there? Would you have taken a revolver and shot Mr. Louw?" The answer to that is that we would not have opened our mouth and spoken so much before we went there. We would not have said that we would raise this question at the Conference, knowing very well that we could not raise it—and the cartoon in an English newspaper depicting our Prime Minister with the caption "Obviously a new Boy" is, perhaps, a fitting description.

Mr. Speaker, then there was a complete misunderstanding of the Opposition who amended that motion, because in the amended motion itself we commended and praised the Prime Minister for his attempt to do this at the Prime Ministers' Conference. But what the amended motion said was that we regretted that nothing had come of the matter. We did not say who was to be blamed. We only said, "we regret that nothing has come of it and we must take some positive steps." That was the misunderstanding, either deliberately or for lack of understanding of what the Opposition said. There was a bitter attack on the Honourable Mover of the amendment, and there was

a bitter attack on me, who supported that amendment. However, now with this amendment, I support it, because it is clear that nothing has been accomplished to satisfaction—and we must accomplish it—and we assure the Prime Minister of our support.

However, let us see the arguments which came up under the debate of the first amendment, which will clearly indicate that the question of South Africa is still a question of long standing. The Honourable the Minister of Commerce and Industry spoke first this morning. One of the points he made was that the Honourable the Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan ran miles and miles away, and could he explain that. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. What about the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, who ran to the borders of Perak? What about the Minister who went to Malacca Tengah?

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin: In my own State!

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: What about the Minister of Finance who ran away from Malacca Town? (AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: In his own State!) What about the Member who ran away to Larut Utara?

Enche Tajudin bin Ali: I was born and bred there.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: What about all these persons, who left their old areas? They did not dare to face the electorate in their old areas and they ran and ran—whether you run a mile or whether you run a thousand miles, you still run away. Perhaps, he did not dare to face the strength of the Socialist Front in Kuala Lumpur and ran to the borders of Perak. Then we have the Honourable Member for Larut Utara, who took great offence at the amendment which was made. He said, "The Opposition is like that. Mr. Seenivasagam, what is he talking about? He should learn more politics." Sir, I was in this House when it was the Legislative Council. I know more politics, perhaps, than the Honourable Member for Larut Utara, who was pumping petrol into motor cars at a petrol station in Batu Gajah, when I was sitting in this House (*Laughter*).

(AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: He is being personal.) I withdraw that. (*Laughter*). I did not see anything wrong in pumping petrol into motor cars.

Mr. Speaker: You should not indulge in personalities.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: I withdraw that, Sir. What the Opposition says is that if we criticise, we criticise so that it may be accepted in the form of criticism. We do not criticise because we want to ridicule any other Party or any other individual. If the Government side chooses to construe it as an attempt to do this and to do that, we would say, "Well, if that is what you think, go ahead and think it, it does not hurt us a bit. Whenever our criticism is necessary, we will do it."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was also the Honourable the Minister of Commerce and Industry who said that this was a bolt from the blue. It was not a bolt from the blue. He should have expected it in the form in which that motion was put forward.

With regard to the Honourable the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, who quoted something from that very great statesman, Mr. Krishna Menon of India. Mr. Krishna Menon of India is an Elder Statesman of fairly advanced age, and those who have just passed adolescence should concentrate more on giving the whole text of Mr. Krishna Menon's speech rather than picking up one line and saying, "Oh, I understand Mr. Krishna Menon." Sir, it takes years to understand the speech of a Statesman of that calibre, and those who have just passed through adolescence should not have tried to do so.

We are told, again, by the Honourable the Assistant Minister that you cannot solve the question of apartheid by having apartheid against the white people. Nobody has suggested apartheid against the white people. What we have suggested is that if the white people do not want coloured people, then the coloured people can do without the white people. That is what I say and any decent man will say.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was also raised the question of going to South Africa in this debate—it was a constructive proposal by me that Members of the Government should be ready to go to South Africa to break the barrier of apartheid—and what happens? Somebody has said that this is a childish suggestion, but the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture did not think that it was so childish—I expect that what he says in Parliament he says in sincerity and honesty—and he accepted the challenge and I accepted his offer to go with him to South Africa. In to-day's *Tiger Press* there is a very handsome picture of the Minister of Agriculture and he was reported to be saying, "I am making arrangements to go to South Africa." and I shall be glad if he will make arrangements for me.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was also a remark made that if the Minister of Agriculture were to go to South Africa he might be mistaken for half-white, but the Minister who said that should remember that the South African Whites do not like even half-whites. (*Laughter*). They only like 100 per cent. white; (*Laughter*) and if that is remembered then, I think, the Minister of Agriculture may think twice before he goes to South Africa. (*Laughter*).

Mr. Speaker, Sir the Honourable the Minister of Transport said that the attitude of the Opposition was one of "Come, fight!".

The Minister of Transport (Enche' Sardon): Not the Minister of Transport! I did not say that.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: I am sorry. The Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications said that the attitude of the Opposition in considering this matter was one of "Come, fight!". The attitude of the Opposition is not that. What I said in supporting the amendment moved was that the conduct, the attitude, of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya was one like that of a school-boy—"Well, you issued a press statement; I do not like it, and I am going to do the same thing; I do not want to talk to you." That, Sir, was the attitude

adopted in that Conference and, therefore, if anybody behaved like school-children, it was those people who said, "I do not like this. I will issue another statement." That was the attitude adopted at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. Therefore, the "Come, fight!" attitude was not started by us.

Then, the Honourable Minister said that on reading the newspapers he thought that our Prime Minister had gone back to the days when he was with the leftist movement in England. I fully agree with that—that he had gone back to the old days, that he had got back, perhaps, the energy or "push", whatever you like to call it; and we were glad, especially the Peoples' Progressive Party of Malaya were glad, to hear that the Prime Minister went so far left as to say, "We shall support China to enter the United Nations." That was a leftist movement and we indeed congratulate the Honourable the Prime Minister for it.

Mr. Speaker: How is that relevant to the amended motion?

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: The Honourable the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications said that the matter was indicative of the mind of the Honourable the Prime Minister while in London, as he said that the Statement made tended to show that the Honourable the Prime Minister was so virulent that it almost took him back to the days when he moved with the leftists in England. I have finished with that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I now make it clear that I support the motion, amended as it is. I give it full support. And we congratulate the Honourable the Prime Minister for trying to do it in London, but we still say that nothing has come of it. Nothing has come out of that London visit. Let us do something in this very House, in this very country.

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-sudah perbahathan ini panjang, maka datanglah pindaan pula daripada pehak Kerajaan yang di-kemukakan oleh sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada sa-belah sana. Saya perchaya

chukup-lah agak-nya bagi Dewan Yang Mulia ini membicarakan apa yang telah sudah berkenaan dengan ini, dan saya akan menchuba dalam mengambil peluang menerima usul yang telah di-pinda oleh Kerajaan ini membangkitkan soal² yang akan kita jalankan dalam soal apartheid. Daripada usul yang di-pinda ini nyata-lah kapada kita di-sini dan kapada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan bagi maksud ini juga kapada Kerajaan Afrika Selatan serta kapada dunia semua sa-kali bahawa Persekutuan Tanah Melayu maseh tetap dan tegas dalam pendirian-nya menentang apartheid dan penentangan ini kita nyatakan akan terus-menerus dari pada hari ini hingga kahadapan. Saya perchaya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa apa yang telah di-bahathkan pada hari ini di-sini bukan-lah satu tanda yang boleh di-fahamkan dengan-nya ada sedikit pun rasa rengan bagi soal apartheid dari segi pendirian ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, dan ini-lah yang patut ditegaskan lagi oleh rumah ini bahawa kita dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bertegas dan berkuat bahawa dasar apartheid ini mesti-lah di-hapuskan.

Apabila Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri mengemukakan laporan-nya kapada Dewan ini di-muka sa-belah dari laporan itu nyata-lah beberapa garisan tindak yang hendak di-jalankannya. Dan saya perchaya sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri baharu² ini bahawa dia akan mendengar pula daripada rumah ini chadangan² dan fikiran² bagi membolehkan Kerajaan melancarkan dan memajukan usaha-nya untuk menentang apartheid dan mengistiharkan supaya kaum Afrika Selatan ini mendapat tempat yang sa-patut-nya dari segi hak politik mereka di-negerinya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pagi tadi jika tidak salah pada ingatan saya, Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan telah menyebutkan soal perhubungan kita dengan G.A.T.T. Ia telah menyatakan sedikit sa-banyak kesulitan mungkin timbul sa-kira-nya soal pemboikotan di-teruskan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mempunyai sa-orang Perdana Menteri dalam negeri ini yang telah

memberi satu ketegasan, di-Dewan ini sa-belum ia pergi dan di-Dewan ini sa-kali lagi sa-telah ia kembali tegas berbunyi bahawa ia akan meneruskan perjuangan ini hingga kepada satu keadaan yang sa-genting²-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hal yang saperti ini ada-lah satu ke'azaman yang di-kemukakan oleh sa-orang Perdana Menteri yang saya perchaya akan dapat memberikan kepada negeri ini satu kedudukan yang istimewa di-dalam soal apartheid. Tiap² suatu yang kita hadapi dalam negeri ini mesti-lah dengan 'azam dan apabila kita ber'azam hendak memberi sa-suatu terpaksa-lah kita membayar harga-nya dan G.A.T.T. mungkin menjadi harga bagi ke'azaman yang di-tunjokkan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu² ini kita telah mendengar Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan mengemukakan kepada semua Kement²erian² bahawa jangan lagi di-terima tender² daripada Afrika Selatan walau pun tender itu murah dan lebeh menguntongkan. Maka langkah yang saperti ini sa-patut-nya Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu meneruskan dengan pemboikotan yang di-anggarkan akan melemahkan keadaan² "keras kepala" yang ada pada Kerajaan Afrika Selatan itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita tahu bahawa tidak ada satu benda yang kita buat yang baik, melainkan ada penyakit-nya sedikit sa-banyak. Memang kita tahu orang² Afrika Selatan akan terasa akibat-nya daripada pemboikotan itu dan kita sendiri di-sini mungkin akan terasa juga akibat-nya. Tetapi di-dalam menjalankan satu² perinsip terpulung-lah kepada kita sama ada kita akan bertolak ansor hingga akan melemahkan perinsip kita sendiri atau kita akan jalan terus hingga kita tahu dalam memboikotkan barang² yang akan datang dari Afrika Selatan itu maseh boleh kita di-permain²kan oleh Afrika Selatan dengan menghantar barang² itu lebeh ka-England, di-chap "Made in England" dan sa-bagai-nya kemudian di-hantar ka-Tanah Melayu. Mungkin orang mengatakan, ini main², tetapi bagi orang yang tahu berniaga dan bagi kita yang mengkaji perkara ini tidak-lah luar biasa.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tujuan kita menentang apartheid dan tujuan kita menjalankan usul yang ada di-hadapan mata kita bukan-lah menchari musuh dengan Kerajaan Afrika Selatan, tidak pula hendak merobohkan ekonomi mereka, tidak juga hendak menimbulkan penderitaan di-kalangan ra'ayat Afrika Selatan, apa lagi hendak menimbulkan penderitaan ra'ayat kita yang mempunyai saloran hidup-nya menerusi perdagangan dengan Afrika Selatan. Tetapi tujuan kita melakukan ini ia-lah satu simbol menunjukkan kita bertujuan supaya mereka faham bahawa kedudukan itu tidak halal di-zaman ini dan hendak-lah di-ubah. Jadi, boikot atau apa sahaja yang hendak di-lakukan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu hendak-lah di-dasarkan supaya hal ini mendapat perhatian daripada Kerajaan yang tersebut. Itu-lah sa-mata², bukan-lah sa-bagai tujuan yang akhir bagi kerja kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita telah menyebutkan dalam laporan-nya bahawa ia akan menulis kepada Kerajaan² dan ia telah menyebutkan di-sini:

"All I propose to do at this stage is to write to the Prime Ministers of all the countries in the democratic world and ask them what I should do in this matter . . ."

Saya rasa sa-kira-nya Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri dapat umpama-nya mengubah sedikit apa yang hendak di-buat-nya di-sini tidak-lah dengan menyebutkan hendak bertanya kepada mereka itu apa yang hendak di-buat, tetapi elok-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-bagai Kerajaan yang mempelupori kerja ini mengemukakan kepada Perdana² Menteri itu supaya mereka itu mengikut jejak kita dan menerangkan kepada mereka chadangan² dan anggaran langkah tindakan yang hendak di-buat oleh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu terhadap soal ini supaya dapat-lah hasil-nya terlaksana. Ada pun menanyakan sahaja kepada mereka itu tentu-lah tidak banyak fa'edah-nya, tetapi yang besar sa-kali, mengkhabarkan kepada Kerajaan² itu bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang mempelupori soal ini telah membuat ranchangan² ini dan ini, dan minta-lah

supaya tuan² memberi bantuan ka-arrah ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-hadapan kita ini bukan-lah soal Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman seperti yang tadi-nya nampak terjadi bagitu. Di-hadapan kita ini ada-lah soal mer-wah sa-buah Kerajaan yang baharu bangun ia-itu Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Kerajaan ini baharu merdeka dan di-dalam kemerdekaan-nya, di-dalam mendukung dasar² demokrasi di-dalam dunia ini, hendak menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa kita tidak bersetuju kepada dasar yang di-buat oleh Africa Selatan itu. Maka biar-lah langkah permulaan ini me-nunjukkan keta'atan dan ketinggian kita sa-bagai Kerajaan yang merdeka supaya nampak-lah kepada dunia semua sa-kali bahawa Kerajaan Per-sekutuan Tanah Melayu bukan-lah Kerajaan yang tidak bertanggung jawab tetapi ia-lah sa-buah Kerajaan yang apakala di-kata-nya sa-suatu itu maka di-kotakan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-sini saya perchaya maseh dapat kita buat bebe-rapa langkah dalam hal ini; umpama-nya sekarang ini di-Pertubohan Bangsa² Bersatu ada wakil kita dan sa-lain daripada pertubohan Bangsa² Bersatu itu tentu-lah ada pula Duta² kita di-luar negeri. Maka saya perchaya sa-kira-nya perkara ini kita besar-besarkan di-Pertubohan Bangsa² me-nerusi wakil kita dan di-beri arahan kepada semua Duta² Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-luar Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini supaya mengambil langkah diplomasi yang membolehkan soal apartheid ini di-bangkitkan maka dengan sendiri-nya terbangun-lah satu wakil penentang fahaman ini di-kalangan masyarakat² diplomasi di-dunia ini. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akan meringankan tanggungan Perdana Menteri apabila perkara ini hendak di-kemukakan-nya di-dalam perengkat persidangan yang akan datang yang mungkin akan timbul sa-sudah ini.

Di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, walau pun kita telah melihat bahawa telah ada sambutan besar kepada Perdana Menteri waktu kembali-nya beliau daripada Eropah dan sambutan itu

berdasar kepada penentangan-nya ka-pada dasar apartheid tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya merasa maseh boleh lagi di-negeri ini kita kemukakan kepada ra'ayat dan kita fahamkan kepada ra'ayat dan kita perluas ma'ana penentangan kita kepada dasar apar-theid ini. Sebab-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam sa-buah negeri yang menentang sa-suatu faham dan yang menghadapi sa-suatu perjuangan sama ada samentara atau sa-panjang-nya, amat-lah mustahak bahawa ra'ayat negeri ini semua tahu apa yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan-nya. Saya tidak menafi-kan wakil² yang ada di-sini daripada daerah masing² ada-lah orang² yang telah faham dalam soal yang di-hadapan kita ini, tetapi saya maseh berpendapat bahawa maseh boleh di-perluas dan di-perdalam lagi akan tujuan² dan dasar² penentangan kita terhadap apartheid yang kita jalankan pada masa ini. Ini semua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akan membangunkan faham politik yang sehat di-kalangan ra'ayat dengan menerangkan kepada mereka itu dan ini bukan-lah di-dasarkan oleh rasa permusohan kita kepada orang² yang mendukung Kerajaan Afrika Selatan pada masa ini sa-mata kerana mereka berwarna putih umpama-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam negara² Commonwealth pun kita terpaksa membayar untok menchapai sa-suatu tujuan. Saya pun tahu apa yang dapat di-buat dalam hal ini sebab pada fikiran saya Tanah Melayu tidak-lah hendak meleborkan semua modal-nya kerana hal apartheid ini sahaja dengan mengeneipkan semua pertimbangan yang lain. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, maseh menjadi ke-wajipan kepada kita supaya negara Commonwealth yang menjadi sa-buah perhubungan bagi bangsa² dalam Commonwealth itu dapat memahami bahawa tindakan amat-lah penting dalam soal ini. Sebab walau pun mungkin banyak tradition yang ada di-dalam pertubohan Commonwealth ini tetapi biar-lah Commonwealth itu merupakan satu badan yang kebiasaa-nya di-tentukan sesuai dengan dasar kemanusiaan dan dasar ke'adilan yang mesti menjadi tajok Pertubohan Bangsa² Commonwealth itu sendiri.

Saya percaya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan merundingkan dan memperdalamkan soal ini lebih jauh oleh Perdana Menteri kita dengan Perdana² Menteri yang lain, satu garisan baharu akan dapat di-jalankan-nya. Kita tidak dapat mengagak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa akan terjadi tetapi kita tahu bahawa akar umbi apartheid ini memang lama dan dalam. Jadi kalau kita tahu lama dan dalam-nya akar itu, kita pun hendak-lah mengambil tenaga yang sa-timbal dengan lama dan dalam-nya itu supaya dapat terbongkar segala dasar apartheid dari muka bumi ini.

Dato' Onn bin Ja'afar: Sir, it is a pity that the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister did not move the amendment before I did. (*Laughter*). His amendment alters completely the complexion of the original motion, and I stand here to support his amendment because, at least, there is something concrete in the words which he has added to the original motion.

All this morning we have heard invectives and personal accusations from the Alliance backbenchers, and also, unfortunately, from two or three members of the Ministerial benches, against Members of the Opposition whom they considered unreasonable in having brought the amendment to the original motion. The amendment to the original motion was based on the statement made by the Honourable the Prime Minister himself to this House on Monday. It was a reasonable amendment, and I am not going to argue any further on this as the question has been disposed of. But I would like to mention here that the attitude taken by the Alliance backbenchers in pouring invectives and personal accusations and insinuations against Members of the Opposition is not in keeping with the true traditions of parliamentary democracy. (*Laughter*). It is very much like a lawyer who has a very bad case to defend. What does he do? He swears at all witnesses; he tries to intimidate the witnesses; and that is as far as he goes. And that, I submit, was the attitude taken up by the Alliance backbenchers.

During the debate on the amendment, one Member of the Alliance suggested that nobody ever raised the question of apartheid in this Parliament before the Prime Minister himself took up this question. I beg to differ, because on the 28th November, 1959, on the debate on the Speech of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, I personally raised this apartheid question. You will see that in column 530 of the Parliamentary Debates of the 28th November, 1959. Again, Sir, during the course of the debate on the resolution approved at the meeting in April, I spoke on that resolution. I said:

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of explanation—it would certainly strengthen the hands of the Honourable the Prime Minister if these words were added to his motion. He has, I believe, the support, the full support, of the Opposition on this resolution; and it would be a pity if that resolution were to go to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, or wherever it is going, as it stands. I understand that it may not be discussed there and it might be discussed in the Lobby or in a coffee shop, but certainly not in the Conference itself."

Now, we have heard accusations from the Alliance benches against myself in particular, against the seconder of the amendment, and against others who spoke on behalf of the amendment. But I wish to add here that those accusations, those invectives, are uncalled for. I did not attack the person of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. I attacked, in the amendment, not the person but the Honourable the Prime Minister of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. I am not interested in Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra (*Laughter*) but I am very definitely interested in the Prime Minister of the Federation, because he is the person responsible and the Head of the Government. I can assure the Tunku that I am not envious of him, as has been alleged by certain Members of the Alliance.

The gist of my amendment has been recognised as reasonable by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister himself. Certain Government Members in the course of the debate on the amendment accused me, accused the Opposition, of being unreasonable, of deliberately amending a very good

motion proposed by the mover. But we have just heard from the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister himself—and this particular amendment from the Deputy Prime Minister came after the debate on the amendment which was rejected—that the Cabinet itself realises that the original motion as it stood was not sufficient and therefore he has thought fit to add “and assures him its wholehearted support in his efforts to pursue this matter to a satisfactory conclusion”. There is at least some substance in these added words and, therefore, because of this, I do support this amended motion. I would not have supported the original motion as it stood.

The Minister of External Affairs (Dato' Dr. Ismail): Sir, in the debate on the motion moved by the Honourable Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman on the question of apartheid, this House will go on record as to how the Government, by its amendment, had saved the Member for Ipoh, and the P.P.P. and also the Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan, from the dilemma of alienating themselves on this question of apartheid. (*Applause*). It would have been a tragedy if these two Opposition Members were to alienate themselves on this question, because that would be the death sign of their political parties in this country. So, out of generosity, we have put in this amendment to save them. The Government and, I am sure, this House will rejoice that they had changed their mind. But this House and the world cannot accept their word that the efforts of the Prime Minister have been a failure, and that his firm and positive stand has not stood up to world opinion. Sir, as Minister of External Affairs, I have had representations from a very important country, which has very great influence among the African countries, to the effect that our Prime Minister should take a firm and positive stand on the question of apartheid at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. How do we interpret that appeal? I say, Sir, that by that appeal the world had known that, until the genius which has prompted the Prime Minister to make his firm and positive stand, so far the

Commonwealth Prime Minister' Conferences had been very passive on this question of apartheid. Why do I say that it has been very passive? Because so far—until this move by our Prime Minister—the only country that has taken any positive stand against South Africa was India. But by his firm and positive stand, our Prime Minister has managed to get round the traditional practice of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference not to discuss matters which they consider to be the internal affairs of a country. Now, Sir, I say that is a stroke of genius, because it is not an easy matter to get round an established procedure in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to get this question of apartheid discussed, and thereby igniting the spark that has now spread throughout the world, that has aroused the world positively on this question of apartheid. I think the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan would be well advised to take a lesson from the Honourable the Prime Minister on the question of procedure, because evidently, from his speech, although he has been in this Parliament and the former House for some time, he hasn't got the fine technique of parliamentary procedure to highlight the thing that is of deep concern to him and to his Party. He mentioned that he brought this question of apartheid in this House before; he said that he did that on the debate on the Royal Address. I would say, Sir, by merely insinuating this important question into the debate on the Royal Address, he himself had taken a very passive stand on this question of apartheid. To-day, we have given him the opportunity to take a positive stand on this question of apartheid. (*Laughter*). I am glad that he has become wiser and has agreed to support the Government's amendment.

Enche' Cheah Theam Swee: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. The Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan is doing unseemly acts! (*Laughter*).

Dato' Onn bin Jaafar: Don't be ridiculous! (*Laughter*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order! When you interrupt on a point of order, you

must say under what Standing Order. You cannot interrupt without quoting the provisions of the Standing Order. Please proceed!

Dato' Dr. Ismail: Well, Sir, the Member for Ipoh, when he chastised a Member on this side of the House on his adolescent attitude in quoting Mr. Krishna Menon, he has himself made a comment which Mr. Krishna Menon will not be very pleased to hear. He said that Mr. Krishna Menon is an Elder Statesman. On the contrary, he is still a very active politician in India to-day. So that is a good example of what you call "half knowledge is a dangerous thing".

So, Sir, this House will go on record as to how the Government has by its amendment to this motion paved the way for the Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan and for the Member for Ipoh and his Party to change their mind and to allow them to survive as politicians in this country. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Cheah Theam Swee: Mr. Speaker, the amendment now proposed by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, and as suggested by the Honourable the Minister of External Affairs, will give a chance to the Honourable Member for Kuala Trengganu Selatan and the Honourable Member for Ipoh to associate themselves with the fight against the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa, but unfortunately the Honourable Member for Ipoh did, in giving his support to this amendment, make some remarks to what I said on the previous amendment. Sir, he said that in my having just passed my adolescence I would not have understood the learned remarks of the distinguished Minister of Defence in India, Mr. Krishna Menon. Sir, I must say that, perhaps, the Honourable Member for Ipoh has seen more daylight than I have, he has perhaps eaten more salt than I have taken rice, but if the Honourable Member for Ipoh refuses or does not agree with the learned remarks of Mr. Krishna Menon, he must not make use of my youth to do so!

Enche' K. Karam Singh (Damansara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, to some people, this

debate may be a question of prestige, to some it may be a question of party propaganda, but there is a much deeper issue involved—an issue that affects the course of events which not only our country but the whole world is going to take. I say this because in May, 1960, there occurred the double debacle of the Summit and of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. The Summit failed before it started. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference failed after it had started and it was very regretfully a collapse when it came to the time when the entire world expected that a firm stand would be taken on the question of apartheid.

Now, Sir, the Honourable the Prime Minister, when he opened his address at this Conference, said:

"We believe in the Commonwealth as an organisation which stands for the best in man, adhering to moral principles and standards of conduct. For us the Commonwealth organisation stands for equality of men, be they white, red or yellow."—I cannot understand here why no mention was made of black—"It stands for justice and fair play. This is the principle, and the more we make this principle clear, the more the people will appreciate the benefits of being a member of this great brotherhood of Nations."

These are very noble words I would say, but what has come out of that Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference? We do not blame the Honourable the Prime Minister because according to the Constitution of that Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, it contained many other Prime Ministers, and it also contained Mr. Eric Louw, who was greatly responsible for the failure of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on the subject of apartheid. We know that this Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference has failed to make this principle clear, the principle that the Commonwealth stands for equality of men, whatever their colour may be—it has failed in that; and we find that the communique which was issued says:

"While re-affirming the traditional practice of Commonwealth Conferences, which do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, the Ministers availed themselves of Mr. Louw's presence in London to have an informal discussion with him about the racial situation in South Africa. During this

informal discussion Mr. Louw gave information and answered questions on the Union's policies, and the other Prime Ministers conveyed to him their views on South African problems. The Ministers emphasised that the Commonwealth itself is a multi-racial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member states and the peoples of the Commonwealth."

Sir, coming from an organisation which claims about eight hundred million people membership in its fold, we find this is nothing but a pious platitude and we find that this statement, far from being a clear stand for the brotherhood of mankind whatever may be their colour and that they are within the boundaries of the Commonwealth, is an acceptance of the argument of Mr. Louw, who told the other Prime Ministers, "Do not interfere in the question of apartheid, keep out of it." The statement clearly accepts the stand of Mr. Louw, which we think is unfortunate, because about eight hundred million people accepted a firm and decisive stand on this very vital question; and another thing—I do not say anything about our Honourable Prime Minister—is that Mr. Louw, far from being a senseless man, has proved himself a very cunning politician: and how has he proved himself cunning and how has he outwitted the other Prime Ministers? He told them, "Yes, if you want to discuss the apartheid policy, you can do so but not within the precincts of this Conference. Let us go outside." Then he took all the other Prime Ministers to the backyard, and, later, when the other Prime Ministers tried to include the talks which they had had, informal talks, this man said that that did not form part of the Conference, and that it was outside the bounds of the Conference. So they could not put it in the communique. That shows the extent to which apartheid will utilise cunning to achieve its aims and defend itself; and it shows the extent of the problem with which all of us have to grapple with and that we have to prepare ourselves for the struggle that lies ahead to dismantle the concept of apartheid.

Now, on page 2 of his speech, the Prime Minister has said:

"It is not my intention, and it has never been our policy, to interfere in affairs which

are regarded as internal or domestic in another country. But what happened in South Africa has gone beyond the barriers of domestic and has shocked the world. Would we not therefore appear small in the eyes of men if we evade this issue at a place and time most conducive for it—the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference? Otherwise might it not have the effect of reducing the importance of this Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, where matters of common concern of us all are passed over out of consideration for the feeling of just one nation?"

This was an expression of fear by our Honourable Prime Minister that the discussion of this issue might be passed over out of consideration for the feeling of just one nation. Unfortunately, the fears of the Prime Minister materialised, and out of consideration for the feeling of just one nation, this issue was torpedoed. And to call the South African Government a nation is also untrue, because they represent only a part of a nation.

Now, regarding the positive measures that are to be taken, what are the efforts that are going to be mustered for the assault on apartheid. We find that at the moment there is a movement by the independent African States against apartheid, and in Cairo they are setting up propaganda agencies, press agencies, to fight apartheid. How Malaya could contribute would be in this way. We have got Radio Malaya, but sometimes people complain that its voice cannot go far beyond the borders of Malaya. We can strengthen that by increasing its power—build up a stronger station—and we can beam its broadcast to the people of Africa and the people of South Africa, giving them our moral support in their struggle against apartheid; and our Government can, in its bulletins and other official communiques and publications, give prominence to these problems, and if there are any refugees from South Africa, I would suggest that this Government welcome them and, if possible, let them speak to their people from our country so that at least the world will know that our country, in every way, supports the fight against inequality. Further, a firm stand by us in this country would give greater prestige and greater strength to the movement of the independent African countries, for it will show that

the fight against apartheid is not confined to the borders of Africa but has its echoes and reverberations all over the world.

Sir, there is one other point and that is in regard to what the Honourable Prime Minister has said. He has said that he would get in touch with all the Prime Ministers of the democratic world, of the free world. I would strongly urge the Prime Minister in this question to forget any inherent prejudices, because this question of apartheid is taking place within the so-called free world. In South Africa we have apartheid; in Central Africa we have apartheid; in Kenya we have apartheid also; in the United States of America we have a form of unofficial and very virulent apartheid. However, whereas the people are criticising South Africa, they unfortunately do not criticise the United States, and I hope a stand will be taken on that to show where the people of Malaya stand. To go back to my point of the Government not giving way to its traditional prejudices, not being held back by inherent concepts of free or unfree world, I would call upon the Malayan Government to get in touch with every Government, with every country, with every people on this earth, and get them to join in this crusade so that inequality or apartheid, whether it be Black over White or White over Black, in any form, will be broken, and even the White people of South Africa will come to learn that all of us are men like them and they will enjoy the brotherhood of a wider circle than that restricted to their own people.

The Minister of Justice (Tun Leong Yew Koh): When I heard what the Honourable Member for Ipoh said just now, it reminds me of a mission once I had of approaching a Gentleman for a donation for a worthy cause. I used all the eloquence I had at my disposal in trying to convince him of the worthiness of the cause. I thought I had convinced him when he pulled out a \$10 note from his pocket. But as I was just receiving it from him, he took it back and drew out a ten-cent note.

Sir, just now when I heard the Honourable Member for Ipoh saying

that he would support the amendment, I thought we had convinced him of the good work our Honourable Prime Minister has done in London, but instead of paying a tribute to the good work of our Prime Minister, he said that our Prime Minister had done nothing. The problem before our Prime Minister was how to arouse the opinion of the world against apartheid, and this he has succeeded eminently. Now let us take just one instance, when Mr. Louw took exception to our Prime Minister's press statement in answer to his own statement at the Conference, all the other Prime Ministers ignored Mr. Louw's exception and kept on discussing apartheid. It shows that our Prime Minister had convinced all the other Prime Ministers of the wickedness of apartheid. Not only that, but even in Sweden they have declared a boycott against South Africa; and Holland itself has passed a resolution in Parliament against apartheid.

Sir, I think this is a great work that our Prime Minister has done, and we should be convinced of that and we should pay him all the tribute we can.

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would just like to stand up and answer that very unfair charge by the Honourable Member for Ipoh about my running away from my constituency. Sir, he must know that in my party—my own members would bear me out—I told them before the election that they could choose their constituencies in Selangor and leave the last one to me, and the one that was left to me was the one that I stood in. At least I stood in my own State. As to my colleague the Honourable Minister of Finance, he stood in his own constituency in Malacca. So, the charge that he ran away is absolutely baseless. At the same time, in our respective States every constituency was fought by an Alliance candidate, unlike Party Negara. They did not fight in Johore, but went and fought in Trengganu.

Sir, I hold no brief for the United States or Great Britain, but the charge by the Honourable Member for Damansara that there is apartheid in the United States and Kenya, is not a fair statement. I think that as a Member of this

House and as a politician he should know the difference between the apartheid that is practised through the official Government policy in South Africa as against the official Government policy of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. I think even a school boy today knows the difference.

Sir, we have heard several Opposition Members, including the Honourable Member for Damansara, state that nothing came out of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. Sir, I disagree with that view, because, as has been explained time and again here, the unanimity rule of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference prevents a communique being issued unless it is unanimous. Therefore, the best that could be done was the communique that was finally agreed unanimously and issued. As I have said the other day, what little it disclosed was most interesting and was very revealing and the Press got hold of it. The various Prime Ministers have also made statements after this Conference, and that shows very clearly that the Prime Ministers had discussed apartheid and had issued the statement about racial equality within the Commonwealth. That, as we all know, has aroused such world-wide interest and aroused the conscience of the world, that action has been taken since then by many countries—not necessarily official Government action but action such as that taken in this country by the Chambers of Commerce, by the general public and by the trade unions. Now, there are reports emanating from South Africa that the Union of South Africa has, since this matter flared up in London, felt the pinch of world opinion and action from many quarters. It has been freely admitted by one of their Cabinet Ministers that South Africa feels the pinch of the boycott and there has been a continuous drop in the value of their shares and stocks and that foreign investment is running away from that Country. Sir, we hope that the sound and well thought out plans and co-ordinated and relentless action by our country—by our Government and by our people—and by the Governments and peoples of other countries—

the moral and material pressure from all over the world—will bring about a change, if not in the present Government of South Africa, we hope and pray it will bring about a change in the future Government of South Africa. There are people of the white race who are against this Verwoerd Government's policy of apartheid. We hope there will soon be the emergence of a political party to gain power in that country and that it would demolish this wall of apartheid and will be sympathetic to, and will get the co-operation of, the coloured people of South Africa, so that that country could go forward and observe the principles which we all observe—justice and humanity.

Mr. Speaker: The question before the House is the amendment moved by the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister to the original motion.

Amendment put, and agreed to.

Mr. Speaker: Now I shall put the motion as amended unless the original mover wishes to exercise his right of reply.

Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman: I accept that.

Mr. Speaker: I am giving you the right of reply; if you do not wish to reply, sit down.

Enche Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman: I have nothing to say.

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

Resolved,

That this House commends and congratulates Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the Prime Minister, on his firm and positive stand on the question of the apartheid policy of the South African Government at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference and assures him of its wholehearted support in his efforts to pursue this matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

THE SOCIAL AND WELFARE SERVICES LOTTERIES BOARD ORDINANCE, 1950

Extension

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the motion standing

in my name on the Order Paper as follows:

In accordance with the provisions of section (1) of the Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board Ordinance, 1950, the said Ordinance be extended for a period of five years with effect from 11th December, 1960.

The Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board Ordinance was enacted in December, 1950, to establish a Lotteries Board for the purpose of promoting public lotteries in this country for social and welfare purposes. It was extended for a period of five years in December, 1955. My motion seeks to extend the life of the Ordinance for another five years from 11th December, 1960, to 10th December, 1965, so that the Lotteries Board can continue to carry on the excellent work which it has undertaken over the past ten years. Just about seven months ago this House rejected a motion by the P.M.I.P. to discontinue these lotteries.

Having had a long session, I am sure Honourable Members would not want me to go over all the ground again in moving this motion. My motion in effect seeks formally to confirm the wishes of this House. We all know the valuable social and welfare work being done by the Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board and the numerous deserving causes that have received and are still receiving valuable assistance from this Board.

I would like, however, just to give a few figures of allocations already made towards the various objects for which these lotteries are run:

1. Welfare of Handicapped and Underprivileged ...	\$ 8.9 million
2. Welfare of the Blind ...	1.9 ..
3. The Treatment of Tuberculosis ...	10.9 ..
4. Relief of the Distressed and Destitute ...	2.4 ..
5. The fostering of approved non-political Youth Movements ...	1.0 ..
6. The provision of Public Playing Fields ...	0.6 ..

7. Rural Kampong Amenities ...	\$3.6 million
8. Relief and Rehabilitation of Leprosy sufferers ...	0.09 ..

Sir, it will be noticed that the addition of a new object in 1958 called Rural Kampong Amenities drew a flood of applications from all over the country and, in a short space of time, the Board has made grants totalling more than \$3.6 million to bring amenities to the kampongs, particularly those of the East Coast States. These amenities took the form of ra'ayat schools, Sekolah Arab (Religious Schools), community halls, etc., and, in addition, the people of the kampongs were assisted to put their suraus and their mosques in good repair. There is a further new object "Relief and Rehabilitation of Leprosy sufferers" which was added on only a few months ago on the formation of the Leprosy Relief Association.

Sir, as I said, this law was first passed in 1951 and the first lottery was drawn on 27th June, 1951. The tickets of this and two subsequent lotteries drawn in October and December, 1951—three lotteries drawn in the space of six months—were sold entirely through the Post Offices. The Board then decided to expand the lotteries in order to meet the requests for relief and assistance for which these lotteries were run. So, the Board in 1952 began to appoint a number of agents, besides the tickets being sold by Post Offices, and gave the agents 7% commission on their sales. Despite this reorganisation, sales were still unsatisfactory. In fact the ninth draw on 13th December, 1952, resulted in a loss to the tune of \$56,000 to the Board.

The Board then decided for the first time to offer to the public guaranteed prizes. In turn the Board induced its agents to guarantee the sales of the agents' tickets, because they have to guarantee the prizes, by offering them 10% on the prizes from tickets sold by them, but at the same time reducing their sales commission from 7% to 5%. The agents were each made to sign an agreement with the Board

guaranteeing by adequate security to sell a minimum number of tickets in each draw. In this way the Board quite wisely completely protected itself against any loss, although it has to guarantee over \$1 million in prize to the public in each draw. This step taken by the Board brought increasingly good results. On several occasions, it might be mentioned, that the agents have suffered substantial losses through bad debts from their sub-agents and through not being able to see all the tickets they had undertaken to sell.

To fulfil their contracts by having to turn a couple of million tickets into cash in a matter of a few weeks, the agents obviously have to appoint numerous reliable sub-agents to help them dispose of these tickets. In turn these sub-agents usually appoint their own sellers, or retailers, or sub-agents. The normal arrangements are that the Chief Agent or Principal Agent would give around 3% to 4% of their sales commission to his sub-agents who in turn gives 2% to his sub-agents. Similarly, out of the 10% on prize-winning tickets sold by them, the arrangement is 8% from the Principal Agent to the sub-agents, and 6% to the next seller and so on. So, therefore, it can be seen that for earning about 2% on sales and 2% on prizes, the Principal Agents have to:

- (a) guarantee sales of a specified minimum of tickets in each draw and payment for these tickets to the Board;
- (b) bear expenses of distribution, insurance and administrative expenses; and
- (c) take the risks of bad debts.

In my written reply to a question by the Honourable Member for Seremban Barat, it is noted that a total sum of about \$12 million had been paid to these agents between the year 1952 and the end of December last year. When we take the figure of over \$122 million sales, this commission works out at about 10%. I think this is not an unreasonable outlay for the Board in return for the services and the guarantee given by its agents.

The Board has up to the end of last year made a "profit" or surplus of over \$31 million since the introduction of this system of sales by agents. Besides a sum of about \$6 million was paid to Government revenue in the form of a 10% tax on sales which was imposed at the beginning of 1957. The Board has since then been appealing to Government against this tax.

I would like to take this opportunity of paying a warm tribute to the Members of the Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board, past and present, for their magnificent work in carrying out so efficiently the difficult tasks of running the lotteries smoothly and for having earned the absolute confidence of the general public in the lotteries. They have dealt with large sums of money and distributed it fairly among the many numerous applicants who are mainly voluntary welfare organisations. All these tasks which obviously must take a tremendous amount of time and a lot of hard work have been undertaken by the Members of the Board on an honorary basis.

Sir, I beg to move.

Enche' Mohamed Khir Johari: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps the Socialist Front is rising to say the shortest speech of its career. We have made our stand clear the last time and we do not wish to repeat it.

Enche' Chin See Yin (Seremban Timor): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion in principle. I would ask for an assurance from the Honourable Minister to move an amendment to the Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board Ordinance, 1950, in order to enable the Board to sell the lottery tickets direct to the public.

It was reported that the Board made a profit of about \$32 million and that the 11 appointed agents—one in each State—shared a profit of about \$12 million. This would mean that by the sale of the lottery tickets a total profit of \$32 million was collected for welfare services—for the benefit of the blind, crippled, and so on: these are the

people who have no relatives or friends in this country. It was astonishing to note that the 11 appointed agents shared almost 37.5 per cent of the profits made. Instead of helping several thousand more people who need help, it seems to me that we are helping these 11 fortunate wealthy people—they are the selected people and they were given the sales of these lotteries. It is a profitable business, no doubt. Sir, you will appreciate that in a few years \$32 million were made by the Board and that was the time when the sale of lotteries was about \$1.7 million per draw and this draw was made once in every two or three months. Now, Sir, I understand the average sale per month is about 3.5 million tickets per draw and the drawing is made once every month. You can imagine, therefore, how many times the \$12 million would be made by way of commission and shared among these 11 appointed agents.

The law as it stands does not permit the Board to sell these tickets direct to the public; it must be sold through the appointed agents. Why was no action taken to amend the law, since it is a public lottery and it is said so in the preamble to the Ordinance as "An Ordinance to establish a Social and Welfare Services Lotteries Board and to authorise the promotion by such Board of public lotteries for social and welfare purposes and to provide for other matters incidental thereto"? Definitely this is a public lottery and yet members of the public cannot buy the lottery tickets direct from the Board. Therefore, Sir, the 11 appointed agents have a complete monopoly in the sale of these tickets. Now the sales have come up to \$3.5 million.

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin: On a point of order, Sir, it is not \$3.5 million but \$2.4 million per draw.

Enche' Chin See Yin: Thank you. Still it is a very considerable increase. I must say, and the agents are given 5 per cent for the sale of the tickets and 10 per cent on the winning tickets. I have made certain inquiries, I have seen some of the sub-agents, and they told me that the most they got was

2½ per cent and when they go and see the agents of the lottery tickets, they say, "You pay cash and I will give you these tickets in view of the sale to-day". These tickets are Government tickets—it is a public lottery—that is why it is selling so well to-day.

Let us see who are these agents. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read out the names of the agents. They are:

Chan Chee Kheong & Bros., Perak
 Chan Chee Kheong & Bros., Penang,
 Kedah and Perlis
 Ng Chee Yew, Negri Sembilan
 Taik Ho & Co., Taiping
 I. G. Lopez, Trengganu
 Dato' A. Mohamed Shariff, West Pahang
 Aw Tong Kai, Penang, Kedah and Perlis
 Kwang Teow Sang Yeong Kee, Selangor
 Tong Fook & Co., Johore
 K. T. Wong, Malacca
 Hock Bee Bros., East Pahang
 A.R. A. Nachiappan, Kelantan.

Sir, you will see that Chan Chee Kheong & Bros. were appointed agents not only for Perak but for Penang, Kedah and Perlis, although in Penang, Kedah and Perlis we have got Aw Tong Kai. I am just wondering why other applicants are not appointed. Why must it be these selected few? This monopoly, according to my mind, is not a good thing; it is not a fair one. It has been said just now that because of the poor sales there was a guarantee. I was told other applicants have made similar guarantees, guarantees not only in kind but in cash and they have got even their bankers to come forward, but their applications were rejected. Why should it be so? Sir, it has been suggested and it has been mentioned that this monopoly has created a racket which has gone so far even to suggest that—though it is unpleasant for me to say so—these 11 appointed agents are working hand in glove with certain members of the Board.

Mr. Speaker: You should not impute improper motives. The motion before the House is to extend the period of the Lotteries Board Ordinance for another five years. You have the right to speak on that, provided you make it as short as possible. You asked for

an assurance that you want that provision to be amended. That is the first thing you asked just now: you asked for an assurance that steps will be taken to amend that provision.

Enche' Chin See Yin: I asked for that assurance because I have got a reason for it, Sir, and I want to give you my reason as to why I asked for that assurance, why it is important that in these public lotteries the public should have a direct privilege to purchase from the Board. I say, Sir, this monopoly has only allowed profit to a few. Why not spread it all over? It is a public lottery; it is not just for a few. For that reason, Sir, I have given my reason—I have heard allegations and I am bringing them to this House. It is not pleasant, no doubt, but it has created foul air. There is no question about it, and I want to clear that. It may be true or it may not be true. The only way to do it is for the Government to institute a public inquiry to clear this foul air. That is my reason for asking the Government, the Minister concerned, to give us an assurance that the law will be amended and a move will be made at the next meeting. Apart from that, Sir, I support this motion. It is a good organisation; it has done so much for the needy people, and I think everybody is in agreement with that.

Dr. Burhanuddin bin Mohamed Noor: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ia-lah menentang pada usul ini, kerana pendirian kita ada-lah demikian. Di-sini, kita telah pun membawa satu usul kepada Parlimen ini 7 bulan yang lalu dan perkara ini telah pun di-tolak dan sekarang usul ini telah di-bawa oleh pihak Kerajaan supaya di-luluskan kali yang ketiga pula selama 5 tahun lagi. Di-sini harus-lah kita memikirkan dengan rasa tanggungjawab sa-bagai kita yang telah berperlembagaan dan negeri kita telah merdeka dengan perlembagaan yang mengaku Islam itu agama resmi-nya dan masa loteri ini di-luluskan dahulu itu ia-lah dalam masa penjajahan dahulu lagi. Jadi, kerana itu kita tak dapat memisahkan diri kita dengan

yang ada berkaitan dengan kehormatan dan agama yang sa-benar-nya dengan chara beberapa jalan langkah Kerajaan kita yang dengan sendiri-nya meluluskan loteri atau bertujuan berjalan-nya loteri ini. Sememangnya semua Ulama² Islam setuju mengharamkan dan saya bukan-lah membawa masa'alah agama dalam persidangan ini, tetapi berkaitan agama dengan perlembagaan negeri kita yang saya tidak suka supaya agama itu menjadi mainan atau ejekan² baik di-seketar negeri ini, atau di-seketar dunia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa kalau keterangan² yang telah di-majukan itu di-ingatkan kembali maka tentu-lah kita akan berfikir sekali lagi, berfikir balek bagaimana akan menghadapi meluluskan usul ini, atau kita semua membangkang-nya sa-bagaimana yang telah di-bangkang oleh Persatuan Islam ini bahawa kita sa-bagai bangsa yang merdeka yang sudah pun mengaku Islam itu sa-bagai agama resmi dan kita menghargai tinggi moral dan menghargai tinggi terhadap rukun² susila pergaulan masyarakat.

Maka kalau-lah kita tinjau daripada segi agama, semua ulama sudah ijmak bahawa loteri itu ada-lah judi, dan ini ternyata dalam Koran, surah Bakarah, ayat 219 yang mengatakan ia-itu judi dan arak itu ada berguna kepada manusia; tetapi bahaya dan dusa-nya lebih besar daripada guna dan fa'edah-nya. Kenyataan ini ada-lah kenyataan Tuhan yang menjadikan manusia, yang menjadikan sa-sabua Kerajaan itu runtuh atau naik. Kita telah meletakkan Islam agama rasmi itu hendak-lah kita junjong, hormati dan pikul tugas² firman Tuhan itu dengan chara yang hormat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan tidak ada berbelah lagi bahawa judi itu haram dan loteri yang kita jalankan sekarang ini ada-lah sa-rupa dengan loteri yang di-jalankan pada masa turun-nya ayat ini di-negeri Makkah masa mengharamkan judi loteri ini, dan judi loteri yang di-haramkan dalam Koran itu ada-lah benar² loteri, bukan-lah judi seperti "mahjong" dan sa-bagai-nya, tetapi ada-lah judi loteri betul². Maka daripada segi moral pula, walau pun kita telah mendengar hujah²

yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Kesihatan dan Kebajikan Masyarakat tadi wang loteri ini telah memberi bantuan yang banyak kepada badan² yang memerlukan bantuan di-negeri ini, kalau kita memandang kepada orang² yang memerlukan bantuan dan memberi bantuan kepada orang² yang menderita, itu ada-lah satu perkara yang memang di-kehendaki dari segi moral dan sosial, tetapi kita harus-lah mengetahui dasar² dan punca wang itu di-dapati, kerana inilah yang menjadi pokok tiap² negeri yang bertamaddun, tiap² negeri yang ada mempunyai pendirian, yang ada mempunyai dasar hidup dan pegangan hidup-nya.

Dalam masa membantah supaya loteri ini di-tarek balek dahulu, saya telah pun bayangkan ia-itu kalau kita memandang kepada satu kelamin atau sa-orang ibu yang kerja-nya melakukan perkara yang tidak hormat, kerana dengan jalan itu dia telah dapat menanggung anak²-nya atau keluarga-nya ia-itu dengan melakukan perkara yang luhah (immoral) maka dengan pendapatan itu dia telah dapat memelihara anak-nya, family dan memelihara prestige hidup-nya dan dengan jalan itu boleh-lah kalau di-katakan "to enjoy dan to make money". Dan orang² yang lemah moral-nya tidak memikirkan soal kesusilaan, sosial, permasharakatan, maka soal "to enjoy dan to make money" ini sahaja yang ada di-hadapan mata dan fikiran-nya; maka mereka akan melakukan perkara yang melanggar dengan moral, kesusilaan dan dasar masyarakat kita. Dan manakala kita pandang kedudukan ini yang kita sama² tidak bersetuju dan kita pandang perkara ini melanggar dengan dasar agama dan kita pandang perkara ini melanggar dengan moral dan peri kemasharakatan kita, maka begitu-lah juga dudok-nya loteri ini, kerana melanggar dengan agama dan sosial yang kita kirakan hanya-lah mendapat wang dengan tidak mengira punca-nya itu haram dan di-sini moral ada-lah dengan sendiri-nya akan menjatuhkan moral kita dalam membenarkan perkara yang terbuka dengan terang kepada seluruh ahli moral dunia ia-itu perkara ini ialah perkara judi. Dan dalam lapangan sosial tentu-lah kita tahu bahawa

dengan judi itu orang boleh ada kalanya jadi kaya serta-merta dan dengan judi itu juga orang boleh jadi papa dan miskin dengan serta-merta. Kita tahu beberapa keadaan² yang telah pun disiarkan dalam surat khabar di-negeri ini ia-itu dengan sebab loteri itu beberapa keadaan telah timbul seperti kemelaratan yang menyebabkan bermusuhan² dan berkelahi dan ada beberapa perkara yang telah merobohkan rukun hidup rumah tangga. Perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah sebutkan satu persatu bagaimana burok, rosak dan tali-menali-nya berkenaan dengan loteri ini menjatoh dan merobohkan moral orang² yang miskin, orang² yang menderita dan orang yang mempunyai lebih kurang dalam kehidupan-nya dengan sebab harapan dan angan²-nya telah membelanjakan wang-nya untuk mengharapkan jadi kaya dengan serta-merta; sa-hingga anak-nya di-rumah tidak menyusu sebab wang yang dia hendak membeli susu anak-nya itu telah dibelanjakan kerana membeli tiket loteri. Perkara ini banyak kali kita dengar dalam surat khabar, apa-tah lagi kalau kita suka menyiasat di-kampong² dan di-desa² serta di-bandar² bagaimana benchana loteri ini telah merosakkan moral, merosakkan sendi masyarakat kita.

Saya telah berchakap dalam perbathasan supaya loteri ini di-tarek balek dahulu, tidak-lah perlu saya mengulang lagi, kerana perkara ini ada didalam record Perbahathan Parlimen. Dan lagi, apabila kita luluskan loteri ini, soal ugama telah jadi permainan, sa-hingga timbul-lah kata² yang memainkan² kedudukan ugama kita; pada hal kedudukan wang loteri ini sudah ijmak haram. Tetapi ulama bukan berbalah pada pokok loteri dan haram-nya loteri, kerana wang ini telah berjalan dan timbul dalam masyarakat kita dan peruntukan² yang telah di-berikan itu, ini-lah satu perkara ia-itu ada-kah wang itu akan di-buang sahaja atau tidak di-terima, pada hal perkara² itu boleh dapat di-gunakan. Jadi dengan chara bagini-lah ugama, moral dan ikhlak kita yang biasa bertambah runtoh. Kita sudah dua tahun mengambil sikap dari masa penjajah dahulu hingga sampai pada masa ini, saya fikir

sudah chukup-lah dan sudah samapai masa-nya kita menghormati ugama kita dan menghormati kedudukan moral dan membaiki chara masharakat kita dengan chara yang berseh dan hormat dan tentu-lah Parlimen ini dapat memikirkan satu chadangan atau satu chara yang lebeh hormat, yang lebeh sesuai dengan chara kemerdekaan kita yang telah mengaku, Islam itu ugama rasmi, dan peradapan, moral, rukun kesusilaan dan masharakat negeri ini hendak-lah di-junjung tinggi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimana sekali pun kita bawaan keterangan² tentang besar-nya untong loteri ini dapat memberikan kepada musharakat kita di-negeri ini, tetapi bertambah besar untong-nya bertambah besar dosa-nya yang akan di-pikul oleh ra'ayat negeri ini dan tidak-lah akan dapat di-hilangkan kesalahan dan dosa yang telah di-terangkan Tuhan kepada kita itu walau dengan apa daya dan ikhtiar dengan kita steamroll menerangkan bahawa ini satu perkara yang mustahak untuk memberikan bantuan kepada musharakat negeri ini. Dengan jalan begitu sahaja demokrasi yang seperti ini tidak-lah dapat membersekan dosa² dan kesisapan² yang telah di-lakukan itu menurut hukum² yang telah di-tetapkan oleh Tuhan yang menjadikan kita, yang menjadikan hidup dan mati kita dan memberikan atoran chara memerintah supaya menuju kepada kehormatan hidup dan kemuliaan moral manusia. Sekian-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Enche' Mohd. Asri bin Haji Muda:

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, lebeh kurang 5 bulan dahulu saya bagi pehak Persatuan Islam Se-Tanah Melayu telah mengemukakan satu motion supaya memberhentikan perjalanan loteri kebajikan musharakat. Motion ini telah di-bahath, di-undi dan kalah. Pada hari ini pehak Kerajaan pula membentangkan satu chadangan supaya loteri itu di-sambong lagi sa-lama lima tahun kahadapan. Pendirian saya pada hari ini ada-lah membangkang chadangan ini dan saya rasa tidak-lah mustahak saya memberi hujjah² yang panjang lebar bagi membangkang motion yang di-kemukakan oleh Menteri Kesehatan dan Kebajikan Musharakat ini dari

sudut yang telah saya nyatakan lebeh kurang 5 bulan yang lalu.

Apa yang saya hendak bentangkan dalam rumah ini ia-lah manakala saya perhatikan kenyataan² yang telah diberikan oleh Menteri Kebajikan Musharakat tentang jumlah² wang yang telah di-khidmatkan oleh wang loteri ini kepada musharakat lebeh kurang 30.2 million bagi sa-panjang umur loteri ini berjalan. Memandang kepada jumlah itu sa-olah² terasa kepada kita banyak sangat wang ini dan besar benar khidmat-nya kepada musharakat, tetapi memandang kepada lanjut dan panjang-nya usia loteri itu berjalan maka dapat-lah kita taksirkan hanya tidak lebeh dari \$3 million sahaja sa-tahun wang loteri ini telah di-gunakan kerana kebajikan seperti membantu orang buta, batok kering, gerakan pemuda pemudi yang tidak berbau politik, bantuan ka-kampong² dan sa-bagai-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa dalam menunaikan tugas membantu kebajikan musharakat oleh sa-sabuah Kerajaan yang mengaku diri-nya sabagai Kerajaan yang penoh kebajikan, sangat-lah bijaksana dan akan harum-lah nama Kerajaan Perikatan ini pada mata ra'ayat dan mata dunia seluruh-nya kalau Kerajaan Perikatan ini dengan berani-nya chuba memejamkan mata supaya wang yang \$3 million ini di-keluarkan daripada poket Kerajaan untuk mendukung dan membantu usaha² kebajikan musharakat itu.

Keadaan penderitaan ra'ayat daripada berbagai² sudut yang sekarang ditanggung sebahagian-nya oleh wang loteri itu tidak-lah dapat di-nafikan bahawa ia-itu ada-lah menjadi tugas dan kewajipan Kerajaan sendiri. Maka saya rasa chukup-lah saya katakan bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan tidak-lah dapat mengelakkan diri dari memikul tanggung-jawab ini. Kalau Kerajaan boleh mengeluarkan wang² seperti untuk Indoor Stadium Kuala Lumpur—\$1.5 million, maka saya rasa patut benar-lah Kerajaan ini mengadakan satu peruntukan khas dari wang sa-lain daripada loteri ini kerana membantu kebajikan musharakat yang tidak lebeh \$3 million sa-tahun. Dan kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa ada-lah jatuh sedikit merwah Kerajaan kita ini

kalau kerana kebajikan musharakat kita mengharapkan wang jadi. Kerajaan memerangi judi tetapi Kerajaan juga mengadakan judi.

Enche' Aziz bin Ishak (Muar Dalam): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong kepada Yang Berhormat Menteri yang membawa chadangan tadi kerana melanjutkan lagi tempoh Loteri Kebajikan Musharakat sa-lama 5 tahun daripada 11 December, 1960 ini.

Pada mula-nya rasa saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chadangan ini tentu-lah dapat bangkangan daripada pihak Parti Islam Tanah Melayu kerana beberapa bulan yang lalu parti ini telah membawa satu usul dan membangkang atas chadangan ini dan dalam pada itu rasa saya telah pun banyak kita mengeluarkan atau pun memberikan fikiran² berhubung dengan ada-nya loteri kebajikan musharakat ini dan usul yang dibawa oleh Parti Islam Tanah Melayu itu telah pun tidak dapat sokongan dan loteri kebajikan musharakat ini berjalan terus.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita tidak-lah boleh menafikan bahawa loteri kebajikan musharakat ini sa-lama telah berjalan telah banyak-lah bantuan² yang di-beri kepada penduduk² terutama kepada Kebajikan Musharakat di-dalam Tanah Melayu kita ini dan terutama sekali saya suka-lah menyatakan ia-itu memberi bantuan kepada penduduk² di-kawasan luar bandar. Saya suka-lah menyatakan dalam dewan ini ia-itu saya dari pihak penduduk² di-dalam kawasan saya ia-itu Muar Dalam menguchapkan sa-tinggi terima kasih kepada badan Loteri Kebajikan Musharakat ini kerana telah banyak memberi bantuan di-dalam kawasan saya terutama sekali untuk mendirikan sekolah² tambahan, mendirikan club Pemuda Pemudi, padang² permainan, balai² raya, Misjid² dan Surau²; bagitu juga menolong orang² yang dza'if, miskin dan kelaparan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam pada itu rasa saya pada masa ini di-dalam beberapa banyak kawasan ada yang sedang membuat permohonan² supaya di-beri bantuan dan oleh itu pada fikiran saya pada masa ini tidak-lah patut kita memberhentikan Loteri Kebajikan Musharakat ini dan boleh-lah kita

jalankan sa-lama 5 tahun lagi supaya dapat-lah orang² di-kawasan luar bandar itu di-beri bantuan sedikit sa-banyak dari Loteri Kebajikan Musharakat ini. Sekian-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order! The time is half-past four.

ADJOURNMENT

Tun Abdul Razak: Sir, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Dato' Dr. Ismail: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

ADJOURNMENT SPEECH

KERAJAAN PERSEKUTUAN MEMPERKECHILKAN NEGERI² PANTAI TIMOR DALAM RANGKAIAN KEMAJUAN

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada suatu masa dahulu Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-dalam menjawab satu soalan, telah berkata bahawa tidak-lah menjadi dasar Kerajaan hendak melakukan berat sa-belah di-dalam memberikan kemajuan² kepada negeri² di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu ada-lah satu dasar yang sehat yang sesuai perkembangan democracy dan hak politik di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Saya berchakap pada hari ini kerana hendak melihatkan sa-takat mana-kah dapat di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan yang ada sekarang dasar yang di-kemukakan oleh Perdana Menteri itu sendiri. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa di-Tanah Melayu ini ada berbagai² parti politik dan tiap² parti politik itu ada mempunyai tujuan dan dasar-nya menurut kepercayaan-nya masing². Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi menentukan siapa yang boleh di-amanahkan untuk menjalankan pentadbiran Kerajaan ini terserah-lah kepada pilihan raya. Apabila menang sa-buah Kerajaan dalam pilihan raya maka ada-lah menjadi kewajipan-nya menjalankan Kerajaan menurut dasar yang di-tetapkan oleh Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hal ini berjalan dan

pada waktu yang akhir² ini timbul-lah beberapa rungutan dan timbul-lah beberapa rasa tidak sedap daripada pehak orang² Pantai Timor yang pada masa ini di-perintah oleh Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu ia-itu di-negeri Kelantan dan Trengganu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kemenangan Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu di-Pantai Timor di-dalam dua Kerajaan negeri dan kemenangan Kerajaan Perikatan di-dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ada-lah melalui saloran yang sama ia-itu menurut pilihan raya. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walaupun kita mengetahui bahawa jalan yang kita lalui ada-lah menerusi pilihan raya yang berdasarkan democracy, tetapi di-dalam ranchangan kemajuan-nya timbul-lah tanda² bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini memperkecilkan Pantai Timor dalam ranchangan²-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hal ini boleh di-nafikan dengan mulut, boleh di-tidakkan dengan kenyataan²; tetapi dapat di-lihat oleh tiap² sa-orang yang ingin melihat hal ini dengan mata kepala-nya sendiri.

Kita telah mendengar bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu hendak menjalankan Ranchangan Kemajuan Luar Bandar. Kita meletakkan harapan dan di-dalam titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, hal ini telah di-titik-beratkan sangat. Maka berharap-lah ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini bahawa Kerajaan akan menjalankan hal ini. Apa yang telah di-dapati di-Pantai Timor kita dapati ia-lah kedatangan Menteri dan menerangkan bahawa; ini ada satu surat khabar, saya bachakan:

"If the State Government wants assistance towards rural development projects in Kelantan, the P.M.I.P. State Government must change its attitude towards foreign loans."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hal ini saya rasa tidak sedap. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa kita mempunyai sebuah Parlimen, kita berbahath di-sini. Di-dalam perbahathan itu, telah mengatakan bahawa kita hendak menjalankan ke'adilan tetapi saya lihat apabila hendak memajukan Pantai Timor mesti ubah dasar PAS. Di-mana-kah democracy? Di-mana-kah ke'adilan?

Ada-kah benar umpama-nya kita membebaskan ideology² politik yang democracy sedang kita menekan sa-saorang itu mengator dasar-nya kerana, "kalau hendak ikut chakap saya", "kalau tidak, saya tidak beri". Yang seronok-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Tuan Menteri kita itu di-dalam memberi penerangan-nya, berkata, "Saya ta' mahu melanggar dasar PAS. Apa yang tidak di-setujui oleh PAS kami ta' mahu buat". PAS tidak bersetuju dengan chukai, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. PAS membantah beberapa perkara di-sini, tetapi ada di-jalankan di-Kelantan dan di-Trengganu. Kalau mengikut dasar democracy apabila sudah kalah sa-suatu hal di-dalam satu pemerintah maka berjalan-lah kita dengan dasar yang sesuai, bukan kita hendak melepaskan dendam kepada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang tidak berdosa sekali di-dalam politik.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkembangan ranchangan² pembangunan bergantung lebeh banyak kepada wang Federal lebeh dari wang negeri. Ini nyata oleh hakikat kerana negeri tidak mempunyai sumber² kewangan, puncha² yang boleh membangunkan kumpulan kewangan negeri. Maka di-dalam negeri² yang bagini-lah sangat² mengharap-kan ke'adilan. Tetapi dengan menepok dada, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, "ia-itu mesti ikut chakap saya," bagaimana-kah democracy boleh berjalan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Tinggal satu minit sahaja lagi.

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Saya berharap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perasangka politik—political prejudice, di-ketepikan dalam kemajuan luar bandar. Mudah²an dapat-lah democracy yang berjalan di-negeri ini atas satu keadaan yang membolehkan kita menggunakan nama-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussain): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi menjawab ucapan wakil daripada Bachok, saya suka menegaskan sekali lagi di-sini bahawa dasar Kerajaan Persekutuan terhadap pembangunan negara ia-lah seperti yang telah di-terangkan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri ia-itu

Kerajaan akan menjalankan kemajuan² di-negeri² menurut ka-hendak² di-tempat dan di-daerah² di-seluruh Tanah Melayu Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok ada mengatakan yang penduduk² di-sebelah Pantai Timor—negeri Kelantan dan Trengganu ada-lah berperasaan tidak sedap pada masa ini. Pada fikiran saya perasaan tidak sedap itu ia-lah oleh sebab Kerajaan² negeri kedua buah negeri itu tidak menjalankan kewajipan-nya masing² dengan sempurna (*Tepok*), itu-lah sebab-nya ada berperasaan sa-macam itu. Dalam hal kemajuan negeri, saya suka terangkan ia-itu yang bertanggung jawab berkenaan kemajuan negara bukan sahaja Kerajaan Persekutuan bahkan Kerajaan negeri juga. Dan saya telah terangkan kerap kali kepada semua Kerajaan² negeri bahawa di-dalam perkerjaan membena negara, terutama sekali luar bandar hendak-lah Kerajaan negeri terlebih dahulu menunjukkan yang mereka itu ada menggunakan tenaga dan wang mereka itu sendiri bagi kemajuan negara, baharu-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan akan memberi bantuan. Jadi ini-lah dasar yang di-gunakan kepada semua negeri² dalam Tanah Melayu. Ini-lah dasar-nya yang telah di-jalankan beberapa lama sejak Kerajaan Perikatan memegang teraju pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dan jika di-mana² Kerajaan negeri tidak menjalankan kewajipan-nya dengan sempurna, kemajuan dalam negeri itu ta' akan berjalan dengan sempurna.

Dalam lapangan kemajuan Kerajaan negeri itu macham motokar, dia mesti berjalan sendiri, kalau tidak chukup minyak Kerajaan Persekutuan boleh menolong sedikit sa-banyak berikan minyak. Tetapi kalau motokar itu tidak berjalan kalau driver-nya tidak pandai, kereta itu tidak berjalan dengan sempurna-nya. Jadi, itu-lah yang sa-benar-nya kedudukan pentadbiran di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada masa ini. Bagitu juga berkenaan dengan perbelanjaan wang dalam negeri, Kerajaan Persekutuan mengetahui, Kerajaan Persekutuan ada bertanggung jawab bagi memberi pertolongan mana yang patut kepada Kerajaan² negeri. Akan tetapi sa-belum

bantuan itu boleh di-berikan mustahak-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan puas hati yang Kerajaan negeri itu ada mengam-bil langkah yang berpatutan menamb-wang pendapat-nya sendiri ia-itu mengenankan chukai² yang di-fikirkan patut dan mustahak bagi menambahkan hasil dalam negeri itu.

Dan bagitu juga Kerajaan Persekutuan mesti berpuas hati wang hasil yang di-dapati oleh Kerajaan negeri ini ada di-gunakan dengan sempurna di-samping di-gunakan kepada perkara² yang sa-benar-nya mustahak dan berfa'edah kepada negeri. Kalau Kerajaan Persekutuan berpuas hati di-atas dua perkara ini, baharu-lah bantuan itu boleh di-timbangkan dalam National Finance Council dengan mendapat persetujuan daripada Kerajaan² Negeri. Ini juga chara-nya bantuan daripada Kerajaan Persekutuan yang di-beri kepada Kerajaan² Negeri, dan oleh sebab saya katakan tadi bahawa kemajuan negara ini bergantung kepada Kerajaan² Negeri maka mustahak-lah jika sa-sabuah negeri itu berkehendakan kemajuan-nya jentera pentadbiran dalam negeri itu mesti-lah baik berjalan dengan sempurna-nya. Kalau jentera pentadbiran negeri itu tidak berjalan dengan sempurna-nya, tentu-lah walau bagaimana pun pertolongan akan di-beri terhadap ranchangan² dan kemajuan² tak akan dapat di-jalankan dengan sempurna-nya. Dan lagi satu perkara yang berkaitan dengan kemajuan ini ia-lah berkenaan dengan wang pinjaman dari luar negeri. Kebanyakan wang yang di-gunakan untuk kemajuan negeri ia-itu capital expenditure ia-lah pinjaman wang dari luar negeri, dan Kerajaan Persekutuan telah menerangkan kepada semua Kerajaan² Negeri bukan sahaja kepada Kerajaan² negeri Kelantan dan Trengganu bahkan semua Kerajaan² Negeri bahawa jika sakira-nya Kerajaan Negeri tidak mahu menerima dasar wang Kerajaan Persekutuan pinjaman wang dari luar negeri itu, tentu-lah tidak patut bagi Kerajaan Persekutuan yang mendapat wang pinjaman dari luar negeri itu hendak memberikan pinjaman wang itu kepada Kerajaan Negeri yang akan menggunakan wang itu bagi kemajuan negeri.

Dasar ini sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi di-kenakan kepada semua

Negeri, oleh itu, tentu-lah tak patut jika dasar yang di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan itu bagi fa'edah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, bagi fa'edah Kerajaan² Negeri yang menchercha, atau pun mendatangkan pandangan yang tak sempurna kapada dasar Kerajaan Persekutuan. Ini bukan dari segi parti siasah. Ini segi kedudukan Kerajaan² Negeri, segi kedudukan di-antara Kerajaan² Negeri dengan Kerajaan Persekutuan. Jadi, itu-lah perkara² yang patut di-ambil fahaman sebelum mendatangkan apa² pandangan yang tak sempurna terhadap Kerajaan Persekutuan berkenaan dengan dasar pembangunan negeri.

Kerajaan Persekutuan telah pun meminta kapada semua Kerajaan² Negeri bagi mengeluarkan ranchangan² untok di-masokan dalam Ranchangan Kemajuan Lima Tahun Yang Kedua, dan bagitu juga berkenaan dengan pembangunan luar bandar yang Kerajaan Persekutuan telah pun meminta Kerajaan² Negeri dan juga Jajahan bagi mengadakan ranchangan² yang terator dan sempurna di-samping beberapa

banyak pertolongan yang akan di-beri kapada tiap² Negeri dan tiap² daerah yang akan bergantung kapada ranchangan² yang akan di-atorkan itu dan juga akan bergantung bagaimana chara yang baik atau sempurna terhadap ranchangan² itu, dan bergantung bagaimana chara-nya ranchangan² itu akan di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan² Negeri dan juga pegawai² di-serata daerah.

Jadi, ini-lah dia dasar yang di-jalankan oleh pehak Kerajaan Persekutuan terhadap kemajuan negeri sa-bagaimana dasar yang telah di-sebutkan tadi yang telah di-beri akuan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri ia-itu dasar kita hendak mengadakan kemajuan di-seluruh Tanah Melayu ini dengan sempurna-nya dan dasar ini akan berjalan menurut bagaimana chara-nya Kerajaan² Negeri hendak memberi kerjasama kapada Kerajaan Persekutuan, dan bagaimana chara-nya Kerajaan² Negeri dapat menjalankan pekerjaan²-nya yang tertentu melaksanakan ranchangan² kemajuan itu. (Tepok).

Adjourned at 4.45 p.m.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATIVES

Bulls from Pakistan

1. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives whether bulls from Pakistan were imported into this country without proper checks on their health, and whether any of them were a threat to cattle health in this country.

The Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives (**Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak**): All bulls (and cows) imported from Pakistan were properly checked for all infectious and contagious diseases and only healthy ones were imported. The animals imported have not been a threat to the country's livestock population. In fact, the selected animals have helped to improve the cattle in the country.

Japanese Rice Experts

2. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives the number of Japanese rice experts working in the Federation now and the number of Malaysians understudying them.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: There are at present 3 Japanese rice experts under the Colombo Plan working in the Department of Agriculture and 2 Malayan officers are understudying them. A further one expert under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations is working in the Department of Agriculture and is understudied by a Malayan Officer.

Acreeage and Yield of Padi

3. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives what was the annual increase in padi in 1957, 1958, 1959, the anticipated increase in 1960, the anticipated increase under the next five-year plan, and when Malaya is expected to be self sufficient in rice.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: The Acreeages and yields are as follows:

	Acres	Yield Tons
1956/1957 ...	896,000 ...	774,000
1957/1958 ...	900,000 ...	787,000
1958/1959 ...	916,000 ...	695,000
1959/1960 ...	954,000 ...	900,000

Given every acre of existing padi land using the recommended fertiliser dressings and provided every padi planter plants the high yielding varieties now available and adopts the improved husbandry techniques, and with the achievement of 100,000 acres under double-cropping as expected, the anticipated increase under the next five-year plan is 400,000 tons of padi. At this rate of increase Malaya is expected to be self-sufficient in rice in the next five years.

Vegetables and Poultry Production in New Villages

4. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives what attention has been paid to improving and increasing vegetable and poultry production in new villages, stating the total amount of aid given in this direction to new villagers.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: The improvement of vegetable production in new villages has received attention from State Agricultural Departments. Assistance has been by way of advice on planting materials used, husbandry techniques, manuring and the use of modern insecticides and fungicides. Investigations are currently in progress with a view to providing improved varieties of ground-nuts, soya beans and maize. It is not feasible to state in quantitative terms the amount of aid given to vegetable growers.

Every effort is being made to encourage poultry production in new villages. Besides advice, a free vaccination and treatment service is also given so as to protect new villages from poultry diseases. Officials of the Veterinary Department vaccinate about 28,000 birds every working day and a considerable bulk of these birds are from new villages.

**Aid to rubber Estate Labourers to improve
Cattle and Poultry**

5. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives whether any aid has been given to improve the cattle owned by rubber estates and in what way can rubber estate labourers avail themselves of Government aid to help improve cattle and poultry.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: To improve cattle in estates a free castration service is offered to eliminate scrub bulls. Improved Sindhi bulls have been sold or hired to estates and these animals have helped to improve the quality (milk yields) and the size of the stock in estates. In fact more Sindhi bulls are sold to estate labourers than to kampong people at the moment. Several artificial insemination centres have also been established and the free facilities offered by these centres are available to improve the cattle in estates. Artificial insemination is very useful especially when cattle owners cannot afford to keep good bulls. In addition, free treatment service is usually available.

To improve the poultry, improved types are soon to be produced at the Poultry Breeding Station, Johore Bahru, and these should be available in the future. However, improvement of poultry cannot be carried out unless the birds are first protected against Rani-khet disease and for this a free vaccination service is offered to labourers. All they have to do is to request for the assistance.

Co-operative Ice Factory in East Coast

6. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives whether he is satisfied that the co-operative ice factory in the East Coast is working as anticipated.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: The Co-operative Ice Factory in Kota Bahru is, as anticipated, working very well. It should be appreciated that this ice factory is the property of the East Coast Fishermen's Co-operative Transport and Marketing Union Ltd. It is not the property of Government.

**Funds advanced to Co-operative ventures
in East Coast**

7. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives to state the sums of money advanced by the Government to co-operative ventures in the East Coast in 1957, 1958, 1959; how much of it has been returned to the Government, and the ventures financed fully or partly by Government loans which have been a success.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: The sums of money advanced by the Government to the Federation of Malaya Rural Co-operative Apex Bank, for re-issue as loans to the various Fishermen's Co-operative Credit and Marketing Societies in the East Coast are as under:

1957 ...	\$200,000
1958 ...	800,000
1959 ...	250,000

These loans are not due for repayment for a period of three years from the dates they were granted. Repayment of the first instalment is thus not due until October, 1960. The interest in respect of these loans has been regularly paid. The various societies formed under the Assistance to Fishermen's Scheme in the East Coast are being steadily consolidated and are conferring increasing benefits to their members and the fishermen. Considerable progress has been made in the use of improved boats and gear resulting in an increase catch. In addition positive arrangements have been made to cure and market the catch and for this purpose ten curing centres have now been established in the East Coast area between Tumpat, Kelantan, in the North and Kuantan, Pahang, in the South.

Visit of the Minister to Taiwan

8. **Enche' V. David** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives whether during his visit to Taiwan, he visited or was visited by Government officials, and whether his trip to Taiwan was facilitated through the tickets bought with Government funds.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: The Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives visited Taiwan at his own expense. He was

visited and in fact welcomed by the Leaders of the Muslim Community in Taiwan. Amongst them there might have been officials but as far as he was concerned they met him in their capacity as such leaders.

Aid to Kampong Folks to Improve Poultry yield

9. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives to state the increase in kampong poultry in the last three years and what aid has been provided to kampong folks to increase and improve their poultry yield.

Enche' Abdul Aziz: There has been considerable increase in poultry production in kampongs over the last 3 years and the increase is estimated to be about 20% over the 1957 figures. This is reflected by the increased amount of poultry available in the markets and decreased importation. In 1959 alone we imported $\frac{1}{4}$ million less birds than in 1958. To help increase production of poultry, kampong folks are being taught to rear day old chicks in brooders. In this method they purchase 50 to 100 chicks or more and rear them artificially (in brooders) until 2 months of age before they are left under the open range system. As an example 4,000 day old chicks have been exported to Kelantan monthly from the hatcheries in Melaka.

Day old chicks have also been exported to other States. The demand for day old chicks from Melaka has continued to pour in and it is anticipated that before long many kampong folks will be rearing poultry by the thousands. Further, to encourage kampong folks in large-scale poultry production young and keen boys are selected to undergo a 2 months' training in commercial poultry farms. This training has proved to be very useful and many of the youths who have undergone such training now rear over a thousand birds under better management and feeding. Besides, all possible advice and encouragement is given to kampong people to rear more and better birds. A free vaccination and treatment service is also offered.

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Settlers at Bilut Valley

10. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Rural Development if he is aware that some early settlers at Bilut Valley had left the place because of the distance of the market, which is twelve miles away, and the denial of water supply to them, and if so, what action he proposes to take on the matter.

The Minister of Rural Development (Tun Abdul Razak): The Minister is well aware that a few settlers did leave or quit the Bilut Valley Scheme but not for reasons as stated by the Honourable Member. Some were even evicted from the Scheme. Those who left did so because they had not the tenacity to face the hard work involved.

11. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Rural Development to state the acreage of land given to each settler and the amount of the cash granted to settlers to build their own houses and cultivate the land.

Tun Abdul Razak: Each settler in Bilut Valley Scheme is given 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land made up of the following:

Rubber (main crop)	...	7	acres
Dusun—limau langkat	1		
acre, coconut	2	...	3 ..
House lot	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$..
			—
			10 $\frac{1}{4}$..
			—

No cash grant is made to settlers for house building or cultivating the land but they get subsistence loans up to a maximum of \$75 a month per settler until such time as they are able to subsist on their own. Housing material is supplied and technical advice on house building is given, the estimated cost of each house being \$550. In addition, planting material, fertilisers and other items essential for land development and settlement are provided.

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

Malayan Airways

12. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Transport whether his Ministry supports the increase in Malayan Airways fares.

The Minister of Transport (Enche' Sardon bin Haji Jubir): It is not clear what increase the Honourable Member refers to.

But on 1st December last Malayan Airways' fares and rates were increased by 10%, in conjunction with a rationalisation of the Company's services and the introduction of Viscount aircraft. The Government's agreement with the Company provides that the fares and rates which it charges must receive my approval. After careful consideration of the case, which was presented earlier in the year, my approval was given.

National Shipping Company

13. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Transport whether the Federation has any plans to have a national shipping company.

Enche' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: The Federation has no such plans at present.

Cargo tonnage at Port Swettenham

14. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Transport the tonnage of goods which can be loaded or unloaded at Port Swettenham after the harbour improvements have been completed.

Enche' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: In 1959, 516,000 freight tons of dry cargo were loaded at Port Swettenham and

713,000 freight tons discharged; in addition 304,000 freight tons of liquid cargo were discharged. An extension to the Coastal Wharf has just been completed; this Wharf is to be further extended, and lighterage facilities are to be improved. These improvements to the present port are planned to aid in handling the increasing tonnages over the next few years, pending the completion of the three (or possibly four) new deepwater berths at the North Klang Straits, adjacent to the present port, which will significantly increase the port's capacity and reduce congestion. It is not clear whether the Honourable Member refers to improvements in the present port or to the North Klang Straits project.

Health Inspectors in Malayan Railway

15. Enche' V. David asks the Minister of Transport the number of Health Inspectors employed in the Malayan Railways and what are their functions.

Enche' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: A Senior Health Inspector stationed at Railway Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur is responsible for the administration of the Health Section, and also carries out an inspection of the whole of the Railway system not less than twice a year.

Two Health Inspectors, one stationed at Kuala Lumpur and one at Gemas, inspect buildings and sanitary facilities once in every three months, arrange for disinfection of quarters in cases of infectious diseases, act as secretaries to all Railway local and district health committees, and control the anti-malarial work in their districts.