

Volume III
No. 18



Wednesday
18th October, 1961

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

Official Report

Volume III

Third Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

No. 18

Wednesday, 18th October, 1961

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

PRESENT:

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

- „ the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs,
Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M.
(Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and
Minister of Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK
BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Internal Security and Minister of the Interior,
DATO' DR. ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN,
P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka
Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications,
DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungai Siput).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE'
ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR,
P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, DATO' ONG YOKE
LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, ENCHE' MOHAMED
KHIR BIN JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN
(Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN
HAJI TALIB (Kuantan).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL HAMID
KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P.
(Batang Padang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Rural Development, TUAN HAJI
ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, ENCHE'
CHEAH THEAM SWEE (Bukit Bintang).

The Honourable the Assistant Minister of the Interior, ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF (Jerei).

- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN (Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungai 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. (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID (Seberang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN HAJI YUSOF, P.J.K. (Krian Darat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AZAHARI BIN HAJI IBRAHIM (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ DR. BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- „ ENCHE' 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 (Melaka Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN (Raub).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).
- „ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG (Batu Pahat).
- „ ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- „ CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- „ ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).

The Honourable ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON (Kluang Utara).

- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N. (Sepang).
- „ ENCHE' LIM JOO KONG (Alor Star).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ ENCHE' LIU YOONG PENG (Rawang).
- „ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED 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).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ TUAN SYED HASHIM BIN SYED AJAM, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ TUAN SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, J.M.N. (Johor Tenggara).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- „ TENGKU BESAR INDERA RAJA IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN IBRAHIM, D.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' TOO JOON HING (Telok Anson).
- „ ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- „ WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).

The Honourable WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).

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

ABSENT:

The Honourable DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N.
Minister without Portfolio) (Muar Selatan) (*On leave*).

- „ the Assistant Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN (Kampar).
- „ ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ DR. LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ DATO' ONN BIN JA'AFAR, D.K., D.P.M.J. (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).

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

WONG TZE CHOON— DETENTION

therefore considering his release in the near future.

Enche' V. David: At least, would the Honourable Minister tell us for how many more years Mr. Wong Tze Choon is going to be kept under detention? He was arrested on the 30th October, 1957, and he has been in detention since then.

1. Enche' V. David (Bungsar) asks the Minister of Internal Security to state whether Government intends to release Mr. Wong Tze Choon now in political detention in the near future.

The Minister of Internal Security (Dato' Dr. Ismail): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Wong Tze Choon was detained because he was directing communist activities among the members of the National Union of Factory and General Workers. The Government is satisfied that Wong Tze Choon, if he is released, would be a threat to the security of the Federation of Malaya, and it is not

Dato' Dr. Ismail: Mr. Speaker, Sir, probably Honourable Members of this House would like to know why Wong Tze Choon was arrested under the Emergency Regulations on the 30th October, 1957 and is detained in the Muar Detention Camp. He is considered to be a leader of the detainees. Several detainees in the Muar Detention Camp have described the camp as a miniature Communist state, ruled and dominated by Wong Tze Choon. His activities throughout his four years in detention show clearly that he is still fully committed to the hardcore com-

munists. However, in conformity with democratic practice his case will be subject to review from time to time.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT

2. Enche' V. David asks the Prime Minister to state whether the Federation Government intends to establish diplomatic relations with the Cuban Government.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no intention just now to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.

INDONESIAN CLAIM TO WEST IRIAN

3. Enche' V. David asks the Prime Minister to state the Federation Government's stand on the Indonesian Government's claim on West Irian.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Federation Government has made known its view from time to time in this House on its stand on West Irian. But in view of the lack of support for our view, we do not now wish to take the initiative in this matter, but will follow the line taken by all other Asian countries in the United Nations.

Enche' V. David: At least, Sir, do we sympathise with the view of the Indonesian claim over West Irian?

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I have said before, that as Indonesia is our closest neighbour we have no choice but to be in sympathy with them.

MOTION MALAYSIA

Order read for resumption of debate on Question.

"That this House agreeing in principle with the concept of Malaysia comprising the eleven States of the Federation, the States of Singapore and Brunei and the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, endorses the Government's initiative in taking action for its realisation, the progress of which will be reported to the House by the Honourable the Prime Minister from time to time." (17th October, 1961)

Question again proposed.

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah bin Haji Abdul Ghani (Pasir Mas Hulu):

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berucap pagi ini kerana hendak menegaskan di-atas kedudukan dan pendapat pehak kami dalam soal Malaysia ini. Saya rasa hairan dan 'ajaib, walau bagaimana pun tegas di-atas pendirian kami membentangkan, tetapi pehak Kerajaan sentiasa memusing²kan hujah² kami itu. Sa-malam, kami telah mendengar sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat pehak Menteri Muda Siaran Radio.....

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Tidak ada lagi.

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Minta ma'af, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, biasa-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dudok di-hadapan saya, sekarang sudah turun di-sabelah sana pula. Kenapa beliau itu pindah ka-sana, saya tidak tahu-lah!

Mr. Speaker: Jangan di-bahathkan lagi itu. (*Ketawa*).

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Sa-malam, pehak bekas Menteri Muda itu berchakap bahawa orang² yang berpindah daripada satu parti ka-satu parti ia-lah kerana kepentingan diri sendiri. Biar-lah beliau berchakap bagitu. Pada satu masa dahulu beliau itu telah lari ka-Singapura merajok kerana apa? Ia-lah kerana kepentingan diri-nya. (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya kami pindah di-sini kerana kami tidak mahu berserta dengan beliau untuk mengkochar kachirkan bangsa Melayu, sebab itu kami pindah. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal perchantuman ini bukan hanya timbul bangkangan di-kalangan PAS sahaja—bahkan di-kalangan UMNO sendiri. Sa-hingga pada hari ini belum ada satu Meshuarat Agong UMNO Malaya yang membentangkan soal ini dan pehak Kerajaan tidak ada "mandate" langsung membawa usul ini ka-dalam Dewan ini, tetapi hanya di-atas kehendak penganjor² mereka sahaja. Satu lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami di-tudoh tidak tahu menchari sahabat dan

hanya pandai mencari musuh. Ini semua-nya tidak benar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami PAS belum pernah mencari musuh, hanya yang kami menentang kepada puak² yang berchita² untuk menenggelamkan orang² Melayu di-tanah ayer kita ini. Tetapi apa yang telah saya biasa dengar, termasuk-lah Ahli Yang Berhormat bekas Menteri Muda itu pernah berchakap di-kampong² mengatakan, kita sa-benar-nya tidak sukakan MCA dan MIC, tetapi untuk fa'edah.....

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dia buat keterangan yang.....

Mr. Speaker: Order!

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Satu masa Yang Berhormat bekas Menteri itu pernah berchakap dalam beberapa tempat dalam perjumpaan UMNO dan lain² tempat juga mengatakan kita sekarang bersahabat dengan MCA kerana muslihat, kita belum ada wang lagi dan apabila kita sudah kuat kita akan tendangkan mereka. Dalam soal ini jangan-lah kita berpura², dan pada suatu masa dahulu Yang Berhormat Tunku Perdana Menteri, beruchap di-Kota Bharu, masa kempen Pilihan Raya Town Council, beliau chuba menarek undi dengan mengatakan, sekarang sudah nampak terang dan jelas bahawa orang² China dalam Tanah Melayu ini tidak jujur di-antara-nya satu kaki-nya di-negeri China, dan satu kaki-nya di-negeri ini. Dan harapan kita ia-lah hendak mendapatkan sokongan daripada orang² kampong. Apa-kah ma'ana ucapan Tunku, Perdana Menteri, itu?

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Hj. Talib): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, on a point of order! Ada-kah perkara yang di-chakapkan-nya itu bersangkutan-paut dengan perkara yang di-bahathkan ini?

Mr. Speaker: Oleh sebab perkara itu telah di-bawa oleh bekas Menteri Muda itu tadi maka saya tidak dapat menahan-nya (*Tepok*).

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Bekas Menteri Muda mengatakan beliau

ada-lah berasa 'ajaib apabila pindaan yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang di-Pertua, Agong PAS di-atas usul Perdana Menteri itu di-tolak. Maka pehak wakil² PAS terus membangkang usul itu. Memang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak kami telah menegaskan kenapa bahawa Malaysia yang di-ranchangkan oleh PAS ia-lah Malaysia yang mengandongi Indonesia, Philip-pines dan Gugusan Pulau² Melayu, bukan-lah bagaimana Malaysia pada pendapat pehak Perikatan hanya sa-kerat sahaja yang tidak akan menguntungkan kepada politik orang Melayu sendiri. Maka, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hari ini dalam perkara Malaysia dan soal perchantuman antara Singapura dengan Persekutuan, apabila perchantuman ini berlaku kedudukan orang Melayu terancam. Bagaimana wakil² pehak kami yang telah berchakap sa-malam telah menegaskan walau pun di-luaskan perchantuman itu mengikut ranchangan Kerajaan termasuk Brunei, Sarawak dan Borneo Utara dan sa-bagai-nya maka kedudukan orang² Melayu ada-lah saperti biasa juga maka pada pendapat kami bahawa sa-nya kalau Malaysia saperti ranchangan itu tidak ada memberi bekas dan fa'edah kepada orang Melayu sendiri.

Wakil Yang Berhormat daripada Johor Utara sa-malam telah menyelar rakan kami dari Kota Bharu Hilir dalam soal kemerdekaan yang mengatakan bahawa kemerdekaan yang di-chapai itu ada-lah kosong. Tiap² manusia berkehendakkan kemerdekaan, tetapi kemerdekaan yang terchapai oleh pehak Perikatan itu satu kemerdekaan yang boleh di-katakan kemerdekaan tolak ansor, maka kosong-lah pada pendapat kami.

Maka sa-malam Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan telah berchakap dengan penoh semangat dan kadang² sa-bagai pelakun di-atas pentas mengatakan: "Saya siapa, ini-lah orang-nya yang menetapkan tarikh kemerdekaan dan telah berjaya menchapai-nya". Tetapi beliau itu telah lupa bahawa berapa ribu-kah pemuda² termasuk saya sendiri dahulu yang telah berjuang berhabis²an

kerana kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu. Dan kami berpendapat bahawa kemerdekaan yang di-chapai pada tahun 1957 itu pun telah terlewat apa yang kita hendak ia-lah terlebih dahulu daripada itu. Kemerdekaan yang telah di-tubuhkan itu satu kemerdekaan yang berchorak tolak ansor dan beliau pernah berchepak beberapa kali di-Seremban dan di-tempat² lain dahulu mengatakan kemerdekaan yang di-perjuangkan ia-lah sa-mata² untuk orang Melayu. Tetapi hari ini telah jelas dan nyata mengikut Perlembagaan negeri dimana-kah kedudukan orang Melayu dengan hak-nya yang telah hilang hanya keistimewaan sahaja yang ada pada hari ini pun tidak berapa lama lagi akan hapus pula.

Saya berasa hairan mendengar ucapan daripada wakil Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan malam mengatakan PAS telah wafat, kepala-nya telah bercherai dengan badan-nya. Nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini tidak berasas langsung. Hari ini jelas-lah pehak Perikatan hendak menghanchorkan Kerajaan kita di-Trengganu ta' juga hanchor tetapi maseh kuat lagi bahkan pada hari ini kami berchita² benar bukan hanya kami hendak memerintah Kelantan dan Trengganu tetapi kami hendak memerintah beberapa negeri lagi (*Tepok*) termasuk Kedah tempat negeri Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, Perdana Menteri kita (*Ketawa*). Maka, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebab itu-lah saya berharap pehak² rakan kita di-seberang laut jangan-lah salah faham di-atas tentangan yang di-buat oleh pehak kami di-atas usul ini.

Bukan-lah kami tidak suka melebar-kan atau menchantumkan persaudaraan antara satu dengan lain, tetapi Melayu Raya yang di-ranchangkan oleh Perdana Menteri ini satu ranchangan yang sia² sahaja. Sa-patut-nya pehak Kerajaan hendak-lah meneguhkan kedudukan Tanah Melayu dan orang Melayu-nya dahulu, dan baharu-lah meranchangkan Melayu Raya dan sa-lanjut-nya. Memang-lah pehak wakil Bachok kelmarin telah mengatakan sudah-kah Kerajaan puas hati di-atas

kedudukan Singapura? Sudah-kah mereka membetulkan chorak mereka kerana itu-lah dia-nya, Tunku Perdana Menteri telah beberapa kali dalam ucapan-nya dahulu menegaskan tidak setuju-nya perchantuman dengan Singapura kerana anchaman kominis maseh kuat dan berfahaman ka-negeri China maseh tebal. Bukan-lah kita takut dan bimbang tetapi jangan-lah chuba memasokkan diri kita kepada sa-suatu yang boleh mengancham kedudukan orang Melayu sendiri. Hari ini sudah-kah Kerajaan puas hati di-atas kedudukan Tanah Melayu walau pun dharurat telah tamat akan tetapi anchaman kominis maseh berjalan dalam Tanah Melayu ini dan dengan kemasokan Singapura kelak harus anchaman kominis itu akan bertambah pula.

Satu lagi pehak Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara sa-malam telah mengatakan sambil dia hairan oleh sebab di-atas pemikiran yang telah di-buat oleh pehak PAS; kalau-lah begitu kata-nya, kalau PAS berkuasa dalam Tanah Melayu ini akan kachau bilau-lah negeri ini atau "*chaos*". Saya pun hairan di-atas perchakapan yang terlalu itu. Tetapi hari ini, beliau telah menyatakan yang beliau telah pernah pergi ka-Kelantan dan Trengganu tetapi tidak ada kekachauan. Kami menjalankan kewajipan kami untuk ra'ayat dan kami tidak boleh menjalankan sa-suatu bagi mendzalimkan bangsa² asing. Maka ini-lah pendirian kami, teapi itu-lah lagu dan tarian lama yang di-nyanyi dan di-tarikan oleh Yang Berhormat bekas Menteri itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Mereka telah mengatakan kalau PAS berkuasa maka huru hara-lah negeri ini dan banyak-lah orang China akan di-potong dan di-kerat dan di-hantar balek negeri asal mereka. Tetapi alhamdu lillah pada hari ini dengan pemerintahan PAS di-Kelantan dan di-Trengganu satu benchana pun tidak berlaku di-sana bahkan ranchangan² terus menerus berjalan untuk kepentingan ra'ayat di-Pantai Timor.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dukachita-lah menegaskan di-sini bahawa Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-sabelah

sana telah tersalah faham di-atas perchakapan yang di-tujukan oleh rakan² kami sa-hari dua di-sini di-atas mempersetujui prinsip-nya, tetapi pentafsiran itu sahaja-lah yang berbedza. Perbedzaan pendapat ini ia-lah kerana kami merasa jika sa-buah Melayu Raya akan di-tubuhkan maka hendak-lah terdiri dari seluruh Gugusan Pulau² Melayu termasuk Indonesia dan Philipina, tidak hanya saperti yang di-chadangkan sekarang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun ranchangan Melayu Raya pada hari ini hanya indah pada kedengaran tetapi apabila sampai masa menjalankan atau di-prektikkan maka baharu-lah semua akan sedar kedudukan orang Melayu itu sendiri terancham. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-lah payah lagi saya mencherita atau menegaskan dalam Dewan ini di-atas pendapat dan fikiran kami terhadap Melayu Raya ini kerana kami datang di-Parlimen ini sa-sudah kami mendapat "mandate" daripada wakil² PAS di-seluruh Tanah Melayu yang di-hadziri oleh 150 orang wakil. Maka "mandate" itu-lah kami bawa di-sini dan kami menerangkan dalam Dewan ini supaya pehak Kerajaan dapat menimbangkan di-atas pendapat kami itu. Tetapi jangan-lah ada yang menepok² dada menunjukkan kekuatan dan gagah-nya sa-bagai pejuang orang Melayu, tetapi sa-balek-nya Melayu telah layu pada hari ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Maka pada Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan saya suka mengingatkan supaya beliau jangan selalu menepok²kan dada menunjukkan kehandalan-nya dengan mengatakan ini-lah pemuda-nya yang menetapkan tarikh kemerdekaan tanah Melayu untuk orang Melayu tetapi kosong.....

Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: bangun.

Mr. Speaker: Sabar dahulu. Saya maseh hendak mengingatkan lagi, sa-saorang yang hendak bangun itu sebut-lah sama ada dia hendak memberi kenyataan atau pun hendak berchakap dengan perkataan "on a point of order". Jangan-lah bangun menegor sahaja kerana chara yang begitu salah

pada peratoran meshuarat kerana bila dia kata, "on a point of order", baharu-lah orang tengah berchakap itu dudok dan saya akan bertanya tentang mana kesalahan itu. Jika dia bertanya, on a point of clarification, saya akan bertanya kapada orang yang tengah berchakap itu sama ada dia hendak beri jalan atau tidak. Saya tidak boleh benarkan sa-siapa pun bangun menjawab kemudian dudok; ini bukan-lah peratoran yang di-jalankan oleh Majlis ini. Please proceed.

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang kami hendak pada hari ini ia-lah bagaimana garang dan penoh semangat beliau itu berchakap maka begitu-lah hendak-nya terbukti sa-suatu. Kalau-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua izinkan, saya suka menyentoh Kementerian-nya sendiri—soal pengangkutan.

Mr. Speaker: Itu ta' kena mengena.

Dato' Mohamed Hanifah: Jadi, saya ta' hendak cherita lebeh lanjut lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hanya saya menyeru kapada pehak Menteri² Perikatan terutama-nya Menteri Pengangkutan supaya sama² berjuang untuk keselamatan bangsa kita sendiri.

Enche' V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the resumption of the debate on this motion, the spokesman of the Socialist Front clearly indicated our support for the motion in principle. He also elaborately mentioned the differences existing between the Alliance and the Socialist Front on the details of merger. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Britain is not so generous as to grant independence to these territories which are still under colonial rule. Britain knows that one day these countries will definitely rise to demand independence, but once independence is granted, the British government also foresees the danger, i.e., the British Government does not want these countries to have anything to do with Indonesia. In other words, if these countries align themselves with Indonesia, the economic interests of the British Government will be greatly affected.

In the course of his speech, the Prime Minister said he had the idea of Malaysia long ago. However, from the press statements which we observed during the last few years, we thought that the Prime Minister was not at all in favour of a merger; but suddenly, and to our surprise, we saw a statement in the press that the Prime Minister was keen on merger and also on Malaysia.

We believe that the British Government has wide interests on merger as well as Malaysia. Britain is not going to lose the control of the economic interest over Brunei because Brunei produces oil, and Britain is not going to see that somebody benefits out of the oil produced in Brunei. Today Indonesia is a target of western powers and they feel that Indonesia will not toe their line and, to a certain extent, they want to see the destruction of Indonesia. For this purpose Malaysia can also be used as an instrument by accommodating rebel forces to attack Indonesia, which we all oppose.

Even though the Prime Minister categorically stated that SEATO bases in Singapore should be removed, we do not know how far he meant it. Britain is not so easily going to give in to remove the bases in Singapore. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the question of merger and Malaysia is not carefully studied and analysed, there is a great danger that the whole country will be dragged into a cold war.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday the Honourable Member for Johore Utara made an accusation against the Opposition Parties.....

Mr. Speaker: Johore Tenggara.

Enche' V. David: I am sorry, Sir. He called upon the Opposition to declare whether they were communists, non-communist or anti-communists. Sir, the motion under debate is Malaysia and merger, and not the declaration of ideologies; but the Socialist Front can safely say we are opposed to any party that differs in the objects of the Socialist Front. We

do not care whatever the party may be. If it differs from the objects and the fundamental principles of the Socialist Front, we will go all out to fight it. The Honourable Member who made this accusation did not realise that he should also be able to digest what the others are going to say and unfortunately he is so sensitive that he walked out of this House. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to take away the time of this House. I feel that the details of merger and Malaysia should be carefully analysed and studied.

The Assistant Minister of the Interior (Enche' Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof): Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last two days, we have heard speeches by the Honourable Members of the Opposition on the concept of Malaysia.

Sir, almost without exception the Opposition made all-out attack against the Prime Minister of Singapore. For example, when Mr. Lee Kuan Yew told the truth about his fireside chat, the Honourable Member for Dato' Kramat became hysterical. I am all for the Honourable Member for Dato' Kramat when he said that consideration of this issue calls for calmness and emotionalism must not come into play. But what has he demonstrated? Therefore, I would call upon this House to heed the advice of the Honourable Member for Dato' Kramat but not to follow his emotion.

We have also heard the grandmother story of Sri Vijaya and its relation to the concept of Malaysia. The PMIP like Rip Van Winkle half awake from their sleep are dreaming of the centuries past which we have long forgotten. And like the dreamy Rip Van Winkle, the Honourable Member for Besut proposed an amendment on the motion to include Indonesia, Philippines and other islands in the Malay archipelago in the greater Malaysia plan. If the PMIP cannot accept our concept of Malaysia, there is nothing we can do except to allow them to continue sleeping.

Sir, this line of thinking is a complete diversion from the principle of this motion before the House. And as if we have not had enough of it, we heard further attack on the Prime Minister of Singapore, who was likened to be a man clutching a straw. But I ask this House what has a drowning man got to do with Malaysia. A man may be drowning or may not be drowning but the concept of Malaysia must go on and will go on.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh went to the extent of fighting for the rights of the people of Singapore and its citizens in the future Malaysia. For one moment I thought I was sitting in the Singapore Assembly listening to a Singapore Assemblyman speaking. But only when he, in the course of his speech, mentioned and maintained that he was a Federal Citizen, then I realised he comes from Ipoh representing the Ipoh Constituency in the Federal Parliament. I do not know whether he has a mandate from the people of Singapore to speak on their behalf in this House. Nor do I know whether he has a mandate from the people in the Ipoh Constituency to speak on behalf of the people of Singapore. I am sure this is a mystery not only to me but also to this House.

Sir, what are the basic principles contained in the speech of our Prime Minister when he introduced the motion yesterday? There are two: (i) Colonialism, (ii) Communism. These two basic points are inter-related and must be considered together carefully. We all realise, or at least we on this side of the House realise, that the greater danger of the two is Communism. Sir, I need not go over these grounds again which have been fully covered, explained and clarified by the Honourable the Prime Minister in his speech. Surely Honourable Members of this House have not forgotten the twelve long weary years of the Emergency, the draining away of the financial resources of the country, the many lives and property lost and destroyed, and, what is most important, the bitterness in the minds of the people of this country. Are we going to allow

history to repeat itself? Or are we, like sensible and responsible representatives of the people in this Parliament, going to do something about it? Surely we cannot ignore the bold writings on the wall, for, if we do, then it is the beginning of the end of democracy, and we will perish together with it.

As I said earlier, the danger of Communism must be taken into account together with the menace of Colonialism when considering the Malaysia concept.

The question before the House is simple. Shall we help and co-operate with our brothers in Singapore and in the Borneo territories to free them from the colonial yoke or shall we let Colonialism hold sway in this part of the world? And shall we allow ourselves to be swallowed by this monster called Communism or shall we stand up together and fight and meet its challenge?

Enche' Mohamed Sulong bin Mohd.

Ali (Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya memang tidak berhajat hendak berchakap di-atas usul ini, tetapi sa-telah pehak pembangkang berasa keliru, maka saya terpaksa bangun menjelaskan kepada Dewan ini dan kepada mereka itu daripada mana datang-nya Melayu Raya atau Malaysia. Sa-tahu saya ia-itu saya telah menchampori politik Tanah Melayu ini daripada tahun 1938, dan menchampori perkembangan politik sa-masa penjajah, baik Belanda atau pun Inggeris belum lagi mengundorkan diri dari Indonesia dan Malaya. Yang sa-benar-nya, Malaysia ini ia-lah datang-nya daripada sa-orang yang bernama Tan Melaka dari Indonesia ia-itu Indonesia belum mendapat kemerdekaan, dan Malaya jauh sa-kali. Pada masa itu, sa-tahu saya, ketua² politik yang menyurok dalam Malaya dan begitu juga di-Indonesia telah berunding berkenaan dengan perkara ini, tetapi perundingan pada masa itu, Indonesia dan Malaya belum merdeka lagi. Apabila Indonesia mendapat kemerdekaan dalam tahun 1945 daripada tangan Belanda, Indonesia sendiri pun tidak hendak meluaskan jajahan-nya, ia-itu melanjutkan

perjuangan-nya untuk mengadakan atau menyatukan Gugusan Pulau² Melayu sa-bagai Melayu Raya. Kita di-Tanah Melayu menuntut kemerdekaan daripada tahun 1946 apabila kita menentang Malayan Union, tidak ada gulongan dari luar negeri atau pun lain parti mengambil tahu, melainkan kita sendiri, sa-hingga kita mendapat kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957.

Sekarang, di-hadapan kita ini ada satu usul daripada Ketua Kerajaan kita ia-itu hendak mengadakan Melayu Raya.

Melayu Raya ini ia-lah untuk jajahan² yang di-perintah oleh Kerajaan British. Kita sudah tahu bahawa Indonesia sudah merdeka, dia negeri yang besar di-Timor Jauh ia-itu mengandongi umat lebeh kurang 80 million, bahkan juga Philippine sudah dapat kemerdekaan dahulu, kemudian baharu kita Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Sekarang yang kita hendak bebaskan ia-lah saudara kita yang di-bawah ta'alok British. Sa-patut-nya-lah bagi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu menchari helah, satu jalan supaya memerdekakan Singapura, Brunei, Sarawak dan Borneo Utara, sa-bagai melepaskan mereka daripada penjara.

Pada hari ini sahabat saya telah membangkitkan bahawa Malaysia mesti di-champorkan dengan Indonesia dan Philippine. Saya tidak tahu bagaimana boleh di-champorkan kerana ada-kah sa-bagai satu Kerajaan yang kecil hendak menarek Indonesia supaya di-champorkan dengan Persekutuan ini.

Mr. Speaker: Perkara itu sudah di-tolak.

Enche' Mohamed Sulong: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ucapkan terima kaseh, sa-patut-nya usul yang sa-umpama ini tidak-lah patut di-bahath begitu panjang lebar hingga terkeluar daripada batas usul ini ia-itu menchercha satu sama lain. Kita patut memikirkan sama ada kita boleh menjalankan usul ini atau pun tidak, atau pun ada-kah orang² Brunei,

Sarawak dan Borneo Utara suka berchantum dengan kita atau pun tidak. Ini chuma satu usul supaya dapat berunding memberi kuasa kepada Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri menjalankan rundingan², jika sa-kira-nya di-dalam rundingan itu sa-belah pihak tidak bersetuju, itu terpulang-lah kepada mereka itu, tetapi nampak-nya ahli² yang membangkang hingga terkeluar daripada batas yang di-kehendaki dalam usul ini. Saya tidak suka hendak menyebut²kan hal ini, tetapi sa-bagai sa-orang yang telah tua di-dalam perkembangan politik negeri ini tentu-lah ada baik-nya saya mengingatkan ia-itu julong² kali di-adakan Malaysia. Sa-tahu saya, datang-nya daripada sa-orang petua-lah politik Indonesia yang chuba hendak merundingkan, ada lagi buku Tan Melaka di-dalam negeri ini. Jadi, sekarang sejarah baharu, sejarah sa-lepas kemerdekaan, kebebasan berkuasa sendiri. Kita chuma hendak membantu negeri² yang maseh di-ta'alok oleh Kerajaan British, sa-lepas itu baharu-lah kita memikirkan sama ada layak atau tidak Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini berchantum dengan Indonesia dan Philippine, bagaimana yang di-buat oleh Republic Arab Bersatu. Kita tahu betapa Republic Arab Bersatu berpechah belah, tetapi pada hari ini sudah beberapa keturunan mereka itu baru dapat menyatukan Republic Arab Bersatu. Ini-lah soal yang patut kita kaji, bukan soal memperchantumkan Indonesia dengan Tanah Melayu, tetapi kita hendak memerdekakan negeri² yang kecil yang di-ta'alok oleh British sama dengan kita dahulu supaya mereka itu bebas. Kemudian daripada itu, sa-lepas kita berchantum, baharu-lah kita daripada 3 negara yang merdeka memikirkan pula bagi satu Malaysia atau Melayu Raya yang di-angan²kan itu atau terpulang-lah kepada anak chuchu kita kemudian hari. Ini-lah sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Tanah Merah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sudah tiga hari usul ini di-bahathkan dan hari ini barangkali insha Allah

akan habis dan akan kita ketahui keputusan-nya. Tetapi, sa-belum keputusan ini kita ambil, dan sa-belum kita melangkah lebeh jauh bagi membahath usul ini supaya di-terima oleh tiap² orang yang mewakili ra'ayat dalam Dewan ini, maka pada pendapat saya sendiri, tidak-lah akan salah dalam Dewan ini kalau kita mengemukakan pandangan yang berlainan dengan pandangan orang lain. Oleh kerana berasingan tempat kita berdiri maka berlainan-lah pula pendapat dan pandangan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada orang yang berkata bahawa wakil² PAS ini pandai berchakap, tidak pandai berfikir, saya terima, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana kami dudok di-sini bukan untuk bekerja, tetapi untuk berchakap. Ada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang bernasib baik dapat bekerja atau di-beri kerja, tetapi mereka ini tidak melaksanakan kerja²-nya, mereka hanya pandai berchakap kerana itu terpaksa-lah ia turun atau di-turunkan dari sana ka-sini. (*Ketawa*). Itu-lah tempat yang layak bagi-nya untuk berchakap, tetapi barang di-jauhkan Allah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tempat yang di-dudoki-nya itu ada-lah tempat orang yang telah meninggal. Saya harap beliau akan di-panjangkan Allah umor-nya. (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sendiri dari mula membahathkan usul ini, tidak-lah berniat hendak berchakap kerana kawan² saya sudah berchakap. Tetapi, oleh kerana perbahathan ini nampak²-nya akan mendalamkan pemisahan di-antara orang Melayu dengan orang Melayu, di-antara saudara² saya dari Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu dengan saudara² saya dari UMNO. Saya rasa terlalu-lah sedeh perasaan saya sa-bagai orang Melayu. Oleh kerana dalam perbahathan ini timbul-lah tudoh-menudoh, bodoh-membodohkan sa-hingga sanggup mengatakan kita ini "Saperti tikus membaiki labu". Maka rasa saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berhak pula-lah saya berchakap dalam memperkatakan perkara yang besar ini, perkara yang akan menentukan target perjuangan kita, PAS telah di-

tudoh sa-bagai satu pati yang berfaham sempit. Dia berlingkar² di-sakeliling tempat dudok-nya, dia hendak memperjuangkan orang Melayu sa-hingga dia hendak memusuhi orang China, kata salah sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat. Telah beberapa kali kami tegaskan di-dalam Dewan ini sa-bagai tabi'at manusia dan tabi'at orang chintakan keamanan; Persatuan Islam tidak-lah berniat hendak memusuhi sa-siapa pun, malahan Tuhan memberitahu kapada kita bahawa musoh manusia itu bukan-lah manusia, tetapi musoh manusia yang sa-benar-nya ia-lah shaitan. Shaitan ini-lah yang selalu menghasut kita, yang selalu memasokkan ka-dalam hati dan jiwa kita bermusuhi di-antara satu dengan yang lain. Maka bukan-lah jasmani manusia itu kita musohi tetapi shaitan yang bertakhta dalam hati manusia itu-lah yang kita musohi. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami tidak memusuhi orang² yang bukan Melayu di-dalam Dewan ini atau di-luar Dewan ini. Orang China yang menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang ta'at setia-nya tertempu 100 peratus di-dalam negeri ini, yang hidup dan mati-nya, kaya-nya, harta benda-nya untuk memelihara negeri ini sendiri, untuk menjadikan negeri ini suatu negara yang mendatangkan fa'edah yang banyak kapada warga negara negeri ini sendiri tidak-lah kami memusuhi mereka itu. Malah kami pandang mereka itu manusia² dari warga negara yang patut, dan mesti mendapat layanan daripada negeri ini sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, faham sempit yang di-katakan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat kapada Persatuan Islam ini ia-lah manakala PAS mengemukakan pendapat-nya di-dalam soal Melayu Raya, ada yang berkata bahawa yang di-kemukakan oleh Persatuan Islam di-dalam perkara ini ada-lah berdiri di-atas tapak perkauman. Yang Berhormat Menteri Kerja Raya Pos dan Talikom telah berkata kelmarin bahawa amat-lah merbahaya-nya bagi sa-saorang yang memperjuangkan perkauman, amat-lah bahaya-nya kapada suatu negara yang hendak menchipta

perdamaian kekal dan abadi kalau kita berjuang di-atas unsur² perkauman. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau tidak dengan suara lantang, biar-lah dengan suara yang lembut saya menchabar Menteri ini. Saya menchabar Yang Berhormat Menteri Kerja Raya Pos dan Talikom ini supaya tanggalkan baju dhuti-nya, jika dia bukan berfahaman perkauman dalam Dewan ini. Jika dia tidak punya faham perkauman, tanggalkan-lah baju yang di-bawa-nya dari India itu, pakai-lah baju chara Melaya ini sendiri. Hanchorkan-lah MIC, jadikan-lah suatu parti yang betul² tidak berchorak India, yang tidak berchorak China dan sa-bagai-nya. Tetapi yang ganjil-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita semua memakai baju saperti ini dan dia sa-orang sahaja yang ganjil dalam Dewan ini, bukan-kah ini perkauman? Kalau di-luar-nya sudah di-tunjokkan faham perkauman maka di-dalam hati-nya lebeh besar dan tebal lagi perkauman-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jangan-lah kita berchakap sa-suatu perkara yang boleh menimbulkan rasa salah sangka di-antara kita sa-sama kita. Sebab masaalah yang kita hadapi sekarang ini bukan masaalah satu atau dua orang yang mengenai dalam Dewan ini sahaja tetapi masaalah yang besar; telah kita dengar ucapan yang panjang dari Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita sendiri di-dalam mengemukakan usul ini, Melayu Raya yang di-maksudkan, yan di-tujukan buat pertama kali dan peringkat yang pertama-nya ada-lah perchantuman dengan Singapura. Perchantuman dengan Singapura ini-lah yang menjadi ragu² kapada kami ia-itu bentuk perchantuman itu sendiri tidak-lah jelas. Apa-kah perchantuman itu merupakan sa-bagai suatu unit daripada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu atau dia mempunyai suatu kedudukan teristimewa dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Sebab keraguan ini timbul ia-lah oleh kerana masaalah Singapura itu sendiri merupakan suatu masaalah yang besar yang pada suatu masa dahulu Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita menolak perchantuman dengan-nya.

Sa-waktu PAP dengan pimpinan Perdana Menteri-nya yang ada sekarang ini Tuan Lee Kuan Yew, mula² memang di-dalam pilehan raya di-Singapura dahulu, telah bertegas² kita mengatakan bahawa kita tidak mahu perchantuman dengan keadaan dan bentok politik yang ada di-Singapura pada masa itu. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kata Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri perubahan telah berlaku di-Singapura. Perubahan yang berlaku di-Singapura ini ada-lah satu perubahan politik, kenapa-kah pada masa mula² PAP memerintah Singapura dahulu tidak di-kemukakan-nya dengan tegas, tidak di-singkirkan orang² yang di-kenal-nya sa-bagai musuh-nya. Bukan-kah mereka yang memberontak dalam PAP itu dudok di-dalam PAP sendiri. Tidak-kah di-antara mereka ini dahulu-nya ada-lah orang² yang di-tahan kerana anasir² komunis, kemudian di-bebaskan oleh PAP dan di-ambil oleh PAP bekerja di-dalam parti Kerajaan, tidak-kah dia tahu? Tetapi, sa-telah demikian bentok politik-nya di-Singapura bergelora sa-hingga hampir² menchekek batang leher Tuan Lee Kuan Yew sendiri maka menchapai² lah tangan Tuan Lee Kuan Yew meminta tolong kapada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, Perdana Menteri. "Tolong-lah kami, komunis telah ada di-belakang kami hendak memulas tengkok kami". Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu sedar Tuan Lee Kuan Yew, baharu sedar dia sa-telah dua tahun dia memerintah, sa-telah komunis masok ka-dalam saku-nya, rupa² nya komunis ada di-dalam saku-nya itu; orang² itu menumbok² perut-nya waktu itu tidak sedar dia. Sekarang dia baharu meminta tolong supaya di-keluarkan anasir² itu daripada saku-nya sendiri—daripada saku PAP sendiri. Orang ini ada-lah orang² yang hendak menjadikan negara itu negara komunis maka menchabar-lah mereka itu. Apa salah-nya kalau mengikut falsafah Ahli Yang Berhormat di-dalam Dewan ini daripada kita biarkan komunis itu berkeliaran di-Singapura lebeh baik kita ambil sahaja Singapura dan kita control mereka itu. Kenapa chara bagini tidak

di-lakukan oleh Tuan Lee Kuan Yew, daripada di-pechat orang itu daripada PAP? Lebih baik mereka duduk dalam PAP dan kemudian pulas tengkok-nya, kenapa-kah PAP tidak mahu terbuat demikian?

Mr. Speaker: Itu tidak ada kait-mengait dengan usul ini.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Ini soal komunis, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Soal politik di-Singapura jangan di-masokkan.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah satu masaalah yang saya rasa patut kita kemukakan dengan chara lapang dada, dengan chara bertegas² supaya tuan², Ahli² Yang Berhormat dari pihak Kerajaan memikirkan soal ini, boleh jadi Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada pihak Kerajaan ta' boleh berchakap seperti mana kami berchakap di-sini. Tetapi kami sebutkan perkara ini sa-bagai satu amaran, jangan-lah kita sa-telah terantok kaki kita baharu hendak tengadah, terhantok kepala kita baharu benda itu kita tahu merbahaya. Perchantuman di-antara Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini yang pada pendapat Persatuan Islam maseh di-ragu²kan lagi itu patut-lah ini mendapat perhatian daripada pihak Kerajaan. Yang di-ragu²kan oleh Persatuan Islam ia-lah antara lain, apa-kah dengan perchantuman yang bentok-nya maseh samar² lagi itu dapat menyelamatkan diri kita dan menyelamatkan ra'ayat Singapura yang berbilang bangsa, ugama dan fahaman itu? Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan tadi ada Ahli Yang Berhormat mengatakan Persatuan Islam ini musoh-nya. Persatuan Islam tidak pandai memilih musoh.

Mr. Speaker: Mengulang² sahaja!

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Tidak, saya hendak menerangkan apa yang di-sebutkan oleh kawan² tadi, mana musoh dan mana kawan. China? Tidak. Komunis? Ia. Musoh kami ia-lah Komunis. Ahli Yang

Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara telah mengatakan bahawa musoh kita ia-lah Komunis. Musoh orang Islam ia-lah communism. Saya akui dan kami suka menegaskan bahawa musoh orang Islam ia-lah communism, tetapi communism atau fahaman komunis ada-lah satu keperchayaan yang tidak boleh tumbuh dengan sendiri-nya. Ia bukan satu biji yang boleh tumbuh dengan sendiri. Ia mesti tumbuh di-atas satu gulungan manusia. Bagitu juga Islam satu itikad yang tidak boleh tumbuh di-atas lantai, tidak boleh tumbuh di-atas meja, tetapi tumbuh di-atas manusia sa-umpama kita. Komunis chiptaan ideology manusia yang di-paksakan kepada manusia supaya berfahaman komunis. Teringat-lah saya kapada ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri yang pada satu masa dahulu mengatakan China ini ada bermacam² chorak-nya, ada China yang berfahaman komunis yang suka kapada Mao Tse Tung, ada China yang berfahaman kapada Chiang Kai Shek, ada China yang betul² ta' suka kapada negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, biasa-nya fahaman komunis hidup di-atas kemelatan ra'ayat, fahaman komunis boleh tumbuh di-atas kemelatan ra'ayat dan biasa-nya fahaman komunis ini boleh subur dengan pergerakan buroh. Pergerakan² buroh ini-lah yang selalu-nya menganut fahaman komunis. Singapura dan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengikut sejarah seperti mana kata Ahli Yang Berhormat tadi, ada-lah satu negeri yang bersatu dengan Semenanjung Tanah Melayu yang ta' dapat di-pisahkan walau bagaimana pun chorak politik-nya di-masokkan atau masuk ka-Tanah Melayu ini, Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ta' dapat di-pisahkan. Pemisahan yang ada pada kita sa-waktu kita menchapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957 dahulu ada-lah pemisahan politik bukan-lah pemisahan asas. Bagitu-lah juga pemisahan kita dengan Borneo Utara, Sarawak dan Brunai bukan-lah pemisahan yang asasi tetapi hanya-lah pemisahan politik, bagitu juga dengan pulau Singapura hanya pemisahan politik sahaja dan bukan pemisahan

pada hakikat-nya. Maka timbul-lah satu initiative baharu bagi hendak menchantumkan di-antara Singapura dengan Persekutuan, kerana pada hakikat-nya Singapura ini ada-lah satu dengan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keraguan yang saya kemukakan tadi tentang bentuk dan chara perchantuman yang di-kehendaki itu telah menjadi angan² pula pada pembentokan Melayu Raya ini. Bagi kami perchantuman belum-lah lagi jelas, sebab kami memandang di-Singapura pada hari ini orang² China pada zahir-nya telah berpechah kapada beberapa fahaman yang membahayakan kedudokan kita sabagai sa-buah negara yang anti-Communist. Saya katakan demikian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, fahaman kominis tidak tumbuh melainkan di-atas satu kumpulan manusia yang pada pandangan Persatuan Islam kalau sa-kira-nya di-chantumkan dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bukan sahaja fahaman ini akan berkembang biak dalam bentuk yang lain, tetapi akan juga membahayakan bukan sahaja Singapura malah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dua perkara yang akan di-beri keistimewaan kapada Singapura ia-itu soal pelajaran dan soal buroh. Saperti mana kawan² saya Ahli² Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini telah mengulang, tetapi biarlah saya mengulas tentang soal pelajaran dari sudut yang lain. Kita mempunyai satu dasar pelajaran yang tunggal yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran terkenal dengan Rahman Talib Report. Dalam report itu telah di-tegaskan hendak melahirkan satu rupa bangsa, satu bangsa yang sama dalam negeri ini dan chara hendak melahirkan satu rupa bangsa, satu bangsa yang sama dalam negeri ini dan chara hendak melahirkan rupa bangsa itu hanya-lah melalui saluran² pelajaran. Pada tahun 1967 insha Allah Ta'ala bahasa yang tunggal yang akan di-gunakan di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini hanya-lah satu ia-itu bahasa kebangsaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Kita telah memberi dalam

Dewan ini kelulusan wang yang berjuta² ringgit untuk melaksanakan Rahman Talib Report ini sa-hingga satu chara untuk melahirkan rupa bangsa yang bersatu dapat di-lahirkan pada masa akan datang. Apa-kah Rahman Talib Report akan dapat mengatasi kedudokan perchantuman di-antara Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sedangkan Singapura mempunyai dasar-nya yang tersendiri dan Persekutuan mempunyai dasar-nya yang tersendiri pula. Bila ini sudah mempunyai dua dasar yang berlainan, Singapura mempunyai dasar pelajaran-nya sendiri dan Persekutuan mempunyai Rahman Talib Report maka terjadi-lah perlumbaan dasar pelajaran di-antara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Singapura. Di-mana nanti dasar ini memberi keuntongan kapada fahaman perkauman yang tebal di-hati manusia dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini akan pergi-lah mereka ka-Singapura. Mereka akan masok ka-university yang di-lahirkan kerana mengembangkan bahasa dan kebudayaan China kerana kita telah memberi autonomy kapada Singapura dalam soal pelajaran.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran sendiri dapat-kah ia menutup Nanyang University? Tentu-lah ta' dapat. Sebab Singapura mempunyai hak menentukan dasar pelajaran-nya! Jadi apa-kah yang akan terjadi? Chuba-lah tuan² gambarkan sendiri, sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, penolakan kami tentang perchantuman ini kalau di-fikirkan ada juga baik-nya, chuma ta' mahu diterima itu lain fasal, chuba-lah gambarkan apa-kah yang akan jadi kapada negara kita sa-sudah perchantuman dan sa-sudah pilihan raya tahun 1964 nanti. Singapura mempunyai dasar dan hak sendiri dalam perkara pelajaran dan buroh, fahaman kominis boleh merebak dengan subur melalui pelajaran. Kita sedang berikhtiar supaya sekolah² China baik permulaan mahu pun menengah, suka hendak di-bawah pentadbiran Kementerian Pelajaran, dan kita bersedia memberikan bantuan² wang dan sabagai-nya, tidak lain tujuan kita ia-lah

supaya kita dapat menahan merebaknya faham komunis itu dengan melalui sekolah² China.

Mr. Speaker: Saya hendak ingatkan lagi di-bawah usul No. 3 Education Bill di-situ kita akan bahathkan dengan panjang soal pelajaran ini. Jangan panjangkan soal itu, sebab satu² perkara itu ta' boleh berchakap terlebih dahulu daripada itu. You cannot anticipate the Education Bill—apa yang akan datang.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Jadi, itu-lah yang saya hendak sebutkan sa-banyak sadikit-nya dalam hal pelajaran. Chuba-lah tuan² gambarkan, dan kalau dapat Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri, chuba-lah beri jawapan. Apa-kah penyelesaian yang patut di-buat? Chara mana-kah Penyata Rahman Talib ini boleh berjalan dengan Singapura mempunyai autonomy pelajaran itu? Itu satu masalah yang bagi kami (PAS) maseh kabor, boleh jadi buta mata kami memandang-nya dan belum datang lagi ilham seperti mana sa-tengah² orang mendapat ilham datang daripada tempat yang lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Malaysia yang kami kehendaki ia-lah Malaysia yang lebih luas. Kenapa-kah kami berchakap dan mengemukakan perkara ini? Rasa-nya hak juga kami berchakap, kerana kami chintakan kapada bangsa kami sa-bagaimana tuan² chintakan orang Melayu. Bagitu-lah juga kami chinta kapada bangsa kita, bangsa Melayu. Tuan² daripada orang Melayu, dan kami juga daripada orang Melayu di-sini tidak ada pemisahan sedikit pun walau pun tuan² duduk di-kerusi Kerajaan, dan kami duduk di-kerusi pembangkang, pada hakikat-nya, pemisahan kita tidak ada langsung, hanya pemisahan parti politik dengan parti politik. Dengan parti² politik ini saya anjorkan kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat jangan-lah oleh kerana satu sebab yang kecil menyebabkan kita berpisah berkurun². Kalau Brunai, Borneo Utara dan Sarawak telah berpisah politik dengan kita berkurun² dengan sebab penjajahan yang telah

menguasai sejarah kita dan mereka itu sekarang ini kita hendak chantumkan, kita hendak ambil mereka itu supaya mereka itu jangan lagi terjajah, jangan lagi mereka itu terpesuna dengan penjajahan kerana negeri mereka kaya dengan minyak, tetapi mereka hidup miskin.

Kita ingin memerdekakan negeri² yang kaya raya itu. Kita ingin mereka itu hidup di-tengah² kita sa-bagai satu keluarga dan bangsa yang bersatu. Tetapi jangan-lah kita mengharapkan, jangan-lah kita ini menjadi manusia yang berlagak—berlagak yang tidak mempunyai suatu erti seperti mana lagak Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara—yang berlagak sa-bagai Menteri menjawab semua persoalan. Tetapi, kedudukan-nya sa-rupa-lah dengan kami di-sini. Dan kami ragu pula jawapan-nya itu. Kami menunggu jawapan daripada Menteri² kami, daripada Menteri² Kerajaan, terutama daripada Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri sendiri. Tetapi rupa-nya angan² hendak jadi Menteri, dan chuba² jadi Menteri Muda pun terlepas juga—dan dudok-lah ia di-sana—dan chuba juga hendak mengatakan “aku ini ada-lah layak jadi Menteri! Barang di-jauh Allah!”

Banyak sangat-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pukulan² sa-chara “personal” kapada kami di-sini di-lontarkan samalam, dan kami bukan tidak tahu “Standing Orders”—kami tahu—kami boleh juga mengingatkan Tuan Yang di-Pertua menggunakan “Standing Order” nombor sa-kian², tetapi kami biarkan, kami ta' sanggop hendak bertelagah pun “alu sama lesong akan berlaga dalam Dewan ini”. Alu atau antan dengan lesong akan berlaga, yang kenyang-nya ia-lah bapa² ayam yang lapar pada hari ini menengokkan pertelagahan kita sama² kita. Ini-lah yang PAS terpaksa menekan perasaan lebih banyak di-dalam soal ini. Kata-lah kami ini bermacam², tetapi kami tidak akan berpisah dengan tuan² dari segi hendak memperjuangkan chita² dan isi, sa-bagaimana kata Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan—yang berchakap seperti locomotive diesel—bukan main laju. Kata beliau,

“Sa-lagi ada semangat Melayu dan Islam, Melayu tidak akan hilang di-dunia”. Alang-kah sedap-nya perchakapan itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua! Sa-lagi ada semangat kebangsaan Melayu dan Islam, Melayu tidak akan hilang di-dunia. Saya chabar Menteri Yang Berhormat itu: tunjukkan kebangsaan Melayu tuan, tunjukkan semangat Islam tuan? Kami akan bersama dengan tuan² menegakkan kebangsaan Melayu dan Islam itu, bila di-kehendaki supaya kami berbuat demikian.

Mr. Speaker: Saya hendak mengingatkan bahawa di-bawah Peratoran Meshuarat 36 (10) (c) mengatakan ada-lah salah pada peratoran menggunakan “perkataan² yang harus menaikkan perasaan bersakit² hati atau bermusoh²an di-antara satu kaum dengan satu kaum dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu”. Saya mengingatkan perkataan itu hendak-lah jaga sadikit, kalau tuan terlebih akan menyalahi pada peratoran ini. Saya chuma mengingatkan sahaja.

Enche’ Othman bin Abdullah: Terima kasih, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Sa-bagaimana yang saya telah katakan tadi, saya tidak-lah hendak mengatakan semua. Saya minta-lah Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan supaya mari-lah kita buktikan dan tunjukkan, bukan kita hendak bermusoh²an di-antara satu dengan lain, tetapi hendak menunjukkan kesungguhan kita di-dalam hendak melahirkan satu persaudaraan yang kekal dan abadi dalam melahirkan Melayu Raya itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kelmarin ada di-antara Ahli² Yang Berhormat mengatakan PAS telah retak dan pechah. Yang sa-benar-nya, perkara ini tidak patut saya jawab, ia tidak bersangkutan langsung dengan chadangan yang kita kemukakan ini. Tetapi, “Tidak ada kata yang tidak berjawab dan tidak ada gayong yang tidak bersambut”. Tiap² kata mesti di-jawab, tiap² gayong mesti di-sambut. Maka kami sambut-lah gayong ini. PAS kata-nya telah retak, sa-orang ketua-nya kata bersetuju dan sa-orang lagi

kata tidak bersetuju. Pada biasa-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengikut tabi’at manusia kalau sa-orang itu mengidap penyakit heart failure atau sakit jantung, kalau ada rakan yang tidak datang ka-Dewan ini, ia kata dia sudah sakit jantung, ia shak orang itu sakit jantung saperti ia sakit jantung. Kalau ia sakit kudis, ada rakan-²nya yang menggaru², ia shak pula orang itu berpenyakit kudis juga. Begitu juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keretakan yang ada pada Perikatan—kami di-katakan retak dan pechah—pada hal dalam Perikatan sendiri ada keretakan. Ini terang sebab Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian sudah retak dengan Menteri² Besar yang lain. Ini satu kenyataan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Jadi, tidak usah-lah kita bangkit-membangkit, parti itu retak, parti ini retak. Tidak ada untong-nya. Ada lebih baik kita baiki sahaja parti kita masing² daripada kita menyebutkan keretakan itu. Yang untong ayam yang besar dan kita tidak akan untong.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Melayu Raya yang kami katakan, Melayu Raya yang kami mahu, biar-lah Melayu Raya yang dapat menyelamatkan anak chuchu kita, yang dapat menyelamatkan bukan sahaja dari segi kehidupan-nya, tetapi dari segi politik, ekonomi supaya Melayu Raya yang akan datang dapat memberikan keuntungan yang berlipat-ganda kepada anak chuchu kita, tidak sa-kadar hanya mendengarkan²kan nama, tetapi kita sendiri melarat dalam tanah ayer kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak banyak perkara yang hendak saya chakapkan, kerana saya rasa tidak guna saya ulangi perchakapan rakan² saya. Saya berdiri kerana saya merasa sudah terlampau benar kami kena pukul, sa-bagai gayong itu mesti di-sambut maka kami sambut-lah sa-banyak sadikit. Yang paling menyedehkan perasaan saya—akhir-nya sa-kali—lepas itu saya dudok, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Yang paling menyedehkan perasaan kami ia-lah sampai hati Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Dalam Negeri yang mengatakan kami ini khayal, mimpi. Tetapi Yang Berhormat

dari Lipis mengatakan terserah-lah kepada anak chuchu kita—tidak mimpi! Sa-orang kata mimpi, sa-orang kata tidak mimpi. Nampak-nya berlaga dan pechah-lah faham masing², tetapi sengaja hendak berchakap “ek” (act) chakap-lah bagitu. Sa-perkara lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, personal attack. Minta ma’af-lah saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara mengatakan ia hairan menengokkan Yang Berhormat dari Dungun ia-itu sa-kejap ia memakai selendang bagini, sa-kejap bagitu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, alang-kah sempit fikiran-nya saperti “Katak di-bawah tempurong” juga. Yang Berhormat dari Dungun menyatakan kepada saya, tolong-lah sampaikan kepada beliau, kerana ia tidak boleh berchakap sa-kali lagi. Beliau menutup kepala dengan chara bagitu ia-lah beliau takut kepala-nya jadi botak saperti mana sa-tengah² ahli dalam Dewan ini telah jadi botak.

Enche’ K. Karam Singh (Daman-sara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is good that this subject has come up for discussion in our Malayan Parliament before whatever idea we may have on the merger or Malaysia is put into practice, so that the elected representatives of our nation have a full and free chance to discuss this subject. We also hope that the people of Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah have an equally free and equally representative discussion of this subject before their destinies are committed for many many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to trace the genesis of Malaysia as to how the idea germinated in the mind of our Honourable Prime Minister. We are told on page 2 that “the idea of Malaysia did not come to me by chance.” But Mr. Speaker, Sir, he has made it obvious from the beginning that not only did he not have the idea of Malaysia or merger in his mind but that he opposed altogether the idea in his mind, because he himself has confessed that whenever responsible citizens of the Federation and Singapore and our students abroad and pressmen of every shade of opinion all

over the world asked him about Malaysia or the merger, he said, “I always ignored the question or gave a negative answer.” Then he goes on to say, “I was not in favour of the idea as I was of the opinion that integration of the two territories would spell danger for the security of this country.” This shows that the Honourable the Prime Minister at the beginning was against merger, or against the joining of these territories together; and now we find that this idea of merger is placed before this House. We have supported it in principle, although we do not know the particular form which may be envisaged—we may have our own particular form in mind and the Honourable Prime Minister may have his own particular form. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, from the speech of the Honourable the Prime Minister we find that although he would not like to have a full merger of Malaya with Singapore, he would also not like Singapore to be independent. Now is the time when the Honourable Prime Minister and the Government must make up their mind and not waver—either you want Singapore in fully and completely in a full and complete merger, or you do not want Singapore in. And if you do not want Singapore in, don’t interfere with it and don’t subject it to your restrictions. Let Singapore be fully free, fully independent. The Government and the Prime Minister must realise that you cannot have the cake and eat it too. You cannot say, “We do not want Singapore in Malaya in a complete merger” and at the same time say “We do not like to see a free and independent Singapore.”

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I see it, this is the crux of the debate, and although words may be bandied around, and a lot of beating about the bush may be done, in my opinion, the vital question regarding Singapore is this. The Honourable the Prime Minister has said why he does not want the integration of Singapore and Malaya, and he gives three reasons: that whereas the majority of the people of

the Federation have accepted the three ideas of Kingship and Sultanate, Malay as the National language, and Islam as the official religion of this nation, the people of Singapore, the Prime Minister says, because they are 70 per cent Chinese, may not agree to them. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is only an assumption and there are people in Singapore who say that they are willing to accept the prevalent conditions in Malaya in a full and complete merger. In another part of the speech the Honourable the Prime Minister says that Malaysia will not be an attempt at colonisation of the Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah territories. The Honourable Prime Minister says that language will not be forced on them, that religion will not be forced on these territories, that we have freedom of religion in our country. Sir, we accept that we have freedom of religion in our country. If you yourself accept that language will not be imposed on them, that religion will not be imposed on them, then the three ideas that the Honourable the Prime Minister has said—i.e., Kingship, Malay as the national language, and Islam as the official religion—will not stand as objections to a merger between Singapore and Malaya because the people of Singapore can accept Islam as the official religion, but that does not mean that they will be forced to enter the Islamic religion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was apparent from the speech of the Honourable Member from Johore Tenggara that he was erupting in fanaticism over Communism, and he decried the Honourable Members from the PMIP of not recognising that Communism was the danger in these territories and that Borneo and Singapore must be saved from Communism. This eruption of fanaticism brings in a note of danger, because we know that in Malaya such fanaticism has resulted in the curtailment of the liberties of the people, where they cannot even speak on the deprivation of the citizenship of a citizen outside at a public rally, Where trade unionists and politicians of the Opposition.....

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujong: On a point of order, Sir, under S.O. 36 (1), Saya dapati perkara ini tidak ada kena-mengena.

Mr. Speaker: You must not introduce irrelevant matters, but if it has been said by other Members you can touch on them.

Enche' K. Karam Singh: It has been said, Sir. We know that in Malaya this sort of fanaticism has resulted in persecution of the people of Malaya and in the arbitrary arrests of trade unionists and of members of the Opposition; and the very gentleman who is the Minister of the Interior at one time made a statement that he will persecute the people in this country. But the danger and the threat from all these stems from this fact that—from what the Honourable Prime Minister has said in his speech and from what the Honourable Member from Johore Tenggara has said—there is a very strong danger that the Internal Security Act will be extended to Singapore and exported to Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah, and the very man who will administer the Internal Security Act in Singapore, Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak is none other than the Minister of Internal Security, who had the temerity to say in this Honourable House that he would persecute people with whom probably he does not agree. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it will make the Honourable Minister of Internal Security, who has the Internal Security Act in his pocket, the Commissioner for Singapore—that is the only subject that the Honourable Prime Minister has said Malaya wants. Malaya wants to hold the portfolio of internal security in Singapore; all else, he says, can be the subject of the autonomy of the Government there. With all the fanaticism, with all the ruthlessness, with all the persecutions, the Minister of Internal Security is going to weave the Internal Security Act on the people of Singapore in their legitimate activities, in their trade union activities, in their political activities, in their expression of their freedom. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the threat posed by the Government

of Malaya today against the people of Singapore—the threat to their freedom. We know that the Government has issued pamphlets—The Communist Threat to Malaya—but now I say there is the Alliance threat to Singapore, of which both the people of Malaya and the people of Singapore must take very careful note.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Honourable Prime Minister and the Government of Malaya today ask only one subject, only one portfolio, from the people of Singapore—the portfolio of internal security—what is it in substance that they demand? They demand none other than the right to oppress the people in Singapore who do not agree with them; they express the right that Batu Gajah and Muar can have legitimate detention of people in Singapore—that is the threat that we see.

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid you are going beyond the motion. We are discussing the principle; we are not discussing the details at all.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is one point I would like to explain: that is, in the course of my address I mentioned three portfolios: internal security, external affairs and defence.

Mr. Speaker: Don't go into details—you can speak on the principle.

Enche' K. Karam Singh: I agree with the Honourable Prime Minister. When I speak of internal security, I mean that is a matter pertaining to local affairs, and not external. I am thankful to the Honourable Prime Minister for mentioning it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, now we know that British imperialism, having suffered great blows in Malaya, having seen its influence dwindled and public opinion becoming alive on the question of colonialism in the world, finds that if the people of Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah demand independence—not bogus independence, but a true and complete independence—it is not in a position to suppress those

people in their freedom movement in the eyes of the world. So, what does it want to do? If a white man comes and fights an East Asian in Asia, the world will see it. So, it thinks that if it uses Malaya to do the dirty work for it, it will be very safe. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want what was done in the Congo to be repeated in Malaya. Some powers thought that if they send white people to fight in the Congo against the blacks, the world will see the difference of their colour, and if they send black men to fight against black men, their similarity in colour may make people forget to see the line of independence. So in this same way, in our part of the world, we must be very careful that the British do not make us fight against our brothers in Singapore and in Borneo when they want their independence.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was a leader in India who fought against the British and he used to say, "Never trust the British. Just as a leopard will never change its spots, the British will never change in their imperialism". Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must never forget that the British still desire to dominate this part of the world. Before, their policy was divide and rule. What is their purpose in wanting to see Malaya, Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah united? It is none other than unite and rule, because it now suits them to unite. They think that the Government of Malaya is pro-British and will co-operate with them in ruling these territories on behalf of the British.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in regard to this idea of a happy Malaysia, what will Malaysia be? Will it be a Malaysia of the people, for the people, by the people? Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is a very vital question, because in Malaya what do we see to-day? We have independence with all the best land in Malaya in British hands, with most of our rubber in British hands, and most of our tin in British hands.

Mr. Speaker: I must draw your attention that you should not make speeches in this House discourteous to a foreign country; that is laid down in

the procedure. I must warn you. You must be careful not to do it.

Enche' K. Karam Singh: The questions that I would like to pose for the Government of Malaya on the Malaysia that is proposed in this part of the world are: Will Bornean oil be the property of the people of Malaysia? Will the Bornean and the Malaysian ra'ayat be the masters of their oil? Will the rubber, tin and land, the natural resources of this area be under the proprietorship of the ra'ayat of this area? Sir, independence will be without substance if another power has all the economic resources of this region in its hands. Independence for Malaysia will have no purpose, will have no intent, will have no substance, if the economic hub and economic heart of this region is in London. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if one wants to have a happy Malaysia, a true and real Malaysia, then I say that the economy and the resources of this region must be in the hands of the ra'ayat of this region.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another important question is the question of democracy. The Honourable Prime Minister has mentioned on page 4:—

"However Singapore was aware that something more was necessary if Singapore was to hold the confidence of the people for they realised as they pursued their leftist policies, they must sooner or later suffer economically, or even clash with us."

and then he goes on to say:—

"The responsible leaders then realised that they owed a duty to the people to serve their interests rather than themselves";

and, at a later stage, he says on page 5:—

"I can assure you that the leaders in Singapore and my colleagues here consider that independence"—that is to say independence for Singapore—"is not practicable".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we find that there is a reference to Singapore's responsible leaders and then to the Honourable Prime Minister and his colleagues here. But I ask who are the Singapore leaders that the Honourable Prime

Minister is speaking of?—"However, Singapore was aware"—who is this Singapore, and who are the responsible leaders? One or two leaders who have no longer a mandate from the people? How can one or two people be said that they are Singapore? Singapore is none other than the sum total of its people, and it is my submission that neither these one or two people, who no longer dare to go to the people of Singapore for a mandate, nor the Prime Minister of our country and any of his noble colleagues, have any right to speak on behalf of the people of Singapore, or decide their destiny without their consent and without consulting them. Democracy demands from us that only the people of Singapore should speak and decide for themselves and neither Kuala Lumpur, nor the Prime Minister, nor his noble colleagues, have any right to decide or commit the people of Singapore without their full and freely given consent to this effect.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Prime Minister says why he does not consider independence practicable in Singapore, on page 5:—

"We must prevent a situation in which an independent Singapore would go one way and the Federation another. The way Singapore would go then would be towards another camp, which is hostile to the Federation and this would be quite unacceptable to us."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one question arises, the Prime Minister has no basis to make this statement because the people of Singapore may decide to be neutral. They have not made their decision yet. They have not gone towards the communist camp, or the American camp, or the neutralist camp. How can the Prime Minister make a statement to that effect in anticipation? I would ask this: if to-morrow the people of Singapore decide to be neutralists, to be with the Bandung countries, would the Government of Malaya consider Singapore a hostile land? Has the Government of the Federation even come to this position—that they regard neutralism in the Bandung powers as hostile to Malaya? Has it come to that in the

Federation today? The Honourable Prime Minister says that we must prevent a serious situation arising and in respect of which the Prime Minister says earlier on:—

“While Singapore is under the British there is no threat of open action by the Communists which might endanger the peace and security of the Federation, but with an independent Singapore anything could happen. One thing is certain, and that is a newly independent Singapore would not submit to an arrangement whereby her sovereignty would be compromised by having the Federation in the Security Council.”

Singapore would not submit to an arrangement whereby its sovereignty would be compromised—is this what the Honourable Prime Minister has in mind? Once Singapore is free it will not accept unfavourable conditions from Malaya; so, before Singapore is independent, let us take the opportunity to take away some part of their sovereignty—and in co-operation with the British, probably, in co-operation with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, let us do it before the people are able to speak for themselves. Sir, this is what the statement amounts to.

Further the Honourable Prime Minister says, “We must prevent a situation in which an independent Singapore would go one way and the Federation another.” I will say that there will only be an independent Singapore if the Federation refuses a full and complete merger with the people of Singapore; and once you refuse to take them in, in a full and complete merger, you will leave the people of Singapore with only one choice, that is independence for Singapore. Then, once you force the people of Singapore to decide on independence you make them go on the path to their own merdeka, you cannot complain if the people of Singapore in accordance with the tenet of democracy decide to be masters of their own fate and decide to be neutralists. If they decide not to follow the policy of the Federation in Singapore in external affairs, then you cannot blame them; and if you interfere with them, I will submit that that interference will be interference

with the freedom and democracy of the people of Singapore. That is all I have to say.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang (Jelebu-Jempol): Tuan Speaker, saya memang tidak berhajat hendak berchakap, kerana perkara ini telah panjang sangat di-bahathkan, tetapi apabila mendengar hujah atau pun kechaman yang di-beri oleh sa-orang Yang Berhormat dari PAS tadi kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara, saya suka sedikit mengambil peluang dalam perbahathan ini. Saya nampak beliau itu telah menudoh Yang Berhormat Ahli dari Johor Tenggara itu chuma pandai berchakap sahaja tetapi tidak pandai bekerja, maka sebab itulah ia telah terpaksa meletakkan jawatan Menteri Muda. Saya rasa kalau Ahli Yang Berhormat itu buka mata dan telinga-nya besar sedikit ia akan tahu kenapa-kah sebab-nya Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara itu meletakkan jawatan-nya. Ia tahu Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara itu telah mengidap sakit jantung dan telah dudok di-hospital beberapa minggu, dan ia sendiri telah menyatakan ia-itu tidak sanggup membuat pekerjaan itu lagi, dan sa-bagaimana yang kita tahu Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri telah memberi jaminan, kalau sa-kira-nya beliau itu hendak memegang sa-mula jawatan itu, ia boleh berbuat demikian. Tetapi, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari PAS itu berfikir lain pula, ia mengatakan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara itu tidak di-kehendaki lagi. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, langkah yang di-ambil oleh Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara itu saya puji. Oleh kerana ia tidak sanggup lagi menjalankan tugas sa-bagai Menteri Muda ia mengundorkan diri, sebab uzur. Tetapi kalau kita kaji keadaan Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada PAS pula, walau pun ia tidak boleh membuat pekerjaan, ia tidak mahu mengundorkan diri. Ini kita telah saksikan di-dua² buah negeri di-Pantai Timor itu.

Mr. Speaker: Saya minta perkara itu jangan di-jadikan perbahathan dalam Majlis ini.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya terpaksa chakapkan perkara ini kerana memberi perbandingan bagaimana kita menjalankan kerja dan bagaimana pula PAS menjalankan kerja. Jadi terang-lah kapada ra'ayat sekarang ia-itu Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara itu bukan tidak di-kehendaki, tetapi ia sendiri menarek diri. Dan Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-Pantai Timor itu tidak akan mengundorkan diri walau pun mereka tidak di-kehendaki oleh ra'ayat. Kalau sa-kira-nya jujur, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-telah mereka tahu keadaan di-dua² buah negeri itu, patut-lah minta serahkan mandat itu kapada ra'ayat katakan—"saya tidak boleh buat lagi—pilih-lah Kerajaan lain".

Sa-orang daripada rakan saya telah menudoh PAS mimpi sahaja kerana angan² hendak mengadakan Asia Raya mengikut kehendak-nya sendiri, tetapi sa-orang Yang Berhormat daripada PAS telah menapikan perkara ini. Saya nampak mereka itu memang termimpi², kerana saya tidak nampak fa'edah-nya supaya Melayu Raya ini termasuk Indonesia dan Philippines saperti yang di-chadangkan-nya itu. Kalau mereka pandang betul² kedudukan dua² buah negeri ini, terutama bilangan pendudok-nya, mereka akan mena'alok kita, mereka bukan menjadi sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia. Jadi, sekarang kita tahu dan kita tidak hairan, kerana PAS tidak hendak kemerdekaan, mereka menyesal kerana kemerdekaan ini kosong. Saya suka menegaskan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita tidak merdeka, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu hari ini tidak akan dapat berchakap untuk mengemukakan kehendak ra'ayat.

Yang Berhormat dari Damansara—ia tidak ada di-sini—nampak-nya telah beria² benar mengkecham Perdana Menteri Singapura Tuan Lee Kuan Yew, perkara itu rakan² saya di-sabelah sini telah menerangkan, tetapi perkara itu ia tidak nampak dan maseh juga tidak puas hati. Pada masa sekarang saya dapati Tuan Lee Kuan Yew itu ia-lah sa-orang Perdana Menteri yang boleh mewakili Singapura walau pun

dalam pilehan raya baharu² ini parti-nya telah hilang 2 kerusi, tetapi ini tidak berma'ana ia tidak di-perchaya'i oleh ra'ayat lagi, bahkan ia maseh ada suara yang terbanyak dalam Dewan Undangan Singapura pada masa ini. Sa-balek-nya pula, saya dapati Tuan Lee Kuan Yew ia-lah sa-orang yang jujur sa-kali, Perdana Menteri yang bertanggong-jawab kapada ra'ayat Singapura. Beliau memikirkan sa-kira-nya langkah ini tidak di-ambil, ia telah nampak apa yang akan terjadi kapada ra'ayat Singapura dengan terang, kerana menurut keadaan sekarang, Singapura mesti berkehendakkan pertolongan dari Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah yang saya dapat chakapkan dalam Majlis ini.

Tetapi, sa-belum saya dudok, saya suka memberi kenyataan sadikit. Yang Berhormat dari Tanah Merah tadi menerangkan perubahan itu memang selalu berlaku, dan sa-orang Yang Berhormat daripada PAS ia-itu sa-orang perempuan telah menukar tudong menutup rambut-nya.....

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek (Dungun): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perbahathan ini tidak ada kena-mengena dengan soal perempuan.

Mr. Speaker: Perkara itu tidak ada kena-mengena dalam perbahathan ini.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: ...tadi telah di-sebut, orang perempuan pun menukar tudong kepala-nya. Saya fikirkan tudong itu di-buat.....

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tukar atau tidak tukar itu hak saya. Tidak ada kena-mengena dengan Yang Berhormat itu.....

Mr. Speaker: Sabar dahulu.....

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: Saya fikir.....

Mr. Speaker: Sabar dahulu. Yang susah-nya saya tidak tahu entah apa benda yang tuan hendak chakapkan (*Ketawa*). Perkara tudong itu betul ada di-sebutkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari

Tanah Merah tadi. Jadi sa-belum tuan sebutkan kesah tudong itu, pehak yang memakai tudong itu ada menahan tuan berchakap. Yang sa-benar-nya, saya tidak tahu sama ada benda itu boleh saya tahan atau tidak sebab benda itu belum tuan chakapkan. Sekarang saya hendak mengingatkan ia-itu mengikut peratoran, kalimah yang saperti ini tidak boleh di-keluarkan—biadab—insulting word. Kalau ada kalimah insulting word, saya minta tarek balek. Itu saya ingatkan.

Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berjanji tidak. saya fikir kalau sa-orang perempuan itu memakai tudong di-kepala ia-lah mengikut ajaran Islam, bukan hendak menutup kepala yang botak.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua.....

Mr. Speaker: Itu boleh.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek:saya memang mengikut ajaran Islam. Saya tidak mahu mendedahkan kepala, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Nampak-nya banyak daripada Ahli² Yang Berhormat berchakap tidak mengikut peratoran yang ada ini. Saya suka mengingatkan adalah perjalanan Majlis ini dalam tanggungan saya. Kalau sa-siapa tidak hendak mengikut perintah saya, saya ada kuasa boleh dikeluarkan daripada Majlis ini.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Perlis Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun di-sini ada-lah juga mengalu²-kan dan menyokong penoh chadangan yang di-bawa oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri berhubung dengan Malaysia atau Melayu Raya ini. Saya juga sukachita menguchapkan tahni'ah kepada Perdana Menteri yang membawa usul ini kerana usul itu memang-lah sudah kena pada tempat-nya. Kerana itu ada-lah chita² ra'ayat jelata sa-umum-nya yang chintakan keamanan dan ka'adilan di-bawah panji² demokrasi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, lahir-nya kemerdekaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ada-lah di-tengah² pergolakan

politik dan di-tengah² pergeseran antara kuasa bebas dan kuasa kominis, dan bahang² daripada kepanasan mereka itu ada di-samping kita di-kalangan negara kita. Kita telah berjuang menuntut kemerdekaan dengan berhabis²an dan kita telah berjaya menghapuskan segala gerakan² kominis yang ada dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Kita telah berjaya menyusun langkah menuju ka-arrah keamanan dan kema'amoran. Tetapi, walau bagaimana pun, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi, bahawa bahang² kominis masih ada, dan akan dekat lagi kepada kita sa-kira-nya kita tidak mengambil tahu soal² negara tetangga kita yang masih belum merdeka. Kerana gerakan² yang berjalan di-sekeliling negara kita ada-lah berhaluan sa-olah²-nya perjuangan untuk menentang penjajah, tetapi sa-benar-nya untuk menggerakkan kominis di-negara² yang tersebut itu. Maka dengan sebab itu-lah dengan perasaan yang suchi murni Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri telah berunding dan bertukar² fikiran dengan wakil² yang ta'at setia dalam Tanah Melayu ini untuk mencari satu jalan keamanan yang baik demi menjaga Tanah Ayer kita supaya jangan di-ancham oleh kominis.

Sa-bagaimana yang kita ma'alum bahawa di-Singapura pada masa ini sedang bergerak di-dalam beberapa buah pati politik untuk menuntut supaya keselamatan dalam negeri ini di-hapuskan yang mana kuasa memutuskan sekarang ini ada-lah di-tangan Malaya. Itu bererti-lah yang Singapura pada hari ini gerakan² pati politik dengan bebas telah menuntut supaya gerakan² dalam negeri ini dapat berjalan dengan sendiri. Faham² kominis dapat menjalar kepada ra'ayat dan kalau sa-kira-nya berjaya tuntutan² itu maka sudah tentu-lah kominis akan berjaya menapak di-pintu hadapan masuk ka-Tanah Melayu yang mana semua-nya itu akan membahayakan.

Sa-bagaimana yang telah di-terangkan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri bahawa perchantuman ini bukan-lah bererti menjajah, perchantuman ini erti-nya untuk

bekerjasama dengan negeri² itu dan membebaskan negeri² itu dari tangan penjajah dan dapat-lah negeri² itu menjalankan kehendak² hidup mereka itu supaya bebas. Kerana sekarang ini ugutan kuasa² melepaskan Irian Barat untuk bertapak Pengkalan Perang-nya di-Singapura mahu tidak mahu, Malaya akan terlibat di-dalam perkara itu. Maka dengan sebab itu-lah kita minta supaya negara² yang belum di-merdekakan itu hidup dengan bebas. Dengan chita² ini juga Perdana Menteri telah menubuhkan satu ASA untuk bekerjasama dengan negeri² yang telah merdeka.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya akan chuba sa-berapa daya upaya untuk meringkaskan ucapan saya ini, tetapi sa-belum saya dudok, saya sangat sukachita menyatakan kesal dan dukachita terhadap ucapan yang telah di-beri oleh sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada PAS Wakil Kota Bharu Hilir yang kesalkan kita menchapai kemerdekaan itu. Hal ini saya sungguh dukachita dan saya berasa ini-lah dia petualang yang menyekat kemajuan² yang sedang bergerak dengan lancar dan gulongan² ini-lah telah menentang kemerdekaan, dan mereka mahu dudok di-ketiak penjajah sa-lama ini. Maka dengan fikiran² yang saperti itu rugilah khidmat² dan tenaga² pemuda² UMNO yang berjuang siang dan malam kerana menuntut kemerdekaan. Akan tetapi ada gulongan² dan petualang² pada masa ini yang memperkecil²kan perjuangan kemerdekaan Persekutuan yang di-atorkan oleh pemuda² UMNO. Saya berseru-lah pehak² itu jangan-lah kira-nya memimpin atau terigau² chintakan penjajah lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, molek-lah juga saya sebutkan ucapan daripada Yang Berhormat dari Tanah Merah tadi dan Yang Berhormat Dato' Sardon telah pun menjawab-nya dan di-sini saya suka menegaskan bahawa UMNO adalah pati kebangsaan Melayu, tetapi PAS bukan pati Melayu yang memperjuangkan kebangsaan Melayu (*Tepok*). PAS ada-lah di-dalam-nya di-isi segala kaum² Islam yang tidak ada

dalam dasar²-nya hendak membela kepentingan satu² kaum dan Islam patut membela satu² kaum dan satu² ugama dan juga mana² bangsa yang berugama.

Mr. Speaker: Itu tidak kena-mengena dengan usul di-hadapan kita ini. Jaga² sadikit, kalau sadikit² saya benarkan, kalau panjang saya tahan nanti.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Terima kasih, dengan sebab itu-lah sukachita saya menegakkan sa-kali lagi kepada Yang Berhormat itu dan juga kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat pehak PAS seluruh-nya bahawa sa-nya UMNO sahaja-lah Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu yang berjuang hak² kebangsaan Melayu. Dengan sendiri-nya kebangsaan Melayu itu tersalor dengan ugama Islam kerana orang Melayu umum-nya parti Melayu ada-lah berugama Islam. Maka dengan sebab itu fahaman² hendak menghancurkan orang Melayu yang di-katakan oleh PAS itu sa-benar²-nya tidak, tidak, tidak sa-kali². Bagitu juga-lah ucapan daripada Yang Berhormat wakil Pasir Mas Hulu yang memberi ulasan berkenaan dengan chabaran yang telah di-berikan oleh saudara saya dari Johor Tenggara yang mana Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak-lah boleh di-perchayai kerana ahli politik sa-kejap ka-sana dan sa-kejap ka-sini. Rengkas-nya saya sukachita menjawab bahawa kebanyakan daripada ahli² UMNO yang ada di-sebelah PAS itu ada-lah yang telah di-pechat oleh UMNO sendiri. Maka yang demikian faham-lah saudara² bahawa ahli² yang di-pechat daripada UMNO itu telah di-beri-kesempatan dalam PAS.....

Mr. Speaker: Dudok dahulu.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek (Dungun): Tidak benar.

Dato' Mohd. Hanifah bin Haji Abdul Ghani (Pasir Mas Hulu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak.....

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Kalau dengan chara "dictator", kalau Yang Berhormat itu minta keterangan di-sini, saya boleh beri.

Mr. Speaker: Saya sudah terangkan beberapa kali, sa-saorang itu tidak boleh membantah perchakapan Tuan Speaker, itu ada dalam Standing Orders. Saya sudah banyak kali mengingatkan Majlis ini kalau hendak menyebut atau meminta kebenaran sebutkan-lah Standing Orders berapa. Tidak boleh menyampok dan dudok sahaja.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Kadang² sakit hati.....

Mr. Speaker: Nampak-nya puan ini membantah chakap saya (*Ketawa*).

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tidak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkataan "dictator".....

Mr. Speaker: Tidak boleh sebutkan.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Terima kaseh.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Keluar!

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Apa keluar!

Mr. Speaker: Saya ingin hendak mengingatkan, kalau tuan hendak berchakap tolong-lah pendekkan dan jangan menyakitkan hati sa-siapa pun, kalau tidak saya akan tahan.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Perlis Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terima kaseh.

The Minister of Internal Security and Minister of the Interior (Dato' Dr. Ismail): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Honourable the Prime Minister when introducing the motion said that in the course of the debate he would like to have the opinion of the Members of this House, especially those belonging to the Opposition Parties. For the last two days we have heard speakers from the Opposition benches, and I think I can summarise what they have said according to their party views. The PMIP, following the time-honoured practice of their members, is afraid of everything.

Ahli² PAS kebanyakan penganjor²-nya ada-lah daripada orang² dahulu sa-belum kita merdeka dia takut merdeka kerana orang Melayu akan di-telan oleh bangsa lain. Dan sekarang

bila kita hendak membesarkan lagi kebangsaan kita dengan mengalu²kan kedatangan negeri² yang berjiran dengan kita; kita tahu Kerajaan ini akan sama² dengan kita dia takut, takut kerana orang China akan telan orang Melayu. 4 tahun kita telah merdeka orang Melayu dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bukan-nya sahaja tidak di-telan oleh orang China tetapi 4 tahun orang Melayu dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang bukan dudok dalam negeri di-bawah Kerajaan PAS, telah lebeh maju lagi sa-belum kita merdeka dahulu (*Ketawa*). Tetapi dalam dua buah negeri dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-bawah Kerajaan PAS, orang² Melayu di-sana sungguh pun tidak di-telan oleh orang China tetapi kemajuan-nya lebeh mundur daripada orang Melayu yang dudok di-bawah negeri yang ada dudok bersama dengan orang² China (*Ketawa*). Saya perchaya kalau Melayu Raya ini berjaya bukan sahaja mutu orang Melayu akan tinggi tetapi orang² di-negeri² yang akan masuk Melayu Raya ini akan dapat kemerdekaan-nya saperti mana yang telah kita chapai kerana pada masa ini mereka itu di-bawah tindakan penjajahan. Kita patut-lah mengalu²kan bersama Melayu Raya ini sebab kerana dengan chara ini kita dapat meleakaskan kemerdekaan-nya, patut-lah kita mengalu²kan kedatangan mereka itu masuk Melayu Raya ini.

Ahli² Yang Berhormat dari parti PAS takutkan Singapura masuk Melayu Raya itu pada pendapat saya mereka takut kerana banyak orang China di-sana. Saya fikir ta' usah-lah takutkan Melayu Raya. Tidak-lah patut kalau sa-saorang itu yang hendak berjuang dalam politik takut (*Tepok*). Jadi, pada pendapatan saya dalam perbahathan ini bagi pehak Kerajaan dan khas-nya Perdana Menteri tidak dapat shor yang positive sa-bagaimana ranchangan saperti ranchangan kemajuan tanah dan lain² yang tidak dapat satu pun positive suggestion—satu positive shor daripada parti PAS. Jadi, saya bukan-lah hendak jadi pak nujum tetapi saya suka-lah; saya ini pun sayangkan parti PAS kerana kalau

ta' ada opposition pun tidak bagus (*Ketawa*). Tetapi kalau mithal-nya sekarang parti PAS hendak retak dia tidak di-betulkan maka pechah-lah dia. Jadi, suka-lah hati kita di-sini kerana tidak dapat melawan² dalam rumah ini.

Now I come to the Members of the PPP or the People's Progressive Party. There is no representative in the House, but, no doubt, they will hear me either by reading the proceedings of this House or while enjoying a cup of tea in the lobby. Now the People's Progressive Party is very definite in its stand—full merger or no merger at all—and we must respect that view. But if I may in all humility say, I think it is very narrow-minded point of view. One would imagine that this concept of Greater Malaysia is a national issue and even if the People's Progressive Party cannot get all the way, surely they would accept this concept of Greater Malaysia because it will benefit this country economically, it will bring prestige to Malaya in the eyes of the world, and also, I think, from their own angle, they can better fight for what they are trying to do in this country. So, to reject this question of Greater Malaysia just because having tried in the Federation they have not made any headway, is trying to be like the dog in the manger—better not have the Greater Malaysia since in the Federation we are getting nowhere at all. I suggest that is a very defeatist attitude. However, from our angle, we can get nothing from the representatives of the People's Progressive Party in this House, because their stand is, as always, equality for all races without taking into consideration the conditions prevailing in the country.

Now we come to the heterogeneous Members of the Socialist Front. I say 'heterogeneous' because each Member seems to speak for his own self. I think I would deal first with the Member for Damansara. He has adopted the time honoured communist tactic of trying to put words into my mouth of which I never uttered. He said that I, in this very House, said that I would persecute the people of this country. Now, Sir,

if that is not a communist method of trying to smear a Minister of this House, then I hope he can tell me what it is. I distinctly said that I would have no hesitation to persecute the communists, but, of course, if he claims himself to be a communist, what else can I do except persecute him.

Now, Sir, Members of the Socialist Front bench—one Member says that Singapore gets independence; another Member says do not take in Singapore if you want to deprive them of their liberty; another Member says take Singapore but give them external affairs, internal affairs and defence; another Member says do not decide on the future of Singapore, let the people of Singapore decide for themselves. Now what is the exact stand of the Socialist Front on this issue of greater Malaysia other than making criticisms on the suggestions put forward by the Prime Minister to this House? The speech of the Prime Minister should be taken rather as an indication on what line we should debate this subject of greater Malaysia in this House. He was just giving his views and his opinion and his experience. We would like to hear from the Members of this House what is the attitude of the various parties represented in this House on the question of greater Malaysia. I am sorry that from the Members of the Socialist Front, we get no constructive criticism at all. Now, why, why is that? Is it because, correct me if I am wrong, the Socialist Front is toeing the line of some political parties in Singapore? Is it because the Socialist Front would like to delay this question of merger? Is it because the Socialist Front would like Singapore and the Borneo territories to be colonies forever. We do not know. We can only guess. I am not going to adopt the communist tactic of trying to put words into your mouth. I am going to adopt the parliamentary practice in this House. I pose you this question and I hope at some future time you will give adequate answers to this House. We all have a definite stand on this question of greater Malaysia.

The Socialist Front's stand on this question of the marriage of these territories is a very weak stand. If they want a consummation of the marriage of these territories, they must have a firm stand on this issue.

Now, Sir, one would have thought that, on this concept of greater Malaysia, one would like to ask this question: will greater Malaysia be a viable entity? Will it contribute to the prosperity of the people in greater Malaysia? Will it contribute something useful in solving the problems facing this world? Another question one would like to know is what type of society are we going to have in greater Malaysia? Another question one would like to know is what type of Government will we have? Is it going to a communist government, dictatorial, or will it be a democratic type? Now, I would like to hear that from the Socialist Front Members seeing that they make so much noise about internal security. Are they in favour of communist type of government in greater Malaysia? If so, say so in this House.

Now, Sir, as I see it, in greater Malaysia, there will be a new nation born, a nation with, I think, the basis of culture that will be Malay. I am saying this not because I am communal but because I think it is the logical trend of events. Members of this House who are not of the Malay descent, when their forefathers came here, they knew that the Malays were here. It is questionable whether the Malays were the aborigines or the original inhabitants of this country, but it is an undeniable fact that when these people came here, when your forefathers came here—those who are not of the Malay descent—the Malays were ruling in this country. There was a Malay society, and the atmosphere of this country was the Malay atmosphere, because places and people they generate a type of atmosphere, a type of climate which identifies whether it is a Malay or Indian or Chinese type of atmosphere. Now, I say that in this country, the Malays have given it a definite pattern, a definite atmosphere. When your

forefathers—those who are not of the Malay descent—came here, they came here with the idea of trying to trade and go back to the country of their origin; but later on their descendants settled here, and if you have traced those who have been here for generation, they have imbibed some of the Malay ways and they have also contributed much to the Malay culture to this country so much so today the Malay culture is enriched by the coming of the people here, by the Indians and the Chinese. You may have noticed the Malay marriage ceremony and so many other customs. This culture was contributed by your forefathers in this country and so will it be in greater Malaysia. In the Borneo territories it is also based on the Malay type of culture, but it will be enriched because of the various races that will inhabit greater Malaysia. We must admit—those who are not of the Malay descent—that in any type of culture it must be based on the Malay culture because it is inherent in this territory. We do not say that you should forget the cultures of your forefathers. But by pursuing only the cultures of your forefathers, you will never build a nation in this country. We must have a nucleus for a new culture in this country—and I suggest that that nucleus should be Malay and I am emphatic about it.

Now, Sir, we come to the next question about the equality of races of which the Members of the Peoples' Progressive Party made so much about in this House. In the Federation of Malaya, it is recognised that through the centuries of British rule the Malays by having to compete with all the other races which come from more vigorous countries have suffered in this country, and you can never have equality without conditions, just as in golf you can never have a scratch player playing against a person like the Honourable the Prime Minister when handicap is 24 (*Laughter*); he must be given a handicap of 24 if he wants to compete with a man with a scratch handicap.

Mr. Speaker: And he hates that handicap. (*Laughter*).

Dato' Dr. Ismail: So, what is meant by equality of all races? Let us look at the Chinese and Indians who have been here. They are none the poorer because of the privileges given to the Malays because of their handicap in this country. Now, when you get Greater Malaysia, we would have to apply the same principle to the people in the North Borneo territories. Surely, because of circumstances, we are more vigorous and more used to competition, we must give handicap to those people there if we are going to have one nation, strong and viable, whereby each citizen can benefit from the prosperity of this territory. Sir, all this talk about equality of all races, about the first class citizens and second class citizens, I say, is pure nonsense. Its pure object on the part of the Members of the People's Progressive Party is a political stunt.

Sir, we come to the next question about the nation. Now, a nation must have one national language. I say that in the future the language of South-east Asia will be Malay—it will not only be the national language of the Federation of Malaya or Greater Malaysia; it will be the language of Southeast Asia. One cannot claim that one accepts Malay as the national language, while at the same time claiming that equal treatment must be given to the other languages in this country. I would say that that is only giving lip service to making Malay the national language. If the other races in this country who are not Malays are genuine in trying to build a united Malayan nation, they must be prepared to make sacrifices to make Malay the real national language in this country, for then and then only could we have a really united nation in this part of the world.

Now, Sir, we come to the subject which is of great interest to the Honourable Member for Damansara—that is, democracy versus totalitarianism. For my part, for my colleagues and members of my Party, we would like to see in Greater Malaysia a democratic form of Government; we would have none of the Communist

type of Government where two per cent of the people govern the rest, where there is one party whereby members of the public are asked to vote for. We would have none of the so-called type of peoples' democracy. We want the genuine type of democracy, and we will see that that type of democracy is not subverted by the Communists by adopting democratic methods. Democracy cannot survive if it is not prepared to fight for itself. So long as the Communists try to subvert democracy, so long will democracy fight the Communists.

Now, Sir, some Members of the Socialist Front say to the Honourable the Prime Minister, "If you are anti-communist, why don't you join the Western bloc?" That is a very strange kind of logic. Just by doing that we are anti-communist. That we are prepared to stand alone, I think, is a great credit to us. We are anti-communist because we know from experience that they are trying to subvert our type of society; they are trying to destroy what we have. We are anti-communist not because the Western countries are anti-communist. We are anti-communist because by experience we know that they are trying to destroy us. I put the communists in detention camps because I know they are going to destroy us and I will continue to do so. (*Applause*). If I happen to be the Minister for Internal Security and if the communists try to subvert Greater Malaysia, I will put the whole lot of them in detention camps. (*Applause*).

Sir, that is my stand, my very strong and positive stand on this concept of democracy in Greater Malaysia. Despite what the Opposition Members try to do in the Greater Parliament, despite the fact that they are trying to adopt communist method of putting words into my mouth—all these will not deter me from putting the real communists into detention camps. Sir, we want a Greater Malaysia, a viable Malaysia, the economy of which will benefit the peoples of the area. We want a Greater Malaysia that will have a culture of its own, and for the

benefit of the PMIP, I think that culture will be based on Malay culture, enriched by the cultures of the other races who want to make Greater Malaysia their country, their home; and we want democracy as the form of Government. We do not want a totalitarian type, and we will die and fight for that democracy, because in spite of the failings of the Socialist Front, in spite of the failings of the PMIP, in spite of the failings of the Peoples' Progressive Party, I enjoy telling them what they should do and what they should not do in this House—and that is a privilege of democracy. (*Applause*). So, on that point, I think, you will agree with me.

Sir, I will not try to dwell longer on this debate, but I feel that I have to intervene because the Honourable Member for Damansara has that unique quality of provoking me by adopting communist-type tactics in this House. (*Applause*).

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare (Dato' Ong Yoke Lin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, with reference to what my Honourable friend, the Member for Damansara, said, he has mentioned that black troops have been sent to Africa to fight black people. I wonder if he realises that there were Irish troops there in the recent clash at Katanga. I do not think the Irish are black in colour. He has also a rather strange logic as regards democracy or the democratic type of Government in Singapore, because he said that the present Prime Minister lost his mandate to govern Singapore. But as far as I know of the democratic system of Government, the PAP has still got a majority in the Legislative Assembly and as such it is still the legally constituted Government of Singapore. I also understand that the Prime Minister of Singapore intends to hold a referendum as soon as the details can be announced in respect of the merger—that I think is a democratic process. I am sure the people of Singapore, the vast majority of them, would prefer the democratic type of Government as we have now and would not want a Communist type of

Government, and the vast majority of them would like to link their destiny with us.

Sir, we heard a lot about freedom and anti-colonialism, and we believe that freedom and freedom to govern ourselves are birth rights. Therefore, we now propose and seek to join hands with our brethren in Singapore and the Borneo territories, and to march forward together as free people. Because of our historic, cultural and economic common background, we want to share with them freedom and independence, our international status and our high international standing, the stability, security and prosperity, and our good and efficient type of administration, which we enjoy in the Federation of Malaya today.

Now, there has been a lot of discussions about Communism and the democratic way of life. We want to maintain our democratic way of life where we live in freedom with justice and where the people freely choose their own Government. In this democracy the people, the common man, the men and women in our towns, in our kampongs, in our new villages, are the real masters of this country—not just a few who in a Communist country rule in a dictatorial manner in the name of the people. Here the majority have their way but the minority still have their say. Let us look at those countries which have a Communist type of Government. It is one-party rule—no free elections, no other parties are allowed. Further the Honourable Member for Damansara has mentioned about persecution here, but has he not heard of the strikers in the East Berlin and has not he heard of Russians bringing out the tanks to crush the workers?

Now, my Honourable friend and colleague, the Minister of the Internal Security, has touched on the fears, the lack of courage, of the Honourable Members from the PMIP Benches. There was a criticism by a certain Member—I think from Dungun, no, I am sorry, not from Dungun but from one of the PMIP Benches—against

the dhoti worn by my Honourable colleague, the Minister of Works. Sir, I think it is not the question of the way one dresses, it is not the question of racial origin or the colour of the person. Be he wearing dhoti or turban or Western suit, it is what is in the heart that counts. So we in the Malayan Chinese Association agree that we are Malayan citizens of Chinese origin in this country and we give our absolute loyalty to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and we uphold the Constitution of this country. (*Applause*). In the past the success of our independence struggle was due, firstly, to the determination of the people to be free but to a very large measure also to mutual trust, goodwill and tolerance and to a will and spirit to live as true Malaysians and to ensure the peace and tranquility of our beloved land.

On this Malaysia plan enunciated by our Honourable Prime Minister, we Members of this House who are members of the MCA stand four-square within the Alliance behind the concept and the principles of this plan.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had this interesting debate for almost two and a half days, and I think everybody has had the opportunity to have his say and to express his feelings. In the course of the two and a half days debate, we have heard all that was necessary to hear. In some cases, the points that were brought up can be of great use to the Working Party when studying all the aspects to the question of Malaysia or the concept of Malaysia. In other cases, it is interesting to hear the other views of the people of this country as represented by the various Members in this House.

As I said in the course of introducing my speech, the Malaysia plan exists in concept only, and it is not my intention to bring here the details or to discuss the details of the plan. These have got to be worked out, and they have got to be worked out very carefully because they concern the life and the fate of the people of this country. However,

the opinions as expressed by various speakers in this House have been ably expressed, and in more sense than one, Members of my Party have already replied. Nevertheless, as the person who moved the motion for this debate, my duty will be to reply to the questions and opinions expressed in this House. The questions and opinions were expressed rather candidly, and Members concerned will realise that I have to touch upon the main points raised in the debate; and not have to mention individual Members by name when replying to them.

The Pan Malayan Islamic Party does not want the merger, according to them, on the ground that it does not cover the other countries, countries within the Malayan archipelago. To them Melayu Raya means all these countries including the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya and Borneo territories. I am glad, however, that you, Sir, have ruled the amended motion out of order. This is easily understood, for if we were to accept the concept of Melayu Raya as expressed by them, then we can only say that all those countries comprising what we might say English speaking countries, like America, Great Britain, Ireland and as far away as New Zealand and Australia, would be considered the United Kingdom. But they said that they might bring this matter of Melayu Raya up again as a substantive motion, but I would ask them to consider.....

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order! It is one o'clock now. The sitting is suspended till half past four this afternoon.

Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

MALAYSIA

Debate resumed.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was saying this morning before the House adjourned, I am afraid that Party Islam might bring

to this House a substantive motion on the lines they have stated earlier on in their amendment that Malaysia should include Indonesia, Philippines and so on. Before they do so, I would advise them that they should give the matter second thoughts, because I feel, Sir, that such a motion when debated in this House would cause embarrassment to the Government and might perhaps prejudice the relations between this country and Indonesia and Philippines because this is a matter that is not easy to discuss without inferences being made to their countries. Therefore, I would like to ask that before they bring such a motion to this House they should give the matter very, very careful thought.

With regard to this debate, as I said earlier on, it is not the intention of this Government to discuss details here and I am happy to say that though on certain points details were discussed, every Member has given more or less his general views on it, but I feel that there has been much too much attack on the Prime Minister of Singapore in our Parliament when he has no voice here and is unable to defend himself. Much as I would like to, I cannot reply on his behalf. But one thing I can tell Honourable Members: the subject of merger has not been brought up for the first time by the present Prime Minister of Singapore. It was in fact brought up by different Prime Ministers who were in power before Mr. Lee Kuan Yew—like Tun Lim Yew Hock and, I may say, Mr. David Marshall. But the condition then was not the same as it is today. There was no indication then that the British would leave Singapore, or would make Singapore an independent State. But as I have said, today things have changed and so must our thoughts. My talk with the Prime Minister of Singapore, for instance, was not on the question of whether there should be a merger or there should not be a merger. It was just to hear what he had to say about the condition in Singapore—and I can tell you that his fears are not without foundation. The Honourable Members who

attacked him are not there in Singapore; they are not on the spot to see things for themselves. Therefore, they can only assume that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is belittling those people who oppose him as being Communists. But that is not all true. Now Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, as they have rightly said, is in Cameron Highlands playing golf. With regard to the attacks or invectives which have been directed against him in this House, I am sure he will not take them lying down. He might have something to say in his next Radio talk, and I rather dread to think what he will say in reply to the Honourable Members who attacked him here. One thing I am certain is that when he hits the golf ball he will imagine that he is hitting you and he will give it such a terrific whack.....(Laughter).

It was suggested also by one Honourable Member that if Singapore were given autonomy in education, this would imply that the Rahman Talib Recommendations have failed. I would like to remind the Honourable Member that in my speech to this House in moving this motion I had said that we had given consideration to this matter. Having taken into account, the feelings of the people of Singapore, my colleagues and I have arrived at the conclusion that with the situation as it is in Singapore it would be inadvisable to agree to any proposal to impose our education policy at this particular juncture on the State. However, this is a matter in the State and Federal Lists. If at some later stage it is thought desirable in the national interests to amend the list by reverting from State List to Federal List, it can be easily done.

There was also a suggestion that failing a merger on the basis of equal rights there would be frustration in Singapore which might result, in a war between Singapore and the Federation. The Honourable Member used the word "war" perhaps loosely, perhaps to emphasise the fact that a clash might take place in the form of a demonstration against the Central Government; but if the Honourable Member had meant a shooting war, then I would say that

Singapore would have no chance against the Federation. However, that is the last thing we would like to have—a war between Malaysians living in the North and in the South. I think, therefore, his fears are more imaginary than real. The fact, however, remains that this is a democratic country and any dissatisfied group is not prevented from bringing a change in the Constitution by democratic means. But if any dissatisfied group tries to bring about a change by force of arms, then this Government and the people of this country can utilise all the forces at their command to overcome force with force. Of course, this is nothing new. We have had all these for the last 10 or 12 years in the Federation of Malaya itself. But what I am afraid is that in the event of a break, say, Singapore going one way and ourselves the other, there will be a lot of trouble which we will have to face. It will be a war in the proper sense of the word where two opposing forces will not be Malayan people, but will be between the powers.

I would like to state too that the closer association which we have suggested between Singapore and the Federation is nothing new. The arrangement which has been in force between Ireland and England has proved to be workable and you can see for yourself that Ireland and England is divided by the Irish Sea, whereas as between Singapore and us there is only the Straits of Johore with a causeway to link up the two territories. I can see no reason why such an arrangement cannot work between the two territories of Singapore and the Federation.

The Honourable Member also suggested that the Singapore Prime Minister wanted somebody to prop him up. Therefore, the Federation will come in like a policeman and unfortunately, of course, the words he used in the course of the debate were “suppression and oppression” which impute very ugly motives regarding the merger. The Honourable Member knows very well that the Federation Government is not at all lavish in the application of the Security powers. As

a matter of fact, the Government has been extremely choosy and discriminating in picking the persons to be guests of His Majesty's Government in our holiday camps. We are very selective in the choice of our guests (*laughter*) and only those whom we think pose a very serious threat to the security of this country will be received as honoured guests of the Government. So, you can rest assured that when merger does take place, our policy would not be to arrest those who oppose Mr. Lee Kuan Yew unless those people are members of the communist organisation who threaten the security of this nation and aim to overthrow this nation by force of arms which we in the interest of the national security must prevent. In those circumstances, we would certainly take steps to take them in as our guests. As my colleague, the Minister of Internal Security has said this morning, he would not hesitate to rope in those who ask to be roped in not because it is his pleasure to do so but because it is their pleasure to provoke him. In short when they themselves want to be detained.

I would like to reiterate here that a man can have an ideal—you cannot stop a man from believing what he thinks is best. Nobody will quarrel with him about his ideology. But what we are afraid is that in carrying out this ideal into practice, he may use such force as would be destructive to the peace, happiness and security of this country. But for these elements all these various security laws would not exist today. There would have been no reason to restrict the freedom of any person to do and to say what he likes. We are bound to stop such elements from destroying this country and causing untold hardships to the people, and prevent them from making our country a veritable hell.

In this country, I dare say there are thousands of people who believe in communism and nobody tries to stop them; and, in fact, as the Honourable Member has quite rightly pointed out those who have been communists once or believed in communism once when

they return to society we do not victimise them, but on the contrary we have given hundreds of these people, not one as suggested by the Honourable Member, jobs in order to reintroduce them into the society.

It has also been suggested that the question of merger came suddenly into the limelight as a result of the defeat of the PAP in the by-election at Anson. I have already mentioned in my opening address that in view of certain development Singapore should merge with the Federation. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, as Prime Minister, has consistently maintained that there should be merger and he would only work for Singapore's independence through a merger with the Federation. It is wrong, therefore, to say that the idea of merger came into being as a result of the Anson reverse. I made a statement to pressmen, if I remember right, before the Anson by-election. Personally, I do not give very much thought to the reverses in by-elections. In fact, we, in the Alliance Government, have suffered quite a lot of reverses at by-elections, but that is well understandable because the people want opposition in Parliament and Councils; and so long as they are sure that the Alliance has a sufficient majority in the House, they are quite happy to let others have one or two seats—it makes no difference to the authority of the Government. The thing that counts is the General Election, and so do not pay too much attention to the reverses the PAP suffered at the Anson by-election. In fact, the defeat of the PAP at the Anson by-election does not mean that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has lost his original mandate because in my mind, and you all know it, that while he is Prime Minister, it is assumed that he has got a mandate to represent his country; and to say that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has lost his mandate from the people of Singapore, I think, is not correct. It is also suggested that I too have been persuaded by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to prop him up. I think I have got enough trouble in my little Malaya with all this opposition (*Laughter*), let

alone taking on Singapore. However, I can assure the Honourable Member that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has not persuaded me, but because I saw the picture myself of the future if Singapore were to get independence. Having heard of the frightening aspect of independence in Singapore, I thought the best thing for us to do is sit up and take notice and plan what we can do to avoid trouble, fears which I have expressed in my original speech. We agreed in principle to a merger: but, as I have said, it is only in principle and all the details have got to be worked out and, as I have suggested in my speech, I would welcome any memoranda, any thoughts, any proposal, on this particular matter. However, I would ask Honourable Members to give constructive rather than destructive suggestions so that they can be of use to us.

One Honourable Member also read a quotation from the Sarawak Tribune dated 19th August where reference was made to Mr. Ong Kee Hui with the suggestion that he was not in favour of Malaysia. He then drew the conclusion that since Mr. Ong Kee Hui also was not in favour of Malaysia and by inference we are regarding Mr. Ong Kee Hui as a communist. The Honourable Member, I think, is not justified in making such an inference, since at no stage did I say that those who oppose Malaysia are to be regarded as communists.

All that I have said, I think, is that they are thinking in that line—and whether they are influenced by it or not I do not know. I have never suggested that they are Communists. Indeed, I remember very well that in my press interview in Sarawak itself, the same thing was repeated to me, “Do you consider that he who opposes this plan is a Communist?” I said, “Not at all. He is entitled to his thought and it is not for me to interfere with his thought.” But, as I have said, that thought is in line with the argument put forward by the Communists.

Since the Honourable Member has chosen to read an extract from the

Sarawak Tribune of the 19th August, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope you will allow me to read a sentence from the *Sarawak Tribune* of the 16th October. I think the Honourable Member is out of date in his reading—whether he has purposely done it or he has not got possession of this issue of 16th October, I do not know. However, for his benefit and for the information of this House, I would like to read an extract which reads:—

“As far as I can gather, the people of Sarawak are chiefly concerned with safeguards that could be considered for Sarawak. The general view of these people is in favour of Malaysia in principle and the difference of opinion is in what form such a merger should take.”

That is exactly the motion which I put to this House; it is exactly the same terms of reference which we put to the Working Party; that is exactly what we are all sitting here to discuss, to think and to plan as to what form such merger should take. You will observe from what I have just mentioned, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that Mr. Ong's attitude is vastly different from the attitude the Honourable Member attributed to him that we do not want Malaysia because it would make Sarawak become a colony of Malaya. As I said earlier on, there will be no Malaya after Malaysia and that when this plan has come into being, there would be only the Federation of Malaysia. I hope the Honourable Member will keep his reading up-to-date so that he will be kept informed of current affairs. I must admit that so far Honourable Members here have not opposed the concept of Malaysia, although I did detect a great deal of comments on the form merger with Singapore should take. In fact, very little has been said about the Borneo territories. Whether the Honourable Member is afraid to say things that might hurt the feelings of our guests present in this House, I do not know, but it is obvious and everybody will agree that there should be a merger with the Borneo territories in order to give these territories independence.

With regard to the people of Borneo territories, all those who have fully understood the concept of Malaysia have welcomed the idea. Everyone who has visited Malaya has gone back ready to back the plan. However, there are people in Borneo territories, I will admit, who are still in doubt, but that is not surprising, because, as I have said, their minds have been conditioned to the rule of imperialism and it is difficult for them all of a sudden to change their minds as they have never been allowed to think things out in their own way. Some of them have been so subdued in their thinking that they have lost their confidence and faith even in themselves. These are people who fear Malaysia, and they entrust everything on their colonial rulers and leave it to them to guide them not only in their acts but also in their words and in their deeds.

The British Government would welcome the proposal for Malaysia as far as I know—that is as much as I could tell the House. If the British Government officers in these colonies were to take the initiative to commend this plan to the people of Borneo territories, I have no doubt that they will accept this plan without giving it very much thought.

The Honourable Member also suggested that when comparing these countries with others, there are degrees of freedom of speech, some to a lesser, some to a greater extent, but in Malaya they are, of course, to a lesser extent. Coming as it were from the Honourable Member it does not surprise us at all. It will only surprise me if he says anything nice about me or my Party. But if he says anything that is not good, that is only to be expected of him in normal circumstances. However, he will remember that during the election campaign he has had his say—more than what is fair—but he is still free to enjoy his freedom and say what he wants to say here. He even suggested at one time that I used one million dollars from Government money to build my swimming pool. I have not taken him to the Court, but on the other hand, the Honourable Member

has taken me to the Court (*Laughter*) on a very small matter. I hope he will find time to withdraw the case against me (*Laughter*). However, it has been on the list, I think, for almost two years and he has not withdrawn. However, he has not suffered any harm as a result of things which he has said. It is not quite clear sometimes what the Honourable Member is trying to drive at. If what he means is that that today there are more rights in Singapore and Borneo territories, then here he is in effect confirming that more rights have been enjoyed in colonies under the British. When I say that there are fundamental freedom in Malaya I mean all fundamental freedoms and liberties that have been guaranteed by our Constitution. Who, therefore, in the right frame of mind will be able to say that safeguards of our freedom and liberty, whether in speech or in action, in accordance with the law, are phoney or bogus? Perhaps, the Honourable Member is somewhat surprised when I remind him that we have more freedom now than we used to have in the British days and, in fact, we have more freedom here than the freedom enjoyed by people in our neighbouring countries. So to suggest that the people here are restricted in their movements, in their freedom and thought, is, I think, saying a little bit too much. Therefore, the more far-fetched a statement is, the less people are inclined to believe it. I hope our guests from the Borneo territories do not get jittery or frightened as a result of what they heard from the Honourable Member. As I said, this is nothing new and if they were to come here again, and I hope they will, they will hear the same thing repeated again and again—it all depends in what mood the Honourable Member is.

Honourable Members from the Opposite Bench have suggested that if there is going to be a merger at all, there must be a complete merger, because only then would the Opposition accept the Malaysia plan—as otherwise it will not quite fulfil the needs of the people of these territories. But when

you hear that statement from the Honourable Members, it immediately strikes you that there has been inconsistency in their minds or in what they say: for instance, they suggested in regard to internal security, that we should have no control over the internal security of Singapore but yet they suggested a complete merger. How can it be a complete merger when the Central Government has no control over the internal security? There are always inconsistencies such as this which come out from time to time from the words of the Honourable Members. But I do think, when they get home and are able to sit back and think out things they said in this House in connection with Malaysia, they will realise the inconsistencies. When we meet again, perhaps, they will be in a better position, in a better frame of mind, to discuss this subject more fully and, if I may say so, more constructively.

A question has also been asked whether Mr. Lim Chin Seong will be allowed to stand as a candidate in the Federation; and how could we separate internal security from labour because of its connection with trade unions, and the same applies to education. These questions, which I mention, are for the Working Party to go into, and you can rest assured that this Working Party will leave no stone unturned in examining all aspects of this merger plan.

There has also been a suggestion that the underlying motive in the plan, that the only reason for it, is to form a military bloc between the Federation and the western bloc—to form a military bloc, I presume, after the pattern of SEATO. The Honourable Member ought to know that we are in a military bloc under the Defence Treaty with Britain already and, as I said earlier—and I have made mention of it wherever I had occasion to speak—that we are satisfied with that Defence Treaty with Great Britain and we do not intend to go further than that. Therefore, whether we take Singapore in the form of merger or in the form of closer association, there

is no reason to suggest that the whole idea is to form a bloc.

There is also another question asked: in the event of a merger with the Borneo territories, would we pinch their riches—"pinch" is a hard word for me to use but I have no other way of interpreting this question than to say "pinch"—that is best understood by those who heard the question. I do not think we need pinch anything anymore than we are pinching from the other States in Federation. If the Honourable Member will remember, there is no country in the name of Federation other than that which is made up of eleven States as in the Malay Peninsula. This Federation has no acclaim to even a foot of soil in the country. Every single acre of land we occupy, we have to buy, and we buy it with the money from our own kitty and this money we get from different parts of the Federation. But one thing should be clear in the minds of the Honourable Member and that is, whatever revenue we get from this country is legalised—I say is "legalised" because he used the word "pinch"—by our Constitution. Under Article 110 of our Constitution, each State shall receive all proceeds from taxes, fees and other sources of revenue so far as collected, levied or raised within the State. That is as far as State goes. Recently the Tenth Schedule included revenue from lands, mines and forests, but as regards the revenue from these States, only so many percentage is given to the Federation.

Sir, I do not want to deal with all the various points which have been dealt with by the Honourable Members on this side of the House and by Members of my Party. However, I would like to emphasise here that I have been six years at the helm of the Government and in those six years, I have never been accused of trying to hoodwink or deceive the Honourable Members and the people, less still the people who trust me and believe in me. I have always felt that once a person is chosen to lead the country by his people, then he has a duty to perform, a duty to both God and man,

and a duty to lead the country and the people along the path of peace, happiness and security; so when he sees a danger looming ahead, it must be his duty to take notice, to try and warn his colleagues, his friends and those whom he leads of such a danger, to try and plan and work out the ways and means of evading such danger. However, when that danger gets out of control, then it is for him to plan how to fight it. I have done no more than that when I presented to this House the motion which is before the House. In my own simple way, I see the signs of things to come as clearly as I see Honourable Members in this House, and that is why, perhaps, the picture, which I presented to you in my speech when introducing the motion, appears gloomy, but I cannot make things look nice when, in fact, things look gloomy. I might as well call a spade, a spade, and do not deceive you so that, while you enjoy the peace and prosperity of this country, you overlook the danger to come. There is plenty in fact.

The PMIP appear to fear the Chinese. My friends from my Party have put it very clearly that it is not the Chinese that you should fear, it is not the Indians that you should fear, it is not the races that are nationals of this country that you should fear. What we must fear are the enemies who, when they come, will destroy this country, will reduce Malaya to ashes—those are people whom you must fear. Communal outbreaks and communal troubles have happened in India from time to time and it has happened a few times in Malaya but as soon as it happens, it vanishes into thin air. But what I would like to reiterate is that when a war breaks out in this country, a war which originated from within this country, those who start it may have lost control of their minds and may invite other parties from outside to it. When such a war happens, what will be the fate of our people? They will be driven from corner to corner seeking shelter, safety for their lives and property. It is purely because the two States which

form Malaya have been divided into two and this provides a chance for those who are our enemies to come into that territory and work their way to Malaya and finally propel us into ruin and destruction. That is what I fear and that is why I say that I did not give it a thought before on the question of merger. We are enjoying happiness, peace and prosperity in this country. So why should we take any more on? But, as I have said, the picture is terrifying, whether it comes within my lifetime or your lifetime—the fact remains that it must come unless we do something about it now. Therefore, it is my duty to prevent it happening. That is the issue which you have to face today—are you allowing this opportunity to slip by just because you fear the Chinese, because you fear the Indians, or are you going to do something now to prevent the Communists dominating this country? That is why today this question of merger is before you.

I am happy to see that you have given your views and your views will be of use to the Working Party considering this plan. I would welcome, as I said earlier on, any memorandum, any thoughts expressed on paper, for this Working Party.

With that, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move. (*Applause*).

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House agreeing in principle with the concept of Malaysia comprising the eleven States of the Federation, the States of Singapore and Brunei and the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, endorses the Government's initiative in taking action for its realization, the progress of which will be reported to the House by the Honourable the Prime Minister from time to time.

BILLS

THE PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL

Second Reading

The Minister of Internal Security (Dato' Dr. Ismail): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill intituled

“an Act to provide for the more effectual prevention of corruption” be read a second time.

Since the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Agency and the Special Crime Branch of the Royal Federation of Malaya Police in November 1959, it has been found that the existing Prevention of Corruption Ordinance, 1950, is inadequate to deal with the many aspects of corruption. The investigation and presentation of corruption cases present peculiar difficulties because corrupt transactions are almost invariably surrounded by close secrecy and it is rarely that anyone but the corrupt participants themselves have any direct knowledge of precisely what has been done. As a result there arose the need to re-enact the provisions of that Ordinance with substantial amendments. The Singapore Prevention of Corruption Ordinance, 1960, which in turn was based on the Federation Corruption Ordinance, 1950, the Ceylon Bribery Act, 1954, and the Hongkong Prevention of Corruption Ordinance were made use of as the basis for re-enacting the provisions of this new Bill.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to go into detailed account of each provision in the Bill as an Explanatory Statement is provided at the end of the Bill but I would, however, like to touch upon some important aspects of the Bill.

Clause 2 substitutes a new definition “gratification” for the word “consideration”, and has been defined in the terms which, it is believed, will be adequate to permit action against the known forms of corruption.

Clause 4 re-enacts section 3 of the existing Ordinance except that the maximum term of imprisonment on conviction has been increased from three years to five years as the Government feels that the present penalty is inadequate.

Clause 6, a new section based on section 9 of the Singapore Ordinance is intended to make clear that it shall

not be a defence in proceedings for an offence under the Act that money had been paid or accepted under any misapprehension or belief in the power or authority of the person to or by whom the bribe was paid or received.

Clause 7 is a new provision based upon Ceylon law, and is introduced in order to cover another form of corruption which is believed to have been and is being practised in this country. It is designed to prevent a contractor tendering for a contract from a public body from removing potential rivals for bidding for such contract.

Clauses 8 and 9 are new provisions based on Singapore Ordinance introduced to cover a defect in the existing Ordinance and will make it an offence to offer a bribe to any member of a legislative or public body in the Federation or for such a member to accept such a bribe.

Clause 12 is another new provision based on the Singapore Ordinance with slight modification. Under section 27 (2) of the Singapore Ordinance it is mandatory for the public officer to whom any illegal gratification is offered: to arrest the person who offers or gives such gratification to him and make over the person so arrested to the nearest police station. As the Government feels that there will be some practical difficulties for a public officer to exercise the power of arrest and as the intention of this provision is to ensure that a report of corrupt practices concerning a public officer is made to the Police, it is decided that it will be sufficient for the purpose to make it mandatory for a public officer to report at the earliest possible opportunity of any illegal gift or offer of bribe.

Clause 19 introduces a new provision based on Singapore Ordinance and empowers a Court to require one or more persons charged with any offence under the Act or with any prescribed offence to give evidence for the prosecution, and to give any such person a certificate of indemnity in respect of matters on which he has made a true and full disclosure. This

provision is introduced in order to encourage accomplice witnesses to come forward with evidence for the prosecution.

Clause 25 is a new provision based on Singapore Ordinance. It is considered that the Public Prosecutor should be given the powers under this clause in order to facilitate investigation into corrupt practices.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should like to emphasise that the Bill which is now before the House is by no means the answer to corruption. It is only designed to facilitate the investigation and prosecution of corruption cases. In this connection I should like to reiterate the Government reply to a question put by Tuan Sheikh Ahmad in the Legislative Council on 2nd July, 1952, on anti-corruption measures which I consider relevant; and I quote:—

“Whilst criminal proceedings must remain the spear-head of the attack on the more vicious forms of corruption, it is realised that nothing can be more effective in eliminating corruption at all levels than the attitude of the public towards it. If the public wants corruption it will get corruption, no matter what action the authorities may take. If the public does not want corruption, it can be more effective in stopping corruption than can any legislative or penal measure.”

I wish therefore to emphasise that members of the public must play their vital parts if we want to get rid of corruption from this country. Their role is a simple one—they should refrain from offering or giving any form of gift or bribe to public officers and they should report to the police or proper authority any soliciting of a bribe or any form of corrupt practice which comes to their knowledge. The Government has made repeated appeals through the Press, radio, film and other media, asking the public to support actively the Government's drive against corruption. The response to these appeals have been very satisfactory, but unfortunately most of the information given has been so vague or so general in the nature that investigation could not proceed to any satisfactory conclusion.

Similarly wild allegations will not help in any way but rather will waste valuable time of the investigation officer.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I conclude I must say a few words about the public service. I am very pleased to say that the public services in this country have shown a high standard of integrity and loyalty. For this reason the Government is determined to protect public officers from unscrupulous people who, in order to achieve their own objective, are willing to give illegal gratification. Corruption will not only undermine the integrity and loyalty of the public officers but will also destroy our democratic way of life and eventually wreck the very foundation of our society which we all pledge to uphold.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Abdul Razak): Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Enche' V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we from the Socialist Front support this Bill wholeheartedly. The reason for supporting this Bill is that we agree that all forms of corruption should be eliminated from our midst if we believe in a true and democratic structure of society. Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Bill was introduced, the mover indicated that it was intended to facilitate the investigation of corruption cases. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are countries in Asia which have been destroyed by allowing corruption to flourish without being nipped in the bud. At the moment I am not prepared to say whether corruption exists or does not exist in this country, but, as a preventive measure, it is the duty of this House to enact legislation which can prevent corruption, if there is any.

While such a Bill is introduced, the Government should bear in mind that corruption does not thrive among a certain group of people only. There can be corruption in a more dignified manner which would be extremely difficult to detect. In certain countries

in Asia there had been cases where very influential and high ranking officers on whom the Government at one time had great faith had been detected of corruption. So, when the Government, enacts measure to prevent corruption, they should also bear in mind that corruption can also thrive at the highest level, if not checked.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, from this Bill, we understand that Members of Parliament and State Assemblies are considered as public servants. Sir, the Government should have records of properties possessed by each and every Member of this House as well as Members of State Assemblies. This is not because we suspect the Members, but it would be a preventive measure on the part of the Government to have such records. When Members of this House as well as Members of the Senate travel abroad, the Government should keep a record of the purpose of their going abroad. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Members of this House and State Assemblies are given certain privileges which are not extended to an ordinary taxpayer of this country. These privileges are extended to us by virtue of our position as Members of this House, as elected representatives, but this can also be abused. Before such abuse is made, the Government should have a record of movements. When I say movements, I do not suggest that we have gestapos to follow them, but there can be a lot of illegal trade by Members visiting foreign countries. Those who travel abroad can bring in materials illegally and, being in the highest position of the Government, the Customs and other Departments of the various countries may be lenient out of respect and that will ultimately lead to illegal trade. So, therefore, I would humbly appeal, while I support this Bill, that the Government should bear in mind that corruption also can come from the highest level, from big fries and not from the small ones alone. Therefore, in conclusion, I would, once again, appeal that movements and visits abroad of high ranking officers including Members of Parliament and the Senate be kept watched.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh):

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I personally would not like any Police Officer, or a Gestapo Officer, according to the words which have just been used, to follow me around on my travel. (*Laughter*). However, commenting on this Bill itself, while attempts have been made by the definition of gratification to provide for a number of possible methods of corruption, it is I think regrettable that the definition of gratification cannot cover all cases of corruption. It may not be humanly possible to do that, but I should certainly like, at a later stage, to find out whether Government has any method in mind by which corruption—not within the definition of gratification but definitely within the full sense of the word—can be dealt with by Government. Let us assume one day I have the good fortune or bad fortune to become a Member of the Executive Council of one of the States in this country. Let us assume, I have to deal with lands and the allotment of land. Let us take it as a fact that I had and still have during my term as a Member of the Executive Council a business partner, a legally registered business associate, with whom I have been doing business for many years. Then, let us assume one afternoon at about 12 o'clock I attend an Executive Committee meeting which is supposed to be confidential. Then, take it as a fact that 15 minutes past twelve my business partner goes to the Land Office, even before the Land Office knows the decision of the Executive Council, and bangs in an application for that very piece of land which was declared on that very day at 12 o'clock. Now inference immediately arises—an inference of undue influence, of being wrongly prejudiced; friendship, it may be—it may be his business association with that other partner for a long time. Upon that, perhaps, a member of the public cannot make any police report. He will not have the information that others may have. If a report like that goes, what is the position? The Police will say, "Well, even if it is true, even if he was influenced by friendship, it is not corruption within the meaning

of the definition of gratification in this Ordinance." I may be wrong in my construction of the meaning of gratification, but if I am not, perhaps, the Honourable Mover will tell me where I can find a definition to cover that type of case, where I have obviously favoured my business associate by telling him that on such and such a date there will be a meeting at such and such a time, you go and wait at the Land Office. Where does the Bill cover a matter like that? No money is passed, no office, dignity, employment, contract or services is promised, no payment is promised for release, no valuable consideration of any kind, any discount, commission etc.; no promise to vote, or consent, or influence, etc. That is one case, but there will be several other cases, and these things can occur. I do not suggest that they are very rife in this country, but it can happen; and if that happens, what is the position, what is Government going to do about it?

The Honourable Mover has said that one sure way of preventing corruption will be for the public not to offer corruption. That is logic. The advice given to the public is to refrain from offering gifts to public servants. Now, I support that advice. But after so many years of administration in this country, there are Departments where delays which cannot be satisfactorily explained still continue. Here, it is the small man who is hit, the man who can offer \$10 or \$20 as an inducement, or the man who can offer \$5 or \$10, to get his application, say, for a licence for any small business, to see that the file is put on the top. If he does not do that, his file will be delayed for another five or six months. Therefore, in conjunction with the Corruption Ordinance, when it comes into force, I would suggest that there must be simultaneous action to see that there is no undue and unexplained delay in the various Departments of administration of this country, because then only can members of the public say, "Even if I do not pay one cent, my business will be attended to like any other business of any other member of

the public." If that position can be clarified, then I have no doubt that members of the public will not offer corruption and will not pay anything, because nobody would like to part with his money when there is no necessity to part with it. Therefore, it is no use to say, "Don't do this." We must do something more to show them that it is not necessary for them to do it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the various provisions in the Bill are, of course, the usual provisions which we find in a prevention of corruption ordinance. But in this Ordinance, when it comes into force, for it to work satisfactorily, one important factor must be borne in mind and must be put into operation. That is this—speed and shock tactics by the Police. Somebody goes and reports, "There is such-and-such a file in such-and-such office: that file will prove my allegation of corruption." There must be one officer who can go there, take custody of that file before anything can happen, before documents can be replaced or changed by somebody in that Department—and speed is essential in such cases as in some cases of a criminal nature. I do hope that action will be taken to place at least one officer with sufficient authority and with sufficient intelligence in charge—not an officer like the one in Perak who took a dead cow to the General Hospital saying, "I want a post-mortem on this cow, because there has been murder committed on this cow." We must have intelligent officers, who will be able to act with speed without fear and, above all, who will not be afraid to enter the highest office in this land down to the lowest office in the execution of administration.

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² yang di-kemukakan ini ia-lah satu Rang Undang² yang bertujuan bagi mencheegah rashwah dengan chara yang lebeh berkesan. Dalam mengemukakan Rang Undang² ini tadi ada beberapa perkara yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri yang berkenaan tentang

rashwah. Satu daripada pandangan-nya ia-lah bahawa orang² ramai hendak-lah bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan di-dalam mencheegah rashwah ini ia-itu jangan memberi rashwah. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tentu-lah bersama dengan Yang Berhormat itu bersetuju bahawa ini ada-lah satu jalan yang amat berkesan. Tetapi tidak-lah boleh dalam membuat seruan ini melupakan bahawa fahaman orang² ramai terhadap rashwah ini belum-lah cukup mendalam, sebab masyarakat dalam negeri kita ini ada-lah berhadapan dengan keadaan yang penuh dengan perlumbaan. Apabila sa-saorang itu ketahu² jika ia tidak memberi rashwah, tuntutan-nya tidak di-beri sedangkan ia pentingkan kepada tuntutan-nya itu, maka dengan sendiri-nya rashwah menjadi satu jalan bagi mendapatkan tuntutan-nya itu. Dengan yang demikian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hilang-lah guna undang² dan fa'edah peratoran², sebab telah ada jalan belakang bagi-nya.

Pada pendapat saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh pun gambar² (film) telah di-tunjokkan dan sa-bagai-nya telah di-lakukan dan oleh kerana kita mengetahui bahawa rashwah ini timbul-nya: Yang pertama-nya daripada amat pentingkan pada sa-suatu. Yang kedua-nya kerana orang memberi rashwah itu tidak tahu peratoran dalam hal² perjalanan dan chara² pentadbiran Kerajaan; maka yang amat mustahak ia-lah menyampaikan semua ini kepada orang kampung yang kurang pandai dalam hal ini. Sa-tahu saya di-bandar² ada keterangan² menentang rashwah. Tetapi orang² kampung yang jauh memikirkan dengan sebab ia berbaik dengan sa-orang pegawai dan dengan sebab ia berjanji kepada sa-orang pegawai yang tuntutan-nya akan di-ambil berat, maka ia telah melakukan rashwah dengan niat yang baik pada zahir-nya, tetapi merosakkan pegawai itu sendiri dalam "integrity"-nya seperti yang di-nyatakan oleh Menteri Yang Berhormat itu.

Menyampaikan hal ini ka-kampung, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya lebeh bersetuju terutama bagi orang Islam, bahawa Kerajaan menerangkan dengan

jelasya ia-itu amalan rashwah ini ada-lah satu amalan yang salah dalam undang² Islam sendiri. Sebab ada fahaman sa-tengah² orang bahawa rashwah ini tidak salah dari segi ugama. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun orang yang saperti ini dapat kita ator, tetapi chara melambat²kan yang maseh ada lagi di-jabatan² Kerajaan saperti yang di-rungutkan oleh Pen-garah Badan Pencegah Rashwah dalam surat khabar baharu² ini. Amaran ini hendak-lah di-ikhtiarkan oleh Menteri Yang Berhormat supaya dengan segera dapat di-berhentikan. Apa pun kita katakan: Kalau sa-orang tua datang ka-sabuah pejabat pagi² hari, ia tahu, kalau tidak di-beri \$2.00 maka ia di-kehendaki datang besok atau lusa, sedangkan ia menghendaki tambang datang dan masa-nya berharga, maka walau bagaimana pun kita katakan rashwah itu tidak betul, orang ini akan melakukan rashwah. Jadi, satu jalan yang besar sa-kali ia-lah mengambil tindakan yang keras kepada pegawai² yang melakukan rashwah itu, walau pun rashwah itu sedikit. Apabila saya sebutkan walau pun rashwah itu sedikit, tidak-lah kita hendak menchari ikan bilis meninggalkan ikan² yang besar, saperti yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tadi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, rashwah ini nampak saya pada masa ini amat lebar hubungan-nya dengan politik. Saya tidak tahu apa-kah tindakan² yang akan di-ambil oleh Kerajaan apabila sa-suatu ma'alumat telah di-sampaikan oleh sa-saorang itu kepada Kerajaan. Boleh jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh sebab Kerajaan tidak mempunyai tindakan dan langkah yang tegas di-dalam melayankan ma'alumat manakala di-sampaikan kepada Kerajaan. Sa-tengah orang berkata, apa-lah guna-nya saya memberitahu pehak Pencegah Rashwah itu dan kalau di-beritahu pun tidak di-pedulikan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi Yang Berhormat Menteri telah mengemukakan satu Rang Undang² ini berkata, kebanyakan daripada ma'alumat² itu samar² dan tidak tegas. Saya tidak

tahu bagaimana chara-nya di-buat oleh Kerajaan, tetapi jika kita berkehendakkan ma'alumat yang chukup tegas, dengan minit-nya dan dengan saksi-nya maka sa-olah² kita berkehendakkan daripada orang yang menyampaikan pengaduan itu satu perkara yang mustahil, sebab kalau sudah pandai itu-lah dia-nya maka dengan sendiri dia boleh menjadi sa-orang hakim atau sa-orang loyar yang chukup mengetahui dalam hal ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh pun saya mengaku bahawa banyak pemberitahuan yang di-lakukan itu berdasarkan kapada kekeliruan dan palsu maka pada fikiran saya Kerajaan hendak-lah juga melakukan perhubungan yang rapat dengan orang yang menghantarkan pengaduan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada suatu hari bahawa bapa saya sendiri telah mendapat surat daripada Ketua Pegawai Polis negeri Perak, yang menguchapkan terima kaseh di-atas ma'alumat yang di-beri kapada Kerajaan berkenaan dengan rashwah yang di-lakukan di-dalam satu tempat. Orang tua saya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sangat hairan dan tidak pernah menghantar surat kapada polis dan tidak pernah mengadu kapada sa-siapa. Tetapi sa-bagai menghormati Pegawai Kerajaan di-minta-nya-lah saya bertanyakan perkara ini ka-Pejabat Polis Ipoh, dan saya telah dapat berjumpa dengan pegawai yang berkenaan. Rupa-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang telah di-lakukan ia-lah orang lain yang membuat pengaduan menggunakan nama orang lain. Sebab apa, saya tanya Pegawai Polis itu, kata-nya, kejadian ini boleh jadi, kalau orang itu menggunakan nama-nya sendiri tidak di-pedulikan orang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh pun menyampaikan ma'alumat saperti itu satu perkara yang baik, tetapi elok-lah Kerajaan, di-dalam ma'alumat² yang di-hantarkan terhadap sa-orang Pegawai Kerajaan yang bersalah patut-lah di-siasat. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, undang² yang ada di-hadapan saya ini ada-lah satu undang² yang kadang² saya rasa ada menekan sedikit sa-banyak dan saya tidak-lah hendak masok beruchap di-dalam soal rashwah

ini. Baharu² ini saya sendiri mendapat satu surat berkenaan dengan rashwah yang di-lakukan di-negeri Kedah. Saya dengan serta-merta menghantarkan surat itu kepada Pengarah Penchegeh Rashwah Persekutuan di-bawah pentadbiran Menteri Yang Berhormat. Saya telah mendapat jawapan yang baik, dan ada baik-nya keadaan saperti itu di-beritahu kepada orang² yang menyampaikan pengaduan itu tentang perkara² yang di-lakukan, supaya dengan demikian akan menggalakkan orang² itu mengemukakan pengaduan² atas amalan rashwah. Dan juga satu daripada perkara yang nampak saya saperti di-sebut oleh ASP di-Pejabat Penchegeh Rashwah, Bandar Ipoh. Dia mengatakan sa-hinggakan surat² yang tidak bertanda tangan pun kadang² di-layan. Melayan surat² yang tidak bertanda tangan itu akan mendedahkan pegawai² orang ramai di-negeri ini dan pegawai² awam di-negeri ini kepada serba salah.

Kalau kita lihat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam section 4, bahagian 3, fasal 14, di-dalam ini ada menyatakan satu perkara yang di-beri itu, atau membuktikan di-beri, semua-nya itu telah di-pandang, di-beri kerana rashwah sa-hingga di-buktikan kepada orang yang di-tudoh itu bahawa itu tidak demikian. Kalau keadaan itu di-bolehkan pula dengan tidak payah meneliti siapa yang menghantar-nya surat itu, maka semua pegawai Kerajaan dan orang² yang ada dalam undang² ini menyatakan kesalahan-nya dan ini akan terdedah kepada keadaan yang tidak baik. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir bagi membolehkan amalan rashwah ini perhatian hendaklah memperhatikan kepada kedua² pehak dapat di-jaga dengan baik.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Undang² kita kemaskan dari satu masa ka-satu masa tetapi pada pendapat saya yang hina Undang² sahaja tidak-lah menjamin apa yang di-tujukan oleh Undang² itu terlaksana. Pernah sa-kali saya sebutkan dalam Dewan ini yang penting bagi pelaksanaan Undang² Rashwah ini ia-lah orang² yang menjalankan-nya. Saya pada hari ini mengemukakan

kapada Menteri Yang Berhormat satu pandangan apa-kah fikiran Menteri Yang Berhormat sa-kira-nya kita ikhtiarkan Jabatan Penchegeh Rashwah ini menjadi sa-buah jabatan yang bebas dari sa-barang chukai, dengan dia mempunyai kedudukan bebas di-dalam Perlembagaan negeri ini sama saperti kedudukan Auditor-General.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak menudoh siapa² tetapi kalau pegawai yang menjalankan tugas menchegeh rashwah ini di-pandang penting sebab semua Undang² akan hilang ma'ana-nya kalau rashwah berjalan maka nampak-lah penting kerja menchegeh rashwah ini. Kalau perkara ini di-dedahkan kepada tekanan² politik atau sa-bagai-nya pada pandangan saya dia tentu-lah akan senantiasa memelihara siapa yang di-fikirkan-nya berkuasa di-dalam satu² tempat dan pada satu² masa. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kira-nya sa-saorang pegawai terutama-nya Pengarah Jabatan Menchegeh Rashwah merasa bahawa dia selamat dari segi Perlembagaan dengan jabatan-nya itu jabatan yang tertinggi dan bebas dan gaji-nya dapat daripada Consolidated Fund dan gaji-nya lebeh mahal kata-nya dan dia tidak boleh di-ketepikan melainkan sa-chara menge-nepikan sa-orang Hakim umpama-nya, sa-kira-nya ini ada kepada Pegawai Penchegeh Rashwah maka terasa-lah kepada dia bahawa dia boleh menjalankan penchegehahan itu.....

Mr. Speaker: Ada-kah ini termasuk dalam bacaan yang kedua dalam Undang² ini?

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini dasar menchegeh rashwah. Satu daripada dasar Undang² ini ia-lah membolehkan satu effectual prevention of crime. Jadi pada pendapat saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimana pun tidak ada effectual prevention of crime kalau tidak ada kaki tangan yang terotor. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kira-nya ini dapat di-fikirkan oleh Menteri Yang Berhormat, saya perchaya hal ini akan bertambah kemas dengan di-

adakan pemilihan pegawai² di-tiap² negeri dan daerah yang mempunyai tugas yang terselamat dari sa-barang tugas.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Undang² ini nampak saya kemas chuma ada kadang² terlalu kemas. Saya sebutkan di-sini satu daripada-nya ia-lah saperti Public Officer—Pegawai Orang Ramai. Sa-kira-nya dia dapat satu barang yang tersimpan dalam rumah dia di-pandang sa-bagai rashwah. Yang saya takuti, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini akan berlaku dan banyak kali berlaku di-dalam negeri ini pegawai² yang di-dengki oleh orang lain dan apabila orang lain dengki kepada-nya di-letakkan satu barang di-rumah-nya atau di-belakang rumah-nya dan dia talipon kepada polis dan pada ketika itu di-dapati bersalah menurut section yang tertentu. Tentu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini di-bicarakan. Membicarakan sa-saorang itu dalam perkara rashwah tentu-lah lebeh dahulu di-mestikan supaya orang ini di-gantong perkhidmatan-nya. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak pun ini pada pandangan Menteri Yang Berhormat amat terlalu ketat dengan menyebabkan tidak dapat bernapas oleh pegawai² Kerajaan.

Satu lagi perkara yang hendak saya sebutkan di-sini ia-lah berkenaan dengan kira² wang yang telah boleh di-pereksa menurut section 23. Kita boleh memereksa Bank Account dan section 24 membolehkan kita memereksa kira² isteri-nya dan anak-nya atau pun orang yang di-fikirkan agak saya yang di-sebutkan oleh wakil dari Ipoh tadi boleh di-masokkan di-sini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Bank Account ada-lah kira²—duit bertambah. Saya tidak tahu di-mana akan dapat di-masokkan oleh Undang² ini yang akan membolehkan pegawai itu untuk memereksa kira² tempat orang itu berhutang—creditor-nya. Kata-lah saya ada account motor car harga-nya \$3,000 dan saya sa-orang Ahli Parlimen, kemudian tiba² Parlimen sudah pun di-bubarkan, pereksa Bank Account saya ta' naik², ada-kah Undang² ini membolehkan pegawai Kerajaan memereksa di-Lombard

Finance Co. bahawa Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad sudah habis account-nya pada bulan lima dengan tidak berfasal. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir sa-kira-nya tidak ada tempat yang dapat di-masokkan elok-lah Menteri Yang Berhormat memikirkan bagaimana hendak mengemaskan perkara yang demikian. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan pandangan² tersebut saya katakan, saya ada-lah menyokong dengan kuat Undang² ini.

Dato' Dr. Ismail: I would like to reply to the Honourable Member from Tanjong and before I do that I would like to thank him for his constructive criticism on this Bill.

Perkara yang pertama ia-itu kita mesti beri propaganda mengatakan yang Islam mengharamkan rashwah ini. Itu satu chadangan atau shor yang baik patut di-timbangan. Yang kedua berkenaan dengan information yang di-beri dengan sa-chara surat melayang atau pun ada information yang saparoh-nya, kalau saya ta' salah tidak di-layan dengan betul. Dalam ucapan saya tadi barangkali ta' terang mengatakan ia-itu kebanyakan information yang di-beri itu ada-lah tidak tepat, jadi terpaksa memakan masa yang panjang dan ta' dapat di-siasat sampai habis, tetapi bukan ma'ana-nya tiap² information itu di-tinggalkan begitu sahaja.

Berkenaan dengan surat melayang yang tidak ada bertanda tangan boleh di-katakan selalu-nya tidak di-layan information yang sa-macham itu; sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu atas perkara ia-itu menchegeh rashwah ya'ani pegawai rashwah ini supaya ia bebas—supaya ada pendirian-nya sa-macham Accountant-General. Perkara ini semua telah di-kaji dengan halus-nya sebelum Pejabat Anti-Corruption ini di-tubuhkan dan telah di-timbangan dengan halus-nya ia-itu di-chuba atas bentok yang ada sekarang ini, dan jikalau mithal-nya pada masa ini dengan pengalaman-nya tidak men-chukupi, saya fikir boleh di-kaji semula di-atas shor Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dan ini akan di-perbuat

oleh Kerajaan, tetapi pada masa ini bentok pejabat ini sangat-lah memuaskan hati, sebab apa yang pertama-nya ia-lah public service di-sini sa-bagai-mana dalam ucapan saya tadi sangat-lah tinggi mutu-nya dan tiap² pegawai di-sini boleh di-katakan chekap dan susah hendak makan suap. Jadi itu-lah sebab saya fikir bentok yang ada sekarang ini berjalan dengan halus-nya, tetapi jikalau di-pandang pada masa hadapan pengalaman yang ada ini tidak mencukupi, shor daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tentu kita akan ingatkan bila kita mengkaji sa-mula Anti-Corruption ini.

Atas perkara yang ia mengatakan dalam section 23 ini boleh jadi tidak ada hak memeriksa tempat² sa-saorang itu berhutang. Saya fikir telah ada dalam article 23 yang mengatakan—

.....authorise any police officer of or above the rank of Assistant Superintendent named in such order to investigate any bank account, share account or purchase account of such person.

termasuk-lah semua account bukan-lah bank account sahaja. Jadi saya ucapkan terima kasih kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok atas tegoran-nya di-atas perkara rashwah ini.

Sekarang saya suka-lah menjawab sedikit pada—now I turn to the Honourable Member from Bungsar...

Now, I turn my attention to the Honourable Member for Bungsar who, unfortunately, is not here. I am surprised at the departure from his usual speech in this House. He has always accused me of being trying to be a Gestapo Chief, the Head of a Secret Service, but today he persuaded me to do what I refused to be, a Gestapo Chief. Now, Sir, I would not like, for example, to go through the diary of every Member of Parliament and to investigate their trips abroad and their extramural activities—some may be pleasant, some may not be pleasant, some may have nothing to do with corruption at all. Now to do as the Honourable Member suggested would be to assume that all Honourable Members of this House are corrupt

because they have to disclose their accounts. Now, Sir, I would prefer not to accept the suggestion of the Honourable Member for Bungsar. I have no doubt that he, although there is no likelihood that he will ever become a Minister of Internal Security, will be the greatest Gestapo Chief in this country—but not me. However, Sir, still this is about the most constructive statement that I have heard ever made by the Honourable Member in this House.

Now, I would like to turn my attention to the Honourable Member from Ipoh. Here, again, I would like to thank him for his constructive criticism. In the case that he cited about a Member of the Executive Council of a State disclosing information from the ministerial bench to his friends or his business friends without any gratification, in the rare instances where a Member of an Executive Council discloses the proceedings of the Council and benefit materially his friends, I think he can be charged under the Official Secret Act; but, of course, if he disclosed that and got a substantial sum of money, it naturally comes under the definition of gratification. He mentioned that steps should be taken to see that there should be no undue delays in Government Departments, so as not to tempt these people into giving bribes. Now, Sir, the Government has not overlooked that. We are looking into this matter and on the whole, I admit, there are some delays in Government Departments, but we are doing our best to see that the delays have not been long to encourage corruption. I think that is all I need to reply to the Honourable Members and, once again, I would like to thank them for their constructive criticisms on this very important matter.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

House immediately resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill.

Bill considered in Committee.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

Clauses 1 to 31 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Bill reported without amendment: read the third time and passed.

THE EDUCATION BILL

Second Reading

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mohon menchadangkan ia-itu Rang Undang² yang di-gelar "Undang² bagi meminda dan mempersatukan berkenaan dengan pelajaran" di-bachakan pada kali yang kedua-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah tujuan Rang Undang² ini ia-lah untuk menguat-kuasakan Penyata Jawatan Kuasa Penyemak Dasar Pelajaran tahun 1960. Penyata itu telah di-persetujui atas dasar-nya dengan ketetapan yang telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini pada 12 haribulan August, 1960.

Perkara yang pertama yang saya hendak jelaskan dengan tegas kepada Dewan ini dan negara seluruh-nya, ia-lah tidak ada perubahan² asasi, sama ada di-dalam Penyata tahun 1960 atau Rang Undang² ini, dalam dasar pelajaran negeri ini seperti yang terkandung di-dalam Penyata Razak tahun 1956 dan Undang² Pelajaran tahun 1957. Sa-benar-nya Rang Undang² ini ada mengandongi perkembangan² yang tertentu, yang di-fikirkan mustahak mengenai dasar tahun 1956 tetapi semua-nya telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini. Ia juga ada mengandongi keterangan² mengenai Undang² Pelajaran tahun 1957 yang di-fikirkan perlu daripada pengalaman kita. Sa-bagai lagi, ia juga mempersatukan Undang² Pelajaran tahun 1957 dan Undang² Pendaftaran Guru² tahun 1957 dalam satu Undang² Pelajaran yang lengkap. Keterangan dan penyataan ini bertujuan sa-mata² untuk memperkemaskan sahaja dan tidak

ada perubahan baharu daripada Undang² tahun 1957.

Ada orang² barangkali bertanya apa-kah mustahak-nya di-adakan Undang² baharu kalau tidak ada perubahan² asasi dalam dasar atau kandungan Rang Undang² ini. Jawapan-nya yang tepat ia-lah sa-buah Undang² baharu yang lengkap akan memberi pertolongan yang besar. Telah di-dapati bahawa banyak pindaan² yang kechil² mustahak di-buat kepada Undang² Pelajaran yang sedia ada itu kerana hendak membetulkan kekeliruan dan kekurangan serta perkara kechil² yang ketinggalan, dan juga bagi menyelenggarakan perkembangan² dasar yang telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini. Perkembangan² ini termasuk-lah: meninggikan lagi umur berhenti sekolah; penggantongan Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan; menubuhkan Sekolah² Pelajaran Lanjutan; memberhentikan bantuan sa-paroh kepada Sekolah² Menengah yang tidak mengikut dasar yang di-tetapkan; menubuhkan sa-mula Majlis Bersekutu Kebangsaan bagi guru² sa-bagai sa-buah badan perunding; menubuhkan Lembaga² Penasihat Pelajaran, Kebangsaan, Negeri dan Tempatan; memperkemaskan lagi peratoran² memberi pelajaran Ugama Islam di-dalam sekolah² yang mendapat bantuan; menubuhkan Juma'ah Nadzir Tempatan; dan menguatkan lagi kedudukan Bahasa Kebangsaan dalam sistem pelajaran kebangsaan kita.

Daripada apa yang saya terangkan di-atas jelas-lah bahawa dengan hanya mengadakan pindaan² kepada Undang² yang ada itu supaya meliputi segala perkara yang telah saya sebutkan dan juga perkara² lain yang saya tidak sebutkan harus akan menjadikan tidak kemas dan menimbulkan keraguan. Perbuatan demikian bolehlah di-umpamakan seperti menampal² baju yang telah lama. Saya perchaya Dewan ini bersetuju ia-itu bagi mereka yang hendak menta'ati dan kepada pegawai² yang hendak menjalankan Undang² ini maka tentu-lah lebeh baik mengadakan baju baharu yang bersehh dan di-setereka dengan tidak ber-

tampil², padan dan mengikut bentuk dan menurut ragam atau fashen yang moden sa-kali.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli² Yang Berhormat harus telah sedar bahawa pada masa saya merengskakan perkembangan² baharu yang terkandung dalam Rang Undang² ini saya telah tidak menyatakan satu daripada shor² yang paling penting di-dalam Penyata Jawatan Kuasa Penyemak Dasar Pelajaran. Perkara itu ia-lah sekolah rendah perchuma. Tidak ada di-dalam Rang Undang² ini satu fasal yang menyatakan bahawa pelajaran rendah akan di-beri dengan perchuma mulai tahun 1962. Tetapi ketentuan bayaran sekolah ada-lah di-persetujukan oleh Menteri dan di-tetapkan mengikut peraturan² yang di-luluskan oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Dengan ringkas-nya Kerajaan ada-lah menetapkan bayaran sekolah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan telah memutuskan ia-itu bayaran sekolah tidak akan di-kenakan dalam sekolah rendah yang mendapat bantuan mulai daripada awal tahun hadapan. Satu perkara lagi Kerajaan telah juga mengambil keputusan tidak hendak menaikkan bayaran sekolah dalam sekolah² menengah yang mendapat bantuan seperti yang di-shorkan oleh Jawatan-Kuasa Penyemak. Tambahan lagi Kerajaan juga telah menentukan ia-itu bayaran² sekolah tidak akan dikenakan di-dalam sekolah² pelajaran lanjutan, sekolah² lanjutan kampung dan sekolah² menengah yang menggunakan Bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa pengantar. Murid² yang memasoki sekolah² menengah melalui Darjah Khas Melayu (S.M.C.) juga tidak dikenakan bayaran sekolah. Sa-lain daripada itu sa-banyak 10% daripada bilangan murid² yang ada di-sekolah² menengah yang mendapat bantuan akan juga di-beri pelajaran perchuma jika ada bukti murid² itu tidak ada kemampuan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin memberi jaminan ia-itu Kerajaan akan berpegang tegoh dengan keputusan² yang di-buat di-atas dan sa-lagi Kerajaan Perikatan berkuasa di-dalam

negeri ini pelajaran rendah perchuma bagi semua dan pelajaran perchuma menerusi Bahasa Melayu di-semua peringkat sekolah akan di-kekalkan. (*Tepok*).

Sekarang saya hendak menyentoh dengan ringkas-nya atas sa-tengah² hal² yang penting dalam Rang Undang² ini.

Bahagian VI Rang Undang² ini ialah berkenaan dengan Pendaftaran Guru². Hingga ini Pendaftaran Guru² ada-lah terkandung di-dalam Undang² yang berasing ia-itu Undang² Pendaftaran Guru² tahun 1957. Telah di-fikirkan ada baik-nya di-satukan isi Undang² itu dalam Rang Undang² Pelajaran ini dan di-batalkan Undang² Pendaftaran Guru² yang lama itu. Tujuan di-buat demikian ia-lah samata² supaya semua Undang² berkenaan dengan pelajaran di-satukan. Tidak ada apa² perubahan di-dalam chara mendaftarkan guru² di-dalam Undang² baharu dan Undang² ini tidak berbeza sedikit pun dengan Undang² yang sedia ada. Pendaftaran Guru² semenjak beberapa tahun sebelum tahun 1957 telah menjadi bahagian daripada Undang² negeri ini dan daripada pengalaman telah di-dapati sesuai maka Kerajaan tidak-lah berchadang hendak membuat sa-barang pindaan.

Bahagian VII ia-lah berkenaan dengan Majlis Kebangsaan Bersama bagi Guru². Satu perubahan yang nyata di-sini yang saya tahu di-sambut baik oleh guru² ia-itu Majlis ini bertukar chorak daripada Majlis Penasihat menjadi sa-buah badan perunding dan telah di-adakan juga suatu syarat untuk mengadakan satu peratoran orang tengah—dalam perkara² yang Majlis itu tidak menchapai persetujuan.

Ini ada-lah langkah² yang berani. Saya berpendapat langkah ini ada-lah menasabah menimbangkan daripada pengalaman yang telah di-dapati dalam masa Majlis Bersama ini telah menjalankan tugas-nya pada masa yang lalu dan sa-bagai penghargaan penting bagi jawatan guru² seluruh-nya. Saya berharap dan saya yakin seluruh

guru² di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan sikap sederhana dan kejujuran, mereka akan buktikan yang Kerajaan telah mengambil langkah yang betul pada mengadakan satu Badan Perunding dengan kuasa Undang² untok mereka. Saya harap akan dapat menubuhkan Majlis itu mengikut Fasal 93 pada awal tahun hadapan dan Yang di-Pertuan Agong akan menentukan tugas² badan itu mengikut Fasal 94 sa-belum akhir tahun ini.

Bahagian V ia-lah Pendaftaran Sekolah. Fasal² yang terkandung di-dalam bahagian ini hampir² sama dengan fasal² yang terkandung dalam Bahagian III dalam Undang² yang ada dan telah menjadi bahagian Undang² kita semenjak beberapa tahun. Saya fikir tidak-lah perlu bagi saya menerangkan tiap² suatu daripada Fasal² ini.

Bahagian II ia-lah pentadbiran ia-itu berhubung dengan pegawai² yang mempunyai tugas² di-bawah Rang Undang² ini. Saya fikir mustahak saya menyentuh hanya berkenaan dengan Fasal 9 dan 10 yang memberi kuasa kepada Menteri mengeluarkan perintah² am dan khas. Ini ada-lah Fasal² baharu. Saya perchaya bahawa Dewan ini bersetuju fasal² ini ada-lah mustahak, kerana Menteri akan bertanggung-jawab kepada Parlimen dan ia hanya boleh menyempurnakan tanggung-jawab-nya jika ia mempunyai kuasa seperti yang di-berikan di-dalam dua fasal ini.

Dewan ini harus dapati ia-itu Kementerian saya dan pegawai² yang kanan tidak termasuk di-dalam bahagian ini. Saya suka menyatakan bahawa itu tidak berma'ana yang jawatan² pegawai kanan itu akan dihapuskan. Saya telah di-nasihatkan bahawa tidak-lah mustahak di-butirkan dalam Rang Undang² ini kerana mereka boleh berkhidmat kepada saya dan kepada Kerajaan dengan sa-penoh dan setia-nya sa-bagaimana yang telah lalu.

Bahagian III ada-lah berkenaan dengan penubuhan Lembaga² Penasihat Pelajaran peringkat kebangsaan,

Negeri dan Tempatan menurut shor² yang terkandung di-dalam Penyata Dasar Pelajaran tahun 1960. Saya berchadang apabila menubuhkan Lembaga² ini kelak akan melantek ahli² pelajaran dan orang² yang ada pengalaman dan kechenderongan dalam pelajaran sa-bagaimana yang di-shor-kan dalam Penyata itu.

Bahagian IV menerangkan sistem pelajaran menurut Undang² dengan lebih jelas lagi daripada Undang² tahun 1957. Kandungan yang baharu ia-lah Fasal 23 untok Sekolah² Pelajaran Lanjutan sa-bagai bahagian daripada sistem Sekolah² Menengah.

Kerajaan telah berjanji dalam manifesto Pilihan Raya tahun 1959, untok berusaha hendak meninggikan umur berhenti sekolah. Kerajaan sentiasa menunaikan janji-nya. Ini sekarang di-buktikan dengan ada-nya syarat bagi mendirikan Sekolah² Pelajaran Lanjutan.

Semua kanak² yang berhenti dari sekolah rendah yang tidak dapat memasoki sekolah² menengah jurusan akademik mulai daripada tahun hadapan berpeluang memasoki sekolah² yang baharu ini. Sekolah² ini pada mula-nya akan memberi pelajaran peringkat menengah sa-lama dua tahun dan di-harap akan di-lanjutkan hingga tiga tahun pada masa akan datang.

Dengan ada-nya sekolah² seperti itu maka tidak-lah timbul lagi masa'alah murid² yang terpaksa di-berhentikan sekolah pada masa umur mereka 12 tahun. Sa-bagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat mengetahui, ia-itu perkara ini ia-lah suatu kelemahan di-dalam sistem pelajaran kita. Kelemahan ini tidak akan ada lagi. Tiap² sa-orang kanak² dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan mendapat pelajaran sakurang²-nya 8 tahun dan tidak ada sa-orang kanak² pun yang terpaksa akan meninggalkan bangku sekolah sa-belum bulan December yang umur-nya chukup 14 tahun. Ini ada-lah satu kejayaan yang patut kita banggakan.

Saya tidak-lah berniat hendak mengulas Rang Undang² ini satu

persatu tetapi saya ingin menyentuh dengan sa-chara ringkas Bahagian IX berkenaan dengan Kewangan dan Bahagian X berkenaan dengan Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan.

Mengikut Fasal 132 Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan yang ada sekarang akan di-bubarkan. Tetapi satu syarat telah di-buat dalam bahagian X supaya boleh di-adakan sa-mula Lembaga² itu apabila tiba masa-nya. Ini ada-lah menurut shor² Jawatan Kuasa Penyemak Dasar Pelajaran yang telah di-persetujui pada dasar-nya oleh Dewan ini. Jika dan apabila Lembaga ini di-tubuhkan sa-mula ia akan di-tubuhkan oleh pihak yang berkuasa Negeri tetapi dengan persetujuan Menteri mengikut Fasal 107.

Mengikut Undang² yang ada sekarang penubuhan Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan ada-lah sa-mata² di-dalam tangan pihak berkuasa Negeri. Penyata tahun 1960 telah menhadangkan dan Kerajaan serta Dewan ini telah memersetujui ia-itu ada-lah kena pada tempat-nya Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab kepada Parlimen atas hal pelajaran champor tangan pada menubuhkan Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan itu, tambahan pula mengikut Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pelajaran ada-lah perkara di-bawah Pentadbiran Persekutuan. Apabila Lembaga² ini di-tubuhkan sa-mula kelak ia akan di-tubuhkan di-bawah peratoran yang akan di-persetujui oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong sa-telah berunding dengan Negeri dan penubuhan lembaga² itu akan di-persetujui oleh Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab kepada Dewan ini.

Penggantungan Lembaga Pelajaran Tempatan tidak-lah bermat² bahawa sumbangan tempatan seperti chukai pelajaran dan lain²-nya untuk perbelanjaan pelajaran di-berhentikan. Peratoran² supaya membolehkan

memungut sumbangan² seperti itu ada terkandung dalam Fasal 105.

Belanja Pelajaran yang bertambah tinggi menjadikan mustahak mengumpulkan wang sumbangan tempatan. Sa-lama ini jumlah wang yang di-pungut dari chukai pelajaran amat-lah kecil berbanding dengan perbelanjaan pelajaran seluruh-nya, dan tidak pernah melebihi 3 juta ringgit dalam sa-tahun, atau kurang dari 2% daripada Belanja Ulangan Tahunan pelajaran. Di-sa-tengah² kawasan di-dalam Persekutuan, mithal-nya di-Johor dan di-Kelantan tidak pernah memungut chukai pelajaran. Di-bawah Seksyen 105 Menteri berkuasa meminta Kerajaan Negeri atau pihak yang berkuasa mengenakan chukai, atau kedua²-nya, memberikan sumbangan terhadap perbelanjaan pelajaran dan boleh mendapatkan balek sumbangan² yang sa-umpama itu sa-bagai hutang kepada Persekutuan.

Sa-lama ini peratoran mengenai sumbangan tempatan itu tidak-lah memuaskan kerana di-sa-tengah² kawasan itu tidak menyempurnakan sumbangan-nya. Hal ini tidak-lah adil kepada Negeri² lain yang sudah memungut wang yang banyak dengan jalan chukai pelajaran. Pada masa yang akan datang semua kawasan di-dalam Persekutuan akan mengalami keadaan yang sama dalam perkara ini dan Kerajaan Persekutuan berchadang ia-itu semua kawasan hendak-lah memberikan sumbangan yang munasabah. Jumlah sumbangan yang akan di-pungut itu tentu-lah kecil jika di-bandingkan dengan jumlah perbelanjaan pelajaran, dan sa-bahagian yang besar-nya maseh di-tanggung oleh Persekutuan.

Mr. Speaker: Order. The time is up. Majlis ini di-tangguhkan sa-hingga pada pukul 10.00 pagi besok.

Adjourned at 6.30 p.m.